NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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The *Quarterly* solicits contributions of scholarly or popular interest dealing with the following subjects: the general (e.g., the political, social, economic, constitutional) or the natural history of Nevada and the Great Basin; the literature, languages, anthropology, and archeaology 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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These photos illustrate the famous "Bloody Sunday" or "Red Flag Day" activities in Goldfield on January 20, 1907. St. John spoke to the crowd from the balcony shown in the bottom photo. *(P.E. Larson Collection, Nevada State Museum)*

A Heart for Any Fate: Vincent St. John in Goldfield

SALLY SPRINGMEYER ZANJANI AND GUY LOUIS ROCHA

ON THE NIGHT of March 10, 1907, Vincent St. John waited in the Goldfield cabin belonging to his friend, William Tims. Several times during the day, he had been warned that a party led by gunman Jackson Lee ("Diamondfield Jack") Davis, bodyguard to mine owner George Wingfield, was on the way to run him out of town. St. John had gone to the Tims cabin to do some writing and pick up his rifle. Originally he had planned to return to his own cabin, send his wife over to the neighbors, and await Davis, "so I could receive them as they came." However, members of union local 220, a combined unit of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), stopped in to see him during the course of the evening. They brought news that caused St. John to change his mind. Union business agent Morrie Rockwood Preston had fatally shot restauranteur John Silva during a picketing dispute. Rumors sped through the streets, and tension between the union and mine owners was near the breaking point. On learning that the Davis party had a full list of union leaders in hand, St. John decided "it would probably be better and less worry to my wife if I stayed with Tims." He had remained there for a week, holed up with his rifle, and the gunmen had not dared to approach. The matter-of-fact way in which he later related the affair made clear that he saw it as nothing more than an ordinary incident in the life of a union organizer.[1]

From the time he burst upon the labor scene in 1901 as the young president of the Telluride Miners' Union and became a WFM hero, through his years as IWW general organizer from 1908 to 1915, St. John was an important and controversial figure in American labor affairs, revered by his idealistic young followers and vilified as a criminal thug by his enemies. "I never met a man I admired more," Elizabeth Gurley Flynn later wrote.[2] The

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[1] State v. Preston and Smith, Transcript of witnesses' testimony [Transcript], First Judicial District of Nevada, 1907, Nevada State Division of Archives (Carson City), 247-76; also see Vincent St. John, "Review of the Facts in the Situation at Goldfield," *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Apr. 6, 1907.

[2] Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago, 1969), 142.

Tonopah Sun, on the other hand, caricatured the "gospel according to St. John" in savage terms: "De mines belongs to de miners and de gang—de millionaires is getting too thick around here—down wid de stars and stripes—dere is too many of our marters wearin de stripes—our cause is boosted by shootin men in the back—assassination is one of our specialties . . ."[3] A great deal of valuable material on St. John has appeared in Melvyn Dubofsky's *We Shall Be All,* Sidney Lens' *The Labor Wars,* and other histories.[4] However, the year he spent in Goldfield, Nevada, from 1906 to 1907 has never been examined in detail, nor have scholars satisfactorily resolved the critical question of his role in the downfall of Goldfield WFM-IWW Local No. 220, an organization long to be remembered by the IWW as the perfect model of the One Big Union in action. An intensive scrutiny of St. John in Goldfield may suggest some answers.

St. John was only thirty at the time of his arrival in Goldfield, but he had already emerged as a leading union figure. He was born of Dutch-Irish background on July 6, 1876, in Newport, Kentucky. His unsettled family moved to four different states before he set out on his own at nineteen to become a miner. As the twenty-five-year-old president of the Telluride Miners' Union in Cripple Creek, he led a strike against the Smuggler Union mining company in 1901. When the company brought in strikebreakers protected by deputy sheriffs, the union turned to armed resistance. Strikers hid behind trees and boulders like Indians and attacked. The battle ended with four dead, several wounded, and the scabs escorted out of town. St. John had won—and gained a lasting reputation for violence in the process. During a three day "armistice," management concluded an agreement satisfactory to the union, but it was no harbinger of WFM victory in the Rockies. When the next major strike began in 1903 at the reduction mills of Colorado City and spread through the Cripple Creek region, the miners faced a strong and militant Citizens' Alliance bent on the destruction of the union.[5]

The outcome of the Cripple Creek strike is well known: the arrival of the militia; the incarceration of miners and even their wives and children in bullpens; and the importation of strikebreakers. In the end, St. John was forced to flee Cripple Creek, along with several hundred miners deported at bayonet point. Though the strike formally continued for several years, the WFM had suffered a devastating defeat. Now the union was fighting for its

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[3] *Tonopah Sun,* Mar. 29, 1907.

[4] Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All,* esp. 132-144; Sidney Lens, *The Labor Wars: From the Molly Maguires to the Sitdowns* (New York, 1973), esp. 122-23, 158; Vernon H. Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict: Labor Relations in the Non-Ferrous Metals Industry up to 1930* (Ithaca, 1950), esp. 187, 195; Patrick Renshaw, *The Wobblies: The Story of Syndicalism in the United States* (New York, 1967), 103-5, 269. Lens suggests that no one left a deeper imprint on the IWW than did St. John.

[5] On St. John's early life, see Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All,* 142-44, and Lens, *Labor Wars,* 122-34.

life, one of its strongest bastions was largely lost, and it was compelled to look elsewhere for its last, best hope.[6]

Shortly thereafter, St. John resurfaced. He became president of the WFM local in Burke, Idaho; still known familiarly as "the Saint," he worked under the assumed name of "John Vincent." His work as an organizer in the Coeur d'Alene came to an abrupt halt nearly three years later when he became swept up in the unfolding drama of the Haywood case.

During the Christmas holidays in 1905, former Idaho governor Frank Steunenberg was killed by a bomb set at his garden gate in Caldwell, Idaho, by Harry Orchard. Steunenberg was an unlikely figure to be much mourned by union men because he had presided over the union troubles in the Coeur d'Alene in 1899, and had allowed the miners to be imprisoned in bullpens. Under the coaching of Pinkerton detective James McParland, an employee of the Mine Owners' Association, Orchard revealed that Steunenberg's death had been plotted by the WFM leadership. Charles Moyer, president of the WFM, William D. Haywood, secretary treasurer, and George Pettibone, a store keeper and former union activist, were arrested at night in Colorado and hastened to death row in the state penitentiary at Boise. Also at night, the Shoshone county sheriff arrested St. John at Burke and brought him to Boise, after displaying him in Caldwell in the hope that someone might recognize him. No one did. Union men believed that the real reason for St. John's arrest was revealed in the February 27 report of a detective assigned to the Coeur d'Alene: "St. John has given the mine owners of the district more trouble in the past year than any twenty men up there. If left undisturbed, he would have the entire district organized in another year. As it is there are hundred of miners added to the union membership through his efforts."[7] McParland acknowledged that one of the "cut-throats" he hoped to convict was St. John. In fact, none of the WFM leadership was convicted, because Orchard's bizarre story failed to convince a jury.

St. John remained in the Boise penitentiary for twenty days without a hearing and without being charged. By the time WFM attorneys succeeded in securing a writ of habeas corpus, Idaho authorities could hold him no longer, and he was extradited to Colorado on a flimsily-contrived murder charge based on the death of Ben Burnham nearly five years earlier during the Telluride strike. "His persecutors are now contemplating charging him with the crucifixion of Christ if they can only secure a 'confession' from some degenerate of a detective agency," observed *Miners' Magazine*, the official organ of the WFM. The charge "conspiracy to commit murder" was by now all too familiar to the WFM. It was a charge the prosecutors found themselves

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[6] Lens, *Labor Wars*, 122-34.

[7] *Miners' Magazine* VII (Mar. 8, 1906), 6-7. References on the Haywood case include: Joseph R. Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Union Movement* (Syracuse, 1969), esp. 57-65; Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 96-105; and William D. Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book* 1969 ed. (New York, 1929), 190-222.

unable to sustain in the face of a defense ably conducted by St. John's attorney, Orrin N. Hilton, although the case dragged on for months. In the autumn, the charges were dismissed. The Saint, freed on bail, had just returned from an organizing trip in Michigan and Minnesota. He next appeared as one of the five WFM delegates at the 1906 IWW convention in Chicago, and the schism that was to separate him forever from the conservative members of the WFM rent the union.[8]

Though the convention was the scene of many skirmishes, there was a basic issue that divided IWW president Charles Sherman and the conservatives from the rebels, who were led by Socialist Labor party leader Daniel De Leon, IWW governing board member William Trautmann, and St. John. The conservatives wanted to build unions along "business" lines similar (though they were not as yet ready to admit it) to the practices of the despised American Federation of Labor (AFL); the radicals wanted the emancipation of the entire working class by pursuing the vision of the One Big Union. In St. John's words, "the organization of the entire working class in an organization which recognizes no interest save that of the working class . . . an organization which asks no quarter and will give none; whose battle cry is 'an injury to one is an injury to all;' an organization which recognizes no division among workers. . . ."[9]

Division was the critical issue (and the very one over which Goldfield's spring 1907 lockout would be fought). The rebel faction won in the convention and the courts, but their victory was unacceptable to conservatives. Receiving the expected favorable response in a members' referendum inquiring if the IWW convention's acts should be considered "unconstitutional and illegal," the WFM executive board denied support to either faction and declared its intention to reorganize the IWW, a position ratified at the Federation's next convention in 1907. However, until the WFM actually separated from the IWW in July, 1908, the Federation, which had been the prime organizer of the anarcho-syndicalist IWW in 1905, formally remained the mining department of the IWW.[10]

After the convention and the ensuing legal squabbles, the Saint, with the unerring instinct of a homing pigeon, headed toward the place that AFL organizer Grant Hamilton called "the last stronghold of the IWW"—Goldfield. Earlier that year St. John had written prophetically of the approaching conflict:

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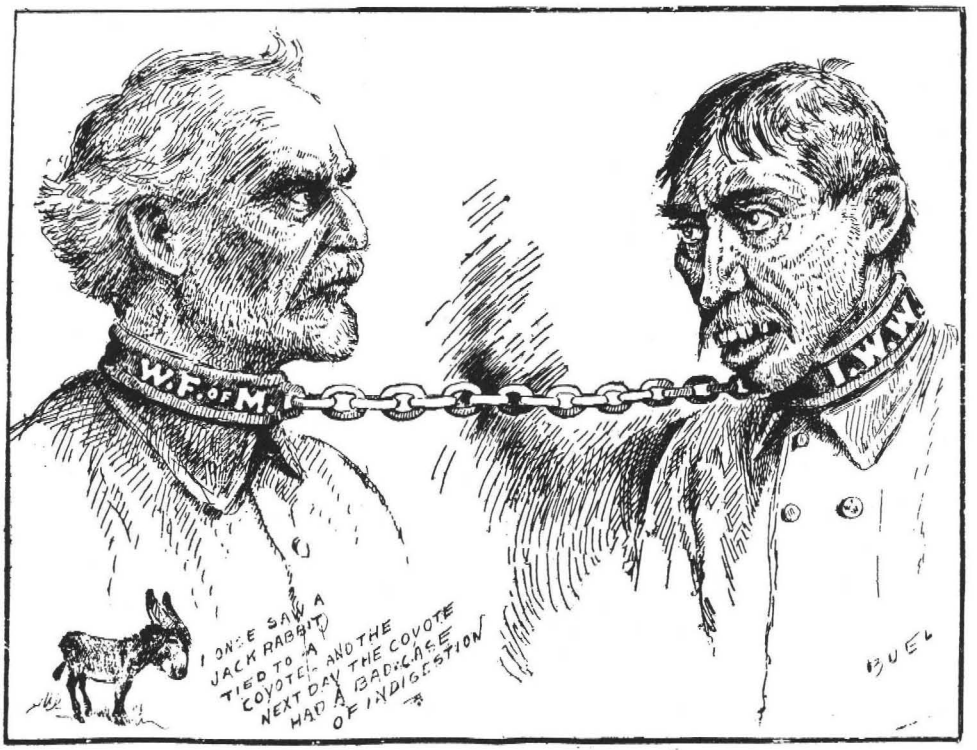
[8] *Miners' Magazine* VII (Apr. 19, 1906), 3; also see the following issues: March 29 (pp. 9, 13); Sept. 6 (p. 3); and Sept. 27 (pp. 6-7).

[9] Vincent St. John, "Shall the Working Class Be Crushed?" *Miners' Magazine* VII (May 17, 1906), 8. On the schism, also see Fred W. Thompson and Patrick Murfin, *The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years, 1905-1975* (Chicago, 1976), 27, and Renshaw, *Wobblies*, 88-95.

[10] Thompson and Murfin, *I.W.W.*, 27-30; Renshaw, *Wobblies*, 95.



INTELLIGENT LABOR CHAINED TO IGNORANT ANARCHY.

This cartoon appeared in *The Tonopah Daily Sun*, April 12, 1907, and well illustrates the hostility of local newspapers to the IWW.

Again it is brought home to us that the struggle for freedom from the domination and control of the present owners of the world is not going to be a pink tea affair; that in our efforts toward emancipation, the enemy does not propose to meet us on the field of our choosing—the field of discussion and reasoning—but that in the future, as in the past and the present, they will stop at nothing in order to prolong their rule.

We can only judge the tactics of the enemy in the near future by their conduct in the past . . . no deed was too dark or crime too hellish, if it but served the ends of our masters. Every right of free men has been violated. We have been deprived of our liberty, deported from our homes, charged with crimes without number, railroaded to the gallows and penitentiary. . . .

This is the lesson of the past . . . The opening struggle is now upon us: the gauge of battle has been given . . . There is no time to be lost. Our enemies are moving with all the power at their command. We must be up and doing with a heart for any fate. . . .[11]

Though many facets of the schism at the 1906 IWW convention remain obscured by the dust raised in fury of charge and countercharge, its effects

[11] St. John, "Shall the Working Class." In the phrase "up and doing with a heart for any fate," St. John was quoting from "A Psalm of Life," a very popular poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

are in no way obscure. One of the first was the instant transformation of St. John from a revered WFM hero, whose praises were continually sung in the pages of *Miners' Magazine* and whose vicissitudes were the constant object of detailed report, to the "viper" the WFM had hugged to its bosom to "warm it into life," a hate figure as harshly vilified by his erstwhile union friends as he had ever been by the mine owners.[12] The Saint was cast beyond the pale into the outer darkness, and with him went not only the other Goldfield firebrands like Harry Jardine, Ben Donnelly, and Joseph William Smith, but the entire union, the entire city. St. John's efforts to play a recessive role by avoiding trouble, refusing to serve on committees, and trying to restrain his followers from coercive acts, were all to no avail; nothing could deflect the dangers that he himself so clearly recognized in his own presence. The parent WFM usually fought for her locals with the ferocity of a tigress defending her cubs, but when Goldfield's ordeal began with a lockout days after the Silva shooting, *Miners' Magazine* responded with nothing more than a single line, a Shakespearian aside, noting that "considerable trouble" was brewing but exaggerated press reports left the editor "unable to give the facts."[13] The reason for this resounding silence was not far to seek.

Thus the arrival of St. John and his assumption (however reluctantly) of his inevitable role as the leader of the radical faction within the Goldfield IWW-WFM was the first development with ominous repercussions for the miners' union. The second, also in November, 1906, was the incorporation of the Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company by George Wingfield and United States Senator George Nixon. This signalled the beginning of monopoly control in Goldfield. Prior to this date, high grade ore, and the prevalence of the leasing system, had been conducive to union growth; and labor peace had generally prevailed ever since the WFM organized Local No. 220 on March 15, 1904, when the new mining camp was just starting to boom. A lessor, with only a few weeks or months in which to mine the high grade and make his killing, was perfectly willing to accede to any union demand. Enduring a strike while the clock ran out on his lease was the last thing he could tolerate, and the long run was no concern of his. Paradoxically, this very individualism among employers fostered the pure communalism of the IWW, which made its initial appearance in Goldfield as Local No. 77 in late 1905. On September 10, 1906, IWW Local No. 77 merged with WFM Local No. 220, a combination some mine owners apparently favored because they

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[12] *Miners' Magazine* VII (Nov. 8, 1906), 8. Nor were these differences to be resolved. During a subsequent IWW effort to infiltrate the WFM, president Charles Moyer accused St. John—not without cause—of "pursuing the tactics of a Pinkerton hireling." See Jensen, *Heritage*, 195.

[13] *Miners' Magazine* VIII (Mar. 21, 1907), 1; on St. John, also see Laura A. White, "History of the Labor Struggles in Goldfield, Nevada" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1912), 41.

hoped the socialistic but more conservative members of the miners' union would dominate the IWW radicals.[14]

The IWW's success in Goldfield has sometimes been ascribed to a brilliant and imaginative organizational effort.[15] In fact, the effort in Goldfield was probably no more brilliant than in numerous other camps where the union failed. The difference was that here a propitious set of circumstances allowed them to succeed—at least for a time. By the winter of 1906-1907, however, this period of rampant individualism was nearing an end, and management was consolidating at the same time that schism was rending the union. Henceforth the bulk of the bullion production was in the hands of the Florence Mining Company and the giant Goldfield Con. The one big mining company faced the One Big Union, but when the miners' union called its first major strike in December of 1906 and won a substantial wage increase, the long term effects of this shift in the equation were not yet apparent.[16]

Nor were they apparent at the famous "Bloody Sunday" parade on January 20, 1907, held in commemoration of the failed Russian revolution of 1905 and the St. Petersburg massacre. By order of the union, all Goldfield's mines, restaurants, and saloons were closed for two hours during the parade. Thousands watched from the sidewalks while 2,000 to 3,000 WFM-IWW members marching four abreast circled through the city on parade and returned to Miners' Union Hall, where St. John spoke from the balcony to an excited, cheering crowd. Even the unsympathetic *Goldfield Daily Tribune* was obliged to acknowledge that it was the largest demonstration ever seen in the city.

That night a mass meeting jammed Union Hall. Men, women, and children filled all the chairs, 200 people stood in the center aisle, and many more crowded the stairs. Near the speakers hung a red banner inscribed to Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone: "If they pack the jury to hang our men, we will pack hell full with them." Several battle-scarred young veterans of the years of bloody conflict that Sidney Lens has rightly termed *The Labor Wars* spoke from the podium that night—the fiery Sam Tregonning, Morrie Preston, and Robert Randell, lately expelled from the United Mine Workers for his stance on the WFM—but St. John was undoubtedly the star. He rose to a standing ovation and assured his listeners that if Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone should hang it "will explode the percussion cap of the coming revolution in this country." Then, he promised, "we will sweep the capitalist

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[14] Guy L. Rocha, "Radical Labor Struggles in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, 1901-1922," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* XX (Spring, 1977), 3-20; Russell R. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Booms: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely* (Reno, 1966), 5-19; Paul F. Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 83 (New York, 1919), 191-212; *Mining and Scientific Press* 94 (May 4, 1907), 548.

[15] Lens, *Labor Wars*, 155-56.

[16] Rocha, "Radical Labor Struggles," 3-20.

class out of the life of this nation and then out of the whole world." The meeting concluded by enacting resolutions supporting the three imprisoned union leaders and the Russian revolutionaries. "Your cause is our cause," the Goldfielders declared to the Russians. "Your victory is our victory. We have no enemy but the capitalist class! Our country is the world! Our flag is the banner that is dyed red with the martyrs' blood of our class! Down with capitalism! Long live the International working class republic!"[17] Perhaps this was only the IWW variant of political rhetoric, no more to be taken seriously than the conventional pieties of the mainstream politician, and no more intended to be lived by, but it is easy to understand why a good many Nevadans thought the radicals meant exactly what they said.

George Wingfield, unlike St. John was not prone to inflammatory speeches. He was a secretive young man, with the hooded face of a very good poker player. His mind worked in subterranean ways, and he kept his own counsel. Yet he too must have been laying his plans, for he knew as surely as St. John that the opening struggle was at hand. He had begun surrounding himself with gunmen: Davis; the tough, brutal Clarence Sage, a Thiel detective and the chief of the Goldfield Con security forces (later to be convicted of rape and of manslaughter); Thomas O. Bliss (alias "Gunplay Maxwell" of the Wild Bunch); George Gibson; and others. The spies he had placed inside the union were bringing in reports that St. John saw Nevada as an isolated state of great wealth where the union could take control and gain possession of all property. The IWW's program for achieving this revolutionary goal was well known: the organization of the entire working class in one big union; a series of strikes, finally culminating in a general strike; the syndicalist assumption of control over the means of production; and at last, the workers' commonwealth.[18] As conservative Nevadans recoiled from news of Goldfield's Bloody Sunday, it was already apparent that this last of the great western boom towns contained two groups of young men with very different ideas on how to shape the future.

These different views were much in evidence during the March 15 lockout imposed at the height of the excitement which followed the Silva shooting. The mine owners made clear that the lockout would end only when the WFM withdrew from the IWW and pledged not to sanction IWW boycotts. Two weeks later the union was not yet ready to capitulate to these terms, but there is some evidence of intense union infighting involving St. John. Those Goldfield miners who were still unorganized voted to join the WFM; conservative miners attempted and failed to establish a new union. The rabid

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[17] *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, Jan. 21, 1907.

[18] White, "History," 43; Rocha, "Radical Labor Struggles," 3-20. On Wingfield and the gunmen, see Sally S. Zanjani, *The Unspiked Rail: Memoir of a Nevada Rebel* (Reno, 1981), chs. 7-8, and the *Carson City Daily Appeal*, May 28, 1920.

antiunion *Tonopah Sun* claimed the ability of St. John and his "fire eaters" to dominate the miners' meetings had produced these unwelcome victories. St. John himself observed in his dispatch to the *Industrial Union Bulletin*, "Victory is ours to date."[19]

Another partial victory lay in store, despite unrelenting pressure from his opponents. On April 5 St. John, a .45 caliber weapon protruding from his vest, was arrested for carrying concealed weapons, then disarmed and released. Law officers announced their intention to disarm everyone "not entitled to the privilege of carrying weapons," but the Saint's arrest suggested a warning aimed toward a very specific target. The next day a mass meeting of miners, convened by acting WFM national president Charles Mahoney, voted 514 to 56 in favor of separating from the IWW. However, an agreement was not yet in sight. On April 8 a committee informed the mine owners that the miners would insist upon supporting IWW boycotts. The mine owners responded that this was unacceptable. When a meeting of the full WFM membership convened the next day, St. John leapt to his feet to speak against the employers' attempt to "kick out" the IWW. Even the conservative Mahoney observed that the agreement would permit deportations of "any of your brothers." The miners then voted to nullify the separation from the IWW as an illegal act on the ground that there was no IWW because the local had dropped its charter upon joining the miners' union.[20]

Two weeks later, with Goldfield apparently veering close to martial law and many union members suffering from the hardships of a prolonged lockout, St. John could no longer rally the votes. On April 21 the WFM and the mine owners reached an agreement which signified the first defeat in Goldfield for the long triumphant IWW. The union agreed not to support IWW boycotts, and accepted a provision requiring a two-thirds vote to call strikes. Among the agreement's several clauses, the only real compromise by employers was acceptance of the union's position that the link between the WFM and the IWW could not be totally severed as long as the unions remained affiliated at the national level, a state of affairs expected to end at the next WFM convention (though it would in fact continue until 1908).

Walter Brown, president of WFM Local No. 220, and Mahoney refrained from comment, and simply presented the report of the negotiating committee and the agreement reached under their auspices to a mass meeting of miners convened in the ball park. Deputy sheriffs surrounded the fence to prevent any non-members from entering; road blocks manned by more deputies guarded all approaches to the ball park. The merits, or perhaps the necessity, of an agreement with military rule as the bitter alternative may

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[19] *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Mar. 30, 1907; *Tonopah Sun*, Mar. 28 and Apr. 3, 1907; Rocha, "Radical Labor Struggles," 3-15. Events at the 1906 IWW convention and subsequent struggles between the IWW and the WFM confirm that St. John was indeed capable of shrewd tactics; see Jensen, *Heritage*, 187, 195.

[20] *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, Apr. 2-3, 6; *Tonopah Sun*, Apr. 6; White, "History," 80.

have seemed self-evident. The only speech at the meeting was made by St. John, and it was a long and powerful diatribe against the agreement. He had consistently opposed any compromise with the employers; he now urged his followers not to yield. The labor troubles were entirely the fault of the mine owners, not the IWW, said St. John, speaking in his usual simple, straight-from-the-shoulder style, without oratorical flourishes or gestures. He argued that a two-thirds strike vote would be impossible to achieve and would bring Goldfield into perpetual captivity. The *Goldfield Daily Tribune* saw a veiled warning of union violence in his plea to send the mine owners a message: if Goldfield became a scab town, "they will find we have different cards up our sleeves to play." Opponents of the union had blamed the Saint's persuasive powers and magnetic personality for blocking agreement earlier. So many times he had carried the day, standing on the platform while his enemies tried to hiss him down, smiling, waiting patiently, and in the end winning them over. But this time the cheers for the Saint died away and the agreement was ratified.[21]

The next day, in the midst of jury selection for the trial of Morrie Preston and Joseph Smith, organizer of the union boycott at Silva's restaurant, St. John and six other union leaders were arrested for conspiring to murder the restaurant owner. Although those inclined to place a sporting bet had found the odds two to one in favor of St. John's immediate arrest in late March when rumors of secret indictments were circulating, the time may have been judged unpropitious, because their arrest during the labor negotiations would almost certainly have inflamed the membership and blocked the agreement indefinitely, as well as serving advance notification of the prosecution's conspiracy theory to the Preston-Smith defense attorneys.

The arrests by a host of specially-appointed deputies occurred with menacing haste, but the crowd of friends, who gathered to laugh and joke with the union leaders as they waited under guard, seemed in a jovial mood. As the prisoners were marched away to catch the train to Hawthorne, where the Preston-Smith trial was in progress, friends shouted "goodby, boys" as though they were "a bunch of picnickers." This lighthearted attitude was sharply rebuked by the *Tribune*, which laid the blame for Silva's death upon "an inner circle" by whom Preston was "INSTRUCTED TO KILL." Despite rumors that the miners' union would strike in protest against these indictments, the WFM was apparently unready to take such action just when the long-awaited agreement had finally arrived. President Mahoney urged "conservatism in every case," and the union contented itself with voting to obtain top legal talent to defend the indicted leaders.[22]

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[21] *Tonopah Sun*, Apr. 17-18, 22; *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, Apr. 18-19, 22; *Mining and Scientific Press* 94 (1907), 548, 610; White, "History," 41-2, 79.

[22] *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, Apr. 24, 26, 1907; also see the *Tonopah Sun*, Apr. 26, 1907.

At the trial, St. John was accused by the principal witness for the prosecution of writing a note read at one of the meetings of union men plotting Silva's death. This alleged note had told them to deal "summarily" with the opponents of "our union and our wishes"; it also contained the cryptic words, "The red flag once waved would stop all trouble . . . the red flag need not wave more than once," evoking a visual image which undoubtedly had a definite symbolic meaning for the jurors.

St. John, wearing a vest and a striped shirt, with no coat or tie, was the first union leader to take the stand on behalf of the defense. He flatly denied writing the red flag note, having been present in Goldfield at the time, and thus not constrained to communicate by letter. He also denied being part of the "corral" of men that prosecution witnesses claimed to have seen awaiting Preston, and which protectively surrounded him after the shooting as he walked down the street to Union Hall.

On cross-examination, District Attorney A. Henry Swallow did not neglect to emphasize St. John's position in the IWW, his work as an organizer for the WFM over the past twelve years, and his previous arrests in Telluride and in Idaho. "Is it not a fact that you are commonly known as an agitator?" Swallow demanded.

"That is what they designate me," the Saint responded imperturbably. He could answer only in the affirmative when Swallow inquired whether he was under arrest for Silva's murder, implying that his testimony could accordingly be discounted. Asked whether he was a member of "a political organization known as the IWW United," the Saint coolly replied, "I am a member of the IWW. It is not a political organization." (Indeed, this was an article of faith with St. John, whose belief in syndicalism and industrial unionism rather than political activism would later lead to considerable friction with both Daniel DeLeon and the anarchists.) He was a strong witness, but the district attorney nonetheless succeeded in finding an area of uncertainty in his story and damaging to his credibility. Though he at first denied going down from Union Hall to hand something to the picket in front of Silva's restaurant on the afternoon of the shooting, he eventually admitted he was not sure.

Patrick M. Bowler, one of the defense attorneys, later attempted to shore up the weak points in St. John's testimony by redirect examination. In an effort to emphasize the extenuating circumstances of his Colorado and Idaho arrests, St. John declared, under the attorney's guidance, that he had not been found guilty in either case, nor even tried. He now belatedly remembered, after "studying that proposition, thinking it over carefully," that he had gone out from Union Hall to give a pair of gloves to the picket to shield him from the bitter cold.

On recross-examination, Swallow moved swiftly to counter any ground St. John might have gained. The witness was compelled to admit that he had used the name "John Vincent" after leaving Colorado for Idaho. The district

attorney implied that a man who lied about his own name could hardly be relied upon to tell the truth about anything else, including the real contents of that mysterious package which might well have contained the murder weapon. Swallow also succeeded in creating the impression that St. John was

An artist's rendering of Vincent St. John at the Preston-Smith trial.

a fugitive from justice, fleeing to Idaho when warrants were issued for his arrest in Colorado. Bowler took up redirect questioning once more to bring out the point that St. John had been obliged to change his name after the employers placed him on the black list.[23] In his time, the Saint had moved multitudes with his eloquence, and he would again. Now he stepped down from the stand, undone by a forgotten pair of gloves.

Neither St. John's testimony, nor that of the other witnesses for the defense, prevented the conviction of Preston for second degree murder and of Smith for manslaughter. The "rankest frame-up ever made in the West," as it was termed in the IWW organ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, was to be a cause célèbre in the labor movement for years. It was not, however, to be followed by the conspiracy trial of the seven union leaders. The arrival from Colorado of Hilton, St. John's attorney, and the increasingly obvious discrepancies in the conspiracy testimony, swiftly obviated that scenario. Hilton began raining verbal punches as soon as he arrived in the Goldfield district court on May 23. He demanded a separate trial for St. John, and denounced conditions at the Goldfield jail. Just outside the jail door, a large and growing pile of manure from the adjoining livery stable sent redolent fumes through the single three by fifteen foot cell, seething with vermin, where the union leaders were confined with up to as many as three other prisoners, sometimes including women. Hilton called it a place "unfit to keep swine." He next requested a change of venue on the basis of a garbled affidavit by St. John, evidently based upon false rumor. This request was presently withdrawn, but Hilton succeeded in getting the union leaders admitted to bail. Though the amount was set very high at $10,000 apiece, St. John and two others were able to post it immediately.[24] When the annual WFM convention assembled at Denver in June, St. John (no doubt an unwelcome presence) was able to take his place in the Goldfield delegation. In a cheery note dashed off to Joseph Smith at the Nevada penitentiary, he observed, "We expect a hot time here and we may not get fooled"; he signed off, "well so long Joe be a good kid and we will have you back with us before long both of you. Yours for the Republic of Labor in our time."[25]

When the charges against the seven union leaders were finally dismissed that autumn, much criticism was being voiced against the WFM at the national level for its failure to lend assistance. The WFM executive board

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[23] Transcript, 48, 72, 247-76; on St. John's attitude toward political activities, see Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 143. Philip S. Foner notes that several years later St. John slightly modified his views and acknowledged that the IWW was "the political machine of the working class." See *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* v. II (New York, 1947-1965), 169-71.

[24] *Tonopah Sun*, May 25, 1907; *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, May 26, 29, 1907; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, June 8, 1907.

[25] St. John to Joseph W. Smith, June 9, 1907, Nevada Department of Prisons Records, Inmate file #1131, Nevada State Division of Archives.

responded defensively in its annual report: "while it has been frequently charged by the opponents of the Federation that our officers were taking no cognizance of these cases, we desire to state . . . that the Federation has defrayed the legal expense."[26]

On November 5, the final liquidation of the Goldfield miners' union commenced with the shooting of St. John. His assailant, Paddy Mullaney, was another veteran of Cripple Creek. However, the same yawning ideological chasm which separated the WFM from the IWW on the national level divided the Mullaney group of Socialists, who were committed to a militant industrial union, from the Saint's radicals. In addition, the two men were reportedly engaged in a power struggle for dominance within the local union. Mullaney, who apparently held no formal union position, had not taken a prominent part in union affairs or even attended recent meetings, and must have been a behind-the-scenes operator. The radicals had gained little ground; indeed, the union had once more capitulated to the mine owners during an August dispute over change rooms, and the radicals failed in their attempt to make Local No. 220 press the issue of non-union watchmen. Nonetheless, friction between Mullaney and St. John had developed during the last union election, in which Charles McKinnon, Haywood's brother-in-law, had defeated a more conservative candidate in his bid for the union presidency. A quarrel over alleged illegal voting methods became exacerbated when Mullaney's group defeated St. John's effort to have the Goldfield WFM declare a sympathy strike in support of the striking WFM local at the Nevada-California Power Company in Bishop, California, a development widely thought to signify that the radicals' influence was waning. Tempers grew so hot that each man threatened the other's life and both, in the *Goldfield Chronicle*'s phrase, began "going armed in anticipation of a mortal struggle."[27]

That struggle arrived when St. John and Mullaney stood earnestly conversing in front of the Palm Restaurant around 5:30 on the afternoon of November 5. The two men grew more and more excited. Suddenly Mullaney whipped out a revolver and began shooting at St. John, striking him twice in the left wrist and once in the upper right arm. As the fusillade whistled past, the crowd scattered; some individuals threw themselves to the ground, and others dashed for cover. One of the flying bullets narrowly missed District Attorney Swallow as he walked past in the street. Other passersby were not so lucky. Bob Kelly was hit in the abdomen by a bullet, and Pat Tennant, a fifty-year-old miner with a large family, was struck in the thigh, necessitating

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[26] *Miners' Magazine* VIII (Dec. 26, 1907), 7.

[27] *Goldfield Chronicle*, Nov. 6, 1907; also see the Nov. 5 issue, and the *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, Nov. 6-7, 1907.

the amputation of his leg above the knee. St. John made a run for the sheriff's office in the Palace Saloon, but sank to the street, weak from the loss of blood. While deputies hastened forth and an excited crowd surged around Tennant and Kelly, Mullaney walked quietly away; the press called him "the coolest man on the street." He presently submitted to arrest without resistance when witnesses pointed him out, although he refused to make any statement. Outside the jail, where St. John had been taken along with Mullaney, a large crowd waited for a bulletin on his condition. His injuries were to leave him crippled for life. Following a visit from Haywood, he departed from Goldfield in order to receive medical treatment in a Chicago hospital. He later became secretary and general organizer of the IWW at the national level. Mullaney was soon out on bail, which was allegedly furnished by prominent members of the Goldfield Citizens' Alliance. The press later noted that "for some reason" he was never prosecuted for assault—evidently a shooting spree was not a crime if one of the victims was St. John. Mullaney remained in Goldfield until the following May. Then, upon returning to his old haunts in Cripple Creek, he suddenly went so violently insane that four men could scarcely restrain him.[28]

On November 14, less than two weeks after the ill-omened shooting, Goldfield Con announced that the miners must accept half their pay in scrip, a decision the company ascribed to bank failures and the smelters' inability to pay cash in the wake of the October financial panic. Two days later, without consulting the miners' union, the company decided to issue all pay in scrip through the company-controlled John S. Cook & Company Bank, effective November 18. The issue of scrip, or "worthless paper," as many miners called it, instantly erased all differences between conservatives and radicals within the union, which voted almost unanimously not to accept scrip without guarantees of future monetary redemption. The vote for a strike to begin on the morning of November 27 was unanimous. Production dropped to nothing, and on December 2 the mine owners issued a declaration of war: all former agreements with Local No. 220 were canceled. Union efforts to negotiate were treated evasively. On December 6, at Nevada Governor John Sparks' request, President Theodore Roosevelt sent United States troops to keep order in Goldfield. The findings of the Roosevelt Commission, established later that month, subsequently made clear that the "domestic violence and unlawful combination and conspiracies" cited by Sparks were purely

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[28] Ibid. Also see the *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1908, and *Miners' Magazine* VIII (Dec. 12, 1907), 5. Frank J. Hangs, one of the defense attorneys in the Preston-Smith case, represented Mullaney at his preliminary hearing. Hangs had also represented him during the Cripple Creek troubles and secured his release from arrest. See the *Goldfield Chronicle*, Nov. 21, 1907, and Emma F. Langdon, *The Cripple Creek Strike: A History of Industrial War in Colorado* (New York, 1969), 174-75. Earl B. White states that one of the men wounded by Mullaney later died, but no confirmation of this has yet been uncovered. See "Might is Right: Unionism and Goldfield, Nevada, 1904-1908," *Journal of the West* XVI (July, 1977), 81.

illusory. However, the troops provided protection under which the mine owners implemented their plans to eradicate the union by establishing an illegal card system and importing scabs. By the spring of 1908, the union was completely devastated.[29]

In time, St. John came to see the Goldfield winter of 1906-1907 as "the highest point of efficiency for any labor organization," a kind of golden age when the union posted wage scales on the bulletin board and "it was the LAW." He also appeared to despair of ever seeing its like again. In 1915 he resigned from office and unsuccessfully prospected near Jicarilla, New Mexico. He was indicted in the general sweep of IWW leaders in 1917 and convicted, along with Haywood and 111 others, in a Chicago trial he characterized as "mob justice." He died in obscurity in 1929.[30]

One of the lingering mysteries that clings to the Goldfield union debacle is the question of St. John's responsibility. The shooting had removed him from participation in union affairs during the final showdown, but he had delayed the April agreement, he was a known advocate of violence and the destruction of property in the interest of the revolution, and his followers idolized him as much as his detractors despised him. National WFM leaders, as well as several historians, believed the union had been mortally wounded by the prolonged quarrel between radicals and conservatives within its ranks, and blamed the radicals for the union's downfall. In the words of *Miners' Magazine*, "the reptile of disruption crawled like a serpent into the local union."[31]

However, the evidence presented here suggests that St. John's presence had little influence upon the outcome. His counsel was consistently rejected by the union's conservative majority from the ratification of the April agreement onward. If he advocated violence, none occurred. Yet even this record of moderate behavior failed to soften the implacable opposition of the mine owners, to whom even a cautious and conservative WFM purged of the radicals would doubtless have been unacceptable. If anything, the events of 1907 indicate the ineffectiveness of union conservatism. Perhaps the Goldfield miners' union, despite the rhetorical flamboyance of its leaders, was never so strong and militant as its reputation—or as St. John later liked to recall. Although propitious circumstances during the leasing era had allowed the union to organize and win reasonable wages, and even though the IWW had thoroughly organized town workers, the union had capitulated in every

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[29] Rocha, "Radical Labor Struggles," 17-20; Russell R. Elliott, "Labor Troubles in the Mining Camp at Goldfield, Nevada, 1906-1908," *Pacific Historical Review* XIX (1950), 369-84.

[30] St. John, "Review of the Facts;" Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 143-44, 436.

[31] *Miners' Magazine* VIII (Dec. 12, 1907), n.p.; for the analyses of several historians, see White, "History," 187, Jensen, *Heritage*, 235, and, echoing Jensen, Mark Wyman, *Hard-Rock Epic: Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution* (Berkeley, 1979), 239.

labor dispute since the 1906 strike. The presence of St. John and the radical faction, however ineffectual, may have affected the outcome primarily by producing a negative public reaction to the union and a continuing fear among politicians that the radicals might gain influence; this probably nullified the benefits to the union's public image, which would otherwise have accrued from its conservative behavior. It also accelerated the process of isolating labor from its local allies outside the working class.[32] Because the call for federal troops was a coup which depended upon support from Nevada's high officials—and one which even a union totally united over the scrip issue was powerless to prevent—the union's public image was by no means an insignificant matter.

An awareness of the negative shock waves the mere presence of the radicals had set in motion appears in Local No. 220's final bargaining efforts and in the Roosevelt Commission report. Tacitly accepting its opponents' charges, the union promised to purge its ranks of any remaining "agitators of the trouble-making order" and make Goldfield "a camp only of good, well-intending miners." The owners were, of course, absolutely uninterested in dealing with the WFM, however good and well-intending, and this desperate offer was never entertained. The Roosevelt Commission, while finding no evidence that violence had actually occurred, nonetheless stated that the union was "managed and controlled by men of violent tendencies." It had therefore invited "the reproach of being a vicious organization" and indeed "furnished a foundation for the fear existing in Goldfield." The identity of these mysterious "men of violent tendencies" was never revealed, but the Nevada public undoubtedly read it as a code phrase referring to St. John and his lieutenants.[33]

In the last analysis, if St. John had harmed the men he meant to emancipate, he did so only in the ephemeral realm of public relations, which the mine owners could manipulate so adroitly. As he had foretold, the battlefield was not to be one he chose, nor even one he fully understood. Resounding victories at McKees Rocks and elsewhere lay ahead of him. But the union in Goldfield was shattered around him, a graphic illustration of the inherent flaws in syndicalist theory. As he departed from Goldfield, crippled by Mullaney's bullets, it is not certain that even he still possessed a heart for any fate.

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[32] On the process of social polarization in general, see Melvyn Dubofsky, "The Origins of Working Class Radicalism," *Labor History* VII (Spring, 1966), 139.

[33] Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 123; *Goldfield Chronicle*, Dec. 19, 1907. On the public perception of St. John's role, see the editorial in the *Goldfield Weekly News*, Dec. 14, 1907.

Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Inc.: Southern Nevada's First Venture into Commercial Tourism

DENNIS MCBRIDE

ALTHOUGH COMMERCIAL TOURISM in southern Nevada today centers almost exclusively on Las Vegas gambling, this has been the case only since the end of World War II. Shortly before Hoover Dam was completed in 1936, when Las Vegas was still a small city with dirt roads, one Nevada corporation established an ambitious tourist service monopoly centered around the dam, Lake Mead, and Boulder City (where both gambling and the sale of liquor were illegal). Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Incorporated (GCBDT) was the dream of millionaire aviation pioneer Glover Ruckstell and Boulder City businessman Paul Webb.

GCBDT—the first comprehensive commercial service to operate in southern Nevada—offered "luxury" hotel accommodations and boat tours of the new lake and Grand Canyon; it sponsored extensive motor tours of Clark County, the river country, and Death Valley; and it operated two airlines. Initially, the company promised wealth for its owners and stockholders, and an unchallenged opportunity for future expansion. Yet this promising enterprise was virtually ruined within three years of its founding through a combination of federal regulation, the incompetence of corporate executives, and events beyond anyone's control.

Glover E. "Roxie" Ruckstell (according to Bill Belknap, who worked for him in the late 1930s)

was a skinny, wiry man—almost no hair. He was very tanned—a very good-looking guy. He invented the Ruskstell Axle in the early twenties; it was kind of an overdrive for Model T trucks, and they sold them all over the world. It made him a millionaire. I guess he made and lost several bundles of money, and that was one of them. He was into aviation, too, and flew himself everywhere—that was his main interest. He knew a lot of the pioneers in aviation quite intimately, and he had his own airplanes. He sure had a lot of charm and was friendly with very wealthy society people.[1]

[1] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, January 24, 1938, 3:4. Author's interview with Bill Belknap, Jr., Boulder City, Nevada, June 16, 1980.

G.E. Ruckstell in 1939. *(Courtesy of Bill Belknap)*

Ruckstell maintained a low public profile, preferring to use his business associates to represent him in his various enterprises. He was cool toward those he did not like or know, and self-conscious about his baldness (he always wore a hat to disguise it). Ruckstell was a free-market entrepreneur who enjoyed risking money on new inventions or promising dreams. It was

his love of aviation, his business acumen, and his imaginative far-sightedness which brought him to Boulder City in early 1935.

Ruckstell founded Grand Canyon Airlines, which operated out of Boulder City's airport, known then as Bullock's Field. This airline consisted of three Ford Trimotors that flew every day from Bullock's Field to landing strips on both the north and south rims of Grand Canyon. This was an ambitious operation for those early years; tourists were still too scarce to support many daily flights. But Ruckstell had faith in southern Nevada's potential for becoming a popular tourist playground, and rather than gearing his flight schedules to the existing demand, he hoped his service would encourage the growth of southern Nevada's travel industry. He dreamed of someday owning a tourist empire in the Boulder Dam Recreational Area (known later as the Lake Mead National Recreation Area), one which would offer a variety of tourist services, including boating and marinas on the future lake, air and ground transportation, gasoline stations, shops, and a luxury hotel.[2]

It was through his desire to headquarter his future tourist empire at a grand hotel that Ruckstell met Paul S. "Jim" Webb, a Beverly Hills building contractor who came to Boulder City in 1931 to bid on a government contract for housing dam workers. On October 1, 1931, he was granted a permit to establish Boulder City Builders Supply, a lumber and concrete block manufacturing yard on the outskirts of the townsite. The finished timber and block from Webb's supply yard was used to construct nearly all of the town's most significant early dwellings, including the famous Boulder Dam Hotel.[3]

Vona Spilsbury, whose husband Raymond's money financed the Boulder Dam Hotel, remembers Webb as a man of "tremendous visions, but no finances. He knew what he wanted, but he really didn't always know how to finance it. He was a real dreamer, but those dreams too often overrode his business savvy."[4] Webb dreamed of transforming Boulder City into a great southwest playground, with his hotel playing the leading role; it was this hope which led him to borrow money and expand the hotel. Like Ruckstell, he believed the tourist industry would grow to support the services he offered.[5] By the summer of 1935, Webb was expanding the Boulder Dam Hotel a second time, but he was barely covering his expenses. He had, however, received support from additional outside investors.

At this point, Webb and Ruckstell formed a partnership. Webb needed money, and Ruckstell was a millionaire with cash to invest. They shared dreams for developing the area into a tourist paradise. Webb had managing

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[2] Belknap interview. Author's interview with Murl Emery, Boulder City, Nevada, April 27, 1980. Author's interview with Elton Garrett, Boulder City, Nevada, April 21, 1980.

[3] *Boulder City News*, March 5, 1981, 8:1-2, 10:1-2; *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, December 15, 1933, 5:3.

[4] Author's interview with Vona Spilsbury, Boulder City, Nevada, June 13, 1980.

[5] Ibid.

control of the Boulder Dam Hotel, and Ruckstell needed a hotel as a base for his tourist empire. The moment seemed propitious. "Webb traded his interest in the hotel," remembers Belknap, "for stock in a new corporation Ruckstell wanted to form: Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Incorporated."[6]

Throughout the rest of 1935 and the beginning of 1936, Webb promoted the infant corporation vigorously in order to draw seed money from investors. Charles Cady invested a good deal of money at the outset. Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours was incorporated under Nevada law on June 6, 1936, and offices were established in Boulder City at the Boulder Dam Hotel, where Paul Webb was resident agent.[7]

The business activities outlined for GCBDT in the third of its articles of incorporation were extensive, and included air service for passengers, freight, and mail, as well as truck, bus and boat lines. In addition, GCBDT would build and operate all necessary facilities such as airports, marinas, hotels, restaurants, and other commercial and recreational facilities. GCBDT proposed to acquire and promote whatever independent tourist services there might be in the area with cash payments or in exchange for stock in GCBDT.[8] The first members of the Board of Directors of GCBDT were Ruckstell and his associates from Los Angeles, George Boggs and Harry McClean. Ruckstell became president of GCBDT, Paul Webb the vice-president, and F.W. Manske (secretary-treasurer of the hotel corporation owned by Webb and Raymond Spilsbury) became the secretary.[9]

Throughout 1936 and the beginning months of 1937, the corporation rapidly expanded, and many individuals from Boulder City, and among the wealthy out-of-state friends of Webb and Ruckstell, invested in the enterprise. These included Stewart Linden, a steel millionaire and society playboy from San Francisco named Henry Belden, Joe Messick, and pioneer Las Vegas businessman Jim Cashman. GCBDT took over small independent concessions, and soon appeared to be an imposing umbrella company. Investors and concessionaires were so eager to join GCBDT, in fact, that the articles of incorporation were soon amended to authorize the sale of more stock.[10]

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[6] Author's interview with Erma Godbey, Boulder City, Nevada, July 7, 1980; Belknap interview.

[7] Garrett interview. Articles of Incorporation #1674, State of Nevada, Grand Canyon Tours, Inc., June 9, 1936.

[8] See *Articles of Incorporation*, Article 3.

[9] Ibid., Article 4. Memorandum of March 17, 1937, from Charles L. Gable, Chief, Park Operators Division, National Park Service, to the Director, National Park Service. Certificate of Amendment, Articles of Incorporation, September 9, 1936. All official communications cited in this article, such as those to and from Park Service officials, those involving Sims Ely (the City Manager of Boulder City) and ones to and from Bureau of Reclamation personnel, etc., are in the possession of the author in the form of duplicated copies. This collection will be donated to the Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Library, in the latter part of 1984.

[10] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, July 14, 1937, 3:5. Author's interview with Joe and Anne

With this infusion of money, and under the persuasive corporate direction of Roxie Ruckstell, the GCBDT empire seemed well-established by the winter of 1937. In a personal letter to Bureau of Reclamation Commissioner John Page, dated March 9, 1937, Boulder City Manager Sims Ely outlined GCBDT's interests:

> . . . the Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam tours owns or controls the Hotel Holding Corporation, which in turn owns the Boulder Dam Hotel, and likewise controls the Grand Canyon Airlines, which holds the concession for the local airport, and 'Tours' likewise controls Murl Emery, Inc., which owns the commercial boats on Lake Mead . . . [and] all these commercial activities function through [GCBDT]. . . .[11]

Well before this, on August 19, 1936, shortly after the dam was completed, the Bureau of Reclamation had entered into a Memorandum of Agreement with the National Park Service. This turned control of all the project lands, known as the Boulder Canyon Project Federal Reservation, over to the National Park Service, except for the dam and Boulder City, over which the Bureau retained control. Since the Boulder City Airport was outside the city limits, the Park Service was granted control over that facility, and the Grand Canyon Airlines' lease was transferred. The Park Service formed the Boulder Dam Recreational Area with its land, and had complete jurisdiction there, insofar as its operation of the Recreational Area (subject to Bureau of Reclamation approval) did not adversely affect Boulder City or the operation of the dam.[12] Webb and Ruckstell wanted to secure an exclusive concession from the Park Service to build, own, and operate all tourist facilities within the new recreation area.

The application process proved to be a far from simple one. Following the application, a complicated tangle of correspondence ensued between GCBDT, U.S. District Counsel Richard J. Coffey, Boulder City Manager Sims Ely, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Reclamation offices in Boulder City, Denver, and Washington, D.C., and a handful of individuals with vested interests in the proposition. A case can be made that GCBDT became enmeshed in a very complex bureaucratic tangle.

Reservations over the proposed contract were raised first in a letter from Acting Bureau of Reclamation Commissioner Sanford to the Bureau's Chief Engineer, R.F. Walter, on February 17, 1937. In the draft contract between GCBDT and the Park Service Sanford had been sent, he took exception to

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Pittman, Boulder City, Nevada, December 21, 1981. *Boulder City Recorder*, July 14, 1939, 1:3, 5. Godbey interview. See Certificate of Amendment, p. 1.

[11] Letter of March 9, 1937, from Boulder City Manager Sims Ely to Bureau of Reclamation Commissioner John C. Page.

[12] Memorandum of Agreement between the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation and the National Park Service, August 19, 1936 (approved by the Secretary of Interior, October 13, 1936), paragraph 3.

Article 1 (d).[13] In this section of the contract the areas in which GCBDT could operate hotels, lodges, camps and businesses were outlined:

1. An area within a radius of 12 miles of Boulder Dam,
2. An area within a radius of 12 miles from the boat landing at Pierce's Ferry,
3. An area within a radius of 12 miles of the boat landing near Overton, and
4. Such other areas in the Boulder Canyon Recreational Project as and when expressly designated by the Secretary [of the Interior].

A problem arose with the very first item in the enumeration. Boulder City was only seven miles from Boulder Dam, and as the contract was written GCBDT concessions would include concessions within the Boulder City limits. Since GCBDT was applying for these under the aegis of the National Park Service, control of some of the Bureau of Reclamation's property in Boulder City would have to be transferred to the Park Service. The Bureau would not let this happen, and a battle was launched.

The first man to fight the contract was Sims Ely, the Boulder City manager, a loyal Bureau of Reclamation employee, and a fierce, tee-totaling protector of Boulder City and its businessmen. Before the Memorandum of Agreement between the Bureau and the Park Service was signed, Ely had enjoyed unchallenged dictatorial powers over the Boulder Canyon Project Federal Reservation; who could live in Boulder City, who could conduct business there, and even who could visit the project and who could not, was up to Sims Ely alone. After the Memorandum, Ely's power extended no further than the city limits. When Ely was sent a draft copy of GCBDT's contract, his complaint to Bureau Construction Engineer Ralph Lowry over Article I (d) was prompt. As he understood the agreement, Ely noted, "the Boulder Dam Hotel and all the operations connected therewith are to be transferred to the Park Service . . ." Ely also directed attention to Article I (e) of the contract, which, he wrote, "would enable the concessionaire to establish at the beach a business so extensive that it could compete with practically every enterprise in Boulder City."[14]

In a reply, U.S. District Counsel Richard J. Coffey held an entirely opposite opinion. He claimed that GCBDT operations would bring tourists into the area, thereby benefiting Boulder City business.[15]

R.F. Walter, Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Reclamation in Denver, in a letter to John C. Page, the new Bureau of Reclamation Commissioner in Washington, D.C., concurred with Ely. Walter suggested the questions

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[13] Letter of February 17, 1937, Sanford to R.F. Walter. Draft, Contract No. 1-1p-10684, July 1, 1937-June 30, 1957, between the Dept. of Interior, National Park Service, and Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Inc., Article I (d), p. 3.

[14] See Draft, Contract No. 1-1p-10684, cited Ibid., Article I (e), p. 4. Memorandum, Ely to Lowry, February 19, 1937.

[15] Letter of February 20, 1937, from U.S. District Counsel Richard J. J. Coffey to Page.

raised could be settled by adding to Article I, section (d) of the contract a simple qualification: "except the areas in Boulder City and at the dam which are under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Reclamation." Further, Walter believed that creation of any businesses in the area likely to pose competition for Boulder City should be made subject to the approval of the Bureau of Reclamation. That approval, of course, would be made through Ely, who had already expressed his opposition.[16]

In addition, Walter insisted that the government's piece of the fiscal action generated by GCBDT was not enough. He felt that the $250 per year that GCBDT would pay the government for concession privileges should be raised to at least $1,000. And the government's 22½ percent of GCBDT profits was not, in Walter's estimation, adequately protected; indeed, as he told Page:

> There appears to be nothing in the contract to prevent the operator from paying extravagant salaries to executives and employees which would absorb practically all of the profits. It is believed the contract should contain a provision placing definite restrictions on such salaries and making them subject to the approval of the Secretary [of the Interior].

Finally, Walter felt the contract would be cumbersome to administer given the many details requiring approval by the Interior Secretary. He thought authority to decide most of these questions should be delegated to either the "official in charge of the Recreational Project Area [Guy D. Edwards, a friend of Webb and Ruckstell, and an acquaintance of Sims Ely] or the Director of the National Park Service.[17]

Webb and Ruckstell became aware of the official correspondence going on in regard to their proposal. Webb sent an urgent telegram to Commissioner Page on March 4, 1937 expressing his fear that because the Bureau objected to so many points in the contract, negotiations would have to start all over again or be abandoned.[18] Page sent a telegram back to Webb on March 5, assuring him that this would not be the case.[19] On March 4 and March 8, Webb and Guy Edwards, who was Supervisor of the Boulder Dam Recreational Area, had two long meetings with Sims Ely. Ely reported these meetings in meticulous detail to Commissioner Page in a personal letter on March 9:

> All these talks were for the purpose of persuading me that I ought to withdraw the objections I had previously made to the wording of the contract . . . I did not learn how they knew that I had objections—but I had no hesitation in telling them my views, nor in saying at the end of each call that my ideas were unchanged, but if my

[16] Walter to Page, February 25, 1937.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Reference in telegram sent May 5, 1937 to P.S. Webb from Page.
[19] Ibid.

superiors thought otherwise, I wouldn't be so presumptuous as to press my suggestions.[20]

Ely, who apparently did not trust Guy Edwards, felt that GCBDT had plans that were not being revealed:

> Mr. Edwards, I always find is rather reserved and apparently mysterious, and during his visit(s) he appeared anxious to work a change in my views while giving me as little information as possible. But when I pointed out that Boulder City . . . is the place where all business should be carried on . . . Mr. Edwards said (inadvertently, I surmised later): 'Why, that would prevent all our development in Hemengway [sic] Wash.' I replied, 'Then you do plan to do some developing down there?' and he rejoined, 'Well, nothing certain, except a camp.' Twice later in the talk, Mr. Edwards said he hoped I didn't misunderstand him about Hemengway Wash; that no plans had been made.[21]

The actual nature of any "secret" plans was never clarified. Ely was also afraid that because GCBDT owned the Boulder Dam Hotel through Paul Webb, the Bureau would lose control of the hotel's land lease, which was a substantial source of revenue. Ely also revealed to Page that Webb repeatedly had claimed that Page was in favor of the contract, whether Page really was or not.[22]

Two days after Ely wrote his letter, Commissioner Page sent a memorandum to Assistant Director Moskey of the National Park Service agreeing with Ely's objections, and recommending changes be made in the contract. On March 13, 1937, Commissioner Page forwarded a letter to Ely, thanked him for the information and asked him to keep the Bureau of Reclamation aware of any developments in the matter.[23]

Just nine days later, Ely sent another report, this one concerning two more meetings with Webb, Ruckstell, Edwards, and Charles Gable (Chief of the Branch of Operations of the National Park Service), and Ralph Lowry.[24] Gable had been sent from the Park Service to find out why the Bureau of Reclamation was so unhappy with the GCBDT contract, and in those two meetings with Ely, the real issue was revealed. The point Ely made during these meetings was that if the Bureau were to approve the contract, the Park Service and GCBDT might take that as approval to build and operate whatever facilities they wished without consulting the Bureau any further. Ely wrote:

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[20] Ely to Page, March 9, 1937.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Page to Moskey, March 11, 1937; Page to Ely, March 13, 1937.
[24] Sims to Page, March 22, 1937.

. . . all concerned would do well to remember that the Bureau may never—probably would not—approve the installation of auto courts, camps, cabins or filling stations in the area that would directly or indirectly affect Boulder City.[25]

Gable of the Park Service assured Ely again that the Service would still be bound to come to the Bureau for approval of development. Ely insisted a clause to this effect be included in the contract, but Gable maintained that was not necessary. Ely did not want the Park Service (by itself or through GCBDT) to make any improvements or developments in the area without Bureau of Reclamation approval. In demanding such a clause in the contract, he sought to protect Bureau sovereignty against the National Park Service. GCBDT was caught in the middle.

Gable drafted an extensive memorandum to the Director of the Park Service, in which he refuted, point by point, all of the Bureau of Reclamation's objections to the draft contract with GCBDT. He believed the Memorandum of Agreement signed by the Park Service and the Bureau of Reclamation in 1936 covered everything the Bureau of Reclamation was worried about, including control of the Boulder Dam Hotel. Webb's hotel was in Boulder City, and therefore control over the inn remained with the Bureau of Reclamation. The only suggestion Gable urged the Park Service to adopt was the original one made by Bureau Chief Engineer Walter in Denver; this was the addition of the few words, "except the areas which are in Boulder City and at the dam which are under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Reclamation."[26]

In an air mail letter commenting on Gable's letter, Construction Engineer Lowry agreed with Gable's position, and implied that Commissioner Page ought to do the same. He was convinced the 1936 Memorandum of Agreement would cover the disputed points. Page took Lowry's advice, and contacted the National Park Service, which made the one addition Gable suggested; the Park Service in turn notified Commissioner Page this had been done.[27]

Once arguments were settled, the Park Service moved quickly. The contract, No. I-lp-10684, was drafted a final time, reviewed, then signed by T.A. Walters, First Assistant Secretary of the Interior and G.E. Ruckstell on May 13, 1937.[28] Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes announced publicly that the contract had been signed, and that Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Incorporated had been awarded the concession:

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Memorandum from Charles Gable, Chief, Park Operators Division, National Park Service, March 17, 1937.

[27] Lowry to Page, April 6, 1937; Memorandum, Page to Director, National Park Service, April 22, 1937.

[28] Final Draft, Contract No. 1-lp-10684, between the U.S. Department of Interior and Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Inc.

The Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Inc., was today granted a 20-year exclusive concession to provide and operate all hotels, cabins, airports, air transportation, motor launch service, boat docks, automobiles, freight and mail transportation and pack and saddle horse service within the Boulder Dam Recreational Area . . .[29]

The contract ran from July 1, 1937 through June 30, 1957. But while it gave the company exclusive rights in the area for all tourist-connected business, GCBDT's operations were heavily regulated.

For instance, Article III of the contract allowed GCBDT to use natural resources within the recreational area, but only under supervision of a representative of the Park Service, which GCBDT would have to pay for exercising the supervision. The company had to provide all water and sewer systems throughout the area. Should there already exist any electrical systems, telephone or telegraph lines, the company could use them for a fee, payable to the government; but should any of these services not exist, and be deemed necessary for the convenience of tourists (in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior) the company had to pay for building them.

The payment schedule to the government of profits from the operation was settled in the contract. GCBDT had to pay the government $250 within 60 days of December 31 of each year. Then the company could keep all profits of that year up to 6% of its investment. Of any money made beyond that, the government was to receive 22½%.

Finally, according to Article VIII, the company had to provide any and all services, anywhere in the area, which the Secretary of the Interior deemed necessary even if the company believed them to be unnecessary. If the company wished to argue the points, it could do so through a lengthy and complicated process of appeal, in which the Secretary's word was final in any event.

Even by today's standards, many of the regulations outlined in the government's contract with GCBDT seem excessive. But GCBDT had invested too much money in the project to back out or renegotiate. The company went ahead under the best terms it could get, and began development of the Boulder Dam Recreational Area.

The first target for improvement was Bullock's Field. Ruckstell wanted to bring a national airline into Boulder City in addition to operating his own local Grand Canyon Airlines. At the same time, TWA (Transcontinental and Western Airways, Inc.) was in a dispute with the FAA. TWA needed to stop in southern Nevada in order to establish a San Francisco terminal on its eastern route.[30] Western Air Express had the mail service to Las Vegas, however, and postal law prohibited one airline from operating a mail service within twenty-five miles of a competitor. Boulder City was one mile outside

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[29] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, May 20, 1937, 1:2.

[30] John Cahlan, "The Skies were Conquered," *Nevada Centennial Magazine*, 1964, p. 48.

of the limit, and TWA applied for service there. It is not clear if either Ruckstell or Webb had a direct hand in bringing TWA to Boulder City, but each supported the airline's application, which was filed in early September, 1937. GCBDT began working closely with TWA sometime in late 1937 or early 1938.[31]

TWA was granted a license to operate in Boulder City, and in preparation, the Park Service, which controlled Bullock's Field, began clearing three new runways in January of 1938 with labor from the local CCC camp. But the airport still had no facilities other than the small wood frame depot used since 1935 by Grand Canyon Airlines; in addition, the runways were "paved" only with caliche.[32]

In February of 1938, GCBDT entered into an agreement with TWA. Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours agreed to improve Boulder City Airport facilities if TWA leased them. Ed Campbell, a pilot for Grand Canyon Airlines, would be TWA's field manager as soon as the planes began landing. TWA would lease the Grand Canyon Airline hangar that had been built a year before (illegally, it turned out, across several plots of land retained near the airport by the Bureau of Reclamation).[33] Clancy Doyhoff, TWA's publicity chief, remarked "I believe that southern Nevada affords a wealth of possibilities and that Boulder City and Las Vegas, with Boulder Dam and Mt. Charleston, will develop into the finest playground in the entire west."[34] TWA's Douglas "sky lounges" inaugurated mail and passenger service on April 3, 1938, although the government did not approve the agreement between TWA and GCBDT until August of that year.[35]

Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours committed $50,000 of its investors' money to airport improvements. The company built a Pueblo-design air terminal, paved and extended two runways, planted landscaping, and oiled the warm-up paths to keep dirt from billowing into the passenger's faces.[36]

Meanwhile, Ruckstell and Webb were busy securing their control over Murl Emery's boat business on Lake Mead, expanding the service, and naming the bays and beaches around the shore. GCBDT had submitted to the Park Service in August, 1937, a list of the crafts held in their boat concession, and the relative service charges, for approval by the Secretary of

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[31] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, September 9, 1937, 1:8. Transcript of telegram, Page to "Reclamation, Boulder City, Nevada," September 23, 1937.

[32] *Las Vegas Age*, January 28, 1938, 1:4. *The Reclamation Era*,, June 1938, p. 110.

[33] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, February 8, 1938, 1:5. Ely to Page, March 9, 1938.

[34] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, February 8, 1938, 1:5.

[35] *The Reclamation Era*, June 1938, p. 110. *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, August 19, 1938, Section II, 1:3.

[36] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, December 20, 1938, Section II, 1:1-3 and April 19, 1938, Section II, 1:3. This 62½ × 50 foot terminal contained a waiting room with a fireplace, restrooms, a radio room, ticket office, an office for airport manager Ed Campbell, and a tiled vestibule. Although the depot was absorbed in the building housing the Boulder City Elks Lodge, it is still intact.

the Interior. The rental rates for these boats ranged from $2.75 to $15 per hour. The boat service was launched from docks at Regatta Bay, now known as Hemenway Harbor. In July, 1938, GCBDT began a "flying boat" service, landing Boeing amphibious seaplanes on the lake.[37]

Former Boulder Dam Hotel bellman Joe Pittman, who often served as chauffeur for GCBDT and as an after-hours tour guide for hotel guests, recalls a typical tour itinerary:

> It was quite a thing for those days. Ruckstell flew into Boulder with private guests in his own plane. Then he flew the amphibious plane from Regatta Bay to Pierce's Ferry. He took them to Grand Canyon on a cabin cruiser; then back to Pierce's Ferry, where I picked the party up by automobile. Ruckstell had automobile trips, too, up to Pierce's Ferry, the Valley of Fire, in to Las Vegas, out to Death Valley . . . .[38]

Inauguration of TWA service to Bullock's Field, Boulder City, on April 3, 1938.

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[37] Enclosure in a letter, September 10, 1937, from the acting Director of the National Park Service to the Audit Division of the General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, July 8, 1938, Section II, 1:1-2.

[38] Pittman interview.

By the time the firm was awarded its concession by the Park Service, its monopoly was complete. Using the Boulder Dam Hotel as home base, tourists could fly to the Grand Canyon in GCBDT planes; travel from Boulder City to the dam and the lake (and even into Las Vegas's infamous red light district) in GCBDT limousines; and visit such far reaches of the recreational area as the Overton Arm, Pierce's Ferry, and Separation Canyon on company boats. Guests were waited on in the hotel dining room by GCBDT waitresses, while the manager, still another GCBDT employee, made sure their stay was comfortable. All the tourists who arrived on TWA passed through the Boulder City Airport terminal, which had been built with the firm's money. With such extensive and exclusive services, and with some of the world's most glamorous and well-heeled people spending their money for them, GCBDT appeared to be quite prosperous and sound.

Yet the company became insolvent. Indeed, financial pressures had begun to build as early as the fall of 1937. In a letter to Sims Ely, Paul Webb noted that "a very small percentage of the tourists visiting the [recreational] area are finding their way down to the beach boat landing [at Lake Mead]."[39] Consequently, the boat concession was losing money. Webb suggested that a young man in a boatman's uniform be allowed to circulate among tourists on top of Hoover Dam to hand out descriptive brochures about boat excursions. The government refused to permit this, however, in order to keep Park Service activities in the recreational area separate from those of the Bureau of Reclamation at Hoover Dam.[40] GCBDT approached the Bureau several times with other schemes designed to increase revenue. Glover Ruckstell himself wrote a letter to Boulder Canyon Project Construction Engineer Ralph Lowry suggesting a bus and limousine service be operated between the crest of Hoover Dam and the Lower Portal Road:

> The purpose of this service is to meet a requested demand by visitors to see Boulder Dam from the river where the view is most spectacular. . . . There are some people who do not ride the dam elevator, who would make this bus trip and join the guide parties at the base of the dam. It might be attractive to go down by elevator and back by bus, or vice versa.[41]

This request was also denied; Lowry's justification was that approval "would be for . . . financial assistance to the Company, which I have been given to understand is urgently needed."[42]

The creativity of some of these schemes grew in proportion to the company's increasingly precarious financial situation. GCBDT publicity manager Chuck Slocombe suggested building an escalator from the crest of Hoover

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[39] Webb to Ely, October 27, 1937.
[40] Lowry to Walter, November 3, 1938.
[41] Ruckstell to Lowry, February 17, 1938.
[42] Lowry to Walter, March 30, 1938.

Dam down the bare face of Black Canyon to a GCBDT boat dock at the bottom, where tourists could embark on romantic starlight voyages across the lake.[43]

The government refused all of GCBDT's proposals. Investors in GCBDT took enormous losses; their capital was drained away for improvements at the airport, and to support services for insufficient numbers of tourists. Webb pulled out of the company in April, 1939, and took back control of his Boulder Dam Hotel. GCBDT moved its offices out of the hotel and changed its resident agent on June 29, 1940, and a year later Ruckstell appointed a new vice-president, Fred B. Patterson. Patterson was a major new investor, and he financed the Hualapai Lodge (now the Lake Mead Lodge) on the shores of Lake Mead, which opened in October, 1941 in direct competition with Webb's Boulder Dam Hotel. The lodge was also granted the unprecedented privilege of serving liquor, a privilege denied any business in Boulder City. The opening of the Hualapai Lodge in October, 1941, provided something of a new beginning for GCBDT. But this new beginning was cut short when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, and America went to war.[44]

Speculation concerning whether GCBDT might have succeeded if the attack on Pearl Harbor had not occurred—or at least had happened a few months later—is moot. The company seems to have been bankruptcy-bound since its incorporation.

The government over-regulated GCBDT, and even routine operations were too closely monitored. For instance, GCBDT could not charge what it wanted for its services; the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, had to approve prices. GCBDT could not arbitrarily raise its rates to offset any business losses it might suffer; this required a timeconsuming decision from the Secretary, which left GCBDT losing money. In addition, the Secretary had to approve beforehand anyone the company wished to hire; and the government had to have access to all the accounting books, memoranda, correspondence and other records of the company. Employees of the Department of the Interior received free accommodations when they were in the area on business—and the definition of "official business" was left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. As soon as GCBDT signed its contract with the government, the Park Service began rushing it to develop the recreational area before the company was ready. The Park Service in-

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[43] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, November 12, 1937, 1:5.

[44] Belknap interview. *Boulder City Reminder*, April 5, 1939, 1:3. Articles of Incorporation #1674, State of Nevada, Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Incorporated, June 9, 1937, Resolution Changing Principal Place of Business of Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Inc., and Appointment of Resident Agent, June 29, 1940. *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, October 11, 1941, 4:4-6. Letter, March 16, 1942, from the Acting Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, to Bureau of Reclamation Chief Engineer S.O. Harper.

sisted, for example, that GCBDT run boat trips from Regatta Bay into the lower end of the Grand Canyon every day.[45]

Many aspects of GCBDT's decline and failure were self-inflicted, however. Both Webb and Ruckstell misjudged the growth of tourism in southern Nevada; and they overextended themselves in anticipation of an influx that never came. There simply were not enough tourists to support daily boat trips into Grand Canyon, daily flights of Ruckstell's Grand Canyon Airlines, or the Hualapai Lodge. As a result, GCBDT concessions lost money heavily.[46] Elton Garrett, Boulder City's first newspaper reporter, recalls a comment Murl Emery made in the late 1930s about GCBDT's financial situation: "I rode with Murl Emery in one of the boats on the lake, and saw him point up to one of the GCBDT planes flying over. He said, 'You know why we're going broke? Gasoline for those planes—they don't have enough passengers to take care of the costs.' "[47] Murl Emery himself said, "Who was it brought in all the people he knew to ride the airplanes for nothing? Ruckstell. The airplanes broke us."[48]

"The corporation that Ruckstell organized," states Elton Garrett, "was too large and imposing. It was far ahead of its time, but for those times, and the small amount of traffic it generated, it was too expensive a proposition. It was good for the area, though—it helped develop it. But it didn't pay enough."[49]

"There wasn't all that much demand for all those services then," remembers Bill Belknap, whose mother lost a lot of money in the company. "It was before its time. [Ruckstell] had all this empire, with all these possibilities, and concessions to do things, but the business wasn't developed. There were just not enough [tourists] to do it. And the war coming on didn't help any."[50]

GCBDT chauffeur Joe Pittman recalls the plight of the company and of the Boulder Dam Hotel in the closing days of 1939:

> Those tours consisted of an all-day, ten-hour trip up into the extreme south end of Grand Canyon. They were difficult to sell because most people thought it would be a boring return trip. But it wasn't, really. Mr. Ruckstell just couldn't make a go of it, and he was going bankrupt. He was an absentee landlord, for one thing, and went off and left the hotel in the hands strictly of the management. If he was ever there, he more or less used the hotel for entertainment. But everything was premature, the thing was just wrong, with the plane trips and boat trips. It just wasn't a paying proposition. If he could have had just the hotel, but taken away all the tours, he could have been successful . . .[51]

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[45] Belknap interview.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Garrett interview.
[48] Emery interview.
[49] Garrett interview.
[50] Belknap interview.
[51] Pittman interview.

Finally, Grand Canyon-Boulder Dam Tours, Inc., was a victim of events well beyond its control. A large percentage of the tourists who came to the Boulder Dam Recreational Area were from Europe; and long before World War II directly involved the United States, it restricted international travel. Much of the company's favorable publicity was due to the patronage of exotic and glamorous foreigners; when they were gone, interest in GCBDT's services declined.[52] The initial impact of America's involvement in the war seems to have hastened the failure of the company; gasoline rationing helped finish off the motor and boat tours, for example. Restriction of civilian air traffic hastened the collapse of Grand Canyon Airlines and the decay of the Boulder City Airport. Las Vegas boomed during the war years, but the company was unable to take advantage of the new situation.

Not long after Pearl Harbor, Ruckstell sold GCBDT to Fred Patterson; he moved to California and founded the Ruckstell-Hayward Engine Company.[53] GCBDT survived, but only as a pale reflection of Ruckstell's and Webb's grandiose hopes and plans. The company sold off in piecemeal fashion many of its concessions during the war years,[54] and there was a reorganization in 1946 that proved ineffectual in solving any of the basic problems the company faced. The firm endured a drumfire of criticism in the immediate postwar period. The Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, its Boulder City counterpart, and various interested investors often were in the forefront. The lack of adequate facilities, and the failure of the company to provide enough services and to invest in the development of the area attracted attention. For a time in 1946 and 1947, a group backed by the Hollywood singer and movie star Bing Crosby claimed to be interested in investing heavily in the improvement of facilities, but not, of course, in GCBDT itself. By early 1947, this group backed out, and criticism of the company increased.[55]

The firm maintained a corporate existence until the early 1960s,[56] but it was unable to capitalize on the tremendous expansion of the tourist and gaming industries in the postwar era. Thus, southern Nevada's first commercial tourist enterprise in the Lake Mead-Boulder City area met an inglorious end. It had perhaps arrived on the scene too early, but it also suffered from weaknesses of poor business judgment and planning, and to some extent from governmental interference. World War II did not destroy a flourishing and

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[52] These famous individuals included, among many others, former Mexican President Pascual Ortiz de Rubio, Frances Lederer and Margo, Czechoslovakian millionaire Edvard Valenta, Chilean copper tycoon Juan Carrasco, Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Martha of Norway, and the Duchess of Westminster.

[53] *Boulder City News*, Septermber 28, 1945, 6:4.

[54] Belknap interview.

[55] See the index files of the *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* at the Nevada Historical Society, Las Vegas, for references to the post-war plans of the Crosby group, and the criticism of GCBDT by local groups and individuals.

[56] The Certificate of Dissolution was filed in early April, 1962.

healthy business enterprise, but simply further weakened a company that was seriously in trouble. It may well be that the aspirations of the GCBDT investors would have been more appropriate for the late 1940s and early 1950s, rather than the late 1930s.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Drowning Out the Paiute Ground Squirrels: Lorenzo Creel's Observations on Ruby Valley Indian Life and Problems in 1917

DONALD R. TUOHY

LORENZO D. CREEL, whose five Ruby Valley, Nevada documents form the subject of this presentation, was with the U.S. Department of the Interior from 1900 until his retirement in 1923. He was born at Bacon Hall near Parkersburg, West Virginia in 1852, and died at Reno, Nevada, October 19, 1926.[1] He transferred from the Census Bureau to the Indian Service in 1902 and served in the latter as a teacher of agriculture, school superintendent, reservation superintendent, special agent, and finally Special Supervisor for Nevada and California Indians without reservations.

Although his early work among the Crow, the Pyramid Lake Paiute, and Seminole Indians of Florida was equally as important and as well documented as his work among the Ruby Valley Shoshone, his earlier documents await further study. The five Ruby Valley documents reproduced herein date from 1917 when he was Special Supervisor working on specific Indian rights problems in Nevada.[2]

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[1] His full name was Lorenzo Dow Creel, and his obituary was printed in the *Nevada Historical Society Papers, 1925-26*, pp. 469-470, published by the Nevada Historical Society, Reno. This manuscript is published with the permission of the Special Collections Department of the University of Nevada, Reno Library and Jane Creel, Mr. Creel's granddaughter. Thanks are also due to Lee Kosso for archival assistance, to Phillip I. Earl of the Nevada Historical Society for help with the research, and to Howard Hickson, Director of the Northeast Nevada Museum, for providing typed copies of newspaper articles appearing in several Elko newspapers. The editor also would like to thank Mrs. Perry O. Riker, nee June Creel, daughter of Lorenzo D. Creel, who knew of my interest in the Pyramid Lake Indians, and was the first to advise me of the existence of the Creel papers. Robert D. Armstrong, Special Collections Librarian, and Kenneth D. Carpenter, Special Collections Librarian, both formerly with the University of Nevada, Reno Library, also are to be thanked for making the papers available for scholarly study. Any errors of interpretation or omission, or of diminished scholarship are, of course, solely the editor's responsibility.

[2] Mr. Creel's immediate supervisor at the time was Col. L.A. Dorrington, a Special Indian Agent whose office was located in Reno, Nevada. He was Creel's superior in the Indian Service.

Lorenzo D. Creel with the sister-in-law of Old Timoke in a canvas and cloth covered wickiup in Ruby Valley about 1917. *(Creel Papers, Special Collections Dept., University of Nevada, Reno Library)*

Brother of Old Timoke in front of his wickiup, ca. 1917. *(Creel Papers, University of Nevada, Reno Library)*

Lorenzo D. Creel's total contribution to the United States government's early twentieth-century attempts to deal with Indian-Anglo relationships through Indian Service policies and programs[3] has yet to be fully assessed, since his papers, over 1,000 photographs, and his artifact collections only recently have been accessioned as part of the holdings of the Special Collections Department of the University of Nevada Library in Reno. Those who have had the opportunity to peruse his writings generally agree that he was a farsighted individual. His thinking about Indians and their problems in adjusting to Anglo culture contact and to culture shock situations frequently was ahead of his time. As one student has stated:

> Creel's papers reflect a far-sighted and independent thinking man,—a person who tried at every expense to do the best for the Nevada Indians. He felt then, as others do now, that the Nevada Indians had been overlooked, cheated, dispossessed of heritage, rights, and lands, and made worse than slaves. His seems to be one of the early efforts to achieve equality for Indians under the law, compensation for losses, lands for self-support, and dignity and sensible management of Indian lands and natural resources.[4]

Lorenzo D. Creel stood about five feet ten inches tall, with brown eyes, a high forehead, and when he was in his fifties, he had thinning gray hair.[5] He was well thought of by his contemporaries, and when transferred from his superintendency of the Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation to become a Special Agent to the Seminole Indians in 1910,[6] a Reno newspaper[7] noted that he had always had the high regard of those who worked with and under him.

Creel also was commended for his accomplishments on the Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation by J.D. Oliver[8] who stated:

> . . . Nevada may take pride in one of the best maintained and most progressive Indian Reservations among the upwards of 2,000 in existence. Its executive is Lorenzo D. Creel, whose extended experience among these people, coupled with his sternness, tempered with gentleness and consideration for those in whose charge they are and

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[3] See Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, paperback edition 1962) p. 343, ". . . the Anglos of the frontier conceived their civilizing mission, insofar as they conceived it at all, in terms of technological improvement of Indian farming and way of life."

[4] Katheryne E. Johnson, "The L.D. Creel Papers Catalog," student paper submitted to D.R. Tuohy, instructor, Anthropology course 780 (Museology), 1975; ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, the Nevada State Museum, Carson City.

[5] This physical description of Lorenzo D. Creel is a composite gleaned from his obituaries and from the writings of his contemporaries included in the Creel collection.

[6] He remained among the Seminole Indians of Florida only one year because he contracted malaria there, and was transferred back to be Special Agent for "Scattered Bands in Utah."

[7] *Nevada State Journal*, October 9, 1910.

[8] J.D. Oliver was Superintendent of the Pyramid Lake Paiute Indian Reservation, one of Creel's successors in that position. His scrapbook, or parts of it, were copied by Margaret M. Wheat, and now comprise part of the Margaret M. Wheat papers collection at the Department of Anthropology, the University of Nevada, Reno.

the purposes for which they are there, particularly qualifies him for the peculiar responsibilities of his position.

Janette Woodward, author of the delightful *Indian Oasis*,[9] an autobiography, also credits L.D. Creel, her former superintendent on the Crow Indian Reservation in Montana, for her transfer to Nixon, Nevada where she served as a field matron to the Pyramid Lake Paiutes.

Creel was not without his faults, however, and use of reservation Indians to work his own land claims in Utah got him into trouble with the Indian Service at least once.[10] He himself, at one time, had said: "The ways of some superintendents are like the Almighty,—past understanding."[11]

The Ruby Valley reports by Creel, from which this selection of documents was drawn, comprise some of his later studies when he was engaged in trying to locate homeless Nevada Indians in colonies near existing towns and cities so they would have a source of employment and income. Prior to 1916, homeless Nevada Indians not on reservations had next to nothing. Through Creel's and others' efforts, colonies were established near many Nevada cities, colonies which still thrive today.[12]

Shortly after the United States entered World War I in the spring of 1917, Creel was making plans to investigate the reservation and water rights claims of the Ruby Valley Shoshone under the acknowledged leadership of Old Timoke, and his son, Masach Timoke. The following selection of documents is taken from Creel's report to Colonel L.A. Dorrington, which deals with the water rights conflict between the Ruby Valley Shoshones and McBride, Wines, and others at Overland Creek, Ruby Valley, Nevada.[13] The second document is a statement by Ashley G. Dawley, who testifies to the distribu-

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[9] Janette Woodward, *Indian Oasis* (Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers Ltd., 1939), p. 157.

[10] In 1915, L.D. Creel received a warning from the Indian Service about irrigating and cultivating his own and his son's homestead in Utah using Indian help. Lorenzo D. Creel papers, Special Collections, the University of Nevada, Reno Library.

[11] Katheryne Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[12] There are currently twelve colonies and twelve reservations located in Nevada, according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs Phoenix Area Office (1981), *Information Profiles of Indian Reservations in Arizona, Nevada, and Utah*, pp. 78-138.

[13] Edna Patterson, Louise A. Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier* (Reno: Western Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 24-29. These authors indicate that S.L. Wines, B.G. McBride, and W.A. Reinken incorporated as the Crystal Land Co. and filed on 320 acres with water rights on Overland Creek by 1911. The lands were located below the Temoke forty acre tract, also located on Overland Creek. Advised by agents such as L.D. Creel that the water belonged to them and that they had a right to divert it, Indians on the Temoke forty acre tract did so. Investigations began in 1912, but not until 1929 was a full hearing held to determine the liability of the U.S. Government for the acts of the Indians against the Crystal Land Co. Patterson et al. op. cit. p. 29, summarize by stating that according to Nevada Supreme Court Justice Milton B. Badt, the Ruby Valley Indians had fulfilled the covenants of the Treaty of 1863 "and the troubles with the Crystal Land Co. had been going on for twenty years with no settlement." He further suggested that ". . . the only just path for the Government to take would be to buy the Crystal Land Co.'s holdings and create an Indian reservation on Overland Creek in the center of old Temoke territory. This, however, was never done."

tion of a consignment of goods that was delivered to the Ruby Valley Shoshones, supposedly in partial payment for lands taken from them.[14]

The third document details Ashley G. Dawley's recollection of Indian-related affairs in Ruby Valley; actually it is a brief summary or regional ethnology, taken by Creel during his visit. The fourth and fifth documents relate to Indian life in Ruby Valley prior to the arrival of Anglos.

These papers collectively amplify data about the ethnohistory of the Te-Moak band of Shoshone,[15] who, for more than a millennium, have exhibited a remarkable determination to stay in their native land, and indeed, to regain lands lost to Anglo use and incursions.[16] Two additional studies of the Te-Moak band of Shoshones in Ruby Valley supplementing data presented herein have appeared in recent issues of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. The Great Basin ethnologist, Omer C. Stewart, traces ecological factors in the development of social structure among Ruby Valley Shoshones, and the effects of these factors upon Indian lands located in the valley.[17] Elmer R. Rusco, a political scientist, studied the constitution and the governing structures of the Te-Moak bands, and his study is also germane to a fuller understanding of the Ruby Valley Creel documents.[18] In addition, a number of studies produced by tribal members themselves[19] as a result of the MX missile siting threat, as well as studies recently published by other an-

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[14] Ashley G. Dawley, according to the *Elko Daily Free Press*, September 20, 1918, was born in 1844 at Phelps, Ontario County, New York. He came to Nevada during the Civil War in the 1860s and settled near Austin, then a part of Elko County. He moved to Ruby Valley in 1870, and was engaged by the Overland Stage Company. He was characterized as having ". . . a remarkable memory, and could recall events and dates with the utmost accuracy, and probably was the best posted man on Elko affairs in this section of the state." "He was a man of sterling integrity, absolutely honest, and by the faithful performance of his duties as a public official had won the high regard of the public who mourn his death." He was receiver of public monies in the county clerk's office in Elko County at the time of his death, September 19, 1918. Dawley's testimony to Creel on the distribution of goods and livestock to the Ruby Valley Shoshone in 1866 is one of the few eyewitness accounts of that transaction.

[15] Omer C. Stewart, "Temoke Band of Shoshone and the Oasis Concept," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* XXIII (Winter 1980) p. 250, notes that the Western Shoshone band in the Ruby Valley, which is the subject of this study, is presently officially referred to as the Te-moak band. The family, lineal descendants of old Temoke, an early day leader of Shoshones in Ruby Valley, spell the name Temoke. There are various other spellings in the historical references, and they include: Tim-oak, Tumok, Tomoke, Te-Moak, Tumoak, Timook, and others.

[16] Dagmar Thorpe, *Newe Sogobia, The Western Shoshone People and Land*, a publication of the Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association (1981) succinctly expresses this attitude of the traditionalists among the several groups.

[17] See Omer C. Stewart, *op. cit.*

[18] Elmer R. Rusco, "The Organization of the Te-Moak Bands of Western Shoshone," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Fall 1982), pp. 175-196.

[19] Glenn V. Holley, Sr., "Violation of the Treaty of Ruby Valley—Holley's Personal Account," *The Native Nevadan*, Vol. XVII (August 1, 1980), pp. 7-21, for an example. Also see Elmer R. Rusco, "The MX Missile and Western Shoshone Land Claims," in *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, A Publication of the Nevada Public Affairs Institute, University of Nevada, Reno, Allen R. Wilcox and William Lee Eubank, editors, Vol. 2 (1982), pp. 45-54.

thropologists[20] are appropos. Even though there is ample written evidence that a six-mile square reserve was established in Ruby Valley in 1859, the veteran ethnologist Omer C. Stewart notes that through apparent federal neglect, the Ruby Valley Indians lost the township (23,040 acres). Eventually, the Indians did prove up on 37.7 acres in 1880, and 590 acres of the original 1859 reservation are still carried on the books of the B.L.M. and the Elko County assessor.[21]

In conclusion, it is to be expected that future use of the Lorenzo D. Creel collection will open up new vistas for scholars of Indian life at the turn of the century. This was a crucial period in Indian and Anglo relationships, and one for which documentation, heretofore, has not been in abundant supply. The documents follow, and we thank Jane Creel for sharing these documents, and allowing us to publish them.

Reno, Nevada
June 30, 1917

Col. L.A. Dorrington
Special Indian Agent
Reno, Nevada.

My dear Mr. Dorrington:

On account of the importance of Ruby Valley and the serious conflict in land and water matters between the Shoshone Indians of Ruby Valley and certain whites, I feel that this section of the State demands a separate report which is submitted in triplicate in order that one copy may be loaned to District Attorney Woodburn in case he should need it in the case of Masach Timoke and other Indians against McBride, Wines and others in regard to the NE/4 of the NE/4 Sec. 25, T.30, N. R 59E.[22] This case has been referred by the Indian Office to the Department of Justice for final settlement.

On or about April 15th while searching records of the U.S. Land Office at Elko, Nevada, I was accosted by Edward Caine, Attorney, who had by some means learned that I was connected with the Indian Service. He introduced himself and stated that he was the attorney for the McBride Company, in the case involving the land and water rights of the Timoke family of Shoshone Indians Ruby Valley. He stated that his clients were determined this year to raise a crop and to arrest the Indians, if they interfered with the ditches or cut the Company's fences and thus cause it to lose its crops through lack of water, as they had repeatedly done during the last two years.

Having given the matter in controversy considerable thought by reason of having been requested by the Indian Office through the suggestion of Special Agent, C.H.

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[20] Richard O. Clemmer, "Channels of Political Expression Among the Western Shoshone-Goshutes of Nevada," in Ruth M. Houghton, *Native American Politics: Power Relationships in the Western Great Basin Today* (Reno: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Nevada, Reno, 1973).

[21] Omer C. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[22] Omer C. Stewart lists the group of Indian Trust allotments in and near Section 25 as occurring in T. 30 N., R. 58 E., not R. 59 E. as stated in the document; Ibid., p. 260.

Asbury,[23] that I visit Ruby Valley in 1915 to try to effect some sort of a settlement of the controversy, as he had been unable to induce the Indians to compromise or settle the case, and also having some knowledge of the Shoshones and the character of advice and counsel these Indians had received from one Jacob Browning,[24] a half-breed Shoshone from Fort Hall as to the treaty with the Ruby Valley Indians in 1863 which he persuaded them had never been fully complied with on the part of the United States, I warned him that however great the provocation his clients may have had, they should proceed against these Indians with the utmost tact and care, because they were evidently much aroused and felt that not only were they being unjustly treated by their white neighbors, but on account of the bad advice given them by the aforesaid Jacob Browning, they were also fully convinced that they had been defrauded by the U.S. Government through the non-fulfillment of certain stipulations in the above named treaty, made with their ancestors by certain commissioners, in which the Indians had agreed to surrender about everything the white men wanted in return for very insignificant remuneration. On account of this I made it plain that any attempt to use force, either civil or personal, before the Indians had been seen again by a representative of the U.S. Indian Office, might bring on serious trouble and lead to bloodshed.

He stated that he and Mr. Asbury were personal friends and he had advised his clients to wait until he had seen and talked with him over the matter and endeavored to reach a settlement. I informed him that Mr. Asbury had been assigned to another district and, in addition to your regular duties on inspection, you had been put in charge of the Reno office. I also stated that the land side of the controversy had been handed over by the Indian Office to the Department of Justice, which had placed it in the hands of District Attorney Woodburn of Reno, for immediate action.

He stated that he expected to go to Reno very soon and would consult with Mr. Woodburn and yourself.

From this time on I realized that any steps toward relief work among the Indians in this valley must be made in the light of what the outcome of this controversy might develop. On account of this view of the case and the depth of the snow in this valley, I devoted my attention to relief work in other localities until I had covered the greater part of the State except this valley and the south-central section of the State.

I learned about June 1st that no settlement of the case had been reached and as the irrigation season must be about to open in Ruby Valley, I planned to make this the first point in my itinerary. I had planned to wind up the campaign for relief work which was supposed to end June 30, 1917.

I reached Elko June 4th and while in search of information in the U. S. Land Office there, I accidently learned in conversation with the register, Honorable Ashley G. Dawley, that he was one of the pioneers of Ruby Valley, had resided there a large part of his life and had been a continuous resident of the County. One of the contentions made by Jacob Browning was that none of the issues had ever been made to either these Indians, the Goshute Indians of Utah at Deep Creek, and Skull

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[23] Calvin H. Asbury was a contemporary of Creel's in the Indian Service. According to Patterson et al., p. 25, Asbury conducted one of the first investigations into the water rights controversy in December, 1912.

[24] It is not clear from Creel's account whether Jacob Browning was an attorney acting on behalf of the Indians, or merely an advisor to them. Browning is not listed as being admitted to practice law in Nevada in the *State of Nevada Biennial Report of the Clerk of the Supreme Court* 1919-1920 by William Kennett (1921). Since he was from Ft. Hall, Idaho, he may have been an attorney in that state.

Valley, or the Northwestern band of Shoshones at Washakie.[25] To my surprise he told me that he had personally assisted in the distribution of what he understood was annuity goods and also knew of the issue of cattle to these Indians by a Government Official, Col. Head, at Ruby Valley.

It is a great source of satisfaction to me that I have found a living witness to at least two of the issues promised in that treaty and while the records of the Indian Office show that the issues were made as promised and it has repeatedly stated these facts to Willie Ottogary, Annie's Tommy and, undoubtedly, to Masach Timoke, yet, it should be considerable satisfaction to the Commissioner to know that there is at least one living witness to such issues of such high character and long experience in the territory occupied by these Indians. See affidavit Hon. Ashley Dawley and general statements and reminiscences by him marked Exhibit "1".

Owing to the fear of trouble expressed by me in our talk over Ruby Valley matters it was planned that I should meet Mr. Edward Caine, Attorney for the McBride Wines interests, as we had learned incidently that he had been authorized to try to effect some sort of a settlement. Unfortunately, he left Elko shortly after I arrived and before I got in communication with him. As soon as I learned of his absence, I called on Mr. McBride at his office. After some general conversation I stated that I was a Government Official and was on my way to Ruby Valley to investigate the matter in controversy between his Company and the Ruby Valley Indians. I stated that as President of the Company, perhaps he, Mr. McBride, could state what they were ready to propose. He replied that himself and his associates were anxious to have a definite and speedy settlement of the case; that they had already lost two crops by reason of the Indians cutting the Company's ditches and fences; that they felt that they must raise a crop this year and were fully determined to do so and to protect their interests to the extent of arresting and prosecuting any or all of the Ruby Valley Indians, who might interfere in any manner whatever with their ditches or fences.

While Mr. McBride was very frank, outspoken and determined in his statements, yet, he did not appear bitter toward the Indians, but stated that his Company had been put to very heavy expense in attorney's fees for the protection of their interests in addition to the heavy expenses incurred in building irrigation works, fencing and otherwise developing their land; that they had been so annoyed by the complications and delays that at one time they felt it would be better to abandon their project; and the Company[26] had, indeed, made a proposal to Mr. Asbury, at one time, to dispose of their holdings in exchange for land script and turning all they had over to the Government for the Indians, which offer had been refused by the Reno office. He also stated that the annoyance had not ceased and the settlement seemed no nearer now than at first and he was in constant annoyance over the problem.

I alluded to the fact that Mr. Asbury had, at one time on behalf of the Department, offered to purchase the 40 acres occupied and claimed by the Timokes, but that the Company had replied by naming a price entirely out of reason.[27] I stated that I thought the Company had lost a valuable opportunity at that time and the part of the controversy involving the rights of the Indians to the said 40 acre tract had been referred to the Department of Justice which had instructed the District Attorney to

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[25] According to the terms of the Ruby Valley Treaty of 1863, the Government agreed to pay the Bands of the Shoshone Nation $5,000 in articles annually for the term of twenty years, including cattle as compensation for the loss of game and the rights and privileges conceded; Patterson et al., p. 18.

[26] The Company referred to by Creel was the Crystal Land Co.

[27] By 1929, according to Patterson et al., p. 29, the Crystal Land Co. would accept $22,500 for the land and water rights to Overland Creek, although its out of pocket expenses were $30,000.

bring suit, and the Company had now only itself to blame for the additional expense which would necessarily follow.

He replied that the Company's offer was not unreasonable when the cost of providing water was considered. I replied that the official correspondence indicated that the Indians had a water right for this land. He admitted that they had a small water right, but would not commit himself as to the amount. In closing the interview, I informed him that apparently the controversy had gone so far that I saw little prospect for any settlement out of court and all I hoped now to accomplish by my visit to Ruby Valley would be to meet the Indians, gain their confidence, and induce them not to interfere with the Company's property until this irrigation season was over and action could be secured to settle the matter in the federal court; that in order to gain the confidence of the Indians, I must not be seen in company with any of the Company or their employees, and therefore, should avoid meeting anyone connected with their project in Ruby Valley.

He informed me that Stanley Wines, a member of the Company drove the mail stage over the usual route taken to reach Ruby Valley, so I decided to secure a private conveyance, enter the valley from the west side, pack my blankets and not enter the home of any white man in the valley.

This looked like a very difficult undertaking but fortunately through the kindness of Mr. Fitzgerald, clerk of the Mayer Hotel, Elko, I met Dr. Henry Hagar,[28] a pioneer of Ruby Valley who is postmaster at Cave Creek in the south end of Ruby Valley, over 20 miles distant from the land controversy, who, while familiar with the early history and present conditions in Ruby Valley, is in no way connected either in business or socially with any of the McBride-Wines people. He fortunately, happened to be in Elko with his automobile and readily consented to take me anywhere in the valley I wished to visit. I acquainted him with my mission and during the time I was at his house my business was kept strictly confidential. Dr. Hagar is a retired physician of wide professional and business experience in this and the surrounding Counties. He is a large land and cattle owner in the south end of this valley. He employes [*sic*] a great deal of Indian labor. In the course of our many conversations, he gave me a general history of the valley and the settlers. In regard to the Wines family he gave a very creditable record to all the members except Stanley Wines, the one involved in the controversy, who he stated had never made a success of any business in which he had engaged.

Dr. Hagar also gave me an affidavit which is submitted herewith as Exhibit "2".[29]

I was very favorable [*sic*] impressed with the evident sincerity of Mr. McBride and feel sure that he desires to be just to the Indians while giving due consideration to the interests of his Company. I am inclined to think that as Mr. Stanley Wines appears to be the resident manager, his statements to explain the reason for crop failures have had considerable influence on Mr. McBride in the formation of his opinion. While I did not examine or inspect the Company's land, yet, I did devote a great deal of time to the examination of their head works, flumes and the construction of the ditch from its point of diversion to its point of exit from the Indian land. The character of this work is very crude and inadequate as will be shown in the numerous photographs submitted herewith. The structures are very flimsy and constructed of inch-lumber surfaced on two sides which really leaves about ⅞ of an inch in thickness. But little shovel or scraper work is in evidence and only for a short distance from the point of

[28] Dr. Henry Hagar was also active in public affairs, having been elected Superintendent of Schools in White Pine County in 1876. See Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 651, for a list of superintendents.

[29] This document, "Exhibit Number 2," follows "Exhibit No. 1" in this presentation.

diversion. After this it had the appearance of having been made by running a plow furrow and turning the water through it directly down hill at a drop of about 6 or 7 feet in one hundred feet of fall. This has been very destructive to the Indian land through which it passes and in many points is eroding the soil very rapidly and doing considerable damage by washing the boulders and soil over the crops the Indians are endeavoring to raise. The inference to be drawn is that if permanent irrigation works are so unscientifically constructed, the same unscientific method would naturally be followed in conducting the farm which would account for the failure of the crops and in order to properly justify this failure to the Company, the most convenient excuse would be the interference of the Indians with the water for irrigation. This report doubtless influences Mr. McBride and irritates him against the Indians.

The Indians denied interfering with the Company's ditches, but charged on the contrary that Stanley Wines had prevented them getting any water to such an extent that quite an acreage of alfalfa on the 40 acre tract in controversy, for which they had purchased seed from Stanley Wines to sow, had entirely died out on account of lack of water through the refusal of Stanley Wines to allow them to take it.

As I did not meet Mr. Wines and talk with him for reasons above mentioned, it may seem somewhat unjust for me to state that it is my firm belief that he alone is to blame for the most of the bad feeling on the side of the Indians. The Indians state that he has repeatedly threatened to arrest them if they disturb the water. The Indians appear very peaceful and I believe would be good neighbors if they were properly treated. Masach Timoke is apparently a half breed and quite a strong character.[30] He is the only one that commands the respect of Wines and his employees as he is inclined to stand up for the rights of the Indians, although apparently very quiet, self-possessed and not inclined to be quarrel-some [*sic*].

Masach Timoke visited Washington in January 1917, remaining there twenty-four days. He was very much amazed and mystified when I told him where he stayed and described the location of the Indian Office and also about what he did while there and the people he met. He said, "You must have been there when I was there". I replied that I was not, but knew the City very thoroughly and also knew about what he would do. He showed me a letter addressed by him to the Commissioner stating his business which was apparently written for him in the Indian Office as it was written on Indian Service paper and the Commissioner's reply dated January 31, 1917, signed by him personally No. 9355-17.

Timoke stated in his letter the same complaints named in other complaints made before viz; That the treaty of 1863 had not been fulfilled in issuing supplies and setting aside a reservation for the Ruby Valley Indians. He also laid particular stress on the controversy between the Indians and the McBride-Wines people giving the impression that the Reno Office had not helped the Indians to secure justice from the McBride people or even endeavored to get a settlement of the controversy according to his idea of how it should be settled and in fact, they had made no progress whatever toward a settlement.

In the reply of the Commissioner, among other things, I found acknowledgement of what I felt sure of, but had had no evidence namely; that there was a reservation in Ruby Valley in fact and not in the imagination of the Indians on account of taking it for granted from some misunderstanding of the directions of some army officer, as was

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[30] Masach Timoke, also spelled Machach Timoke, according to Frank Temoke Sr., in *Personal Reflections of the Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo* (1974), published by the Inter-tribal Council of Nevada, pp. 4-5, died in Elko in 1960. Patterson et al., p. 23 say he died in Owyhee at the government hospital there in 1960.

the theory of Special Agent, C.H. Asbury, as stated by him in some of the correspondence relating to this case in the Reno Office files. The Commissioner's letter stated that a reservation was set aside for the Ruby Valley Indians in Ruby Valley in 1859, but after a few years of occupacy [*sic*] it was abandoned.[31] He assigned no reason for this abandonment. Also his letter stated that a reservation was established for the Shoshone Indians at Lemhi, Idaho, by executive order February 12, 1875 and one at Carlin Farms, Nevada, by executive order May 10, 1877, and one at Duck Valley by executive order April 16, 1877. Somewhere I got the impression, either from this letter or from some other paper shown me by Timoke, that the reservation at Ruby Valley was six miles square. I feel sure that this reservation was right where these Indians now claim land and embraced the waters of Overland Creek, for the reason that the Timokes told me in the course of conversation that old Timoke, the father of Masach, helped survey the reservation and their statement coincides with that made by Dr. Hagar and others that he had his camp at this point and had a corral just about where the old Wines store building now stands, a short distance from the identical land claimed by the Timokes. He was killed about twenty-seven years ago by the accidental discharge of his gun which was discharged by being blown down against him from the side of the tent in which he was sleeping. He was one of the signers of the treaty of 1863. He undoubtedly had either a copy of this treaty or some papers showing the authority among his effects which were destroyed by fire when his personal effects were burned by his relatives according to their custom, the importance of these papers evidently not being understood. I regard the information of this reservation and that of Carlin Farms, taken in connection with that concerning the issues of supplies as very important and throwing much light upon the attitude of the Indians and will doubtless remove some of the misunderstandings of the situation from this office.

The Honorable A.G. Dawley expressed much surprise that the Company had not made an outright gift of the 40 acres in controversy and thus insured peace with the Indians. This course would have been, in my mind, good policy. The Company cannot very well proceed with the development of its lands without a supply of labor, and the Indians must be relied on to a great extent for laborers here as well as elsewhere in this valley and the Company would have been very much ahead in the long run.

It will take many years to soothe the feelings of the Indians even should their cause be won. Should it be lost, there will be a never ending source of bitterness as a result.[32]

Largely on account of the importance of this point, the bitterness of the controversy and the lack of knowledge of conditions and the difficulty of obtaining such knowledge by this office, I took photographs of almost everything connected with this band and the land and water matters. These photographs are submitted herewith marked Exhibit No. "3"[33] with a legend explaining each and giving full and careful descriptions. I trust they will convey to the eye what I may have omitted to put in this report in language.

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[31] In a letter from Ashley G. Dawley to Lorenzo D. Creel, dated June 27, 1917, Dawley points out to Creel that the original Overland Creek and Station were located in the extreme southern end of Ruby Valley, and that the name Overland Creek was not applied to the northern station and farm until some time after 1865.

[32] This statement certainly expresses the prophetic qualities of some of the Creel documents.

[33] The photographs which accompanied this particular report are omitted from inclusion here; most of the photographs are included in Box 8, Series 2, 82-1/1I/2, in the Lorenzo D. Creel collection.

While the controversy, in regard to the 40 acre tract which has been alluded to so frequently and is the subject of such a large amount of correspondence now on file in the Reno Office and the settling of the controversy is in the hands of the Department of Justice, I feel that it should not be given a great deal of space in this report. However, I will state that the Indians feel that it is their land and they are being unjustly deprived of its products through Stanley Wines acting for the McBride Wines Company, as he is harvesting what little wild hay is now growing thereon. He did this last year and is probably doing it this year. Also they feel that they have been unjustly deprived of sufficient waters of Overland Creek, not only to irrigate this 40 acre tract, but also to serve the small tracts, the Indians who have homesteads adjoining this have in response to appeals from this office in the past cleared up and attempted to crop.

Before visiting this place I had obtained the impression that this particular 40 acres was situated in the center of the Company's holdings and was vitally important to it for that reason. I find that such is not the case and the elimination of this tract would not affect the management of the remainder of their lands unfavorably in the least. I am unable to give any opinion on the legal questions involved, but from a moral standpoint the Indians are entitled to it with water sufficient to irrigate it properly. They should also have sufficient water to irrigate such other land as they have improved and brought under cultivation. The houses thereon have the appearance of considerable age. The timber growing along the ditch which they constructed to irrigate the same shows many years of growth. This is fully shown by reference to the photographs accompanying this report.

On my first visit to this camp I did not state my business nor ask any questions, but put in my time in taking photographs and examination of the land, ditches and Overland Creek. On my next visit I stated that I was a Government Official but did not say anything further except that I represented Washington and wanted to find out all about their lands and other matters. I had learned much about their ancient customs and habits through Mr. Dawley. This gave me something to talk about and enabled me to gain their confidence to such an extent that old Timoke gave me a great deal of information in regard to their old habits of life and incidently the conversation led up to the change from their old manner of living to the present day system and how it was brought about. Timoke gave me the history of what is known as the Indian ditch. He stated that it was constructed at first for the purpose of carrying water from Overland Creek down on to the particular 40 acres in controversy for the purpose of drowning out the Paiute squirrels to enable them to catch them for food.[34] This was before any attempt had been made to raise crops in this valley. Soon after this was done some Government man furnished them with potatoes, wheat and other vegatable seeds and showed them how to plant the same.

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[34] James F. Downs, "The Significance of Environmental Manipulation in Great Basin Cultural Development," in Warren L. d'Azevedo, Wilbur A. Davis, Don D. Fowler, and Wayne Suttles, editors, *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin* (1966), pp. 39-55, notes what he calls "protoagricultural manipulations" in the Great Basin. Irrigation of wild plants occurred in Owens Valley, California, and in Fish Lake Valley, Nevada, and among the Shoshone in Diamond Valley, according to Downs. One hunting practice, the diversion of water in ditches for the purpose of flooding rodents from their burrows, is reported for every area in the Great Basin where the irrigation of wild plants is reported (Ibid). Harry W. Lawton, Phillip J. Wilke, Mary DeDecker, and William M. Mason also present a general summary of recent research on aboriginal agriculture in the Owens Valley and California in general in their paper "Agriculture Among the Paiute of Owens Valley," *Journal of California Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 13-50 (1976).

He did not know whether they were given to the Indians or sold to them, as they got them through their head men. This was before any whites came through the valley. He stated that the Indians had cultivated crops on that land of some kind every [*sic*] since that time and watered them by means of this ditch, which is known as the Indian ditch. This was constructed by means of picks and shovels made of the wood of the mountain mahogany[35] which was worked into shape by means of flint knives as they had no implements at this time except stone. I later met another Indian known as "Lazy Jim,"[36] whose photo also appears in this report. In examining the country near the diversion point of the McBride Wines ditch I traced the remains of a short ditch and wondered about its history. I learned from Timoke that "Lazy Jim" dug this ditch and in my interview with him in addition to other interesting facts he told me that he dug it for the purpose of watering a patch of the plants known in the Indian tongue as "duna", which has a tuberous root and was eaten by them at that time.[37] He informed me that he dug this quite a while before the soldiers came into the valley and when they first came he was married and had two boys, which showed him to be over 80 years of age. His name is something of a joke as he is very industrious and only the day before I met him he was grubbing sage-brush for a white man under contract.

There is no question in my mind but what these Indians were the first to use the waters of Overland Creek for irrigation purposes. Owing to the fact that two small reservations had been set aside for the Indians in Utah and had been eliminated for what reason I could not determine, I felt impressed that on account of similar conditions having prevailed in Ruby Valley at about the same time that a reservation must have been set aside in like manner for these Indians. Timoke showed me a paper from the Indian Office which stated that a reservation six miles square had been established in Ruby Valley and also something of the kind at Carlin Farms which had been abandoned after a few years. The Duck Valley Reservation was apparently set aside several years later. Old Timoke stated that they felt very badly because all the cattle they had were taken to Duck Valley by Buck and his band.[38] According to the statement of Hon. A.G. Dawley which was substantiated in a measure by old Timoke, there were two factions in the Ruby Valley Indians. Apparently the more progressive faction was led by Buck, who went to Duck Valley with his following; the more conservative refused to go on account of this feud and this is the reason why none of the Ruby Valley Indians desire to go to Duck Valley in addition to the fact that they feel aggrieved, because the reservation which was established in Ruby Valley for their use was not maintained.

I met several other old Indians who were adults before any white people ever penetrated this valley. They stated the population was about 800[39] all told; they had

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[35] Mr. Creel's photographs include one of a paddle-shaped, pointed digging stick used to dig the ditches.

[36] Patterson et al., p. 19, note that Lazy Jim's Indian name was Wetuagowegua. L.D. Creel's caption on Lazy Jim's photograph notes that "Lazy Jim" was truly a misnomer, as he was very industrious.

[37] Julian H. Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups," *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology,* Bulletin 120 (1938), p. 307, notes that the term "duna" was "food, an unidentified root, possibly *Cynopterus montanus* (Chamberlin 1911:51)."

[38] Patterson et al., pp. 15-18, note that Chief Buck succeeded Chokup in 1862. Later he and his followers left Ruby Valley and moved to the Humboldt near Wells; a year later they lived near Carlin, and in 1877 they located in Duck Valley.

[39] Julian H. Steward, *op. cit.* (1938), p. 144 notes that the northern two-thirds of Ruby Valley had about 420 persons for 1,200 square miles. This density was far greater than surrounding valleys.

no horses and had only the bow and arrow for weapons; their clothing was very scant, made from antelope and deer skins for summer, and for winter they had robes made from the fur of the rabbit. It is astonishing the amount of labor they performed in hunting the antelope. Men and women worked together in building circular corrals of sage-brush with wings from 10 to 15 miles long.[40] These were built very high and braced by juniper trees. These were carried from 8 to 10 miles on their backs. The sage-brush was dug by the women with wooden picks and jerked out by hand. The men twisted off the clumps of sage-brush by hand and all joined in carrying the sage-brush and building the corrals before calling for the general hunt. This was preceded by a dance and at sunrise on the day of the hunt the head man offered a prayer to the sun representing the great spirit, the burden of which was that they should have success in the hunt and be able to provide subsistence for their women and children. After this the hunters were posted with bows and arrows behind the brush fences and footmen were sent out to chase the antelope into the wings and up toward the corrals where they were shot as they passed by. The women assisted in skinning and cutting up the meat. These hunts were usually held in the fall when the antelope were fat. The flesh was dried in the sun and a quantity packed away in caches underground for winter use. During the spring and summer they got much of their living from the eggs and young fowl which frequented Ruby Lake. At other times game was killed by still hunting. These Indians used poisoned arrows which were prepared by having a piece of fresh liver bitten by a rattlesnake and after it had been thoroughly poisoned, the arrow heads were dipped in the liver. They state that a slight scratch of an arrow on an animal would cause it to die in a short time.[41] The game was followed up then, skinned and eaten after having been hit with these poisoned arrows.

Although Mr. H.T. Johnson, assistant engineer, Indian Service, on July 7, 1917 submitted a report covering the land and water matters at Ruby Valley, a copy of which report has been referred to you, I think it might not be out of place for me to state what I saw and the impressions made in regard to the matters of Overland Creek on my visit even at the risk of much repetition, as perhaps we may have seen matters from a different angle. He has treated the subject largely from a technical and legal standpoint while I shall do so from a different point of view.

According to statements made by old residents of the valley, the season of 1917 is two or three weeks later than the average season; June 7th to 9th were about the first warm days in this valley which showed a temperature high enough to start the stream and irrigation had just begun on the different ranches. There was an immense volume of water flowing down Overland Creek. A weir had been installed apparently two or three years previous in the creek a short distance above the diversion point of the McBride Wines ditch and above all the ditches. This weir was set at a right angle to the channel. The opening in the same for the flow of the stream was 10ft. 3in. wide. A body of water 10ft. 11in. wide and of varying depth, but about one foot deep for at least half this distance was flowing around one end of this weir. The depth of the water flowing over the crest of the weir was 2 ft. 4 ¾ in. The rate of the current was 42 ft. in 5½ seconds, which would show about 180 second feet, without taking into

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[40] The antelope trap in Ruby Valley, according to Patterson et al., p. 7, was located near Dry Lake to the east of the Tom Short Ranch. Others were noted at Mud Springs and east of Wells.

[41] Stephen Powers, "Stephen Powers' the Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes," in *Ethnohistory* 17 (3-4):125, (1970) edited by Don D. Fowler and Catherine S. Fowler, also noted this practice for the Paiute, but snake venom was not mentioned; only the ". . . rotten liver and gall of a mountain sheep or a deer . . ." was used specifically for war arrows.

account the volume of water flowing around the end of the weir. Neither whites or Indians were apparently paying any attention to the water or directing its flow as it passed through the ditches, except one man on the west side who was irrigating the McBride Wines Company's land. The water was rushing down the McBride ditch in a torrent carrying the rock and soil over the Indian land through which it passed which had been washed out of the Indian lands above. The Indian ditch was also full to overflowing, but on account of the lower grade was not eroding, but water was breaking all over its banks at various places and flooding the lands through which it passed.

The natural meadow on the 40 acre tract in controversy was so saturated by the overflow of the McBride and Indian ditches that I had considerable difficulty in crossing the land while measuring and getting the boundaries. The drier portions of this tract upon which I understood that alfalfa had previously grown were not being watered as no crops had been planted thereon. The volume of water carried by Overland Creek must frequently be much greater than at the time I visited it, as it lacked considerable of reaching the sleepers of the bridge where the county road crosses the creek at the site of the original improvements. Dr. Hagar informed me that this bridge was often under water.

On account of considerable experience in a neighboring state where the waste or mis-use of water is not only considered reprehensible, but thought little short of criminal in some sections where so many prosperous and happy communities are made possible through economical use and fair distribution of the waters of creeks affording a comparatively small volume of water when compared with Overland Creek, I may be unduly impressed by what seems to me the lax and wasteful method and unsystematic use of irrigation water in its application to the lands comprising many isolated ranches in various parts of Nevada. Ruby Valley and particularly Overland Creek is not only no exception to the general rule, but is one of the worst examples I have met.

Several ditches other than the McBride and Indian ditches are supplied from its waters, but I failed to notice any division boxes at all except the flimsy structure at the diversion point of the McBride Wines ditch, which was evidently established at this point in order to get above the Indian ditch and thus get advantage of the first chance at the water. The Company could certainly have constructed a much shorter and economical ditch on something that had at least the appearance of a grade and would have prevented any damage to the Indian land.

The Hononable [*sic*] State Engineer, Mr. J.G. Scrugham[42] is fully alive to the necessity of the conservation of water and is devoting his entire time and energy to the adjustment of the various water problems and complications existing throughout the state. It would seem that now is the time that all the water users on Overland Creek should get together, avail themselves of his services and establish a system which will be just and fair to all and provide means for the economical use of all the surplus water not actually required in serving the lands of the parties claiming prior rights.

Some system of division boxes should be devised, whereby all the surplus waters could be diverted to other lands giving the Indians their share which they could use in irrigating fall grain or in encouraging the growth of grasses for pasture, as much of their land is very rocky and difficult of cultivation, although the soil is strong and fertile.

[42] This is the same James G. Scrugham who later became Governor of Nevada (1923-26) and Nevada's Representative in Congress (1933-1942).

Could this be done and the Indians given a definite understanding of just what their rights are or would be and that they would not be interfered with, they could certainly add very much to their income, most of which, will always be derived as now from labor for the whites.

Regardless of whatever may be the outcome of the present efforts to settle the title to the land claimed by Timoke and the water complications connected therewith, after devoting much thought and making a careful study of all the conditions surrounding the Ruby Valley situation, I firmly believe that it is vitally necessary to request the authorization of the position of farmer with a thorough knowledge of irrigation, at least until the Indians have been more firmly established in the use of the land and water alloted to them. With the exception of Masach Timoke, they are apparently an inoffensive timid and non-resisting people, who are easily discouraged and intimidated when it comes to managing their own land. They certainly need the support of someone directly in charge, as this office is at too great a distance to properly attend to the detail work of the development of their agricultural and other interests. Later on in another place, I shall discuss the situation at Horsekillers Camp, which has been alluded to before. This farmer could be of very material assistance to this band and also in the development of their land and water rights, which the Indians have just really begun.

He could have general supervision over the entire valley and be of much material assistance to the scattered families camped at the different ranches throughout the valley.

I would recommend that a salary of not less than $840 be named as the place is of such importance that it should be filled by the best man obtainable. The principal difficulty would be quarters, but as we have an executive order reservation right at this particular point, a small cabin could be erected for his use at very little expense. There are also two or three new houses in the near neighborhood which have never been occupied by reason of death or unfortunate circumstances affecting the owners. Quarters could, doubtless, be secured at one of these places at a very moderate rental, although at the time of my visit I had not studied the matter to the extent of making such recommendation. This would give the Indians someone to consult and advise with as they are now entirely alone and have no one in their immediate neighborhood whom they feel that they can trust. I would recommend that this matter be given immeidate [*sic*] attention.

The Indians of Ruby Valley, aside from the Timoke band and the Horsekiller band who have a few homesteads about fourteen miles south of Overland Creek, are scattered around the valley living in more or less permanent camps on the various ranches where they work as needed. I was unable to get a census, but a list which covers the entire population of the valley was furnished me by Masach Timoke which is submitted herewith in triplicate, marked Exhibit No. "4".[43]

Perhaps a few remarks in regard to these Indians may not be out of place in closing this report. I succeeded in gaining their confidence apparently and on account of having considerable knowledge already of their early life, I succeeded in leading the conversation into channels which furnished a great deal of interesting information which might furnish material for an extensive magazine article.

From what they told me the struggle for mere existence must have been almost without cessation and a wide range of articles in the flora and fauna of this region was drawn upon for food. The antelope and deer which were very abundant furnished the

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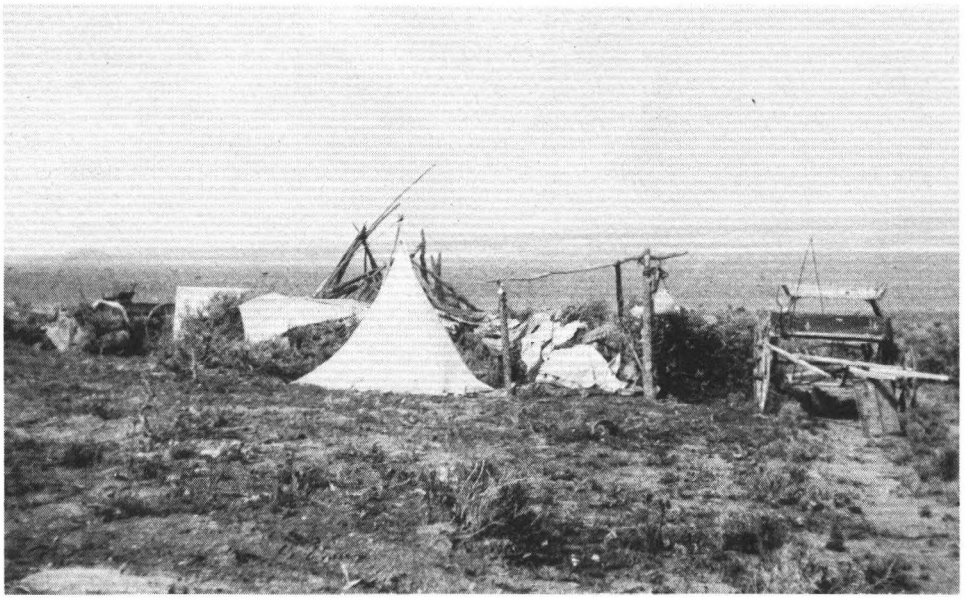
[43] This document was not with the others in the Creel Collection. It is not reproduced herein.



View of Western Shoshone wickiup in Ruby Valley, ca. 1917. *(Creel Papers, University of Nevada, Reno Library)*

bulk of their meat ration, the use of which was gauged according to the amount on hand and the seasons of plenty or scarcity, but the seeds or nuts of the Pinyon pine which analyzes very high in protien [*sic*] and fats as well as other nutritive substances, the seeds of various grasses and plants and their roots, the eggs and young of the water fowl which nested in and around Ruby Valley in large numbers during the breeding season, the Paiute ground squirrel, the jack rabbit, which furnished both food and clothing, and various other smaller burrowing animals helped to make up and give variety to the annual bill of fare, which enabled them not only to live, but actually thrive, in spite of the hardships to which they were almost daily exposed. Of course, food and clothing was practically all they needed as shelter was easily provided by the tules which grew in the marshes of the lake and were woven into a mat which made a very warm and comfortable shelter and afforded protection even in the long and cold winters common to this section. The old people with whom I talked told me that they were rarely sick until white men's diseases were introduced among them. The Indian population of the valley now numbers about 100 souls. After deducting a liberal number represented by chief Buck and his following who went to Duck Valley Reservation when it was established, there evidently has been an apalling morality [*sic*] among those left behind as the old people told me there were about 800 souls when the white people first appeared in the valley.

If the past history of these and the many other scattered bands in Nevada could be known and better understood and appreciated by the white people whose fertile and productive ranches around which they now hover to pick up the crumbs which fall from their tables or could they stop a few moments in the mad race for wealth and consider what a shock our civilization, so-called, has been to these unfortunate people and try to put themselves in the Indian's place and endeavor to realize what a struggle it must have been for them to adjust themselves to the radical change which

has taken place within a little more than half a century which represents in these Indians a transition from the *stone age* to the present time, it certainly would compel them to use more charity toward them in all ways and especially in business matters and rely more upon the principles of justice and equity rather than the interpretations of statute laws. Much trouble and misunderstanding would thus be averted and the assimilation of the race into the body politic would be accomplished with much less friction and be much more humane to the Indians.

I have devoted probably far too much space to this report, but when taken in connection with that of Mr. Johnson and the photographs and exhibits submitted herewith, I trust you may be able to get a fairly good grasp of the situation. No further recommendations for relief seem possible at this point as there is apparently no suffering which can be relieved. There is no practicing physician nearer than Elko. These Indians appeared to be reasonably free from tracoma and tuberculosis, in fact, I did not notice any tracoma but saw a few bad eyes. They have land enough if it can be properly developed. However, after the land controversy has been settled I believe that the scarcity of labor will be so firmly impressed upon the minds of the various ranchers that they will be glad to set aside a portion of their holdings for the use of the Indians. The wages paid are very good as a rule, about $45.00 per month with board. If the position of farmer should be authorized and it be filled, the matter of better homes and small holdings on the ranches could be handled and much progress be made by the farmer in charge.

Very sincerely,

Special Supervisor.

EXHIBIT NO. 1

ASHLEY G. DAWLEY OF ELKO, NEVADA, BEING FIRST DULY SWORN DEPOSES AND SAYS AS FOLLOWS TO WIT:

In 1866 and 1877, I was an employee of Griswold and Woodward on what is now known and called the Overland Ranch in Ruby Valley, Elko County, Nevada, as manager of their ranch store. During these years, I think in the fall of 1866 to my personal knowledge, there was shipped from Salt Lake by the Overland Stage Company to Ruby Valley, care of Griswold and Woodward,[44] a consignment of goods to be distributed to the Indians of Ruby Valley. Said consignment of goods was in the immediate charge of Colonel Head, whom I was informed, was in the service of Government Indian Department. Those goods were shipped from Ruby Station by teams belonging to Griswold and Woodward down to the ranch and consigned to my care to be held until Mr. Head came to take possession of them. The consignment consisted of shirts, underclothing, blankets, bales of calico and I think cotton goods. Shortly afterwards, Colonel Head arrived and took possession of the goods, sent out runners and had all the Indians they could get together in Ruby Valley, Butte Valley, Huntington Valley and South Fork appear upon a certain day when he would issue

[44] Patterson et al., pp. 501-503, note that Chester Allen Griswold and Samuel Woodward and others were backed by the Overland Mail Company. They put together the Overland Ranch and used Indian labor to raise grain. By 1865, the farm was so well developed it employed 100 men, using thirty plows and ninety yoke of oxen to sow 90,000 pounds of grain.

them these goods. But that day, there appeared a large number of Indians and the goods were distributed to each individual Indian. I was one of five or six that helped in the distribution. The goods were piled on our cabin, where we had the store, and Colonel Head would bring some of each kind or character of the goods to be issued to the door and deliver them to us men to distribute to the Indians whom we had seated in a large circle in front of the buildings.

I understood from Colonel Head that this was one-half of a $10,000.00 shipment of goods he had forwarded, part of which from Salt Lake to Deep Creek, and that portion was distributed at Deep Creek. Later as I was given to understand, $5000.00 worth of goods would be and which were distributed to the Indians in Ruby Valley at that time. This is the only distribution of goods of which I have a personal knowledge of, with the exception of a band of cattle numbering as I remember, about 250 head more or less, which was delivered and distributed to the Indians or delivered rather in Ruby Valley, I think by Captain John A. Palmer. I do not remember where the cattle were delivered but I do know they were delivered and held by the Indians until they used them up (butchered.) They had them for several years until the herd ran out. My memory is not clear as to the time the herd of cattle was exhausted. Captain Buck and some of his following removed to the Duck Valley Reservation and it is possible that he took a portion of this herd of cattle with him, but I am not positive on that point.

I was a resident of Ruby Valley from May 1864. I have some recollection of goods being distributed I think on two different occasions, subsequently to 1866 at Griswold and Woodward's store on the Overland Stage Road on the south end of Ruby. Colonel Head resided at the Overland Ranch for several years after 1866, and in 1872, a consignment of Indian goods was distributed by him to the Indians at the flour mill on the Overland Creek.

I was in the ranching and stock raising business on my own account after 1867, and I was very familiar with the stock interest and everything connected with Ruby Valley.

In 1866, I personally received the goods that were shipped by oxen teams from the main Griswold and Woodward store on the Overland Stage line down to the Ruby ranch.

State of Nevada,
County of Elko.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this sixth day of June, 1917.

STATEMENT OF ASHLEY G. DAWLEY AS HIS RECOLLECTION OF AFFAIRS IN RUBY VALLEY CONNECTED WITH THE INDIANS

I, Ashley G. Dawley resided continuously in Ruby Valley, Elko County, Nevada, from May 1864 until the fall of 1880 when I removed to Elko, the county seat of Elko County, but I still retained stock interest and real estate interest in Ruby Valley up to 1896, and as such an early resident, I was pretty well acquainted with the Indian residents of Ruby Valley and with their habits and manner of living etc. They generally camped and lived in numerous different camps in the summer time. The camps would include generally a family and their relatives in these separate camps, in other words, they were divided into clans. The acknowledged head of the Indians,

was at that time was divided between an indian called Captain Buck and Chief Timoke. Captain Buck was elected, I think by some of the younger members of the tribe as captain, while the older indians claimed that Timoke was the natural successor of the Chief Shokup who had died a year or two previous to this time. The Shoshone Indians were divided or formed as I understood it, in different bands in different valleys in this location, and each had his head man or chief of that particular band while the general tribe probably was under one particular head. The Ruby Valley Shoshone's were peaceable and I never knew any particular trouble with any of that band. The Goshut branch of the Shoshone, east of the Steptoe Valley were considered pretty bad indians, and the branch called the Toshuees or Whiteknives ranged in the Mary's River country, a tributary of the Humboldt, in the north eastern part of Elko County, were considered a Renegade band made up as I understood of Shoshone and Fort Hall Indians and were rather feared by the Ruby Valley Indians. I never knew of any ill feeling between the two factions in Ruby, that is the followers of Captain Buck and Timoke when the Duck Valley Reservation was established, Captain Buck and his followers moved to the Duck Valley Reservation and remained there and did not return to Ruby.

It is my recollection that Colonel Head, about the year 1872 or thereabouts, encouraged and induced the Timok branch of indians to farm some, raise grain and potatoes etc., and I think they did so in Township 30, Range 59 A, being from a half to a mile north from the flour mill, and Colonel Head resided on the Overland Creek, being the same place what is known as the Indian farm in Ruby Valley is now located, they have farmed that place more or less ever since. I would say, but I am not positive, that between 1870 and 1872 must have been the time that the waters of Overland Creek were diverted by ditch to this point, up to that time there was no ditch diverting water at that point, no other land being farmed in that vicinity, that is I mean, in the vicinity of the indian village.

I never knew of any reservation or particular lands being set aside for the indians of Ruby Valley nor never heard of such a claim until the last year or two. My understanding of the situation was that the indians just simply located on that place more than likely at the advice of Colonel Head as it was a piece of land unclaimed by any body else and away from the ranches.

During the years 1866-7, I had charge of the Griswold and Woodward cattle and did a great deal of riding and during the spring and summer of 1866 and 7 was probably over this ground every day during the summer and I am positive that at that time there was no farming done by the indians in general, they didn't even live there or camp there and no artificial ditch was made or used to divert water from the Overland Creek on what is now called the Indian Farm.

/s/ Ashley G. Dawley

EXHIBIT NO. 1[45]

Really in the summer time they were practically naked, but in the winter time they had these rabbit robe blankets until the government issued them these goods, when they commenced dressing, covering their nakedness.

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[45] This document was an unsigned typed copy among the Creel papers. It is not certain at this time to whom the statement may be attributed.

The Indians lived on rabbits and young ducks as there was an immense amount of game in the country. They also eat the seeds of weeds and pinenuts. They often ground up the seeds of the weeds and pinenuts and made it into kind of bread which they kept for winter use. They had no utensils with which to cook, and I have seen them take a duck and roast him with his feathers on, then after it was cooked they peeled off the feathers. Very few of the indians had guns, but most of them had bows and arrows. They made their bows and arrows out of hickory which they must have gotten from the immigrants, or out of any other kind of wood which they happened to have and glued the pieces together with sinews of deers. Most of their game was killed by the use of bows and arrows. Fences of sagebrush and cedar boughs were made along the foot hills of some of the mountains, some of them were of considerable length. One fence in the valley that I can recall particularly must have been from ten to fifteen miles in length. The deers and antelope ran from the valleys up against this fence, which was such size that they wouldn't jump it but would run along this fence and the indian hunters would shoot them at close quarters at the other side of the fence.

My experience with the indians in Ruby Valley was that they were pretty honest and trustworthy indians.

The fore-going statements is made to the best of my recollection of the events that happened during those years and it is made at the request of LORENZO D. CREEL, Special Supervisor Indian Service, Washington, D.C.

EXHIBIT NO. 2

I, Dr. Henry Hagar in 1863 crossed the plains in an immigrant train and came to Austin in the fall of that year and I have lived in the state most of the time ever since.

I bought a farm in Ruby Valley in 1882 and I have lived there most of the time ever since. It was about that time I knew of the Indian Ranch that Machach Timoke now occupies. I have known Machach Timoke for about eighteen years and as I remember he occuppied [*sic*] the ranch all of that time. The ranch has been cultivated and irrigated all that time. I do not know who dug the ditch. I think the Indian who committed suicide lived on that ranch. Machach's father claims to have been chief of the Shoshone (old Timoke) Machache [*sic*] always appeared to me to be a very honorable man and he has worked for me and I have every reason to believe that he is.

The ranch is just about the same as when I first saw it. I have never heard of the Indians making a threat against Mr. McBride, Mr. Stanley Wines, or anyone.

State of Nevada
County of Elko

Subscribed and sworn to before me this sixth day of June, 1917

Book Reviews

Morals Legislation without Morality: The Case of Nevada. By John F. Galliher and John R. Cross. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983. pp. x + 163; tables, notes, bibliography, index)

AUTHORS GALLIHER AND CROSS, both sociologists, have undertaken to investigate an apparent set of moral dichotomies in Nevada politics: why does the state which legalized casino gambling and speedy marriages and divorces more than half a century ago prohibit prostitution in its largest cities, consistently refuse to legalize a lottery, and maintain America's strictest law on first offense possession of marijuana, a felony punishable by one to six years in prison? And why has Nevada's influential Mormon community arrived at an accommodation with legalized vice?

Since more than a quarter of this slim volume is devoted to introductory material, there is much ground to be covered in short order—indeed the lottery issue is disposed of in less than six pages—before settling into a more extended discussion of the authors' principal interest, the marijuana law. Yet, despite the fast pace, much fascinating material emerges here. Legislative motivations tumble forth in marvelous, and sometimes bewildering, variety; the intricate demarcations of the Mormon accommodation are delineated with precision, and with considerable stress upon the differing attitudes of Nevada and Utah Mormons; the curious role of brothel owner Joe Conforte as the focus of public concern during the period preceding the prostitution controversy emerges for the first time in a serious study; and the popularly cherished myth of "the outsider" as Nevada's principal criminal is effectively demolished by statistics showing that residents are responsible for two-thirds of the state's crimes. The authors find: "Moral concerns are paramount only in issues that are not relevant to the local economy." Their conclusion, together with much of the preceding material, draws heavily on Jerome Skolnick's brilliant and closely reasoned *House of Cards.*

Despite these achievements, serious problems weaken the book. The authors sometimes overstate their case. For example, it is difficult to understand how Nevada Mormons, who appear in this presentation to constitute no more than thirteen percent of the voters and to control a few key legislative posts, could possibly have the power to reverse legalized gambling as the authors suggest. In another illustrative example, the authors deduce that a 1969 report by the Nevada legislature found less danger in liquor than in

unchecked marijuana use because alcohol "is so important to the economy of the state"; however, comparison with other states would suggest that the legislators' perception on marijuana was shared by a good many people outside Nevada who were not dependent on legalized gambling—and is still so shared, even today.

The methodology, which primarily relies upon newspapers and interview data, evidently does not include reading the obvious sources on Nevada history and politics. Only four are mentioned in the bibliography, and even such basic references as Russell Elliott's *History of Nevada* are missing, as well as others of specific relevance to this project. As a result we are treated to an uncorrected quotation identifying the Carson Valley as "a center of the Mormon faith from 1849 to 1957," a hitherto unnoticed state of affairs certain to arouse considerable surprise in the Carson Valley, and a real howler of a sentence commencing, "Recently U.S. Senator McCarran fought against federal restrictions on gambling in Nevada. . . ." We may judge that the battle did not occur too recently, however, since the senator died in 1954.

These amusing gaffes are indicative of a much broader problem: the authors' scanty acquaintance with Nevada prevents them from developing the interesting issues they have raised. They are consequently ill-equipped to provide a sophisticated discussion of the historical vulnerabilities which underlie the myth of the outsider criminal. Moreover, they appear to be unaware that the 1909 law banning gambling was part of an agreement to appease reformers so that they would cease to agitate on the far more important issue of Prohibition. Being unfamiliar with Nevada's experience with this central reform issue, they are unable to consider how it may have affected the legalization of gambling in 1931, or shaped the attitudes of Nevadans on morals legislation.

While the external context is an improvement over this internal vacuum, by virtue of Galliher's previous work on Utah and Nebraska, it is by no means sufficient. The authors acknowledge that "actual punishment" of marijuana users in Nevada is not much different from other states; it therefore seems clear that law enforcement is not the acid test of the symbolic issue, and equally evident that the hope of some lawmakers in other states that lower penalties would bring stricter enforcement has proved unfounded. Nonetheless, the authors conclude in the same paragraph, "The fact that lawmakers know from public hearings that few marijuana arrests or convictions actually occur, demonstrates that they protect the legislation as a symbolic device rather than as a means of punishing criminal offenders." It would seem no less logical to argue that maintaining weakly enforced vice legislation is a problem, by no means confined to Nevada, which the experience of other states has shown cannot be resolved by reducing penalties. Similarly, on the issue of the outsider criminal, we do not learn what percentage of crimes by nonresidents is the norm in other states. Thus, we are unable to set aside the

possibility that if a third of the crimes, including some of the most publicized, in Sioux City were committed by non-Iowans a popular myth of the outsider criminal might speedily be established there.

The authors advance a persuasive argument that the stiff and unenforced marijuana penalty is a symbolic matter intended both to impress outsiders and to assuage the consciences of Nevadans uncomfortable with legalized vice, but it rests upon a shifty foundation of doubtful interpretations. The data presented by Galliher and Cross does not conclusively demonstrate the symbolic role of the marijuana law. Rather the same data could be utilized to arrive at entirely different conclusions. Might the emergence of a weak and highly discretionary law enforcement pattern in the mid-seventies have prevented the perception that the lives of middle class youths were being ruined by stringent laws from developing? This could have had something to do with the fact that popular demand for modification of the penalty in Nevada failed to crystallize in the same way as in Utah and Nebraska. Is the concept of image as the key element in legislative decision-making negated or strengthened by the legislature's conservative posture on ERA and other "life style" issues? Is it possible that Nevada legislators gave a great deal of weight to the highly negative testimony on the results of lowered penalties in that neighboring state (California) which has frequently provided them with cues on innovation? Since we do not learn how they evaluated the conflicting signals from state law enforcement officers, who were divided on the issue, we are left wondering whether such factors exerted a greater influence upon their decision than the imperatives of image. The authors do not deal with these and many other critical questions. Consequently, their conclusion appears to be primarily derived from their own preconceptions rather than the evidence.

As these criticisms suggest, Galliher and Cross could have produced a much stronger book. Yet so little work has been done in the area of Nevada public policy that the one they have written is nonetheless welcome. It is to be hoped that this is but the first of several future explorations of these provocative ideas.

Sally Springmeyer Zanjani
Minnetonka, Minnesota

A History of the Shoshone-Paiutes of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation. By Whitney McKinney, with contributions by E. Richard Hart and Thomas Zeidler. (Salt Lake City: Institute of the American West and Howe Brothers, 1983. 40 + 135 pages; maps, illustrations. $15.95)

THIS HISTORY of the Duck Valley Reservation is viewed as part of a tribal cultural renaissance, and its production was actively supported by the tribal council. In his introduction, Chairman Paiva says that the book is "another signal of our efforts to direct our own affairs and to emphasize the importance of our own history and culture, both to our own people and to our non-Indian neighbors" (p. 1). It is an example of admirable cooperation between a tribal group and a team of professional research scholars, whose extensive assistance is acknowledged, although the author, himself a tribal member, declares that the direction of the project was entirely controlled by native persons.

The book begins with an origin myth and summarizes the native culture of the Western Shoshones. Then it tells of the arrival of Anglo-Europeans, establishment of non-Indian control of natural resources, founding of the reservation, and gathering of the various bands onto that reduced land base. The remainder of the volume records the history, actions, and policies of the various agents through the 1930s.

The sensitive reader will find reflected, although never explicitly stated, attitudes toward the past not usual in Anglo-written Indian histories. Here shines a pride in being Indian, in native culture and custom, and a stout rejection of Anglo policies of assimilation, no matter how benignly those were intended. As in contemporary Indian activist movements, there is decided stress on the sanctity and permanence of treaties made with the federal government; all Shoshone treaties, whether subsequently ratified by Congress (and thus seen as binding by the government) or not, are reproduced in full. The interpretation of history is an intensely personalized one; events are seen to be the result of actions by certain men, either Anglo or Indian, and not of national trends, social movements, or federal policies. One of the characteristics of Great Basin Indian history which is so visible to highly mobile Anglo-Americans has always been their stout refusal to leave areas remote and apparently offering few advantages; in this volume, this native attachment to locale is taken for granted, and it becomes an unseen actor in the historical drama. Another excellent feature of the book is its awareness of the tribal whole, including not only those persons on the reservation, but also the almost equal number who never relocated there, a group often forgotten by Anglo historians who lack this insider's view of the social reality.

Other unstated attitudes of the author are less fortunate. One is a tendency to assert motivations to an entire class of people without proof that any or all held that position. For instance, in speaking of inspectors sent out by the

Bureau of Indian Affairs, he says, "The Duck Valley Reservation experienced many of these reports, often from men who thought they saw an opportunity to 'make a fast buck' by having the President terminate the Reservation and open it up for settlement for white people" (p. 99). He offers no evidence that any inspector actually expected to gain by or did personally profit from his relationship with Duck Valley Reservation. This illustration also exemplifies his decision to see historical events as a series of personal, human choices, rather than as a reflection of the national Indian policy of that time, which was to allot reservation lands in severalty.

The author also tends to generalize beyond his data, making subsequent analysis difficult. For instance, he says of early contacts with fur trappers that such meetings were "*usually* marked by the wanton killings of Indians" (p. 11—emphasis added). Again, he says that immigrants along the Humboldt Trail "depleted . . . *most* of the native foods of the Newe [Western Shoshone]" (p. 12—emphasis added). In fact the historical documents show only selective competition and numerous scornful and perjorative statements by pioneers concerning native food sources.

There are flashes of insight hinting at new views of the past which are unfortunately not developed. Pungent juxtapositions contrasting the local views of events and the totally opposite perceptions by official Washington are passed off without comment (p. 60). Sophisticated suggestions of psychological autocannibalism are written off in one sentence (p. 35). This reviewer can only wish that more of these "teasers" were elaborated.

In attempts to keep the volume short and concise, the author avoids extensive references to national developments, but the result is a lack of perspective. Local events appear to be unique and to be in fact the result of individual choices and actions. For instance, he says that "the tribes [of Duck Valley] started their own judicial system" in 1884 (p. 88), without mentioning that the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated this policy on a national level during that period. He refers to the complicated legal principles of *Winters* Doctrine, federal trust responsibility (p. 128), and federal treaty policy (p. 49) without explication. This lack of scope is part of the far larger problem of his weak analysis of the data. Many fascinating social changes reflected in his material are glossed over, and the rich complexity of human history made to appear simply to be a sequence of events. For instance, he describes the takeover of Shoshone land by non-Indians this way: "The growing numbers of Whites took what they wanted from the Indians by force and gradually crowded out the Western Shoshone and Paiutes from their traditional camp sites and hunting and gathering grounds" (p. 17). He says that in the process, the Indians "were harassed and subjected to numerous aggressions" (p. 18). Surely oral memory has recorded specific instances of wrongs suffered during this period which the author could have used to flesh out this bare and sterile outline. With regard to more recent times, he accuses the Indian courts of

serving as agents for forced culture change (pp. 106-107); again this is presented as a simple assertion, without detailed analysis of the actual process, which surely is remembered today by those who suffered from it.

The author has missed an opportunity to present a distinctively native perspective on the past. He protests that Anglo sources speak only of Anglo actions and Anglo concerns, and that "for this reason, the oral traditions of the Shoshone-Paiute at Duck Valley have become so important. The memories of tribal elders contain invaluable information" (p. 114). Nevertheless, use of oral tradition is not emphasized in this volume, although the lack of footnotes makes it unclear to what extent oral data has been utilized. Where the narrative indicates oral sources, the information tends to be vague and lacking in time orientation, which limits its value (e.g., pp. 72-73). Instead, the author relies heavily on written documents; even the description of native culture utilizes the categories and even the sequence of topical presentation of standard cultural ecology. While anthropology is maligned, nevertheless that literature is used as the source for his description of the 1930s, a period surely accessible through living memory (pp. 118-119).

Although the title proclaims this to be a history of both the Shoshone and the Paiute peoples of Duck Valley, there is a disturbing emphasis on the Shoshone ethnic group. The description of native culture is specifically Western Shoshone, even though the reservation land is not within their aboriginal territory (a point made by the author himself with regard to treaty violations in a later chapter). He even refers to the "Western Shoshone Duck Valley Reservation" (p. 74). This bias may stem from the fact that Northern Paiutes were only placed on the Duck Valley Reservation in the 1880s, when its landholdings were extended. However, the population figures presented show that by 1900 half of the people on the reservation were Paiutes (p. 95) and their descendants may justly feel that their contribution to the history of Duck Valley has been slighted.

Written primarily for a non-scholarly audience, the author attempts to present his material in a non-technical fashion. In so doing, he keeps dates to a minimum, but this occasionally creates confusion. For instance, he lauds the efforts of early agent Levi Gheen, but, while dating his firing, he does not give the date or duration of Gheen's appointment; thus it is unclear how long he was in office, and hence what lasting impact his work might have had (pp. 38-40). Again, McKinney refers to several events as occurring "at the same time" as the founding of the Swayne School on the reservation, but that event itself is undated (pp. 107-108).

As is fitting in a non-technical work, there are no footnotes. While most of the documents used are manuscripts in the public archives, scholars will regret the lack of specific citation of sources. There is also no index and no bibliography, which limits this book's use as a reference work.

The volume is stoutly manufactured, with quality binding and paper. This

requires a fairly high price, and perhaps an inexpensive paperbound edition would have made it more accessible to its intended audience. One annoying feature of the layout is the maps. Although they are well-drafted and clear, they are scattered throughout the volume and there is no list of illustrations, which makes them hard to locate. Furthermore, although much of the discussion depends on details of local geography, none of the maps is of sufficiently large-scale to provide that information to the reader.

The book was edited by Alvin Josephy, a professional writer, but problems remain. Some are minor, such as the inconsistent use of italics to indicate Indian words (pp. 5, 6), switching from singular to plural to refer to social groups (e.g., Indians and Whites vs. the Indian and the Whiteman), and the placement of Elko in northwestern Nevada (p. 105). Some editorial problems are more serious. The organization of the volume is not strictly chronological, and as a result some items are repeated several times in nearly identical terms (e.g., pp. 56, 78). Coupled with the lack of an index, this choice of organizational method makes the volume difficult to use for reference. Furthermore, with the exception of the single chapter on agriculture written by E. Richard Hart, there is no summary or evaluation of the data to provide a sense of the relative importance of facts or conclusions. There also remain problems of writing style. Perhaps because of the scarcity of sources on the area, those which do exist are heavily used and occasionally paraphrased very extensively, with the narrative moving from topic to topic without apparent rationale in an almost note-like style (e.g., pp. 96-97, 124-125, chapter 13). Because of the uncritical use of sources, information is presented whose relevance is not made apparent (e.g., p. 127, on the educational background of an inspector). On the other hand, the author understates other very interesting information; for instance, after a full page of detail concerning Shoshone reluctance to move onto the reservation, he simply declares that they were "induced to move to Duck Valley" (p. 54). The author's tendency to use passive constructions leaves the actor unspecified, as when he says of a treaty meeting that "the question of concentrating the entire tribe at Duck Valley was freely discussed" (p. 53). It is a matter of considerable historical interest whether such discussion was unilateral or whether tribesmen were active participants. Historical source documents often phrase these facts in purposefully ambiguous ways, and it is disappointing to see this author repeat such vague phraseology.

In short, this book suffers from many of the flaws common in local histories. The data are underanalyzed, the work lacks scope and perspective, and the writing style is not fluid. The documentation is poor, making it hard to use by professional historians and scholars. On the other hand, it is frankly addressed to a local audience. It does present the history of an area not previously summarized in a published work. It thus creates a permanent record which cannot fail to contribute to the pride and self-esteem of local

residents. However, this function is marred by the tendency to oversimplify and to generalize beyond the data, which can lead to a distortion of the history and a misunderstanding of the past. For the scholarly audience, this book adds to the small but growing documentation of contemporary Great Basin Indian views of their own past.

Martha C. Knack
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Ho! For Reese River: Natural Resources of the Toiyabe-Toquima Highlands, Central Nevada. By John M. Townley. (Reno: Water Resources Center, Desert Research Institute, University of Nevada System, April, 1982; 160 pp., $12.00)

THIS SMALL MONOGRAPHIC STUDY attempts to understand and relate the interaction between natural resource use and man's occupation of the region in historic time. The region is the often-ignored mountainous area of central Nevada, earlier known as the Reese River mining district. On the surface, this seems like a large task, but Townley dusts off his topics in an efficient manner, and presents more narrative than basic interpretation. He considers the usual topics of exploration, emigrant crossings, the transportation and U.S. Mail frontier, and Indian response to these activities. Again the usual names appear: Jedediah Smith, Peter Skene Ogden, Joseph Walker, John C. Fremont, the Bidwell-Bartleson and the Stevens-Murphy parties, along with mail carriers Chorpenning and the Pony Express. Finally the Egan-Simpson trail, located well south of the California trail along the Humboldt, made the path through central Nevada a major trans-basin route.

The Pony Express in its brief eighteen-month life from April 1860 to October 1861 used the central Nevada route, and brought station masters and posts to the area. In the vicinity of one of these defunct posts in the summer of 1862, rich silver ore was discovered in Pony Canyon. From it emerged the Reese River mining district, a contemporary of the Comstock. As Townley writes: "In the middle 1860's all Nevada was divided in two parts—the Comstock and Reese River." Austin became the center of the Reese River boom. After 1867, new strikes drew people away to other points within the district, which continued to produce nearly $1 million annually for almost two decades—". . . outlasting the Comstock and most other state producers in the process."

Most of this story travels well-trodden ground. The author often seems to be prodding himself to keep up his interest and flair for the subject. His flights into fancy language and even soliloquy at points suggest he is enter-

taining himself and yet at the same time asserting a dogged determination to finish the exercise. It is the familiar story of a remote mining country dependent upon teamster transportation and later rail transport to sustain operations. Transportation, mining, and stockmen's agriculture successively dominate the region. Still a specter of transience spread throughout this area as mines failed and others sprang momentarily into production. Newspapers did their best to make this haunting specter into a virtue that would attract pioneer enterprise. The *Belmont Courier* came forth with the declaration:

> What a charm there is in this free life under the all-embracing kindly sky of the mountains. No care of church, state or household. All the world ahead, no property or money to bother about, with everything to hope and little to lose. . . .

Beyond the blustery nineteenth-century frontier, resource use continued with the utilization of rangelands by stockmen. Relying heavily on newspaper sources, Townley makes his most original contribution when he confronts the myriad problems facing users of the open range. Stockmen wanted access to the range, but not ownership. Their monopolization of water resources seemed to guarantee use rights, but range use was beset with chaotic use conditions when itinerant herders appeared from outside of the state to graze flocks of sheep. As the U.S. Forest Service began imposing ordered use of high mountain pastures after the turn of the century, the end of chaotic range use came into sight. Yet Townley sees this new order as an imposition of "federal thralldom" upon the open ranges that developed in the form of the Forest Service, the Taylor Grazing Act, and finally the BLM. This type of judgmental name-calling stands in sharp contrast to the otherwise excellent and informative discussion of range resource use in these central highlands.

William D. Rowley
University of Nevada, Reno

Fearful Crossing: The Central Overland Trail through Nevada. By Harold Curran. (Reno: Great Basin Press, 1982. 197 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index)

THE NEVADA HISTORY SECTIONS of our bookstores are beginning to expand in a welcome way. Significant among the new publications are the primary documents of Great Basin history—those words first put down by the participants at the time of the event.

Among these are a few diaries and journals of the emigrants. Through these, we catch the flavor and hardship of the trail, and share the experiences through a variety of eyes. From our armchairs, we learn through their writings of the dangers of the westward trail; of the indecision, fears of the

unknown, illnesses, geographic hazards, and shortages of food and equipment.

It can readily be seen that if the emigrants could have begun their trip fresh and with full equipment, at a point such as Pilot Peak in eastern Nevada, the experience would have been arduous—but not particularly dangerous. However, coming late in the journey when supplies were low, stock worn and equipment tired, the Great Basin in late summer did indeed offer a "fearful crossing."

Harold Curran has totally and thoroughly immersed himself in the subject of emigrant crossings of Nevada. He is an indefatigable researcher. Looking only at the Great Basin portion of the emigrant's journey, Curran brings us a sampling from many journals. This is the only volume to single out the Nevada segment, and to attempt to help Nevadans understand how the trail affected Nevada history and development.

It is a pleasant, if long, drive from Elko to Reno under modern conditions. But think, if you will, of the raw terrain under the highway. Look at the banks of the Humboldt River: in many places they rise cliff-like for many feet, restricting access. Pay attention to the soils—sand allows iron-rimmed wheels to sink in. Rocks cause sun-dried wooden spokes to crack, and springless axles to break.

Curran uses diary excerpts to catalogue the problems of the Great Basin crossing. Of course, diary and journal keepers have their own unique concerns. One might be interested in noting weather and mileage, and another will concentrate on medicines taken, or the condition of stock, or the geography. Today, we must read several accounts in order to begin to understand the problems associated with the crossing. Curran has done much of this reading for us; he presents a good cross-section of writings that help with the understanding of the trail in Nevada, and for this he is to be commended.

The author in his preface informs us the book was written for a high school audience. Competition for a teenager's time is fearful itself these days, and it is unfortunate that this volume might not be up to the challenge. Curran has definite contributions to make, but this volume lacks a quality of excitement to carry the reader along.

When one reads the journal of a single person, there is the possibility of being carried along by the writer's momentum. But Curran utilizes a number of writers, and the sense of momentum and feeling of excitement are somehow lost. The very strength of the book is as a compendium of emigrants' notes, and this also becomes its weakness. In short, while there is a wealth of information in *Fearful Crossing,* the presentation is sometimes weak. Some readers may conclude it with a feeling of disappointment. The title is a strong one, and it is now not available for a book that has the emotional charge of a "fearful crossing."

Robert E. Stewart
Carson City, Nevada

The Vanishing American. White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy. By Brian W. Dippie. (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1982. xvii + 423 pp. Illustration, notes, preface and index. $24.95)

THERE IS A LOT of information about Indians in *The Vanishing American.* In some 350 pages of text and a whopping 986 footnotes, Brian Dippie summarizes United States government policy toward the Indian from the close of the War of 1812 through the 1950s. He also examines the progress of America's native peoples in a variety of topical considerations. There is, therefore, something in this book about Removal, the Peace Policy, the Allotment Act, the Indian New Deal, the influence of missionaries, disease, alcohol, Franz Boas, the Indian Claims Commission, and, as the phrase goes, "more—much, much, more."

Interestingly, this comprehensive, and quite literate, survey is not what this book is all about. Not at all. Dippie asserts early on, "This is not a book about the Indian, then, but about perceptions of the Indian, and the entrenched idea that the Indians are a 'bold, but wasting race' strikes me as the most important of them all in terms of both primacy and longevity." (xi-xii) In effect, Dippie contends that the enduring myth of the Indian as a "vanishing race" was significantly influential in shifting the stances taken by the federal government in its search for a national policy for tribesmen.

Dippie wisely stops short of creating his own aberration: that the notion of the vanishing Indian was the cardinal precept in the formation of the government's policy toward the tribes. Concern for the diminishing natives was, in truth, usually after the fact, rather than a cause for the effective policy. The large number of literary and governmental statements cited by Dippie is testament to that. Still, the book is written in such a manner that if a reader made his own judgment that American Indian policy is a direct reaction to the vision of the Indian as the vanishing American, Dippie would not make any firm statement to dissuade him.

It was James Fenimore Cooper, the creator of Chingachgook, *The Last of the Mohicans,* not Brian Dippie, who originated the vanishing American concept. And Dippie himself acknowledges that since he began his research on the topic for a 1970 doctoral dissertation at the University of Texas, a dozen or more books by Robert Berkhofer, the late Ray Allen Billington and others have further illuminated the subject. As a matter of fact, simultaneous with the publication of Dippie's volume, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* was published by the Smithsonian Institution. But none, save Billington, is as eloquent as Dippie, and he makes his points well. His mastery of literary sources is both broad and deep.

In summary, Dippie's thesis is intriguing, if not exclusive to him; his ability

to synthesize is skillful; and this book is a "thought piece" to be savored and tested rather than merely skimmed.

Robert C. Carriker
Gonzaga University

The Jicarilla Apache Tribe: A History, 1846-1970. By Veronica E. Velarde Tiller. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. 265 pp., notes, bibliography, index)

THE NAME JICARILLA APACHE stirs up images of fierce warriors battling against overwhelming odds to prevent white invaders from entering their homeland. While there is an element of truth in this image, the history of these remarkable people is much more complex than one might think. Author Veronica Tiller, a member of the tribe, could have easily chosen to concentrate on the romantic aspects of the tribe's past and gloss over the rest. Fortunately, she chose to provide a scholarly history, solidly based on documentary research, that covers the full scope of Jicarilla history between 1846 and 1970. The result is a significant book that combines the accuracy of a trained historian with the insights of one close to the tribe.

Although the book begins with the arrival of the Americans in the Southwest, the author manages to include background on the establishment of the Jicarillas as a distinct group living along the Colorado-New Mexico border. She also takes great pains to describe their cultural patterns and show how these traits would affect Jicarilla relations with the outside world. In the decade following the American occupation of New Mexico, the Jicarillas experienced the confusion and hostility that accompanied the federal attempt to establish the reservation system in the Southwest. By 1855 it was clear that the tribe would be compelled to live in confinement, but just where was not resolved as long as speculators, Indian agents, and politicians argued among themselves. During this transitional period, the Jicarillas were shunted around from place to place, becoming a people without a home, until finally in 1887 they were assigned a permanent reservation in northern New Mexico.

For the next half-century the tribe witnessed "some of the worst suffering they have ever known." Tiller is at her best in discussing these harrowing years. Dividing the period into economic, social, and educational concerns, she presents information usually glossed over by historians. The tribe was forced to accept allotments, squatters moved in, their timber was cut, and they endured a series of corrupt agents. During this period the Jicarilla people suffered from poverty, disease, and social disruptions brought on by the lack of any kind of positive motivation. Tribal society changed when

traditional leaders lost their influence and were replaced by a power structure composed of traders, missionaries, and agency police. Health suffered as poor living conditions produced epidemics of tuberculosis and trachoma. Added to these difficulties, the government's assimilation program operated in full force, with predictable results. Even though the Jicarillas favored educating their children, they resented programs which sent youngsters far from home or trained them for useless occupations. In sum, life on the reservation between 1887 and 1934 was demoralizing, depressing, and frustrating, conditions which are well captured by the author.

Tiller argues that the tribe made a turn-around during the Indian New Deal of the 1930s. The Jicarillas chose to accept the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1937, forming a tribal constitution and electing a governing council. To the surprise of many, the Jicarillas became a success story. Cooperative financial ventures met with success and the tribal standard of living improved. In more recent times, the tribe has had to cope with the problems of modern Indians, including the threat of termination, claims settlements, and the confusion accompanying migration to the cities and the invasion of outside value systems.

The story of these events is told in a relatively evenhanded manner. There are some things, however, which mar the effectiveness of the book. There are numerous typographical errors and quite a few factual mistakes. Moreover, the concluding chapters are weak; they lack an in-depth analysis of recent conditions and are laced with an optimism that glosses over some of the more serious social and economic problems that still exist. In her effort to portray the Jicarillas as a modern tribal success, Tiller has overlooked several difficult problems that need to be addressed.

Robert A. Trennert
Arizona State University

Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado. By Robert Alan Goldberg. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. xv + 255 pp.)

IN JUST THREE YEARS from 1921 to 1924, the Ku Klux Klan built a state-wide organization in Colorado, recruited 35,000 members, took over the Republican Party, and captured the state government. The Klan attained such major successes only in Colorado and Indiana. Traditional explanations for the rise of the K.K.K. in the 1920s include the hatred bred by World War I, depression, the Red Scare, prejudice against blacks, Jews, and Catholics, and the rural to urban shift of population. Members, supposedly, were from the lower classes and poorly educated. Robert Alan Goldberg reviews these

interpretations and provides a different explanation. Because he utilized Klan records from the local level, he is convincing.

The author examined Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Canon City, and Grand Junction. He found that the success or failure of the K.K.K. varied with local issues, the response of government, the ability of the organizer, and community perceptions. In Denver, uncontrolled crime was a major problem. The Klan concentrated on the crime issue and, thus, built its most powerful Colorado group. Politicians in the capital, moreover, found the Klan useful as a political machine. In Colorado Springs, however, where minorities lived scattered throughout the city, and where local officials and leaders resisted from the beginning, the movement found little acceptance.

In Pueblo, prohibition was the point to exploit, while in Canon City people worried about the influence of a new Catholic monastery. There anti-Catholicism became the theme. On the western slope at Grand Junction, however, people joined the Klan because it offered fellowship, social activities, and business contacts. Even the elite of the town became members and led the group. Influence from Denver was minimal. The political program was very mild and few took it seriously. For the various communities, therefore, no common issue existed. The Klan organizers succeeded by remaining flexible and adjusting their appeals to suit local problems.

Membership rolls, furthermore, reveal that by and large the K.K.K. reflected the population structure of the state. It was not a lower-class movement. Klansmen were white Protestants from all socioeconomic levels. They were not misfits, according to Goldberg, but rather normal people seeking to deal with real problems. But the attempt of the Klan to enact a political program failed. After controlling the state government for one term, Klan power began to fade. As was the pattern elsewhere, it was able to grasp control of the government, but it did not know how to run the machinery. Opposition politicians, possessing superior skills, frustrated the Klan's effort to enact a program. This brought a decline. Internal dissension and improved law enforcement in Denver completed the breakdown of the organization.

Goldberg writes well. Although he does not say enough about the political losses in 1926, his research is thorough and his analysis brings us closer to the truth about the Ku Klux Klan. Moreover, his history of the Klan in Colorado illustrates once again the ability of a disciplined minority to take over an established political system. That is a healthy reminder for the citizens of a representative government.

David McComb
Colorado State University

A Passion for Freedom: The Life of Sharlot Hall. By Margaret F. Maxwell. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. 234 pp.)

SHARLOT HALL (1870-1943) was a consummate caretaker. For most of her adult life, she was responsible for her ailing parents. As Territorial Historian of Arizona, she ventured to remote places in order to record settlers' reminiscences and to collect artifacts. Her poetry and prose created Southwestern characters that readers throughout America enjoyed. Toward the end of her life, she preserved the territorial governor's log mansion in Prescott as a monument to Arizona's modest origins. Hall also saved many of her own personal papers, which proved a rich source for Margaret Maxwell's intimate biography, *A Passion for Freedom: The Life of Sharlot Hall.*

The strength of Maxwell's book is her relentless reminder of the context amid which Hall achieved so much: the drudgery of arid ranch life, and the limitations put on women's aspirations. Hall's accolades were purchased at a dear cost. She chose not to marry so that her first duty could be to herself and her art. Her modest mobility and friendships with men like freethinker Samuel Putnam and editor Charles F. Lummis fed rumormongers. Her active campaign to become the first woman in Arizona to hold public office (territorial historian) was criticized as ambitious.

Later in her life, when Hall did receive recognition, the realities of her roles as ranchwoman and dutiful daughter still bound her. When she was asked to come to Tucson to receive an honorary degree, Hall had to decline. She wrote to Lummis, "All I could do was laugh at the idea of my being able to go to Tucson. . . . Oh yes, my father had one of his worst tantrums of temper that day and the hired men had come in to say they couldn't stand it another hour and were going to leave—*leave* and the wells almost dry, cattle bawling for water—and windlass ready for sinking deeper after the receding water . . . . All I've had time to think about the degree is to wonder why they gave it to that long dead woman who once was myself. . . ." (pp. 154-55)

Maxwell, a professor of Library Science at the University of Arizona, also places Hall in the larger context of notable American feminists like Jane Addams and Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Each saw marriage and public service as incompatible; each broke her health caring for others. In Hall's case, this was particularly tragic because she loathed her father's endless demands on her weakening mother. Yet when Adeline Hall died, Sharlot Hall immediately replaced her as Angel of the House.

Like Hall's idealized renderings of Arizona's past, Maxwell's biography treats some troublesome topics too briefly. Only two paragraphs deal with Hall's total break with her brother after his marriage to a Mexican woman. Although he and his wife lived in Tucson for sixteen years, Sharlot Hall told people he was dead. Arizona historian Joseph Fish always claimed Hall had stolen 210 pages of his manuscript. Maxwell simply notes, "Fish's suspicions

seem to be well-founded: the missing pages of the manuscript were found in Sharlot's collection of Arizoniana after her death." (p. 116)

One irritating stylistic inconsistency in *A Passion for Freedom* is Maxwell's use of "Sharlot," while other principals are called by their surnames or full names, as is traditional in historical biography. This first-name intimacy between author and female subject is not unique to Maxwell; both Kathryn Sklar and C. Vann Woodward are on a first-name basis with Catharine Beecher and Mary Chesnut, respectively. (Yet Fawn Brodie's intimate biography of Thomas Jefferson does not use "Thomas.") What's in a name? Perhaps historians of women are trying to break down barriers between their readers and their subjects. Let us hope it is this and not unconscious diminution.

Judy Nolte Lensink
University of Arizona

Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails 1840-1890, Vol. 1. Kenneth L. Holmes, ed. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983. $25.00)

THIS IS THE FIRST of a projected ten volume series. Each volume will average 300 pages and include ten to twenty unpublished or scarce documents. The final volume will contain an index, bibliography, and gazetteer. *Covered Wagon Women, Volume 1,* measures up to the quality of printing of other Arthur H. Clark Company series such as *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade* (1965-72) and *Far West and the Rockies* (1954-61). This set is modeled closely after the three volume *First White Women* published by Clark in 1963. One of *Covered Wagon Women*'s special contributions is the large number of excerpts from private family collections, as well as materials from the Bancroft, Huntington, Yale, and Oregon Historical Society libraries.

After a general introduction, Volume One (which deals with the years 1840 to 1849) provides separate introductions for the twelve featured women. Three epilogues, a bibliography on Mormon women material, a map of the western trail routes, and portraits of Rachel Fischer Mills and Tabitha Brown are also included. These women ranged from thirteen to sixty-six years old when they described their journeys to Oregon, California, and Utah.

Editor Kenneth L. Holmes demonstrates his familiarity with a wide range of works by contemporaries, genealogists, and western scholars. His individual introductions, often based on federal censuses and state records, are carefully crafted and very detailed.

Holmes wants to portray "Mainstream American women telling of an extraordinary experience." Many women discussed the hardships encoun-

tered along the way. Elizabeth Dixon Smith warns us that she is "inadequate to the task," but even if she were, "you would not believe it" (143-145). Rachel Fischer writes to relatives about the death of her husband in 1847 while on the Oregon trail. She also lost her four children between 1844 and 1848. Tabitha Brown had to leave the main party to stay and nurse a delirious husband. She wrote that it was "—worse than alone; in a strange wilderness; without food, without fire; cold and shivering; wolves fighting and howling all around me;" and concludes, "—all was solitary as death—" (55). In contrast, some of the women discussed the joys of childbirth. Patty Sessions, a midwife, kept detailed records of all the children she delivered on the way to Utah. All of these women record the weather and the day's events. Only Louisiana Strentzel mentions public events; she refers to the death in 1849 of ex-President James K. Polk.

Holmes is a purist and has insisted on printing all mis-spellings, mis-punctuations, and mis-capitalizations; he argues these represent important statements by the writers. By consulting the original letters or diary entries, Holmes has uncovered mistakes in other printings; for example, Elizabeth Dixon Smith wrote "Portland, a sick game place," not "Portland, such a game place."

Covered Wagon Women would be strengthened by the inclusion of an historiographical essay that sets these diaries within the context of the existing literature. Holmes fails to discuss several stereotypes of western women that have been well-summarized by Glenda Riley and Sandra Myres. In addition, the author should have included a short review of the Donner Party instead of assuming that his readers remember the details. At some point, Holmes should have discussed (rather than simply stated) that these writings are representative of diaries of the 1840s. But were the women's diaries different than the men's? If so, in what ways? Were the documents of the 1840s different than those of other decades? If so, how?

Despite these weaknesses, which can be corrected in later volumes, Holmes has begun an important new series which will contribute to our understanding of women's experiences and our western heritage.

D'Ann Campbell
Indiana University

New Resource Materials

Nevada Historical Society

Arthur Langan Papers

Arthur Chester Langan was a globe-trotting explorer, movie maker, mining man, and night club operator who spent a considerable portion of his long life in Nevada. When he died in Reno in 1964, he had accumulated an extensive collection of scrapbooks, photographs, and other memorabilia documenting his colorful career.

These papers have now been given to the Nevada Historical Society by Joyce Bayless of Bakersfield, California. In addition to numerous photographs of Tonopah and other Nevada mining centers early in this century, the papers include newspaper clippings and photographs describing Langan's participation in the 1912 Scott Polar Expedition, his work in silent films (he had his own ACL Feature Films Company), material on his varied mining ventures, and photographs of the elegant Deauville Club, which he operated in Reno during the 1930s.

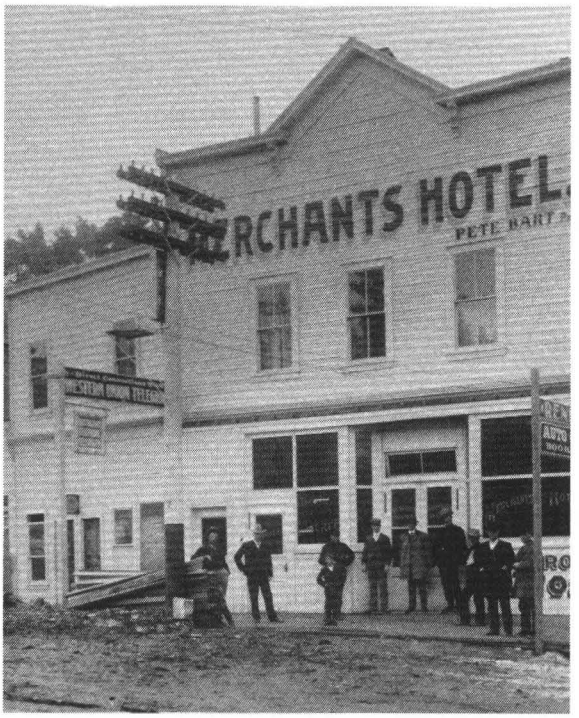
The Langan papers provide us with a close look at a prominent and fascinating western figure; we thank Mrs. Bayless for her donation.

Bullion and Exchange Bank Records

The Society has been fortunate in obtaining records of one of Nevada's pioneer financial institutions, the Bullion and Exchange Bank of Carson City. As the result of a recent purchase, a substantial group of records from that bank (and its predecessor, the Carson City Savings Bank, and successor, the State Bank and Trust Company) have been added to a small collection of Bullion and Exchange records already held by the Society. Consisting primarily of ledgers, daily balances and statements, tellers' accounts, and correspondence, the material dates from the period 1876-1909. These records are sure to be of interest to historians of banking and anyone wanting to know more about the economic life of Nevada's capital city in the last century.

Interior of Deauville Club, Reno, Nevada 1931.

Scene at a mining prospect, Gilbert, Nevada ca. 1925. Standing in the center, in a dark suit, is Harry Stimler; to his immediate left is Lt. Gov. Maurice J. Sullivan.



Merchants Hotel, Manhattan, Nevada in 1907.

Tonopah, Nevada, ca. 1915. The home of Congressman George Bartlett is at the upper left.

Short-Gibson Company Records

The records of automobile dealerships seem to come and go as effortlessly as the annual models of cars. Because they are not commonly preserved, the Society is glad to have acquired the records of a Reno dealership, the Short-Gibson Company, for the years 1925-1936. Reflecting sales, expenses for repairs and parts, and transactions with such firms as the Willys-Overland Pacific Company and the DeSoto Motor Corporation, the papers present an informative picture of a moderate-sized automobile dealer's operations in what was, then, the relatively new and competitive American automobile business.

University of Nevada, Reno

Louie Gardella Papers

Louie Gardella, a well-known figure in Nevada agriculture, recently donated his papers to the Special Collections Department of the University of Nevada Reno Library. Mr. Gardella, a native Nevadan, was involved in Agricultural Extension work in Lincoln, Lyon, and Washoe counties from 1934 to 1967. During his time as county agent for Washoe County, 1954-1967, Mr. Gardella played an important role in water development in the Truckee River Basin. His papers, which reflect this involvement and interest, include material from the Vista Water Users Cooperative Association, 1958-1974, organized by Gardella to deal with agriculture-related water problems in Washoe County. Also included in the Gardella papers is a genealogy of Italian families in the Reno area. Louie Gardella's oral history, completed in 1974, can also be found at the UNR Library.

Keston Ramsey Scrapbooks

Material on early skiing in the Reno area is available in the Special Collections Department of the UNR Library through copies of scrapbooks loaned by Keston Ramsey, original owner and developer of the Sky Tavern Lodge on Mount Rose. Ramsey and his partner George Tett purchased the Mount Rose ski area in 1945. He built Sky Tavern, which later became the location for the Reno-Sparks Junior Ski Program. The scrapbooks contain newspaper clippings tracing the history and development of the Mount Rose ski area. They also document competitive ski events from 1945 to 1958, particularly those involving the University of Nevada ski team. Mr. Ramsey

completed an oral history in 1983 on "Early Skiing in the Mt. Rose Area," which is in the UNR Library.

JAMES E. CHURCH

An addition to the James E. Church papers came to the UNR Library this year in the form of a gift from Jon Lea of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service in Reno. He discovered a box of snow survey records, water data notebooks, and diaries when the Snow Survey group moved out of their Reno office. The material, which dates from 1918 to 1954, contains documents generated by Dr. Church, Horace P. Boardman, George Hardman and Carl Elges, all well-known figures in snow and water surveying in Nevada. Especially interesting are 1918 snow survey notebooks for Marlette Lake and the Lake Tahoe area, and a journal of an airplane trip to the Humboldt taken and recorded by Dr. Church on July 3-4, 1929.

Contributors

Sally Springmeyer Zanjani received her Ph.D. from New York University, and she has published articles on Nevada history in several journals, including the *NHS Quarterly*. Her book, *The Unspiked Rail*, was published by the University of Nevada Press in 1981. She is collaborating with Guy Louis Rocha on a book about the Preston-Smith case.

Guy Louis Rocha is the Nevada State Archivist. He is a specialist in the history of labor and mining in Nevada and the West, and he has written a number of articles and reviews for the *NHS Quarterly* and other publications.

Dennis McBride specializes in the history of Boulder City and the immediate vicinity, and he has published *In the Beginning: A History of Boulder City* (1981), and (in collaboration with Angela Brooker) *Boulder City: Passages in Time* (1981). Mr. McBride received the M.A. in English from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Donald R. Tuohy is Head of the Department of Anthropology at the Nevada State Museum, Carson City. Mr. Tuohy received his M.A. in Anthropology from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas; he has been active in Great Basin research in archaeology since 1959, and is the author of numerous studies in the field.

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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.