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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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.

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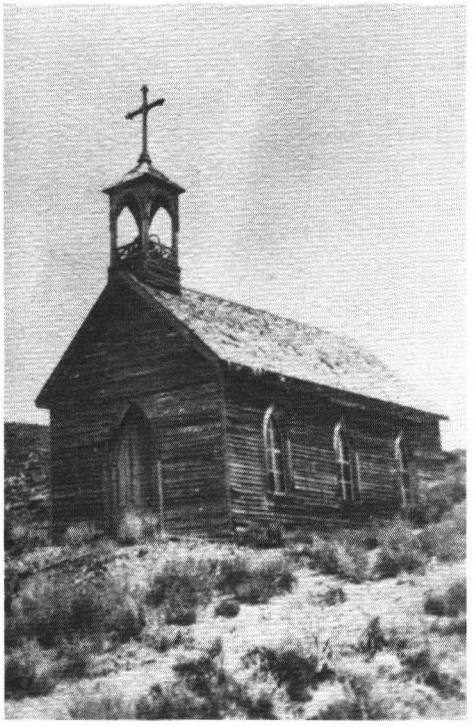

St. Patrick's at Belmont, constructed in 1873. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Pioneer Catholicism in Eastern and Southern Nevada, 1864-1931

JAMES S. OLSON

IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS of American historiography, few scholarly developments can rival in importance the rise of ethnicity as a new lens for interpreting the past. Even the most cursory comparison of almost any 1960 historical journal with its 1983 counterpart reveals how social and ethnic themes have displaced political ones as a major focus for scholarly attention. Few themes in the study of ethnicity are as compelling as the religious adjustment of the immigrant and the children of immigrants to American society. Although studies of the large immigrant communities in the eastern cities are becoming more and more common, the role of immigration and religious ethnicity in the Far West remains a neglected but critically important field in American historiography.[1] Nevada history is no exception. From the first mining booms of the 1860s, the state was inundated with immigrants from all over the country, and the process of establishing the religious and social institutions so necessary to community life was a tedious and difficult one, requiring great commitment and great sacrifice.

In 1931, creation of the Diocese of Reno culminated nearly seventy-five years of Roman Catholic history in Nevada. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the area of present-day Nevada was shuttled back and forth between a number of Roman Catholic bishoprics. Sparsely settled, and then only after 1851, with a few people scattered along several rivers and streams, Nevada was religiously insignificant to the church, an awkward appendage to more densely settled areas. Until 1840, Nevada was included in the Diocese of Sonora, Mexico, and then the Diocese of California (1840–1850); Monterey, California

Professor Olson would like to acknowledge the assistance of the American Philosophical Society and the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, in helping to finance research and travel expenses incurred in this project.

[1] See Moses Rischin, "Beyond the Great Divide: Immigration and the Last Frontier," *Journal of American History,* 55 (June, 1968), 42–53.

(1850–1853); and San Francisco (1853–1860). In 1860, with the rapid population increase in California and the silver boom in Virginia City, the church divided the San Francisco Diocese, leaving Nevada south of the 39th parallel in San Francisco and Nevada north of the parallel in the Vicariate Apostolic of Marysville (1860–1868), the Diocese of Grass Valley (1868–1886), and the Diocese of Sacramento in 1886. In 1891, the creation of the Diocese of Salt Lake City divided Nevada again, with the eastern and southern counties of Elko, Lander, Eureka, White Pine, Nye, Lincoln, and what would become Clark joining Utah and what are now the counties of Humboldt, Washoe, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, Churchill, Lyon, Mineral, Esmeralda, and Pershing remaining with Sacramento.[2]

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, the Catholic church in Nevada was a frontier institution, highly dependent on shifting demographic and economic conditions as well as on the spiritual commitments of a generation of foreign-born Irish priests. The most prominent of these was Rev. Eugene O'Connell. Born at Kingscourt, Ireland, in 1815, O'Connell was raised in the intensely religious atmosphere of Irish Catholicism. He was ordained a priest in St. Patrick's College at Maynooth, Ireland, in 1842; after surviving the Great Famine, he decided to serve as a missionary priest in the frontier regions of the United States. Father O'Connell traveled to California in 1851 and labored for several years at St. Thomas Seminary near San Francisco. He returned to Ireland in 1854 to assume the position of dean of All Hallows College, Dublin, and remained there until 1860, when he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Marysville. As Vicar, he traveled widely throughout northern California and Nevada, visiting the booming mining towns of his stewardship. When the Vicar Apostolic of Marysville was elevated to a diocese, Rev. O'Connell was appointed as its first bishop, a position he held until his resignation in 1884. He died in Los Angeles in 1891. His leadership was largely responsible for the establishment of Catholic parishes throughout eastern Nevada during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s.[3]

Catholic parish life began in western Nevada during the great mining boom of the late 1850s and 1860s. The rush into the Comstock Lode in 1859 brought thousands of miners, many of them Irish-Americans, into

[2] For a local perspective on the history of Nevada Catholicism, see Thomas K. Gorman, *Seventy-Five Years of Catholic Life in Nevada* (Reno, 1955). Also see *The Intermountain Catholic* (the diocesan newspaper of the Diocese of Salt Lake City), November 25, 1899 and October 19, 1901 and Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of Church Archives of Nevada's Roman Catholic Church* (Reno, 1939), pp. 5–6.

[3] John T. Dwyer, *Condemned to the Mines: The Life of Eugene O'Connell, 1815–1891, Pioneer Bishop of Northern California and Nevada* (New York, 1976), pp. 1–15, 26–34, and 55–56.

Nevada, and their priests quickly followed. Father Hugh Gallagher arrived in Virginia City in 1860 and built a small frame church there—St. Mary's in the Mountains. That same year he built St. Theresa's in Carson City and a little chapel at Genoa. St. Mary's and St. Theresa's survived, but the congregation at Genoa disbanded late in 1860.[4] That pattern of mining boom, population explosion, chapel-building, stabilization, and sometimes decline became a model for pioneer Catholicism in the eastern and southern counties.

To deal with the demographic changes so characteristic of frontier societies, the church had developed three graduated, administrative stages. Where the Catholic population was sparse and somewhat transient, the diocesan authorities established a station—a church unit without a chapel, a resident priest, or regular services. Periodically, but irregularly, a priest would make rounds through a number of stations, saying mass, baptizing infants, and blessing the sick. Once a stable Catholic population had developed, the bishop of the diocese would upgrade the status of the religious community to that of a mission. In a mission, Roman Catholics would not enjoy a resident pastor, but they would usually have a small sanctuary and could expect regular (biweekly or monthly) visits from a priest in a nearby parish. Finally, when the Catholic population had grown large enough to support a fully-developed church program, the bishop would transform the mission into a parish, complete with a permanent, resident pastor, a church-owned chapel and rectory, and weekly or daily masses. In the eastern Nevada counties of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, the boom and bust cycles of the mining towns made it difficult to establish the church administratively, and the transition from station to mission to parish was usually quite difficult.

The first and oldest parish outside of western Nevada was St. Augustine's, established at Austin in 1864. Silver was discovered there in 1862, leading to the creation of the Reese River Mining District and rapid population growth. Austin quickly became a major supply base in the region, so even after the initial boom was over the population stabilized at around 1,500 people until the 1890s. Father Patrick O'Reilly visited Austin and held services there in 1864, but he returned after a few days to his parish at Gold Hill. Father Edward Kelly was the first permanent priest in Austin, arriving early in 1865 and staying through 1866. He began construction of a two-story Gothic brick church there, and Father

[4] *Nevada Historical Society Papers,* I (1913–1916), p. 57; Works Progress Administration (WPA), *Nevada: A Guide to the Silver State* (Reno, 1940), pp. 89–90; WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 14–16.

Dominic Monteverde finished it in 1867.[5] St. Augustine's served a number of smaller Catholic congregations in surrounding areas. The discovery of silver at Belmont in 1865 and 1866 made it the leading city of Nye County. Father William Maloney, then a priest at St. Augustine's, visited Belmont in 1873, organized St. Patrick's Mission, and built a small frame church in 1874. The Belmont population fluctuated wildly in the 1870s, but dropped quickly in the 1890s. Parish priests at St. Augustine's directed small stations of the church at Tybo between 1874 and 1880 and Grantsville between 1876 and 1894.[6]

The White Pine silver rush late in the 1860s produced a brief flurry of Catholic activity. Hamilton, with a population of 3,913 in 1870, became the county seat of White Pine County and headquarters for SS. Peter and Paul Parish. Father Dominic Monteverde settled there, founded the parish, and built a frame church in 1869. He also established a mission at Cherry Creek and stations at Treasure Hill and Piedmont, but they were largely abandoned after a few years when the easily recovered ore played out. The consequent "bust" during the 1870s undermined the parish. By 1880 there were only 203 people in Hamilton and the Diocese of Grass Valley downgraded the parish to a mission.[7]

Just after establishment of SS. Peter and Paul Parish at Hamilton, Father Lawrence Scanlan founded St. Lawrence Parish at Pioche in Lincoln County. The Nevada legislature created Lincoln County in 1866 after the great silver discoveries of 1864 and 1865. Pioche became the county seat in 1871. Father Scanlan, then a young priest but destined to become the first bishop of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, first visited Pioche in 1869 and served as the resident pastor until 1873. He built a frame church and a small hospital for miners in 1870, and organized the miners into a benevolent society. However, the Pioche mines peaked in 1871 and shut down in 1876; Pioche declined from 1,140 people in 1870 to 745 in 1880, 676 in 1890, and 242 in 1900, and in the process St. Lawrence Parish was reduced to a mission when Father Scanlan left for Salt Lake City in 1873.[8]

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[5] *The Intermountain Catholic,* November 25, 1899; Louis J. Fries, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Catholicity in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1926), p. 112; Riley Moffat, "Population of Nevada, 1860–1890," unpublished manuscript, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, pp. 1–4.

[6] *The Intermountain Catholic,* October 19, 1901 and November 25, 1899; Moffat, "Population of Nevada," p. 1; WPA, *Inventory,* p. 20; Stanley W. Paher, *Nevada Ghost Towns and Mining Camps* (Berkeley, 1970), pp. 166–167, 202, 355, and 379; Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Berkeley, 1958), p. 205.

[7] Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln, 1973), pp. 104–105; Paher, *Nevada Ghost Towns,* pp. 247–248; Moffat, "Population of Nevada," p. 2; Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 205.

[8] *The Intermountain Catholic,* November 25, 1899; Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 205 and 476; Fries, *One Hundred Fifty Years,* pp. 25–28; WPA, *Inventory,* p. 19.

In 1864 a group of prospectors had located a major deposit of silver and lead at Eureka, but the mining boom did not develop until 1869 when sophisticated smeltering techniques had been developed. Eureka became the most productive mining district in the state during the 1870s and 1880s, attracting a population of more than four thousand people by 1880, a spur of the Central Pacific Railroad, and enough political clout to create Eureka County. The influx of many Irish miners precipitated a good deal of ethnic conflict and anti-Catholicism in the county. Indeed, central Nevada experienced what much of the rest of the country had undergone in the 1840s and 1850s when large numbers of Irish Catholics immigrated to the United States. Fears of a papal conspiracy, crime, unemployment, and unmentionable "Catholic sins" were rampant among the Protestant natives of Eureka. Despite the hostility, the Irish Catholic miners, as they did everywhere else, worked hard to transplant their religion. Father Dominic Monteverde of SS. Peter and Paul Parish in Hamilton visited Eureka in 1871 and built a frame church, and in 1872 Father James Hynes became a resident pastor, head of the new St. Brendan's Parish. Hynes built a $5,000 arched stone church in 1874, and when Father Monteverde returned as the resident pastor in 1876, he constructed a three-room rectory next to the chapel.[9]

During the mining boom in the 1870s, St. Brendan's directed several smaller congregations as well in Eureka, White Pine, Lander, and Elko counties. The resident pastor, in addition to his regular duties at St. Brendan's, was constantly on the road throughout eastern Nevada presiding over baptisms, confirmations, marriages, funerals, and various devotions in scattered places. Father James Hynes visited Ruby Hill in Eureka County in 1874 and built St. Finian's Mission chapel there, and he also established stations between 1872 and 1876 at Palisade, Pinto, and Pine Valley in Eureka County; Piedmont, Egan Canyon, Mineral City, Schellbourne, Newark Valley, Ward, and White River Valley in White Pine County; Tybo in Nye County; Cortez in Lander County; and Secret Canyon, Ruby Valley, Mound Valley, Spruce Valley, and Elko in Elko County.[10]

During the 1880s and 1890s, the Catholic parishes of eastern Nevada struggled for survival. No major mining discoveries were made in the 1880s, and rapid population declines occurred throughout the eastern counties. Gross mineral production dropped from nearly $47 million in 1877 to less than $2 million in 1894. Demographic changes threatened

[9] Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 425–426; *Eureka Leader,* December 31, 1879; *The Intermountain Catholic,* November 25, 1899; Elliott, *History of Nevada,* pp. 105–107; Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno, 1970), p. 124.

[10] *The Intermountain Catholic,* November 24, 1899; WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 19–24.

the very existence of many Catholic congregations. The following chart indicates those population changes:

	1870	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*
Austin	1,324	1,679	1,215	702
Belmont	—	289	250	242
Cherry Creek	—	566	139	414
Eureka	640	4,207	1,609	785
Hamilton	3,913	203	284	221
Pioche	1,140	745	676	242

The size of Catholic congregations declined with the towns; several stations in eastern Nevada were abandoned, including Piedmont, Egan Canyon, Tybo, Schellbourne, Cortez, White River Valley, Ward, Secret Canyon, Ruby Valley, Pinto, Pine Valley, and Mound Valley. St. Lawrence's Parish at Pioche was downgraded to a mission in 1873 and was abandoned in 1904. St. Patrick's Mission at Belmont was dissolved in 1901 and the mission at Cherry Creek in 1906. SS. Peter and Paul at Hamilton was abandoned in 1905 after being changed to a mission in 1873.[11]

One major exception to the general depression in mining was the Delamar area of Lincoln County. The gold discovery of 1891 led to a population boom that brought thousands of people to the county. The first Catholic priest, Father M. A. Kennedy, visited there from Eureka in 1895 to deliver the last rites to a dying miner, and later in the year Bishop Lawrence Scanlan, returning to what had been one of his first areas of service as a priest, came to Delamar and established Nativity Parish. The bishop returned for several months in 1897, and then named Father Matthew Kennedy as the resident pastor. Kennedy also served a station of the church at Hiko until 1906, and St. Lawrence Mission at Pioche. Consistent with the declines in the eastern Nevada mining camps, however, Nativity Parish was shortlived, and Bishop Scanlan downgraded it to a mission in 1906. By that time the Delamar population had dropped below 100 people.[12]

Catholic development in Elko County was more deliberate than in most areas of eastern Nevada, perhaps because the region's significance as a grazing and agricultural area made for more stable population growth. Construction of the Central Pacific Railroad eastward across Nevada brought people to Battle Mountain, Carlin, and Elko in 1869 and 1870; and gold and silver discoveries did the same for Tuscarora in

[11] Elliott, *History of Nevada,* pp. 171 and 398; Moffat, "Population of Nevada," pp. 1–2; WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 18–19.

[12] *The Intermountain Catholic,* November 25, 1899 and October 19, 1901.

the late 1860s and early 1870s. Carlin and Battle Mountain became supply centers for the Battle Mountain mining camps, and Elko became a discharge point for people heading out to the White Pine mining districts. The mining booms and emigrant traffic of the 1860s and 1870s created an enormous demand for beef and sheep, and Elko County's millions of acres of grazing land were perfectly suited to supply that demand. Except for Tuscarora, where the mining boom was followed by a bust, population was rather stable, making it somewhat easier to predict the development of Roman Catholic parishes. The following population figures illustrate that stability:[13]

	1880	*1890*	*1900*	*1910*
Battle Mountain	522	360	365	878
Carlin	394	413	344	423
Elko	752	766	849	1,677
Tuscarora	1,364	1,156	669	342

In 1879, the first priests began visiting Tuscarora from St. Augustine's, but it was not until 1890, when the Rev. James Butler arrived there, that regular services began. Tuscarora achieved mission status and was served by priests from Austin (1890–1897, 1911–1915) and Eureka (1897–1911), but by 1920 the town population had dropped to only 241 people and it became a station. In 1880 missionary priests from Reno began visiting Elko irregularly, and in 1887 it became a station of Eureka. Not until 1916 did Elko gain parish status, and in 1917 St. Joseph's chapel was dedicated. Late in the 1890s, priests from Eureka established small stations in the ranching, farming, and mining communities of Elko County, including Starr Valley, Halleck, Montello, Deeth, South Fork, Lamoille, and Huntington Valley. St. Thomas Aquinas Mission was established in Wells in 1897, and that same year Bishop Scanlan of Salt Lake City founded Sacred Heart Parish for Battle Mountain and Carlin.[14]

The twentieth-century mining boom in Ely and Tonopah brought more Roman Catholics into eastern and south-central Nevada. After the boom and declines of the early White Pine mining communities at places like Cherry Creek and Hamilton, Ely became the most important city in the county. Ever since the 1870s, people had been aware of the presence of

[13] Moffat, "Population of Nevada," pp. 1–3; Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 384, 396, and 400; Edna Patterson, Louise A. Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier* (Sparks, 1969), p. 560; James W. Hulse, *The Nevada Adventure: A History* (Reno, 1966), pp. 124–125.

[14] WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 27–30; *Elko Independent,* April 6, 1917; Fries, *One Hundred Fifty Years,* pp. 47–48, 113.

copper, but transportation and refining problems prevented its exploitation. The completion of a railroad line connecting the copper mines at Ruth and Ely in 1906, and the construction of the Nevada Consolidated Copper Company's smelter at McGill in 1908, led to rapid copper development and population growth, as indicated by the following figures:[15]

	1900	*1910*	*1920*
East Ely	—	738	699
Ely	525	2,055	2,090
McGill	—	1,904	2,846
Ruth	—	—	1,312

In 1899, priests from Eureka established a station at Ely and celebrated mass in the home of Ellen Hayes, and in 1900 Father Patrick Mannion settled there. When Miss Hayes donated a chapel site to the church in 1906, Father Mannion collected funds and constructed a large frame church there. Upon its completion in 1907, Bishop Scanlan upgraded Ely to Sacred Heart Parish. St. Michael's Mission was established at McGill in 1910, and St. Mary's Mission at Ruth in 1919. Both missions had frame churches and enjoyed resident ministers.[16]

The gold and silver discoveries at Tonopah in 1900 precipitated a great mining boom, with the local population swelling from a handful of people in 1900 to nearly four thousand in 1910. The earlier Catholic congregations in Nye County—St. Patrick's Mission in Belmont and stations at Tybo, Grantsville, and Ione—had largely disappeared by 1900. When Father James Butler of St. Brendan's Parish in Eureka saw most of his congregation leaving for Tonopah, he asked Bishop Scanlan in Salt Lake City if he could follow them. Scanlan consented, and in 1901 Father Butler moved to Tonopah, built a frame church, and established St. Patrick's Parish. Further south, Father Michael Sheehan set up a station at Beatty in 1905, and in 1906 Father William Ryan established the Sacred Heart Mission at Rhyolite. When the population of Manhattan increased in 1907 and 1908, Father Butler in Tonopah had the abandoned Catholic chapel at Belmont moved there and established Sacred Heart Mission.[17]

The last Catholic parish established in eastern and southern Nevada before creation of the Diocese of Reno in 1931 was St. Joan of Arc in

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[15] Moffat, "Population of Nevada," pp. 1-3; Hulse, *The Nevada Adventure,* pp. 190-194.

[16] WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 29, 32, and 41; Fries, *One Hundred Fifty Years,* p. 114; *The Intermountain Catholic,* August 9, 1919 and December 27, 1919.

[17] Hulse, *The Nevada Adventure,* pp. 171-173; Fries, *One Hundred Fifty Years,* p. 116; WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 34, 37, and 39; Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 512-513; *The Intermountain Catholic,* October 25, 1919; *Rhyolite Bull Frog Miner,* November 23, 1906.

St. Patrick's Catholic Church in Tonopah, c.1909. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Las Vegas. In 1905 the railroad line being built from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles reached the Las Vegas Valley. The town owed its modest beginnings to the railroad, but then grew steadily by serving the supply and freight needs of the miners at Goldfield, Rhyolite, and Tonopah, and the smaller fields in Clark and Lincoln counties, particularly Searchlight, Delamar, Pioche, and Caliente. Father E. V. Reynolds, chaplain to the workers on the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad, settled there in 1908 and established St. Joan of Arc Parish. The parish thrived as the Las Vegas area grew from thirty people in 1900 to more than five thousand in 1930, and the parish directed stations at Goodsprings, Searchlight, Moapa, and Arden; Our Lady of Guadalupe Mission at Sloan; Nativity Mission at Delamar; and the Holy Child Mission at Caliente.[18]

But to really appreciate the nature of pioneer Catholicism in eastern and southern Nevada—beyond the constant struggle to serve the spiritual

[18] Fries, *One Hundred Fifty Years,* p. 115; WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 37-39; Moffat, "Population of Nevada," pp. 1-2.

needs of a scattered and rapidly fluctuating population—one must be familiar with the Irish background of the American Catholic church. Like Roman Catholicism throughout much of the United States, Nevada Catholicism, at least until the 1920s, had an overwhelmingly Irish flavor. The most active parishioners were usually the Irish-Americans, and the vast majority of the priests living in the scattered parishes and missions were either foreign-born Irish or Irish-Americans.[19] Not surprisingly, Nevada Catholicism was for decades an intricate mix of Roman Catholicism and Irish nationalism, creating a religious atmosphere not always conducive to the acculturation of new immigrant groups.

The roots of Irish-American ethnicity are to be found deep in the Gaelic past. British-born St. Patrick brought Christianity to Ireland in the fifth century, and by 431 Bishop Palladius was heading the first Irish bishopric. Roman Catholicism became a mainstay of Irish society. But after 1169, when King Henry II of England sent his Norman supporters across the Irish Sea to colonize, a patriotic chauvinism gradually evolved which fused with Roman Catholicism as the essence of Irish identity. Over the course of the next seven centuries, the series of Anglo invasions and Anglo-Protestant cultural imperialism fused religion and nationality in the Irish mind. The Gaelic word *Sassenach* came to mean both "Protestant" and "English," and the Irish could not distinguish between the two. The English crusade to Anglicize Ireland, which continued through the Great Famine of the 1840s, created a profound ideological dualism in Irish life: a deep, personal love for Roman Catholicism, and a proud consciousness of Irish nationality.[20]

In many Nevada mining communities, internal bonds of faith, history, and nationality brought the Irish immigrants together. Conscious of their minority status in a largely Protestant society, they wanted more than ever to "be in the world but not of the world," to preserve and protect their Catholic heritage for future generations and to realize the political independence of their homeland. They worried about the economic and social seductions of American life, about being assimilated into the larger society and forgetting their identity. The parish (as well as the station and mission) was the center of their lives, and they sacrificed a great deal of their surplus resources to build chapels and rectories in their neighborhoods. Distilled by centuries of suffering and survival in

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[19] Irish surnames consistently dominate the list of contributors to parish mission, building, and welfare funds as well as the names of those receiving confirmation. See, for example, *The Intermountain Catholic,* February 12, April 30, and May 14, 1927, and February 16, 1929. For a list of the priests serving in the Nevada parishes of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, see each listing in WPA, *Inventory.* Also see Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* pp. 37–38.

[20] For a discussion of Irish American history, see Lawrence McCaffrey, *The Irish Diaspora in America* (Bloomington, 1976).

Ireland, the relationship between the Irish clergy and parishioners was very strong. The local church was the center of the community, surrounded by homes, taverns, stores, and shops. The priest knew all of the Catholic families, directed their church activities, and comforted them during crisis, sickness, and death. The Irish miners and their families were active in the parish, attending weekly mass, catechism classes, and frequent confessions; serving as altar boys and abstaining from meat on Fridays, and from other worldly pleasures during Lent; and faithfully contributing money for the construction and maintenance of parish institutions.

Those parish institutions were designed to circumscribe Catholic social life in the United States, to make sure that most personal relationships and hopefully all marriages took place within the framework of the faith. In the eastern cities, worried about the long-range impact of secular education and the possibility of their children marrying Protestants, the Irish Catholics built parochial schools and attached them to the parish. With the presence of parochial schools, Catholic children could enjoy excellent educations as well as a wide variety of social activities in a proper spiritual atmosphere. But in Nevada, because the parishes, missions, and stations were too limited in population, the church could not support parochial schools, and had instead to develop daily vacation catechism schools in the summer, and weekly catechism classes during the school year while their children attended public schools. Parochial schools were established in Reno—St. Thomas Aquinas School in 1931, and Mount St. Mary's Academy in 1879—but the financial resources and number of school-age children in eastern Nevada made it impossible there.[21]

For adult men and women, the parish served as the central focus of their social lives, and various confraternities, sodalities, and altar societies kept most of their social lives within a largely Catholic context, isolating and protecting them from the secular enticements of the outside Protestant world. During the nineteenth century, the most active parish organization for men was the Ancient Order of Hibernians, a group committed to Catholic devotions as well as the liberation of Ireland. Its counterpart among women was the Daughters of Erin. Both groups preoccupied themselves with supporting the parish financially, providing sick and death insurance to members, and promoting every pro-Irish, anti-English cause imaginable. For many, St. Patrick's Day was a central event of the year.[22]

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[21] WPA, *Inventory,* p. 12; *The Intermountain Catholic,* August 23, 1930.

[22] Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 262; *The Intermountain Catholic,* April 21, 1900 and March 20, 1920.

As long as the vast majority of parishioners and priests were of Irish extraction, the Gaelic flavor of parish life resulted in a close-knit community. But in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the "new immigration" brought increasingly large numbers of non-Irish Catholics into eastern Nevada. For a time, parish and diocesan leaders had to cope with a good deal of ethnic rivalry and resentment within their local churches. In 1879, several Italian charcoal workers were killed in Eureka by hostile miners when they tried to raise the price of charcoal used in the mines.[23] The large migration of thousands of Italian miners into the mining communities after 1900 created a great deal of resentment among Irish-American Catholics. Italian Catholicism was historically quite different from Irish Catholicism; the Italians were not nearly as devoted to the institutional church as the Irish, and they were more inclined toward almost a cultist veneration of a wide variety of saints. The Irish parishioners in Nevada often looked upon the Italians as primitives, even pagans, in their peculiar version of Catholicism. For their part, the Italians often viewed the Irish as religious fanatics, and they had absolutely no taste for the pro-Irish nationalism so prevalent in parish life. Similar rivalries also appeared between the Irish and Slavic immigrants and the Irish parishioners and the Basque settlers of north central Nevada.[24]

Between 1900 and 1930, the more overtly Irish aspects of parish life gradually became less visible. Although most priests in eastern Nevada were still of Irish descent, they were now more often than not American-born. The same was true of the Irish parishioners. In the second and third generations, some of the Old World passions became considerably less intense. The Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Daughters of Erin organizations in the parishes disappeared, replaced among the men by the Knights of Columbus, and among the women by such groups as altar societies and Catholic women's clubs. Although the negotiations for Irish freedom after World War I briefly revived the pro-Irish activities in the Nevada parishes, they were shortlived, and declined quickly again after Ireland achieved its independence in 1921.[25] Open to Irish, Italian, Slavic, and Basque Catholics, the new organizations in parish life represented part of the assimilation process and the general

[23] Phillip I. Earl, "Nevada's Italian War," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* 12 (Summer, 1969), 47–87.

[24] *The Intermountain Catholic,* October 12 and 19, 1899, and May 19, 1900; Rudolph Vecoli, "Cult and Occult in Italian-American Culture: The Persistence of a Religious Heritage," in Randall Miller and Thomas D. Marzik, *Immigrants and Religion in Urban America* (Philadelphia, 1977).

[25] *The Intermountain Catholic,* December 23, 1899; February 22, 1919; November 5, 1927; August 4, 1928; October 5 and 26, and December 28, 1929; January 11, February 22, June 14, September 6 and 20, 1930; January 17, 1931.

fusion of the Catholic parishioners into a more united religious community.

In 1931, when papal authorities created the Diocese of Reno, the functioning parishes in eastern and southern Nevada included St. Augustine's in Austin, St. Joseph's in Elko, Sacred Heart in Ely, St. Joan of Arc in Las Vegas, St. Andrews in Boulder City, and St. Patrick's in Tonopah. Because of continuing population declines, St. Brendan's in Eureka had been downgraded to a mission in 1921, dependent upon St. Augustine's. There were other missions scattered throughout eastern and southern Nevada, including SS. Peter and Paul at Battle Mountain and Carlin, St. Thomas Aquinas at Wells, St. Michael's at McGill, St. Mary's at Ruth, Church of the Holy Child at Caliente, and Sacred Heart at Manhattan. There were stations at Round Mountain, Beatty, Searchlight, Bullion, Huntington Valley, Lamoille, South Fork, Deeth, Montello, Beowawe, Halleck, Starr Valley, and Palisade.[26] Joining with St. Theresa's of Carson City, St. Patrick's of Fallon, Our Mother of Perpetual Help of Hawthorne, St. John's of Lovelock, Church of Our Lady of the Snows of Reno, St. Thomas Aquinas of Reno, Immaculate Conception of Sparks, St. Mary's in the Mountains of Virginia City, St. Paul's of Winnemucca, and Holy Family of Yerington, the parishes of eastern and southern Nevada became the Diocese of Reno with Thomas K. Gorman as bishop. No longer was Nevada the only state in the country without its own Roman Catholic diocese. After a long struggle against difficult economic, demographic, and ethnic challenges, the Roman Catholic Church in eastern and southern Nevada was ready to pass beyond its beginnings as a pioneer church.

[26] WPA, *Inventory,* pp. 17–19, 21, 25, 27–34, and 37–38; *The Diocesan Monthly,* 2 (November, 1924), 3; *The Intermountain Catholic,* January 10 and May 2, 1931.

Salt: Unsung 'Hero' of Nevada Mining

JAKE HIGHTON

THE GLORIOUS HISTORY of silver and gold in Nevada is well known. Bancroft praised "the silver veins of the Comstock" and hailed the state's mineral deposits as "the wonder of the world."[1] In contrast, the history of salt in Nevada has had no chroniclers. Sodium chloride is a humble substance, useful for adding piquancy to food but utterly without the romance connected with noble metals.

Still, the history of salt in Nevada is not without interest. That history includes ancient Indian salt mines and, amazingly in the West, camels, those storied "ships of the desert," trudging the salt routes to the mining boom towns. Salt was essential to the stamp-mill amalgamation process used to extract precious metal from its ore.

The story of salt in Nevada begins at an incomprehensible time. "Numbers do not seem to work well with regard to deep time," John McPhee has noted. "Any number above a couple of thousand years—fifty thousand, fifty million—will with nearly equal effect awe the imagination to the point of paralysis."[2] In "deep time" the Great Basin was covered by seas, salty bays, and saline lakes. The result has been abundant salt deposits.

The first hint of this abundance gleamed in white man's eyes in 1826. That year the explorer Jedediah Smith, after a tip from Paiutes, located a salt cave in the southeastern corner of present-day Nevada. He sent a sample back East to his employer, Gen. William Clark.[3] A year later Smith re-visited the area, noting in his diary: "I stoped [sic] at the Salt Cave and took some salt."[4]

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[1] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), Vol. XXV, p. 20.

[2] John McPhee, *Basin and Range* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1982), p. 20.

[3] Alson J. Smith, *Men Against the Mountains* (New York: The John Day Co., 1965), p. 88.

[4] Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana, Calif.: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), p. 28.

It was not until one hundred years later that the extent of the archaeological wonders and ancient story of the Pueblo in Nevada began to be revealed. Archaeologist M.R. Harrington marveled at the state of preservation of artifacts he found in an underground salt mine four miles south of the now inundated Mormon village of St. Thomas. He attributed the fact to the "dryness of the cave plus the preservative properties of the salt."[5]

The mine was one of several worked above and below ground by the Anasazi, agricultural Indians who founded Pueblo Grande de Nevada.[6] Pueblo Grande, hastily dubbed the Lost City by the press, today lies under Lake Mead. It used to stand along the Muddy River just above its juncture with the Virgin River near present-day Overton.

Harrington estimated that the Anasazi worked their salt mines at the beginning of the Christian era with "indications which point to work at an even earlier period."[7] He has reconstructed the mining operation at the principal cave.

The Indians worked underground by torchlight in a series of vaulted chambers. (The torches were made of shredded bark.) They hewed circles of salt with stone tools and then cut the pillar at the bottom to remove the salt.

> . . . the circles had been carved into the salt with the stone picks, grooved around and around, deeper and deeper, until a raised circular block of salt was left in the center. Then this block had been broken out with (a) stone hammer to be taken home by the miner.[8]

Apparently the miners ate well. Harrington noted that lunch often consisted of roasted corn. The corn was carried into the mine in netted lunch bags made of twisted Indian hemp. The miners also feasted on "barrel cacti with spines carefully burned off, and rabbit and tortoise. . . ."[9] As for water, the Indians carried it into the mine in pottery canteens and gourd bottles.[10]

One commentator said the Pueblo Grande was once a great salt market, with a trade trail stretching from the Lost City to Malibu Beach

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[5] M.R. Harrington, "A Hafted Stone Hammer from Nevada," *Indian Notes* (New York: Heye Foundation), Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 127.

[6] J. Richard Ambler, *The Anasazi* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977), p. 1.

[7] M.R. Harrington, "Ancient Salt Mine of the Indians," *Scientific American* (August 1926), p. 116.

[8] Ibid, p. 117.

[9] Richard Shutler, Jr., "Lost City: Pueblo Grande de Nevada," *Anthropological Paper No. 5* (Carson City: Nevada State Museum, 1962), p. 59.

[10] Harrington, *Scientific American,* p. 117.

near today's Los Angeles.[11] But no one knows why the Lost City civilization vanished.

The rich Virgin Valley deposits were tapped by Mormon settlers in the nineteenth century, but mostly for human consumption and livestock. "Thin slabs were even tried as window panes."[12] Some Virgin River salt was shipped to silver mines in Arizona and the Eldorado mining district in Clark County in the 1870s.[13] During the 1890s a Mormon pioneer, Daniel Bonelli, worked mines near St. Thomas, one being called the Virgin Queen Salt Mine.[14]

In 1937, several thousand tons of Virgin River salt were hand-mined by the Civilian Conservation Corps at Moapa before the waters of Lake Mead flooded the area. The salt was used for stock.[15]

The Washoe Process

It was with mining in the nineteenth century that salt played its unsung hero's role. Salt was needed to help extract precious metals from their ores. "The Washoe process, first developed in the Comstock mills, used the salt to aid in amalgamating silver sulfide and gold ore in steam-heated vats."[16] Ernest Oberbillig has suggested that without the Washoe process "we may not have had the booming mining camps of the Comstock, Reese River (Austin), Humboldt, White Pine, and Pioche. . . ." After the first silver of any quantity was shipped from the Ophir mine on the Comstock in 1859 "astute miners with foresight knew a milling process was needed near the Comstock to minimize freight charges." Two mills were built at Gold Hill in the summer of 1860 to treat the Comstock silver ores. Salt was used in such various ore-reduction processes as the patio, pan, barrel, and Stetefeldt furnace.[17]

According to McPhee, the brine-and-mercury method took three tons of salt water to mill one ton of ore.[18] The reduction method was as

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[11] Harry Carr, *The West Is Still Wild* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932), p. 139.

[12] Keith G. Papke, "Evaporites and Brines in Nevada Playas," Bulletin 87, Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology (Reno, University of Nevada, 1976), p. 16.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Shutler, p. 59.

[15] William O. Vanderburg, *U.S. Bureau of Mines Information Circular No. 6964* (Washington, D.C., Nov. 1937), p. 67.

[16] Papke, p. 10.

[17] Ernest Oberbillig, "Development of Washoe and Reese River Silver Processes," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* Vol. X, No. 2 (Summer, 1967), pp. 6, 33.

[18] McPhee, p. 161. Hugh H. Shamberger in *Candelaria and Its Neighbors* (Carson City: Nevada Historical Press, 1978), p. 135, said "the amount of salt needed was usually 5 to 15 per cent of the weight of the ore."

follows: the rock ore was stamped to powder in the mills and the powder stirred into hot salt water and mercury. The mercury would attract the silver. Then the mercury was distilled from the silver.[19] "When mercury picked up the silver, they knew they had 'the real stuff' from the squeak. A mercury-and-silver mixture is what the dentist uses, and when he mashes it into your tooth it makes the same squeak."[20]

Before salt was produced in the Nevada Territory in the 1860s it had to be imported to the Comstock from California. The cost was high—$150 a ton from San Francisco by wagon train.[21]

But two years after the Comstock came in, salt was being produced in Nevada. The first production site was probably Dixie Marsh, or the Humboldt Salt Marsh, in northeastern Churchill County.[22] Geologist Keith Papke has written that "if production began in 1861 as reported, Dixie Marsh was the earliest commercial source of salt in Nevada. The sodium chloride was hoed into piles and shipped without refining."[23]

Then in rapid succession salt was produced at Rhodes Marsh in southern Mineral County (1862) and Sand Springs Marsh in eastern Churchill County (1863). Both sources halved the cost of shipping salt from San Francisco.

> The new and nearer source at Rhodes considerably lowered the cost of salt for the Comstock, but after only one year Rhodes lost this big customer because of new discoveries at Sand Springs . . . The marsh still supplied salt for mills at Aurora, and eventually Belmont and Belleville.
> A contemporary report said the immense Rhodes marsh contained enough salt to preserve the world![24]

Hyperbole aside, the Sand Springs Marsh (Four Mile Flat) soon cornered the Comstock market. For eight years, from 1863 to 1871, it "supplied all or nearly all the salt needed in the Comstock mills. . . ."[25] The price was about $60 a ton.

> The Sand Springs Co. have over $100,000 invested in this business, and, though owning several large teams, hire many others to have the product of their salt fields to market, their freight bulk amounting to from $10,000 to $15,000 per week. Large as is the amount of salt they are thus able to deliver,

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[19] McPhee, p. 156.
[20] Ibid., p. 163.
[21] Papke, p. 10.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., p. 11.
[24] Stanley W. Paher, *Nevada Ghost Towns & Mining Camps* (Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North Books, 1970), p. 443.
[25] Papke, p. 13.

the supply is scarcely equal to the demand, some of the larger mills consuming between 35 and 40 tons per month.[26]

But dominance was short-lived. The Eagle Salt Works in Churchill County, still closer to Virginia City, captured the market in 1871.

Several salt-bearing springs were discovered in March 1870 by B.F. Leete along the eastern edge of Eagle Marsh. Because these were within several miles of the Central Pacific Railroad (completed a year earlier), Leete soon organized the Eagle Salt Works, and salt was produced there from 1871 to 1913. It had the largest total production in Nevada, and was the principal supplier of salt to the Comstock mills and later to dairy and domestic salt users. Production from 1871 through 1884 can be estimated with fair accuracy . . . at 32,000 tons, and the total production was between 60,000 and 70,000.[27]

By the turn of the century a cyanide reduction process, developed in England in 1887, had replaced the use of salt in the precious-metal extraction process.[28] The "glory days" of salt in Nevada had ended.

Troublesome "Ships of the Desert"

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the salt story in Nevada is the link among camels, salt and the mines. The camel proved to be a troublesome beast in the American West, although there were initial high hopes concerning its use.

The camel is largely a circus and zoo curiosity in North America today. In Nevada it provides an annual spectacle in Virginia City; camel races hark back to the Comstock days when camels hauled salt to the stamping mills.

The camel story actually starts with McPhee's deep time. Archaeologists say that camels were common in North America eons ago.[29] The story of camels in the American West begins in the nineteenth century with suggestions that the Army start a camel corps. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War under President Franklin Pierce, thought the idea a good one. Congress agreed in 1855, appropriating $30,000 for the experiment. In 1856 a Navy supply ship landed thirty-four one-humped camels—purchased in the Middle East—in a Texas port.[30]

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[26] J. Ross Browne, *Resources of the Pacific Slope* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1869), pp. 310-311.

[27] Papke, pp. 12-13.

[28] McPhee, p. 156.

[29] Deane Robertson and Peggy Robertson, *Camels in the West* (Sacramento, Calif.: Arcade House, 1979), p. 1.

[30] Ibid., p. 2

Camels were first used in Nevada in 1860. An article in the *Territorial Enterprise* on May 10, 1860, noted the arrival in Virginia City of "two tons of salt by camel train for the central mill. . . . The camels were driven by Mexicans 'who seem not to know the difference between a mule and a camel.' "[31]

An article in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* notes that twenty Bactrian camels were sent across the Sierra and Carson Plain in 1860 from San Francisco. "They were employed in carrying salt from Teal's Marsh, in the Walker River district, Esmeralda County, to the Washoe silver mines at Virginia City—a distance of 200 miles."[32] Still another source notes: "A train of nine Bactrian camels bore loads [of salt] across the desert from the forks of the Walker River in 1861."[33]

Camel caravans became a familiar sight in Nevada during the 1860s. Although Virginia City was the principal destination, camel trains were also used to transport salt to many other mining towns like Austin, Belleville, and Eureka.

Sources disagree on how many pounds camels packed. Lord says the average camel load was slightly under 450 pounds.[34] Another source credits camels with carrying a load of from 600 to 800 pounds.[35] But there is no question that camels hauled heavier loads than mules—roughly twice as much.

The Robertsons in *Camels in the West* state that camels could travel "much longer and farther without water than horses and mules, could carry far heavier loads and could survive on vegetation too stunted to support a horse or mule."[36]

Camels were as much aggravation as advantageous. Lord flatly proclaimed that the substitution of camels for mules was "not a pronounced success." Camels disliked to travel on stony mountain paths and could hardly be urged forward "by blows and curses." Their feet were cut by stones and "alkali dust inflammed the sores." Moreover, camel saddles often fit poorly, chafing backs and forming painful blisters.[37]

But the biggest problem was camelphobia among pack drivers. The mule skinners detested camels. They despised

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[31] A.A. Gray, "Camels in California," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (December, 1930), p. 312.

[32] William S. Lewis, "The Camel Pack Trains in the Mining Camps of the West," *Washington Historical Quarterly* (October 1928), p. 274.

[33] Eliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners* (Berkeley: Howell North, 1959), p. 201.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Lewis, "Camel Pack Trains . . .", p. 274.

[36] Deane and Peggy Robertson, p. 4.

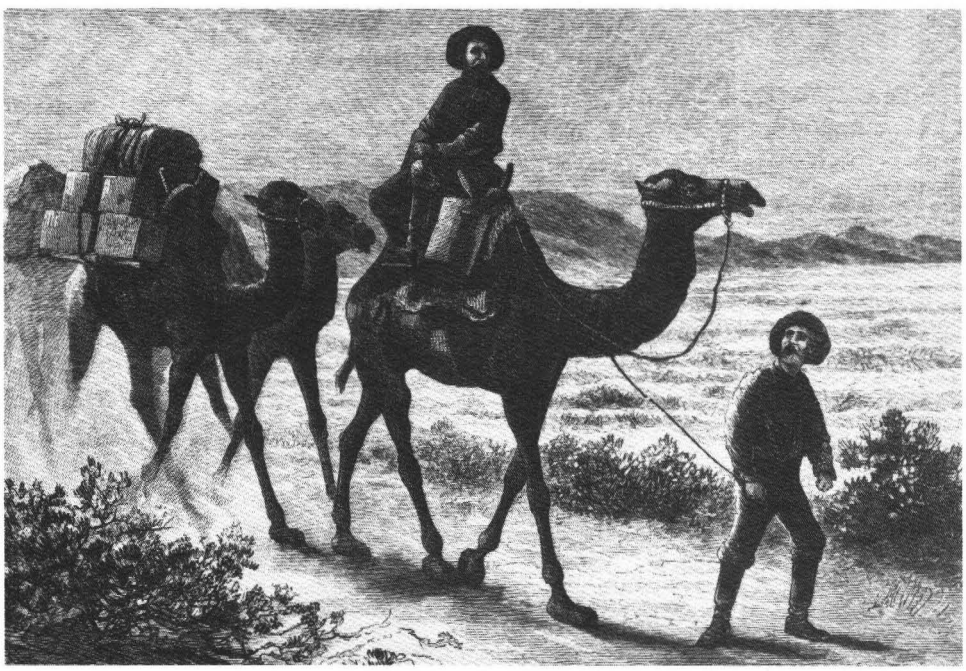
[37] Lord, p. 202.

. . . the unfamiliar, ungainly beasts, which dared to fight back against the cruel treatment which many teamsters gave their animals in those harsh days. Camels spat upon their tormentors, bit them with sharp teeth, even trampled some to death.[38]

Another writer agreed that the "kick of the camel was soft" but "it took away the life."[39] The dislike between camels and drivers was apparently mutual.

Even after the camels were no longer used for packing salt, they continued to cause great grief in Nevada. Horses, frightened by camels, would bolt and cause carriage accidents, which in turn blocked roadways. Old or useless camels were simply turned loose to roam Nevada sagebrush, roads, and byways. An item in the *Territorial Enterprise* in 1869 complained of the "camel nuisance":

The camels have made their re-appearance on the Carson River, more numerous than ever, and again the lives and limbs of the traveling public along the



Camel caravan in Nevada, 1860's. Drawing by Frenzeny. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

[38] Deane and Peggy Robertson, p. 9.
[39] Gray, p. 304.

route are to be endangered. Well may our citizens cry aloud at this nuisance, 'How long, O Lord, how long!'[40]

The article goes on to lament that two prominent citizens of Virginia City had narrowly escaped injury in 1868 after their team took "fright at the sight of camels on the road, as is usually the case whenever they are seen by horses and mules, the danger being greater with the latter. . . ." The editorial (in the guise of a news story) concluded that the most stringent measures must be adopted "to curb the evil."[41]

The Nevada legislature did "curb the evil" in 1875, passing an act prohibiting camels from public highways. The law stayed on the books until 1899.[42] As late as 1907 a prospector reported seeing two camels wandering in the desert near Rhyolite.[43]

Eliot Lord concluded that the experiment of using camels in the West may be regarded "as an instance of the fertility of American enterprise in projects and expedients rather than as a well considered and fairly conducted test."[44]

Other Principal Salt Works

Salt is abundant in Nevada marshes, playas, deserts, and sinks. It has been produced commercially and for personal use in most of Nevada's counties. One authority has estimated that between 1860 and 1900 the state produced more than 200,000 tons. The salt has been produced by both solar evaporation of brines and by scraping off the surface crust. Most of it was used for mining amalgamation. "Eagle and Sand Spring marshes in Churchill County had the largest production, but nearly 20 other localities also were sources."[45] Following are brief summaries of some of the other major salt locations:

BUFFALO SPRINGS, in the Smoke Creek Desert in Washoe County. B.F. Murphy sold salt in Reno from 1865 to 1875 from a salt works here.[46]

WILLIAMS MARSH, in the Diamond Valley 40 miles north of Eureka. "Salt was mined in the late 1860s and the 1870s to supply mills in Eureka, Mineral Hill, and White Pine districts."[47]

[40] *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City), May 15, 1869, 3:1.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Deane and Peggy Robertson, p. 10.

[43] Shamberger, p. 191.

[44] Lord, p. 202.

[45] Papke, p. 5. Papke provides the best and the most reliable summary of salt sites and production in Nevada. He stated in an interview with the author (June 7, 1982) that few accurate records were kept of salt production in Nevada.

[46] Papke, p. 10.

[47] Ibid., p. 11

WHITE PLAINS, also known as Alkali Flat, a salt deposit in northwestern Churchill County. Walter Smith discovered salt here in 1870 and formed the Desert Crystal Salt Company. "The company operated for many years and had a notable production." In 1911 the property was leased to the International Salt Company. The last recorded production was in 1915.[48]

DIXIE MARSH, in northwestern Churchill County, sometimes known as Humboldt Salt Marsh. Salt was produced here from 1861 to 1868 and shipped to mills in Virginia City, Austin, Belmont, Unionville, and Silver City, Idaho. Dixie Marsh was probably the earliest commercial source of salt in Nevada.[49]

RHODES MARSH, in Mineral County. This location helped supply the Comstock in 1862. Shipments by camel halved the price for salt transported from San Francisco. "Nearer sources were soon discovered, but in 1869 salt was being shipped from Rhodes Marsh to mills at Columbus and Belmont."[50] Vats were filled with brine solutions, and when the water evaporated the salt was ready for use.[51]

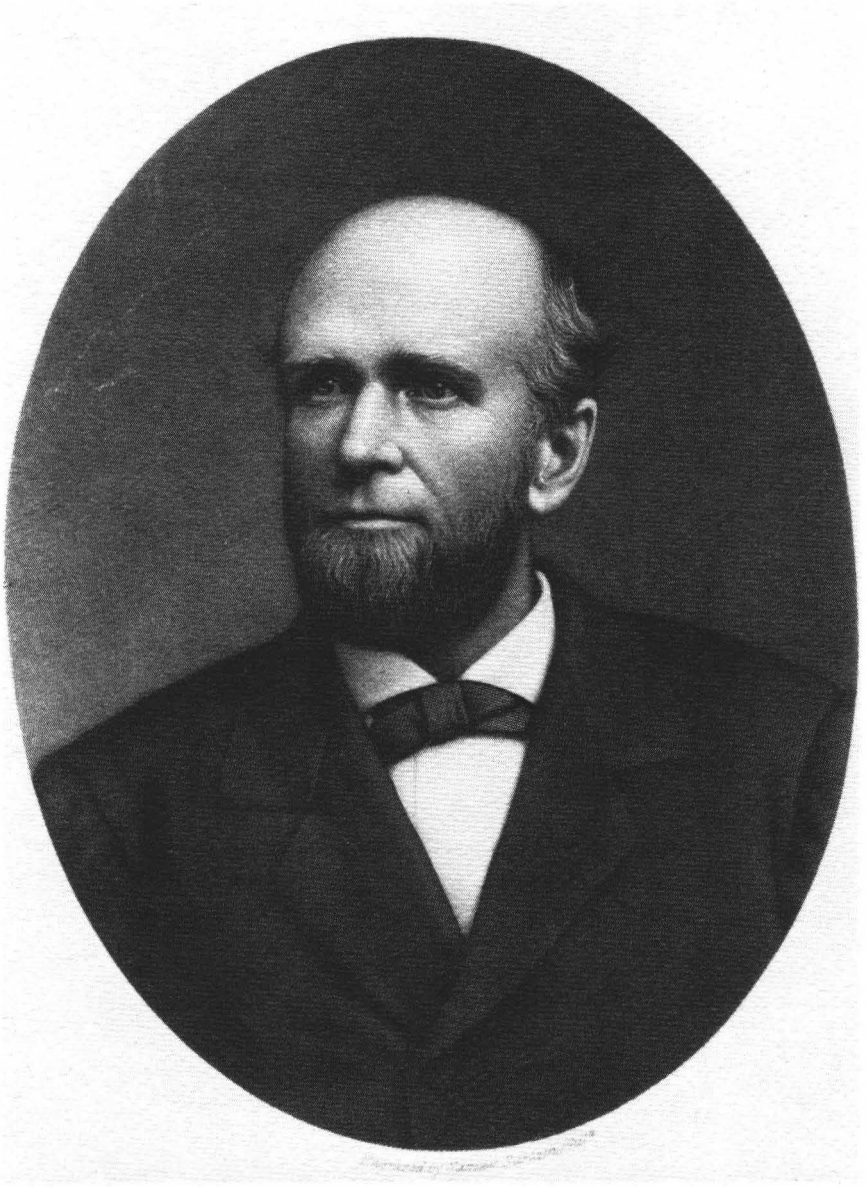
In 1886 the Rhodes scene was described as one of unremitting activity. The salt works' superintendent told a reporter that the monthly shipments "aggregate from 350 to 400 tons of salt," and that the works employed "six white men, twenty chinamen and from 20 to 150 Indians." In a burst of pride, the *Nevada State Journal* added that "table salt manufactured by this home company cannot be excelled anywhere in the world."[52]

TEELS MARSH, in southern Mineral County. First worked for salt, the marsh became much better known for borax discovered in 1872 by the colorful F.M. "Borax" Smith.[53] Salt was shipped from here to silver mills in Aurora as early as 1867, and this marsh later furnished salt for the two mills at Belleville."[54]

Eagle and Sand Springs Marshes

As the two largest salt producers in Nevada history, Eagle and Sand Springs marshes deserve more complete treatment. Two other factors warrant more detail: the papers of B.F. Leete, discoverer of the Eagle Marsh deposits, are available at the Nevada Historical Society in Reno;

[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., p. 20.
[51] *Reese River Reveille,* Jan. 14, 1885, 1:2-3.
[52] *Nevada State Journal,* May 13, 1886, 3:2.
[53] Papke, p. 21.
[54] Shamberger, p. 133.



Benjamin F. Leete *(Nevada Historical Society)*

and the Sand Springs Marsh operated by Elmer Huckaby and his son, John, is the only commercial salt operation in the state today.

Benjamin Franklin Leete, who had been Lyon County treasurer in 1865 and 1866, found the rich Eagle Salt Marsh, eighteen miles east of

Wadsworth, in 1870. The same year he built the Eagle Salt Works. "The long valley in which [Eagle Marsh] lie[s] was a straight [sic] during the higher stage of Lake Lahontan." Salt was procured by dissolving the crust on the surface of the desert and allowing the saturated water to gather in shallow vats and evaporate. Small areas were flooded, the water held in by ridges of clay. "From the flooded areas it soaks through the clay ridges and enters shallow vats dug in the lakebeds on either side, where it evaporates and deposits its salts."[55]

A spark from the locomotive of a westbound train started a fire in the Eagle Salt Works in 1885, causing $5,000 damage.[56] But Leete was undaunted, and continued production for many more years.

In 1898 Leete published a notice on the back of his bills of lading: "TO ALL PERSONS WHO USE SALT." The blurb noted that his salt "is nearly perfect" in purity. "In the commerce of the world there is none superior to the Eagle Salt. . . ." He cited the findings of J. Warren Phillips, a University of Nevada chemist, who had compared Eagle salt with that of salt produced by Higgins' of Liverpool. "Please observe that the base in Higgins' salt is sulphate, while the base of my salt is chloride."[57] Leete completed his "odious comparison" by noting that Eagle salt is 99.55 percent pure, and Higgins' only 98.16 percent. Leete couldn't resist sermonizing: "We have a class of citizens amongst us who want to vanish our country by buying from foreigners articles of common consumption that can better be produced and manufactured by the labor of our boys and girls at home." Leete complained of snobs who insist on buying "high-priced Liverpool salt"—"those who must have something English."[58] Then Leete's public-relations efforts turned to a capitalistic and chauvinistic screed:

> No nation can be a strong nation without strong people. No people can be strong without property, and no property is as strong as money property. Let us keep our money at home. . . . Employ our own people. Make them all strong and comfortable by producing and manufacturing from our own resources everything we consume, and exporting to foreign countries any surplus we have . . . that will give us strength. There is not one article of virtue that we need in the daily consumption of comfortable life that we cannot produce and manufacture more perfectly than foreigners can.[59]

In 1905 the Eagle Salt Works was selling 100-pound bags of "fine butter salt" for 85 cents. A 100-pound bag of stock salt sold for 60

[55] Israel Cook Russell, *Geological History of Lake Lahontan* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Geological Survey, 1885), p. 233.

[56] *Nevada State Journal,* July 21, 1885, 3:3.

[57] Leete Papers, Records, and Documents, Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Box No. 1.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

cents. That year a George Ernst of Fallon picked up 26 bales and bags of table salt, fine butter salt, and butcher's salt crystals for $30.

A handwritten note by Leete in a 1905 business ledger declared: "The laborer must produce to his employer the value of his wages also a profit to his employer and that surplus benefit mankind." [sic][60]

Employment was seasonal; the summer and fall months were most productive. In October of 1901, Leete had forty-seven men on the payroll, including his two sons, Nott and William. A Fred Anderson worked twenty-seven days at $2.25 per day in January, 1901. Many workers roomed and/or boarded at the salt works; board was $5.50 a week in 1901.[61] Workers could buy such things as shoes, shirts, soap, and tobacco at the company commissary. An accounts-book entry on June 16, 1910, noted that a J. Plummer paid $1 for tobacco, 50 cents for chewing and 50 cents for "smoaking" [sic].[62]

One of the most serious problems faced by the Leetes involved railroad charges. The salt works prospered when the Southern Pacific Railroad stopped at the Leete salt works station, but the route was realigned in 1903, and a 14.5 mile spur had to be constructed from the works to Fernley. The railroad built the line on credit, but the increased shipping distance and rising freight rates weakened the company's financial condition; by December, 1903, Leete owed the Southern Pacific $23,534. He wrote bitterly to the regional manager of the railroad in March, 1907: "The excessive freight charges from Leete outward have destroyed this business." The building of the spur was "predicated upon the sales of salt product. With no sales there can be no pay." In 1896, the rate on salt carloads from Leete to San Francisco was $2.50 per ton; by 1902 it had increased to $4. In 1879, the firm had shipped 7,000 tons of salt; by 1906, only 677 tons. "It is impossible for us to go ahead. You have bottled us up and sealed the bottle."[63]

A sign of financial distress appeared starkly with an announcement of a sale Oct. 20, 1909:

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., Box No. 6.
[63] Papke, p. 13: Leete Papers, Box No. 4.

Hay Salt, Stock Salt

and Hide Salt

For 20 Days We Will Sell

At $5.00 Per Ton

Minimum Sale One Ton. Net Spot Cash.

.....

.....

Come With Your Wagons

First Come First Served. Sale Stops When Stock Is Exhausted.[64]

The Eagle Salt Works managed to continue until 1913.

There is no question that Leete was an important figure in business, politics and community affairs. When he died in 1927 just short of his ninety-sixth birthday, Reno newspapers saluted him as a "Reno pioneer" and an "argonaut." A *Nevada State Journal* obituary said that for sixty-seven years Leete "watched the progress of Nevada and his efforts in this state played no little part in its upbuilding." The obituary alluded to his "great salt mine in Churchill County."[65] The *Reno Evening Gazette* obituary stated that for years the salt works was "one of the state's biggest industries."[66]

Leete was an Episcopal vestryman, served on committees for the Reno school district, was elected president of the Nevada State Agricultural, Mining and Mechanical Society (state fair) in 1875, had been a delegate to the Washoe County Republican Convention, and was the top vote-getter on the slate of presidential electors chosen in 1896 by the Silver-Democratic Party.[67]

Sand Springs Marsh (Four Mile Flat)

And then there was one.

The sole source of commercial salt in Nevada today comes from Sand Springs Marsh, twenty-six miles east of Fallon. The deposits lie along Route 50 near Sand Mountain, and near the site of a Pony Express exchange station in 1860 and 1861.

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[64] Leete Papers, Box No. 4.

[65] *Nevada State Journal,* Jan. 5, 1927, 8:1.

[66] *Reno Evening Gazette,* Jan. 4, 1927, p. 1.

[67] *Nevada State Journal,* Feb. 1, 1873, 3:1; *Political History of Nevada,* 7th ed. (Carson City: Secretary of State, 1979), p. 210.

After the Sand Springs works lost its lucrative contract with the Comstock in 1871, it continued to produce salt sporadically. But by 1940 it was producing almost all the commercial salt in the state, making it the second largest producer in the state's history behind the Eagle Salt Works.[68]

Elmer Huckaby says his firm—which includes his son, John, and his wife, Vera, produces an average of 6,000 tons of salt a year. He estimates the company's annual gross at $100,000. The State of Nevada is the biggest customer, buying roughly 3,000 tons a year for road deicing. The Huckabys also produce salt for meat processing, tanning hides, curing hay, feed mix, water softener, and ice cream making.[69] Nevada salt output is a pittance compared with the nation's leaders. Louisiana was No. 1 in the 1970s with a production of 13.5 million tons. Other states included Texas, 9.7 million; Ohio, 6.1 million; New York, 5.6 million; and Michigan, 4.3 million.[70]

Papke has described how the Huckaby salt is formed:

> Surface water coming into the closed basin accumulates at the southeastern end of Sand Springs Marsh, and generally forms a shallow body of water during the winter. The water leaches salt from the upper few feet of the playa, and when it evaporates a layer of solid salt several inches thick is deposited over an area of about 3 square miles.[71]

"We don't spend one dime to make it," Huckaby said. After nature makes the salt, the deposits are scraped by a jerry-built salt harvester with a four-ton-capacity hopper. Swamp trucks carry the salt from the harvester for stockpiling at the works. The salt is air-dried on the marsh. About 1,000 tons annually are also kiln-dried for use in feed mix. Trucks haul the salt to Fallon for sacking at the Huckaby home and warehouse.

Most of the salt is bagged in brown sacks with green lettering and a drawing of camels to show the nineteenth century heritage of the works. (The palm tree in the background is artistic license.) The bag proclaims: "HUCK SALT/FROM THE OASIS OF NEVADA/KILN DRIED/FINE/RECOMMENDED FOR FEED MIX/HAY/LIVESTOCK."[72]

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[68] Papke, p. 13.

[69] Interview at the Huckaby home in Fallon, Aug. 7, 1982.

[70] Stanley J. Lefond and Charles H. Jacoby, *Industrial Minerals and Rocks*, 4th ed. (New York: American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers, Inc., 1975), p. 1016.

[71] Papke, p. 13.

[72] Huckaby interview.

The original site owner, Sand Springs Co., built a $175,000 plant on the site in the 1860s. A four-story salt mill erected in 1928 operated until early in the Depression.[73] Today Huckaby leases the property from the Leslie Salt Co. in Newark, Calif.

Huckaby, who was 72 in October, 1982, started the business in 1938. His son, John, born in 1941, has been helping him almost "since he was old enough to walk." Huckaby calls his wife, Vera, "the wheelhorse of the firm." She serves as bookkeeper, dispatcher, factotum, and sometimes even truck driver.

People driving past the Sand Springs Marsh can sometimes taste salt in the air just as if they were near an ocean. The taste emanates from seven salt sections, one named Sodom. (Disappointingly, none is named Gomorrah.) Huckaby's *piece de resistance* is the salt harvester he built from junk parts in 1941. More than forty years later he was still running the machine with its original 1936 Chevrolet engine. "There is not a click in her," Huckaby bragged recently.

Huckaby has estimated that production varies from 5,000 to 8,000 tons per year. During World War II he was producing 40,000 to 50,000 tons a year; the output was used principally for chlorinating water used by the military in the South Pacific.

The property used for the business operation was purchased by the Leslie Salt Company in 1934; it is leased by the Huckabys in return for a royalty payment of fifty cents per ton. In 1982, a fifty-pound bag of Huck Salt cost $1.70 for orders of less than one ton, and $1.50 per bag for orders over one ton; extra-fine salt sold for $1.80.[74]

Thus the story of salt in Nevada continues, albeit on a much reduced scale compared to its heyday, when the demands of the Comstock mills seemed insatiable. Ancient seas blessed the state with an abundance of salt, so essential in the nineteenth century for the processing of ore. Today there are only a few inheritors of that tradition.

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[73] Paher, pp. 93, 95.
[74] Huckaby interview.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Lorenzi Park: A Social, Cultural, and Service Center of Las Vegas

THE NEVADA STATE MUSEUM AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY building opened to the public on November 3, 1982. Located at Lorenzi Park in Las Vegas, the facility features four spacious galleries, and thousands of square feet of office, research, and work areas; it promises to be one of the most important cultural attractions in southern Nevada as well as in the state. The exhibits focus attention upon the biological, anthropological, and historical backgrounds of the immediate area. The State Museum and Historical Society staff members have expertise in those fields; several received their training at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, or have previously taught there.

The new institution is by no means the first cultural, artistic, or service organization to be located in Lorenzi Park. Purchased by the city of Las Vegas in 1965, the park has become the location of a number of agencies, including the Lorenzi Adaptive Center (for the handicapped), which is operated by the city's Department of Recreation and Leisure Activities. By 1982, the Nevada State Federation of Garden Clubs, the American Association of Retired People, the Las Vegas Art Museum, the Southern Nevada Association for the Handicapped, and other agencies and clubs were all located at Lorenzi, in addition to the

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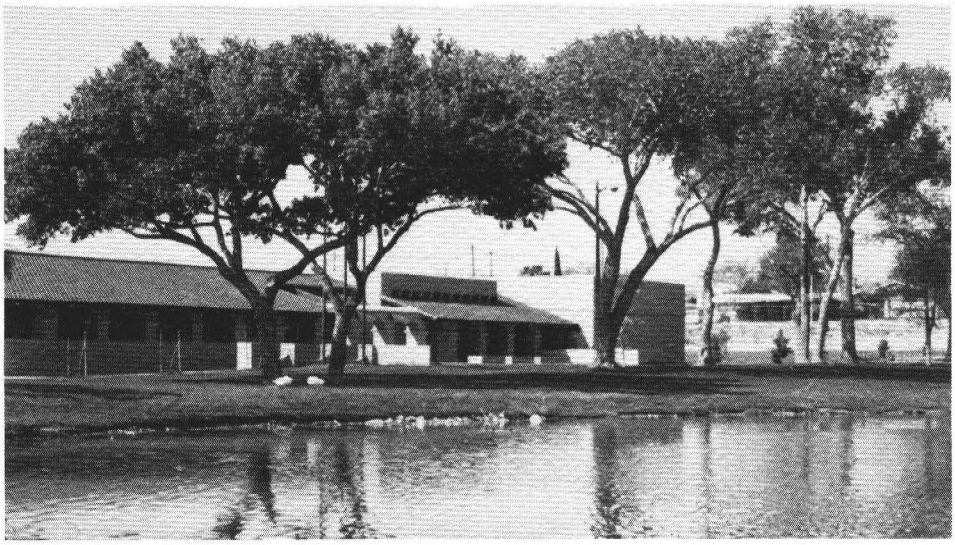
Research, text, and photo selection by David Millman of the staff of the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas, with some assistance rendered by Gary Roberts, Editor of the *NHS Quarterly*. Grateful thanks are extended to Alice Rissman of the Architects' Wives League, who generously shared her clippings, notes, and photos dealing with Lorenzi Park.



Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas.

D.G. Lorenzi (right), founder of Lorenzi Resort in Las Vegas, and Lloyd St. John, its later developer. *(courtesy of St. John collection)*

regular park facilities, tennis and basketball courts, and jogging areas. In short, the park has gradually been transformed from its original recreational orientation under private ownership to a varied, multipurpose public center with more of a service and cultural focus; at the same time, however, the city has continued to develop and improve the site as a park for both children and adults.

The growth of Lorenzi Park along these lines is only the latest phase in its history. In a sense, the park has evolved in ways that to a limited extent reflect the maturation of the city of Las Vegas itself. Not even Mr. Lorenzi could have foreseen these developments.

David G. Lorenzi, a native of France, had mining and farming interests in several western states before arriving in Las Vegas in 1911. Trusting in the growth of the new community, he purchased eighty acres two miles from the railroad tracks as a potential site for agricultural pursuits.

The land was cleared, wells were dug, and everything from fruit trees to cantaloupes to alfalfa was successfully cultivated. An energetic entrepreneur, Lorenzi was not content with mere agricultural pursuits. In 1922 the farm was developed as a resort, and was equipped with a swimming pool and a band shell for outdoor concerts. A team of mules helped construct a lake, which today remains the largest artificial body of water in the city of Las Vegas. In 1926, the dome pavilion was built, and a commercial opening took place in May of that year.

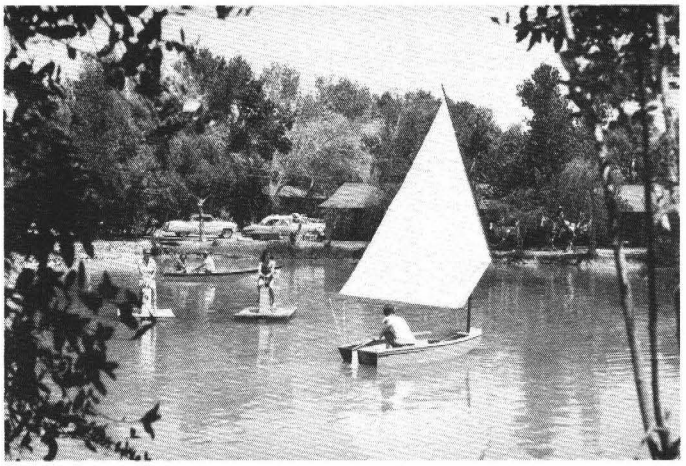
Starting a tradition which would continue for many years, the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce voted to celebrate July 4, 1926 at Lorenzi's resort. A local newspaper trumpeting Lorenzi Lake as "A Real Oasis in the Desert" wrote it was ". . . a good example of how the desert may be transformed into a thing of beauty by devoting time and painstaking care in the growing of vegetation and constructing adornments to add to nature's efforts."[1]

Las Vegas welcomed its new resort at the July 4 celebration, which included the new dome pavilion, bathing beauties, fireworks, and a 4,000 foot parachute drop. The newspaper reported a thousand automobiles formed a solid procession on the road between Las Vegas and the resort. "Nothing approaching it had ever been seen in Las Vegas."[2]

By 1929, the resort comprised twin lakes covering twelve acres, a pool 90 by 140 feet, fireproof buildings and dressing rooms, an expanded pavilion which could hold 2000 people, and a restaurant. The leaders of the community continued to shower praise on Lorenzi and

[1] *Las Vegas Age,* June 12, 1926.
[2] Ibid., July 10, 1926, 1:1-3.

Twin Lakes Resort (Lorenzi Park) at time of purchase by the city of Las Vegas, 1965. *(courtesy of St. John collection)*



Boating, fishing, and horseback riding were among the popular activities at Lorenzi Park. *(Las Vegas News Bureau)*

his work: "The name of Lorenzi is, in Las Vegas, a synonym for industry and accomplishment."[3] "The resort is a tribute to the industry and ingenuity of its builder and owner, Mr. Lorenzi, as well as to the possibilities of Las Vegas."[4] Lorenzi's good name was soon to suffer, however, and the resort was to know its share of controversies.

Only a few weeks after the Nevada Legislature legalized gambling in the spring of 1931, the new lessees of the resort applied for a gaming license.[5] They were to become an integral part of the fight for a wide-open policy of freely granting gaming licenses. After the statewide law passed, the Las Vegas City Commission debated for weeks on a system of licensing. The cry of "monopoly" was raised by those (A.W. Ham and others) who opposed any policy of restricting licenses;[6] however, the Commission decided to oppose the issuance of any *new* licenses for the time being.[7]

Nevada Attorney-General Gray Mashburn rendered an opinion that made Nevada's new gambling law "a local option measure"; it did not throw the state open to gambling, but merely permitted each locality to permit gambling if desired.[8]

The new management at Lorenzi's was denied a license to operate a crap game and filed suit against the city commission to force it to issue the permit. Charles L. Horsey, later a justice of the Nevada Supreme Court, was the attorney for the resort.[9] The case was brought before the state Supreme Court at the end of May, 1931. The main issue of the trial was whether the city commission could have discretionary power in regulating gambling licenses.[10]

The *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal,* a powerful opinion-maker in the city, supported the commission in the suit. In an editorial entitled "A Wise Decision," issued after the city had denied the Lorenzi permit, it stated:

> Glowing pictures were painted of the great hotel that will be reared at Lorenzi's resort if the gambling license is granted . . . guaranteeing to bring untold hundreds of thousands of dollars into this community if only granted their license. The Lorenzi group is attempting to force the issuance of their license, and the City is resisting that action.[11]

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[3] Ibid., July 2, 1929, 22:4-8.
[4] Ibid.
[5] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal,* April 1, 1931, 1:5.
[6] Ibid., April 8, 1931, 1:1.
[7] Ibid., April 10, 1931, 1:3.
[8] Ibid., April 15, 1931, 1:6.
[9] Ibid., May 4, 1931, 2:2.
[10] Ibid., May 28, 1931, 1:1.
[11] Ibid., May 30, 1931, 8:1-2.

The case attracted statewide interest, and it was seen as the first test of the new gambling law. In July, the Nevada Supreme Court ruled against the Lorenzi license application by a two to one vote. The decision upheld the right of the city to regulate and control gambling; it could grant licenses at its own discretion within the city limits. The city attorney, Frank Stevens, remarked, "It is a vital decision from the standpoint of the City of Las Vegas."[12]

An Associated Press report commented on the decision, remarking that it was the first time the court had dealt with the gambling issue since the new legislation. The report indicated the court supported the city because for the court, gaming was in the same class as liquor, that the "nature of gaming was a source of evil," and that the city would necessarily need to "exercise a wide discretion."[13]

During the court fight over licensing, an incident occurred at

Beauty queen contests were an ongoing part of the resort's activities. This is a 1961 version. *(Las Vegas News Bureau)*

[12] Ibid., July 8, 1931, 1:8.
[13] Ibid., July 9, 1931, 4:4.

Lorenzi's which did not enhance its case. A large brewery was uncovered with 2,500 gallons of beer, located in the building used to house the ice manufacturing plant (the first privately-owned ice plant in Las Vegas). Lorenzi was arrested, but he claimed he had no knowledge of the brewery, having leased the resort some time ago. He remarked, "I've always made a strong effort to keep my place clear of liquor and have been successful up to now."[14] Lorenzi was soon exonerated of the charges, because no evidence could be found to connect him to the alcohol.[15]

Having been granted the right to regulate gaming licenses, the City Commission now decided to grant Lorenzi's resort a permit. Roy Grimes paid $200 in gold to the city, $100 of which was to defray the city's cost in the supreme court suit.[16] The Monte Carlo Casino opened at the resort in the east half of the dome pavilion, advertising dancing, a cabaret, dining, and free bus service to and from town.[17] Legalized gambling at Lorenzi's did not last long; the Monte Carlo Casino failed to renew its license after only a month of operation.[18]

Throughout the thirties, the area continued to be the most popular and successful resort in Las Vegas. Possibly overenthusiastic newspaper articles reported that 2,500 Las Vegans attended the 1931 July 4 celebration.[19] By 1934, the July 4 celebration was reported to have attracted 3,500 residents, and the resort now featured a race track and rodeo area to complement its other attractions.[20]

Lorenzi, possibly tiring after his many years of hard work, moved to California in 1943. This attempt to remove himself from Las Vegas was not too successful, for eight months later he returned, remarking, "I couldn't stand it any longer away from Las Vegas and my friends. I guess I'm just one of those old desert rats that just can't be happy anywhere else."[21]

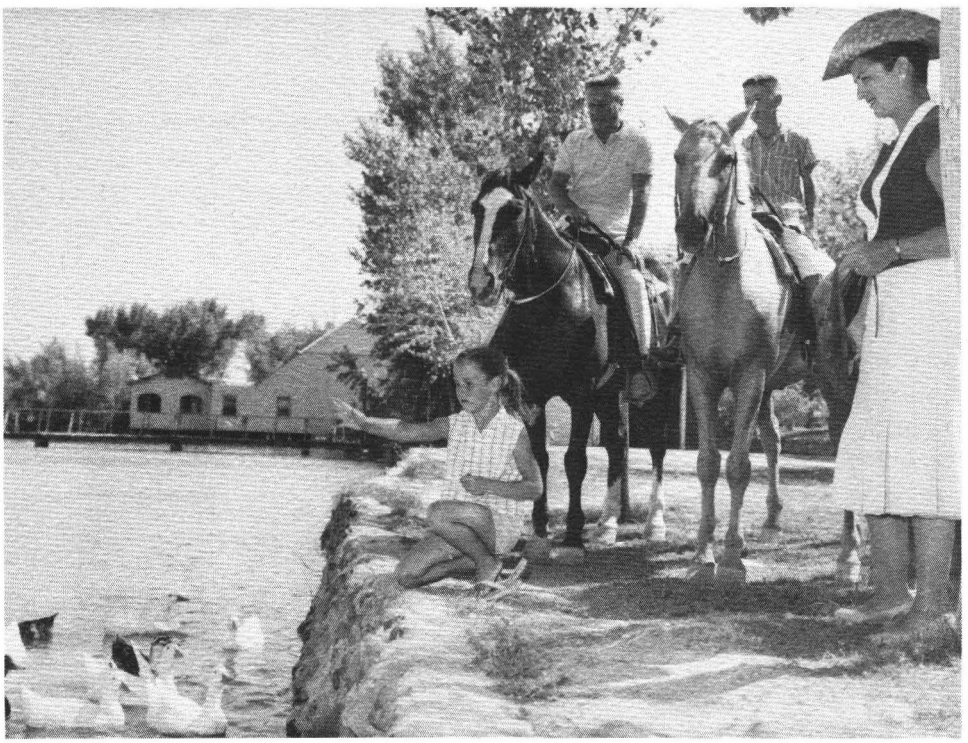
He returned in time to be able to view the next major phase of the resort's history. In 1947, a local realtor, Lloyd St. John, and his son Richard acquired the property. By then known as Twin Lakes Lodge, the site became an immensely popular resort area in the late 1940s and 1950s. The St. Johns dredged the lakes, stocked a trout pond, and in 1949 opened a forty-eight unit motel in the northwest corner of the

[14] Ibid., May 20, 1931, 1:5.
[15] Ibid., July 20, 1931, 3:7.
[16] Ibid., July 16, 1931, 2:1.
[17] Ibid., Sept. 5, 1931, 9:1-8.
[18] Ibid., Oct. 7, 1931, 5:4.
[19] Ibid., July 7, 1931, 6:2.
[20] Ibid., July 5, 1934, 6:6.
[21] Ibid., March 8, 1944, 3:6.

park. Ties from the historic Tonopah and Tidewater Railroad were used in the construction of the motel buildings.[22]

Twin Lakes Lodge was a complete dude ranch, and it capitalized on the thriving marriage and divorce business of Las Vegas. It offered something for nearly everyone; movie stars vacationed there, and Las Vegas children learned to swim in its pool. Corporations booked conventions at the lodge facilities, and there were rodeos, barbeques, and beauty contests. During the building of the Atomic Test Site in the early 1950s, the lodge was home to many scientists and their families.

In 1965, the city of Las Vegas purchased the property for $750,000, and David Lorenzi's farm became a city park. The cottonwoods and willows planted by Lorenzi still decorate the grounds, and some of the motel buildings still exist, and provide housing for service agencies and club activities. To help preserve these buildings and to call attention to



Actor George Gobel and his family at Twin Lakes, late 1950s. *(courtesy of St. John collection)*

[22] Lorenzi had sold the property to Thomas Sharp in 1940; Sharp had controlled it through an option for over two years. See Ibid., June 29, 1940, 1:3.

their importance, the Architects' Wives League of Las Vegas has undertaken a plan to restore the structures, which have been officially designated as historical landmarks by the city. Dedication ceremonies were held on October 21, 1980, and the historical plaque installed by the Architects' Wives League emphasizes that the remaining buildings are "historically significant and emblematic of Old Las Vegas."[23]

Another era in the history of Lorenzi Park opened with the funding of a new Nevada State Museum and Historical Society facility by the 1979 state legislature. This action was reaffirmed during the next legislative session in 1981, and construction commenced in the summer of that year. An agreement was reached with the city of Las Vegas for a ninety-nine year lease of a portion of the southwest corner of the park. The facility opened in late 1982 as a result of this cooperation between the city and the state, and it also serves as the first major cooperative effort between the staffs of the State Museum and the Historical Society.

But the presence of the museum, with its new research facilities and exhibition galleries, constitutes only one aspect of the park itself. After humble beginnings, and then many years as the major recreational center of the Las Vegas Valley, Lorenzi Park has truly emerged as a multi-purpose cultural, artistic, and service center as well.

[23] Ibid., Oct. 22, 1980, 5A.

Nevada Through a German's Eyes in 1876: The Travels of Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg

Edited and translated by
FREDERIC TRAUTMANN

ERNST VON HESSE-WARTEGG (1854–1918) was perhaps the nineteenth-century's foremost traveler and greatest travel writer.[1] At the age of twenty-one he began the trips and the books that led him all over the world, and brought the world to countless readers of several languages. His career as a diplomat (he was a consul in London for years) seems to have been handmaid to his travels, as was his marriage to Minnie Hauck (1852–1912), who performed in opera around the globe and sang the first American *Carmen*.[2] Hesse-Wartegg himself was the first German in Korea. Moreover, his efforts were largely responsible for the maritime practice of signaling positions of icebergs and wrecks, and for universal and standard time zones.

To call him an author is misleading. He was rather a writing machine: forty-odd books, including ones on the Balkans, Canada, China, India, Japan, Korea, Mexico, the Middle East, Samoa, Siam, Tunisia, South America, and the United States. Probably nobody has written more American description and travel than this German. Some of his eight American titles went into later editions, and others were in multiple volumes. His comprehensive study of the United States in four volumes appeared in *Nord-Amerika: Seine Städte und Naturwunder, sein Land und seine Leute* (*North America: Its Cities and Natural Wonders, Its Land and People*) and it contains a chapter on Nevada. He produced this work, like so many others, by traveling in the places discussed, by reading their history and current affairs, and by questioning authorities.

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[1] This sketch is based on s. v. "Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst von," in *Deutsches Biographisches Jahrbuch* (II, 1928), *Wer ist's* (VII, 1914), and *Meyers Lexikon* (V, 1924).

[2] *New York Times*, 19 November 1912, p. 15.

Nevada was on the itinerary of Hesse-Wartegg's journey through the West in 1876; and *Nord-Amerika* benefited from the knowledge and experience of Udo Brachvogel, editor of the New York *Belletristic Journal;* author Brete Harte; Theodor Kirchhoff, San Francisco journalist and author; Henry de Lamothe, editor of the Paris *Temps;* Charles Nordhoff, editor of the *New York Herald* and writer on the West; author Bayard Taylor; and others. Composition of the book was nonetheless, and of necessity, Hesse-Wartegg's alone; he had to transmute sprawling, polyglot sources into a compact text of uniform German. How good was he as a travel writer, how good his method for composing travels? Thomas D. Clark commends "this German observer's writings" and their "many precise and enlightening observations," and notes that in *Life on the Mississippi,* Mark Twain "leaned heavily" on Hesse-Wartegg.[3] Below, in translation, is Hesse-Wartegg's description of Nevada.[4]

From Utah to Nevada

In Ogden, the main junction of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads, our train waited, the one that would take us to the Pacific. We boarded it for the journey through "the Great American Desert" and across the snow-covered Sierra Nevada to California.

Beyond Promontory we entered that desert, which spreads from Utah and Idaho southwest into Nevada. Next morning we woke in expanses even more desolate than we went to sleep in the night before. We were in a valley of sand, rock formations, boulders, and a thinly scattered grey shrub [probably sagebrush]. The bright morning sun drew from the shrub's hoary branches and leaves a penetrating odor of wormwood—finishing touch and stamp of reality on a desert scene of picture-book perfection. As we looked at it, the memory of yesterday's greensward, Great Salt Lake, fluffy clouds, and rain disappeared like a Fata Morgana.

Has the train turned around? Everything that rises to our eyes and whizzes past, near and far, even the grey shrub, we saw last evening. If the scene was a little wilder then, the difference is slight. Again we are on a plateau, edged by low, rocky hills in the foreground and mountain peaks in the background. Mountains dominate the horizon ahead and behind us, receding back of hills when we approach, and blunt crests tower above hills to our left and right. Snow lies farther down the mountains here than in the ranges of the Rockies to the east, a sign perhaps that we are nearing our goal, the Pacific. Now a crag, or a rocky wall, or a jumble of boulders intrudes in the desert. Then a dark juniper asserts short limbs crowded thick on its trunk. Nothing else to be noted—except a white band of salt ringing a dry waterhole. Even the shape of

[3] Thomas D. Clark, "The New South," in Thomas D. Clark, ed. *Travels in the New South: A Bibliography,* 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 1: 190.

[4] *Nord-Amerika,* 4 vols. (Leipszig: Weigel, 1880), 3: 64–82. This book has not been published in English. A few brief passages, unrelated to Nevada, have been deleted. Words in English in the original are italicized their first time in the translation.

the soaring and distant mountains, here part of the Humboldt Range, are little different from what we recall of the Rockies: predominately masses of stone, fortress-like, not notably steep, not preceded by many foothills, but shaped like squat, lazy pyramids. Clearly visible slopes—notched, rugged, and without vegetation—together with a distinctive outline and relief, invest the mountains with their peculiar, rocky character. They always live up to their name, The Rockies. Closer to us, castles, ramparts, columns, and walls of stone spring out of the sand of the foothills. When stone is absent, the hills could be grandiose dunes. Vegetation is so exceptionally sparse that the landscape would not change if the sun and the dryness turned the sand to stone.

In the few places where adequate moisture does not form brackish pools or alkali sinks, oases of green meadows jewel the endless stretches of desert. Here the land proves fertile and produces great quantities of hay; we passed places where thousands of bales were stacked. They are shipped to mining districts near and far, which, in Nevada more than Utah or Colorado, occur in regions unfit for agriculture. Nevada's mining districts would be uninhabitable were food not imported from California and a little produced at Nevada's oases. At Argenta the railroad crosses such an oasis. It looks unexpectedly and mysteriously like a lush and very wet marsh. Most delightful are wide fields of dark-green cattails, brown heads nodding at the same height; and ponds and slow-moving streams, surfaces covered with blooms of water-loving and mud-loving plants; and willows, with sunflowers around them. Hardly time to enjoy this refreshing scene before the ground begins to rise, becomes dry and saline, and again bears artemesia [sagebrush] and another grey, alkaline, woody plant.[5]

Humboldt Station bears the name also given to mountains, an individual peak, a river, a lake, a settlement, and famous springs. At the station, even splendid stands of corn and clover flourish, and a surprising flower garden. The cause of these amazing and rare phenomena? Not far to seek. A big spring in front of the depot has been turned into a fountain that spouts water up and out in a majestic arch. Fruit trees thrive, too, in this irrigation. The spring is the sight most worth seeing between Utah and Summit [California], the notable peak in the Sierra Nevada. Almost as worthwhile a sight, for us newcomers, were the sons of the Celestial Empire: yellow, sedate, grinning faces that served dinner in the depot's dining room.[6]

A majestic sunset brings to a superb end this last day of travel in the desert. Like sunrise and moonrise here where little exists to satisfy an eye accustomed to more elaborate views, sunset means something different from sunset in other parts of the world. This sunset is double—or, rather, this dusk is double—because masses of clouds are bunched far down the horizon, rising to view just as the sun sinks behind them. First dusk nearly gone, the clouds release a second, which sets ships of gold with purple sails afloat in heavens that are themselves turning gold again. The day's journey brought little else of interest: sorry barrens of sagebrush and alkali wastes, through which the

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[5] *Fettsträuches:* probably creosote bush.

[6] The people referred to are Chinese of an imperial China called the Celestial Empire after the words *T'ien Ch'ao* for the heavenly or celestial dynasty that ruled the Chinese kingdom or empire; cf. Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

Humboldt River, 500 miles of scanty water, meanders to its end in a large, marshy flat, the Humboldt Sink.[7]

Little towns called Reno, Winnemucca, Palisades, and Elko—railway stations for the rich silver-mining districts of Washoe, Owyhee, Eureka, and White Pine—are the only spots of importance on this stretch, mostly rows of wooden houses and shacks crowding the rails, nothing short of picturesque. Miners prosper here, and saloonkeepers, merchants, gamblers, and all sorts of badmen who wring a livelihood from business and commerce generated by prosperous mines that spawned these places. Nevada, which we are crossing, is rightly known as the Silver State. To the Central Pacific Railroad, the many silver mines scattered through Nevada's desolate mountains are of overriding importance; most passengers and freight go to and from this El Dorado. Mines of the world-famous Comstock Lode alone have produced $200 million worth of the precious metal since 1861! All machinery, all wood essential to building and in the mines, all needs of the towns, and the silver itself must be transported on the Central Pacific.

Besides the Chinese and their unique pigtails—to be seen everywhere in the renowned Silver State—the foreign traveler finds the Paiute Indians interesting. These redskins resemble gypsies more than they suggest Cooper's heroic characters.[8] Almost without exception they dress in rags but are brightly painted and adorned with colorful feathers. The women carry infants (or *papooses*) strapped to boards like bundles of straw on their backs. Men and women gape at travelers, saying nothing or begging like the most deplorable tramps. Sometimes a group of these children of nature scramble into a railway car—they enjoy free passage on all railroads here—to go from one stop to the next, and then, occasionally, an amusing communication ensues, in droll sign language, barbarous English, and Indian speech that sounds like gargling.

During the night we climb farther out of the Humboldt Valley and in the morning are nearly at the height of the passes across the Sierra Nevada, which at Summit Station [California] reach 7,017 feet. Wild mountain scenes replace desert. Snowfields glisten on nearby peaks, impetuous creeks rush under the tracks, and groves of spruce and fir tower on rocky slopes above and grace craggy canyons on either side. We stare below into valleys, onto dark seas of treetops, blue lakes, and bright-green meadows with herds grazing on their slopes. Soon we shall be in the metropolis of the Pacific, San Francisco. But before we enter beloved California, let us visit Nevada's gold and silver mines.

Virginia City and the Silver-Mining District of Washoe

Reno Station on the Central Pacific, on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada near the California-Nevada border, is the hub of an area that, in every respect, is one of the most interesting in the world. Walk in any direction and everywhere marvel at natural or man-made wonders you never saw before. Pyramid Lake, Mud Lake, the romantic and wondrously delightful Lake Tahoe, and the well-known Truckee River are nearby, short hours away.

[7] Dale Morgan, *The Humboldt, Highroad of the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953); cf., Phillip I. Earl, "The Humboldt: Nevada's Danube," in *Nevada: The Silver State* (Carson City: Western States Historical Publishers Inc., 1969), pp. 174–183.

[8] James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), American novelist, glorified Indians in novels widely read in Europe at this time.

But the most famous spectacle of all, easily reached by branch line, is the Washoe mining district and its capital, Virginia City.

The Virginia & Truckee Railroad traverses thirty-seven miles of the most rugged mining country.[9] Each of the many stops originated and exists only because of mines bored everywhere into mountains and canyons, into gorges and slopes. The magic word, the awesome shibboleth on everyone's lips, is Silver. Carson City, halfway between Reno and Virginia City, with 4,000 people, is the biggest of these stops. From Carson City to Virginia City the railroad is nicknamed The Crooked because of countless and incredible hairpin curves, ascents, tunnels, and other constraints that must constantly be negotiated.[10] The yellowish-grey mountains and their dry, scanty sagebrush and yellowed bunch grass, which surround us on this train, look as if they have been cursed by God. The first life appears only a few miles from Virginia City. In the distance are the houses of Silver City and then Virginia City, and more and more of the light-colored piles of rubble dot the slopes, marking mouths of tunnels and shafts. At last, in a deep canyon with a foaming creek at its bottom, we reach the extensive mining area of Gold Hill, site of the rich silver mines: Belcher and Crown Point.

Mines and mining grow ever more spectacular. Large wooden buildings stand everywhere. Trestles hundreds of feet high span like spiderwebs the twisted and rugged gulches carved naturally by water or hewn artificially by man. Up on the slopes, on tracks running their length, locomotives pull long trains of freight cars loaded with wood needed for mining. Powerful, steam-driven *hoisting works* lift ore from shafts and dump it with a rattle like hail onto black piles. Steam's fierce hiss punctuates the rumble and roar of stamping mills. Huge wagons, heavily loaded with ore and drawn by sixteen to twenty horses or mules, meet our every glance. Miners, smoking and drinking, lounge in open doorways. Other miners meanwhile troop to their shift underground, hurling insults and flinging curses at Chinese who appear here and there.

At last we gain the famous Virginia City. Very close to the left, Mount Davidson raises its grey head, nearly 8,000 feet.[11] A colorful farrago of stores, saloons, restaurants, gambling halls, billiard parlors, and houses of ill fame, American style, with false fronts, crowd the business district along C Street.

Most streets are too narrow for existing commercial traffic. After parts of the city burned repeatedly,[12] buildings were replaced in brick. Their three or four stories could appear substantial but a plethora of advertisements and names of businesses, screaming messages in lurid colors, degrade substantiality

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[9] The Virginia & Truckee Railroad, the standard gauge between Virginia City and Reno on the Truckee River, was fifty-two miles long. Dan DeQuille, *The Big Bonanza: An Authentic Account of the Discovery, History, and Working of the World-Renowned Comstock Lode of Nevada* (1876; reprint ed., New York: Knopf, 1947), p. 165; David Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California,* Vol. I (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1962), pp. 136-62; John Debo Calloway, *Early Engineering Works Contributory to the Comstock,* University of Nevada Bulletin, XLI, No. 5 (June, 1947), pp. 43-56.

[10] "Undoubtedly the crookedest road in the United States—probably the crookedest in the world." DeQuille, *The Big Bonanza,* p. 165.

[11] Above sea level; about 1,500 above Virginia City.

[12] And especially after the Great Fire of October 27, 1875.

to shackiness. Advertisements are characteristic of this seething life. Streets, hillsides, houses, rock piles, wagons: all are plastered full of come-ons for every imaginable pleasure, commodity, and patent medicine.

The heavily loaded coach that brings us from the train to the city deposits us at last in front of the International Hotel.[13] With its iron-barred windows it resembles a jail. Suitcases and other luggage are thrown roughly to the ground. Chinese, miners, women of doubtful virtue, merchants, and people of every other sort mill about as we enter the gloomy hotel and find simple lodging for $4.33 a day in gold.

Virginia City and its sister, Gold Hill, together count 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants.[14] The place is a paradise for the student of manners. Oh, what happens in Virginia City after dark! To the uninitiated, only the 600 members of the demimonde need be mentioned to suggest Silverland's morals. Long past midnight such a press of revelers and loafers surges back and forth that you pass with difficulty and at risk. Patrons of saloons and gambling halls stream in and out in such numbers that the doors, rarely motionless, swing for hours continually back and forth.

Let us look closer at the biggest of these temples of pleasure, the fashionable Magnolia Saloon. Before we can leave its crowded bar we must have several cocktails and glasses of punch. A stranger who doesn't want to drink alone asks us to join him. He buys, we reciprocate, and several dollars quickly change hands. Here, as all over mining country, drinking alone is taboo. No respectable citizen of Virginia City would dream of it. If he cannot spy anyone he knows, he buttonholes the likeliest stranger. If worse comes to worst, every bar features thirsty regulars who habitually get as many drinks as possible gratis.

In the Magnolia's crowded gambling hall nearly everyone smokes an Havana, which costs twenty-five cents, and every twenty minutes refreshes himself at the bar, at twenty-five cents a glass.[15] In general, despite the drinking, the crowd behaves itself. Danger looms only during the occasional fisticuffs or gunfight. No face shows a trace of despair because of losses. Dandies overdressed in ridiculous elegance, and professional gamblers, mingle easily with miners in backcountry garb. At gaming tables ranged along the walls and under dreadful pictures, patrons try their luck at cards and dice, at keno, diana, roulette, cassino, chuck-a-luck, old sledge, poker, and classical faro. Most popular is faro; "guests" flock to it and always crowd around the long table with the sticky, dirty cards. And the croupiers! These pockmarked faces, who "do business" with professional skill, would be prizes for the prince and

[13] Probably Virginia City's only full-fledged hotel, as most boarders stayed in "lodging-houses" and ate in restaurants. DeQuille, *The Big Bonanza*, pp. 268-69; Richard C. Datin, *Elegance on C Street: Virginia City's International Hotel* (Reno: privately published, 1977).

[14] Gold Hill had about 10,000 and Virginia City a little over 20,000 in 1876. DeQuille, p. 155.

[15] The Magnolia was therefore one of Virginia City's "two-bit" houses, where drinks and cigars were twenty-five cents each, as opposed to "bit" houses where the same cost twelve and a half cents, though the buyer paid fifteen because, there being no coins smaller than dimes in circulation, he got a dime change for a quarter when buying a cigar or a drink. Ibid, p. 268; cf. Ronald C. Brown, *Hard-Rock Miners, The Intermountain West, 1860-1920* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1979), Chap. III, and Richard E. Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners, A History of the Mining Labor Movement in the American West, 1863-1893* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 11.

his gambling halls of Monaco! Quid of tobacco in cheek, chewing and spitting, in shirtsleeves, hat on, fingers loaded with rings, giant diamond stickpin asserting itself, half-inch-thick gold chain across torso, half-dollar-sized cuff links in place, one or two foot-long revolvers loaded and on hip—the croupier spouts his jargon in monotone, rattles gold and silver coins incessantly, curses occasionally, and ever urges the game forward. On a platform in one corner a crazed-looking pianist sits at an instrument that resembles a dulcimer and, accompanied by a fiddler, pounds out scandalous tunes. On the piano lies a revolver, loaded and ready for use should need arise. Need often arises. For example, when an honorable miner-patron has drunk too much and gets the idea he would like to make music himself, the pianist and the revolver show him who's who and what's what.

Virginia City boasts more than a dozen of these public casinos; and the dissoluteness rampant in each, every night, is without parallel on earth. The uproar of dissipation is particularly acute at the start of the month, when miners are paid their monthly wages, $120 in gold ($4.00 a day).[16] Among the many Irishmen of the Washoe, it is a point of honor to carouse money away as fast as possible.

Mining fraud flourishes in Virginia City, which is easily explained. At this very spot, here at the mines themselves, strategies are implemented that make the hair of speculators in San Francisco's California Street stand on end. Many an owner of mining stocks, who reads of fortunes extracted daily from the Comstock Lode, cannot understand why his stocks suddenly decline and often at a rate that sours his dreams of millions. Instead of drawing lavish dividends, he perhaps has to pay giant "assessments" (fees to keep the mine in operation) or lose everything he invested. What happens is that stockbrokers sell shares on a margin of five to ten percent. With the shares therefore comes a chance to get rich quick in a boom—a chance few speculators can resist.[17] So the star-crossed speculator, hoping values will soar with the tremendous output of the mines, buys on that margin and commits himself to pay in full by a deadline. Then values plummet and instead of reaping profits in multiples of 10,000, he must either pay more to cover losses or declare bankruptcy. If he sells these shares that he doesn't own, in the expectation that values will continue to sink beyond the deadline, values suddenly skyrocket and he is ruined without knowing the reason.

The rise and fall of mining stock is a mystery the uninitiated fathom too late if they can fathom it at all. *Insiders,* as they are called, have *outsiders* largely in their power. A California public craves bulimically to speculate, and insiders manipulate them like cats playing with mice. Scheming partners of mining engineers and other experts, insiders are almost always in a position to send prices and values up or down. By not declaring dividends, whether or not there is money to declare them; by purchasing worthless but costly machinery and erecting expensive buildings; by applying chemical processes to the refining of ore, with negative results; and by similar strategems the market price of valuable stock can be easily depressed. On the other hand, if the owners of a worthless mine want to sell their stock at a good price, they need

[16] Miners were paid on the first day of the month. DeQuille, p. 268.

[17] Nearly everybody in Virginia City "dabbles more or less in stocks, women as well as men." DeQuille, p. 306; cf. Eliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners,* reprint of 1883 edition, Introduction by David Myrick (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1959), pp. 317–21, 379.

only declare an attractive dividend out of secret capital or publish false certificates of their mine's potential and the results are obvious. When the public wakes up later, these honorable insiders have long since feathered their nests. Wealthy manipulators always look *to get a controlling interest* (i. e., to own more than half of a company's stock) and thus to have the company at their command, because decisions are by ballot and votes apportioned according to shares owned. If these tycoons wish to force smaller shareholders to sell, the usual practice is to shut down the mine, maybe for a year or more, or to levy increasingly high assessments, ostensibly for operating expenses, until the less-affluent class of shareholders is tired of fluctuating values. *To freeze out* is the technical term for these generally successful machinations.

A popular strategem, to depress stocks quickly so they can be bought cheaply, is to levy a stiff assessment without explaining the need for money, jokingly referred to as an "Irish dividend." For example, stockholders of the Savage mine had to pay $160,000 for "improvements"; stockholders of the Imperial, all of $100,000, though Imperial is one-fourth the size of Savage. Shares of Savage, which, days before the assessment, rose from $40 to $60, abruptly fell after the assessment, to $36. By the end of the month they were back at $98; at the beginning of next month down to $69. Various tactics are used to inflate values so stock can be sold at profit. It may be reported, for instance, that a new and rich vein of ore has been struck, lying at a depth yet to be explored. Visitors, brought to the mine intentionally, are shown evidence. Rumors fly from mouth to mouth and expand geometrically. Since shares in such a mine can rise $50 in one day, public excitement soon grows feverish. Everyone wants to buy, to become instant millionaires—until the house of cards collapses. Suddenly the strike, all that rich vein, is but a pocket! Meanwhile, deliberately, a tunnel is dug into worthless rock, and word goes forth that the mine is doing worse than it ever did; to hit profitable ore again, a 100-foot shaft must be sunk to the right or left, through solid rock, at great cost. Stockholders, terrified, want to unload at any price. Values plummet. The insider's hour has come, to buy his stock back for a song. Insiders have thus profited three times: they bought when values were low, sold when they were high, and bought again when they were low—the same stock every time. Occasionally, should an opulent vein be struck and its existence be profitably kept secret, owners have been known to detain miners underground for weeks. The mine is closed to the world; beds provided 1,000 feet and more underground; and the miners regaled with champagne and fine food, and encouraged to an extended orgy—until the secret can be kept no longer. By now the reader should understand that stockholders who are not part of the inside clique are at the mercy of wealthy speculators, and that the true worth of a silver mine in no way determines the price of its stock.

Speculation in recent years has nonetheless been mostly in the admittedly wealthiest mines of the Comstock Lode. Fluctuation in values has been incredible, often ten million dollars a month. Stocks in the so-called "wildcat" mines, which existed only on paper, have disappeared after flooding the California market ten years ago. The old "feet," i. e., stock issued for a mine according to how many feet of ore it contained, have long since been divided into "shares." For bigger mines there have been several such divisions, so the stock could be more easily manipulated. In other words, to buy a share of Crown Point at $80 to $120 is easier than buying a foot for $15,000 to

$20,000. A foot in Crown Point equals 166⅔ shares; in Belcher, 104; Empire, all of 666⅔; etc. To appreciate how values on the Lode fluctuate, look at these figures, stated in feet for simplicity:

- Crown Point: November 1, 1871—$55; May 1872—$39,000; May 1, 1873—$20,000.
- Belcher: October 1870—$10; May 1872—$15,250; May 1, 1873—$8,800.
- Savage: November 1870—$500; April 1872—$15,000; later—$1,400.
- Gould and Curry: 1862—$5,000 to $6,000; today—$40.

All shares in Comstock mines are more or less subject to such fluctuations.

The Comstock Lode, the foundation of the Washoe's vast wealth, was discovered [about] twenty years ago and named for the man who discovered it.[18] The Lode occurs on the Washoe's eastern slope, at the foot of Mount Davidson, and runs five miles at a width of 300 to 400 feet. Virginia City and Gold Hill lie directly above mines; shaft entrances open between houses. Ore rises and falls in waves through the Lode, now rising to ground level, now falling 400 to 1,000 feet, to the greatest depths yet explored, and varying in width from a few to a few hundred feet. Interspersed are extensive amounts of quartz, and among them porphyry, which contain little if any metal.

The big mines of the Lode produce very different quantities of ore, because ore ignores rules of uniformity of deposit. Miners strive constantly to find rich veins. Often incredible sums are squandered in fruitless searches. The greatest bonanza, struck at 1,100 feet, ran the width of the Lode, descended to 1,400 feet and beyond, and led to adjoining mines. These bonanzas, with their firable ore, are always surrounded by limestone saturated with water. As experienced miners know, hit limestone and valuable ore cannot be far beyond. Mining companies, originally some forty in all, claimed every part of the Lode that was explored, though only fifteen large mines are in operation on the Lode now. Each company assumes as its property a number of feet of ore. At present the most productive mine is near Gold Hill, on the south end of the Lode. Consolidated Virginia (1,160 feet), the main mine in Virginia City, is the richest silver mine ever in the world. A few years ago it paid a monthly dividend of over a million dollars and shows no sign of depletion.

Dividends, the distribution of [sometimes] colossal sums to stockholders of various mining companies, have always fluctuated widely. Some mines have earned huge profits; others, nothing. Essential and costly equipment, high-priced fuel and building material, transportation, wages and, above all, machinations of speculators, swindlers, and insiders have cut deeply into profits. Assessments, levied even by mines recognized as the wealthiest, are often enormous. Those of the Bullion mine were $1,144,500 for ten years in which not a cent was paid in dividends. On the other hand (besides Consolidated Virginia) Belcher and Crown Point have declared immense dividends.

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[18] Henry Comstock, who probably took too much credit for the discovery. DeQuille, pp. 24-29; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography,* IV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), pp. 333-34.

Consider some costly obstacles to mining the Lode. Mines crave timber for beams, braces, shores, etc. The Virginia City area being treeless, timber must be hauled twenty-five to thirty miles from stands of fir on the Sierra Nevada, at great expense. Mines pay $22 a thousand feet and buy sixteen million feet a year—an expense of some $350,000. Where tunnels and shafts pierce solid rock, little timber is required. Where masses of ore are to be removed, need is huge and forests must be transplanted underground. In limestone, timber quickly rots and has to be strengthened or replaced two or three times a year. As to flooding, water from above is more serious than that from below: not underground water so much as surface water seeping down. The price of keeping the mines free of water is estimated at $150,000 a year. Temperatures in the deepest parts vary from 20° to 30° Reaumur [about 75° to 100° Fahrenheit] and in places rises to 110° [Fahrenheit]. Temperature rises a degree for every fifty-three feet of descent. Therefore 3,000 to 4,000 feet are probably the limit at which miners can bear the heat.[19] Virginia City mines are the deepest on the Lode: 1,700 feet. Ventilation underground is steam-powered, air being forced below through wooden ducts,[20] distributed in metal pipes, and returned to the surface in other ducts. A dark cloud over the future is the wasteful practice that takes only high-grade ore and ignores the rest. The sole excuse for this plunder is the steep cost of mining here. Ore that brings less than $20 a ton is unprofitable: stamping and other processing total $12 alone, over and above the outlay for extraction. Masses of low-grade ore lie untouched in all mines, if not used to refill exhausted bonanzas.

Most ore is processed at giant stamping mills [also called reduction works and quartz mills] on the Carson River, about fifteen miles from Virginia City, transported by the Virginia & Truckee Railroad. The mills are there because the essential water is at superabundance there and scarce in Virginia City's arid environs. And firewood on the Carson, from the heavily forested Sierra Nevada nearby, is far cheaper than the Virginia City price of $13.50 a cord by contract. True, most companies now have stamping mills near their mines; but they are little used. One of the more important is the Rhode Island mill with its twenty-five hammers. Daily it processes about fifty tons from Crown Point.

Ore pulverized by powerful iron hammers passes to a large, smooth, iron drum [also called an amalgamating pan] that weighs a ton. In it, 3,000 pounds of ore, plus 250 of quicksilver and other soluble minerals, are washed a few hours at ninety turns a minute, producing an amalgam of silver and gold, which is passed through alembics [also called settling tanks] to eliminate the quicksilver. Over half the precious metal extracted from Comstock mines is gold, about sixty percent. It and the silver are separated in the mint at Carson City and in the refineries of San Francisco. Refining is much more precise now than in earlier years. *Tailings* from old mills are reprocessed and ore worth large sums is recovered. Great quantities of quartz, once discarded as

[19] "At the depth of from 1,500 to 2,000 feet the rock is so hot that it is painful to the naked hand. In many places, from crevices in the rock or from holes drilled into it, streams of boiling water gush out. In these places the thermometer often shows a temperature of from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty degrees. It is as hot as in the hottest Turkish bath." DeQuille, p. 386; Lord, pp. 391–99.

[20] "Air is carried down the main shaft in a large iron pipe. . . ." DeQuille, pp. 241–42; cf. Lord, pp. 392–93.

worthless and piled in huge dumps, in addition to powdered quartz deposited as sandbanks in the Carson River, contain gold and silver worth millions, to be recovered sometime. But today's refining still involves great losses that as yet nobody knows how to stop: gold at a rate of 23.1 percent and silver at 44. Lost gold is mostly in *float gold,* or gold borne away by water; lost silver in sulphurets, compounds of sulphur and arsenic, which have not yielded much to any chemical process.

To lighten miners' labor at great depths in the Lode, and to simplify bringing out the ore and the overall operation of mines, the two-and-a-half-mile Sutro Tunnel is being dug horizontally from the Carson Valley, to connect with mines at a depth of 2,000 feet. Despite difficulties and intrigues, this giant excavation advances at ninety feet a day. When it is done, production by Comstock mines will significantly increase.

But we want to say good-by to the dissolute twins, Virginia City and Gold Hill. Many of you who have accompanied us in spirit on our excursions, above and below ground in these wild regions, have probably concluded that all that glitters is not gold. Reading about fortunes produced here is all very nice, but only an increasingly few of the residents have any respectable fraction of them. The vast majority, who walk streets literally paved with silver if not gold, must lead a hard existence for the benefit of a select few. Still the traveler will discover few places on Earth to equal the Washoe for unusual and amazing scenes of life—scenes that will glow vividly in the traveler's memory forever.

A Glimpse of Goldfield Social Life in 1906

THE POPULAR IMAGE of early Goldfield is that of a lawless mining camp, flush with its own success and inhabited primarily by gamblers, prostitutes, and roughnecks. While the social life of the saloon was certainly part of the town's charm, it also boasted of more genteel pursuits, in the form of afternoon literary teas, concert recitals, and elaborate, thematic dinner parties. A large number of these very sedate functions are chronicled in clippings and programs preserved in the Edward T. Patrick manuscript collection at the Nevada Historical Society.

One intriguing social event is less fully explained, however. Among the E. T. Patrick Papers is the following letter, from Goldfield mining engineer Frederick E. Browne, roguishly declining an invitation to join a dancing club.

Although the dancing club referred to is not documented elsewhere in the Patrick collection, Browne's letter was preserved among the donated papers. While Gertrude Frederica's age in 1906 cannot be ascertained, it is assumed that she was quite young at the time Browne wrote the letter.

The document is reproduced in its entirety on the following page.

W. U. CODE. P. O. BOX 340

Frederick E. Browne
MINING.

MANAGER:
GOLDFIELD C O D MINING CO.
THE GOOD BAR MINING CO.

SUPERINTENDENT.
THE GOLDBUTTON MINING CO.
THE JOSHUA MAN GOLD MINING CO.
THE MAYFLOWER GOLD MINING CO.

Goldfield, Nev. October 5th., 1906.

E. T. Patrick, Esq.,

Goldfield, Nev.

Dear Mr. Patrick:-

Your notice of the 2nd. inst. announcing the formation of a dancing club for " married people only" has just come to hand. I have consulted with the different members of my family and find my daughter Miss Gertrude Frederica strongly resents what she considers a slight, she says she realizes the fact that she is unmarried but cannot understand why that should interfere with her becoming a member, as it is not her fault that she should still be leading the life of celibacy. Upon several occasions she has made her objections so strong to our joining that she has lost complete control of herself and has ~~almost~~ cried until she could be heard for a block or more, upon several other occasions, when thinking of the slight, she has puked all over her best Sunday clothes, and two or three times, at least, she has wet the bed. Mrs. Browne and myself seem to have lost complete control over her and she has shown numerous times that our dances, this Winter, must be held at home in garbs of long flowing white and a pair of slippers together with a look of determination.

Sincerely regretting we will be unable to join this year and hoping by next our daughter may have grown more reasonable I remain with best wishes to the new club,

Very sincerely yours,

F. E. Browne

Book Reviews

Nevada Printing History: A Bibliography of Imprints & Publications. By Robert D. Armstrong. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1981. 421 pp., indexes, illustrations, notes. $35)

IN THE EARLY 1850s, the first permanent settlement was established in Nevada in the area now known as Genoa. The residents of this settlement, then called Mormon Station, were primarily traders who for many years relied on receiving national and regional news from travelers passing through the area, and from occasional California or Salt Lake City newspapers. Finally, in December of 1858, the area received its own news source when the first number of the *Territorial Enterprise* was issued in Genoa from the Nevada Hotel on Main Street.

Much of the printing from Nevada's territorial and early statehood period has been soundly documented in a handsome and important new scholarly work from the University of Nevada Press. Robert D. Armstrong's carefully compiled work, *Nevada Printing History: A Bibliography of Imprints & Publications, 1858–1880,* is certainly one of the most important works of its kind to be published in many years.

Until the appearance of Armstrong's book, people interested in material printed in nineteenth-century Nevada had to rely on a *Checklist of Nevada Imprints 1859–1890.* This publication was issued in 1939 as part of the American Imprints Inventory, a project of the Historical Records Survey of the WPA. A number of state checklists were produced for the American Imprints Inventory, which was under the general editorship of Douglas McMurtrie, a noted writer on the history of American printing. Though not claiming completeness, the compilers of this checklist were able to locate, in various libraries throughout the country, a total of 246 items bearing Nevada imprints for the years 1850–1880. Also included in an appendix were 76 Nevada items printed in California or elsewhere, bringing the total to 322.

Armstrong, after many years of research in a number of American libraries, has been able to substantially increase the number of entries for the 1858–80 period to 1,254. It should be noted that one quarter of

the entries in the book are for items that Armstrong was not able physically to locate and examine. He has been able to determine beyond reasonable doubt, however, the existence of these items through mention of them in newspapers, printer's records, or National Archives vouchers.

Importantly, Armstrong has included many Nevada items which were printed outside the state. These include items bearing out-of-state imprints; e.g., A.L. Bancroft & Company, San Francisco, or having a Nevada imprint with evidence clearly showing printing outside the state. The author's explanation for including these "foreign" items is a good one; most were written in the state for a Nevada readership, and under more ideal conditions would probably have been printed in Nevada. A number of reasons are cited for the fact that so much printing was done outside Nevada, particularly in California. Inadequate printing facilities within the state, extremely high printing costs, and great distances between population centers all contributed to most printing being sent over the Sierra Nevada. There were also political factors involved, and the author candidly explains how early state printers took advantage of the Nevada laws by having printing done in California and paying themselves the huge difference between that state's lower printing costs and what the price would have been in Nevada.

Nevada Printing History begins with Armstrong's introduction, in which he explains the beginnings of Nevada printing, particularly in the early period of territorial and state government. He then gives his criteria for including or excluding certain groups of materials such as newspapers and maps, and indicates why he has included some non-Nevada imprints. The main portion of the book is divided into chronological sections for each year from 1858 through 1880 with bibliographic entries arranged alphabetically within the year by Library of Congress or similar type of main entry. The section for each year begins with a brief summary of laws and events affecting Nevada printing during that year. Each entry provides a transcription of the title page along with a brief physical description of the item. The majority of the entries are annotated, often in great detail, giving information on the origin and historical context of that printed piece. For each item that the compiler was able physically to find, a location symbol is provided to indicate which repository holds it. This can be very important to researchers wishing to examine items listed in the book. A detailed index of printers and publishers and a subject index give broad access to all the items in the book; they are of great value.

Many important bibliographies of state imprints have been published in the past fifty years, but few are better designed or easier to use than

Nevada Printing History. In his introduction, Armstrong acknowledges his debt to George N. Belknap, and upon comparison it is obvious that he has modeled much of the design and content of his book after Belknap's *Oregon Imprints, 1845-1870* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1968). In the area of "lost" items, those not physically located, Armstrong has improved upon Belknap's arrangement by including these items within the main body of the book rather than placing them at the end in a separate listing. They are indicated with a capital L preceding the item number.

At first glance the main title of the book, *Nevada Printing History,* is misleading. This is because the book is not a history of printing in the traditional sense, but is instead a compilation as described in the subtitle, *A Bibliography of Imprints & Publications, 1858-1880.* It is important to understand, however, that Armstrong's introduction, the annual summaries, and the detailed annotations together form a record of historical information which is much more valuable than just a listing of materials printed in Nevada during a certain period. Indeed, the resources in this work will be of great value not only to those interested in the history of printing in Nevada, but also to people studying other aspects of the state's history. The book is highly recommended and should become a part of the reference library of every serious Nevada historian.

Robert E. Blesse
University of Nevada, Reno

Under the Mountain. By Molly Flagg Knudtsen. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982. xii + 130 pp., illustrations. $10.50)

ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE MILES NORTHEAST of Austin—in the middle of Nevada—is Grass Valley, an isolated, sparsely-settled spot in cattle and sheep country which has been home to Molly Flagg Knudtsen for more than forty years. Nearly ten years ago she shared some of her experiences and what she had learned about the place, its history and its people, in a delightful little book entitled *Here is Our Valley.* And now, Mrs. Knudtsen, a rancher, former University of Nevada regent, and one of the state's outstanding women, has written a sequel. Her second book, *Under the Mountain,* is a collection of vignettes about life in central Nevada. Most are articles previously published in *Family Circle, Vogue,* and *Nevada* magazines, and in Austin's historic newspaper, the *Reese River Reveille.*

Under the Mountain, which refers to Mt. Callaghan, in whose

shadow the valley lies, is a potpourri, including tales, which, as the author explains, are "stories that neighbors and family tell, where fact grows just a little larger than life. This is the stuff of legend." Her motive in writing is to preserve something of the spirit and life of the sturdy pioneers of central Nevada, who have gone "like the snows of yesteryear."

The thirty articles are uneven in their quality, and there is no central theme to the book, but Mrs. Knudtsen accomplishes her purpose with wit and perception, providing insight into rural Nevada life. She writes of old country houses, Basque buckaroos, turquoise, and of her passion for archeology, sparked by Indian relics she found while herding cattle. She takes you into her ranch house kitchen for a memorable lesson in bread making, and she tells how a lovable mustang convinced her to stop riding sidesaddle.

There are tales from Austin's nineteenth-century mining rush, including nine stories about the town's colorful founder, Col. Dave Buel, whom she portrays as a larger-than-life, stereotypic frontier hero. Also, she explains that Austin's most famous landmark, the Stokes Castle, whose purpose mystified Nevadans for years, was a reproduction of a Roman tower in a painting in the Stokes family home, and was built on a whim, with no other significance. It did not hide a fabulously rich mine or a beautiful maiden, as some believed.

Her anecdotes include humorous stories of how the "locals" got the best of deceiving gypsies, and how a beloved character named Old Sledge rid the valley of a cheeky California tourist with some tall tales. She fled when he told her that the Knudtsens' pet bull snake, which appeared opportunely, was actually a rattler. To Old Sledge such deception was merely "a'preservin' the range!"

Molly Knudtsen makes an interesting world emerge from an isolated pocket of Nevada. After reading *Under the Mountain* this reviewer felt that he had had, above all else, a rewarding visit with the fascinating woman who wrote it, a woman who has the background and training to interpret her experiences in the context of the larger world. However, those who find *Under the Mountain* interesting fare will want to read *Here is Our Valley*. It is a more solid, more revealing and informative study of central Nevada and its people.

Robert W. Davenport
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Las Vegas

Twilight of Progressivism: The Western Republican Senators and the New Deal. By Ronald L. Feinman. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981. xiv + 262 pp. Notes, bibliography, and index).

FROM THE PROGRESSIVE ERA into the 1930s the western wing of the Republican party included some of the most celebrated reformers in the history of the United States Senate—among them Nebraska's George Norris, Idaho's William Borah, the La Follettes of Wisconsin, and California's Hiram Johnson. Their political heirs—Joseph McCarthy, Kenneth Wherry, William Knowland, and others—were clearly a different breed. One of the notable developments in twentieth century politics is unquestionably this shift within western Republicanism from "the sons of the wild jackass" as one conservative scathingly labeled Norris, Borah, and company in 1929, to the world of Arizona's Barry Goldwater and, in recent years, Idaho's Steve Symms. Ronald Feinman's informative study helps to account for how and when that transition took place.

On another level, Feinman's book is useful in providing answers to the question of how much continuity existed between the progressive reform era and the New Deal. Otis Graham, Jr.'s imaginative and important analysis, *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (1967), is still much more suggestive regarding the nature of progressivism and discusses a considerably larger group of surviving progressive reformers in the 1930s. But Feinman's careful examination of the relatively small but influential bloc of progressive Republican Senators during the Great Depression provides detailed insights into how a remarkable group of politicians, already well known for their reform sentiments and activities, responded to the New Deal.

Twilight of Progressivism rests on impressive primary research, is well organized, clearly written, balanced, and even-handed. Although Feinman is ultimately critical of most of the progressive Senators, he treats them with understanding and sympathy. His opening chapter contains excellent vignettes of the members of the western reform bloc: Norris, Borah, Johnson, Robert La Follette, Jr., New Mexico's Bronson Cutting, South Dakota's Peter Norbec, North Dakota's Lynn Frazier and Gerald Nye, Minnesota's Henrik Shipstead, Michigan's James Couzens, Oregon's Charles McNary, and Arthur Capper of Kansas.

These Senators were already familiar Republican insurgents when Herbert Hoover took office. Feinman shows how they quickly became Hoover's critics as the Depression worsened; in 1932 only two stuck with the incumbent, four refused to support him, and six openly

endorsed Franklin Roosevelt. While some of the Senators worried that Roosevelt's National Recovery Administration was too favorable to big business, they and the President initially got along well. In 1935 the progressives enjoyed their finest hour. According to Feinman, "the most outstanding advances of any congressional session in American history up to that time had been due partially to the progressive Republicans, who had pushed a wavering Roosevelt to the left." (p. 96) After that, however, members of the progressive bloc for the most part joined Roosevelt's opponents. Except for Norris, who usually defended Roosevelt, and La Follette, who stood somewhat to FDR's left, the other progressives—during and after the Supreme Court "packing" controversy—collaborated with the emerging conservative coalition in Congress.

Although journalist William Allen White lamented that FDR had broken the hearts of the Senate progressives and "drive[n] them away," Feinman suggests that personality traits and events would have separated them from Roosevelt anyhow. The strong-willed, individualistic tendencies of the Senators made it difficult for them to work with anyone else, even each other, let alone the President. But principle also was at stake, especially on the issue of neutrality legislation, over which the Senators disagreed sharply with FDR. Moreover, the Westerners reflected the biases of their agrarian, village backgrounds. Predisposed to dislike cities, economic and bureaucratic centralization, "new" immigrants, and the Democratic party, they were hardly inclined to travel very far with the New Deal coalition, which included southern conservatives, corrupt city machines, blacks, and ethnic groups. In an important sense, the progressive Republicans thus set the stage for the Knowlands and Goldwaters who came to dominate the western wing of the GOP.

As Feinman is aware, however, there was not much more continuity between the progressives and postwar conservatism than between them and the New Deal. True, by the late 1930s the western bloc had overwhelmingly allied with Roosevelt's critics. Substantial differences nevertheless set the bloc's members apart from most of their Republican successors—people who worried far less about American interventionism abroad, political corruption, the concentration of corporate wealth, and threats to civil liberties. Western Republicanism had clearly changed by the 1940s, but the progressives' responsibility for that change was surely ambiguous. Feinman, alert to such ambiguity, has written a commendable book.

LeRoy Ashby
Washington State University

Women of the West. By Cathy Luchetti in collaboration with Carol Olwell. (St. George, Utah: Antelope Island Press, 1982. 240 pp., photographs, preface, notes, introduction, appendix. $25.00)

DURING THE PAST DECADE an explosion of books about women settlers in the American West has confounded the reading public. Popularizations, academic tomes, collections, informed analyses—all these and more have vied for our attention and competed for our book dollars. Some, of course, were better than others; none, however, promises more pleasure than *Women of the West,* a volume just released by tiny Antelope Island Press of St. George, Utah.

Designed to be displayed on our coffeetables, *Women of the West* gives us a unique perspective on pioneer aspirations. One of its collaborators, Carol Olwell, spent months traveling to western historical societies and archives, searching for old photographs. Meanwhile, Cathy Luchetti sought letters, diaries, and narratives that related women's frontier experiences first-hand. From the resources they found, Luchetti and Olwell together selected eleven accounts and hundreds of photographs, arranging them all in a powerful display of pioneer success and failure.

They also added introductory notes to explain both their methods and their findings. Some of the texts were difficult to edit, Luchetti recalls, because they never were intended for publication in the first place. Others, like Helen Stewart's letters and daybook, were more accessible because scholars like Nevada's Carrie Townley already had worked through the material. But Cathy Luchetti's contribution goes beyond editorial arrangement. She wrote two additional essays, one a general overview and the other an intensive look at minority women in the West, to elucidate the first-hand accounts that follow. Meant for a general audience, Luchetti's brief pieces are informative, insightful, and very readable, for she displays a fresh grasp of relevant details along with an ability to make succinct and intelligent conclusions.

Perhaps of more interest to all of us, though, are the accompanying photographs. Carol Olwell explains that few impromptu snapshots of pioneer life exist—most are stiff and posed—but she has done her best to find as many action pictures as possible. Consequently, she shows us a broad sweep of everyday life—women washing clothes, women cleaning, women hoeing gardens, women canning, women trudging up mountainsides, women sluicing for gold, women laughing, women weeping, and always, women surrounded by countless children. The photographs are intriguing, a black-and-white treasure that stores a priceless part of our own American heritage. (The Nevada Historical Society, I might add, was one of the prime sources for these pictures.)

Just as interesting, but not as unique, are the eleven narratives themselves. I was a little disappointed in the choices, because several already were familiar to me and I was eager to learn about some different first-hand experiences. But for many readers, the selections will be fresh and revealing. They range from such stand-bys as Elinore Pruitt Stewart and Sarah Winnemucca to new faces like Sister Mary Catherine Cabareaux, a Catholic nun who sailed to Oregon in 1839, Pauline Lyons Williamson, a Negro widow who struggled alone to support her family, and Bethenia Angelina Owens, a resourceful westerner who, between marriages, put herself through medical school in the East. Each of these women speaks in her own voice, with the helpful addition of Luchetti's transitions and editorial comments.

Paging through such wide-ranging words, and scanning the multitude of pictures in *Women of the West* is, in effect, to step back into history. From the opening photograph, with its family of—count them—nineteen, to the final text, where Mrs. Stewart summarizes her manifesto—"any woman who can stand her own company, can see the beauty of the sunset, loves growing things, and is willing to put in as much time at careful labor as she does over the washtub, will certainly succeed; will have independence, plenty to eat all the time, and a home of her own in the end"—this volume lovingly combines harsh reality with pioneer dreams. Its pages remind us again and again of the courage, the heartbreak, the know-how, and the fortitude so necessary to every woman of the West. In honor of them, then, let me whole-heartedly recommend *Women of the West.* While its title may not distinguish it from countless other recent publications, its contents set it apart—a coffeetable embellishment that is pictorial, informative, and well worth the price.

Ann Ronald
University of Nevada, Reno

Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961. By Larry W. Burt. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. x + 180 pp. $17.50)

IN THE WAKE of recent statements by the present Secretary of the Interior about the failure of "socialism" at Indian reservations, Larry W. Burt's analysis of federal Indian policy during the Eisenhower presidency is opportune. It is the first extensive treatment of "termination"—a return during the 1950s to a policy of assimilation and

withdrawal of federal supervision and services to American Indians—yet produced by a historian. This brief history (only 131 pages of text) deserves a larger audience than students of federal Indian policy, if only to remind people that problems which exist today at reservations defy facile solutions.

Termination had its origin during the 1940s in a strong conservative reaction against the rapid changes wrought in government during the New Deal. Many persons in congress resolved, in the full flush of victory over totalitarianism at the end of World War II, to reverse that trend. One of the more vulnerable agencies in the federal government was the top-heavy Bureau of Indian Affairs, which represented (perhaps from a cynical point of view) the interests of a scattered and politically ineffective population. In the overcharged atmosphere of Cold War red-baiting, it was easy for conservatives in congress to criticize the intellectuals, social scientists, and social "misfits" who, for a few seasons, had dominated Indian affairs during the depression decade and who had reversed the course of Indian assimilation. The great American consensus of the postwar years could not tolerate cultural relativism in Indian affairs, whose only practical demonstrations were Indians unfit for anything but study by "eggheads."

Tragically, under the guise of "liberation" from federal meddling, tribe after tribe went on the block through the efforts of western congressmen and their allies from the boardrooms of corporate America. Unlike their predecessors during the New Deal, these terminationists possessed the solution to the "Indian problem." They would end the existence of a separate and unequal minority, which at times had called to account the conscience of a larger America. Indians would vanish into that larger America.

Burt, assistant professor of history at Northern Montana College, describes in summary fashion the attempts of the terminationists to schedule for federal withdrawal Paiutes and Shoshones in Utah, Seminoles in Florida, Klamaths in Oregon, and Menominees in Wisconsin. Led by Arthur Watkins of Utah, chairman of the powerful Senate Indian Affairs Subcommittee, terminationists looked to further legislative triumphs on behalf of tribes that they rarely consulted. But after the first few termination bills, opposition grew among state and local governments (which would have to assume increased responsibilities for education and law enforcement), and from conservationists who feared removal of the last federal restraints to rapid and unregulated exploitation of Native American natural resources. But most important was the opposition of Native Americans themselves; they recognized, as no one else could, the consequences of termination for tribal identity. Burt

suggests that the increased Indian nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s got its start in the opposition to termination.

Using a variety of sources including correspondence and interviews with some of the principal leaders of termination, Burt has written a cogent and objective account of one of the more dangerous periods faced by Native Americans in their long and often troubled relations with the federal government. If the work is to be faulted in any way, however, it may be in its economy of purpose. Except for a few suggestive references to the social climate of the 1940s and 1950s, there is little attempt to place federal Indian policy within the broader context of social history. Such an effort would have made the narrative, indeed the analysis, that much richer. This is especially true when Burt writes about Arthur Watkins, the solon of termination. "The deeply religious and nationalistic Mormon senator," Burt writes, "held a singular view of progress." (p. 29) We are told about Watkin's idea of progress, but the contributions of his religion and nationalism to his ideas are never adequately explained.

Nevertheless, readers familiar with the history of federal Indian policy will find in this book a highly readable summary of complicated issues. The book also deserves an extensive general readership, because the author describes conservative efforts that began in earnest thirty years ago to deal with problems whose origins stretch back for centuries. Withdrawal of federal services as a solution to complex economic and social problems should strike a familiar if dissonant note.

L. G. Moses
Northern Arizona University

Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians. By Peter Iverson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. 222 pp. $17.50)

CARLOS MONTEZUMA (Wassaja) is a name that should be as familiar to educated Americans as Sitting Bull or Geronimo. But few Americans, save for those specialists in Indian history, will have ever heard of this important Indian leader. Why has there been this oversight? The answer is easy and perhaps depressing. The public (and indeed many scholars) still tend to romanticize the Indian, particularly the dramatic days of violent Indian resistance to western expansion. This romantic attachment to the Indian "Lost Cause" overlooks those Indian leaders who urged accommodation with mainstream culture. Moreover, the emphasis on the Hollywood West glosses over the futility of resistance. Invariably the warpath meant a significant loss of Indian life and land.

But there is some hope for historical truth. In the last decade scholars have begun to turn their attention to the non-warrior leaders, those individuals who urged adaptation to the dominant culture as the only means of preserving the Indian. One of the most important of these men was Carlos Montezuma (1866 ?–1923). This book by Peter Iverson, professor of history at the University of Wyoming, now takes its place as one of the most significant biographies yet written of an Indian leader.

Who then was this Carlos Montezuma, the famous Indian leader? He was born in southern Arizona into the Yavapai tribe living near Fort McDowell, northeast of present-day Phoenix. In 1871, the young boy named Wassaja was captured by Pimas and sold to Carlos Gentile, an Italian immigrant, for the sum of thirty dollars. He was baptized and given the new name of Carlos Montezuma. His step-father, a bachelor, soon moved east and took young Carlos with him. Gentile seems to have been sincerely interested in the Indian youth's welfare and saw that Montezuma received a basic education. When a fire destroyed Gentile's photography business, the Italian was forced to give up his Indian charge. After a time, Montezuma was taken up by Baptist missionaries. The young Indian labored hard at education, perhaps to overcome the Baptist conception that Indians disliked work. He obtained a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Illinois in 1883, and then proceeded to earn a Doctor of Medicine in 1889 from Chicago Medical College. He was one of the first Native American physicians in the United States.

After a brief private practice, Montezuma became an employee of the Indian Service and returned to the West for the first time in two decades. While employed as a physician at several reservations, including the Western Shoshone Reservation in Nevada, Montezuma began to lose respect for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the general thrust of federal Indian policy. In the actual performance of his duties as a physician he found that the BIA had failed to provide adequate medical supplies and facilities. White employees also frequently resented a "smart" Indian. Then there was the basic nature of a vast bureaucracy. The BIA stressed uniformity, while Indians were culturally diverse. Montezuma's displeasure grew.

In time he sensed that federal policy was mistaken. Indian policy, he believed, was not designed to make the Indian a productive member of society. Instead it was aimed at keeping the Native American in a perpetual juvenile status, and the policy was destructive of Indian life and culture. Federal policy seemed built on the old stereotypes that argued that the Indian was childlike and incapable of learning or performing

difficult work. This attitude fostered non-productive lives that frequently became self-destructive. It was not surprising that Montezuma's path would cross that of Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian School, and other key individuals in the formulation of Indian policy. Through Pratt and the Carlisle school, Montezuma found himself on the center stage of Indian policy reform.

Between 1905 and 1911, Montezuma became an Indian leader of national stature. He worked diligently on behalf of a national Indian organization and also for his people, the Yavapai Indians of the Fort McDowell Reservation. Montezuma also broke his last links with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and campaigned on behalf of Indian control over Indian matters. Then in April of 1916, he started up the newsletter *Wassaja,* in which he presented his personal views on a variety of subjects of interest to Indians. His purpose was spelled out in the first issue: "This monthly signal ray is to be published only so long as the Indian Bureau exists. Its sole purpose is Freedom for the Indians through the abolishment of the Indian Bureau." (p. 106) The monthly publication continued through late 1922, by which time Montezuma was seriously ill with tuberculosis.

Indicative of the mentality of the Indian Bureau in the early twentieth century, the BIA initially approved of Montezuma, the hard-working Baptist. But when *Wassaja* endorsed the Indian dances at Fort McDowell he came under sharp criticism. In the last years of his life, Montezuma completed a life circle and returned to the Fort McDowell reservation where he labored vigorously on behalf of the small Yavapai tribe.

The author, Peter Iverson, is to be praised for providing this life of Carlos Montezuma. His research is first-rate and the biography is well-written and often eloquent. Clearly there is a moral that we can draw from the life of Montezuma. Learning and adapting to the ways of a dominant culture do not equate with the destruction of native values. In fact, educated and productive Indians, and successful tribes, will do more to insure the continuity of Indian leaders like Montezuma. Historians need such books to provide a true representation of the past. It also seems to me that young Indians, prospective leaders, might well learn about leadership from a book like *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians.* His life shows that an Indian (and by implication a tribe) can be successful in America and still remain Indian. Carlos Montezuma was quite a man—his arrows were ideas, his bow the written word.

Gerald Thompson
University of Toledo

Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah. By Larry R. Gerlach. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1982. 248 pp., illustrations, appendices, notes, index)

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER IDENTIFIED the "Oscar Handlin fallacy" as the practice of writing the same book several times under different titles. If anyone is exempt from such a charge, it must surely be Larry Gerlach. He has written successively (and successfully) on the American Revolution, on sports in America, and now on the Ku Klux Klan in Utah. While the former two areas remain open to further research, Gerlach has closed the study of the Klan in Utah with his *Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah.*

Gerlach presents a history of one-and-a-half Utah Klans. The major part of the book examines the Klan of the twenties; a chapter very close to an afterword treats the Klan of the 1970s. The earlier Klan briefly flourished in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and the mining towns of east central Utah. The state lacked a significant black population, leaving ethnic-religious minorities—particularly Greeks, Italians, and Catholics—as the principal targets of Klan activity.

The automatic question when Klan and Utah appear in the same title is, "What about the Mormons?" Did Mormons run the Klan, or were they objects of Klan hostility? The answer: neither. The Klan must surely be the only organization fundamentally grounded on intolerance and existing in Utah that managed to be outside of the Mormon-Gentile division. To be sure, Gerlach relates, the Church was hostile to the Klan. But, despite the presence of many Klan members with ties to traditionally anti-Mormon groups—notably the Masons and other fraternal groups—the KKK never attacked the Church. Indeed, the Klan sought Mormon support but was repeatedly spurned. Perhaps more than anything else, the irrelevance of Mormon-Gentile splits to the Utah Klan testified to the superficiality of the Klan for Utah.

What, then, did the Klan do in the Beehive State? Other than providing a subject for gossipy speculation regarding who belonged and scaring the ethnic minorities of the mining areas with fears of what might happen, it did not do much. Local Klan chapters typically existed a few months in 1924, burned a few crosses, and disappeared. Gerlach describes this process on a city-by-city basis. The details of the story are often fascinating: an electrified cross that once served the Klan in Carbon County now decorates the home of a local Yugoslavian family at Christmas. In Chapter V, "Klankraft Utah Style," Gerlach draws on these local accounts to speculate on what Utah Klankraft

meant, and to put the Utah Klan in a national context. Those wishing to quickly digest the book should focus on that chapter.

Given the ephemeral nature and the small membership of the Klan in Utah, why has Gerlach spent his time and considerable talents on this subject? Why did I have considerably more than the normal sense of excitement when asked to review a book about the Utah Klan? And why did you, reader, at least start reading this review with more than a normal sense of relish? Think of the subjects concerning Utah (or the state of your choice) that involved one or two thousand people for a few months; few, if any, such subjects seem worthy of much concern, let alone a book. Sometime, someone should study the reaction of historians and the general public to the name "Ku Klux Klan." If the Klan members in Utah had called themselves something else, the "Circle for the Preservation of American Values," for example, none of us would care who they were or what they did. Why do we allow a handful of otherwise pre-eminently unnotable citizens to capture our attentions by appropriating a catchy set of initials?

Whatever the reasons, the history of the KKK in Utah and elsewhere has fascinated Gerlach, attracted me, and lures many others. Make no mistake, Gerlach has done his work well, researching a group that left no body of archival treasures and whose members, then and now, were reluctant to face public exposure. But part of me wishes that all of us cared less about the blatant prejudices of odd-ball groups on the social fringes, and more about the subtle biases that have thrived in our mainstream.

Mervin Swanson
Idaho State University

NEW RESOURCE MATERIALS

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Frank Buol Papers

Recently acquired is a collection of correspondence and business records of Frank Abraham Buol (1871–1964), state assemblyman from Nye County and important southern Nevada land developer. Buol, who settled in Pahrump Valley in 1903, was instrumental for half a century in promoting the growth of agriculture in that area, where he acquired extensive land holdings. He experimented with raising a variety of crops, and for a number of years produced Chateau Buol wine from the only licensed winery in the state. He also was involved with several mining ventures, and during the early twentieth-century mining boom he supplied timber for mine workings in Tonopah and Goldfield from his sawmill on Mt. Charleston. For two widely separated terms (1925 and 1949–1951), he represented Nye County in the Nevada legislature.

Among the papers are letters to Frank from his brother, Peter Buol, describing the early development of Las Vegas, where Peter would become first mayor; records pertaining to Frank's land speculation and development, farming, and general store in Pahrump Valley; some material on the winery; correspondence of Robert B. Lee and Carl Myers, who were employed at Frank's Johnnie Mine; and a considerable number of family photographs.

The Buol papers, which are located in the Society's Las Vegas research library, will be of value to anyone interested in the development of agriculture in Pahrump Valley and southern Nevada, and in the formative years of Las Vegas.

Mining Company Records

As is to be expected in a state where the organized extraction of minerals has traditionally been so important, records of old mining operations continually find their way into libraries and museums. In the past few years the Society has acquired some substantial collections of records, such as those of the Sutro Tunnel Company, the Manhattan Silver Mining Company of Austin, the Southwestern Mining Company

of Eldorado Canyon, and the Grand Gulch Mining Company, which had a St. Thomas address. However, most of the Society's acquisitions in this area have been more modest. Among the smaller, but still significant, recent additions to our holdings are: miscellaneous records (leases, stock transfers, financial statements, office correspondence) of the *St. Ives Gold and Silver Mining and Milling Company* in the Goldfield Mining District, 1904–1913; payroll records of the *Leopard Mining Company* of Cornucopia, Elko County, 1879–1880; records of daily labor distribution (1907–1911) and bills collectible (1912–1917) from the *Tonopah Belmont Development Company;* a record of ore sales for the *Jim Butler Tonopah Mining Company,* 1906–1915; an abstract of title from the 1920s and minutes of meetings (1906, 1914–1928) of the Board of Directors, *Best and Belcher Mining Company;* records of the *Dayton Lime Company* (1862), included in the business journal of William Osburn; copies of maps showing underground workings of the *Nevada Douglas Copper Company* at Ludwig during World War I; and a scrapbook on the *Premier Mines Corporation of Nevada.* This latter volume, compiled in the 1920s, possibly by president and general manager Walter J. Bracking, contains prospectuses and photographs of the Premier, B&B, Quill, and Kelly-Lindsay mines operated by the company in Ormsby County.

Eric Moody
Curator of Manuscripts
Nevada Historical Society

NEVADA STATE ARCHIVES

Attorney General Records

The Archives has received 196 cubic feet of records from the attorney general's office. This major acquisition consists of materials relating to cases handled by the office during the period 1886–1962.

Legislative Recordings

Tape recordings of proceedings of the 1979 state legislature have been received. These cover all floor sessions of the senate and assembly, and are the latest additions to a group of sound recordings which commences with proceedings of the 1961 legislature. The Archives also maintains transcripts of committee meetings of the senate and assembly, beginning with the 1965 session.

State Planning Coordinator

The records of this office, which dealt with grants to state and local government entities, and which was abolished in 1981, have been transferred to the Archives. Recording activity during the O'Callaghan and List administrations, they occupy forty cubic feet.

Guy Louis Rocha
Nevada State Archivist

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, LAS VEGAS

Thomas-Perry Collection

The Special Collections Department of the Dickinson Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, has recently acquired significant collections which will be of interest to researchers investigating the social, economic, and gaming history of Southern Nevada.

A chance meeting and casual conversation between seat companions on a tour bus in Denali National Park, Alaska was instrumental in bringing to Special Collections a part of the twelve-album photo collection of Charles W. Thomas, an early day merchant in Searchlight, Goodsprings, Rhyolite, Pioneer, and Beatty. Thomas' daughter, Lorraine Thomas Perry, invited her new friend and fellow Nevadan, Donna Andress, to look through her albums. Mrs. Andress, a frequent researcher in Special Collections, convinced Mrs. Perry of the historic value of her collection and then reported her find to the Library. Mrs. Perry graciously came to Las Vegas in September of 1982 with two suitcases packed with her albums for an evaluation of her collection.

Mrs. Perry, for sentimental reasons, did not wish to donate her whole collection at this time. To date, the Thomas-Perry Collection consists of eighty-two reproductions of significant photos from several albums, and one album, the earliest one in the collection, which comprises forty-six pages and two fly leaves. Mrs. Perry, at a later date, plans to deposit her whole collection. The albums originally belonged to Charles W. Thomas, but it was his wife, Virginia Castello Thomas, who put the albums together after their marriage in 1920 and then continued adding photos to the collection. Mrs. Thomas carefully identified and dated most of the photos; her captions and often humorous observations make the photos come alive and give the collection a story-like continuity.

Until acquiring the Thomas-Perry Collection, Special Collections had

only two photos depicting Pioneer, an early mining camp near Rhyolite. The Thomas-Perry Collection has added some thirty Pioneer scenes, among them a photo of a Thanksgiving Day banquet celebrated in the Pioneer Hotel in 1911. Additionally, some personages and sites in the Pioneer photos have been identified by Edith Giles Barcus, the daughter of Edwin Scofield Giles, founder of Pioneer.

Photos that Thomas took in 1920 of buildings still standing in Rhyolite document structures that we know about today only from newspaper accounts or foundation rubble.

Thomas' photos of early Searchlight (his earliest photo is of a July 4, 1905 parade) testify to the vitality of that early camp, then the largest settlement in what is now Clark County.

The Special Collections Department is grateful to Lorraine Thomas Perry for the donation of her father's photo collection, her generosity in providing funds for reproduction, and the concern and interest she demonstrated by traveling twice from Alaska to Las Vegas regarding her collection. Thanks go also to our zealous patron, Donna Andress, for her help in bringing us together.

Dorothy Casner Evans Collection

As the result of the Nevada Humanities Committee's oral history project, "Pioneer Tapes," tapes and rough transcripts of eleven interviews of Nevada residents were deposited in the Special Collections Department. Some of those interviews have generated additional significant collections of photos, papers, and memorabilia that document economic and social history.

Dorothy Casner Evans was a freighter and house mover in a day when women traditionally were not involved physically in such businesses. Dorothy Casner came to Tonopah about 1938 to care for her sister who was ill. Soon she began taking phone calls and keeping books for her brother-in-law, Dave "Shorty" Roberts, who operated his freighting and house moving business from his home. Before long Mrs. Casner began driving trucks for "Shorty" and then she became his equal in engineering structure removals and placements. Some customers objected to a female doing such work, but Roberts' assurance that Dorothy could do the work of two men easily won their consent to have her on the job. Dorothy Casner was as good as any man on the job, but she often had to prove her capabilities. She recalled that in Tonopah Frank Trueba once made five $100 bets with the local sidewalk superintendents who doubted she could back the old Millers boarding house onto its new foundation on Main Street and not be off

more than two inches. She placed her building right on target, and to make the deed the better, Trueba gave her the $500 pot.

The Dorothy Casner Evans Collection consists of a one hour tape, an unedited transcription, and a photo collection. Her photos and oral history are important records of the old Nevada practice of moving structures when mining communities experienced boom and bust cycles. To date, the business records of Dave Roberts have not been located, and until they are, Mrs. Evans' memory will serve as a source for structures in Tonopah, Goldfield, Beatty, and neighboring sites. The Special Collections Department is grateful to the Nevada Humanities Committee and Mrs. Evans for making this interesting and unique facet of Nevada history available to researchers.

Elizabeth Nelson Patrick
Special Collections Department
University of Nevada, Las Vegas Library

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, RENO

Eva Adams Collection

The University of Nevada, Reno Library recently acquired the papers of Eva Bertrand Adams, Director of the U.S. Mint from 1961 to 1968, and administrative assistant to U.S. Senators Patrick McCarran and Alan Bible.

Eva Adams is a native Nevadan, born in the historic mining community of Wonder in Churchill County. She attended schools in Reno, graduating from the University of Nevada in 1928. After teaching several years in southern Nevada, Miss Adams decided to continue her academic training. She moved to New York and received a master's degree from Columbia University in 1936. Returning to her home state, she joined the English faculty at the University of Nevada and later became assistant dean of women. Miss Adams held this position when Nevada Senator Pat McCarran asked her to join his staff in Washington, D.C. She became the U.S. Senator's administrative assistant and a major figure in his office from 1940 until his death in 1954. She remained in Washington as administrative assistant to Nevada senators Ernest Brown and Alan Bible from 1954 to 1961 when she was appointed Director of the Mint by President John F. Kennedy. She was reappointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966. She had achieved one of the highest public offices ever attained by a Nevada woman.

Eva Adams' papers represent her career as administrative assistant to three U.S. Senators, her years as Director of the Mint, and her personal life. The major portion of the material in the Adams Collection originated in the office of Senator McCarran. Intimately involved in McCarran's political career, Miss Adams managed the day-to-day activities of the senate office and enjoyed close personal relationships with many of the Senator's colleagues and prominent politicians on Capitol Hill. Correspondence with major political figures on a variety of local and national issues are preserved in the collection.

Material generated during the Adams' years as Director of the Mint reflect her prominence as a national figure as well as her personal enjoyment of the position. Included are official Mint reports and studies, speeches, and photographs. Several scrapbooks contain news clippings, programs, awards, invitations, greeting cards, and personal mementos of her terms at the Mint.

Personal papers document Eva Adams' life from early childhood through her attendance at college and law school. Included are personal correspondence, personal and family memorabilia, and many photographs, as well as material relating to her involvement in business corporations, civic and professional organizations, and her many avocations.

The Eva Adams papers are in the process of being arranged and a guide to the collection will be available soon. The collection has already attracted scholars from around the country, and it should continue to prove valuable to researchers working on a variety of subjects.

Lee Kosso
Curator of Manuscripts
Special Collections Department
University of Nevada, Reno Library

NEWS AND DEVELOPMENTS

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, RENO

On September 3 a new exhibit, "The Grand Beehive," opened in the changing gallery of the NHS in Reno; it focuses on the motif of the beehive in the popular art of the Great Basin. After October 23, it will be seen in both Las Vegas and Overton. "The Grand Beehive" is funded in part by a grant from the Nevada Humanities Committee. Folk Faire '83, the Society's second annual celebration of arts and crafts, was held on September 25 in Reno; a full report will appear in forthcoming issues of the State Museum *Newsletter* and the *Quarterly*. The newly-formed Nevada Book Publishers' Association will hold its first Book Fair in the Society's changing gallery on November 6; an exhibition dealing with the Association's members and the history of printing in Nevada will run throughout the month. In December, the Society will again sponsor "Christmas in Nevada," complete with a tree-trimming party on the third.

NEVADA STATE MUSEUM, CARSON CITY

Membership Reception

The Museum hosted the annual membership reception on September 23 with a preview showing of "Flames of History," an exhibit featuring antique fire fighting equipment and a history of the early volunteer fire fighters of Carson City. (A full account will appear in the Museum *Newsletter*.)

Nevada '83

This annual photo show, sponsored by the Northeastern Nevada Museum and *Nevada* magazine, was on exhibit through the third of August. The show featured contemporary photographs by some of Nevada's best photographers in both color and black and white categories. This exhibit culminated the yearly photo contest, which consistently produces some of the best photographic art from our state.

VIRGINIA AND TRUCKEE RAILROAD MUSEUM

Newly-Restored Rail Equipment

The old V&T #22 "Inyo" and combination car #9 are now restored and on display at the Museum. The "Inyo," a wood burner restored to its 1880s appearance, will be fired up and operating over the Nevada Day weekend (October 30–31st).

The Wabuska Station

Plans for moving this historic railroad depot to the V&T museum have been completed. The structure was donated to the museum by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Once moved to its new location, the depot will serve as an interpretive center and eventually as a loading platform for passengers.

NEVADA STATE MUSEUM AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAS VEGAS

Santini Basket Exhibit

An exhibit, "Examples of the Basketweavers' Art," featuring selected finger-woven textiles on loan from the collection of Congressman James D. Santini remained in the corridor gallery through mid-October. Highlighting western North American Indian culture areas, the exhibit illustrated basketry as one facet of the useful arts. Spanning a variety of form and function, the textiles included examples of tourist wares as well as pieces made for utility purposes. The exhibit was enthusiastically acclaimed at its opening reception on May 11th, which was hosted by the Volunteer Docent Council. Congressman Santini was on hand throughout the evening to answer questions about the collection

Black Rock Desert Mammoth Reconstruction Under Way

The mammoth excavated in the Black Rock Desert by the NSM Anthropology Department in Carson City is currently undergoing final stabilization and restorative steps in preparation for its new home in the anthropology/archaeology gallery. The restoration is being carried out by Ralph Danklefsen, a volunteer paleontologist from Borrego Springs, California. The work is scheduled for completion by late summer of 1983, and the exhibit installation is planned for latter 1984 or early 1985.

Opening October 22

"Frozen in Silver," a photographic essay on the town of Goldfield, will be in the changing gallery through September, 1984. This classic Nevada boomtown is portrayed by photographer P.E. Larson, who operated the Palm Studio there at the turn of the century. Included in the show are many of the early forms of camera equipment used by Larson to capture the hectic pace of one of the richest gold strikes in history.

LOST CITY MUSEUM

New Archaeological District Formed

June 30th marked the end of the first year's work on establishing an archaeological district in the Moapa Valley in southern Nevada. In conjunction with the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas, the Archaeo-Nevada Society, and the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, a preliminary ground survey of the Overton Bench has been completed and test excavations conducted at one of the state-owned sites. A total of eight sites on the Bench have been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

Historic Building Survey

Working with a grant from the Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, Pat Olson of the Lost City staff has been preparing an historic structure inventory for the Moapa Valley. By mid-June, 68% of the 100 structures in the project were recorded and forty-five local informants had been interviewed. The grant continued through August, and a final report was scheduled for completion by late October.

Sampson Photo Exhibit

An exhibit of the photographs of Harry Sampson went on display September 15th. Sampson, a Native American, photographed many of the aspects of Northern Paiute Indian life during the early 1920s. This show, on loan from the Nevada Historical Society, will be on exhibit through November.

Contributors

James S. Olson received his Ph.D. from the State University of New York at Stony Brook in 1972; he is an Associate Professor of History at Sam Houston State University. He has published *Herbert Hoover and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation* and *The Ethnic Dimension in American History;* forthcoming are *Native Americans in the Twentieth Century* and *Immigrant Catholics in Modern America.*

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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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