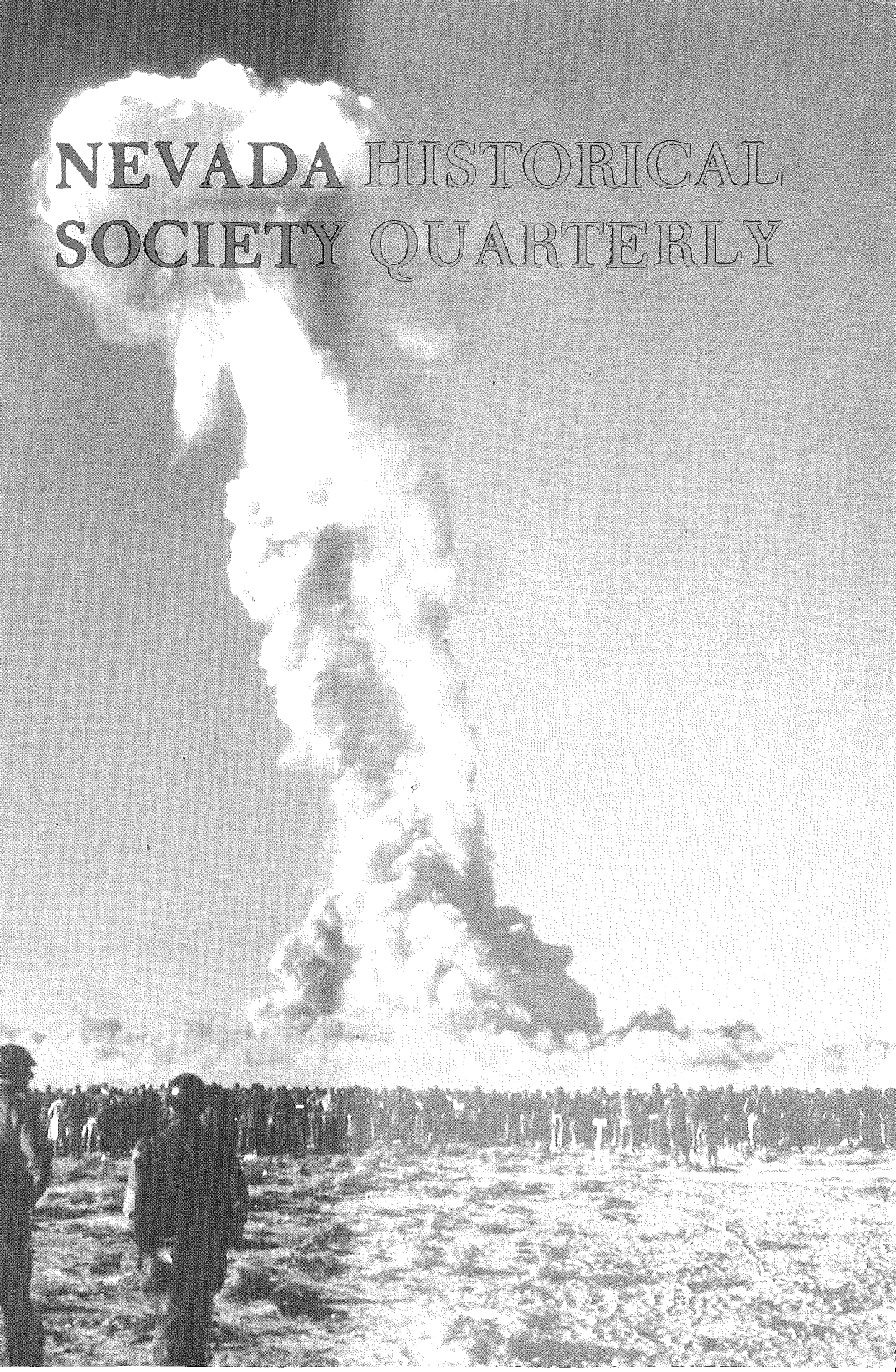


NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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THE COVER: Over 450 above-ground nuclear tests were conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission at the Nevada Test Site. Many were observed at close range by the military and civilians. (*Special Collections, University of Nevada, Las Vegas*)

One Man's Meat is Another Man's Poison: A Revisionist View of the Seagull "Miracle"

DAVID B. MADSEN
BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

INTRODUCTION

CURRENT BIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY SUGGESTS that human behavior is based, to a large extent, on economic realities. Essentially these theories boil down to the hypothesis that those who get more for less are more reproductively successful than those who get less for more. They suggest further that it is possible to rank behavior in terms of energetic costs (that is, the amount of calories of energy earned for the amount of time invested) and predict that over the long-term human groups and individuals should tend toward behavior that ranks at the higher end of the list.¹ This is over the long-term, however, and short-term departures from the norm can and do occur. Here we examine what appears to be one of these unusual aberrations: the cricket/seagull/farming encounter of 1848.

The cricket plague of 1848 which racked the farms of early Mormon pioneers and the "rescue" of domestic crops by swarms of seagulls is one of the most prominent events in eastern Great Basin history. It is often elevated to the status of legend, and much that is said about the event falls more within the realm of folklore and myth than in the realm of historical reality. There is a decided ideological component to these folk-tales in that the coming of the seagulls is often viewed as divine intervention, with the birds having been sent in the nick-of-time to save the crops from ravaging hordes of crickets and the Saints from winter starvation. A particularly "miraculous" aspect of these tales is that the birds are reported to have repeatedly gorged themselves on

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the crickets and disgorged the crickets into the Great Salt Lake in an unnatural (that is to say supernatural) fashion. In short, there is something of a morality play to these stories with the crickets representing disaster, the seagulls representing salvation and the early Euro-American settlers representing the players whose belief system is both tested and reinforced by the sequence of events.

We have neither the desire nor the ability to describe the supernatural aspects of these stories, but we do wish to review the crickets-as-disaster/seagulls-as-saviors contrast since it so directly contradicts a number of other lines of evidence which suggest exactly the opposite. A variety of ethnohistorical, ethnological and archaeological evidence suggests that insects such as crickets and grasshoppers were widely used as a winter storage food resource in the eastern Great Basin by Native American groups. Further, this widespread usage is consistent with recent cost/benefit tests which suggest that the caloric return-rate for time invested is at times as high, and often much higher, than any other wild or domestic food source. Given the events of 1848, it would have been more appropriate, in terms of energetic efficiency, to view the crickets as the saviors and the seagulls as the disaster. Not only were the settlers of 1848 not faced with starvation as a result of the cricket plague, they were faced with a surfeit of food. As a result, the manner in which the pioneers of 1848 reacted to the cricket invasion, as well as the subsequent development of the seagull 'miracle' stories, must clearly be seen in a social rather than an economic context.

THE ETHNOHISTORIC AND ETHNOLOGIC RECORD

Ethnohistorical and ethnological data on the use of insects as a subsistence resource abound for groups in and adjacent to the eastern Great Basin. Not only did every identified group use them, many were dependent on one or more species as their primary resource and principal winter storage food. At the same time, the type of insects used as well as the degree to which they were incorporated into the subsistence system was highly variable.

Groups around Mono and Owens Lakes in the western Basin, for example, collected the larval form of the brine fly for use as a dried winter food and considered it "a favorite food."² Around the Great Salt Lake, on the other hand, where they were equally if not more abundant, the use of brine fly larvae was specifically denied by a variety of Gosiute and Shoshoni informants.³ This variability is also evident for a variety of other insect species. Grasshoppers were widely used in the eastern Basin,⁴ but were "eaten only when hungry" in the central Great Basin.⁵ Among some western Basin groups, such as the Northern Paiute, they were apparently not eaten at all.⁶ Larvae of the pandora (or other similar moths) on the other hand, were extensively used in the western Great Basin,⁷ but were apparently rarely if ever used in the eastern Basin.⁸

Despite this variation, the reliance on insects was widespread and common. Early trapper journals and pioneer diaries are replete with reference to insects as a major food resource. Heinrich Lienhard's report in 1846 of a Paiute man along the Humboldt River that when asked for food returned with grasshoppers and roots that tasted like parsnips, is but one of many similar examples.⁹ A more extensive description from Peter Skene Ogden's journal of February, 1826, concerning "Snake Indians" north of the Great Salt Lake, bears repeating both for its description of insect use as a winter storage resource and for the ethnocentrism common at the time:

I had often heard these wretches subsisted on ants, locusts and small fish, not larger than minnies, and I wanted to find out if it was not an exaggeration of late travelers, but to my surprise, I found it was the case; for in one of their dishes, not of small size, was filled with ants. They collected them in the morning early before the thaw commences. The locusts they collect in Summer and store up for their Winter; in eating they give the preference to the former, being oily; the latter not, on this food these poor wretches drag out an existence for nearly 4 months of the year they live contented and happy; this is all they require.¹⁰

This use of grasshoppers, crickets and other insects as a winter storage staple was apparently quite prevalent. Lorenzo Young reports another example from around the Great Salt Lake at the time the first settlements were constructed:

The ground was covered with black crickets; millions of them. . . . An unusual number of Indians . . . gathered together . . . were harvesting them . . . (they) depended upon this food as one of their principle (sic) suppliers for winter use.¹¹

Insects were collected and prepared in a variety of ways. The most common method of collecting jumping or crawling insects, such as grasshoppers, was to either simply pick them off bushes in the early morning while they were still cold or to dig ditches, line them with brush or grass, drive the insects into the ditches and fire the brush. John Wesley Powell provides a good general description for the Ute/Southern Paiute:

Grasshoppers and crickets form a very important part of the food of these people. Soon after they are fledged and before their wings are sufficiently developed for them to fly, or later in the season when they are chilled with cold, great quantities are collected by sweeping them up with brush brooms, or they are driven into pits, by beating the ground with sticks. When thus collected they are roasted in trays like seeds and ground into meal and eaten as mush or cakes. Another method of preparing them is to roast great quantities of them in pits filled with embers and hot ashes. . . . When these insects are abundant, the season is one of many festivities. When prepared in this way these insects are considered very great delicacies.¹²

Howard Egan described a cricket drive northwest of the Deep Creek Mountains in the early 1850s during which a "large group" dug trenches for a

number of days, drove crickets into trenches containing dry grass, fired the grass and placed more on top. When they had finished, the trenches were “half full of dead crickets,” and one woman carried away a large and a small carrying basket containing “over four bushels” to camp some three-four miles away. Bushels of crickets remained to be gathered later in the day.¹³ Young reported a slightly different kind of drive in the Salt Lake Valley in which:

They made a corral twelve or fifteen feet square, fenced about with sage brush and grease wood, and with branches of the same drove them into the enclosure. Then they set fire to the brush fence and going amongst them, drove them into the fire. Afterward they took out these bodies by the thousand, rubbed off their wings and legs, and after two or three days gathered the meat, which was an ounce or half an ounce of fat to each cricket.¹⁴

Both trenching/driving insects and picking them from bushes like berries are labor intensive operations, and higher return methods were often used. For example, in the Sevier River drainage in the east central Basin, Peter Gottfredson described an 1864 cricket drive in which crickets were driven into a stream where:

The squaws (placed) baskets in the ditch for the crickets to float into. The male Indians with long willows strung along about twenty feet apart whipping the ground behind the crickets driving them towards the ditch . . . [The crickets] tumbled into the ditch and floated down into the baskets. . . . They got more than fifty bushels.¹⁵

A method common around many of the interior drainage lakes in the Basin was simply to let nature do most of the work. For example, at Owens Lake in 1859:

. . . the Indians gather them at this season as they are driven ashore by the wind. They then dry them and separate, by threshing and winnowing, the shells, or skeletons, of the Larva from the grub, which they pack away in cakes. I may safely say that I saw hundreds of bushels of this food, in process of preparation and prepared.¹⁶

Insects appear to have been prepared in a number of ways. Occasionally they were simply eaten:

During interview with KL, granddaughter brought her a grasshopper. I asked if it was kind they used to eat. She said it was, and because she was hungry she said she would eat that one. Thereupon she swallowed it whole and alive. She had no teeth with which to chew she gagged a little, but said insect kicking caused that.¹⁷

More often they were roasted and ground into a flour or made into cakes of what has been called “desert fruitcake,” a concoction variably consisting of insects, pine nuts, and various berries mashed together and dried in the sun. Egan describes being fed “a cake of black bread” made of crickets, pine nuts, and possibly other foods,¹⁸ while Gottfredson and Edwin Bryant are more descriptive:

Three females . . . made their appearance, bringing baskets containing a substance, which, upon examination, we ascertained to be service-berries, crushed to a jam and mixed with pulverized grasshoppers. This composition being dried in the sun until it becomes hard, is what may be called the "fruitcake" of these poor children of the desert. . . . We purchased all they brought with them. . . . The prejudice against the grasshopper "fruitcake" was strong at first, but it soon wore off, and none of the delicacy was thrown away or lost.¹⁹

And:

They had a lot of berries that they gathered before which they crushed with the crickets and made into loaves the size of a persons head. They then dug holes in the ground about eighteen inches deep and buried the loaves and left them for about a month. . . . The berries they used were service berries which were plentiful in the hills, and wild currents, both black and red that grew along the creek, and some squaw berries and chokecherries.²⁰

While flavor and taste are probably some of the least objective observations that can be made, the gusto with which insects were eaten deserves at least some mention. They are usually described as quite flavorful and were considered, as Powell noted above, "great delicacies." According to Egan's informant, crickets ". . . make the bread good, the same as sugar used by the white woman in her cakes,"²¹ while the Honey Lake Paiute used dried crickets and locusts in a soup which had the ". . . flavor of dried deer meat."²² Even modern non-native informants find them to be more than just palatable. During a recent ethno-archaeological experiment, participants coined the term "desert lobster" to describe the taste of freshly roasted grasshoppers.²³ There is some disagreement however, since Captain J.H. Simpson considered a seed and root cake version of desert fruitcake he tasted (insects are not specifically mentioned) to be ". . . precisely like cattle-ordure, and having anything but an agreeable taste, I soon disgorged it."²⁴

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Archaeological data on insect use from in and around the eastern Great Basin is limited when compared to the abundance of ethnographic information from the same area. However, this limitation is probably due more to a bias in the archaeological record resulting from a lack of suitably well preserved sites and the use of rather coarse excavation techniques, than to reduced reliance on insects in the prehistoric period.

To the north and east of the Great Salt Lake area in western Wyoming and northwestern Colorado, insect use has been identified at three sites. Leigh Cave, on the west flank of the Bighorn Mountains, contained a hearth, dating to about 4,200 years ago, with the "cooked remains of several hundred large insects . . . commonly known as the Mormon cricket. . . ."²⁵ It is interesting to note that these cricket remains were associated with large amounts of wild

onion, large quantities of chokecherry pits, some limber pine seeds, buffalo berry, and wild rose, all items which form the basic ingredients of "desert fruitcake." The Eden-Farson site in the upper Green River Basin, Wyoming, is a "proto-historic Shoshonean" site radiometrically dated to 230 years ago.²⁶ Pigweed seed-cakes containing insect parts were found together with "charred fragments of Mormon crickets . . . and large red ants . . ." in three of the twelve-house floor excavated at the site, and the insects ". . . were almost certainly being used as food."²⁷ Grasshoppers were recovered from a storage cist along the Yampa River on the Utah-Colorado border. They are poorly dated, but appear to have been deposited about 3,000-1,000 years ago. The hoppers had been "mashed or chopped or ground up into a solid mass" prior to storage.²⁸

Within the Great Basin proper, insect consumption has been identified through the analyses of coprolites (dried fecal matter) from sites on both the eastern and western Basin margins. West of the Great Salt Lake, a significant portion of coprolites at Danger and Hogup Caves contain "insect parts," but the species of insects were not identified.²⁹ The situation is similar in the western Basin, where coprolites at Lovelock Cave also contained "insects."³⁰ A wooden grasshopper effigy was also recovered from the site, suggesting the insect was of some importance to the Lovelock Cave occupants.³¹

A cache of grasshoppers was recovered from Crypt Cave along the lower Humboldt River, but its age and archaeological context is poorly described.³² Apparently the hoppers were stored in a finely woven net bag in one of a series of "cache caves" in the region. A variety of other food resources such as dried fish were also found in the caves.

The most well documented use of insects in the eastern Basin is at Smith Creek Cave in the Snake Range on the Utah-Nevada border and at Lakeside Cave, a site on the north end of the Lakeside Mountains along the western margin of the Great Salt Lake. Grasshopper parts (*Melanoplus sanguinipes*) were identified at both sites in very large numbers. At Smith Creek Cave they occur in a depositional unit dating to about 2,100 years ago,³³ while at Lakeside Cave they are found throughout the deposits but occur in heaviest concentrations in stratigraphic units dating from 4,700-4,400 years ago.³⁴ In a sample of the Lakeside deposits, up to 1.5 million grasshopper parts occur in any one stratigraphic unit. Coprolites are associated with all strata where grasshopper parts occur and contain oolitic sand and hopper parts as their principal components. The hopper parts in the Lakeside coprolites are fragmented and broken, but are large enough to suggest they were eaten whole rather than ground into a flour. The presence of the very large number of grasshoppers, the combination of oolitic sand and hopper parts in the coprolites; and the proximity of the cave to a number of long oolitic sand beaches suggest that the occupants were collecting windrows of grasshoppers washed up on the beaches and were consuming them directly.



Lakeside Cave on the western margin of the Great Salt Lake. (Photo courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society)

A PLAGUE OF CRICKETS

Clearly, both the historic and prehistoric Native occupants of the Great Basin were dependent on harvests of crickets, grasshoppers, and other insects and undoubtedly rejoiced when they appeared in great numbers. The Euro-American settlers had a different view, however, and the Mormon pioneers of 1847 looked on with apprehension as they entered Salt Lake Valley on July 24th and observed the “Mammoth crickets [which] abound in the borders of the Valley.”³⁵ William Clayton summed up the general impression of the first party of settlers, “The ground seems literally alive with very large black crickets crawling around up grass and bushes.”³⁶ But, disregarding their fears and as the spring of 1848 came, the approximately 1,700 Mormons now gathered in the valley, prepared the soil and planted about 1,000 acres of grain to provide food for themselves and the large group of new arrivals anticipated for that year.³⁷

The new shoots had hardly appeared when disaster came. Mrs. Lorenzo Dow Young recorded in the May 27 entry of her husband's journal:

Today to our utter astonishment, the crickets came by millions, sweeping everything before them. They first attacked a patch of beans for us and in twenty minutes there was not a vestige of them to be seen. They next swept over peas, then came into our garden; took everything clean.³⁸

The next day Isaac Haight wrote, “Frost again this morning. . . . Corn hurt

some and some wheat killed and the crickets are injuring the crops.”³⁹ And Mrs. Young also noted that day, “today the crickets have commenced on our corn and small grain. They have eaten off 12 acres for Brother Rosacrants, 7 for Charles and are now taking Edmunds.”⁴⁰ On June 4, John Steel explained in his diary entry how the frost had injured the crops and “to help make the disaster complete, the crickets came by the thousands of tons.”⁴¹ As these and other diary entries of the time emphasize, the pioneers began to face the prospect of starvation, and at least some of them considered sending word to Brigham Young in Iowa to stop the emigration to Utah for that year.⁴²

Unlike the Native Americans of the area who welcomed such a food resource as a godsend, the Saints could see only evil in the arrival of the “Mormon crickets.” Anson Call, one of the pioneers of 1847, probably spoke for all when he wrote of the cricket pest, “It has an eagle-eyed staring appearance and suggests the idea that it may be the habitation of a vindictive little demon.”⁴³ Even friendly non-Mormon Thomas L. Kane could engage in descriptive horror of the “Black Philistines,” “Wingless, dumpy, black, swollen-headed, with bulging eyes in cases like goggles, mounted upon legs of steel wire and clock spring, and with a general appearance that justified the Mormons in comparing him to a cross of the spider on the buffalo.”⁴⁴ But a few of the more realistic of the Mormon pioneers recognized a kinship with the Natives, as Erastus Snow later explained in an address in the *Salt Lake Tabernacle*, July 25, 1880:

The savages had learned in their destitution to profit by these visitations [crickets and grasshoppers], for when the insects would devour all the green things, they would turn in and devour the insects. And on this ground, on this city plot, the first company of savages who visited the pioneer camp, after the exchange of salutations, retired to prepare their evening repast, and they emptied out of their sacks bushels of dried grasshoppers, on which they made their supper. Our people had not learned to do this yet, but had it not been for the providential appearance of the gulls, we would have been brought to the same necessity—to gather up the crickets and salt and dry them to subsist upon.⁴⁵

However, despite the recognition by some that the crickets could provide a substantial resource for winter subsistence, to most of the settlers of that summer it seemed the only recourse was to battle the marauding insects with every possible means. Both fire and water were employed; tin pans were beaten to frighten the crickets away from the fields; ropes were drawn across the heads of the grain to dislodge the attackers; and every conceivable weapon was used to beat the insects off the grain stalks. All of this was to little avail as the invading army continued relentlessly across the fields.⁴⁶

Some relief soon came in the form of flocks of seagulls from nearby Great Salt Lake. Many of the early accounts were rather prosaic and matter-of-fact in describing how the gulls devoured the crickets and aided the embattled Mormon farmers in destroying the insects. John Smith wrote on June 9, 1848:

The first I knew of the gulls, I heard their sharp cry. Upon looking up I beheld what appeared like a vast flock of pigeons coming from the Northwest. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon. . . . There must have been thousands of them. Their coming was like a great cloud; and when they passed between us and the sun, a shadow covered the field, I could see gulls settling for more than a mile around us.⁴⁷

In a letter to Brigham Young in Iowa, John Smith wrote on June 21, 1848, "The crickets are still quite numerous and busy eating, but between the gulls, our efforts and the growth of our crops we shall raise much grain in spite of them."⁴⁸ In response to the same letter, John D. Lee, who was usually eager to record any singular heavenly visitation or ministration merely wrote, "Although crickets had played a heavy hand on the Wheat, yet there would be an abundant raised for all in the valley."⁴⁹ These quotations are representative of the general tone of most of the early reports of the seagull intervention, but William Hartley has done the best job of pointing out the "Problems with the traditional account," citing a number of diary entries to illustrate the "non mention" of gulls and that these journals say "nothing about the gulls."⁵⁰

In short, the appearance of the seagulls in the event was evidently somewhat less miraculous than subsequent interpretation often imply. As the authoritative *First Annual Report of the United States Entomological Commission for the Year 1877* points out, all kinds of birds, not just seagulls, have been involved in the eradication of crickets, grasshoppers and locusts. The report provides a long list of such feathered predators: prairie-chickens, plovers, larks, pigeons, grouse, quail, snipes, robins, domestic fowl, and above all and from nearly every observer, blackbirds.⁵¹ As one reads the detailed report, it can be wondered at why the people of Nebraska and other Plains states have not erected monuments to the yellow-billed blackbird.

THE SEAGULL "MIRACLE"

The case of the Saints in Utah was, nevertheless, unique because of their special religious tradition and their tendency to ascribe to the intervention of the Almighty any unusual occurrence in their behalf. At least some of the settlers immediately announced, "it seems the hand of the Lord is in our favor."⁵² Another reported, "all looked upon the gulls as a God send, indeed, all acknowledged the hand of the Lord was in it, that He had sent the white gulls by scores of thousands to save their crops."⁵³ And to the desperate Mormon farmers, it was particularly significant, and again because of help from heaven, that the gulls would eat their fill, drink some water, and then immediately regurgitate before commencing to gorge again and to thus continue the process for many hours. What the Saints of the time did not know was that, as ornithologist, F. E. Beale could explain later, "these 'lumps

of crickets' were undoubtedly 'pellets' of indigestible parts habitually disgorged by the birds."⁵⁴

To the grateful Mormon settlers, this explanation would not have changed their opinion about divine intervention anyway, as they at once took legal measures to protect their feathered benefactors. As Thomas L. Kane wrote in 1850, the Saints of Utah were thereafter "careful not to molest them in their friendly office, and to this end declared a heavy fine against all who should kill or annoy them with firearms."⁵⁵ Later, in 1897, the State of Utah enacted the prohibition into a state law by declaring, "It shall be unlawful for any person to kill, ensnare, net or entrap at any time in any year any gull, owl, hawks, lark, whippoorwill, thrush, swallow snowbird or other insectivorous or song birds."⁵⁶ No one was surprised that gulls led the list. And finally, to cap the devotion of the people of Utah to their favorite bird, the seagull was designated as the State Bird by a Legislative Act of February 9, 1955.⁵⁷

From the early announcements that "the hand of the Lord is in our favor" to an acceptance of the "Miracle of the Gulls" has been an interesting story. Evidently, Apostle Orson Hyde was the first important Mormon authority to proclaim in a General Conference of the L.D.S. Church that the gulls had been messengers sent by divine providence.⁵⁸ This conviction of miraculous intervention grew in the minds of the people of Utah until historian B.H. Roberts made it official with the proclamation in his *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (finally published in 1930, but written long before) that, "Then the miraculous happened. I say it deliberately, the miraculous happened, as men commonly view the miraculous."⁵⁹

The "Miracle of the Gulls" was, of course, made official with the October 1, 1913, dedication of the now-famous Seagull Monument, sculpted by Utah artist, Mahonri Young, and placed on the temple grounds in Salt Lake City. The inscription reads:

SEAGULL MONUMENT
ERECTED IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF THE MERCY OF GOD
TO THE MORMON PIONEERS

In his peroration of the day, the dedicatory speaker intoned, "Though from afar the Seagulls came and destroyed the destroyer, it was Thy voice, O Lord, that called them—they did but do thy bidding—the deliverance was of Thee and by Thee."⁶⁰ In remembering the events of 1848, L.D.S. Church President Joseph F. Smith later recalled, "I remember an incident when an Indian was arrested for killing a gull. When we told the Indians that our lives had been saved in a miraculous manner by these gulls they, too, learned to respect them."⁶¹ While these Native Americans may have heeded the advice of the Mormon leader, they undoubtedly considered such remonstrations to



The Seagull Monument as it was unveiled at the 1913 dedication ceremony. (*Photo courtesy of authors*)

be just a further example of the often bizarre and unaccountable actions of white settlers and may secretly have wondered about the loss of a valuable food resource eaten by the gulls they were asked to protect.

But to the Mormons, the story of their temporal deliverance during the dark days of June and July of 1848 by seagulls with their “long wings, that arched in flight ‘like an angel’s,’ ”⁶² a monument to these friendly birds was only a small token of thanks from a grateful people. As Orson F. Whitney wrote, “They were rescued, as they believed, by a miracle—a greater miracle than is said to have saved Rome, when the cackling of geese roused the slumbering city in time to beat back the invading Gauls.”⁶³ As a poet of 1941 expressed Mormon sentiment:

The shrill calling of the sea gull
 Showed the cloud a living thing
Like a myriad of bright angels
 Were the sea gulls on the wing.
Soon the ground was grey and gleaming,
 As the sudden fall of snow;

While God's answer, swift in coming,
 Bade the plague of locusts go.
 Soon the sea gulls had devoured
 Every locust in the land
 That the Lord had heard and answered
 No one failed to understand.⁶⁴

MANNA FROM HEAVEN

This view of large numbers of crickets and grasshoppers as an evil plague and seagulls as delivering angels contrasts sharply with the subsistence practices of Native American groups in the same area. The two views are so different that it is worthwhile examining the energetic efficiency of insect use to determine what the most economically appropriate response should be of a group of people (be they native or transplanted) in the Salt Lake Valley, faced with the prospects of starvation, to the appearance of "clouds" of insects.

Direct information on the cost effectiveness of cricket use is only now being collected, but a related study on the efficiency and utility of grasshopper procurement has been conducted along the Great Salt Lake.⁶⁵ During years when grasshoppers occur in noticeable amounts, they fly or are blown into the Great Salt Lake and are formed by wave-action into lines of salted and sun-dried windrows of grasshoppers stretching for tens of kilometers along the beaches. The occurrence of these windrows around the lake is apparently a common, but unpredictable event.⁶⁶ In recent years, "plagues" occurred in '79, '84, and '85; and it appears that similar population explosions have occurred at least once or twice in every decade since 1847. References to vast swarms of hoppers are particularly common during the 1850s. According to Egan:

There along the shore (of the Great Salt Lake) could be seen great windrows of their bodies that had been washed ashore by the north winds. Near Black Rock there were three such rows, so wide and high that a man could have filled a wagon bed with them as quick as he could have shoveled that much sand, and the whole shore line facing the north was just the same. Millions of bushels of preserved or pickled grasshoppers.⁶⁷

The experimental tests of grasshopper procurement were conducted by collecting them without much processing from the oolitic sand beaches which surround the lake in a fashion similar to that suggested by the prehistoric evidence. In experimental cost/benefit tests, a resource is collected for a given period, processed in the appropriate fashion (such as grinding of seed resources) and subjected to laboratory analysis to determine the number of Calories/kg present. Based on these figures, the number of Calories produced in an hour's effort can be calculated and resources can be ranked according to their relative return-rates.



Collecting a windrow of grasshoppers west of the Great Salt Lake. (*Photo courtesy of authors*)

The sun-dried grasshoppers from around the lake are 60% protein, 10% carbohydrate, and 2% fat by weight and contain roughly 3,010 Calories/kilogram. Based on the results of five samples, the return-rates for grasshopper procurement around the Great Salt Lake exceed by extremely high amounts any other known “collected” (as opposed to hunted) resource. Return-rates varied from 41,598 Cals/hr for the smallest windrow to 714,409 Cals/hr for the largest, with an average of 272,649 Cals/hr. Put more descriptively and assuming a daily caloric requirements of 2500 Cals, this means that, on the average, one person, in one hour, could feed four people for nearly a month.

These return-rates are considered tentative, but even at 1/10th of the measured rate, it is much higher than that of any other collected resource. Seeds such as bulrush (1700 Cals/hr), pine nuts (1083 Cals/hr), and sunflower (500 Cals/hr) are substantially lower than even this arbitrarily reduced return rate.⁶⁸ Grasshoppers collected in this fashion are also much higher than pandora moth larvae (2000/Cals/hr), the only other insect yet tested.⁶⁹

Given these rankings, optimal foraging models used in biology and anthropology predict that grasshoppers should be used as a principal resource whenever they are available.⁷⁰ The return-rate is so high, and the abundance so great, that other, lower-ranked, resources will ordinarily be less well represented in the diet. These neo-Darwinian evolutionary models suggest further that individuals and groups who do select these higher-ranked resources will be the most reproductively successful in the long run. Assuming

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Downwind from the Bomb: A Review Essay

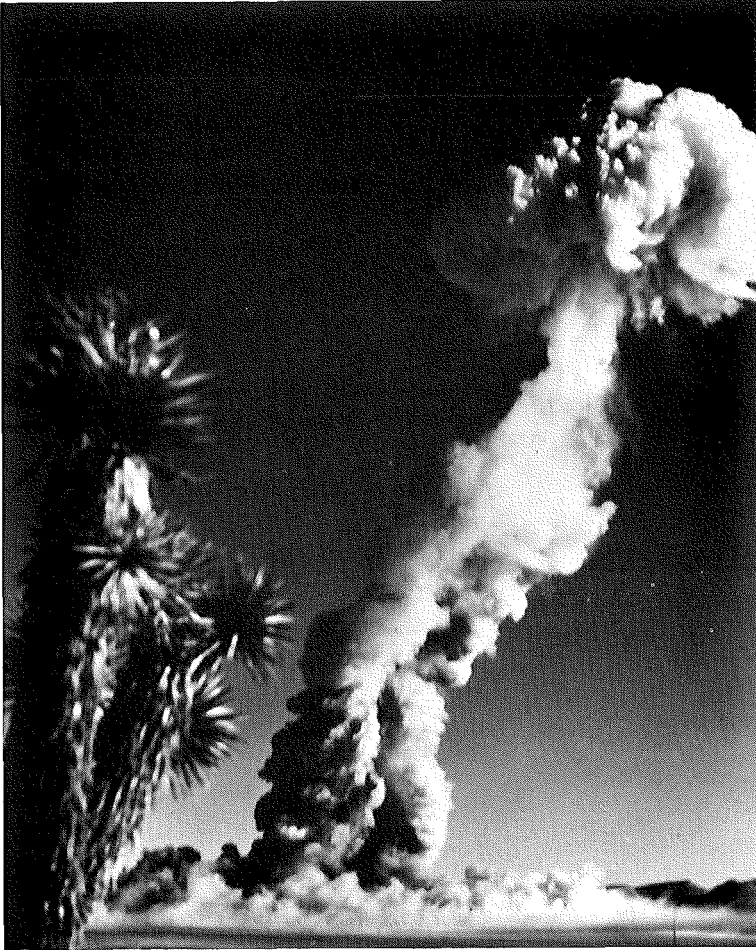
FERENC M. SZASZ

THE TERM "DOWNWINDER" HAS NOT YET ENTERED the American lexicon. An informal poll at the University of New Mexico produced only one person who could correctly identify the word without prodding. But if these books reach their intended audiences, "downwinder" should join "Trinity," "Hiroshima," "Nagasaki," "Three Mile Island," and "Chernobyl" as one of the mainstays of our nuclear vocabulary.

In *By the Bomb's Early Light* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), Paul Boyer, Merle Curti Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, lays the background. Boyer attempts to assess the impact of the atomic bomb on American culture from 1945 to the early 1950s, a task not unlike assessing the impact of the Roman Catholic Church on the Middle Ages. The hallmark of this fine study is that he succeeds. Written in a mildly ironic tone, the book bristles with insights, observations and "might have been's."

After the initial shock of Hiroshima had faded, America's response to the new atomic world took several forms. Some hoped that the main thrust of atomic power could be directed toward beneficial uses. Others argued that the presence of the atomic bomb demanded a new world order. The birth of atomic weapons, they noted, brought an end to traditional politics. What the United States had done to Japan, another country could easily do to the United States. Defense against this new weapon appeared impossible. Consequently, from 1945-1947 a chorus of scientists, journalists, and politicians offered their solution: America should help create a genuine "world government" that would oversee all political and atomic affairs. Within a short time, however, the dream of world government had floundered on both theoretical squabbles and the hard realities of the Cold War. By 1949, when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb, the world government idea had become moribund. In its stead rose the concept of nuclear deterrence. Simultaneously, Civil Defense officials had begun to persuade the nation, through a

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Above ground atomic testing at the Nevada Test Site took place from January 27, 1951 through July 11, 1962. (Photo courtesy of Maris Collection, University of Nevada Las Vegas)

campaign of leaflets, pamphlets, and books, that it could “survive” a nuclear exchange.

By 1951, when President Harry S. Truman selected the Nevada Test Site (NTS) as the chief locus for American weapons testing, the pieces were all in place: the Cold War had become an uncomfortable fact of life; the nation had grown accustomed to reassuring governmental statements about nuclear matters; and there was always the hope that further experiments might uncover more peaceful uses for the atom.

Thus, the stage was set for the tragedy that would involve several thousand residents of Nevada, Utah, and Arizona who lived “downwind” of the NTS.

Government reports described the region as “virtually uninhabited” but it supported a population that approached 100,000 people.

John G. Fuller’s *The Day We Bombed Utah* (New York: New American Library, 1984) is the work of an investigative journalist. It sports a clear cast of heroes and villains. The heroes are the downwinders themselves—the Utah sheepmen in particular; the villain is the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Supporting heroic roles are played by Arizona lawyer Dan Bushnell, and veterinarians R.E. Thompsett and Robert Veenstra (whose investigations of the massive sheep deaths in 1953 pinpointed radioactive fallout as an important causal factor.) Fuller’s narrative focuses on the legal case, *Bullock v. United States* (1953, 1982), the sheepmen’s unsuccessful attempt to win compensation from the federal government for their losses.

Fuller writes with verve and passion. Moreover, he has an eye for the well-placed quotation. We learn that AEC Commissioner Thomas Murray said, “Gentlemen, we must not let anything interfere with this series of tests—nothing.” Referring to the fallout pattern, AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss once described St. George, Utah, as the place “they apparently always plaster.”

Fuller reduces the complexities of the fallout issue to comprehensible categories. He stresses the fact that the AEC monitors, who roamed the region after each test, measured only *external* fallout readings. In so doing, however, they neglected two other important dimensions of the problem. First, external measurements were always erratic, for a concentrated “hot spot” could lie only yards away from an area designated as “safe.” Second, external monitoring ignored the fact that many radioactive particles were *ingested*, both by sheep and people. These particles concentrated in various internal organs, often the thyroid. In addition, infants and small children were far more susceptible to potential radiation damage than adults.

The Day We Bombed Utah is available in a mass market paperback. Fuller’s dramatic presentation of the plight of the downwinders is geared to a general audience, and it is most likely to have the greatest effect on the reading public.

A. Costandina Titus’ *Bombs in the Backyard* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1986) is a far more balanced discussion of the situation. A political science professor at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, she analyzes the crucial years of atomic testing within the context of federal bureaucratic decision making. Unlike Fuller, she does not cast the AEC in the role of conspiratorial villain. According to Titus, the AEC did not *ignore* public safety; it simply placed it on a lower level of priority. Cold War demands for weapons testing always came first.

Titus stresses the continuation of wartime secrecy as the key to post-war atomic development. Although the 1946 McMahon bill establishing the AEC provided for civilian leadership, Titus argues that the military retained con-



The first nuclear excavation experiment in the Atomic Energy Commission's "Plow-share" program took place on July 6, 1962 at the Nevada Test Site. Seven and a half million cubic yards of earth were displaced by a thermonuclear device creating the Sedan Crater which is 1,200 feet in diameter and 320 feet deep. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

trol of the most important dimension of atomic development—weapons testing. From the Manhattan Project forward, all weapons-related matters remained shrouded in secrecy. Americans were told only what the AEC wanted them to know.

During the late 1940's, the AEC established an extensive public relations program, which delivered a consistent message: The United States was forced to test its nuclear weapons because the Soviet Union was testing theirs; unspecified non-military benefits were bound to emerge from the testing; and, none of the tests would jeopardize the safety of area residents. Although the tests were carried out only when the wind was blowing away from heavily populated Los Angeles and Las Vegas, the "virtual uninhabitants" who lived

near the NTS were repeatedly assured that the federal government remained aware of their presence.

Between 1951 and the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the government detonated about 100 above-ground nuclear explosions at the NTS. Even after 1963, several underground tests “vented” unexpectedly into the atmosphere. Initially, the downwind residents supported this testing program. By the late 1950’s, however, their enthusiasm had markedly cooled. It was not until the mid-1960s that medical studies by Harold Knapp and Edward Weiss provided hard scientific evidence for what many already knew in their hearts: the radioactive fallout from the testing had almost surely caused the leukemias and solid cancers that had so disrupted their lives.

Knowledge of the heart, however, cannot always be easily transferred into compensation from the legal system. Because radiation-induced cancers do not differ from “ordinary” cancers, it is not possible to prove in a court of law that a specific cancer stemmed from fallout-induced origins. The best tactic lay in amassing numerous impersonal statistical summaries that pointed to high cancer rates in previously healthy communities. But these cold compilations could never measure the personal anguish of the downwinders themselves. As lawyer Stuart Udall once observed, “There is no human being named St. George.”

Titus tells this painful story with marvelous balance. She threads her way easily through the labyrinths of both the federal bureaucracy and the American legal system, and her explanations are models of lucidity. *Bombs in the Backyard* is directed primarily toward an academic audience, but the nation would be well served if it reached the public realm as well.

Howard Ball’s *Justice Downwind* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) analyzes the breadth of America’s nuclear testing program during the 1950’s. A professor of political science and dean at the University of Utah, he approaches the subject with relentless logic, a barrage of facts, and a clear, if occasionally labored, style. Ball discusses all aspects of the issues involved: political, legal, scientific, medical, bureaucratic, and moral. *Justice Downwind* has the thoroughness that one associates with a work of reference. A superb book, it will dominate the field for years to come.

Like Titus, Ball concentrates on the AEC bureaucracy—the secrecy, the decentralization that allowed intense pressure to be placed on NTS operatives, the lack of direct responsibility for public safety by far-off Washington officials, and the dubious reliance on a “threshold” approach to low-level radiation exposure. He notes that the AEC had established rather rigorous radiation standards for its own laboratories—Oak Ridge, Los Alamos, and Hanford—but that at the same time, it fended off the downwinders with propaganda films, pamphlets, lectures, and public meetings.

Ball also empathizes with the downwinders themselves. He traces their changing reaction to the testing, moving from initial support through a period

of doubt to present-day outrage and despair. As a Nevada rancher observed, if we had only known about the danger from fallout, we could have avoided it. Or as Janet Gordon, founder of the downwinder's organization Citizen's Call, asked: "Does the government have the right to play God?" Alta Primm of St. George put it bluntly: "They lied to us." Ball's concluding sentence echoes these sentiments: "The people who lived downwind from the Nevada Test Site have been grievously wronged."

Ball relegates the sheepmen's case (*Bullock*) to a lengthy Appendix and focuses, instead, on the twenty-four "bellweather" downwinder plaintiffs in *Allen et al v. U.S. Government*, (1979). He applauds the landmark decision by Judge Bruce S. Jenkins that demanded the federal government pay compensation to ten of the twenty-four plaintiffs. Jenkins's decision expanded the federal law of torts by lowering the burden of proof from "absolute" to "highly probable" in cases of severe damage. The decision is currently under appeal, but it has already led to considerable anxiety among federal government lawyers. If the *Allen* decision is upheld, it would doubtlessly open the door to similar, related suits from (say) Navajo Uranium Miners, NTS and other nuclear laboratory personnel, the approximately 250,000 "Atomic Veterans," and countless others. The social implications are staggering.

The issue of fallout has expanded steadily over the last forty years. Beginning with Trinity in 1945, it moved sullenly through the above-ground testing of the 1950's and 1960's. In 1986 it spread throughout Europe in the aftermath of Chernobyl. By the late twentieth century, therefore, one thing is clear: all of us have become "downwinders."

*Central Nevada: A Photographic Essay by
Tony Mindling*

Nevada had hardly become a state when already it was strewn with dead towns where temporarily the course of empire had taken its way. Inevitably even the most flourishing mining camps reached their peak of production and began a decline. Cables and ore cars grew rusty. Sagebrush and shad scale crept over the dumps. The householder filled his traveling bags and his Saratoga trunk, pulled down the shades, and left behind him a furnished home. Richard Lillard, *Desert Challenge*.



Stone House Ranch, Monitor Valley, 1966. (Photo courtesy of Tony Mindling)



Ore Cars, Silver Top Mine, 1968. (Photo courtesy of Tony Mindling)

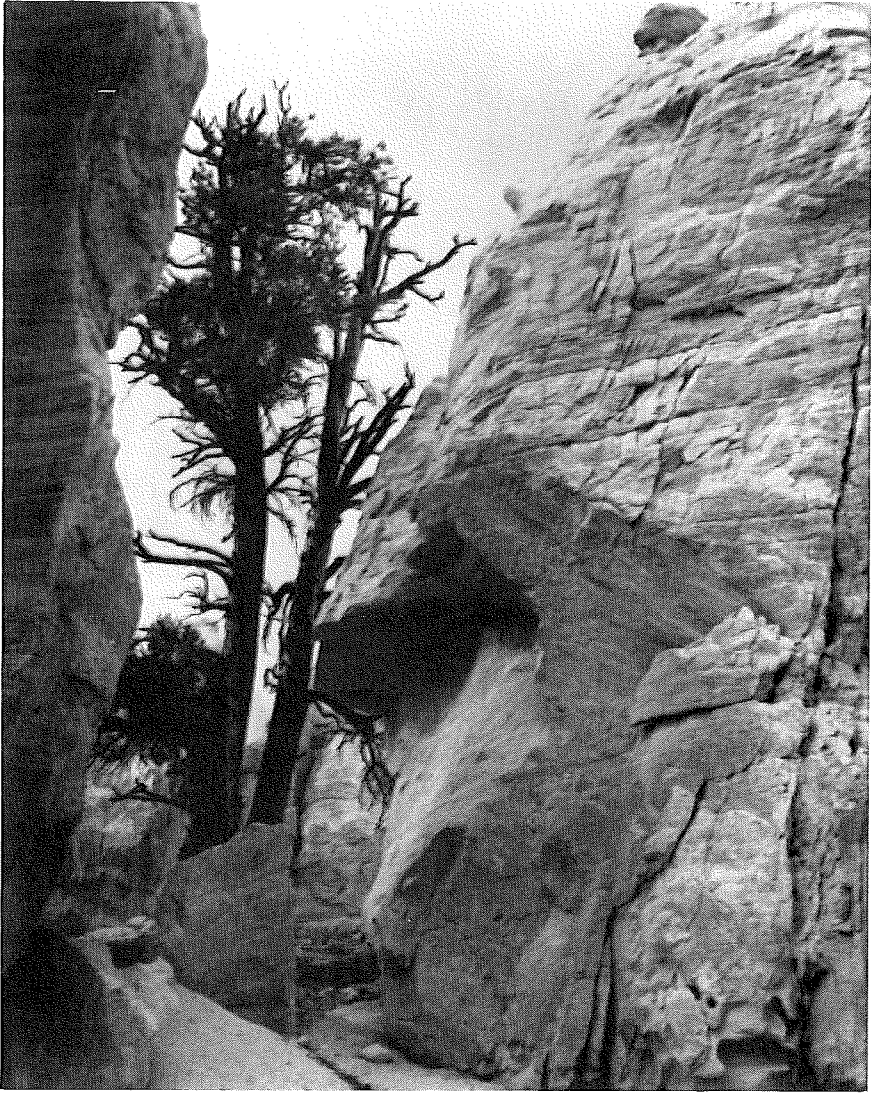
Deserted prospectors' cabins, brush-mottled foundations, tumbled-in discovery shafts, and the red-brick hotels with the scars to show where the wooden balconies pulled off years ago—these linger from a virile past that built the base for the comfortable and prosperous present.

Gone are the days when the color of life was red. Nail by nail, brick by brick, the mining towns are crumbling, falling away, in the auto trunks of souvenir collectors. But mining is still lively in Nevada. Richard Lillard, *Desert Challenge*.



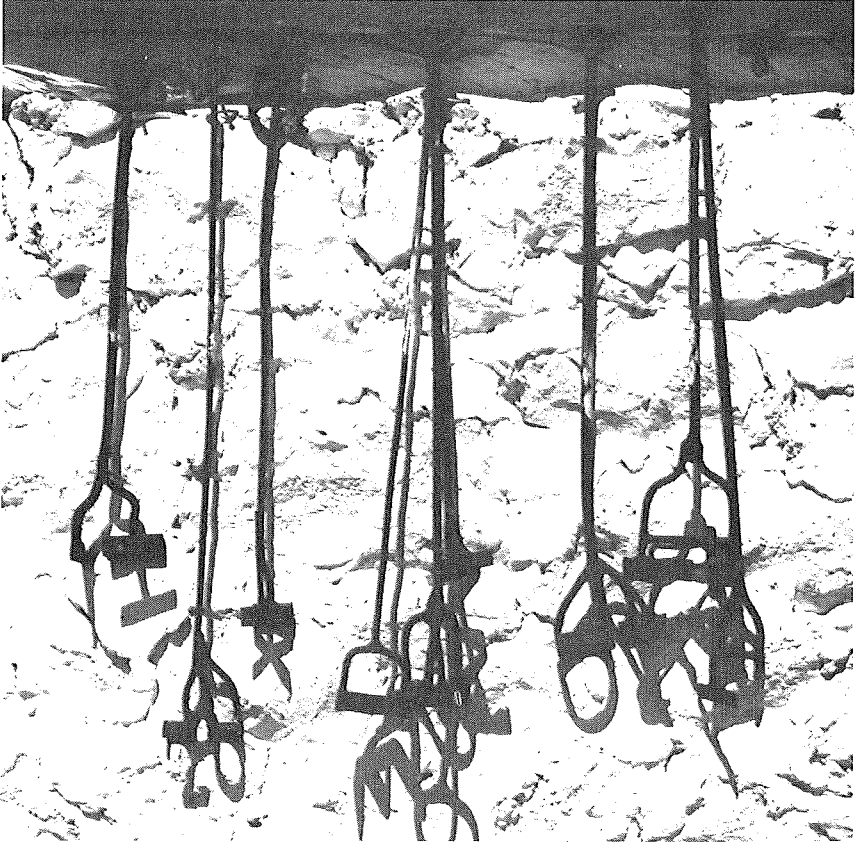
The Cosmopolitan, Belmont, 1968. (Photo courtesy of Tony Mindling)

Towns often died with dramatic speed. . . . Belmont produced \$15,000,000 worth of silver and lead between 1865 and 1885 and then collapsed. . . . It is true that . . . weathered buildings . . . lack the dignity of relics in the Eastern states or in Europe, the ruins of churches and castles, the cabins in which great men were born. . . . It is true, too, that the ruined hotels and banks and mills in the ghost towns served men only briefly, and not directly in the interests of culture and civilization. Richard Lillard, *Desert Challenge*.



Tree and Volcanic Ash, 1968. (Photo courtesy of Tony Mindling)

They are meandering belts of greenery where giant cottonwoods and quaking aspen and fragile willows line the banks of streams and rivers that are as precious as gold in this land of little rain. Here, away from factories and pollution, the air is so clear that objects leap into view from miles away. A rock formation on a faraway rim of a hill becomes a pebble that one could reach out and pick up between his fingertips. Robert Laxalt, *Nevada*.



Branding Irons, Twin Springs Ranch, 1967. (Photo courtesy of Tony Mindling)

Off the beaten track, at the end of those unmarked dirt roads that are forever branching off from the main highways, a hundred ghost towns dot the Nevada landscape. A collapsing hulk of a stone building, a scattering of brown-board shacks defeated by time and abandonment, the barely discernible remnant of a wide main street, a nearby hillside riddled with the black apertures of mine tunnels and littered with mounds of discarded rock, and the moaning of the desert wind in the encompassing silence are all that remain of the boom-and-bust towns that flourished and died in the wreckage of broken dreams. Robert Laxalt, *Nevada*.



Corral Hot Creek Canyon. (Photo courtesy of Tony Mindling)

The hinterland of Nevada is a country of far horizons broken only by mountain barriers lost in the haze of distance, and unexpected green valleys that break upon the traveler's eye with the breathstopping impact of a mirage. Robert Laxalt, *Nevada*.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Silver Service of the Battleship U.S.S. Nevada: A State Legacy

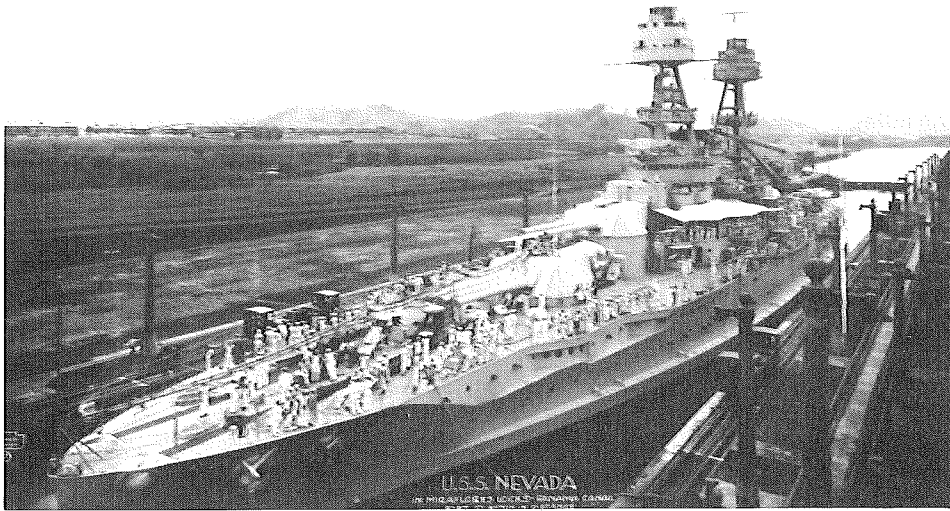
ROBERT A. NYLEN
DOROTHY ROBINSON NYLEN

THE SUCCESS OF THE UNITED STATES in the Spanish American War catapulted the country to a new position of power in the world. To safeguard that power the U.S. Navy sought aggressively to develop a sea force that would rival those of major nations. By 1903, it had embarked upon a long-range building program that endeavored to create a fleet of forty-eight battleships by the year 1919, second only to that of Great Britain.¹ In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt dispatched sixteen warships of the Atlantic Fleet on an around-the-world cruise as a show of American strength. It turned out to be a voyage of enlightenment, for by the time the “Great White Fleet” returned to its home port the need for drastic changes in ship design was self-evident. White hulls, polished woodwork and gilded figure heads had no place in a modern battle fleet. The vessels were too small and light to deal with inclement weather, and were uninhabitable by large crews in tropical zones. Even the gun placement was wrong.²

A year before, in 1906, Great Britain had launched the HMS *Dreadnaught*, which set a new standard for battleships the world over. The name dreadnaught came to stand for any large warship with a main battery of guns 11 inches or more in caliber, and displacing at least 10,000 tons.³ By 1908, the United States Navy was constructing its own series of dreadnaughts, and by 1911 Congress passed a naval appropriations bill allotting for the construction of the first oil-fueled models. One of these fast super-dreadnaughts bore the

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The U.S.S. *Nevada* passing through miraflores locks in the Panama Canal, c. 1936. (Nevada State Museum)

state of Nevada's name.⁴ The new ship was 583 feet in length and approximately 108 feet at the beam, with a twenty-nine thousand ton displacement. The *Nevada* had ten 14-inch guns on four turrets with five single mount casemated 5-inch guns on each side. The crew numbered fifty-five officers and 808 enlisted men.

Late in the nineteenth century a tradition evolved among the namesake states to provide their battleships with a suitable gift, most popularly an ornate silver service. On March 14, 1913, Governor Tasker L. Oddie sent a message to both houses of the Nevada Legislature informing them that the new dreadnaught was scheduled to be launched in the spring of the following year. It was time to make provisions for the gift to the officers of the ship.

The people of the state were honored that such a powerful, modern battleship would be called the *Nevada*, and the members of the legislature responded with pride to the governor's request. Senator George T. Mills of Ormsby County immediately introduced a bill for the occasion. In the Assembly, E.A. Kelliher of the Nye County delegation enthusiastically announced that Nye County would provide the silver bullion for the plate at no cost. Since Nevada was the major producer of silver in the nation, it was the consensus of the representatives that Nevada would have a service made from Nevada silver. The goal of the state was to furnish the most elaborate silver service of any ship in the United States Navy.⁵

The bill was approved and signed by Governor Oddie on March 20, 1913, to make a presentation of a silver service to the battleship *Nevada*. The act set

up a committee composed of Governor Oddie, Lieutenant Governor Gilbert C. Ross and Secretary of State George Brodigan that would take the necessary steps to secure donations from gold and silver producing mines, and to secure subscriptions from citizens of the state towards the cost of production of the service for presentation to the officers of the battleship. The committee was also authorized to select the design for the silver service and to contract for its manufacture. The legislature appropriated \$5,000 from the general fund to supplement the contributions.⁶

On the day of the bill's passage, an editorial in the *Tonopah Daily Bonanza* proclaimed that the entire amount of silver could easily be obtained from the mines in Tonopah. Editor W.W. Booth further stated, "Tonopah is justly proud of its silver mines and a service from the local product will serve as a lasting monument to the magnitude of the local industry."⁷ Four days later the Tonopah Mine Owners agreed to furnish the bullion. Goldfield was not to be outdone and offered the gold for embellishment.⁸

The following year the silver committee selected a manufacturer to produce the set. With the assistance of two northern Nevada jewelry firms, R. Herz and Brothers of Reno, and Frank Golden's Jewelry store in Carson City, the committee let the contract with The Gorham Company of New York to complete the set that would consist of sixty-five pieces and cost \$8,500.⁹ Gorham had earlier fashioned an elegant 102 piece battleship service for the adjoining state of Utah.¹⁰

The committee worked with the Gorham representative E.J. Dingee to submit an appropriate design for the set. The committee also approached Reno Architect Frederic J. DeLongchamps to design the massive punch bowl. As an undergraduate, DeLongchamps had served as an artist at the University of Nevada on the school yearbook, *The Artemisa*. Plans for the fifteen-gallon punch bowl (found among his architectural drawings at the Special Collections Department of the University of Nevada-Reno, Gatchell Library) were rejected because DeLongchamps wanted to put the punch bowl on a carved ebony base instead of silver.

The set follows a free interpretation of the colonial American style. Mingled with the classic forms of this style are designs characteristic of the sea: sea-weed, shells, waves and highly stylized, scaled dolphins. Combined with these motifs are eagle heads, symbols of national and state significance, and the seals of the United States, Nevada and the Department of the Navy. Individual pieces portray scenes of Nevada. On one side of the most outstanding piece, the fifteen-gallon punch bowl, there is an engraved portrait of the battleship; on the other, a scene emblematic of the industries of the state. The base bears the inscription "U.S.S. *Nevada*." Eagle heads surmounting shields of the United States form the handles of the bowl, the interior of which is lined with eighteen-karat gold. The twenty-four accompanying punch cups are also lined with gold. The water pitcher's tray is engraved with



Eleanor Anne Siebert, the ten-year-old niece of Governor Tasker L. Oddie, christens the battleship U.S.S. *Nevada* in Charlestown, Massachusetts, on July 11, 1914. (*Nevada State Museum*)

a picture of Lahontan Dam, a result of the Newland's Project, completed near Fallon in 1915. This design replaced an earlier proposal which called for a view of the State Capitol. The tray for the coffee service features a portrait of Abraham Lincoln who was president when Nevada was admitted as a state. It includes an inscription, "Presented to the U.S.S. *Nevada* by the Battle-born State of Nevada." A large meat platter carries an engraving of Virginia City. Other trays feature the Tonopah mines and mills, and pastoral scenes depicting sheep and cattle ranching. A large, oval mesh-covered center piece for floral arrangements, with a base similar to that of the punch bowl is included in the set, as are two electrified candelabra, a tea set, goblets and other pieces. When completed, 3,600 ounces, or 250 pounds of silver, were used in making the service.¹¹

On Saturday, July 11, 1914, less than two months after the silver contract was let, the ship was christened and launched at the Fore River Shipbuilding yards in Quincy, Massachusetts. The pride of Nevada's citizens burst forth in



The completed silver set designed for the U.S.S. *Nevada* was photographed prior to the christening in 1914. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

the *Reno Evening Gazette*, which dedicated most of its front page to the event. The headlines read, "Battleship Nevada Kisses Wave This Afternoon" . . . "New Vessel Superior to All Others in U.S. Navy." A special governor's message to the people appeared above a portrait of the ship which stated: "On this occasion of the launching of the great battleship *Nevada*, speaking for you and to you, I believe we all share a pride that the nation has selected Nevada as the name of a ship that will be one of the greatest of our Navy or of any Navy. There is no citizen of the state, who will not follow the vessel's career with close, personal interest, whatever port she may enter and whatever sea she may sail."¹² Advertisers also dedicated space to the event, and a portion of the editorial was given to the topic.

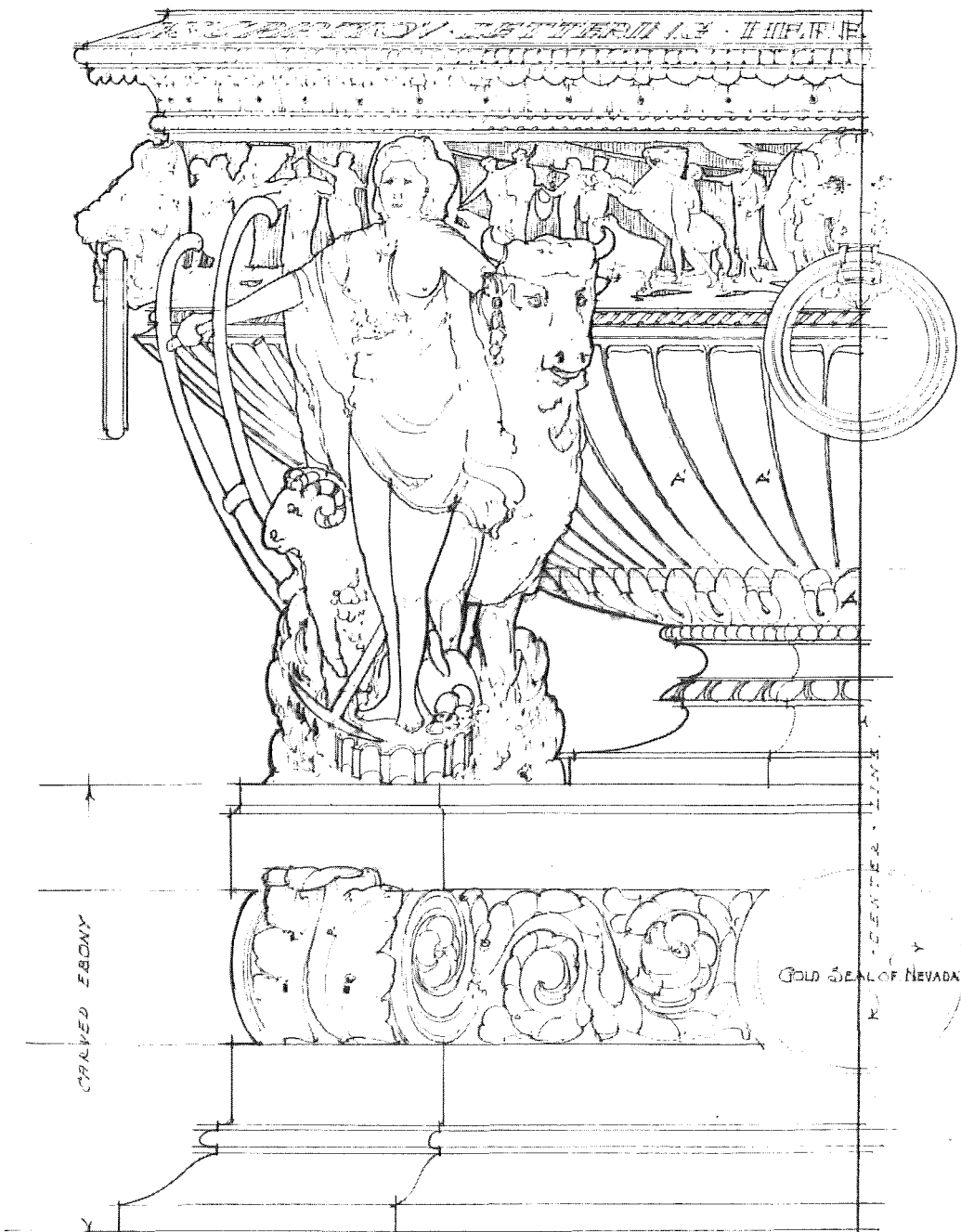
A dispatch from Governor Tasker L. Oddie proclaimed that the launching was pronounced by all the experts to have been the greatest success of any of the launchings of the nation's battleships. Eleanor Anne Siebert, the governor's ten-year-old niece, broke a bottle of "extra-dry" Mumm's French champagne over the massive bow of the vessel and named it in honor of the State of Nevada before a crowd of 20,000. The ship slid with ponderous dignity into the waters of the Fore River amidst cheers of enthusiasm. Among the principal guests at the launching were: Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels; Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt; and Governor Tasker L. Oddie and Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, Mr. and Mrs. Fred J. Siebert of Reno, parents of the sponsor, Mrs. Key Pittman, Henry J. Amigo of the governor's staff and Mr. Hugh Brown of Tonopah.

A great deal more construction remained to be done before the *Nevada* would be accepted as a ship of the operating force of the United States Navy. The contract date for completion was January 22, 1915; however, it was not until over a year later, on March 11, 1916, that the *Nevada* was commissioned at Charlestown, Massachusetts, Navy Yard. Captain William S. Simms, U.S.N., was her first commander.

The completed silver service arrived in Carson City early in March of 1916. The six crates were unpacked in Governor Emmet Boyle's office for inspection.¹⁴

Earlier, former governor Oddie had written to Boyle reminding him of the committee's suggestion that the service tour the major towns before it was placed on the ship.¹⁵ A transportation problem was solved by the generosity of William Forrester, general manager of the Tonopah and Goldfield Railroad, who donated the T.&G. private car, the "Mizpah" for the duration of the tour. The silver set was arranged on a large table for viewing.¹⁶

Accompanying the car and the silver service were Lieutenant-Governor Maurice J. Sullivan, T.&G. special agent C.H. Reimer and Will Epstein of the Golden Jewelry Company of Carson City. The public entered through the rear of the car, viewed the display for a reasonable time and then exited through the forward door. The "Mizpah" special car left Carson City on a



Frederick J. DeLongchamps's proposed sketch of the punch bowl for the U.S. Nevada. (Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno Library)

fifteen-day tour of the state on March 12. The train arrived in Tonopah the following day, allowing the donors of the precious metals first glimpse of the completed service. After touring Goldfield, the "Mizpah" traveled on to Las Vegas, Caliente, Pioche, and Salt Lake City, Utah. While in the Utah Capitol, unidentified state officials were said to have remarked that the Nevada service was more impressive than their own.¹⁷ The train returned on schedule and came through Cobre for display in McGill and Ely. It then went to Elko, Winnemucca, Lovelock, Sparks and finally to Reno. In Reno, the silver was removed from the private car to the Elk's Lodge for a period of three days where it could be viewed by larger numbers. The U.S.S. *Nevada* silver service made a final trip to the Lyon County Courthouse. While in Yerington, the set was examined by some long-time residents of Virginia City. They were particularly impressed by the Comstock tray. The nineteenth-century photograph used for the scene was a view taken from the old California-Pan Mill, facing west with Mount Davidson in the background. The quality of the work was so exquisite that they were able to identify many individual buildings that had since been torn down.¹⁸ It was estimated that 40,000 people, many of them school children, viewed the silver.¹⁹

The set was then returned to Carson City to the governor's office where it was recreated and sent to the newly commissioned ship in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The silver set, used by officers of the battleship U.S.S. *Nevada*, remained on board the vessel until 1942, when it was removed to a vault at Bremerton, Washington, for the duration of World War II.²⁰

During World War I, the *Nevada* and her sister ship the *Oklahoma* were the fastest super-dreadnaughts afloat. Both were assigned duty to await and intercept a high-speed German raider. The raider never appeared, and the *Nevada* became a war veteran without an engagement to her credit. Between wars the vessel served in both the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets. In the fall of 1922, she represented the United States for the Centennial of Brazilian Independence in Rio de Janeiro. During the summer of 1925, the ship participated in the U.S. Fleet's goodwill cruise to Australia and New Zealand. In 1927, seven million dollars was allotted to modernize the U.S.S. *Nevada*. When completed in January 1930, the *Nevada* served in the Pacific Fleet for the next decade.²¹

During the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the *Nevada* was the only American battleship to get underway. Severely damaged from multiple torpedo and bomb explosions, she was beached to prevent being sunk in the channel and to avoid blocking the entrance to the harbor. The *Nevada* was refloated in February, 1942, and repaired temporarily at Pearl Harbor, and then steamed to Bremerton, Washington, for complete repairs and modernization. By 1943, the ship was back providing fire support in the capture of Attu Island in the Aleutians in the North Pacific. She was then assigned to participate in the Allied invasion of France. The

Nevada roamed the coast of Normandy and the Cherbourg Peninsula for twelve days, building a legend of incredibly accurate firepower by placing her 14-inch shells within 600 yards of the Allies' front lines. When the Atlantic coast was secure, she proceeded to the Mediterranean to support the invasion of the southern coast of France, reducing to rubble and twisted steel the German shore batteries of Toulon.²²

The U.S.S. *Nevada* returned to the Pacific and at Iwo Jima moved in 600 yards from shore to provide fire power to allow U.S. Marines to advance and capture the island. At Okinawa, the *Nevada* survived a hit from a Japanese *kamikaze* plane. She received seven battle stars from her distinguished service in World War II.²³

At the end of the war, the *Nevada* was selected as a target vessel for atomic bomb testing at Bikini Atoll in the South Pacific. Surviving the explosion, it was therefore necessary to dispose of her by sinking. The *Nevada* was decommissioned August 29, 1946, and on the afternoon of July 31, 1948, a torpedo from a Navy plane finally sank the ship in 2,600 fathoms of water, southwest of Pearl Harbor.²⁴

When the *Nevada* was decommissioned, the Navy removed certain items from the ship. The state of Nevada was interested in having the silver service and other memorabilia returned to the state. A controversy developed when a former crewman of the *Nevada*, Lt. Edward J. O'Brien, of Holliston, Massachusetts, tried to have the silver service given to the State of Massachusetts, and politically minded Mayor Charles D. Ross, of Quincy, jumped on the bandwagon under the banner of "Beat the State of Nevada to the Punch," a reference to the magnificent silver punch bowl contained in the set.²⁵

In a communication to Senator Patrick McCarran dated January 24, 1946, former Governor Tasker Oddie asked the senator to introduce legislation in Congress to secure the battleship's silver for Nevada. He also requested assistance from Senator E.P. Carville and Congressman B.L. Bunker. Oddie's request was in part a personal one: He stated: ". . . I induced the principal mining companies of Tonopah which I was largely instrumental in organizing and whose properties I developed, to contribute five thousand ounces of silver from their mines for the silver service for this ship and I had Gorham and Company of New York design and make it. . . ."²⁶ Oddie not only considered the silver service Nevada's legacy, but his own as well. On February 2nd, Governor Vail Pittman sent McCarran an urgent telegram asking him to block Mayor Ross's effort, "to take what rightfully belongs to our state."²⁷ Senate Bill 1802 was introduced by McCarran to return the silver service and other memorabilia from the ship to the state to be placed in the care of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City. The bill passed both houses and was signed by President Harry Truman on June 8, 1946.²⁸

Later that summer hundreds attended a special V-J Day celebration on the lawn at the Nevada capitol building. Rear Admiral Francis Rockwell, former

captain of the battleship, presented the articles from the *Nevada* to Governor Vail Pittman, as twenty-eight Navy F6F Hellcats roared overhead. The half-hour program, which included other speakers, was broadcast over radio station KOH and an NBC outlet.²⁹

The silver service was immediately placed on exhibit in one of the coin vaults in the old mint building portion of the museum. An entire room display was dedicated to the U.S.S. *Nevada*. In 1979 a new exhibit area was developed for the service with special lighting to enhance the beauty of the silver.

NOTES

¹ John C. Reilly, Jr. and Robert L. Scheina, *American Battleships 1886-1923: Predreadnaught Design and Construction* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1980), 6.

² *Ibid.*, 7.

³ *Ibid.*, 10, 243.

⁴ *Naval Service Appropriations Act*, Statutes at Large, XXXVI, sec. 1, p. 1287 (1911).

U.S.S. *Nevada* (BB36) was the third ship in the U.S. Navy to bear the name "Nevada." The first was a 3,200-ton gunboat launched in 1864 as the *Neshaming*; the name was changed to *Arizona*, then in 1869 to *Nevada*. It was sold out of the Fleet in 1874. The second "Nevada" was a gunboat type craft commissioned at the close of the Spanish American War. Her name was changed to *Tonopah* in 1904, and was sold from the Fleet in 1922. On August 16, 1986, the Trident nuclear powered fleet ballistic missile submarine SSBN 733 was commissioned as the fourth U.S.S. *Nevada*.

⁵ *Nevada Appeal*, 15 March 1913; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, 20 March 1913.

⁶ *Statutes of the State of Nevada, 26th Session* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1913), 182-183.

⁷ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, 20 March 1913.

⁸ *Nevada Appeal*, 24 March 1913.

⁹ Donations of silver bullion for the project ultimately fell short of what was needed, and on March 12, 1917, \$1,875 was appropriated to cover the additional cost. *Statutes of the State of Nevada, 28th Session* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1917), 71-72.

¹⁰ Michael J. Eldredge, "Silver Service for the Battleship *Utah*: A Naval Tradition Under Governor Spry," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 308.

¹¹ *Carson City News*, 14 May 1914.

¹² *Reno Evening Gazette*, 11 July 1914.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 11 July 1914; *ibid.*, 13 July 1914; *Souvenir United States Ship Nevada 1932: Commemorating the Tour of Duty of Captain John Joseph Hyland as Commanding Officer of the U.S.S. Nevada, July 1930-April 1932*. U.S.S. *Nevada* File, Nevada State Museum Archives, Carson City.

¹⁴ On May 14, 1914, a proposal was made to produce a case made from copper from the mines in Ely to hold the silver service. The case was apparently never made. *Copper Ore*, 14 May 1914, 1.

¹⁵ Tasker L. Oddie to Emmet D. Boyle, 23 February 1915, Oddie MSS, RNC #6, Correspondence File, Nevada Historical Society, Reno.

¹⁶ *Nevada Appeal*, 10 March 1916, 1.

¹⁷ *Elko Record*, 24 March 1916, 3.

¹⁸ *Yerington Times*, 15 April 1916, 1-2.

¹⁹ *Sparks Tribune*, 29 March 1916; *Elko Free Press*, 24 March 1916, 1.

²⁰ Interview former crew member Dean Miller, May 18, 1987.

²¹ "History of U.S.S. *Nevada* 1916-1946," U.S.S. *Nevada* file folder, Nevada State Museum Archives, Carson City, Nevada; *Souvenir United States Ship Nevada, 1932: Commemorating the Tour of duty of Captain John Joseph Hyland as Commanding Officer of the U.S.S. Nevada, July 1930-April 1932*. U.S.S. *Nevada* File Folder, Nevada State Museum Archives, Carson City; U.S.S. *Nevada* 1916-1946 (San Francisco: the James H. Barry Company, 1946), 13-15.

²² *Ibid.*, 16-38.

²³ *Ibid.*, 44-57.

²⁴ "History of U.S.S. *Nevada* 1916-1946," U.S.S. *Nevada* File Folder, Nevada State Museum Archives, Carson City.

²⁵ Joseph F. Kievit to Governor Vail Pittman, 3 February 1946, Accession File No. 216-G, Nevada State Archives, Carson City.

²⁶ Oddie may have been confused on how much silver was used to make the set. Tasker L. Oddie to Senator Pat McCarran, 24 January 1946, Accession File No. 216-G, Nevada State Museum Archives, Carson City.

²⁷ Vail Pittman to Senator Pat McCarran, 2 February 1946, Accession File No. 216-G, Nevada State Museum Archives, Carson City.

²⁸ Technically the U.S.S. *Nevada* Silver Service remains official U.S. Navy property. It is on loan to the State of Nevada. This act also allowed for the silver service of the U.S.S. *Wyoming* to be returned on loan to the University of Wyoming. United States Statutes at Large, Public Laws and Reorganization Plans, vol. 60, part 1, p. 234.

²⁹ *Nevada Appeal*, 19 August 1946, 1.

Book Reviews

The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.
By Francis Paul Prucha. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.
426 pp., abridged edition, appendix, index.)

THIS BOOK IS THE CONDENSED VERSION of Professor Prucha's magisterial, award-winning, two-volume study that appeared in 1984 under the same title. Considerably less expensive than the original edition, the abridged version is intended for students and general readers.

The abridgement compresses some twelve hundred pages of text into a book about one third as long as the original work. Necessarily, Prucha has combined chapters and shortened his discussion of various parts of the story. Nevertheless, the basic chronology of Indian policy from the Revolution until 1980 remains. The main casualties in the condensation are the notes and bibliographic essay, which have been eliminated. Instead, there is a list of suggested readings that includes twenty-seven recent books. Readers who want more complete bibliographic data are directed to the first edition. While the deletion of notes is understandable, this reviewer would have preferred the inclusion of the useful twenty-six-page bibliographic essay that appeared in the original book.

This caveat aside, *The Great Father* is the best one-volume study of United States Indian policy in print, the work of a historian who is thoroughly familiar with the published and unpublished sources on the subject. Like the first edition, this book reflects Prucha's abiding conviction that paternalistic humanitarian concerns shaped Indian policy. Namely, the desire to Christianize and civilize the American Indians was the paramount tenet of Indian policy throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries. When policy failed, Prucha reasons, it was because bureaucrats and reformers often misunderstood the Indians, their cultures, and the utility of some humanitarian ideals. While corruption and cupidity existed in the Indian department, reformers struggled to overcome such undesirable conditions so that the Indians would benefit from government policy.

For graduate students and specialists the original edition will remain the basic reference history of United States Indian policy, but the condensed version no doubt will become standard reading in undergraduate courses on Indian and western history. While its focus on humanitarian reform will not please everyone, the book makes the whole history of United States Indian

policy accessible to students who will appreciate the author's clarity of expression. It is a valuable addition to the undergraduate Indian policy bibliography.

Albert L. Hurtado
Arizona State University

American Commander in Spain: Robert Hale Merriman and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. By Marion Merriman and Warren Lerude. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986. 255 pages, illustrations, notes, maps, bibliography, index.)

ROBERT AND MARION MERRIMAN'S LIVES together lasted a few short years of their youth, yet they shared more than a lifetime of experiences as their quest for social justice led them from Reno to Berkeley, Moscow, and finally, Spain. Their experiences together involved some of the most important events and fascinating people of the 1930s. The Merrimans met in 1928 when they were students at the University of Nevada, Reno; she was eighteen and he nineteen. They married on their graduation day in 1932 and, in 1937, Robert Merriman died leading other young Americans into battle for a cause they already knew was lost, the preservation of the Spanish democratic republic in the face of Fascism.

Robert Merriman is already known as one of the models for Ernest Hemingway's fictional hero of the Spanish Civil War, Robert Jordan of *For Whom the Bells Tolls*. For the first time, however, we have a biography of Merriman himself as told by his wife, Marion Merriman Wachtel, and her co-author, journalist Warren Lerude. As Lerude states in the epilogue, this was a difficult story for Merriman-Wachtel to tell. Not only did she have to reread the diaries and letters which recalled her tragic loss, but also to remember the terrible frustration of an era when the threat of Fascism was becoming apparent to some individuals in the West, but their governments refused to act against it. When she returned to the United States shortly before her husband's death in 1937, Merriman-Wachtel discovered the general indifference or hostility of the American public to the plight of Spanish people who were fighting to preserve their democratically elected government against Franco and the armed forces of Hitler and Mussolini. This, then, is the book's general subject: the reaction of Americans to the Spanish Civil War. It is the story of two courageous and idealistic young Americans who joined 1,500 other American volunteers fighting Fascism in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. It is also the story of the sympathetic journalists who supported their cause, and finally of the misunderstanding of the civil war in the United States.

The Merrimans' road to Spain led them first from Reno to Berkeley and Moscow. Inspired by the economic problems and growing poverty of the era, Merriman became a graduate student in economics at the University of California. His studies led him to Moscow to study the rapidly growing Soviet economy. It was in Moscow that he learned of the horrors of the Spanish Civil War, and felt compelled, after much soul-searching, to join fellow volunteers from fifty-four countries to fight for the Spanish Republic. Just as his promise as an economist had become quickly apparent at Berkeley, so did his leadership abilities readily emerge in Spain. Thus he immediately became the commander of the brigade, ultimately made up of 3,000 men from America and other English-speaking countries. This brigade was involved in several major campaigns and suffered terrible casualties before it was annihilated in battle with the well-armed Fascist troops. In the chaos of this last, horrifying battle on the Ebro River near Corbera, Merriman simply disappeared, probably captured and immediately executed, as was the fate of most loyalist officers.

Marion Merriman was much more than the chance companion of her brilliant husband. Every bit as gritty and committed, she worked in a Berkeley bank to support his graduate career and later in Moscow for the bureau of the *New York Times*, to support his research. When her husband was wounded early in Spain, Marion Merriman joined him and became the only woman enlisted in the brigade. She was given the grim task of recording the casualties and communicating with families back home. She also performed liaison tasks and trouble-shooting work for the brigade, in the course of which she was several times under bombardment at the front, in Madrid and in other cities. Thus through her eyes one sees the great suffering of civilians who endured relentless Fascist bombings. In addition, thanks to the authors' research, excerpts from the diaries and letters of Merriman and other brigade members are quoted as moving accounts of the battle experiences of the volunteers themselves.

Aside from the volunteers, many fascinating people emerge from the pages of this book, important Americans who are too often forgotten today: journalists Martha Gellhorn, Milly Bennett, Anna Louise Strong, and Walter Duranty, and Berkeley economist Ira B. Cross. Better known, Dorothy Parker and Ernest Hemingway also take part in this story. The reader will also enjoy accounts of Reno, Berkeley, and Moscow in the 1930s. Reno is portrayed as in part a typical college town but also still a frontier city where students attended dances in the Verdi dancehall and the more daring ones stole away to speakeasies.

This story is told in a straightforward and honest fashion that cannot fail to make a great impression on the reader; one only wishes it had been a bit more fully told. There are some annoying lapses in editing (things repeated), and a style which is too often abrupt and choppy. Some episodes, especially in the

sections about Moscow and Spain, are told too briefly. While this is properly not the full story of the Spanish Civil War, more background information is needed for the general reader. Given Merriman-Wachtel's personal memories and collection and the authors' extensive research, these two have a great deal more to tell us. Still, I recommend this book highly and hope that both authors will return to their subject some day.

Martha L. Hildreth
University of Nevada, Reno

Geology of the Great Basin. By Bill Fiero. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986. 250 pp., illustrations, maps.)

ONE THING a book on a big subject should be is understandable, another is complete; Bill Fiero succeeds on both counts. The *Geology of the Great Basin* is currently a big subject, which the author presents in three parts: Rocks, Concepts, and Processes; Great Basin History; and the Great Basin Today. In the first part, the basic tenets of geology—superposition and uniformitarianism—are discussed and explained using examples drawn from the Great Basin. From these cornerstones, observations which form the rationale for the geologic story of this region are presented one after the other in chronological order, their meaning and magnitude explained in simple terms. Very early in Part I, the author introduces the reader to geologic time, in both the relative and absolute sense. At this point the reader may become a bit confused by the multiple analogies employed to illustrate and magnitude of geologic time in terms more familiar to our everyday world, but this is only a minor distraction. Reference to these analogies occurs throughout the book, and one soon becomes accustomed to them. Also covered is a basic introduction to some of the major groups of organisms which contributed to the rich fossil assemblages of the region, in particular those relationships of fossils which allow the geologist to correlate rocks in one part of the basin with those in another. Perhaps the best part of the first section is Fiero's lucid explanation of plate tectonics, a topic that at the same time is complex and essential to the understanding of the genesis and structure of the Great Basin.

In the second part, a chronology of geologic events which forged the Great Basin from its inception, the excellent and descriptive line drawings of Nate Stout provide a graphic explanation of the text. Fiero moves along through the latest thoughts on Prepaleozoic to recent deformation and deposition, drawing a verbal picture of the forces at work and the results of those forces, which are illustrated by excellent photographs, ranging from the massively deformed rocks of the Toquima Range to the layered sediments of the central and eastern basin. Collisions between island arcs and continental plates are

convincingly argued, and related to the particular event in a fascinating history. Of particular interest to structural and historical geologists is the discussion of the Antler, Sonoma, and Laramide orogenic events. Certainly, Fiero's presentation of the complexities of accredited and suspect terrains is an up to the date discourse on tectonics. The author brings it all together at the end of Part II in a series of line drawings and a Time Correlation Chart which presents the entire history in perspective, and lays the groundwork for Part III, which looks at the Great Basin in the context of today.

Precious and base metals, non-metallic, oil and gas, coal, geothermal energy, and water are the main themes of the concluding chapters. Fiero relates the interaction between these topics and the presence and needs of man in the basin. From problems of overutilization and subsidence of ground water resources to an examination of surface water occurrences and the geologic work done by water, he moves to a conclusion of thumbnail sketches of Great Basin parks and a glimpse of its geologic future. The only drawback to Fiero's book is the sometimes distracting embellishment given to observations perhaps better less vividly described. The illustrations are good and the photographs excellent, if perhaps not always as closely identified in place or text as some readers may wish. All in all this is an entertaining and informative book that belongs in the library of any student of the Great Basin.

James R. Firby
University of Nevada, Reno

Forty Years in the Wilderness: Impressions of Nevada, 1940-1980. By James Hulse. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986. 141 pp., notes, bibliography, index.)

BAR NONE, *Forty Years in the Wilderness* is the most courageous, comprehensive study of Nevada in recent history. With a touch of the past, which most natives know and even johnny-come-latelies appreciate, Jim Hulse begins by dividing the state into four sub-Nevadas: (1) Carson-Truckee, (2) Humboldt, (3) the outlying mining region and (4) Clark County. He revisits the four Nevadas in the 1980s and it is refreshing to read his distillations of the more acute observers of our burgeoning society, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Dale Morgan, Robert Laxalt, co-authors Edna Patterson, Louise Ulph and Victor Goodwin and the WPA Nevada Guidebook sponsored by Jeanne Elizabeth Wier.

James W. Hulse, native Nevadan, started his adult career as a journalist and graduated to a doctorate in history. He brings the state to the 1940s using Richard Lillard's excellent *Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada*

(1942) and observes: "Hardly anyone would have predicted at that time that the state's business and political representatives would begin to promote its vices and to institutionalize them more fully." As a Pioche boy (where some of his severest critics would have him return, or even further south), he treats the story of the regions lovingly and with notable insight, setting the stage for that which is to come by way of assessment and recommendation.

His chapters, "The Struggles for Water" and "The Land and Its Uses," show a familiarity that is rare in the printed effusions of the various interested parties. In the "Indian Water War" he was the expert witness who helped Reno-Sparks and Fallon to win what is still a pyrrhic victory. Though he cites Sam Houghton's great book, *A Trace of Water: The Great Basin Story*, it would have been helpful to quote from it. "The transparent fact is that existing sources are inadequate to supply the needs which are increasing with each passing year. . . . So unless new sources can be developed some uses will have to be curtailed or abandoned." It should also be said that the long-standing disputes in litigation can and should be settled, but only if the parties are reasonable, and the bureaucrats and the congressional and executive departments display some common sense.

In his best seller, *The Nevada Adventure, A History*, Hulse asserts, "Future historians will have to answer the question whether the people of Nevada managed their experiment with gambling successfully." Whether or not he intended to be that historian, certainly he deserves to be. After a thorough study of the growth of big gaming, its impact on this state and the country, with liberal quotes from Albert Deutsch and Justice Charles M. Merrill, Hulse concludes that there should be "A Fifth Nevada: With a Conscience," that a new Sagebrush Alliance could create. This new Nevada could truly reduce the influence of gaming and re-orient our economy sans a reliance on gaming and all that goes with it.

In his analysis and remarkable suggestions, with which I have no quarrel, he does unjustifiably tar some of us who were responsible for the undue reliance on the gaming tax.

It must be remembered that gaming paid no taxes other than the ordinary property and federal income taxes until 1945. And then the levy was a paltry one percent. The next session, 1947, I went to the Legislature armed with Washoe County District Attorney Harold O. Taber's statistics which reflected that over 95 percent of his case-load was directly attributable to gaming.

Bill Beemer, Marvin Humphry and I introduced a gaming tax increase to 20 percent. We started high hoping to settle for five percent. With inimitable strategy, we were given the silent treatment while the powers that be in their own good time grudgingly yielded to two percent. The plain truth then and now is that gaming does not pay its way, even though now it is paying almost half of our taxes.

The bottom line is this: Jim Hulse is right. A Sagebrush Alliance (as

distinguished from Rebellion) should be formed. There should be a suitable moratorium on the expansion of gaming so that our goals and policies can be re-oriented and some semblance of "principle" could emerge in the state. Actually, Nevada is not the only state that is sick. Our nation is suffering even more so from a spiritual illness that is debilitating. It needs an Alliance too!

Sagebrushers Unite! And God bless Jim Hulse for igniting us.

Leslie B. Gray
Sparks, Nevada

Key Pittman, The Tragedy of a Senate Insider. By Betty Glad. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. xvii + 388 pp., introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. \$45.00.)

WHY ANOTHER BIOGRAPHY OF KEY PITTMAN? Fred Israel has already written *Nevada's Key Pittman* (1964) published by the University of Nebraska Press. Yet Israel's biography proved to be flawed in several crucial ways. It lacked respect for its subject, arguing that Pittman was a narrow provincial who put the welfare of his state above the national welfare. It denigrated Pittman's services as Chairman of the United States Foreign Relations Committee and stated that Pittman, an alcoholic, operated in a world far beyond either his interest or his comprehension. But Israel dealt little with the state in which Pittman supposedly had such a provincial fondness. Except for Silver he did not discuss Pittman's foreign policy attitudes. His book proved vulnerable to the criticisms by historians doing related research. John A. Brennan, for example, in his thoroughly researched *Silver and the First New Deal*, demonstrated that Pittman was far less provincial on Silver issues than were several of his colleagues, and that the Senator tried quite hard, by compromise, to accommodate local aims to national priorities. Clearly there was room for a re-evaluation of this major Nevada figure who represented his state for twenty-eight years in the United States Senate. The problem was whether Pittman was worth a second full-scale biography.

Fortunately, Betty Glad, Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois, decided he was. Glad has done previous biographical work on Jimmy Carter and on Charles Evans Hughes. She writes that she undertook this biography of Pittman because of the inadequacies of previous works and their overly simplistic and negative treatment. Furthermore, Glad is interested in the relationships between the executive and legislative branches of government in the formulation of American foreign policy, and how various Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have functioned in that milieu. An additional reason for writing the book is that Glad wishes to

emphasize psychological aspects of personality using relevant factors outlined in the work of Sigmund Freud and such thinkers as Heinz Kohut and David Shapiro. Such an emphasis has usually been avoided by more traditional biographers. Glad chose Pittman as a subject partly because the manuscript materials on the Senator "are uniquely suitable" for this type of "in-depth" psychological biography (p. xiii). Pittman did write amazingly revealing letters to his wife, and these letters were not destroyed after his death (Israel had presumably looked over precisely the same materials but had made little use of them). Glad's chief concerns therefore are to delineate the complexities of a fascinating personality and how that personality functioned within the institutional framework of the Senate and in the formulation of American foreign policy.

Her argument runs as follows: Pittman, born in Mississippi, early in life became an orphan. He decided to go West in order to create a new identity for himself as "a daring adventurer." This quest took him from Washington State to the Klondike, Nome, and finally to Tonopah. In Tonopah he wheeled and dealt in mines, lands, and other projects, entered politics to prove himself, and, in 1912, was elected United States Senator from Nevada. So far, he had fulfilled his dreams of Western, romantic adventurism. But his relationship with his wife, Mimosa, whom he had married in 1900, was deeply ambivalent and pointed up a divided, darker side of his nature. Mimosa was, in Glad's view, a cold, withholding woman (Glad does not much like her). "As it was, they both were caught up in a relationship that met some of their needs while frustrating others." (p. 98) Pittman began, at an early stage of life, the heavy drinking which would cause so many problems in later years. He was, in Glad's words, a person with "narcissistic vulnerabilities" (p. xiii)—that is, he possessed a fragile ego which was torn between feelings of superiority and inferiority.

As a senator, Pittman soon earned the deep respect of his colleagues. He learned the rules of the Senate, had a sensitivity to the needs and feelings of others, was articulate and sensible, well liked by his peers, and was a basic conformist with just enough maverick tendencies to make himself not entirely predictable. He was, in addition, intelligent and incredibly sensitive to nuances. Eventually he became, as the title of this book indicates, a Senate insider. In his early Senate career he followed Wilsonian policies, and his advice in turn was highly valued by President Wilson. His personality adapted itself to the roles he was expected to play.

He became Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1933; but unfortunately, with the added responsibilities, the glue keeping his personality well integrated began to unstick. His heavy drinking grew more noticeable and debilitating. Glad portrays Pittman in a situation which he could not master. For one thing, the Foreign Relations Committee had a strong minority of hard-core isolationists; and Pittman, a leader who naturally

preferred compromise and accommodation, found it increasingly difficult to run. President Roosevelt let him down by failing to articulate a coherent foreign policy; according to Glad, the vacuum of foreign policy leadership in the 1930s was more Roosevelt's fault than it was Pittman's. Then, too, Roosevelt, who had earlier been close to Pittman, became less and less interested in the Senator's advice, deeply hurting him and leading to his declining effectiveness. Glad's overall conclusion is that, "Individuals with impulsive narcissistic personality vulnerabilities are likely to fall apart in both high status and high stress situations." "He never quite found the cement that binds a man together." Yet, the author concludes, "he was a man with warmth, generosity, and a humanity that touched many who knew him." (pp. 314-315)

The emphasis of this biography is on Pittman's psychological development and his activities as a United States Senator. It is relatively light in information on Pittman's Nevada background. The personality of Pittman is always kept at front center. Glad's depiction of that personality is convincing, very humanely drawn, and beautifully written. This is a fine biography. The book itself is well edited, attractively printed, and Columbia University Press should be thoroughly ashamed of itself for demanding such a high price for it.

Jerome E. Edwards
University of Nevada, Reno

J.E. Stimson, Photographer of the West. By Mark Junge. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985. 210 pp., illustrations, foreword, preface, introduction.)

JUST ABOUT THE TIME you begin to believe you have seen all the photographic histories of the American West, a new publication appears which portrays the landscape and its occupants in a slightly different perspective either in time or space, giving us reason to reexamine our previously held perceptions of this uniquely American experience. The title under review does just that. Moreover, it takes us one step further: The photography of J.E. Stimson links the photographic tradition of the frontier nineteenth century, dominated by such luminaries as William H. Jackson, Carleton E. Watkins, and F. Jay Haynes, with the rural West of the twentieth century. Thus, it closes the gap between the past and the present.

Born in 1870 in rural Virginia, young Joseph Stimson spent much of his early childhood outdoors. As a teenager in 1886, he joined a cousin who had an established photography studio in Appleton, Wisconsin. Here he apprenticed under his cousin's direction for three years, mastering photographic

techniques, and developing his quality in both dry plate and wet plate processes. Then, one year before the census report of 1890 indicated to Frederick Jackson Turner that the frontier had closed—that all arable land had been taken—Stimson, without any equipment, left Appleton and headed west to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where he purchased the studio of pioneer photographer Charles D. Kirkland. For the next five years Stimson led a successful, although uneventful life, until 1894 when Elwood Mead, Wyoming's first state engineer, arrived in the photographer's shop with a packet of undeveloped glass plates he wanted processed. While developing the plates, Stimson was profoundly impressed by the awe-inspiring landscape of Wyoming, causing him to remember at a later date that those plates were responsible for initiating his career as a scenic photographer.

Accompanying Mead to the Big Horn Mountains the next season, Stimson was exposed to some of Wyoming's most beautiful landscapes which provided him with an extensive portfolio. Fortune proved to be his lot again when one of his albums found its way into the hands of Albert Darlow, a Union Pacific Railroad publicity agent, who recognized Stimson's talent and offered him a position with the railroad. While this turn of events provided Stimson with the wherewithal to work professionally in landscape photography, it also presented him with an even greater opportunity to not only photograph Wyoming's scenic wonders, but to expand the sweep of his lens to include the natural resources of the larger West. Believing that good publicity would be the key factor in the successful reestablishment of the Union Pacific's fortune following the Panic of 1893, Darlow gave Stimson *carte blanche* to photograph not only the natural landscapes, but the industries, towns, farms, and cultural improvements adjacent to Union Pacific's right-of-way. By 1903, the enthusiastic photographer had supplied the Union Pacific with all the promotional material it demanded. Moreover, he had established for himself a reputation for excellence.

Mark Junge should be commended for his dedication to the task of examining, over a period of eight years, the more than five thousand glass plates and twenty-four hundred nitrate negatives housed at the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department in Cheyenne. *J.E. Stimson: Photographer of the West* represents the best work of the photographer's sixty-two year career, spanning from 1889 at Jackson Hole to 1934 with the Cheyenne debut of the ultra modern Union Pacific's M-10,000, or "Rocket Train." Topically arranged, the chapters cover such subjects as agriculture, industry, towns and cities (Nevadans will be delighted by the street scenes of Tonopah and Goldfield), people, natural landscapes, and the Union Pacific Railroad.

Historical text explaining the significance of the photographs and a foreword by T.A. Larson, dean of Wyoming's historians complements the book. This work will stand as a monument to both Stimson and Junge, whose careful

sifting of archival material and skillful reproductions of the pioneer artist's work have produced a long overdue documentary history of the American West. Credit, too, belongs to the publisher for recognizing the valuable contributions of both men. This handsome book will be a welcome addition to the collection of serious Westerners.

Todd I. Berens
Santa Ana, California

Death Valley and the Armargosa: The Land of Illusion. By Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986. 664 pp., preface, notes, bibliography, index, illus.)

THE NAME "DEATH VALLEY" OFTEN CONJURES up a picture of a forbidding place, an area of intense heat, danger and mystery. Richard E. Lingenfelter's book, *Death Valley & the Armargosa: A Land of Illusion* dispells some of the region's mystery. It is an impressive work and a much needed addition to the history of both California and Nevada.

Using meticulous research, Lingenfelter uncovers the story of the Valley. Some may shy away from the book when they discover the author's academic background as a research physicist at the University of California, San Diego, but Lingenfelter's easy to read prose makes the book even more enjoyable. Using many previously untapped primary and secondary sources, *Death Valley and the Armargosa's* history is portrayed. He covers the story of the Indian inhabitants, the first visits by Hispanics and Anglos, and the economic booms and busts of the mining industry. He completes the book with the introduction of tourism to the area and the creation of Death Valley National Monument. The result is a cohesive and easy to read history.

Not only is the text easy to understand, the end notes, bibliography and index make up an equally important portion of the book. Due to the lack of good scholarly history on the region, the bibliography could easily be published as a work on its own.

The book's only major criticism is inherent to all works encompassing the history of such a large and diverse area. The story of Death Valley and the surrounding region will probably never be fully addressed in one book. Though well researched, there are some problems. At times the author draws far reaching conclusions from single newspaper articles or non-scholarly secondary sources. In particular his treatment of Death Valley Scotty, one of the many characters of the area, draws some conclusions that rest solely on sources that may not be completely reliable. Many of the conclusions about Scotty could have been better supported, or rethought, if the archives

maintained by the National Park Service at Scotty's Castle were better utilized.

In spite of this criticism, *Death Valley & the Armargosa* is the best history written on this area, lacking other scholarly works at its level. It is a valuable research tool as well as a book to be enjoyed by all. Caution should be used when quoting from the book, however, and the end notes should be checked to ensure accuracy. A perfect history will probably never be written on the region. There are still too many mysteries and legends, many that will never be fully solved even with the most diligent research. Death Valley has been, is, and will always be, as the book's title states, a "land of illusion."

Patrick McKnight
Death Valley National Monument

America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America. Dell Upton, editor (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1987. 196 pp., 350 illustrations, bibliography, and index.)

NEVADA READERS SHOULD NOT BE PUT OFF by the fact that the index of *America's Architectural Roots* does not cite Nevada. Nor should it necessarily matter that some of the more important ethnic groups to settle the Great Basin—the Basques, Italians, and Greeks, for example—are not discussed in this volume. *America's Architectural Roots* is not intended to be comprehensive. What it sets out to do, it accomplishes admirably. *America's Architectural Roots* seeks to establish a dialogue on the role of ethnicity in architectural history. As Dell Upton states in his introduction to the book, ". . . we hope it will provoke readers to study the architecture of people who are not included." (p. 15)

To give the material some sense, Upton divided the twenty-two essays into three groups based on settlement period. The first section consists of Native Americans and Hawaiians. Ethnic groups who settled the New World before the Revolutionary period make up the following essays. The remaining essays focus on ethnic groups which influenced American architecture after the Revolutionary War. Some of the best scholars in the field have authored articles. Besides Dell Upton, University of California, Berkeley, whose contribution to architectural history is well known, scholars such as Henry Glassie of the University of Pennsylvania have added to the wealth of the text. A substantial bibliography and index follows these essays.

In general, the essays emphasize rural rather than urban resources. This is predictable since urban architecture tends to draw upon a common standard

and does not allow for as much ethnic deviation. Vernacular or “folk” architecture, on the other hand, tends to be the proper domain of ethnic influence. The introduction points out that ethnic groups in urban settings have found other ways—religion, food, clothing and language, for example—to express their ethnicity. Still, Upton adds that “The absence of urban ethnic architecture may be more apparent than real.” (p. 14) This is at least one aspect of ethnic influence on architecture which needs future work.

Another obvious place for further study is in the influence of other ethnic groups on American architecture. As Upton points out in his introduction, the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* lists 113 foreign groups. This underscores a diversity which the twenty-two essays of this volume barely approaches. In addition, the articles focus on north European immigrants: three articles deal with German-speaking peoples and four of the articles are on Scandinavians. Although these groups have had a profound influence on American architecture, this preoccupation leaves little room for other groups.

In addition, the essays are in some ways too brief. Although enticing, the subjects are not fully developed and their treatment often raises more questions than are answered. Still, this is a handbook, and it is not meant to be comprehensive. As a handbook, it succeeds in offering a different way to look at architecture as a record of ethnic influence. Architecture can serve as a resource in studying the history of a region, and one of the insights that these primary sources can yield deals with an understanding of ethnic influences. Such resources can help local historians develop and broaden their appreciation of local heritage.

An overriding theme of the text which is of use to Great Basin scholars is that members of ethnic groups have preconceptions about architecture. These ideas manifest when people build structures. This is obvious when contrasting Native American dwellings with those of Europeans: the two groups are so alien to one another that the distinctions between their dwellings are dramatic. Distinguishing the architecture types of European groups requires more subtle examination. Still, each group tends to approach construction, decoration, and the arrangement of living space differently.

There are differences, for example, between the way an Irish immigrant and an Italian might arrange a farm and its associated buildings. And these arrangements contrast with that of an Hispanic ranch complex. Vernacular ethnic architectural styles are adapted to the new North American environment by people with preconceived ideas of what buildings should look like. Once exposed to the new environment, these ideas are changed and adapted. Often, as subsequent generations have adaptations to the environment which evolve toward a more anonymous common regional architectural style, architects use elements of the former ethnic architecture to create “an idealized

representation of the old country.” (p. 11) These revival styles, whether true or not to the original form are inspired by ethnic heritage. They become a further step in the evolution and influence of ethnic origins on American architectural styles, drawing as they do on the heritage which graces the nation with diversity.

Ronald M. James
Division of Historic Preservation & Archeology

Reader's Notebook

A Report on Recent Books and Articles

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE WEST, past and present, has been the focus of a number of significant recent works that describe the effect of public policy and technological development on the region. Among these are Donald J. Pisani's "Enterprise and Equity: A Critique of Western Water Law in the Nineteenth Century," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (January 1987), which examines some of the roots of current water problems; Joseph C. Strolin's "Nuclear Waste Disposal: A National Dilemma with Significant Implications for Nevada," *Nevada Public Affairs Review* 1 (1987), which incorporates some historical background in its look at the controversy; and Randall Rohe's "Man and the Land: Mining's Impact in the Far West," *Arizona and the West* 28 (Winter 1986), a survey of the short- and long-term effects of lode and placer mining on the land, vegetation, water and fish life.

Another product of western, and particularly Nevada, mining is examined in *Silver in the Golden State: Images and Essays Celebrating the History and Art of Silver in California* (Oakland: Oakland Museum History Department, 1986). This handsomely printed volume, edited by Edgar W. Morse and accompanying an Oakland Museum exhibition of the same title, contains articles on silver mining in California and Nevada, the activity's effects on California, and works of art produced from the metal by California's silversmiths. Donald L. Hardesty's essay, "Big Bonanza: The Comstock and California Silver," deals with California's most important source of silver.

An eyewitness account of early developments on the Comstock Lode appears in Henry DeGroot's *The Comstock Papers* (Reno: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 1985). The book, which has an introduction by David Thompson, reprints a series of articles DeGroot penned for the *Mining and Scientific Press* in 1876.

Political matters past and present are discussed in James W. Hulse's "Jefferson's Ghost and the Sagebrush Rebellion," *Halcyon* 9 (1987); Don W. Driggs's "Nevada: Powerful Lobbyists and Conservative Politics," in Ronald J. Hrebenar and Clive S. Thomas's *Interest Group Politics in the American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987); and in Ronald M.

James's "Justice With Dignity," *Halcyon* 9 (1987), which looks at Nevada's county courthouses and their place in the life of Nevada communities. The Nevada Secretary of State has issued an eighth edition of the *Political History of Nevada* (1986). This basic reference work on political development, state officers, legislatures and elections has been extensively revised and enlarged to include events through 1984.

The history of one of the Reno-Tahoe area's first major ski resorts, Sky Tavern, is presented in Marge Knorr's "Tavern in the Sky," *Nevada Magazine*, January/February, 1987, while one aspect of transportation in the Tahoe Basin is the subject of Tanya Branson's "Raising the Steamer Tahoe," *Trends '87* (annual magazine of the Incline Village North Lake Tahoe Bonanza). Branson's article reports on the efforts to raise the S.S. Tahoe, which was scuttled in 1940, and in the process relates the history of that vessel and other steamships on the lake in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The battleship U.S.S. *Nevada*, another of the state's famous ships, receives attention in Edwin S. Swaney's *Operation Crossroads* (Montezuma, Iowa: Sutherland Publishing, 1986). Swaney, who served as an officer on the *Nevada* during World War II, has written what he calls a personal history, one whose purpose is to "catalogue the inception, the active life, and the demise of one illustrious ship of the United States Navy, a ship on which thousands of men . . . were proud to serve."

Nevada's role in air warfare during World War II is dealt with in the April, 1987 issue of *Central Nevada's Glorious Past* (journal of the Central Nevada Historical Society), which is devoted to articles recounting the history of the Tonopah Army Airfield, a major wartime training base. More recent military aviation comes under scrutiny in two articles on the Thunderbirds, the U.S. Air Force's famed aerial exhibition team stationed at Nellis Air Force Base in southern Nevada: Joe Patrick's "Genesis of the Sky Diamond," *The Nevadan* (Sunday supplement of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*), November 23, 1986, and Erik Kirschbaum's "Thunderbirds," untitled Sunday magazine of the *Las Vegas Sun*, May 3, 1987.

Southern Nevada during Prohibition is the setting for Monnet Alvarez's "LV's Bootleg Era," *The Nevadan*, January 25, 1987, while some of the area's earlier history is examined in James W. Hulse's "W.A. Clark and the Las Vegas Connection: The 'Midas of the West' and the Development of Southern Nevada," *Montana and the West* 37 (Winter 1987). Two more recent, important Las Vegas figures are profiled in Lisa Godwin's "The Mayor's Final Bow," *LV The Magazine of Las Vegas*, May 1987, about the city's former mayor Bill Briare, and John H. Irsfeld's, "LV Man of the Year: Dr. Robert Maxson, President of UNLV." A description and history of one of southern Nevada's newer communities is found in Lark Ellen Gould's "Blue Diamond: Diversity with Unity," untitled Sunday magazine of the *Las Vegas*

Sun, May 24, 1987. The Colorado River at the southern tip of Nevada and in Arizona and California is the locale for a series of articles by Dennis Casebier on Fort Mohave, the soldiers and commanders of that outpost, and military activity along the Mohave Road from the 1850s to 1890, *The Nevadan*, December 7, 14, 21, 28, 1986, and January 4, 11, 18, 1987.

In 1963 Ed Reid and Ovid Demaris authored the controversial *Green Felt Jungle* about Las Vegas; more than two decades later Ovid Demaris has written *The Boardwalk Jungle* (N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1986), whose subject is the Atlantic City gambling industry—and the apparent connections between New Jersey and Nevada underworld crime. An examination by a law professor of the ways in which gambling, gamblers and casinos are affected by existing federal and state laws appears in I. Nelson Rose's *Gambling and the Law* (Hollywood, Calif.: Gambling Times, Inc., 1986). A short account of the early years of a major Las Vegas hotel-casino, the Hacienda, has been printed under the title "Way Back When . . ." in the March/April issue of *Casino and Gaming Chips Magazine*, a Reno publication that often carries brief histories of Nevada casinos. The glamorous events and personalities associated with Las Vegas's Caesar's Palace during its first twenty years are reviewed in an anniversary commemorative issue of *Seven* ("The Lifestyle Magazine of Caesar's World"), October 1986.

Glamour of a different variety, the Hollywood sort, figures in several articles about film making that involve Nevada or Nevada personalities. In "The Las Vegas Story," *The Nevadan*, March 22, 1987, David Barnett takes a look at Howard Hughes's ambitious 1952 motion picture set in the southern Nevada city, and in "West of Nevada," *The Nevadan*, April 19, 1987, the same author surveys the films of Rex Bell, the cowboy movie star who later became lieutenant governor of Nevada. Erik Joseph's "Hollywood in Nevada," *Nevada Magazine*, March/April 1987, reports on Nevada's success, since the early 1980s, in convincing motion picture and television production companies to work in the state.

The older West usually provides the setting for the novels of Louis L'Amour, the popular writer whose stories sometimes take place in Nevada and have often been adapted for films. He is the subject of Bodie Thoene's "L'Amour of the West," *American West*, November/December 1986. One of L'Amour's favorite figures of the old West is scrutinized in Jack Weston's *The Real American Cowboy* (N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1985), and one of that figure's lesser known pursuits, a pastime that may be changing as a result of public attention, is examined in Judith K. Winzeler and Wilbur S. Shepperson's "Cowboy Poetry: The New Folk Art," *Halcyon* 9 (1987).

Some notable Nevada and western personalities are sketched in Jack Fleming's "White Pine Land Baron Remembered for Kindness," *The Nevadan*, February 8, 1987, about William N. McGill, and in Richard E. Moore's "The Silver King: Ed Schieffelin, Prospector," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*

87 (Winter 1986), the story of a onetime Nevada miner whose search for wealth took him to various parts of the West and eventually gained him lasting fame as the discoverer of Tombstone, Arizona. *My Adventures With Your Money* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1986) is a reprint, with a good biographical introduction by Hugh Shamberger, of the notorious 1913 book written by George Graham Rice, perhaps the greatest stock swindler and confidence man ever to set foot in Nevada. The lives of a number of nineteenth-century Mormon women are discussed in Jimmie Sale's "Pioneer Polygamy as Plural Wives Lived It," *The Nevadan*, February 22, 1987.

Two Nevada classics have been reprinted and are once again available in bookstores: Robert Laxalt's moving 1957 memoir of his Basque father's visit to his homeland, *Sweet Promised Land* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1986); and Samuel G. Houghton's personal study of the region he knew so well, *A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986). The new edition of Houghton's book, which was originally published in 1976, contains a portfolio of color photographs by Philip Hyde.

Valuable reference works continue to appear. Among notable ones of the past year are J. Carlyle Parker and Janet G. Parker's *Nevada Biographical and Genealogical Sketch Index* (Turlock, Calif.: Marietta Publishing, 1986); Richard B. Taylor's *The Nevada Tombstone Record Book. Vol. I.* (Las Vegas: Nevada Families Project, 1986), which covers the southern half of the state; Peter Browning's *Place Names of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley, Calif.: Wilderness Press, 1986); and Mary B. Ansari's *Comstock Place Names: The Names of Storey County, Nevada* (Reno: Camp Nevada, 1986). The latter title is the first in the publisher's projected series of geographical name studies for Nevada counties.

Karen Current and William R. Current have combined their talents to produce *Photography and the American West* (New York: Abradale Press/Harry N. Abrams, 1986), a new edition of a 1978 book that focuses on the work of pioneering photographers, among them Timothy O'Sullivan, Carleton Watkins and others who spent time in Nevada. Unfortunately, none of these image makers was working early enough to record the first overland immigrants to California, who are subjects of Harlan Hague's "The First California Trail: The Southern Route," *Overland Journal* 5 (Winter 1987). The author reminds us of the existence and importance of the early travel routes between Mexico and the Pacific coast, and that neither Jedediah Smith in 1826 nor the John Bidwell party of 1841 can claim "firsts" in reaching California by land from the east.

Eric N. Moody

Historic Preservation in Nevada

CREATED IN 1979, the Nevada Division of Historic Preservation and Archeology of the Department of Conservation and Natural Resources is mandated by federal and state laws to encourage the preservation of the state's cultural resources. In pursuit of this goal, the Division manages the federal Historic Preservation Fund allocation for Nevada, the Certified Local Government program, the Emergency Recovery Tax Credit program, the National and State Registers of Historic Places and the Historical Marker program. In addition, the Division reviews all federally funded or permitted activities in Nevada. Most of these programs are coordinated with the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

The Historic Preservation Fund supports the Division and activities leading to the identification of cultural resources. In addition, a small portion of the Fund can be used to promote preservation through exhibits and brochures. Over the past year, the Division has funded projects such as an historic inventory and preservation plan for Yerington and an exhibit on courthouses in Nevada. The latter, sponsored by the Nevada Historical Society, will travel throughout the state. Although formerly an extremely popular program, the federal Historic Preservation Fund currently cannot be used for restoration and rehabilitation projects.

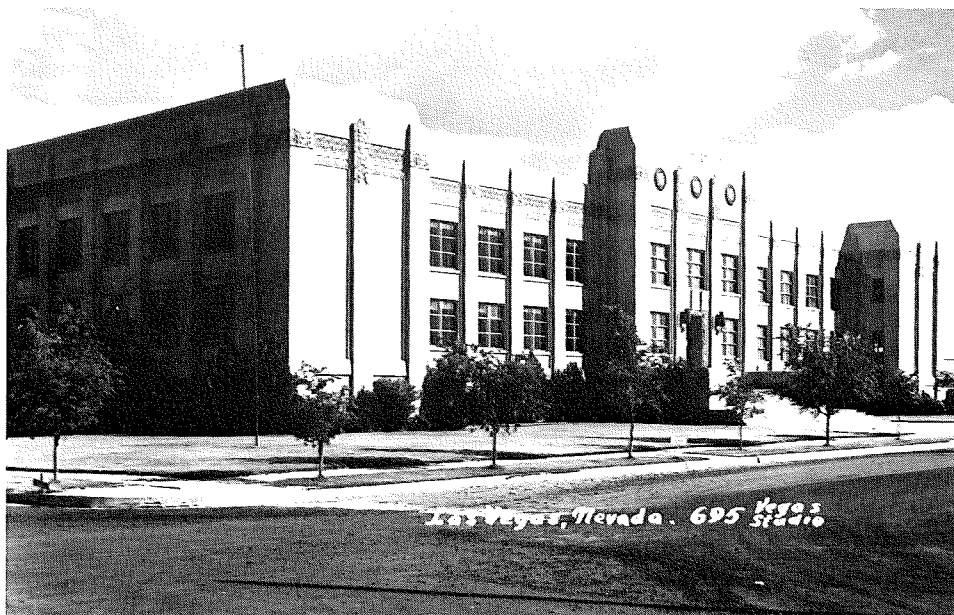
The Certified Local Government program is a new aspect of the division's responsibilities. Federal regulations now require that at least ten percent of the Fund be made available to local governments with active or "certified" preservation programs. To date Storey and Lyon counties and Carson City qualify for these funds which can be used for survey, planning and promotion of historic resources.

The new federal tax structure allows developers to take twenty percent of costs associated with approved rehabilitation as tax credits. Work must be performed on National Register buildings which must be put to commercial use to qualify. The tax credit program has encouraged the preservation of structures throughout Nevada.

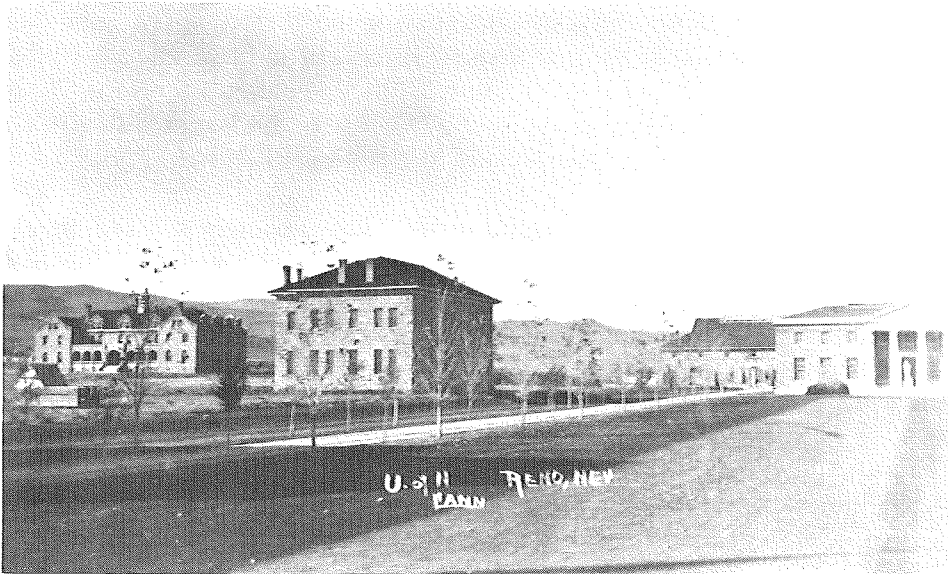
Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 mandates that all federally permitted or funded undertakings give consideration to properties listed on or eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In coordination with the National Advisory Council for Historic Preservation, State Historic Preservation Officers review all federal undertakings to insure



The White Pine County Courthouse in Ely was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on September 24, 1986. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



The Las Vegas High School, completed in 1931, has buildings exhibiting the only intact examples of the Art Deco design to survive in Las Vegas. It was listed on the National Register in September, 1986. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



The University of Nevada, Reno Historical District, listed on the National Register in February, 1987, includes 13 buildings on forty acres. From left to right; Lincoln Hall, Chemistry Building (demolished), Gymnasium (demolished) and Mackey School of Mines. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

that significant cultural resources have been protected or their data preserved. This extremely important vehicle gives Nevada, through the Division of Historic Preservation and Archeology, the right to review federal projects such as the proposed Yucca Mountain Nuclear Repository.

In addition to these programs, the Division attempts to provide recognition for historic resources. The National and State Registers of Historic Places and the Historical Marker Program serve this function. Of these, the National Register provides the most prestigious status. The Register includes two designations: listing on the Register itself and listing as a National Historic Landmark. Nevada currently has six National Historic Landmarks including Hoover Dam and the Virginia City Historic District (reputed to be the largest Landmark District in the nation). There are currently 160 Nevada districts, buildings, sites, and objects listed by the National Register.

In order for a structure to be listed by the National Register of Historic Places, the property owner, local government, or consultant must write a nomination which describes a resource and its significance. Nominations are then submitted to the Division which also drafts these documents in house. Submitted nominations are subjected to extensive review and revision so that they comply with standards set by the National Register. Nominations are

then reviewed by the Nevada State Advisory Board for Historic Preservation and Archeology which determines whether or not the resources qualify for listing by the National Register of Historic Places. In addition, the Board may suggest additional changes to the nominations. Pending approval of the Board, nominations are forwarded by the Division to the National Register of Historic Places for review. Occasionally, the National Register returns nominations for further revisions.

When this lengthy process is successful, the resource is listed by the National Register of Historic Places. The following are a few of Nevada's most recent additions to this prestigious list.

The White Pine County Courthouse was listed by the National Register of Historic Places on September 9, 1986. It is the second county courthouse in Ely; the first was a wooden structure which was moved from its original location to a nearby site where it became part of the county hospital complex. Construction began in 1908 on the present White Pine County Courthouse, a sturdy building which combines architectural elements from several styles.

Incorporating nineteenth-century Italianate architectural elements, the courthouse is a rare example of an architect-designed public building in eastern Nevada. The structure dominates a park-like site in the commercial district of Ely and, with its pond and associated grounds, creates a well-established complex befitting its civic use. The courthouse is one of the most substantial structures in the county and one of the few to follow a well-developed architectural program.

The Las Vegas High School was listed by the National Register of Historic Places on September 24, 1986. The Academic Building and Gymnasium are Art Deco style structures constructed as part of a three-building educational complex completed in 1931. They were designed by the Reno architectural firm George A. Ferris and Son, and retain a high degree of architectural integrity. The third building in the original complex was destroyed around 1950.

These structures are architecturally significant as the only intact examples of monumental Art Deco design to survive in Las Vegas. In addition, the High School buildings are two of four major public buildings to survive from the period: the Federal Building/Post Office, a Neo-Classical style structure; and the Las Vegas Hospital, an adobe, Spanish-Colonial Revival style building.

Many of the Art Deco motifs used to decorate the Las Vegas High School and Gymnasium are in Mayan Revival design. The use of these Mayan motifs is characteristic of a small, but well-developed school of architecture prominent in the early twentieth century. These buildings are the best example of this style in the state.

Friday's Station, listed by the National Register of Historic Places on October 9, 1986, is a two-and-one-half story, frame building constructed in



Probably one of the University of Nevada, Reno's most well known buildings is Morrill Hall, completed in 1886 and listed on the Register in 1982. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

1860 as an inn and Pony Express Station. Situated on the southeastern shore of Lake Tahoe near the California border, the structure overlooks the Lake.

The symmetrical building is a western survivalist adaption of Greek Revival design and includes horizontal siding with cornerboards, eave returns on the gable ends, six-over-six light sash windows, and a central entry with side-lights, pilasters, and cornice. The inn, recently restored and in excellent condition, is currently used as a guest house for the Park Cattle Company. A single-cell, gable roofed, log blacksmith shop and stable is situated at the rear of the inn. This building was constructed in 1860 and is currently used for storage.

Friday's Station is the oldest documented commercial inn on Lake Tahoe. It is significant as an intact early Nevada inn associated with the Pony Express and is a representative example of a commercial structure influenced by Greek Revival. In addition to being a Pony Express stop, Friday's Station has served as a way-station for James McClean's Pioneer Stage Line and the Wells Fargo Express. During the 1870s and 1880s, the structure was a Lake Tahoe resort operating under the name "Buttermilk Bonanza Ranch."

The Jay Dayton Smith House of Las Vegas was listed by the National Register of Historic Places on February 22, 1987. The nomination incorporates two contributing structures: a single-family dwelling and an accompany-

ing, single-story, single-bay garage. The Smith House at 624 South Sixth Street is an excellent example of Spanish Colonial Revival architecture.

Dr. Jay Dayton Smith was born in Monona, Iowa, and settled in Las Vegas in 1926. A dentist and a professional, Smith quickly became a prominent local citizen. He served on the Clark County School District Board from 1935-1953. He lived in the house until 1947, and his wife continued to live there until her death in 1970.

The University of Nevada, Reno Historic District was listed by the National Register of Historic Places on February 25, 1987. The forty-acre district includes thirteen contributing structures: Morrill Hall (1886), Lincoln Hall (1896), Manzanita Hall (1896), Mackay School of Mines (1908), Jones Visitors Center (1914), the Veterinary Building (1914), the Peter Frandsen Humanities Building (1918), Thompson Student Services Center (1920), the Physical Plant (1921), Clark Administration Building (1927), Mackay Science Hall (1930), Palmer Engineering Building (1941), and the Gymnasium (1945). Morrill Hall and Mackay School of Mines were individually listed in the National Register in 1974 and 1982, respectively.

The district is an unusual western example of "eastern" college campus design and was strongly influenced by prominent philanthropist Clarence Hungerford Mackay. Most of the twentieth-century historical structures were designed by noted Nevada architect, Frederick J. DeLongchamps, whose influence on the campus is unmistakable: building after building exhibits his predilection for brick and Neo-Classical architecture. The stately setting of the campus, together with Manzanita Lake, attracted film producers who sought places which could convey an "ivy league" atmosphere.

Ronald M. James
Historic Preservation and Archaeology

New Resource Materials

Nevada Historical Society

WALTER J. HERZ PAPERS

Walter John Herz, member of a pioneer Reno business family, was an engineer for Sierra Pacific Power Company and for three decades was active in Reno area civic and recreational affairs. An early member of the Reno Ski Club, he served from 1949 until his death in 1976 on the Reno Recreation and Park Commission.

As the result of donations by his son, Howard W. Herz, the Society has acquired a collection of papers relating to Walter Herz's public career. The bulk of the collection consists of minutes of meetings, reports, correspondence and other items concerning his service on the recreation commission. Included in this material is information on the Reno Junior Ski Program, the establishment of various parks, and the Nevada Recreation and Parks Society. The papers also contain a small amount of material dealing with Herz's work on snow surveys in the Sierra during the 1940s.

DELMAR GOLD MINING COMPANY RECORDS

In 1899, the Delmar Gold Mining Company was organized in Maine to engage in mining in Nevada. Corporate offices were established in Portland, Maine. Before the year was out, Delmar's "down East" officers and stockholders had approved the transfer of most of the company's stock to a Winnemucca banker named George S. Nixon, in exchange for his conveying the R.A.D. mine and mill in Humboldt County to the company.

A record book containing Delmar's articles of association, bylaws, notices of stock subscription, and minutes of directors' meetings has been purchased by the Society. Beyond its value for a description of northwestern Nevada mining company activity in the 1890s, the volume provides additional information on the business activities of George Nixon in the years just preceding his involvement in the Tonopah-Goldfield mining boom and his election to the U.S. Senate.



Float carrying the "Keno Queen" in a parade in Reno, 1958. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

NEW CHINA CLUB PHOTOGRAPHS

The Society has received a substantial collection of publicity photographs from the New China Club, the most important of the few Reno casinos in the 1950s and 1960s that catered to a black clientele. Located on Lake Street, the club opened in 1952 and operated for almost two decades under the guidance of owner B.H. ("Bill") Fong. Fong sold the club in the early 1970s to become proprietor of the restaurant in Reno's El Cortez Hotel.

The captioned photographs from the New China Club depict a visit by Jesse Owens, *Nevada Challenger* editor Tom W. Myles, and Fong with Nevada Governor Charles Russell at the governor's mansion; events of the 1958 Keno Queen contest (there are also individual pictures of contestants in the beauty competition); and scenes at the Fong Open, a well-publicized black golf tournament staged in Reno in 1960.

As a group, the New China Club photographs add significantly to the small body of presently available documentary materials pertaining to Reno's black community in the 1950s and 1960s, and to the casino industry's relationship with blacks in those decades.

NEVADA HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION RECORDS

The Nevada Home Economics Association recently deposited nearly half a century's accumulation of archival records with the Society. The association, which was organized in 1938 among home economics graduates of the University of Nevada, has western, southern and eastern branches and, since the 1940s, has held annual conventions and issued a newsletter for its members. First among the purposes of the association, as stated in its articles of incorporation, is the encouragement of "high standards of education, research and service among those institutions and individuals involved or interested in the instruction, study and or practice of home economics."

The archives of the association contain various versions of the constitution and bylaws, lists of officers and members, minutes of executive board and general meetings, correspondence, financial accounts, information on the association's scholarship awards, newsletters, histories of the association, and other materials which document the organization's activities over the years.

The Society appreciates the efforts of Patricia Tripple, professor of home economics at the University of Nevada, Reno, for her efforts in making the association's records available, and the work of Inez Carey, who organized and created an inventory of the records prior to their transfer to the Society.

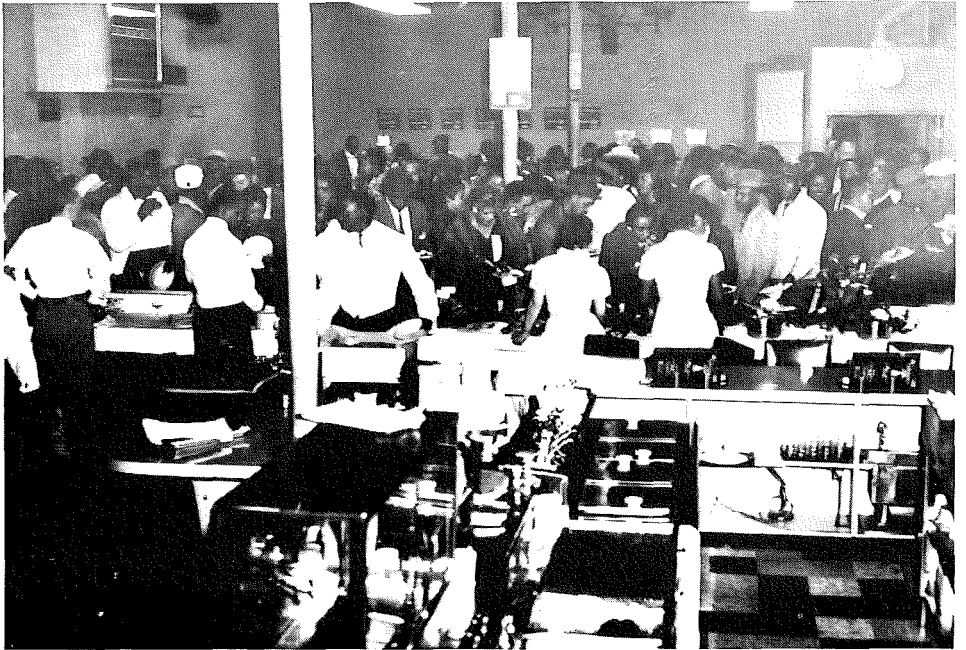
Eric N. Moody
Manuscript Curator

Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas

The Nevada State Museum and Historical Society in Las Vegas is extremely pleased and fortunate to be the recipient of a major donation from KLAS-TV, Channel 8, the first television broadcasting company in southern Nevada. The station generously donated twenty years worth of videotapes, news scripts, film collections and assorted material. Many of the videotapes are one-of-a-kind footage of events which took place in southern Nevada during the 1960s and 1970s. This collection is an invaluable resource for studying the development of southern Nevada, as well as the development of the television industry in the state.

Another important acquisition to the Florence Cahlen Library comes from the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*. The oldest and largest southern Nevada newspaper donated over 200 bound volumes covering part of the 1960s and most of the 1970s. These volumes are among the only physical copies available from the era. Aside from the intrinsic value, having the actual newspaper allows research and indexing projects to be completed with greater ease and speed.

David Millman
Curator of Collections



Interior of the New China Club, Reno, 1960. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

*University of Nevada—Reno, Library
Special Collections Department*

WILLIAM C. MILLER PAPERS

The Special Collections Department recently accepted a donation by Roxanne Miller Koenig, Mark Koenig and Leslie Gray of the William Charles Miller collection. Miller, born in 1908, received his B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees in speech from the University of Southern California and taught at the University of Nevada-Reno from 1934-1973, when he retired as professor emeritus of speech and drama. Dr. Miller was a noted expert on Mark Twain and the history of the theater in Virginia City and wrote extensively for historical journals, including the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. Dr. Miller died in Reno on March 8, 1987.

The collection consists of 10 cubic feet of materials which reflect Miller's career and interests, particularly Mark Twain and the theater in Virginia City. Included are plays, sheet music, research notes, student papers, manuscripts, and reference materials on speech and drama. Of special note is the only known example of an early Nevada imprint, a theater poster printed on pink silk for Topliffe's Theatre, Sept. 22, 1862; and a minute book/stock

register of the Silver Star Mining District (Comstock Lode), 1860-1863. The collection is currently being processed.

ARTHUR J. PALMER SR. PAPERS
1927-1965

The Arthur J. Palmer Sr. Papers were donated to the Special Collections Department by his son, Arthur J. Palmer, Jr. Palmer, Sr. was born in Brooklyn, New York, on February 2, 1885, and served a long career in the New York and New Jersey publishing and advertising fields. Palmer moved to Carson City after his retirement and continued writing books and newspaper articles. He died in Carson City on February 10, 1968.

The collection is divided into two series: unpublished manuscripts, and Palmer's published works or materials used as references for his writing. The manuscripts include articles, books, several series for newspapers, and song lyrics, written under Palmer's own name or his pseudonyms Robin Goodfellow and Tom Squire. The published materials under the names Palmer or Goodfellow include works on Thomas A. Edison, a history of the bicycle, and a satire on time and how it runs humans. An unpublished guide is available in the Special Collections Department.

AMERICAN LEGION, DARRELL DUNKLE POST #1, RENO
RECORDS, 1919-1960

Four cubic feet of records of the Darrell Dunkle Post #1, Reno, of the American Legion were recently donated to the Special Collections Department. These records complement a previous accession of American Legion records, making a total of some 30 cubic feet of records, plus 2 filing cabinets of membership cards. The dates of the collection are ca. 1919-1960.

The Reno post, the first in the state, is a local branch of the national organization of servicemen and women. It was established in about 1919 and named for Darrell Dunkle, the first Reno serviceman killed in World War I. In addition to promoting patriotism, the unit sponsors community activities such as the Boy Scouts and Little League, and provides scholarships to nursing students at the University of Nevada-Reno.

The collection includes correspondence, reports, financial records, membership rolls and publications generated by the national, state (the Department of Nevada), and local levels of the men's branch, the women's auxiliary, and "La Societe des 40 Hommes et 8 Chevaux" (veterans of special WWI units). In particular, the reports from this new accession discuss the Boy

Scouts, baseball for children, children's welfare, and the "Americanism" movement, as well as the beginnings of other American Legion posts in Nevada. The collection is currently unprocessed.

Susan Searcy
Manuscript Curator

*University of Nevada-Reno, Library
 Oral History Program*

The Oral History Program at UNR has been busily engaged in the production of several transcripts, which will be available for research by the fall of 1987. A grant from the Nevada Department of Museums and History has allowed the OHP to produce the James Calhoun transcript, the first in a series of oral histories to be funded by this organization. The John Cahlan oral history (to be completed later this summer) is the second oral history produced under their sponsorship. In addition, the University Foundation awarded the OHP a grant which funded the Andrew Ginocchio oral history. The Ginocchio transcript is also the first series of oral histories funded by the University Foundation.

- Cahlan, John F. (1902-). Las Vegas journalist, newspaper editor, promoter. As yet untitled. To be completed and open by August, 1987. Development of journalism in Las Vegas; development of a gambling/tourist economy.
- Calhoun, James W. (1903-). Director, Nevada State Museum, 1949-1973. *James W. Calhoun and the Nevada State Museum*. (228 pages) Sketches of economy and society of Virginia City and Carson City, 1944-1947; development of the Nevada State Museum, 1947-1973; profiles of Judge Clark J. Guild and Major Max C. Fleischmann.
- Comstock Memories, 1920s-1960s*. Oral history interviews with Tyrus Cobb, Edward Colletti, Mildred Giuffra, and John Zalac. Mining, commerce, politics, government and society in Virginia City, Gold Hill and Silver City during a forty year span.
- Dickinson, Lawrence A. and Judie. Two works: *Life on the Red Rock Ranch, 1931-1935: An Interview with Judie Dickinson* (237 pages), and *Lawrence A. Dickinson: Life on the Red Rock Ranch, 1904-1965*. (193 pages) A profile of one of Nevada's oldest ranches from the perspective of the people who lived there. Family history; people; customs; the role of women in ranching; social and economic profile of Washoe County.

Ginocchio, Andrew (1893-). Reno blacksmith, businessman, structural steel contractor. *Andrew Ginocchio: The Ascent of Reno Iron Works*. (236 pages) Accounts of father, Giovanni Ginocchio; memories of Reno, 1910-1917 and 1930-1986; observations on ethnicity and society of those periods, commerce; building and construction; Depression and World War II; postwar changes.

Hoover Dam and Boulder City, 1931-1936. (40 pages) Panel discussion in Boulder City, September 17, 1985. Participants: Marion Allen, Leo Dunbar, Erma Godbey, Carl Merrill, Mary Ann Merrill. Social history of the construction of Hoover Dam and Boulder City and surrounding areas.

Merrill, Mary Ann (1915-). *Memories of Boulder City, 1932-1936*. (39 pages) Boulder City during the construction of Hoover Dam; employment, social events, municipal regulations and profiles of some prominent personalities.

Women, Children and Family Life in the Nevada Interior, 1900-1930s (128 pages) Oral history interviews with Inez Sharp Finnegan, Josephine Johnson Foster, Lena Hammond, and Elizabeth Roberts. Women's recollections of life in Goldfield, Tonopah, Millers, Austin, Railroad Valley and on a Reese River Ranch during the gold and silver booms of the early twentieth century.

Shelley L. Chase
Program Coordinator

*University of Nevada-Reno, Library
Government Publications Department*

The Government Publications Department has recently received the second part of the *CIS Index to Presidential Executive Orders and Proclamations* (Congressional Information Service, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1986). The volumes, which cover the years 1921 to 1983, provide access to many previously elusive documents.

The Congressional Information Service defines an Executive Order as the "formal means through which the President of the United States prescribes the conduct of business in the Executive Branch." These documents include administrative decisions, public announcements, and decisions concerning private individuals. The Executive Orders constitute "Presidential legisla-

tion" in the administration of agencies, public land policies, authorization of military actions, and other government activities. They are also used for public announcements of foreign treaties and the presentation of awards and honors.

The *CIS Index to Presidential Executive Orders and Proclamations* and accompanying microfiche are the first comprehensive collection of this material. The full text of the documents and supplemental maps, charts, and illustrations are available on microfiche. They may be accessed by subject, names of individuals and organizations, or document numbers. The microfiche and index are currently available in the Government Publications Department of the University of Nevada Reno Library.

Teri W. Conrad
Library Assistant III

Nevada State Library and Archives
Division of Archives and Records

NEVADA NATIONAL GUARD PHOTOGRAPHS

The Nevada National Guard in Carson City recently transferred a collection of photographs and scrapbooks to the Nevada State Library and Archives. Most of the photographs date from the late 1930s to the 1970s, with two from the nineteenth century. Nineteenth-century photographs show competitors in a statewide shooting competition in Carson City in 1885 and Adjutant General J. Poujade and his staff, Richard Raycraft and Will Malkey about 1891-1894. The men of Battery B, 1st Gun Battalion of Winnemucca, are shown in maneuvers, gunnery practice and active duty at various U.S. Army posts from 1939-1970. Scrapbooks are of the Miss Winnemucca competitions in 1960-1966 and military balls. Battery B sponsored "sweetheart candidates" in each of those years. Another scrapbook covers the U.S. Savings Bond drives of the early 1950s and the honorary commission of Colonel to actor Rory Calhoun. There are many pictures of National Guard officers and men with Governors Charles Russell (1951-1958), Grant Sawyer (1959-1966) and Paul Laxalt (1967-1970).

The collection included an unpublished autobiography of Major General Jay Henry White. White was born in Carson City in 1875, worked as a fireman for the Carson and Colorado Railroad (1902-1913?), County Clerk and Treasurer of Mineral County, 1912-1916, District Attorney, 1917-1926, private secretary to Governor Frederick Balzar, Richard Kirman, Edward P. Carville and Vail Pittman. As the governor's private secretary, he was appointed Adjutant General of the Nevada National Guard from 1928 until

his retirement in 1947. Written in 1952, the 35 page manuscript recounts his activities of his then 77 years, including 19 years as Adjutant General and his reorganization of the National Guard in 1928. It is not as detailed as historians would like, but offers some interesting insights and anecdotes from someone who served under three governors.

Jeffrey M. Kintop
Curator, Archives/Manuscripts

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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.

