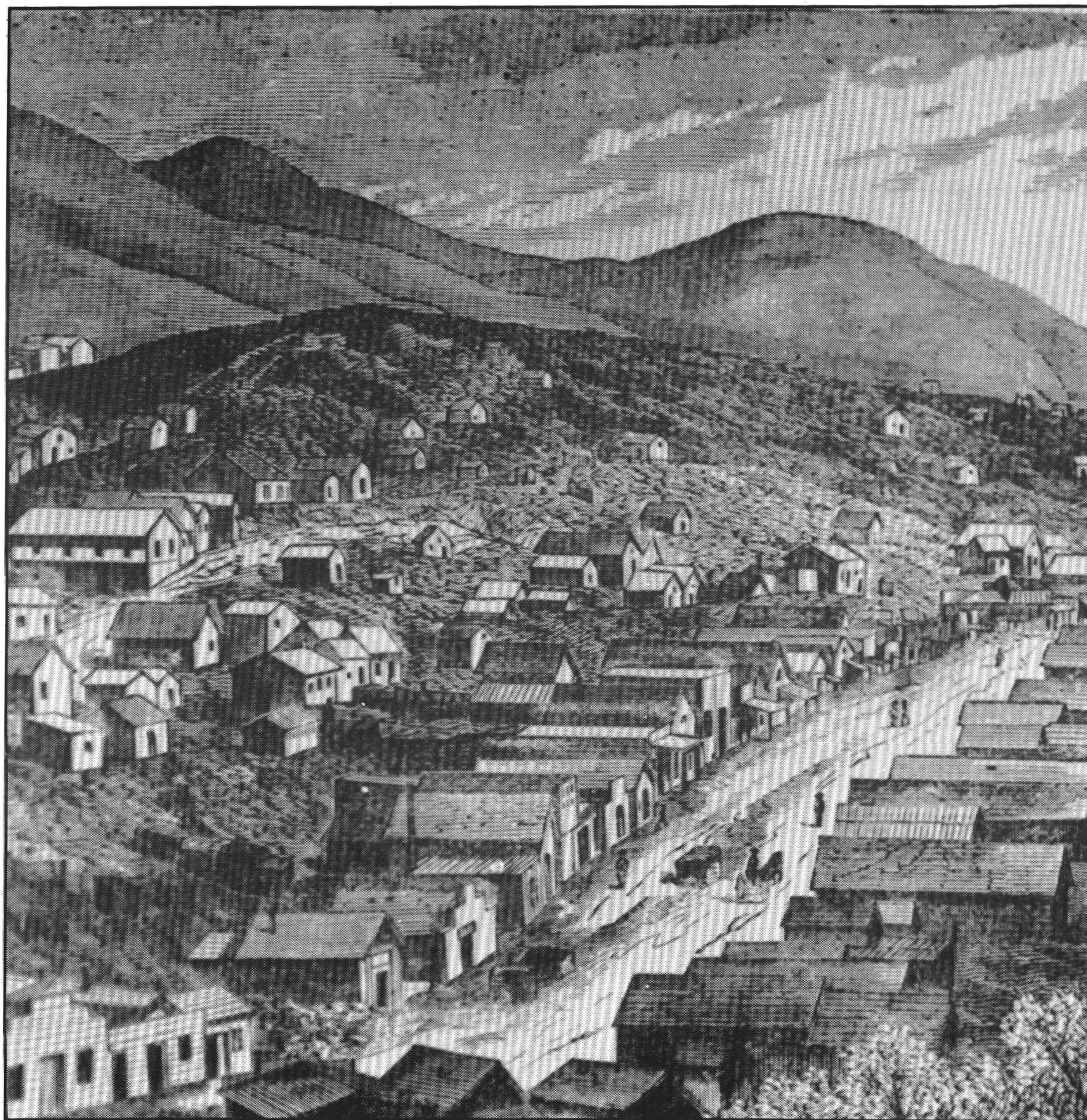


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FRONT COVER: Illustration of Austin, Nevada, c. 1873. (<i>Nevada Historical Society</i>)		
BACK COVER: Earliest known photograph of Hamilton, Nevada, c. 1869. (<i>Nevada Historical Society</i>)		

Influences on Black Family Household Organization in the West, 1850-1860

MICHAEL S. CORAY

DURING THE 1970S MAJOR INNOVATIONS OCCURRED in the study of black family history. The pioneering studies undertaken by W.E.B. Du Bois and E. Franklin Frazier were subjected to new scrutiny, largely as a result of the controversy provoked by Daniel P. Moynihan's publication of *The Negro Family: A Case for National Action* in 1965. Moynihan's thesis depicted twentieth-century black families as a disorganized "tangle of pathology" represented by an absence of adult males. It suggested that this structural defect was the heritage of slavery.¹

Recent scholarship has corrected the error of the Moynihan thesis, and has provided a wide range of new insights regarding the history of black families' organization.² All of these recent studies share common elements. Each investigates black family or family household structure in a rural and/or urban setting in the North or South. Most focus on the late nineteenth century as the key era during which black household structure may have undergone modification. Most point to the last twenty years of that century as the crucial time period.

The findings of these studies have been remarkably similar. Most found that two-parent households were the norm for black family units. None found the predominance of male-absent family households depicted by Moynihan or earlier investigators. Most rely, in some measure, upon materials drawn from the manuscripts of federal censuses as basic source material. Some have been more zealous than others in drawing clear distinctions between households as *residence* groups, and families as *kinship* groups, but the general practice has been to use information on household composition to draw inferences regarding family organization. Inference is less significant in stud-

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ies which emphasize the federal census of 1880 or later, for here the relationship between members of the same household were more carefully recorded.

The purpose of this essay is threefold: to investigate the pattern of family household formation within the black community of the West in 1850 and 1860; to trace the influence of four variables (gender, intraracial identification, locality and nativity) on those patterns; and to assess the relative importance of each of those variables. This study departs from others in three important regards. First, it focuses on the decade of the 1850s. Second, the black population is not studied as a monolithic whole, but is divided into the two most widely recognized intraracial components of the antebellum period, Negroes and mulattoes. Third, this study is set in a western frontier region during a formative period of growth and development.

The source materials have been compiled from the manuscripts of the federal censuses of 1850 and 1860 augmented by the manuscript California State Census of 1852.³ During this period, each family was considered an economic unit composed of one or more co-resident members. The relationships between individuals within a household are not entirely clear, so inferential methods were used in an attempt to establish the pattern of relationships.⁴ For that reason, the unavoidably cumbersome term, "family household," will be used occasionally as a reminder that the materials in the censuses reflect household rather than family organization in the strictest sense.

Other studies have distinguished between slaves and freemen, rural and urban, north and south, but not between Negro and mulatto. The inclusion of that distinction here is warranted by the attempts made in the federal censuses of 1850 and 1860 to assess the condition of the "colored class," whether slave or free. These censuses mark the first attempt to enumerate the black and white populations in the same detail. The ages of blacks were recorded for the first time, and concerted effort was made to distinguish between "blacks" and "mulattoes," so that the progress of each component of the "colored" population might be determined.⁵ (Persons designated "black" by the censuses will be called "Negro" here. The entire racial population will be called "black.")

Of primary concern was the growth of the black population, particularly free blacks. The Census of 1860, published in 1864, brought the demographic wisdom of emancipation into question. It asserted that the white population, based on comparisons with the Census of 1850, was growing at a faster rate than was the black. Projections suggested that this differential would broaden through the remaining decades of the century, and place the black population in jeopardy of extinction. The same comparison suggested that enslaved blacks enjoyed a higher growth rate than free blacks, and that an increasing proportion of the latter were persons of "mixed descent." The demographic result of emancipation, then, would subject the black population to a slower

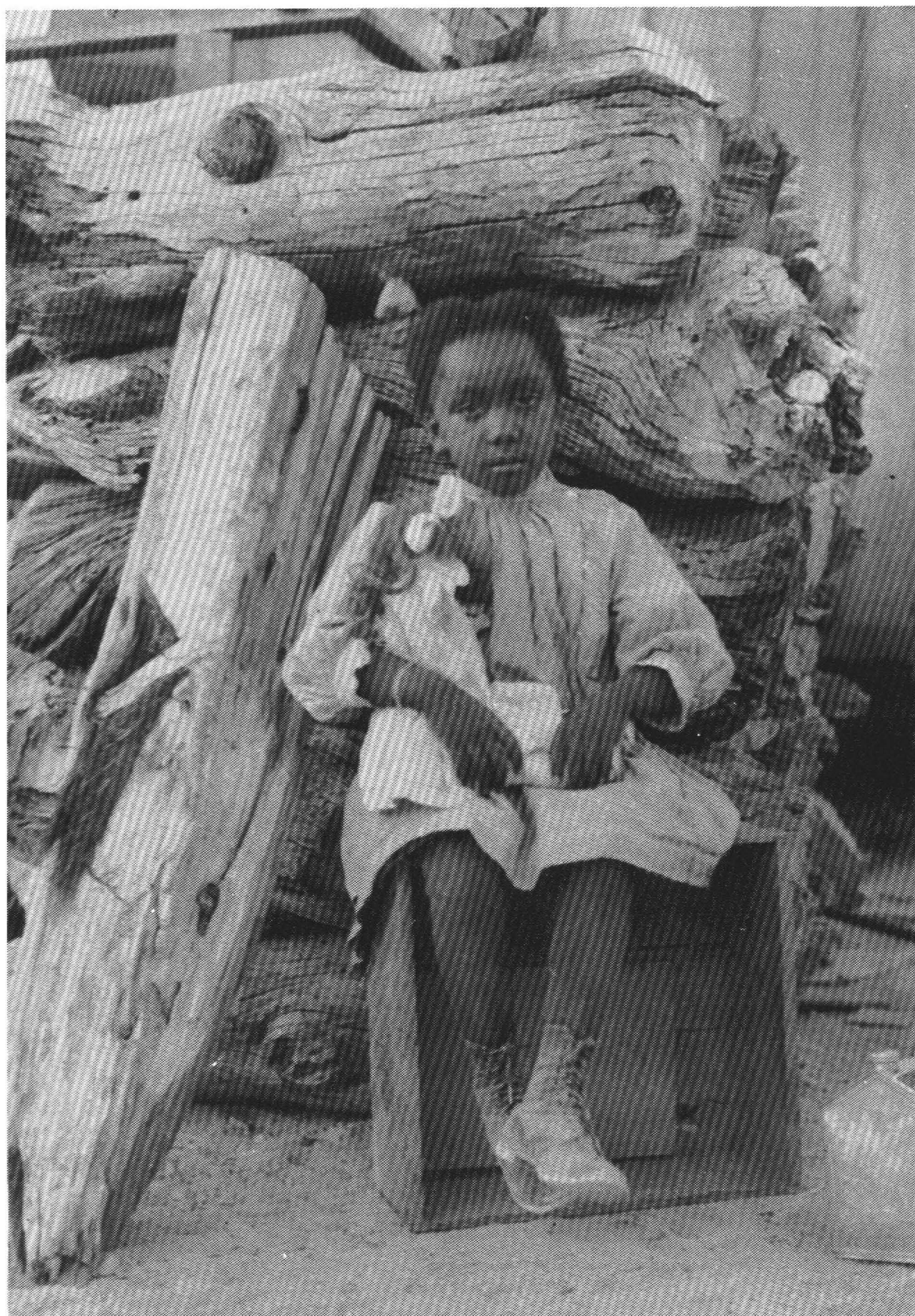
rate of growth and a higher rate of interracial mixing. Both outcomes suggested a loss of vitality.⁶ Intraracial identification, therefore, was an important sociological category during the 1850s.

The setting of this study in the West presents unique problems, three of which deserve mention here. First, the region under consideration, California and the surrounding territories of Oregon, Utah and Washington, encompasses an immense area which includes not only the contemporary states cited above, but Nevada and much of Idaho, Wyoming and Montana as well.

Second, each political entity was, in the American experience, a mining or agricultural frontier. Settlement along such frontiers exhibits several key features. The most important to our purposes are the following: the population originates from outside; initial settlement is rapid and due to emigration; initial sex ratios are heavily biased towards males; the age structure of the population is slanted toward young adults (ages twenty to twenty-nine years), with a consequent deficit in adolescents and those over forty years of age (as compared to national averages); subsequent in-migration brings more balanced sex ratios, broadens age distribution, and increases the proportion of emigrants who arrive as members of family or household units. Equally important, during the early stage of settlement, families are predominantly young couples without children rather than middle-aged couples with children. The end of the frontier is announced not only by an increase in the population per square mile, but by a shift in the basis of population growth away from continued in-migration, and toward natural increase.⁷

Third, the settlement of blacks was uneven within the political entities which comprised the region. The blacks who chose to move west were attracted by the same range of economic possibilities which beckoned whites.⁸ Like their white contemporaries, blacks were concentrated overwhelmingly in the mining frontier in California at both ends of the decade. Despite an average annual growth rate of nearly ten percent for the decade, blacks never accounted for as much as 1.5 percent of the entire regional population at either end of the period.⁹ The concentration of over ninety percent of the black population at each census within California means that black family households in some of the territories included fewer than one hundred persons.¹⁰ Where this occurs, percentages, as a measure of change, are extremely sensitive. Each person represents one percent or more. The decision to include the entire population, rather than to use sampling techniques, makes this problem unavoidable.

Despite its relatively small size, however, the growth of the black population kept pace with regional patterns of population growth during the 1850s.¹¹ Equally important, the regions' frontier character shaped the basic features of the population. Most blacks were, for instance, recent immigrants who entered the region either shortly before or during the period under investigation. The formation of family households, as a result, may have been



Negro child in Nevada during the 1880s. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

relatively more flexible than in older, more established communities where time honored values shaped family household structure. The characteristic excess of males over females, on the other hand, may have placed unusual pressures upon males to establish family households as quickly as females

became available.¹² Biased sex ratios may also account for the characteristically high proportion of females in the marriageable age groups (fifteen through forty-nine years) who resided in family households.¹³ The high proportion of mulattoes within the black population at both ends of the decade (24.8 and 41.3 percent in 1850/52 and 1860, respectively), meanwhile, affords an excellent opportunity to discover the existence of any relationship between intraracial identification and the formation of family household patterns of residence within the black community.¹⁴

Census information revealed the presence of four distinct residential types during the decade: (1) individuals living alone; (2) individuals residing in group quarters such as hotels, boarding and rooming houses, etc.; (3) two or more individuals, usually unrelated, sharing accommodations that could not be classified as groups quarters; and (4) family households.¹⁵ Although the census definition of a "family" as an economic unit opens the possibility that they were present in each residential type, those discussed here are limited to family household types. Our purpose is to establish the organizational norms for such households, and to examine the relative importance of gender, intraracial identification, locality, and nativity to those norms. There is nothing sacrosanct in the variables examined here. They were selected because they seemed logical and appropriate.

The Regional Norm

The basic forms of residence within family households could be subdivided into three categories or types: (1) couples without children; (2) two-parent family households; (3) single-parent family households. Table 1 illustrates the frequency of each type without regard to the gender or intraracial identification of the individuals involved. They account for 17.5 and 48.8 percent of the blacks in the region in 1850/52 and 1860, respectively.¹⁶ The table emphasizes the centrality of two-parent households as the norm at both ends of the

TABLE 1
Black Family Households in the West, 1850/52-1860

	1850/52		1860		PCP
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Couples	39	15.2	626	28.9	90.1
Two-parent	181	70.7	1396	64.5	-8.8
One-parent	36	14.1	143	6.6	-53.2
	256		2165		

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.

PCP is the Percentage Change in the Proportion $\left(\frac{\% 1860 - \% 1850/52}{\% 1850/52} \right)$ of each of the compared categories. In this case the PCP represents the percentage of growth or decline in each category of family households over the decade.

decade, but also reveals that childless couples experienced the greatest proportional growth. Single-parent households were twice as numerous at the beginning of the decade as in 1860, and the proportion of two-parent households, although they remained dominant, experienced a modest decline.

The Influence of Gender

The introduction of gender as a consideration brings little change to the general pattern established in Table 1. As revealed in Table 2, black males and females displayed strikingly similar patterns of family household organization at each end of the decade. Females were only a little more than six percent more likely to form two-parent households than their male peers in 1850/52, and only one percent less likely to form couples. But they were more than five percent less likely to be single-parents. By 1860, the disparity in the two-parent category had narrowed by more than half, but only as a result of a proportional decrease among females that was four times greater than the decline among males. The proportion of females within the couples category more than doubled. Gender specific differences in the single-parent category, on the other hand, were reversed. Females, despite a proportional decline of one third, were now more likely to be single-parents than their male contemporaries.

The overall direction of change for males and females was the same: each experienced significant proportional increase in couples at the expense of the other family household types. The decline in the proportion of two-parent households was significantly greater among females than among males, while the decline in single-parentage among males was nearly twice as great as among females.

TABLE 2
Black Family Households in the West, 1850/52-1860: By Gender

	1850/52		1860		PCP
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
MALES					
Couples	22	15.7	340	28.5	81.5
Two-parent	95	67.9	784	65.6	−3.4
One-parent	23	16.4	70	5.9	−64.0
	140		1194		
FEMALES					
Couples	17	14.7	286	29.5	100.7
Two-parent	86	74.1	612	63.0	−15.0
One-parent	13	11.2	73	7.5	−33.0
	116		971		

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.



RETURN FROM WASHOE.

Crusoe's Island: Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk with Sketches of Adventure in California and Washoe, by J. Ross Browne, 1872.

Gender as a factor in the formation of family households does not alter the general pattern of change in black family organization. Its introduction as a factor does offer different insights into the nature and direction of the changes which occurred. The increase in the proportion of females resident in couples in 1860, for instance, suggests that the pronounced increase in the female population during the decade broadened their alternatives across all residential types, including the family households categories. It also suggests that important increases in the female population occurred in the more youthful age-segments of the population, segments too young to have developed households which included children.

The decline in the proportion of two-parent households must be viewed in the context of the relatively small size of the reporting population in 1850/52, and its concentration within such households. This family household type remained the norm regardless of gender, and was the characteristic arrangement of more than six of every ten males and females who resided in family households at either census.

The reversal of the male predominance in the single-parent category, although numerically insignificant, is intriguing. It probably did not signal the emergence of female-headed single-parent households as a growing tendency within the black population of the West. But it may imply a greater

degree of spatial mobility for males or the emergence of such gender selective factors as desertion, separation, or changing levels of mortality. The fact that single-parents experienced proportional declines of sixty-four and thirty-three percent for males and females gives greater clarity to the general decline of this category displayed in Table 1. The shifting pattern of residence within this category, meanwhile, reduced the disparity at which it was reported for black males and females, from 5.2 percent in 1850/52 to 1.6 percent in 1860. This suggests a leveling of the proportion of widows and widowers within the black population.

The Influence of Intraracial Identification

Table 3 introduces intraracial identification as a factor in the composition of family households, without regard to gender. It reveals that the proportion of mulattoes included in the family household categories was higher, particularly in 1850/52, than their proportion within the black population as a whole.¹⁷ The most important feature of Table 3 is that the patterns of proportional, rather than numerical, dominance remained the same at both censuses. Mulattoes were predominant in two- and single-parent households, and Negroes were predominant in childless couples. This is all the more interesting in the context of the significant growth of couples within the mulatto population over the decade. The intraracial groups also experienced

TABLE 3
Black Family Households in the West, 1850/52-1860: By Intraracial Identification

1850/52	NEGRO		MULATTO		% Predominance
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Couples	32	22.5	7	6.2	16.3 Negro
Two-parent	95	66.9	86	75.4	8.5 Mulatto
One-parent	15	10.6	21	18.4	7.8 Mulatto
	142		114		
	(55%)		(45%)		
1860					
Couples	396	34.7	230	22.5	12.2 Negro
Two-parent	692	60.5	704	68.9	8.4 Mulatto
One-parent	55	4.8	88	8.6	3.8 Mulatto
	1143		1022		
	(53%)		(47%)		
PCP					
	NEGRO		MULATTO		
Couples	54		263		
Two-parent	-10		-9		
One-parent	-55		-53		

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.

nearly identical levels of proportional decline in the other two family household types.

These changes, together with those revealed in Tables 1 and 2, illustrate broad changes in the age composition of the black population at the two census dates. Not only was there a general increase in the number of blacks, but significant changes occurred in the sex ratios in those age segments (fifteen to forty-nine) most likely to establish family households.¹⁸ Mulattoes experienced an increase in the category of couples which was proportionally five times greater than the increase among Negroes. If theories of frontier demography are correct, the mulattoes who entered the West during the 1850s must have been younger, on average, than their Negro peers.

The information in Tables 2-3 illustrate the influence of gender and intraracial identification on the regional patterns of black family household organization in the West during the decade of the 1850s. With these patterns in mind, we may now add locality as a variable in an attempt to discern its interaction with gender and intraracial identification as influences on the formation of the various family household types.

The Influence of Locality

Table 4 displays the family household types of black males at both censuses for each political entity of the region.¹⁹ Although the inherent statistical problems of small populations are apparent here, that should not obscure the emergence of different patterns within the regions' mining and agricultural frontiers. As the regional totals in this table illustrate, the more subtle differences between the two intraracial groups emerge clearly when gender and intraracial identification are considered with regard to specific locations. The regional totals for 1850/52 reveal that Negro and mulatto males were equally prone to reside in two-parent households. Negroes were three times more likely to reside in couples than mulattoes, who, in their turn, were almost twice as likely as Negroes to form single-parent households.

This picture changes when specific location is considered. In the region as a whole, Negroes accounted for six of every ten black males who lived in family households in 1850/52. In California, where over seventy percent of the Negro males lived, only slightly more than half were found in two-parent households. Male mulattoes in Oregon Territory represented an equal proportion of their intraracial population, but more than eight of every ten lived in two-parent households. The same proportion prevailed among Negro males in Oregon. In Utah all males were Negro, and each lived in a two-parent household. This pattern suggests a relationship between local conditions, be they political, social or economic, and the formation of family household units. It suggests that conditions on the agricultural frontier were more attractive to two-parent family households than to couples or single-parents.²⁰

TABLE 4
Family Households in the West, 1850/52-1860: Black Males by Intraracial Identification and Location

NEGRO: 1850/52									
Type	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Couples	15	25.0	3	15.0	0	0.0	18	21.2	
Two-parent	34	56.7	17	85.0	5	100.0	56	65.9	
One-parent	11	18.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	12.9	
	60		20		5		85		
NEGRO: 1860									
Type	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Wash.		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n %
Couples	206	35.2	6	22.2	2	25.0	5	62.5	219 34.3
Two-parent	369	61.4	19	70.4	6	75.0	3	37.5	397 62.2
One-parent	20	3.4	2	7.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	22 3.5
	595		27		8		8		638
PCP									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
Couples	41		48		25		62		
Two-parent	8		17		-25		-6		
One-parent	-81		7		—		-73		
MULATTO: 1850/52									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Couples	4	25.0	0	0.0	—	—	4	7.3	
Two-parent	6	37.5	33	84.6	—	—	39	70.9	
One-parent	6	37.5	6	15.4	—	—	12	21.8	
	16		39				55		
MULATTO: 1860									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Wash.		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n %
Couples	112	21.3	3	30.0	5	38.5	1	14.3	121 21.8
Two-parent	369	70.1	4	40.0	8	61.5	6	85.7	387 69.6
One-parent	45	8.6	3	30.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	48 8.6
	526		10		13		7		556
PCP									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
Couples	-15		30		38.5		199		
Two-parent	87		53		61.5		-2		
One-parent	-77		95		—		-61		
Regional Totals for Black Males: 1850/52									
	Negro		Mulatto		Total				
	n	%	n	%					%
Couples	18	21.2	4	7.3	22				15.7
Two-parent	56	65.9	39	70.9	95				67.9
One-parent	11	12.9	12	21.8	23				16.4
Totals	85		55		140				
%	60.7		39.3						

1860						
	Negro		Mulatto		Total	%
	n	%	n	%		
Couples	219	34.3	121	21.8	340	28.5
Two-parent	397	62.2	387	69.6	784	65.6
One-parent	22	3.5	48	8.6	70	5.9
Totals	638		556		1194	
%	53.4		46.6			

PCP*			
	Negro	Mulatto	Total
Couples	62	199	82
Two-parent	-6	-2	-3
One-parent	-73	-61	-64

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.
PCP*—The PCP for the region includes the population of Washington Territory.

Far less problematic is the relationship between family households, in whatever variation, and the prevailing sex ratio (males per 100 females) of a given society. In 1850/52, black males in California outnumbered black females by more than seven to one. But in Oregon and Utah Territories, sex ratios approached equality.²¹ On the basis of such ratios alone, black males in the territories had greater opportunity to establish family households at the beginning of the 1850s than did Californians.

The disparity between the rates at which Negroes and mulattoes established family households is nonetheless instructive. The category with the least degree of variance in 1850/52 was the two-parent household. Both intraracial groups were within 3 percent of the regional average of 67.9 percent. Single-parent households had a regional average of 16.4 percent. Negro males fell twenty-seven percent below and mulattoes thirty-three percent above this average. The broadest range of difference between the two groups was found within couples where the regional average was 15.7 percent. Negro males were nearly three times more prominent than mulattoes in this category.

Population growth during the 1850s increased the number of males in the region by 110 percent, and the proportion of males in the various family household categories nearly four-fold.²² The proportion of mulattoes within the male population increased to 46.6 percent, and the 7:1 male bias in sex ratios in 1850/52 was reduced to 2:1.²³

Table 4 also demonstrates how improved sex ratios, particularly in California, led directly to the establishment of more couples and two-parent households as well as to the decline of single-parent households among black males. Despite a proportional decline in the territories and overall, the regional totals reveal that the central tendency of both intraracial groups to reside in two-parent family households continued in 1860. (Washington Territory is included for purposes of illustration and is a factor only in the regional

comparisons of the two census periods.)²⁴ Mulattoes continued to be slightly more prevalent than Negroes in two-parent households in the region as a whole, but both groups experienced modest declines from the levels established in 1850/52. Mulatto males continued to be slightly over-represented and Negroes slightly under-represented when measured against the 65.6 percent regional average for this household category.

The proportion of couples within each intraracial group increased dramatically. Negroes experienced a sixty-two percent increase over the proportion which prevailed in 1850/52; mulattoes increased by 199 percent. Shifts within this category reduced the degree of Negro predominance, but a sizable gap (12.5 percent) remained. The proportion of single-parent households declined by seventy-three and sixty-one percent for Negroes and mulattoes, respectively. This household category had the most narrow range (5.1 percent) of variation between the intraracial groups.

Black females experienced the same pattern of change as males over the decade. As shown in Table 5, females were heavily concentrated within two-parent households in 1850/52.²⁵ As with black males, this was most characteristic in the territories where sex ratios were most balanced.²⁶ For the region as a whole, mulattoes, who were a slight majority among the black females who resided in family households, were 11.3 percent more prominent than Negroes in two-parent households. They were also more than twice as likely to reside as single-parents. The proportion of Negro females who lived in couples, however, was nearly five times greater than that of mulattoes.

By 1860 the black female population of the West had grown by 410 percent as compared to the 110 percent for males. The number who lived in family households increased by twenty-eight percent, and included seventy percent of the females in the region.²⁷ The slight mulatto majority was reversed, as Negroes now accounted for nearly fifty-two percent of the female population. The dominant position of two-parent households continued, but was 11.1 percent less frequent for all black females than in 1850/52. This decline was equal across intraracial lines, but the basic pattern of mulatto over-representation and Negro under-representation continued.

The decline in two-parent households helped to reduce the wide disparity between Negroes and mulattoes in the couples and single-parent categories. Negroes continued to be over-represented as couples, but the proportion of mulattoes in this category increased by 359 percent. The decline of single-parentage was general, but most pronounced among mulattoes. As a result, the representation of mulattoes and Negroes became more even.

Table 6 also reveals a change in the pattern of household formation in California as compared to the other areas of the West. Unlike the situation in 1850/52, when the proportion of females in two-parent households was characteristically higher in the territories than in California, a degree of

TABLE 5
Family Households in the West, 1850/52-1860: Black Females by Intraracial Identification and Location

NEGRO: 1850/52									
Type	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Couples	13	38.2	1	5.9	0	0.0	14	24.6	
Two-parent	19	55.9	16	94.1	4	66.7	39	68.4	
One-parent	2	5.9	0	0.0	2	33.3	4	7.0	
	34		17		6		57		
NEGRO: 1860									
Type	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Wash.		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n %
Couples	167	36.0	6	24.0	1	7.7	3	100.0	177 35.1
Two-parent	269	57.0	14	56.0	12	92.3	0	0.0	295 58.4
One-parent	28	6.0	5	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	33 6.5
	464		25		13		3		505
PCP*									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
Couples	-6		307		—		43		
Two-parent	2		-40		38		-15		
One-parent	2		20		100		-7		
MULATTO: 1850/52									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Couples	2	18.2	1	2.1	—	—	3	5.1	
Two-parent	7	63.6	40	83.3	—	—	47	79.7	
One-parent	2	18.2	7	14.6	—	—	9	15.2	
	11		48				59		
MULATTO: 1860									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Wash.		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n %
Couples	106	23.7	2	14.3	1	25.0	—	—	109 23.4
Two-parent	305	68.1	9	64.3	3	75.0	—	—	317 68.0
One-parent	37	8.2	3	21.4	0	—	—	—	40 8.6
	448		14		4				466
PCP*									
	Calif.		Oregon		Utah		Total		
Couples	30		581		—		359		
Two-parent	7		-23		—		-15		
One-parent	-55		-47		—		-43		
Regional Totals for Black Females: 1850/52									
	Negro		Mulatto		Total				
	n	%	n	%					%
Couples	14	24.6	3	5.1	17				14.7
Two-parent	39	68.4	47	79.7	86				74.1
One-parent	4	7.0	9	15.2	13				11.2
Totals	57		59		116				
%	49.1		50.9						

	1860					
	Negro		Mulatto		Total	%
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%		
Couples	177	35.1	109	23.4	289	29.5
Two-parent	295	58.4	317	68.0	612	63.0
One-parent	33	6.5	40	8.6	73	7.5
Totals	505		466		971	
%	51.9		48.1			

	PCP*		
	Negro	Mulatto	Total
Couples	43	359	101
Two-parent	-15	-15	-15
One-parent	-7	-43	-33

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.
PCP*—The PCP for the region includes the population of Washington Territory.

leveling had occurred throughout the region by 1860. The increase in couples was a general pattern, as was the decline in single-parentage.

To summarize, population growth during the 1850s increased the proportion of black males and reduced the concentration of black females in two-parent households. The proportion of couples increased for both genders, while that of single-parents declined. Within this changing context of population size and household formation, mulattoes, males and females, continued to display disproportionately high frequencies in both the two-parent and single-parent categories. Negroes of both genders were over-represented within couples at both ends of the decade.

The consistency of these patterns suggest that intraracial identification in the frontier West may have had a significant impact on the formation of family household patterns regardless of gender. But such patterns may also illustrate the relative age of the two intraracial populations. Demographic theory implies that the consistent over-representation of Negroes in couples may be a sign that they were younger than their mulatto peers at both census dates. Two- and single-parent households, on the other hand, are associated with older age segments of the population, and the disproportionate size of the mulatto population in these categories may confirm that mulattoes were relatively older than their Negro peers.

The evidence points clearly to the leveling which occurred over the decade. The proportion of mulattoes in couples increased by 199 and 359 percent for males and females. Negroes also experienced sizable increases in this category (sixty-two and forty-three percent for males and females), and the disparity in the proportions of the two intraracial groups declined.

Nativity

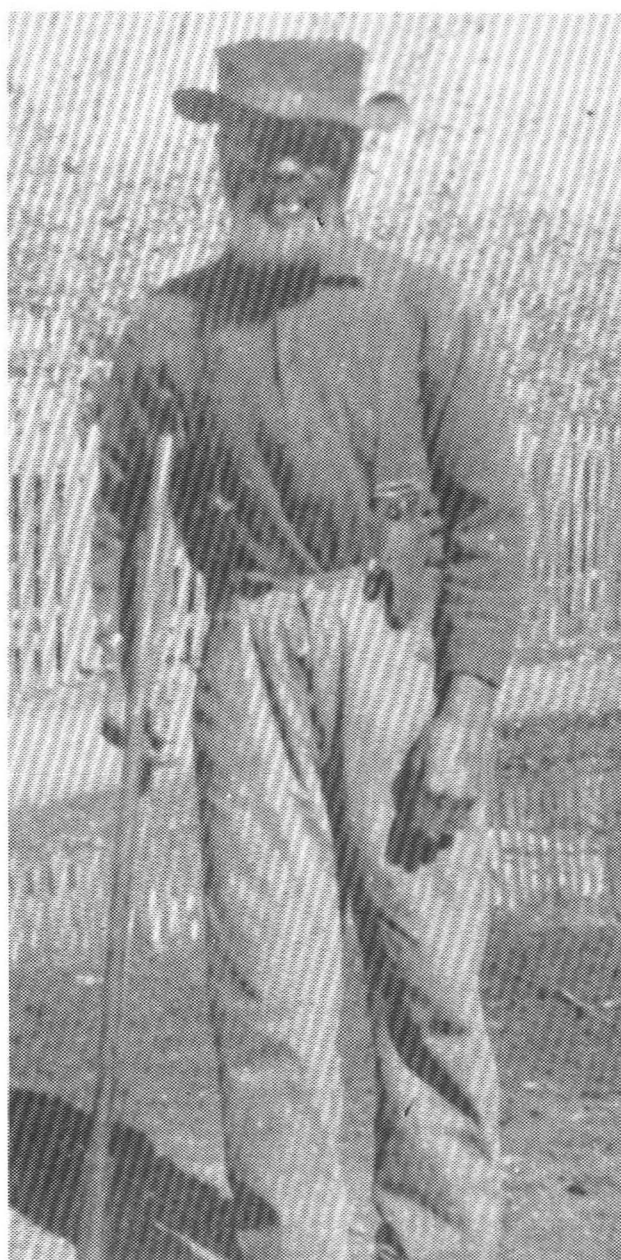
The nativity of individuals is the last variable to be correlated with household organization. Before proceeding with that discussion, the general pat-

tern of nativity for the entire population must be established. As shown in Table 6, black males and females displayed different patterns of nativity at the beginning of the decade. Nativity in the South was predominant for both sexes, but here all similarities end. Among males, nativity in the North was second in significance, but was only 4.7 percent more frequent than birth abroad. Only five of every hundred black males were native to the West. Among females, birth in the West was second in frequency and was characteristic of nearly one quarter of that population. Nativity in the North and abroad differed by less than one percent among females.

This basic pattern changed in 1860. Southern nativity remained characteristic for both genders, but the proportion of the population native to the North increased 9.4 and 65.7 percent among males and females, respectively. The earlier equality between females from the North and abroad became a 4:1 predominance of Northerners over the foreign-born. Foreign nativity declined by more than half among males, but remained twice as frequent for them as for females. The proportion of males native to the West more than doubled. Despite a slight decline here for females, they continued to be twice as frequently native to the West as males. The combined proportions from the North and South accounted for the nativity of seven of every ten blacks in the West.

Table 7 introduces intraracial identification to the changing pattern of nativity, and produces a somewhat different picture. The 1850/52 patterns of Negro and mulatto males were quite different. Negroes were nearly twice as frequently native to the North and nearly two and one-half times as frequently native to the South than mulattoes. Mulatto males, conversely, were more than fourteen times more frequently native to the West and two and one-half times more frequently native to foreign lands than Negroes.

The introduction of intraracial distinctions altered the pattern of black females as well. Eight in ten Negroes were native to the North and South;



Washington Young lived in Markleeville, California and remembered Marquis de Lafayette's visit to the U.S. in 1924. Photo c. 1860s. (Nevada Historical Society)

TABLE 6
Nativity of the Black Population of the West, 1850/52-1860: By Gender

	1850/52		1860		PCP
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
MALES					
North	419	28.7	964	31.4	9.4
South	616	42.2	1284	41.9	−.7
West	75	5.1	336	11.0	116.0
Foreign	350	24.0	483	15.7	−34.6
	1460 ^a		3067 ^b	RRPG = 110%	
	Sex ratio = 549		Sex ratio = 226		
FEMALES					
North	45	16.9	380	28.0	65.7
South	116	43.6	581	42.8	−1.8
West	62	23.3	301	22.2	−4.7
Foreign	43	16.2	96	7.1	−56.2
	266		1358 ^c	RRPG = 411%	

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.
^a Includes one male for whom intraracial identification is unknown.
^b Includes five males for whom intraracial identification is unknown.
^c Includes six females for whom intraracial identification is unknown.
PCP = growth or decline in the percentage of blacks coming from each region.
RRPG = Relative rate of population growth.

Regional Legend: **North includes:** NEW ENGLAND—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont; MIDDLE ATLANTIC—New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania; EAST NORTH CENTRAL—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin; WEST NORTH CENTRAL—Dakota Territory, Iowa, Kansas, Kansas Territory, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska Territory, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota. **South includes:** SOUTH ATLANTIC—Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, District of Columbia; EAST SOUTH CENTRAL—Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, WEST SOUTH CENTRAL—Arkansas, Indian Territory, Louisiana, Louisiana Territory, Oklahoma, Texas. **West includes:** MOUNTAIN—Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico Territory, New Mexico, Utah Territory, Utah, Wyoming; PACIFIC—California, Oregon Territory, Oregon, Washington, Washington Territory. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Negro Population: 1790-1915* (Washington: GPO, 1918): 37.

fewer than three in ten mulattoes traced these nativities. The proportion of mulattoes native to the West was fifteen times greater than that of Negroes. The proportional difference between the two groups was most narrow in foreign nativity. The more striking distinction is that twice as many mulattoes reported foreign as reported northern nativity.

Although its range declined, the early pattern of predominance of the various nativities continued to 1860. The predominance of Negro over mulatto males in Northern and Southern nativity continued even though increased proportions of mulattoes with these nativities greatly reduced the range of disparity. Mulattoes continued to be three times more frequently

TABLE 7
Nativity of the Black Population of the West, 1850/52-1860: Intraracial Identification and Gender

	1850/52					1860				
	NEGRO		MULATTO		% Dom.	NEGRO		MULATTO		% Dom.
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%		<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
MALES										
North	361	31.9	57	17.5	14.4 N	611	32.7	352	29.6	3.1 N
South	552	48.7	64	19.6	29.1 N	885	47.3	398	33.4	13.9 N
West	15	1.3	60	18.4	17.1 M	111	5.9	223	18.7	12.8 M
Foreign	205	18.1	145	44.5	26.4 M	264	14.1	218	18.3	4.2 M
Totals	1133		326			1871		1191		
FEMALES										
North	37	22.4	8	7.9	14.5 N	238	33.0	140	22.2	10.8 N
South	97	58.8	19	18.8	40.0 N	340	47.2	240	38.0	9.2 N
West	6	3.6	56	55.4	51.8 M	99	13.7	200	31.7	18.0 M
Foreign	25	15.2	18	17.8	2.6 M	44	6.1	51	8.1	2.0 M
Totals	165		101			721		631		
DOMINANCE WITHIN GROUPS BY PERCENT										
	1850/52			% Dom.		1860			% Dom.	
	Males	Females				Males	Females			
NEGROS										
North	31.9	22.4		9.5	M	32.7	33.0		.3	F
South	48.7	58.8		10.1	F	47.3	47.2		.1	M
West	1.3	3.6		2.3	F	5.9	13.7		7.8	F
Foreign	18.1	15.2		2.9	M	14.1	6.1		8.0	M
MULATTOES										
North	17.5	7.9		9.6	M	29.6	22.2		7.4	M
South	19.6	18.8		.8	M	33.4	38.0		4.6	F
West	18.4	55.4		37.0	F	18.7	31.7		13.0	F
Foreign	44.5	17.8		26.7	M	18.3	8.1		10.2	M

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.

native to the West than Negroes, even though the proportion of the latter group increased more than threefold. And despite a sizable decline, mulattoes retained a slight predominance within foreign nativity.

The proportion of Negro females who were native to the North and South remained relatively constant. That of mulattoes, however, increased more dramatically (181 and 102 percent) than was the case for mulatto males. By 1860 six in ten were natives of these regions. Equally striking was the decline in the level of mulatto female predominance in western nativity. The proportion of mulattoes continued to be more than twice that of Negroes, but this was nowhere near the fifteenfold mulatto predominance which existed in 1850/52. The narrow disparity within foreign nativity continued to favor mulattoes.

The pattern of gender and nativity is also illustrated in Table 7. Despite

changes in degree, females were predominant over males, both Negro and mulatto, who traced nativity to the West at both censuses. A similar male predominance occurred in foreign nativity. But the proportion of males and females born in the North and South shifted, often dramatically.

The pattern of these changes is summarized more concisely in Table 8, where the interaction between gender, intraracial identity and nativity becomes more clear. If the four populations are compared according to their two primary source areas, Negroes displayed the most consistent pattern of nativity, regardless of gender. Roughly eighty percent of that population came from the North and South at both censuses. The pattern of mulattoes was more diverse. In 1850/52, six in ten males traced foreign and southern nativity. By 1860 the same proportion came from the South and North. Roughly seven in ten mulatto females were born in the West and South at both census dates. The South was consistently the primary source of Negroes, but mulatto nativity varied according to gender, intraracial identity, and census year.

Table 8 also clarifies four general patterns of change. First, the North was the only source area which increased its contribution for all four groups. Second, southern nativity decreased among Negroes, but increased significantly among mulattoes. Third, nativity in the West experienced sizable proportional increases among Negroes, but remained stable for mulatto males and declined significantly among mulatto females. Fourth, the decline in foreign nativity was general for all four groups.

Nativity and Family Household Organization

These general patterns of nativity (Tables 7-8) represent norms. Table 9 isolates the pattern of nativity for those who established family households. It includes intraracial identification and census year, but omits gender and

TABLE 8						
Change in Nativity, 1850/52-1860: By Percent						
	MALES		PCP	FEMALES		PCP
	1850/52	1860		1850/52	1860	
North	31.9	32.7	2.5	22.4	33.0	47.3
South	48.7	47.3	-2.9	58.8	47.2	-19.7
West	1.3	5.9	354.0	3.6	13.7	280.6
Foreign	18.1	14.1	-22.1	15.2	6.1	-59.9
MULATTOES						
North	17.5	29.6	69.1	7.9	22.2	181.0
South	19.6	33.4	70.4	18.8	38.0	102.1
West	18.4	18.7	1.6	55.4	31.7	-42.8
Foreign	44.5	18.3	-58.9	17.8	8.1	-54.5

Source: Compiled from MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52; MS, 1860.

specific location. The totals by nativity reveal that those who were native to the West displayed the highest proportional representation within the various family household categories in 1850/52, and the second highest representation overall.²⁸ In the context of an eightfold increase in the number of blacks who lived in family households in 1860, but only a fourfold increase in western nativity, such consistency suggests a link between nativity and family household organization. It also demonstrates the obvious link between nativity, family household formation, and local sex ratios. The formation of family households was always more likely where sex ratios were low.

Table 9 also illustrates that couples in 1850/52 were dominated by black Southerners at more than a 2:1 margin over black Northerners. Blacks born abroad lived in couples only slightly more frequently than native Westerners. This same basic pattern was repeated in 1860. Southerners continued their predominance in the couples category, but by 9.5 percent less than was the case in 1850/52. The proportion of Northerners in this household type grew slightly, that of Westerners declined, and the foreign-born increased by six percent.

Two-parent households experienced a slightly different pattern of change. Western nativity was dominant in 1850/52, followed by nativity in the South and North. Blacks born abroad formed two-parent households three times less frequently than the lowest (northern) domestic nativity. In 1860 the South replaced the West as the dominant nativity for two-parent households. The proportion of northerners increased marginally, while the foreign-born was relatively static.

Single-parent households had yet another pattern in relation to nativity. Natives of the West and North were represented in the same proportion in 1850/52. The same was true of Southerners and the foreign-born. Black Westerners became dominant within this household category in 1860. The proportion of Southerners increased, while those of Northerners and the foreign-born declined.

These patterns suggest several possibilities regarding the interaction between nativity and family household formation, but only one will be mentioned here. The extremely low proportion of Westerners in the couples category at both censuses suggest that they were older than the emigrant population. This suggestion is reinforced by the large representation of Westerners in single-parent households at both censuses, and in two-parent households in 1850/52. Their proportional decline in the latter category in 1860 reflects growth in the proportion of the population here which came from the North and South. It suggests that the emigrant population now included a higher proportion of older members than had been the case in 1850/52.²⁹ But even with the decline, the proportion of Westerners in two-parent households remained equal to their average representation across all household categories.³⁰

TABLE 9
The Nativity of the Black Population of the West, 1850/52-1860: Family Household Type by Intraracial Identification

	North		South		West		Foreign		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%		
COUPLES, 1850/52										
Negro	8	25.0	21	65.6	1	3.1	2	6.3	32	
Mulatto	<u>3</u>	42.9	<u>2</u>	28.6	<u>1</u>	14.3	<u>1</u>	14.3	<u>7</u>	
Total	11		23		2		3		39	
Percent	28.2		59.0		5.1		7.7			
COUPLES, 1860										
Negro	125	31.6	209	52.8	9	2.3	53	13.4	396	
Mulatto	<u>77</u>	33.5	<u>101</u>	43.9	<u>19</u>	8.3	<u>33</u>	14.3	<u>230</u>	
Total	202		310		28		86		626	
Percent	32.3		49.5		4.5		13.7			
TWO-PARENT, 1850/52										
Negro	29	30.5	52	54.7	7	7.4	7	7.4	95	
Mulatto	<u>8</u>	9.3	<u>6</u>	7.0	<u>67</u>	77.9	<u>5</u>	5.8	<u>86</u>	
Total	37		58		74		12		181	
Percent	20.4		32.0		40.9		6.6			
TWO-PARENT, 1860										
Negro	204	29.5	296	42.8	147	21.2	45	6.5	692	
Mulatto	<u>147</u>	20.9	<u>248</u>	35.2	<u>260</u>	36.9	<u>49</u>	7.0	<u>704</u>	
Total	351		544		407		94		1396	
Percent	25.1		39.0		29.2		6.7			
SINGLE-PARENT, 1850/52										
Negro	8	53.3	4	26.7	1	6.7	2	13.3	15	
Mulatto	<u>6</u>	28.6	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>13</u>	61.9	<u>2</u>	9.5	<u>21</u>	
Total	14		4		14		4		36	
Percent	38.9		11.1		38.9		11.1			
SINGLE-PARENT, 1860										
Negro	20	36.4	16	29.1	12	21.8	7	12.7	55	
Mulatto	<u>17</u>	19.3	<u>19</u>	21.6	<u>48</u>	54.5	<u>4</u>	4.5	<u>88</u>	
Total	37		35		60		11		143	
Percent	25.9		24.5		42.0		7.7			
TOTALS BY NATIVITY										
	North		South		West		Foreign		Total	%
1850/52	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%		
Negro	45	31.7	77	54.2	9	6.3	11	7.7	142	55.5
Mulatto	<u>17</u>	14.9	<u>8</u>	7.0	<u>81</u>	71.1	<u>8</u>	7.0	<u>114</u>	44.5
Combined	62	24.2	85	33.2	90	35.2	19	7.4	256	
1860										
Negro	349	30.5	521	45.6	168	14.7	105	9.2	1143	52.8
Mulatto	<u>241</u>	23.6	<u>368</u>	36.0	<u>327</u>	32.0	<u>86</u>	8.4	<u>1022</u>	47.2
Combined	590	27.3	889	41.1	495	22.9	191	8.8	2165	

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*; *MS, 1860*.

Table 9 also reiterates the degree to which the formation of the various family households was related to intraracial identity. Special attention should be given to the two-parent households and to changes in the proportion of Negroes and mulattoes within this category over the decade. The total number of blacks increased by nearly eightfold over the decade. This involved a sevenfold increase among Negroes and an eightfold increase among mulattoes. The proportion of mulattoes, as a result, increased from 47.5 percent in 1850/52 to 50.4 percent in 1869. This means that mulatto overrepresentation in this household category continued, but was reduced from 22.7 to 9.1 percent.³¹

A decade of population growth changed the pattern of nativity for the intraracial groups, and for each of the family households as well. Among mulattoes in the two-parent households in 1860, Northerners and Southerners experienced proportional increases of 11.2 and 28.2 percent, respectively. The West continued to be the source of the largest proportion of mulattoes in two-parent households, but its contribution declined by forty-one percent. This change produced a leveling in the representation of the domestic nativities within this household category. Leveling also occurred among Negroes, as an 11.9 percent decrease in Southerners was offset by a 13.8 percent increase in the proportion of Westerners. Negro Northerners, meanwhile, maintained the same representation established in 1850/52.

Leveling also characterized the couples category. Negro Southerners continued as the largest contingent, but were 12.8 percent less prominent than in 1850/52. Negroes from the North and abroad experienced gains of 6.1 and 7.1 percent, respectively. More dramatic change occurred among mulattoes. By 1860, the proportion of mulatto Southerners living in couples increased by 15.3 percent. Those born in the North and West, conversely, declined by 9.4 and six percent, respectively.

The most interesting feature of the single-parent category was the continuing high proportion of representation for mulatto Westerners. Negroes from the North and West, respectively, experienced a proportional decline of 16.9, and an increase of 15.1 percent in this category.

Tables 10 and 11 are summary tables which include each of the influences on the formation of black family households addressed in this essay. The intent of these tables is to assess the relative importance of each of the variables in 1850/52 and 1860. Table 10 indicates that in 1850/52, each household category displayed a different relationship to intraracial identification, gender and location. The couples category, for instance, appears to have been more strongly influenced by the intraracial identification than by any other factor. Among both males and females, Negroes accounted for more than eight of every ten persons who lived in couples. Location was also important, for the magnetic mining frontier of California was the home of 87.2 percent of all such households.

TABLE 10
The Nativity of the Black Population of the West, 1850/52: Family Household Type, by Gender,
Intraracial Identification and Locality

	MALES				FEMALES				Total	%
	Negro		Mulatto		Negro		Mulatto			
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%		
COUPLES										
California										
North	4	26.7	1	25.0	3	23.1	2	100.0	10	29.4
South	9	60.0	2	50.0	9	69.3	0	0.0	20	58.8
West	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.6	0	0.0	1	2.9
Foreign	2	13.3	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	8.5
	15		4		13		2		34	
Oregon										
North	1	33.3	—	—	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0
South	2	66.7	—	—	1	100.0	0	0.0	3	60.0
West	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	20.0
Foreign	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	3				1		1		5	
Total	18		4		14		3		39	
Percent	81.8		18.2		82.4		17.6			
TWO-PARENT										
California										
North	10	29.4	2	33.3	5	26.3	2	28.6	19	28.8
South	21	61.8	2	33.3	13	68.4	3	42.9	39	59.1
West	1	2.9	2	33.3	0	0.0	2	28.6	5	7.6
Foreign	2	5.9	0	0.0	1	5.3	0	0.0	3	4.5
	34		6		19		7		66	
Oregon										
North	5	29.5	4	12.1	4	25.1	0	0.0	13	12.3
South	8	47.1	1	3.0	9	56.3	0	0.0	18	17.0
West	3	17.6	25	75.8	2	12.5	38	95.0	68	64.2
Foreign	1	5.9	3	9.1	1	6.3	2	5.0	7	6.6
	17		33		16		40		106	
Utah										
North	3	60.0	—	—	2	50.0	—	—	5	55.6
South	1	20.0	—	—	0	0.0	—	—	1	11.1
West	1	20.0	—	—	0	0.0	—	—	1	11.1
Foreign	0	0.0	—	—	2	50.0	—	—	2	22.2
	5				4				9	
Total	56		39		39		47		181	
Percent	58.9		41.1		45.3		54.7			
SINGLE-PARENT										
California										
North	7	63.6	5	83.3	1	50.0	1	50.0	14	66.7
South	3	27.3	0	0.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	4	19.0
West	1	9.1	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	50.0	3	14.3
Foreign	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	11		6		2		2		21	

Oregon										
North	—	—	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0	0	0.0
South	—	—	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0	0	0.0
West	—	—	6	100.0	—	—	5	71.4	11	84.6
Foreign	—	—	<u>0</u>	0.0	—	—	<u>2</u>	28.6	<u>2</u>	15.4
			6				7		13	
Utah										
North	—	—	—	—	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0
South	—	—	—	—	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0
West	—	—	—	—	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0
Foreign	—	—	—	—	<u>2</u>	100.0	—	—	<u>2</u>	100.0
					2				2	
Total	11		12		4		9		36	
Percent	47.8		52.2		30.8		69.2			
TOTALS	85	33.2	55	21.5	57	22.3	59	23.0	256	

Source: Compiled from *MS, 1850*; *MS, 1850/52*.

TABLE 11
The Nativity of the Black Population of the West, 1860: Family Household Type by Gender, Intraracial Identification and Locality

	MALES				FEMALES				Total	%
	Negro		Mulatto		Negro		Mulatto			
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%		
COUPLES										
California										
North	57	27.7	38	34.0	53	31.7	38	35.8	186	31.5
South	114	53.3	52	46.4	88	52.7	43	40.6	297	50.3
West	2	1.0	4	3.6	7	4.2	14	13.2	27	4.6
Foreign	33	16.0	18	16.1	19	11.4	11	10.4	81	13.7
	206		112		167		106		591	
Oregon										
North	4	66.7	0	0.0	3	50.0	0	0.0	7	41.2
South	2	33.3	2	66.7	3	50.0	2	100.0	9	52.9
West	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.9
Foreign	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	6		3		6		2		17	
Utah										
North	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	2	22.2
South	1	50.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	33.3
West	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Foreign	0	0.0	3	60.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	4	44.4
	2		5		1		1		9	
Washington										
North	4	80.0	1	100.0	2	66.7	—	—	7	77.8
South	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	—	—	1	11.1
West	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	—	—	0	0.0

Foreign	<u>1</u>	20.0	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>0</u>	0.0	—	—	<u>1</u>	11.1
	5		1		3				9	
Total	219		121		177		109		626	
Percent	64.4		35.6		61.9		38.1			

TWO-PARENT
California

North	97	26.3	78	21.1	93	34.6	59	19.3	327	24.9
South	163	44.1	130	35.2	115	42.8	111	36.4	519	39.6
West	74	20.1	129	35.0	55	20.4	121	39.7	379	28.9
Foreign	<u>35</u>	9.5	<u>32</u>	8.7	<u>6</u>	2.2	<u>14</u>	4.6	<u>87</u>	6.6
	369		369		269		305		1312	

Oregon

North	6	31.6	0	0.0	3	21.4	2	22.2	11	23.9
South	7	36.9	1	25.0	6	42.9	3	33.3	17	37.0
West	5	26.3	3	75.0	5	35.7	3	33.3	16	34.8
Foreign	<u>1</u>	5.3	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>1</u>	11.1	<u>2</u>	4.3
	19		4		14		9		46	

Utah

North	3	50.1	3	37.5	1	8.3	1	33.3	8	27.6
South	1	16.7	2	25.0	3	25.0	1	33.3	9	24.1
West	1	16.7	2	25.0	7	58.3	1	33.3	11	37.9
Foreign	<u>1</u>	16.7	<u>1</u>	12.5	<u>1</u>	8.3	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>3</u>	10.3
	6		8		12		3		29	

Washington

North	1	33.3	4	66.7	—	—	—	—	5	55.6
South	1	33.3	0	0.0	—	—	—	—	1	11.1
West	0	0.0	1	16.7	—	—	—	—	1	11.1
Foreign	<u>1</u>	33.3	<u>1</u>	16.7	—	—	—	—	<u>2</u>	22.2
	3		6						9	

Total	397		387		295		317		1396	
Percent	50.6		49.4		48.2		51.8			

SINGLE-PARENT
California

North	6	30.0	8	17.9	7	25.0	7	18.9	28	21.5
South	6	30.0	6	13.3	10	35.7	12	32.4	34	26.2
West	6	30.0	29	64.4	6	21.4	16	43.2	57	43.8
Foreign	<u>2</u>	10.0	<u>2</u>	4.4	<u>5</u>	17.9	<u>2</u>	5.4	<u>11</u>	8.5
	20		45		28		37		130	

Oregon

North	2	100.0	2	66.7	5	100.0	0	0.0	9	69.2
South	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	1	7.7
West	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	66.7	3	23.1
Foreign	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>0</u>	0.0	<u>0</u>	0.0
	2		3		5		3		13	

Total	22		48		33		40		143	
Percent	31.4		68.6		45.2		54.8			

TOTALS	638	29.5	556	25.7	505	23.3	466	21.5	2165	
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Source: Compiled from MS, 1860.

Intraracial identification was less important to the formation of two-parent households. Negro males were proportionally more conspicuous than mulattoes, but the opposite was true of black females. The importance of location was again obvious, for more than six of every ten two-parent households were located outside California despite the fact that the Golden State contained nine of every ten blacks in the region.³²

Single-parent households, like couples, were most strongly influenced by intraracial identification. Among both males and females, mulattoes (52.2 and 69.2 percent, respectively) were more conspicuous here than Negroes. The importance of location to this household form was underscored by the fact that nearly six of every ten was also located in California in 1850/52.

Table 11 reveals the consistency of these patterns over the decade. Intraracial identification continued to be the key to the formation of couples, where Negro males and females continued to be dominant, albeit by greatly reduced proportions. The population growth of the decade also increased the importance of location in the formation of this household type, for by 1860 California was the home of nine of every ten blacks who resided in couples.

In two-parent households, Negro males continued to be slightly more prominent (50.6 to 49.4 percent) than their mulatto peers, and mulatto females (51.8 percent) maintained their position relative to Negro females (48.2 percent). The pattern of such households, therefore, remained the same as at the beginning of the decade, even though the disparity in the representation of the two intraracial groups was reduced. The change in the importance of location in the formation of two-parent households seems more important. California, which accounted for just 36.5 percent of all such households in 1850/52, now accounted for ninety-four percent. This proportion mirrored the proportion of the total black regional population that was resident in the Golden State.³³

Single-parent households continued to be strongly influenced by intraracial identification. Mulatto males were now 16.4 percent more prominent here than Negroes, and the early 4.4 percent disparity between the groups grew to 37.2 percent. Among females, the 38.4 percent disparity was reduced by 27.6 percent in 1860, but mulattoes continued to be nearly 10 percent more prominent than Negroes. The role of location also changed. The proportion of single-parent households in California increased from six in ten to over nine in ten.

The summary tables clarify some of the broader aspects of black population growth during the decade of the 1850s by addressing the effect of such growth on the formation of family households within the black community. The 1860 population contained a greater proportion of females, particularly females of marriageable age, than was the case in 1850/52. The manner by which these females came West, whether as members of established family households or lone individuals, cannot be determined. But their entrance into the frontier

milieu had profound effect on household formation. The most important and immediate was to reduce the highly imbalanced sex ratios which had typified the mining frontier at the beginning of the decade. The predominance of two-parent households in the territories in 1850/52 confirms the importance of this household type in the settlement of the western agricultural frontier.

The reduced sex ratios of 1860 allowed the proportion of couples to double at the same time that single-parentage was reduced by half. It was within this context that two-parent households experienced a slight decline. But this household form was the norm of black family household organization in the West by 1860.

Conclusions

The pattern of family household organization during the decade of the 1850s established the two-parent household as the norm for the vast majority of blacks throughout the region. Childless couples comprised the second most frequent family household arrangement, and was the only category to experience proportional growth through the decade among both males and females, regardless of intraracial identification. The single-parent household was consistently the least frequent household form, and it declined dramatically among males of both intraracial groups, and less so among females.

Gender was of obvious importance to the formation of each of the various household types, for the absence of females made all, save male-headed single-parent households, impossible. What is important here, however, is change in the concentration of the sexes in each of the household forms. Females were concentrated in the two-parent households in 1850/52; couples and single-parent households were less viable family types for females than for males. By 1860 this pattern had changed. The proportion of black males in two-parent households was slightly higher than that of females. This change was balanced by a reversal in the marked disparity between males and females in the couples category, where the proportion of females in 1860 was one percent higher than that of males. The proportion of females residing as single-parents declined over the decade, but less dramatically than was the case for males. As a result, a slightly greater proportion of females than males were included in single-parent households at the end of the decade.

Intraracial identification appears to have been more important than gender as an influence on family household formation. Among both males and females, the disparity between the proportion of Negroes and mulattoes who established such households was more distinct in 1850/52 than in 1860, but at each period mulattoes, male and female, were more heavily concentrated within two-parent and single-parent households than Negroes. Negroes maintained a consistent pattern of predominance in childless couples. All of these patterns suggest that mulattoes were relatively older than Negroes and

therefore more likely to have produced children and suffered the loss of a spouse.

The influence of location on the formation of the various household types is as obvious as that of gender. As a general rule, the possibility of establishing any family household form is linked directly to local sex ratios. It is axiomatic, then, that gender and location operated in consort. More balanced sex ratios provided greater opportunities to establish family household forms. The relatively lower sex ratios of the territories encouraged the highest frequencies of two-parent households to be found among either males or females in 1850/52. As the sex ratio became more balanced in California during the 1850s, the proportion of two-parent households began to approach the levels obtained in the territories. More balanced sex ratios at the local level may also account for the general decline of single-parent households as well.

The influence of nativity is more difficult to assess, but certain relationships seem clear. There appears to have been a direct relationship between birth within the host region and high proportions of two-parent and single-parent households at both ends of the decade. Those who were born in the North were over-represented in couples and single-parent households, and under-represented in two-parent households in 1850/52. The only change in 1860 was a proportional under-representation of Northerners in single-parent households. Southerners had a more consistent pattern. They were over-represented among couples, and under-represented within two- and single-parent households at both ends of the decade. Individuals born abroad displayed yet another pattern. At the beginning of the decade the proportion of foreigners in both couples and two-parent households was nearly equal to their proportion within the population which formed family households. The only category in which that equality did not exist was the single-parent form, where the foreign-born were over-represented. By 1860, this pattern had shifted. The foreign-born were over-represented in couples and single-parent households, and under-represented in two-parent households.

Beyond this, the relationship between nativity and family household formation remains ambiguous. The role of nativity, then, is the least obvious of all the variables explored here. Its influence, like gender or location, can only be gauged in combination with other factors.

Because of their interaction, the task of assigning primacy to one of the individual variables becomes unavoidably subjective. The factor which stands out most singly in importance is intraracial identity. The rates at which Negroes and mulattoes established the various family households were different, and independent of the proportion of each group within the black population as a whole. These rates shifted over time and place, but the patterns of the intraracial groups remained distinct. These patterns also transcend gender, as they pertain to both males and females. Nor can they be explained by the population dynamics of the mining or agricultural frontiers.

The interaction of each of the variables suggest, therefore, that intraracial identity was the most important single influence on family household formation within the black community of the West during the mid-nineteenth century.

NOTES

¹ For a full discussion of the Moynihan report and its policy implications during the 1960s, see Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). One critic maintains that according to Moynihan, "the central defect of American Negro life is the 'matrifocal' family, in which the male is a transient who provides neither a regular income, consistent discipline and direction, nor an example to his sons of what they might hope to become as adults. . . ." The distinct inference is that this "matrifocal" family structure was a product of the institution of slavery. Christopher Jencks, "The Moynihan Report," in Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy*, 443.

² See especially Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York, 1976), and "Persistent Myths about the Afro-American Family," in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1978); Paul J. Lammermeier, "The Urban Black Family of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Black Family Structure in the Ohio Valley, 1850-1880," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 35 (August 1973): 440-456; Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston 1865-1900* (New York, 1979), and "The Two-Parent Household: Black Family Structure in Late Nineteenth Century Boston," *Journal of Social History* (1972/73): 3-31; James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion, and Folklife in the City, 1850-1970* (Urbana, 1980); Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., Theodore Hershberg, and John Modell, "The Origins of the Female-Headed Black Family: The Impact of the Urban Experience," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6:2 (1975): 211-233; Theodore Hershberg, "Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia: A Study of Ex-Slaves, Freeborn, and Socioeconomic Decline," *Journal of Social History* 5 (1971/72): 183-209; Crandall A. Shifflett, "The Household Composition of Rural Black Families: Louisa County, Virginia, 1880," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6:2 (1975): 235-260; Peter Laslett, "Household and Family on the Slave Plantation of the U.S.A.," in Peter Laslett, ed., *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977): 233-260; Elmer P. Martin and Joanne Mitchell Martin, *The Black Extended Family* (Chicago, 1977); Demetri B. Shimkin, Edith M. Shimkin, and Dennis A. Frate, eds., *The Extended Family in Black Societies* (The Hague, 1978); Harriette Pipes McAdoo, *Black Families* (Beverly Hills, CA., 1981). For a brief but important critique of the principal arguments contained in the literature, see: Shepard Krech III, "Black Family Organization in the Nineteenth Century: An Ethnological Perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12:3 (Winter 1982): 429-453.

³ This methodological compromise is forced by the failure of the schedules of the federal census of 1850 to include complete returns for the state of California. Information on the black populations of the three missing California counties (San Francisco, Contra Costa and Santa Clara) was compiled from the schedules of the California State Census of 1852. Explanations for the missing counties can be found in: U.S. Census Office, 7th Census, 1850, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853): 966. Extrapolations for the missing counties are available in the published census, but because they do not include the age distributions they are of little use here. *Ibid.*, Table I, 982. The merged materials from the manuscripts of the federal and California State censuses (1850 and 1852, respectively) will be cited hereafter as *MS, 1850/52*.

⁴ *Seventh Census, 1850*, xxii. Although marital status was a required piece of information on the census schedules, it was not recorded frequently enough to be useful as an indicator of familial relationships. More useful was the requirement that members of families be recorded in the order in which they were visited, beginning with the parent(s) or other head of household, followed, in decending order by age, by each child. These were followed by other household members such as lodgers, boarders, domestics, servants, etc., each of whom was distinguished by surname. This procedure does not permit the identification of extended family members who may have had different surnames, nor does it permit more than a view of families as residential units. The operation of kinship can only be guessed. *Ibid.*

⁵ Michael S. Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860: A View from the Census," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 28 (1985): 94-96.

⁶ *Eighth Census, 1860*, ix-xii. The census blamed the declension of the free black population on its poor moral conditions that were the heritage of slavery. Chief among these was the "little respect . . . paid to parental rights, or the conjugal relation, and perhaps in part to a condition or estate which tends to depress those ambitious aspirations which are not barren of effect in the promotion of virtue." Emancipation, meanwhile, will "tend to reduce the rate of increase of the colored race, while its diffusion [outside the South] will lead to a more rapid admixture, the tendency of which, judging from the past, will be to impair it physically without improving it morally." Mulattoes, as a proportion of the entire "colored class," increased from 11.15 to 13.25 percent over the decade of the 1850s. By the turn of the century, the black population "must in number and condition be greatly subordinate to the white race, [and] is doomed to comparatively rapid absorption or extinction." *Ibid.*

⁷ H.L. Lefferts, Jr., "Frontier Demography: An Introduction," in David Harry Miller and Jerome O. Steffen, eds., *The Frontier: Comparative Studies* (Norman, 1977): 37-39; Jerome O. Steffen, ed., *The American West: New Perspectives, New Dimensions* (Norman, 1979): 7-8, 44-48; Jack E. Eblen, "An Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Frontier Populations," *Demography* 2 (1965): 412.

⁸ W. Sherman Savage, *Blacks in the West* (Westport, Conn., 1976): 1-3. For a fuller description of black migration to the West see above, chapter 1. A discussion of the range of discrimination they faced can be found in: Michael S. Coray, "Negro and Mulatto in the Pacific West, 1850-1860: Changing Patterns of Black Population Growth," *The Pacific Historian* 29 (1985): 18-27. See also: Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana, 1967): 3-5, 60, 63, 70-73, 78-81, 93-95, 118; Robert W. Johannsen, *Frontier Politics and the Sectional Conflict: The Pacific Northwest on the Eve of the Civil War* (Seattle, 1955): 20, 24; Velesta Jenkins, "White Racism and Black Response in California History," in Charles Wollenberg, ed., *Ethnic Conflict in California History* (Los Angeles, 1970): 124-125; Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1973): 165, 170; Gordon B. Dodds, *The American Northwest: A History of Oregon and Washington* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1986): 82-83, 95; Dorothy O. Johansen, and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1967): 260-262; Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, 5th ed. (New York, 1982): 473, 500, 520, 530; Elmer R. Rusco, "Good Time Coming?": *Black Nevadans in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn., 1975), ch. 1; Douglas Henry Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia, 1980); Rudolph M. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven, 1977); Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (1971): 40-54; Newell G. Bringhurst, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People Within Mormonism* (Westport, Conn., 1981).

⁹ [United States Census Bureau], Original Schedule of the Seventh Census, 1850 [each of the original schedules will be hereafter cited, with appropriate year, as MS]; MS, 1860. For a description of the basic demographic characteristics of the black population see: "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," 90-121.

¹⁰ MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52; MS, 1860.

¹¹ Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," 98.

¹² The regional sex ratio stood at 548.5 males for every 100 females at the beginning of the decade. It declined to 226.5 by 1860, obviously because of a significant increase in the proportion of females in the population. MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52; MS, 1860.

¹³ Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," 107-119.

¹⁴ These proportions reflect only the individuals of known intraracial identification. This amounted to 1,459 persons in 1850/52, and to 4,414 in 1860. MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52; MS, 1860.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* The residential types of the entire black population are discussed in Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," 112-115.

¹⁶ MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52; MS, 1860.

¹⁷ Our count of mulattoes within the West is slightly higher than those available in published sources. Of the 1,725 blacks for whom intraracial identification was known in 1850/52, 24.8 percent were mulattoes. Of the 4,414 blacks who satisfied this criteria in 1860, 41.3 percent were mulatto. The mulatto population also grew at a faster rate than Negroes over the census periods. MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52; MS, 1860; Coray, "Negro and Mulatto in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," 22. Joel Williamson, using published sources, suggests that mulattoes comprised only 11.2 percent of the black national population in 1850. Another widely used published source maintains that mulattoes accounted for 13.2 percent of the black national

population in 1860. Of the three major geographical subdivisions of the United States (the North, South and West), the North was said to contain the highest mulatto component in 1850 (24.8 percent) while the West was close behind (23.4 percent). By 1860 this relationship shifted. The West was now said to contain a black population that was 37.5 percent mulattoes. The North's black population was 20.4 percent mulatto. The South, at each end of the decade, was said to contain the smallest proportion of mulattoes: just 10 and 12.1 percent in 1850 and 1860, respectively. [Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York, 1980): 63] Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington, D.C., 1918): Table 24, p. 220; Table 25, p. 221.

¹⁸ Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," Table 1-1, p. 99.

¹⁹ For 1850/52, the sixty Negroes in California represent just 5.6 percent of the total Negro male population. The twenty in Oregon and the five in Utah represent 74.1 and 50.0 percent of the Negro male population of those two territories. The sixteen mulatto males in California account for 5.9 percent of their peers, while the thirty-nine in Oregon Territory account for 73.6 percent of their peers. Utah contained no mulatto males in 1850/52. The total of 140 individual black males accounts for 9.6 percent of the total black male population of the region in 1850/52. *MS, 1850, MS, 1850/52*.

²⁰ Eblen, "An Analysis of the Nineteenth-Century Frontier Population," 412; Steffen, *The American West*, 44.

²¹ The sex ratios for the black population in each political entity of the Pacific West in 1850/52 were as follows: California, 740.5; Utah, 166.7; Oregon, 106.7. Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," 107, 109, 111.

²² For 1860, the 595 Negro males in California account for 34.2 percent of the state's Negro males. The twenty-seven males in Oregon account for 55.1 percent; the eight in Utah and in Washington account for 34.8 percent of their respective Negro male populations. The 638 individuals designated as Negro account for 34.1 percent of the total Negro male regional population. Among mulattoes, the 526 in California account for 46.2 percent of the male mulattoes; the ten in Oregon account for 43.5 percent; the thirteen in Utah account for 56.5 percent; and the seven in Washington for 87.5 percent of the male mulatto populations of the respective territories. The total of 556 mulatto males amounts to 46.7 percent of the mulatto male population in 1860. The total of 1194 individual black males account for 39.0 percent of the black male population of the region. *MS, 1860*.

²³ The sex ratios of the black population in each political entity of the Pacific West in 1860 were as follows: California, 227.5; Oregon Territory, 151.0; Utah Territory, 191.7; Washington Territory, 1033.3. Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-60," 108, 110-111.

²⁴ The major reason for the exclusion of Washington Territory from the discussion of change within each political entity is that inclusion would have required a merge of the Washington with the Oregon material. Oregon Territory, as established in 1846, included lands that would become Washington Territory in 1853. Oregon's achievement of statehood in 1859 occasioned another adjustment in the area contained in both Oregon and Washington Territory. These boundaries remained intact until Idaho Territory was created out of Washington Territory in 1864. Dodds, *The American Northwest*, 93. Each of the political entities was treated as they were reported in the manuscripts of the federal censuses.

²⁵ Among Negroes, the thirty-four females in California account for 24.1 percent, and the seventeen females of Oregon for 94.4 percent of the Negro female populations of those areas. The six females in Utah represented all of the black females there, for no mulatto females were present in Utah. Among mulatto females, the eleven found in California account for twenty-five percent of that state's female mulatto population, while the forty-eight in Oregon account for 84.2 percent. The total of 116 black females account for 43.6 percent of the female population of the region in 1850/52. *MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52*.

²⁶ See note 21 above.

²⁷ Within the Negro population, the 464 females in California account for 70.1 percent of that state's Negro female residents in 1860. The twenty-five in Oregon account for 86.2 percent; and the thirteen in Utah account for 72.2 percent. The three females in Washington account for all black females. The total of 505 Negro females account for 70.0 percent of the total Negro female population. Among the mulatto population, the 448 females in California account for 75.7 percent; the fourteen in Oregon account for 82.4 percent; and the four in Utah account for 66.7 percent. The regional total of 466 mulatto females account for 73.9 percent of the total mulatto female population. The total of 971 black females is equivalent to 71.8 percent of the female population of the region. *MS, 1860*.

²⁸ This conclusion is based upon a comparison of the combined proportions at which each nativity was represented within the various family households. By adding the proportions for 1850/52 and 1860 and

dividing by two, an index of the average percentage of representation was defined as follows: North, 25.7; South, 37.1; West, 29.0; Foreign, 8.1.

²⁹ These suggestions are confirmed by a rise in the median age of the black population from 28.8 in 1850/52, to 30.6 in 1860. Coray, "Blacks in the Pacific West, 1850-1860," 100.

³⁰ See note 28 above.

³¹ This conclusion is based upon a comparison of the proportion of the entire black population which was classified as mulatto with the proportion of mulattoes in two-parent households. In 1850/52, mulattoes accounted for 24.8 percent of the entire black population, but for 47.5 percent of all two-parent households. In 1860, they accounted for 41.3 percent of the general population, but for 50.4 percent of those residents in two-parent households. *MS, 1850; MS, 1850/52; MS 1860.*

³² *MS, 1850, MS, 1850/52.*

³³ California contained 94.9 percent of the black regional population in 1860. *MS, 1860.*

A Fortunate Few: Japanese Americans in Southern Nevada, 1905-1945

ANDREW RUSSELL

OF SOUTHERN NEVADA'S PIONEERS, the Japanese Americans are among the least known. Although never large in number, they made important contributions to the development of the area, particularly in agriculture, since the founding of Las Vegas in 1905. They were a fortunate few. They put down roots, established ties with the larger community; and when World War II came they managed to avoid the animosity directed at the Japanese in most areas of the West. This article is a study of their experience in Southern Nevada from 1905 to 1945 and particularly how they were affected by anti-Japanese racism.

Japanese immigrants began arriving in America late in the nineteenth century, lured by the promise of jobs, farmland and opportunity. The vast majority went to California and the Hawaiian islands, but Nevada is also recognized as a major area of Japanese settlement.¹ Although very little has been written about the early Japanese experience in Nevada, it is apparent that the state was less than cordial to these immigrants. In 1905 the *Nevada State Journal* singled them out as a "particularly dangerous minority" and suggested that they be banned from railroad construction in Nevada. That same year a bill was introduced in the legislature which would have barred the Japanese from working on any publicly financed projects. It was defeated, but laws to prevent intermarriage of Orientals and Caucasians were passed.²

Anti-Japanese prejudice flared again in the 1920s when residents of Fallon ordered Japanese farmers to sell their land and leave, and warned Caucasian landowners not to lease to the Japanese. Nevada's senators, Tasker Oddie and Key Pittman, both worked hard for Japanese exclusion at the federal level, while many newspapers within the state also backed those efforts.³ Apparently, Nevada's preoccupation with these immigrants was a reaction to California's more successful efforts at restricting the Japanese. These, it was

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feared, might cause a great influx of Japanese into Nevada. When that threat did not materialize, many Nevadans came to reject their fears and stereotypes.⁴ However, during World War II when the Japanese were given a chance to evacuate voluntarily from California to avoid internment, Nevada's fears of an invasion resurfaced and vigilantes forced carloads of migrating Japanese to return to California. And although Nevada's Japanese population escaped relocation, many were economically plundered during the war.⁵

Tentacles of anti-Japanese prejudice spread across the region from west to east, like the "yellow invasion" many westerners envisioned. At the source, California felt most of it, while Utah remained largely out of its reach prior to World War II.⁶ Southern Nevada, somewhere in the middle, also escaped the grip of West Coast prejudice. There Japanese labor was accepted, Japanese farmers were welcomed and encouraged, and organized opposition to the Japanese was virtually non-existent before the war.

In 1905, while much of the state was debating restrictions on the Japanese, Southern Nevada was still in its infancy. The Las Vegas townsite was created in that year due to construction of the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad. Described by historian James Hulse as "the hottest, least attractive, most distant outback of the poorest state," Southern Nevada "provided few participants for the state's political games. . . ."⁷ If the area had had a strong political voice, it is unlikely that it would have been interested in restricting any immigrant labor—so crucial to building its all-important railroad project.⁸

The Japanese were probably involved in earlier construction on the railroad, but their presence in the area does not appear in the records until 1906. In that year, the *Las Vegas Age* reported a "Bloody Riot" involving a Japanese railroad crew outside Caliente, 125 miles northeast of Las Vegas. Violence erupted when a boxcar carrying the workers "broke in two . . . shaking them up."⁹ According to historian Wilbur Shepperson, the drawbar on the boxcar either broke or was removed, and the car rolled down the tracks and crashed into the rear of another train. The Japanese, however, thought the accident was deliberately planned and fighting broke out. Several of them were critically wounded and a deputy sheriff was killed. There were reportedly over 200 Japanese in the area, which prompted rumor mongers to declare that Caliente had been turned into a fortified stronghold.¹⁰

To its credit, the *Age* presented an objective account of the affair. The reporter did not resort to racial slurs or take sides, and he assured his readers that the crisis had passed. However, when some of the Japanese workers were jailed in Las Vegas three years later for trying to organize, the *Age* said the "swarthy sons of Japan" were trying to "create dissension." But again, the *Age* seemed little concerned over the incident and facetiously linked the laborers' release from jail to the arrival of a Japanese warship in San Pedro Harbor. The paper was relieved to report that "international peace was restored" and the warship did not have to steam up the Colorado River for a rescue attempt.¹¹



Yonema "Bill" Tomiyasu was a successful farmer and horticulturalist in Las Vegas during World War II and remained in the business through the 1960s. This photo was taken in 1965. (*Las Vegas Sun*)

By 1908 the *Age* was owned and operated by Charles "Pop" Squires, who apparently approved of a paternalistic relationship that was developing between the railroad and the community. Squires was not the railroad's puppet, but he did feel that the community was indebted to the railroad and that cooperation served the best interests of both.¹² Indirectly, Japanese labor

benefited from this because, as shown in his mock attack on the “swarthy sons,” Squires was interested in maintaining the status quo. Japanese workers received very little coverage from the *Age*, but being a vital part of the railroad work force, the Japanese received no bad press either.

Japanese workers were employed at the Las Vegas railroad repair shops up until the late 1930s and probably in greater numbers than the census figures for that period indicate. The 1920 census recorded sixty-two Japanese in all of Clark County and the 1930 figure was eighty-two. Nanyu Tomiyasu, a lifelong resident of Las Vegas since 1918, feels the official count was inaccurate. He remembers that in the twenties and thirties there was a fairly stable population of between 150 and 200 Japanese men, women and children living in and around the local railroad compound.¹³ A 1922 news article recorded forty Japanese workers and their families in Las Vegas at that time, and said these people had been brought in shortly after a strike in 1912.¹⁴ The total population of the town in 1920 was 2,304, and in 1930 the count was 5,165, of which Japanese Americans were a sizable minority.¹⁵

Most of these families were housed within the railroad compound in company-owned duplex apartments.¹⁶ During a heated railroad strike in 1922, the *Las Vegas Review* claimed that the railroad brought the Japanese in and housed them for one dollar a month—plus wages, free electricity, ice and water—in hopes of securing a safe and loyal work force in the event of a strike.¹⁷ The Japanese may have shared these apartments with Italians or other immigrant families, but apparently there were few resident Caucasians within the compound.¹⁸ The Japanese were somewhat segregated, but seemingly by choice, because a few railroad families did live outside the compound.¹⁹

Evidence indicates that, although this population did not greatly integrate into the community, they suffered little prejudice or discrimination. Tomiyasu recalls that most of the Japanese workers were employed in skilled and semi-skilled jobs—as mechanics, painters, boilermakers and in other trades involved in repairing and refurbishing the old steam locomotives.²⁰ They had a separate local in the firemen’s and oilers’ union, but there is some evidence that the Japanese enjoyed an equitable pay scale.²¹ They were not excluded from local businesses and were admitted to community schools, hospital facilities, theaters and holiday gatherings. However, because of the language barrier, the Japanese population tended to keep to itself.²² There were surely racist currents in the area, but apparently no confrontations were reported after the 1906 riot. Tomiyasu attributes this to the peaceful, pardoning manner of the Japanese workers. There is no evidence of any organized opposition to the local Japanese during the prewar years.²³

The segregated compound probably contributed to community tolerance. With most of the Japanese living within the compound, any cultural activities there would not have been apparent to outsiders. Other studies have sug-

gested that cultural “peculiarities” did contribute to fears and apprehension about the Japanese in other places.²⁴ A railroad compound could not have been the perfect place to raise a family, but at least it was protected and there was less danger of cultural clash.

The Las Vegas Japanese “colony” was not completely isolated from the larger community. The Baptist church was ministering within the railroad compound, and on Christmas Eve in 1930, the *Review-Journal*, formerly the *Review*, announced special holiday preparations for the Japanese. The church was to provide services in Japanese and English and distribute gifts to the children. The article promised that Santa Claus would appear.²⁵ The next day’s issue recounted the Christmas festivities at Union Pacific Park. Participants included “Mexican girlyies with bright dresses, Indian tots with jet black hair and Japanese kiddies with smiling oriental eyes and white teeth.” The town, it said, was under the intoxicating spell of “Christmas cheer, that spirit which wipes out all distinction between class, color, and creed. . . .”²⁶

If there was a particularly dangerous period for the Japanese railroad population, it was probably during the 1920s when nativism was nationally high. In that period, three threats surfaced locally: 1) a bitter railroad strike that was never formally resolved; 2) a rival newspaper, eager for local issues; and 3) the Ku Klux Klan, toting the banner of racism. Any of these could have spelled trouble for the Japanese, but fortunately no serious problems materialized.

The national railroad strike of 1922 was the result of a decision by the Railroad Labor Board which authorized wage cuts for craftworkers. Workers in Las Vegas and Caliente had their boots on and strapped when the walkout order came on July 1. Paternalism under the Los Angeles and Salt Lake had changed to neglect under new ownership by the Union Pacific Railroad. On taking over in 1921, the new managers cut wages and fired sixty workers without explanation.²⁷ The Union Pacific made no effort to head off the strike, and perhaps they were counting on their loyal Japanese workers to maintain operations.

However, this was not to be. Forty Japanese mechanics joined the walkout and they and their families were evicted from company housing as a result. The *Review* reported that they were living on an empty lot, but the strike committee was seeking temporary housing and most had found other jobs around town. According to the *Review*, the Japanese workers’ spokesman, Tom Sakai, spoke “good English” and showed “a remarkable knowledge of the strike situation.” He and his fellow workers reportedly had agreed that “the first Jap boy who scabs will get licked.”²⁸

Most of the town supported the strike, which lasted through August. It was a period of great agitation, sporadic violence, sacrifice and hardship for the entire community. Naturally, strike-breakers and scabs were very unpopular. The railroads west of Salt Lake were shut down for a time, but gradually some

operations were resumed using scab labor, some of which was imported from other areas. Although no concessions were made to the striking workers, the strike was effectively over in September when many workers abandoned the effort.²⁹

It is unclear whether the Japanese scabbed during the strike. That probably would have depended on whether they did in fact secure temporary jobs and housing during those midsummer months. Tomiyasu was only four years old at the time, but he was told later that Japanese workers did "keep the trains running." He explained that they did have some problems—not because they were Japanese—but because they were scabbing.³⁰ A recent detailed study of the strike by Phillip I. Earl and Guy Louis Rocha makes no mention of the Japanese, as an issue or otherwise. However, they state that "bitterness lingered for years afterwards" toward those who finally abandoned the strike and returned to work.³¹ We must assume that some Japanese workers were among this group.

The *Age* maintained its pro-railroad position during the strike, and its popularity suffered as a result. In contrast, the *Review* declared itself "a friend of labor" which may have helped it to become the area's leading newspaper thereafter.³² However, the paper was not to be so friendly to Japanese labor. In a 1923 editorial, the *Review* denounced the Japanese as being unable ever to make good Americans and for sending their American wages to Japan. The *Review* approved of California's restricting Japanese land ownership, but felt that this was not enough. The "sons of Mikado" should be excluded.³³

This appears to be the first attack on the Japanese by a local paper and the last prior to World War II. The article was actually mild when compared to the serious "Swat the Jap" campaigns that were going on in California and parts of Nevada at the time.³⁴ It did not make any direct reference to the local Japanese, and it included Greeks and "Hindus" as being unsuitable material for the making of Americans. This article was probably a mild dose of 1920s nativism and national efforts which were working toward Japanese exclusion.³⁵ It may also have been related to the recent strike—a parting shot at returning workers. The important thing is that no anti-Japanese campaign developed, and apparently no resounding chord was struck in the community.

The Ku Klux Klan entered Southern Nevada in the 1920s, establishing Klaverns in Las Vegas and Caliente. Although the Klan remained in Las Vegas until the early thirties, it existed more as a fraternal club than as an active crusading force. Its major concern was the maintenance of law and order, and the peaceful Japanese were not targeted. In contrast, Klan lectures in Reno drew sizable paying audiences, and remarks in favor of recent Japanese exclusion were "heartily applauded." The Klavern, which appeared in Caliente, was concerned with nativist issues and made a practice of

intimidating foreigners. However, after they launched a raid on an Italian settlement near Pioche and “met defeat and humiliation,” that chapter quickly disintegrated.³⁶

Of these three threats, the 1922 strike had the biggest negative effect on the local Japanese population and, even then, only indirectly. When the strike was over, the Union Pacific began to dismantle its Las Vegas shop facilities.³⁷ Some repair operations continued in Las Vegas, but shops suited for the incoming diesel trains were relocated in Milford, Utah. According to Tomiyasu, in the late thirties the Japanese were laid off as the railroad reduced its work force. Because jobs were scarce, only a few workers remained in the area and went into gardening, maintenance, and custodial work. Some families may have followed the railroad shops to Milford.³⁸

At least one popular source, Georgia Lewis, attributes the decline of the Japanese colony in Las Vegas to World War II pressures.³⁹ However, the 1940 census demonstrates that by that year the Japanese population in Clark County had already dropped to forty-nine (thirty-one native born and eighteen foreign born). Most of these were there because of service jobs and farming.⁴⁰ The *Review* offers further evidence that no Japanese railroad workers were in Las Vegas when the war began. In early 1942 it announced that management had recently fired all Japanese Americans who had been working for the major western railroads. The paper presented release figures for Japanese workers in other parts of Nevada; however, it did not report any local terminations.⁴¹

Although most of the Las Vegas Japanese had lived in segregated housing, their stay in Las Vegas was relatively peaceful, and their departure appears to have been caused by economic forces and not by forces of prejudice.

The experience of Japanese farmers in Southern Nevada was considerably different. While the railroad population was segregated and overlooked by the rest of the community, this was not the case with the early Japanese farmers. Their pioneering efforts were welcomed, and their contributions brought respect and admiration from the community. This group established ties and friendships within the dominant society because the Japanese farm families played an important and integral role in Southern Nevada's development.

Agriculture was a prime concern of early Southern Nevada residents. Producing food for local consumption was a major challenge. Railroad wash-outs were frequent in the early days and sometimes threatened local food supplies. At best, produce and provisions traveled across the desert by icecar on uncertain schedules. Farming in Southern Nevada was no simple venture, and weekend gardeners still complain about the alkaline soil, cutting winds, scorching summers and unpredictable frosts. The pioneer days did offer abundant artesian well water, but the adversities were also abundant. Not surprisingly, there had been no serious attempts to farm in the Las Vegas Valley before 1914.⁴²

Given the circumstances, it is little wonder that, in that year, the *Age* welcomed a major investment in Las Vegas agriculture by a “syndicate of Japanese capitalists.” The article noted purchase of the Winterwood Ranch consisting of 5,000 acres in Paradise Valley. Featuring artesian water, this land was considered the best available for farm development. According to the *Age*, “The important feature of the deal so far as Las Vegas is concerned is that this land will be immediately brought under cultivation.”⁴³

These expectations of turning Las Vegas “green” coincided with legislation designed to keep California “white.” California land restrictions and local recruiting efforts combined to bring more than a few Japanese pioneers into Las Vegas. A “jack rabbit” search of real estate records indicates that there were at least ten Japanese landholding families with ten acres or more in Las Vegas between 1914 and 1940.⁴⁴ These probably represent agricultural families engaged in small-scale farming or ranching, while we can speculate that others may have been leasing land. Unfortunately, these records cannot tell us much. Nevertheless, one case study in particular requires no speculation and clearly demonstrates the important Japanese contribution to Las Vegas agriculture. Yonema “Bill” Tomiyasu, the town’s most successful farmer and recognized authority on local horticulture, could hardly be overlooked by the record.

Bill Tomiyasu made one of his first visits to Las Vegas in 1914.⁴⁵ He was invited there by his friend M.M. Riley to assess the farming potential of the area. First impressions must have been discouraging, but Tomiyasu did recognize that the growing community represented a largely untapped market. Like other Japanese farmers who came, his decision to gamble on Las Vegas agriculture was greatly influenced by Nevada’s liberal land policy. Tomiyasu settled there in 1916 because, by that time, the Japanese were excluded from land ownership in California where he had lived previously. His wife Toyono, a college-educated “picture bride,” joined him in 1917. For a number of years he worked for Tom Sakai who was then farming in the area that is now Shadow Lane. Meanwhile Tomiyasu gradually brought his own Paradise Valley farm under production.⁴⁶

According to the son of Bill Tomiyasu, Nanyu, the community supported and encouraged his father in every way possible. The local bank loaned him \$1,200 to acquire a lease on his original 160 acres, and he was always able to find a market for his produce. Tomiyasu experimented with different growing times, row patterns and irrigation techniques and came to deliver incredible production from his farm to the hungry Las Vegas community. He grew a wide variety of crops throughout the year. These included lettuce, celery, carrots, tomatoes, asparagus, melons, cantaloupes, potatoes, corn, millet, alfalfa and other crops, as well as chickens, turkeys and hogs. A meticulous farm diary was kept, giving planting advice to other residents. Nanyu adds that not a month passed without the family planting or harvesting something.⁴⁷

In addition to substantial exports, Tomiyasu may have been supplying up to fifty percent of the local produce demand in the twenties and early thirties. He regularly shipped vegetables to Cedar City, Utah and Kingman, Arizona. During the construction of Boulder Dam, he was a major supplier for the commissary which fed thousands of dam employees. He also sold to area markets and restaurants and to the Union Pacific for its Pullman dining cars. Much of his business was conducted with a man named Eugene Ward who owned a chain of local grocery stores. Ward later entered politics, and from 1938 through World War II he was the county sheriff. The Tomiyasu "empire" was built on real horsepower and family labor. The family did not own a tractor or other farm machinery until the late thirties, and Las Vegas had no farm labor pool.⁴⁸

If Bill Tomiyasu and other Japanese farmers were dominating the local market, there was apparently no objection from the local press. In 1930, A.E. Cahlan of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, formerly the *Review*, described Japanese-grown cantaloupes as "the best in the whole region."⁴⁹ Construction of Boulder Dam was underway and had raised hopes of a "great growth" of agriculture in Southern Nevada. In Searchlight (fifty miles south of Las Vegas) Fred Haganuma and Bill Tomiyasu were leading the way, and Cahlan hoped that someday Clark County "will realize the debt it owes these pioneers. . . ."

Other pioneering efforts were going on fifty miles east of Las Vegas in the Moapa Valley. Farming along the Muddy River was no new venture. The ancient Anasazai Indians had "pioneered" agriculture there some 2,000 years earlier. In the late 1800s, Mormons moved into the valley to renew the effort. Completion of the railroad in 1905 opened markets to the east and west and gave agricultural development a significant boost. The first Japanese farmers entered the valley in the mid-1920s.

The Ishimoto and Yamashita families came to the Moapa Valley town of Overton in 1925, and those families have been there ever since. They were forced out of California agriculture by the Second California Alien Land Act of 1920, which prohibited the leasing of land to the Japanese.⁵⁰ Land resources were very limited in Overton, but the newcomers made the most of their opportunities. The Yamashitas first purchased a producing farm but were soon forced to abandon it due to mounting credit difficulties. They had to move to an undeveloped property which, until that time, had only produced mesquite trees and quail brush. The soil was "white with alkali," but the Yamashitas cleared the land with picks and shovels, leached the alkali from the soil and gradually brought fifty-seven acres under cultivation. The Ishimoto family progressed under similar circumstances, and by the thirties, both were shipping substantial crops to Las Vegas and Salt Lake City.⁵¹

If these families did not realize great economic success, their diligent efforts did win the respect of the community. Masako Winsor, the Yamashi-

ta's first-born, thinks back with visible disbelief on the countless hours her parents spent in the fields.⁵² Clyde Perkins, a local old-timer, also expresses a great deal of respect for these relentless farm families, and he is well informed about their histories and accomplishments in Overton.⁵³ Here, too, the language barrier prevented much contact between the *Issei*, or first-generation, parents and other residents, but people were cordial and many offered assistance during difficult times.⁵⁴ The strong Mormon influence in the Moapa Valley (and in Las Vegas to a lesser degree) probably contributed to acceptance of the Japanese. Historian Leonard Arrington found that "the Latter-day Saints had great admiration for the Japanese—for their industry, patience, frugality, strong family ties, and their willingness to sacrifice for the future of their people." However, he also suggests that the Mormon tendency in the twentieth century to be super-patriotic probably worked against the Japanese during the war.⁵⁵

The *Nisei*, or second-generation Japanese, integrated more easily into the community than did their elders. Ten Yamashita and four Ishimoto children attended the local schools and graduated from Moapa Valley High School. A 1940 news article concerning a vocational agriculture project at the high school commended Jimmy Yamashita and Yuno Ishimoto for their "outstanding" projects.⁵⁶ Jimmy was student body president of the school at the outbreak of World War II. In Las Vegas the situation was much the same. Four Tomiyasu children went through the school system and all went on to pursue college and graduate school studies. Nanyu Tomiyasu's brother is a renowned laser engineer and his sister is a research physician. Nanyu partly credits the local schools for these and other success stories.⁵⁷

While growing up, Nanyu and Masako Winsor both had a circle of friends, most of whom were Caucasian. Farm work and school studies seemed to be the greatest limiting factor in the children's socializing. Both had friends of the opposite sex; however, there was apparently no mixed dating. These were Depression years and many could not afford to go to dances or proms. Tomiyasu played tennis with the girls occasionally but was more interested in "a little football with the guys" and in getting on with his studies.⁵⁸ Masako Winsor also was not aware of any interracial dating in Overton during the prewar years. Such behavior was contrary to the mores of the period, even in these relatively tolerant Southern Nevada communities, and Nevada had legal restrictions against intermarriage until the late 1950s.⁵⁹

As one might expect with such a small group, Japanese cultural activities were largely confined to the family circle. At home the Tomiyasus spoke Japanese, their "mother tongue," since that was what Mrs. Tomiyasu felt comfortable speaking. Outside the home the children always spoke English. There were not enough people (and apparently no desire) to establish a Japanese-language school or a Buddhist temple in either community. Some of the *Issei* parents were Buddhists or may have practiced Shinto, but those

religious activities were limited to the home. The Tomiyasus, however, had a Christian upbringing, as Mrs. Tomiyasu was an Episcopalian and her father had been involved in the Christian ministry in Japan.⁶⁰ The Yamashita parents were Buddhists, but Masako occasionally attended the Mormon church while growing up and has since become a member. Some traditional Japanese holidays were observed, such as Boys' Day, Girls' Day and New Year's, but these also were limited to the family or to small family gatherings. Masako indicated that, culturally, the second generation in her family was "intensely American," which caused some waves at home.⁶¹

Politically, local *Issei* were under the jurisdiction of the Japanese consulates in California. Residents could have contacted them for legal assistance or to report abuse, but it seems that there were few occasions to do so.⁶² Except through personal ties, the local Japanese must have had very little contact with the larger Japanese-American population. However, two of California's Japanese-American newspapers, *Rafushimpo* and *Kashu Mainichi*, arrived daily at the Union Pacific depots. Apparently most of the *Issei* read the papers to keep abreast of national and international happenings.⁶³ These papers often expressed the "Japanese position," and the local *Issei* were evidently more aware of the ever-mounting tensions between the United States and Japan than was the general community. Clyde Perkins recalls that Mr. Yamashita had predicted a war between the two countries in the twenties.⁶⁴ Nanyu Tomiyasu also remembers that his father was shocked, but not terribly surprised, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor.⁶⁵

With one exception, the local *Issei* apparently recognized the futility of trying to defend Japan's military advances in Asia and against the United States. The Japanese in Southern Nevada were vastly outnumbered. Nanyu described his father's posture during the war as one of "resigned concern." The exception was a man named Ikuguro "Fred" Nagamatsu. Nagamatsu was related to the Tomiyasus through marriage and Nanyu described his uncle as a peaceful, very intelligent Japanese university graduate. In the early days after the United States declared war, Nagamatsu submitted a number of letters to the *Review-Journal* which attempted to explain the Japanese position. The letters, however, were not printed. Later, Nagamatsu was picked up by local authorities, sent to a detainment center and eventually deported to Japan.⁶⁶ Other *Issei* may also have felt some divided loyalty, which is understandable since they were still subjects of Japan and were ineligible for American citizenship. However, as with American *Nisei* in general, there was no question of divided loyalty among the second generation. They were American citizens and their parents seem to have accepted and encouraged this understanding.⁶⁷

Although local Japanese Americans had assimilated into the community by the outbreak of World War II, after the attack on Pearl Harbor every Japanese American was exposed to degradation and peril. No western com-

munity was left unaffected by war hysteria, and it is rare to find a Japanese population that survived the ordeal without persecution and loss of property. Nevertheless, the *Review-Journal* (Southern Nevada's only daily newspaper at the time) did not immediately jump aboard the "Jap hunt" bandwagon. Whereas some California papers wasted no time in calling for a solution to the "Japanese American menace,"⁶⁸ the *Review-Journal* showed considerable restraint (or naïveté) throughout December, 1941 and January, 1942. The only articles directed at local enemy aliens were to inform them that they must turn in their contraband. Stories appeared about government raids on Japanese nationals in California, but they gave equal attention to the arrests of German and Italian enemy aliens. On the whole, early articles appear to have come straight from United Press releases and reveal no bias on the part of the local paper.

This detached objectivity had disappeared by February, 1942. By then, stories about "fifth-column activities" (secret Japanese armies allegedly operating along the coast) began to appear regularly. Raids by the Federal Bureau of Investigation were netting large stores of contraband (guns, explosives, maps, cameras and signaling devices) and suspects who were freely admitting their loyalty to Japan. From the *Review-Journal*, locals learned about Japanese businesses that reportedly sent "ready cash" home for the war effort. As evacuation plans began to take shape, local residents were told that the American-born Japanese was considered even more dangerous than the alien—though this logic was never explained. The *Review-Journal's* readers were also told of California's Japanese-language schools where children were allegedly taught loyalty to the Emperor and the art of sabotage. The California press had indoctrinated readers about such things long before the war, but these ideas were new to Las Vegas newspapers.

Suspicion and fear intensified in late February and March as the *Review-Journal* began searching in its own backyard for "enemy subversives." On February 26, A.E. Cahlan, the editor, reported an alleged feud between a local Japanese man, possibly the "militant" Fred Nagamatsu, and a Mexican woman. According to the report, the Japanese man claimed that Mexico did not have the backbone to stand up to the United States as Japan was doing. Cahlan warned, "The Japanese are still at large as are many in this vicinity." He added that many citizens,

particularly mothers, who are constantly on the alert for anything that might spell danger to their children . . . are finding it difficult to understand why ALL Japanese are not put somewhere under surveillance—where they can do NO damage.

In Cahlan's opinion, it was better to intern a few loyals than to allow one enemy to "roam at large," citing Boulder Dam as a potential target.⁶⁹

A March 4 *Review-Journal* editorial added new fuel to the fire. It said the Los Angeles district attorney's office was startled and amazed by a "pattern of

Jap landholdings.” This was “nothing if not a carefully-planned preparation for a vast sabotage effort if not an actual invasion.” The “Nips” held by lease all of the strategic shoreline of the Palos Verdes Hills and land beside every railroad in the county. They had surrounded every important defense unit and hemmed in the oil fields and refineries. Japanese fields could easily be converted into airstrips, and the “AMERICAN-BORN” Japanese were obviously a part of these “plans for conquest.” The *Review-Journal* warned that if the government did not do something soon, the citizens would. Then, in smaller print:

This is not an urge to such a course [but the problem is] quite apparent here in Las Vegas where public sentiment is mounting daily AGAINST inactivity. . . . There are KNOWN Japanese sympathizers running loose . . . one constantly predicts victory for Nippon.⁷⁰

There is no evidence of mounting public sentiment, but local officials did spring into action. Three days later, a *Review-Journal* headline reported “Two Enemy Aliens Nabbed in Las Vegas.” The aliens were picked up in what is described as a series of raids on enemy-alien properties which allegedly netted a number of guns, short-wave radio sets and cameras. Fred Nagamatsu was undoubtedly one of the arrested, but Nanyu Tomiyasu was unaware of any other arrests.⁷¹

These “raids” were actually more of a visit by Sheriff Gene Ward, produce retailer turned cop, and William Coulthard, the local director of the FBI. Ward brought Coulthard to the Tomiyasu place to have a look at everybody so they could be identified if any trouble developed. There was no property search or interrogation. Tomiyasu described Ward as a “close personal friend” of his father.⁷² Evidently, Gene Ward was a positive voice of reason during the war. As a retailer he had done considerable business with Bill Tomiyasu and other Japanese farmers and knew the good character of all the local Japanese families. According to Nanyu Tomiyasu, Ward told him after the war, “I just wouldn’t let [Bill] Coulthard or anybody else come in here and disrupt all of your lives.”⁷³ As in western films, the “good sheriff” cannot always stop mob action, but even in the twentieth century the western sheriff is in a position of considerable influence and authority. Besides, there was apparently no danger of mob action despite newspaper claims to the contrary.

In mid-March the *Review-Journal* finally produced a chilling story of danger from Japanese people in the area. Boy Scouts, the paper said, had been fired on by “little brown men” who were operating out of caves on the Colorado River seven miles downstream from Boulder Dam. Pvt. William F. Colley, just out of Army bootcamp, was leading the scout outing when the attack occurred. He reportedly held off the attackers for two days and nights with his service revolver while “ordering the scouts out of harm’s way.”

Colley was pretty sure he got one of the brown men, but he said the body had fallen near the river and may have been washed away. National Park rangers were being dispatched to investigate.⁷⁴

Over the next few days, front-page stories kept readers informed of developments in the case. Early evidence produced two sets of footprints but no blood or bullet casings—though Colley had allegedly fired forty-two rounds. On March 19 the case was resolved. Rangers were quoted as saying it was “the wildest goose-chase they had ever been on” and “certainly a hoax.” They concluded that possibly the Scouts had heard some blasts from a mining operation on the Arizona side of the river.⁷⁵

Undaunted by the hoax, the *Review-Journal* continued its campaign. Cahlan shared his own experience as a guide in the crisis. He remembered that as a boy he, as well as other lads, instinctively knew that a Chinese was trustworthy. It was fun to play pranks on him, on his curious queue, when occasion offered, but deep down in your heart you knew you could trust him. But the “Japs” always seemed to be “sneaks . . . a slick, stealthy people . . . always smiling and courteous [but behind that smile] was something you didn’t trust.” He shared fond memories of the Hearst campaign against the Japanese and of how western colleges chased the “Japs” out. “Yes,” wrote Cahlan, “both the Chinese and the Japanese have proven out in accordance with childish instincts which told you MOST accurately what they were like under the skin.”⁷⁶

For a novice in the field, Cahlan showed a flair for “Yellow Peril” journalism; however, he could hardly compete with professionals like syndicated Hearst journalist Henry McLemore. He did not have to: the column, “McLemore Says,” was also carried by the *Review-Journal*. Interestingly, McLemore’s evolution of consciousness roughly mirrored that of the local paper. In January and early February, McLemore showed little concern over Japanese Americans and made light of espionage raids. He cautioned citizens not to get on bad ground with a neighbor, as he might finger you to “FBI gumshoers” who “refuse to overlook a single lead or clue . . . in their search for enemy subversives.”⁷⁷

By March, however, McLemore was more concerned and advised:

The thing to do with these almond-eyed brethren and sistren is to herd ’em up and lead them, none too gently, to inland states where acreage is so plentiful that if they wander off, mischief bent, they are likely to wind up decorating the landscape along with skulls of lost cattle.⁷⁸

Dedication is the mark of a professional and in April, McLemore hit on his deadly final solution. He was by then convinced that *interment*—rather than *internment*—was the thing for the Japanese “foreign enemy.”⁷⁹

By that time the *Review-Journal*’s brief vendetta was over. After evacuation plans were more or less formalized⁸⁰ in late March, the paper made no

further attacks on local Japanese residents. It did, however, express occasional concern about unfamiliar brown faces that passed through the area⁸¹ and continued to disseminate hateful stereotypes in the form of assaults on the real enemy abroad. It is difficult to assess the local impact of this regional paranoia. Given the “evidence” of espionage and the damning testimony from government officials, Las Vegas probably came to suspect the California Japanese. However, locals apparently did not become convinced of General John De Witt’s principle: “A Jap is a Jap”—period.

Nanyu Tomiyasu states that he was never aware of any great change in the community’s attitude toward himself or other Japanese residents. Everyone in town knew each other well and the Japanese residents had never been any problem to the community. Since no one had offered any evidence that the local Japanese might become a problem, most people saw them as no threat. The sparsely-populated desert isolating Las Vegas probably provided added insurance against trouble makers.⁸²

Attitudes in Overton took an interesting twist. Long-time Japanese residents were treated well, but people made it very clear that they wanted no “dangerous outsiders” in the area. Masako Winsor explained that Caucasians remained cordial to her family throughout the war, and most people her family knew never questioned their loyalty. Her brother, Jimmy, was the high school student body president at the outbreak of the war. A few parents objected and the school put the question of his retaining the office to a student vote. Jimmy won.

Another brother, Shigeru, had grown up in Japan and had rejoined the rest of the family in 1937. Shigeru was in the service before the war and in May of 1942 was shipped to the South Pacific, where he received a Bronze Star for special service in army intelligence.⁸³ His case is unusual for two reasons. First, most servicemen of Japanese descent spent the early part of the war in the States, assigned to units where they could do no “damage to important installations.”⁸⁴ And second, even when this restriction was lifted, most Japanese Americans were sent to the European theater—either because there was still some question of loyalty, or simply to avoid confusion on the battlefield.⁸⁵ Three other Yamashita boys also enlisted when the way was cleared for prewar civilian Japanese Americans to serve in the armed forces. Jimmy Yamashita was part of the highly decorated 442nd Infantry that served in Italy, and he was one of only two survivors (all others were killed or wounded) of the original Company I. The Ishimoto sons also volunteered. These *Nisei* servicemen placated most suspicions that people may have had about the loyalty of local Japanese families. Mrs. Winsor believes that no element of doubt would have existed if residents had known that each member of these volunteer families had been carefully investigated by the government.⁸⁶

The Overtonians, however, were not so cordial toward other Japanese

Americans. During the early stages of the war, officials were considering relocation plans which would create Japanese farm colonies in inland states. Hearing of this, the Moapa Valley Chapter of the Clark County Defense Council made it clear that Moapa wanted no part of the proposed resettlement. The council drew up a resolution to forestall the import of several hundred Japanese and argued that Overton's proximity to Boulder Dam, and Moapa's vital mission—to provide milk for the defense workers at Basic Magnesium—should exclude that area from any such plans.⁸⁷

Even before evacuation from the Pacific Coast states and Arizona was completed, the War Relocation Authority began allowing temporary leave to evacuees who were willing to work as farm laborers for very low wages. Apparently, the prospect of importing cheap Japanese labor did not seem so threatening to Moapa officials. Edwin Wells, chairman of the Moapa Valley Farm Labor Committee declared the importation of Japanese workers "vital" and "essential to the national defense." The Moapa defense council even approved the plan. The Japanese would, of course, be kept under "strict supervision." The defense council was mapping "boundaries of movement" and Deputy Sheriff Jack Keates was to check on each worker three times a day. Ten Japanese laborers were already in Moapa, and they were required to observe a curfew and report to the deputy for permission to attend dances or shows.⁸⁸ Not everyone was in support of the plan. The American Legion Post 40 was in "emphatic opposition" as was Post 38 at Basic Magnesium in Henderson, possibly concerned over the safety of their milk supply. On March 1, 1943, Governor E.P. Carville received approval from the Relocation Authority on the labor request. As for his fears about possible subversive activities, the relocation official stated, "We feel you need have no worries on this score. Our concern is the protection of the evacuees."⁸⁹

That concern was somewhat justified. It appears that there was no physical violence against these Japanese workers, but Mrs. Winsor did indicate that there was a great deal of suspicion and agitation. She was also informed by an area farmer of a mysterious fire that consumed a structure he was using to house some of the Japanese laborers. Having experienced California racism, Masako Winsor was naturally very disturbed by all this agitation in Moapa. Other residents assured her that their suspicions did not concern her family, but she was not consoled by these kind words. Masako tried to explain that these Japanese workers were no different—no less American—than her family and that many had children in the service as well.⁹⁰ Eighty-three workers contributed to the 1943 spring harvest before most returned to the camps. The farm labor committee stated that the Japanese had been crucial to the \$100,000 harvest and that plans were being made for their return in the fall.⁹¹

Attitudes in Overton became more moderate toward the end of the war. In 1944 or 1945, one family did leave a relocation camp and move to the Moapa Valley. They started the I.K.A. Farm, which leased land from other area

farmers. After the war they returned to their home in California.⁹²

In Las Vegas the *Nisei* also volunteered for military service. Despite its earlier position on the loyalty of the Japanese Americans, the *Review-Journal* recognized the meritorious service of the *Nisei* volunteers and war heroes.⁹³ It seems that the war years presented no serious problems for Japanese families in Las Vegas. However, a few areas, such as Boulder Dam, the air gunnery range, the local radio station and the municipal airport, were off limits to aliens. The Japanese were not permitted to leave Nevada, and there was a curfew and travel restrictions after dark. But it does not appear that these restrictions were strictly enforced. Nanyu Tomiyasu was often in town after hours to deliver produce to local markets, and he and his brother made one trip to the Poston Relocation Center in Arizona to bring back one of his father's friends. His father's business was not interrupted. When they needed a new tractor in early 1945, Senator Pat McCarran interceded to expedite authorization.⁹⁴ Local Japanese Americans probably had to endure many unpleasant comments and some inconveniences during the war, and they must have felt the grief that is peculiar to survivors of a tragedy, but they came through the ordeal with lives and property intact.

As we have seen, Southern Nevada was not immune to anti-Japanese racism, but from 1905 to 1945, local Japanese Americans fared well by Far Western standards. Local circumstances helped to make this possible, particularly the need for agricultural products, the area's isolation, and an early shortage of labor. It is also fortunate that Nevada laws were relatively liberal and that authorities during the war did not dictate policies even more adverse to the local Japanese as part of the "military necessity" that did not exist. Although local circumstances were important, the Japanese residents were obviously the driving force in this real-life drama. This "fortunate" experience was mostly the result of their hard work, model behavior, and long-established ties and friendships with the larger community.

In tribute to these Japanese-American pioneers, the Clark County School District in 1974 named an elementary school for Bill Tomiyasu. It was the first grammar school in the continental United States to honor a Japanese American. Recently, a beautiful Japanese garden was added to the grounds.

Japanese Americans and all Southern Nevadans can be proud of the part these people played in the development of the area.

NOTES

¹ Most Japanese immigrants came to this country by way of Hawaii, where they were recruited to work on the sugar plantations. By 1930 there were 138,834 Japanese in the United States. Of these, 97,456 were in California, comprising roughly two percent of that state's population. See Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 1-10. Wilbur Shepperson, *Restless Strangers; Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970), 14.

² Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, 131-32.

³ Governor Emmett Boyle in 1921 advocated changing the Nevada Constitution to exclude the Japanese. Craig F. Swallow, "The Ku Klux Klan in Nevada During the 1920s" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1978), 85-87.

⁴ Ibid., 115. Company towns in Nevada, such as McGill and Ruth, often had large immigrant populations including Japanese, but maintained peaceful relations and a high degree of social integration (except in housing, which was often segregated), as a result of company measures designed to insure a stable work force. See Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 28-30.

⁵ Roger Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1975), 55. Highway Forty east through Reno was a heavily traveled route, and apparently there was great concern that evacuees might settle in the area. See *Nevada State Journal*, 29 March 1942, and 30 March 1942. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, 60.

⁶ Roger Daniels believes there were four chief reasons behind the California brand of racism: 1) the Japanese were a distinct and identifiable racial group; 2) they quickly came to challenge whites in certain businesses and professions—particularly farming where they controlled ten percent of the total value of California crops by 1919; 3) the growing unpopularity of Japan as it became an aggressive military power; and 4) California had a "lower boiling point" because the Japanese population was concentrated there. California also had an anti-Oriental tradition dating from earlier Chinese immigration. Finally, anti-Japanese prejudice was perpetuated and escalated in California by powerful political factions, pressure groups and much of the media as explained in Daniels, *Politics*, 106-7. Utah, on the other hand, established good relations with the Japanese through early missionary activities in Japan. Though the state did not recruit Japanese immigrants because of its limited farmland resources, Japanese-Caucasian relations remained relatively peaceful in Utah, even through World War II. Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Ambiguous Reception: The Relocated Japanese Americans," in Roger Daniels (ed.), *Japanese Americans from Relocation to Redress* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), 92-97.

⁷ James W. Hulse, *Forty Years in the Wilderness* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986), 7.

⁸ Work crews for this project consisted mostly of Irish, Greek, Syrian, Austrian, Italian [and Japanese] immigrants. See David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California*, Vol. II (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1963), 644.

⁹ *Las Vegas Age*, 23 June 1906.

¹⁰ Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, 131-32.

¹¹ *Age*, 1 May 1909.

¹² Hulse, *Forty Years in the Wilderness*, 19-20.

¹³ These seemingly low census figures may be due to the mobile nature of the railroad population or to fluctuations in employment at the Las Vegas facilities. Also, the census in this period only listed "Japanese." U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*. II:4 (Washington, D.C., 1932), 144. If the American-born children were not counted as Japanese—and technically they should not have been—this could easily bring the total closer to Tomiyasu's figure. Nanyu Tomiyasu, interview with Mark French, Las Vegas, Nevada, 12 April 1977.

¹⁴ *Las Vegas Review*, 14 July 1922.

¹⁵ Probably the largest "nonwhite" minority group, not including Paiute Indians.

¹⁶ Sam Nakanishi's father was an engineer on the railroad until about 1935 when he was transferred to California. Sam was only eight years old when his family moved, and his recollections are limited. He does remember that company housing had outhouses, and he believes his father came to this area around 1904. Sam Nakanishi, interview with author, Las Vegas, Nevada, 6 August 1987.

¹⁷ *Review*, 14 July 1922.

¹⁸ No railroad records were available, but a newspaper article in the *Age*, 17 February 1917, reported that a fire had destroyed a row of company shacks in the compound, home for twenty-five to thirty Japanese and Italian families. The 1922 strike article mentioned Japanese evictions but no Caucasian evictions from compound housing. *Review*, 14 July 1922. Tomiyasu also indicated that the Japanese railroad families were segregated. Tomiyasu, interview with Mark French, 12 April 1977.

¹⁹ Nanyu Tomiyasu, interview with author, Las Vegas, Nevada, 22 March 1987.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Tom Sakai was secretary of the Japanese local of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers. *Review*, 14 July 1922. Sam's father received the same wages and benefits as Caucasian workers. Nakanishi, interview with author, 6 August 1987.

²² Tomiyasu, interview with Mark French, 12 April 1977.

²³ Nanyu was unaware of any anti-Japanese groups or organizations in Las Vegas during this period. Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987. None of the pressure groups identified as anti-Japanese by Daniels in *Politics*, 85, were active in Southern Nevada except the American Legion, and there is no indication that they opposed the Japanese prior to the war. Local newspapers show evidence of nativism, particularly in political ads promising to protect American workers, but the Japanese were not specifically targeted.

²⁴ See Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Salvage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 297-320.

²⁵ *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 24 December 1930.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 December 1930.

²⁷ Ralph Roske, *Las Vegas: A Desert Paradise* (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1986), 70.

²⁸ *Review*, 14 July 1922.

²⁹ Phillip I. Earl and Guy Louis Rocha, "The National Railroad Strike of 1922 and the Decline of Organized Labor in Nevada," *Journal of the West* 25 (April 1986): 44-51.

³⁰ Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

³¹ Earl and Rocha, *Journal of the West*: 50.

³² This rivalry between the *Age* and the *Review*, which became the *Review-Journal* in 1929, continued into the 1940s, but the *Review* had surpassed the *Age* in number of issues by the late 1920s. See Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen R. Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984), 126-28.

³³ *Review*, 30 March 1923.

³⁴ Daniels, *Politics*, 79-97. The press in Nevada was also aggressive in seeking Japanese exclusion. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, 131-32. Fear of the Yellow Peril was apparently most intense in North-western Nevada. Swallow, "The Ku Klux Klan in Nevada," 115.

³⁵ After years of organized opposition, the "California position" on the Japanese gained national acceptance, and they were effectively excluded from further immigration by the Immigration Act of 1924. Daniels, *Politics*, 92-105.

³⁶ Swallow, "The Ku Klux Klan in Nevada," 32, 108; for Reno see *Nevada State Journal*, 1 May 1924.

³⁷ Earl and Rocha, *Journal of the West*: 50.

³⁸ Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

³⁹ June 1942, "[because of mistreatment] our Japanese colony has drifted away." Georgia Lewis, *Las Vegas . . . The Way it Was* (Las Vegas: Las Vegas Sun, Inc., 1978), 114.

⁴⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940: Population*. II:4 (Washington, D.C., 1943), 753. Nanyu accounted for about twenty-six Japanese residents in Las Vegas during the war. Nanyu Tomiyasu, interview with author, Las Vegas, Nevada, 15 April 1987. Masako Winsor estimated there were about seventeen Japanese residents of Overton during that period (including her brothers in the service). Masako Winsor, interview with author, Overton, Nevada, 4 April 1987. There may have been a few more in Searchlight, Nevada and perhaps the remainder did "drift away"—but probably before the war.

⁴¹ *Review-Journal*, 27 February 1942.

⁴² Ranching was established, but there was minimal farming. In 1909 the *Age* was hopeful of "a large influx of settlers" after the Clark-Rannow ranch had planted fruit trees and produced a scant four acres of melons and vegetables. *Age*, 29 May 1909.

⁴³ *Age*, 31 January 1914.

⁴⁴ Clark County, Nevada, Book of Deeds, Vols. 4-7, 25, 26: 1914-1939. Unpublished document in the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas. Farming declined in the late 1930s when refrigerated trucking from California captured most of the local market.

⁴⁵ *Age*, 25 April 1914.

⁴⁶ Tomiyasu, interview with Mark French, 12 April 1977.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Also see Roske, *Las Vegas*, 134, and Nevada State Bank, "Our Heritage," November 1972 (a one-page biographical sketch of Bill Tomiyasu).

⁴⁸ Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987 and Tomiyasu, interview with Mark French, 12 April 1977.

⁴⁹ *Review-Journal*, 28 June 1930. Besides his Las Vegas farm, Tomiyasu was a partner in this Searchlight farm. Fred Haganuma was later shot and killed by "Old Indian Steve" Tecop, *Review-Journal*, 23 July 1931. This article said the shooting was related to a wage dispute, but Nanyu Tomiyasu said Haganuma was shot after he refused to buy some firewood from Tecop. Tomiyasu, interview with author, 15 April 1987.

⁵⁰ When the Japanese were kept from land ownership in California by the Alien Land Law of 1913, many farmers got around this restriction by putting land in their children's names, since they were American citizens, or by leasing land. The 1920 land law had limited effects because by then there were a great many native-born Japanese Americans who could not be restricted. However, it did effectively bar Japanese nationals from leasing. Daniels, *Politics*, 87-90.

⁵¹ For a vivid and complete account of these experiences see Masako Winsor, "The Yamashita Family" and "The Ishimoto Family" in Arabell Lee Hafner (comp.), *100 Years on the Muddy* (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing Co., 1967), 241-245.

⁵² Winsor, interview with author, 4 April 1987.

⁵³ Perkins was sure that the Japanese families were there in the 1920s because some Caucasians used to visit Mr. Yamashita for a little of his "bootleg saki." Clyde Perkins, interview with author, Overton, Nevada, 4 April 1987.

⁵⁴ Winsor, "The Yamashita Family," 242.

⁵⁵ Arrington, "Utah's Ambiguous Reception," 92.

⁵⁶ *Review-Journal*, 19 December 1940.

⁵⁷ Tomiyasu, interview with Mark French, 12 April 1977.

⁵⁸ Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁵⁹ When Masako married Kleon Winsor in the mid-1950s, they had to leave the state for a legal inter-racial marriage ceremony, even though Overton was, by then, receptive to the union of these two lifelong friends. Winsor, interview with author, 4 April 1987.

⁶⁰ Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁶¹ Winsor, "The Yamashita Family," 243-44.

⁶² The Japanese apparently received fair treatment in the local courts. In 1920 Bill Tomiyasu and Tom Sakai were arrested for butchering a neighbor's cow, valued at \$500. Among others, Bill and Toyono Tomiyasu testified and the defendants were acquitted. *Age*, 22 June 1920; 6 November 1920. Nanyu Tomiyasu did not know of any instances when the consulates were contacted. Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁶³ Most of the Japanese farmers and railroad workers were literate Japanese. Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁶⁴ Perkins, interview with author, 4 April 1987.

⁶⁵ Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁶⁶ Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987. Ikugoro was an inventor (*Review-Journal*, 25 September 1939) and improved local wells to keep Bill Tomiyasu and other farmers in business as the Las Vegas water table dropped. His wife remained in Las Vegas, and the paper noted in 1947 that the well on her small chicken ranch was still pumping. *Review-Journal*, 12 March 1947.

⁶⁷ Winsor, "The Yamashita Family," 241-45; Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁶⁸ Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate*, 12.

⁶⁹ *Review-Journal*, 26 February 1942.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 4 March 1942.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 7 March 1942. Tomiyasu stated that his family had turned in their contraband but that most of it was returned. Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Review-Journal*, 16 March 1942.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 19 March 1942.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 21 March 1942. Cahlan grew up in Reno and graduated from the University of Nevada.

⁷⁷ *Review-Journal*, 9 February 1942.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1942: 10.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 25 April 1942. Both of these examples are representative of the course of Western media in general (though California was well ahead of the pack) as gathered from Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate*, 40-41, and from scanning Reno's *Nevada State Journal*, January through March 1942.

⁸⁰ Military officials divided the Pacific Coast states and Arizona into Military Area No. 1, comprising the western half of California, Washington and Oregon and the southern half of Arizona, and Military Area No. 2, which encompassed the rest of those states. The Japanese were told that only Military Area No. 1 would be evacuated in March, and that they were free to move to the other area to avoid internment. However, Military Area No. 2 was later evacuated as well. Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate*, 54-56.

⁸¹ The *Review-Journal* was "very ill" over a train that passed through town carrying evacuees who had

"super deluxe maps" showing military installations. It was also concerned about Japanese farm laborers in Moapa who were "often found snooping around in the wee hours of the morning, for what purpose, they only [knew]." The paper was thoroughly disgusted to learn that there was no rationing in relocation camps and warned that Washington better "get TOUGH" with the "Japs . . . muy pronto, or the people of the West are likely to do the job themselves." *Review-Journal*, 30 April 1943. As late as 1945, the *Review-Journal* suspected "Japanese incendiary balloons" as the cause of range fires in the area. *Ibid.*, 14 July 1945.

⁸² Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁸³ Winsor, interview with author, 4 April 1987.

⁸⁴ Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate*, 20.

⁸⁵ Shigeru's army buddies maintained a constant watch over him to guard against mistaken identity. Winsor, interview with author, 4 April 1987.

⁸⁶ Winsor, interview with author, 4 April 1987. While in the service, Nanyu Tomiyasu was also informed that his family has been investigated and determined "loyal;" Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987.

⁸⁷ *Review-Journal*, 26 March 1942.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 14 November 1942, and 15 December 1942.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 22 December 1942; 1 January 1943; and 1 March 1943.

⁹⁰ After graduating from high school in the late thirties, Masako moved to California with hopes of becoming a secretary. She met and married George Yamaka, another Nisei, and the couple had a daughter, Georgi Anne. There Masako experienced typically severe discrimination in employment and housing. Masako and her new family were among the fortunate who managed to escape before the evacuation freeze was effected in late March.

⁹¹ *Review-Journal*, 10 June 1943.

⁹² Winsor, interview with author, 4 April 1987.

⁹³ See *Review-Journal*, 8 July 1944, 10 January 1946, and 3 July 1946.

⁹⁴ Nanyu and his brother were permitted to travel over the dam but had to follow a specific route through Arizona. Tomiyasu, interview with author, 22 March 1987. Despite McCarran's kindness in this instance, he actively opposed the use of Japanese-American teachers in Moapa's Indian schools during the war. *Review-Journal*, 25 January 1944.

Book Reviews

This Was Nevada. By Phillip I. Earl. (Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1986. 192 pages, introduction, illustrations, index.)

DURING THE 1950S A RENO CASINO published a long series of newspaper advertisements, later published in book form, which recounted various incidents in Nevada history. The advertisements were very popular, widely praised, and filled with misinformation. They released a strain of false folklore into the Nevada historical bloodstream which has plagued historians for years. Those historians have regularly bemoaned the influence of this and other sources of erroneous information on Nevada history, but have also been unsuccessful in combating that influence—the effect of such folklore has continued unabated no matter how often it is corrected.

Anyone who grew up in Nevada was familiar with the miscellaneous tales which passed for history—the bogus story about Butch Cassidy robbing a Winnemucca bank, the supposed visit by President Roosevelt to Goldfield, and so on. Practically the first thing a student learned about Nevada history—that William Stewart was the moving force in the defeat of the proposed 1863 Nevada Constitution, which delayed statehood—turned out to be false.

Not until April 1975 did anyone devise an effective technique for combating this kind of folklore in a way which would have widespread and lasting impact. In that month, the Nevada Historical Society launched its newspaper column, “This Was Nevada.”

The column over the years has become a fixture of Nevada newspapers, published in shopper throwaways as well as in leading journals. It has become so identified with Phillip Earl that it is hard to remember how the column started. Initially, it was a revolving chore at the NHS, with various staff members—Guy Rocha, Jim Johnson, Richard Datin—taking their turns. The first column, on “The Discovery of Tonopah,” was written by John Townley, then the Society’s director. Not until number thirteen—“Mark Twain and the Presidency”—did Earl’s byline appear.

But over the years, the column has become a Phil Earl column, and the column has benefited.

“This Was Nevada” was not created to serve as an antidote to false historical folklore. It was designed to expose Nevada history to a wider public, to increase popular interest in the state’s past, and to bring the Historical Society

to a larger audience. In all these purposes it has succeeded.

The column has become so much a fixture in Nevada newspapers that some citizens turn to it each week with the same expectation of regularity that they turn to the horoscope, the comics, or the political columnists. It is not uncommon to hear Monday morning coffee shop conversation about the story in "This Was Nevada" in the Sunday paper.

But I would argue that the most important contribution the column has made to the historical community has been to cleanse popular folklore of a lot of misinformation. Earl's careful research has methodically corrected a number of errors in popular tales, and the state owes him a debt for this.

This is not to say that there have been *no* instances of "This Was Nevada" repeating the folklore. For example, in June 1976, the sixty-third weekly installment of the column trotted out the yarn about Butch Cassidy in Winnemucca for one more retelling, under the title "The Great Winnemucca Raid." The column was mostly a compilation of extracts from the *Reno Evening Gazette's* original coverage of the Winnemucca robbery. (To be fair, Lee Burke had not yet written his groundbreaking article in the *Humboldt Historian* discrediting the story of Cassidy in Winnemucca. But none of the *Gazette* extracts mentions Butch, Sundance, or the Wild Bunch, which should have suggested *something* to *someone* at the Society.) But the Cassidy column was not penned by Earl, and to my knowledge such things have never happened on his watch.

This collection of the columns is divided into seven sections: sources for Nevada place names; railroading; the Mormons; famous Nevadans; mining; roughnecks and outlaws; and prizefights.

Rereading these pieces, I am struck again by Earl's writing skill, his careful adherence to known facts, and his sensitivity for those who have traditionally been victimized or overlooked. But he does not become preachy. Even in one of the two articles on lynching, he lets the appalling facts speak for themselves; only at the last sentence does he speak his mind:

The lynching of "Nevada Red" Wood was the last ever in Nevada, bringing to an end a tradition which had begun in 1858 with the lynching of "Lucky Bill" Thorrington in Carson Valley. It was long past the time for it.

To regular readers of the column, there will be personal favorites which should have been included. For example, I would have liked to have seen the piece on the Reno tailor who invented jeans by applying rivets to dungarees (an idea he later sold to Levi) or the one about the Tonopah fellow who invented the machine which adds the laugh track to television situation comedies. (That one would have fitted neatly into the section on outlaws and scoundrels.) And I would have liked Hollywood fashion designer Edith Head added to the famous Nevadans section.

But to those to whom "This Was Nevada" is a new experience, all of this

will be fresh, and I do not think they will be disappointed. More likely they will be enthralled.

Dennis Myers
KTVN, Reno

Gentleman in the Outdoors: A Portrait of Max C. Fleischmann. By Sessions S. Wheeler. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1985. 158 pp., foreword, illustrations, index.)

ONE OF THE FAVORITE INFORMAL DEBATES AMONG students of Nevada's past is proposing and defending the single individual most beneficial to the state and its people. Favorites abound, from the nineteenth century's John Mackay and "Broadhorns" Bradley to Jim Butler, George Wingfield or Bill Harrah. However, after reading Buck Wheeler's very personal account of his long friendship with Max C. Fleischmann, the "Major" clearly deserves the accolade. The foundation established after his death placed over \$89 million, or forty-six percent of all funds, in Nevada projects. Today, thirty-five years after his death, Max Fleischmann's presence is still strong. Virtually every state community enjoys a library built with Fleischmann Foundation money, university campuses share buildings erected through foundation grants, and medical research continues as part of Foundation projects. Museums could usually depend on the foundation for important support. Reno's Judicial College got its start there, and many state leaders received college scholarships in a program lasting more than two decades. At a time when Nevada lacked charitable foundations, the Fleischmann bequests benefitted a state never noted for altruism or selfless public service.

Wheeler's book interprets Fleischmann as a friend and sportsman over a twelve-year period between 1939 and the Major's death in 1951. There is considerable biographical material here, but certainly—as the author states—this is not a definitive study of Fleischmann or his legacy. It is strongest in giving readers detail on a previously unknown, yet major figure in Nevada life. Similar facts are compressed into a final chapter of thirteen pages for the twenty-eight years Wheeler served as trustee of the Fleischmann Foundation, from inception in 1952 to termination in 1980. The book's format is attractive, easy to read and nicely bound.

Gentleman in the Outdoors gives Nevada historians plenty of leads for further exploration of the still-shadowy 1930s and 1940s. Wheeler shows that the Major was first enticed to Lake Tahoe in 1934 as a result of Great Depression tax advantages pushed through Nevada's legislature by the George Wingfield-Norman Biltz coterie in Reno. Fleischmann was not alone;

many other wealthy families built summer homes and changed residence as a result of Biltz's advertising. The Major invested in Nevada through another member of the Wingfield crowd, Lester D. Summerfield. Further, one wonders what was Fleischmann's role in forming Reno's Security National Bank and other Wingfield projects of the thirties and forties. Then there is the belated establishment of a state agency to manage Nevada wildlife—the state was allegedly the last to enact such legislation and only after federal money was dangled to pay costs involved. Papers of federal fish and game agencies, now available in the National Archives, give a very different aspect to the question. There is work here for a generation of researchers, if graduate history programs ever thrive again.

This volume is an attractive addition to the list of Wheeler's earlier works. I, for one, wish he would next give us something for which he has unique qualifications—an insider's interpretation of the formation, administration and termination of the Fleischmann Foundation.

John M. Townley
Great Basin Studies Center

The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Volume 2. August 30, 1803–August 24, 1804. Edited by Gary E. Moulton. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986. 612 pp., illustrations, figures, preface, introduction, notes, appendices, sources cited, index.)

The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Volume 3. August 25, 1804–April 6, 1805. Edited by Gary E. Moulton. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987). 544 pp., figures, preface, introduction, notes, sources cited, index.)

IN 1904-1905 THERE APPEARED THE EIGHT VOLUMES of the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ably edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. This was the first verbatim published version of the journals. The first edition (1814) was only a paraphrase by Nicholas Biddle; Elliott Coues's edition (1893) was a reissue of Biddle, with extensive annotation. Using Thwaites's admirable work as their principal source, numerous scholars—such as Paul Russell Cutright, James P. Ronda, John Logan Allen, Robert Betts, Elijah Harry Criswell, John Bakeless, Eldon G. Chuinard, and Richard Dillon—have given us a fuller appreciation of the enormous geographical, biological, linguistic, anthropological, medical, military, and diplomatic significance of the expedition.

Why then a new edition of the journals? A better question is, why wasn't a new edition prepared long before now? Almost as soon as Thwaites had

completed his labors, other Lewis and Clark documents came to light. The most notable of these were edited by Donald Jackson, Milo Milton Quaife, and Ernest S. Osgood. The additional materials, along with improved editorial techniques, new questions being asked of the journals, and errors by Thwaites, have prompted the launching of the Moulton edition, which, when completed, will total a projected eleven volumes. The Center for Great Plains Studies and the American Philosophical Society (where most of the original journals are housed) are sponsoring this ambitious undertaking.

Volume 1 (published in 1983) is an atlas; Volumes 2 and 3 begin presenting the actual journals of Lewis and Clark. They cover the epic journey from Pittsburgh to the Vermillion River (South Dakota), and from the Vermillion to the Mandan villages (North Dakota), where the Corps of Discovery wintered, 1804-1805. Most of the entries in the second and third volumes come from the pen of William Clark.

Volume 2 contains material that is pertinent to subsequent volumes: an introduction to the entire edition and an explanation of editorial procedures. Each volume has a separate introduction, along with lists of symbols and abbreviations, and of "special symbols" and "common abbreviations" used by the co-leaders of the expedition.

These first installments of the new edition give ample evidence of meticulousness, consistency, and profound knowledge of the subject. Moulton and his staff have also addressed the numerous difficulties inherent in historical editing with a fortunate combination of good sense and imagination. The annotations are full without being wordy. Researchers and other readers will appreciate the virtues of the editors; they will also come to have a renewed respect for the genius of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

Michael J. Brodhead
University of Nevada, Reno

Landmarks of the West: A Guide to Historic Sites. By Kent Ruth. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1963, 1986. 309 pp., illustrations, maps, index.)

KENT RUTH HAS REISSUED HIS POPULAR GUIDE to historic sites of the West. He selects 150 historically significant sites then condenses the history of each to one page. On the facing page he juxtaposes "then" and "now" illustrations. To capture the human element, Ruth tries to find contemporary observers to describe the site during its most significant period. Finally, an outline map of the state locates each site next to its closest city.

The book, however, is not for the traveling history buff. There are no

instructions on how to reach the sites. Nonetheless, the armchair traveler will enjoy the concise and accurate thumbnail sketches. In short, the book is fun to read.

The University of Nebraska Press has done a nice job of book making. Each page reflects the thoughtful design that one comes to expect of the press.

There are some frustrations with the methodology. Apparently Ruth did not develop criteria for determining which sites should be included. Therefore, many significant places fail to be listed. In fact, Ruth does not assess the significance of the sites or provide context for their history. Thus, the reader must have a solid background in the history of the American West to appreciate most of the entries. Even so, a list of additional readings for each state would have made the book more valuable. In addition, the updated edition did not update all entries, especially present-day photographs. Many look dated and out of place.

In 1963, when Ruth first wrote this book, few understood the arcane field of historic preservation. Now, most educated readers recognize the importance of the preservation of original fabric. Thus, the inclusion of numerous reconstructions, which are modern replicas of historic places, illustrates a commercial perspective and a lack of appreciation for original fabric.

While the book may dismay scholars and historic preservationists, history buffs and chambers of commerce will enjoy it.

Melody Webb
National Park Service

Trail of the First Wagons Over the Sierra Nevada. By Charles K. Graydon.
(Gerald, MO: The Patrice Press, 1986. 80 pp., foreword, introduction, illustrations.)

THIS BOOK IS PRAISEWORTHY ON FOUR COUNTS: originality and accuracy of research involved; the quality of writing, combining clarity with economy; superior maps and photographs; and finally, a handsome format.

Eastern flatlanders heading for California during the Gold Rush had problems enough crossing wilderness prairies, plains, the continental divide, and the oven-like Great Basin, before they confronted the immense barrier of the Sierra Nevada, which lacked the equivalent of the gentle South Pass that had eased their passage over the central Rocky Mountains. This great escarpment with its dense forests, maze of canyons, and often perpendicular cliffs, was made worse by the fact that the emigrants approached it in a weakened condition from their previous trials. Fortunately for them a handful of pre-Gold Rush emigrants had pioneered several ways to cross this last great obstacle.

The author tells of his definitive rediscovery of the Donner Trail or Truckee route, the oldest of the several emigrant crossings, and describes in dramatic detail what it's like today.

Graydon, retired Army colonel and ardent hiker and skier, became intrigued by a puzzle. Where did the covered wagon emigrants cross the Sierra Nevada, and what happened to the evidence of their passage? He set for himself the task of rediscovering the exact route of the 1844 emigrant company that was the first to take wagons over these mountains. This was led by a charismatic character known as Elisha Stephens or Stevens. (It is spelled both ways by both contemporaries and historians. "Stevens" is used by George R. Stewart who, in his classic *Trails to California*, provides the most authoritative account of the pre-Gold Rush overlanders and their working out of the Truckee, Carson, and other routes over the Sierra Nevada.)

Several emigrants as well as the explorer, Frémont, have left descriptions of this route. Graydon's problem was that the old mountain trail itself had largely disappeared, partly from the passage of time, but mainly from roads, railroads, power lines, and other works of civilization. Nevertheless, with old diaries in hand, by patience, perseverance, the help of other trail detectives, and the joyful discovery of landmarks, wheel traces, and emigrant debris, he gradually put the pieces of the puzzle together. Thus, has emerged this book, beautiful enough to grace any library, but also usable as a field guide by the growing army of overland trail enthusiasts who revel in hands-on (or rather, "feet-on") reliving of the covered wagon experience.

Over 1,000 of these nostalgic trail followers, including the author and this reviewer, are members of the Oregon-California Trails Association, headquartered in Gerald, Missouri, which was organized in 1982, and had their fourth annual convention in Carson City in August, 1985. This group of volunteers has performed wonders in their program to encourage research, interpretation, and preservation of these historic trails.

I share Graydon's regret that the name "Donner," applied to this trail, a lake, and the key pass, all immortalize the 1846 emigrants who came to a tragic end on this route, while no geographic feature today memorializes Elisha Stevens, who succeeded spectacularly where the Donner Party failed, and whose route proved to be ideal also for builders of the Central Pacific Railroad, U.S. Highway 40, and Interstate 80.

Merrill J. Mattes,
Littleton, Colorado

Birds of the Great Basin: A Natural History. By Fred A. Ryser, Jr. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1985. 604 pp., illustrations, appendix, literature cited, index.)

THE PUBLICATION OF A MAJOR VOLUME on the birds of the Great Basin, a vast and incompletely studied region of North America, should engender widespread enthusiasm among ornithologists and naturalists. After all, knowledge of distribution in this huge region has been inadequate for much of the biota and important new discoveries can be expected even in the computer age. Despite its title, Ryser's new book does not begin to summarize satisfactorily the status and distribution of birds in the Great Basin. Statements on geographic occurrence are superficial and often inaccurate. The survey of existing literature is incomplete. The major scientific collections of birds from the Great Basin, although not extensive, were essentially ignored. There are no distribution maps for any species. Inclusive dates for species present during only part of the year are not given. Ryser attempted no distributional synthesis and his treatment avoids mention of several preliminary syntheses on Great Basin avian geography that are already in the published literature. Standards for the acceptance of records are woeful. Ryser took no pains to sift scientific evidence for occurrence from the disparate "information" available. For example, as evidence for the summer presence in western Nevada of the Rough-legged Hawk (*Buteo lagopus*), Ryser cites Ridgway's report that the species "was extremely abundant in July [of 1867] at the Truckee Meadows [Reno-Sparks], where during the day half a dozen or more were often noticed at one time sailing in broad circles over the meadows." The fact that no voucher specimen was taken, that Ridgway was an inexperienced teenager at the time, and that no verifiable breeding record for this species has been obtained from anywhere south of central Canada in the ensuing 120 years suggests that the report was certainly based on a misidentification.

But the book is not without its redeeming virtues. The accounts of individual species, which form the bulk of the text, offer information on widely distributed birds of the western American interior. These accounts vary greatly in length, content, and quality. Most are a page or two long and typically emphasize breeding biology, food habits, and habitat occurrence. Certain well-studied species (e.g., Canada Goose [*Branta canadensis*] and Black-billed Magpie [*Pica pica*]) receive six or eight pages of text covering most central topics in the natural history of the species and successfully integrate the results of even the most recent research. These are scholarly, well-prepared summaries. Other accounts are disappointingly brief and anecdotal and are sometimes based on dated, even semi-popular sources. Thus, Ryser (p. 468) chooses to repeat Taverner's claim that the male Yellow-breasted Chat (*Icteria virens*) "laughs dryly, gurgles derisively, whistles

triumphantly, chatters provokingly, and chuckles complacently, all in one breath." The gushy account (pp. 432-434) of the perceived qualities of voice in the Hermit Thrush (*Catharus guttatus*) represents more of the same. There can be no excuse to perpetuate such sentimental and anthropomorphic blather in the serious biological literature. Even the longest and most complete species write-ups are presented as rambling narratives with no side headings under which information is organized (and, hence, easily retrieved). Common species are accorded full accounts; uncommon and rare forms receive a perfunctory sentence or two in a combined final section for each group. Students and serious amateurs will not find it easy to research particular topics in this book; professionals should skip it and go straight to the primary literature.

A potentially serious problem with the information offered in many accounts is that it may not apply to Great Basin populations of the species in question. Thus, under the Downy Woodpecker (*Picoides pubescens*), details of foraging, based on studies in Kansas, and descriptions of the scheduling and form of courtship and early nesting behavior, based on field data from Maryland and New Hampshire, may be quite inappropriate for populations out West. In fact, the features mentioned probably vary significantly even within the Great Basin which is inhabited by two well-characterized subspecies (*P. p. turati* and *P. p. leucurus*) of this woodpecker. In Nevada, these subspecies occupy very different environments, cottonwoods and willows in the valleys versus aspen woodlands in the higher mountains. Insofar as is known, *turati* and *leucurus* do not contact during the breeding period. Important differences in ecology, therefore, are to be expected. In fact, a general shortcoming of this book is that the contents are based largely on studies done outside the Great Basin.

Two excellent chapters, "The Fire of Life" and "The Water of Life," highlight the book. These describe, in a most readable fashion, how the "key to survival in the Great Basin lies in successfully remaining in heat balance and water balance," and represent the best concise accounts of these topics that I have yet encountered.

The book is attractively designed and sturdily bound. Sixty fine color photographs by Tony Diebold, John Running, and Stephen Trimble and thirty pencil drawings by Jennifer Dewey illustrate typical Great Basin species.

This volume can be recommended to recreational birders and to beginning students who wish to learn about the natural history of common species in the Intermountain Region. However, professional ornithologists and advanced students of bird distribution in the western United States will find this work to be of very limited utility. Alas, it is a sad truth that Linsdale's compilation of bird records for Nevada, published one-half century ago and now badly out

of date, contains far more detailed, documented information on avian distribution in the Great Basin than does the book reviewed here.

Ned K. Johnson
University of California, Berkeley

For another viewpoint:

When the steering committee met to set guidelines for the Max C. Fleischmann Series in Great Basin Natural History to be published by the University of Nevada Press, a critical decision was made pertaining to the intended audience for the series. It was determined that the series should attempt to reach the serious amateur, but be comprehensible to the novice. Ryser, a member of that steering committee, reaches that audience effectively. This book is not intended to be a field guide nor is it intended to be a zoogeographical reference on avian distribution. It is a book *about* the birds of the Great Basin detailing, at least for the more common species, aspects of their life styles and behavior in the Great Basin. The book was written at a transitional time when many changes in North American avian classification and nomenclature were not represented in field guides or popular literature. Ryser does an excellent job of explaining these changes and integrates the old system and the new in a manner fully understandable to his audience.

The first fifty-eight pages serve as an introduction to the Great Basin and to avian biology. Of particular interest are the chapters entitled "The Fire of Life" and "The Water of Life" which detail the adaptations possessed by birds which permit them to exploit a wide variety of environments. These chapters are presented in a clear, yet scholarly, manner which both the serious student and the amateur will find fascinating. Material presented in these chapters helps the reader appreciate the biological complexities of birds and gives the reader insights into avian adaptations which permit birds to inhabit the Great Basin which is subject to climatic extremes.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the species accounts of the birds of the Great Basin. The grouping of birds by chapters seems logical with the exception of the chapter entitled "Hibernators." Grouping the Caprimulgidae, the Apodidae and the Trochilidae together because one or more species in each family is capable of becoming torpid could be misleading to the casual reader. By inference the reader could gain the impression that these are non-migratory families who survive the Great Basin winters through the process of hibernation.

As expected, the individual species receive unequal treatment in the text. Common birds, which the birder is most likely to encounter, receive more space than uncommon species or rarities. Given the necessity of keeping the

size of the book to reasonable limits, the decision to handle the species accounts in this manner makes sense.

The material presented for each species is well written and reflects Ryser's life-long love affair with birds and with nature. Where space permits he cites many of his own observations gleaned from his extensive field work in the Great Basin. To add dimension to the narrative he freely cites from the published and unpublished observations of others. When Ryser cites other sources, however, the reader must differentiate whether these citations refer to birds in the Great Basin or whether they represent observations made in far distant regions of the country. Students of ornithology at all levels of accomplishment will find much in these narratives to interest them.

The appendix on Birding in the Great Basin presents time-saving and useful information to residents and visitors pertaining to good birding sites in this region. Not only does Ryser suggest places to go, he also points out the best time of the year to visit various sights and indicates what species might be found at various locations.

The drawings by Jennifer Dewey enhance the book. She has illustrated many species in poses that relate to information provided in the text and her excellent style adds a refreshing dimension for the reader. The colored photographs, by various contributors, differ greatly in quality and perhaps could have been reduced in number to slightly reduce the cost of the volume.

In summary, Fred Ryser meets very well the stated objectives of the steering committee. He presents us with a well-written book which is informative and stimulating. His readers will undoubtedly better understand the birds of this region and come to appreciate their adaptations which permit them to live in the fascinating Great Basin.

Donald H. Baepler
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Mark Twain: His Adventures at Aurora and Mono Lake. By George Williams III. (Riverside, CA: Tree By The River Publishing, 1986. 94 pp.)

Mark Twain: His Life in Virginia City, Nevada. By George Williams III. (Riverside, CA: Tree By The River Publishing, 1985. 197 pp.)

NOT EVEN REWRITING WOULD HELP THESE TWO BOOKS on Twain's experiences in Nevada. They fall short as popular histories. They fall farther short as scholarship. They don't even make it as acceptable prose.

There are places in both of these books where Williams has his facts correct and where, indeed, he relates information that too few Twain scholars know.

On the other hand, he is given to making sweeping statements which are unsupported—and insupportable. And errors of fact occur too frequently.

The book on Aurora and Mono Lake has the fewest errors, possibly because it is shorter. Twain spent about five months in Aurora. He learned something about silver mining and himself there, and he had some experiences he turned to good use in *Roughing It*. However, to call those five months “one of the most important periods in [Twain’s] life” is extravagant, even if one swallows Williams’s simplistic claim that “failure as an Aurora silver mine [sic] would cause him to turn to writing.” There were more and deeper reasons than misfortune in Aurora which “caused” Twain to become a writer.

A competing single cause for Twain’s career is claimed in the book on Twain’s Virginia City days. Joe Goodman, the editor of the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*, is there credited with having rescued Twain from his career as a struggling silver miner. In fact, Williams says, but for Goodman, “Mark Twain would not have been born nor allowed to develop his writing.”

As these claims suggest, Williams is at his weakest in his knowledge and use of Twain scholarship. Williams’s picture of a superhuman Twain “who knew without question right from wrong” is, of course, erroneous, as is his conviction that “Twain respected the Bible and believed in its moral teachings.” Although he includes works by Oscar Lewis and Edgar M. Branch in his bibliography he seems unaware of more apposite publications of theirs that should have changed his views on the origin of “The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County” and the degree of Twain’s accuracy in narrating the “blind lead” episode of *Roughing It*. He also thinks that Twain’s satires won him the respect of his readers; the truth is that at best the Comstock was ambivalent about him.

Neither of these books is well written. They are overloaded with typos and solecisms; errors are introduced into quotations; quotations are not uniformly identified; names are regularly misspelled; and works that Williams uses in his text do not appear in his bibliographies.

Twain’s action-packed years in Nevada, especially those spent as a reporter on the *Territorial Enterprise*, are generally conceded to have been formative ones. Paul Fatout’s excellent *Mark Twain in Virginia City* (1964) was—and remains—the standard treatment of the subject. Enough new material has come to light since 1964 in both periodical and book form to warrant a comprehensive update or even a new synthesis, but these books are not what we are waiting for.

Lawrence I. Berkove
University of Michigan—Dearborn

Reader's Notebook

A Report on Recent Books and Articles

FAY E. WARD'S *The Cowboy at Work: All About His Job and How He Does It*, originally published in 1958, was reissued by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1987. Utilizing text and numerous drawings to explain everything from the evolution of the cowboy's clothing and equipment to ways of handling a herd of cattle, types of saddles, the making of quirts and hog tying, the book is a valuable source of information on the daily work activities of the cowboy, past and present. The capturing of wild horses, treated briefly in Ward's book, is dealt with more fully in two recent autobiographical works: *Wild Mustangs* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1986), by Parley J. Paskett, who began "mustanging" in the 1930s; and *The Barnstorming Mustang* (Orovada, Nevada: Barber Industries, 1987), by Ted Barber, an aviator since the 1920s who used planes to round up wild horses in Nevada. Rambunctious horses, and cattle, are featured in Clifford P. Westermeier, *Man, Beast, Dust: The Story of Rodeo* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), a new edition of a 1947 work, and in "Joe Kelsey—Rodeo's Grand Old Man," *American West*, January/February 1987, a portrait by JoAnn Roe of a well-known rodeo stock contractor who worked in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Nevada. Aspects of the western ranching and cattle raising industry are discussed in Lawrence R. Borne, "Western Railroads and the Dude Ranching Industry," *Pacific Historian*, XXX (Winter 1986), and Thomas G. Alexander, "From Rule of Thumb to Scientific Range Management: The Case of the Intermountain Region of the Forest Service," *Western Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (October 1987).

Western agriculture and some of its current and past problems are topics in Hugh Lovin, "How Not to Run a Carey Act Project: The Twin Falls—Salmon Falls Creek Tract, 1904-1922," *Idaho Yesterdays*, 30 (Fall, 1986), an examination of an irrigation project in southwestern Idaho and northeastern Nevada; Steven J. Crum, "The Skull Valley Band of the Goshute Tribe—Deeply Attached to their Native Homeland," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 55 (Summer 1987), which deals with the Goshute farming inhabitants of Utah's Skull Valley and the Goshute Reservation in Deep Creek Valley on the Utah-

Nevada line; and David McCool, "Precedent for the Winters Doctrine: Seven Legal Principles," *Journal of the Southwest* (formerly *Arizona and the West*), 29 (Summer 1987), a look at the landmark 1908 court decision that "established for the first time an explicit recognition of Indian (and hence, federal) reserved water rights." Another water-related matter involving Indians, specifically the lack of water for a Paiute fishery, is noted in G. Gary Scoppettone, Mark Coleman and Gary A. Wedemeyer, *Life History and Status of the Endangered Cui-ui of Pyramid Lake, Nevada*, issued in 1986 by the U.S. Department of the Interior as No. 1 in a Fish and Wildlife Research series of monographs.

The larger problems of water scarcity in the West and the role it has played in shaping the history of the region is addressed in Roderick E. Walston's "Storm in the Desert: The Great Western Water Wars," *Journal of the West*, XXVI (July 1987), and in Donald Worster's provocative "New West, True West: Interpreting the Region's History," *Western Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (April 1987). The arid regions that Worster feels characterize the West are displayed in Philip Hyde's *Drylands: The Deserts of North America* (San Diego and New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), an oversize volume that surveys, in words and magnificent color photographs, the Mojave, Great Basin, Painted, Sonoran and Chihuahuan deserts.

The experiences of the early overland emigrants are related in Archer Butler Hulbert, *Forty-Niners: The Chronicle of the California Trail* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1986), a reprint of a 1931 book that used emigrant diaries to describe the overland journey to California during the gold rush. Another work on the emigrant experience, one that focuses on a single state, is a revised edition of Harold Curran's 1982 publication *Fearful Crossing: The Central Overland Trail Through Nevada* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1987). Jeanette Gould Maino's *Left Hand Turn: A Story of the Donner Party Women* (Modesto, California: Dry Creek Brooks, 1987) takes another look at what is probably the best-known of all the emigrant parties.

The emigrants' transportation of musical instruments and the presence of music on the trail are the subjects of Ruth Anderson's "Music on the Move: Instruments on the Western Frontier," *Overland Journal*, 5 (Spring 1987), while a somewhat later musical enterprise in Nevada is chronicled in Donald H. Erskine's "And the Band Played On: The Winnemucca City Band," *Humboldt Historian* (North Central Nevada Historical Society Quarterly), X (Nos. 1 & 2, 1987). Catherine Parsons Smith, of the University of Nevada music department, and Cynthia S. Richardson have authored *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer* (Ann Arbor: University Press of Michigan, 1987), a biography of an important figure in American music whose parents happened to reside in Nevada shortly before her birth. Military musicians are colorfully treated in *The Drums Would Roll: A Pictorial History of U.S. Army Bands on the American Frontier, 1866-1900* (Poole, England: Arms and

Armour Press, 1987), a brief but profusely illustrated volume by Thomas C. Railsback and John P. Langellier. Some non-musician military figures of the West have been profiled in Paul Andrew Hutton, ed., *Soldiers West: Biographies from the Military Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

Nevada's Comstock Lode, as nineteenth-century mining camp and twentieth-century tourist center, is portrayed in a number of recent publications. T. Allan Comp and Elizabeth Beckham have prepared *Sagebrush and Silver: A Visitor's Guide to the Comstock* (Virginia City: T. Allan Comp and Elizabeth Beckham, 1987), a booklet that briefly traces the history of the Comstock from the 1850s to the present and describes Virginia City's extant historic structures. Gloria J. Kramer has gathered some fascinating information in *A Walking Guide to the Virginia City Cemeteries* (Reno: AMS Publications, 1987). The use of camels in early Nevada and the origin of Virginia City's present-day camel races are discussed in Douglas McDonald's "Camels on the Comstock" and an accompanying note by David Moore in the October 1987 issue of *Nevada Magazine*. Two twentieth-century residents of Virginia City have been sketched in Madelyn Kurth's "Florence Edwards, She Made Sure the West Stayed Wild," *The Nevadan Today* (Sunday magazine of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*), November 8, 1987, about the proprietor of the Silver Dollar Hotel and member of the coterie of colorful personalities, one of whom was Lucius Beebe, that helped transform Virginia City into a major tourist attraction in the 1950s, and in William J. Henley, Jr.'s "Virginia City Huckster," *Nevada Magazine*, July/August 1987, a portrait of Paul Smith, the museum operator and promoter who also was one of the important figures involved in Virginia City's mid-century renaissance.

Image makers and commercial promoters outside the Comstock are discussed in Peter L. Bandurraga's "Image of Gaming," *Nevada Magazine*, May/June 1987, while one of Las Vegas' important hotel-casinos has its development recorded in Richard B. Taylor's compilation, *Las Vegas Hacienda Hotel History, As Reported by the Las Vegas Review-Journal and the Las Vegas Sun* (Las Vegas: Richard B. Taylor, 1986). Hollywood's image of Las Vegas and its gambling, as reflected in a 1956 motion picture musical, has captured the attention of David Barnett in his article about "'Meet Me in Las Vegas,'" *The Nevadan Today*, October 25, 1987.

A motion picture of another sort, one of several science fiction films of the 1950s whose plots revolved around fantastic, dire results of atomic testing in Nevada, is recalled in Rick Healy's story about *The Amazing Colossal Man*: "The Big Guy Who was Nevada's Own Schlock Monster," *The Nevadan Today*, August 2, 1987. Very real and deadly consequences of Nevada's atmospheric nuclear tests in the 1950s and early 1960s are examined in Joseph Bauman's "Downwinders: America's Nuclear Sacrificial Lambs," *High Country News*, July 6, 1987.

The history of Nevada's White Pine County and its principal community is celebrated in *City of Ely Centennial, 1887-1987*, a hundred-page special edition of the *Ely Daily Times*. Some of the inhabitants of Ely and neighboring towns are discussed in the booklet *Saving Our Heritage: Ethnic Cultures of White Pine County, Nevada* (Ely: White Pine County Public Museum, 1987), and one of the significant ethnic groups of White Pine, as well as of the intermountain West, receives fond attention from Trisha Clausen Zubizarreta in *Chorizos, Beans, and Other Things: A Poetic Look at the Basque Culture* (Boise, Idaho: Lagun Txiki Press, 1987). The Great Basin National Park, established in White Pine County in 1987, is lavishly depicted, in text and photographs, and has the story of its development told in Donald Dale Jackson's "The Great Basin is a Lonely Place for a National Park," *Smithsonian*, November 1987. The history of the nation's other national parks is presented in Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), a revised second edition of a 1979 work.

The development of one of Nevada's new boomtowns being built upon gambling-related tourism is described in compiler Richard B. Taylor's *Laughlin, Nevada History, As Reported by the Las Vegas Review-Journal and the Las Vegas Sun* (Las Vegas: Richard B. Taylor, 1986). Hollywood's image articles appearing in the August/September 1987 issue of *Discover the Colorado River*, a new "Desert Lifestyle Magazine" published in Lake Havasu City, Arizona. Earlier activities along the Colorado are recalled by Melvin T. Smith in "Before Powell: Exploration of the Colorado River," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 55 (Spring 1987).

A number of recent noteworthy books and articles have dealt with various localities in Nevada. The history of the Deeth-Starr Valley area in Elko County is the subject of Bessie Winchell's *Now and Then* (Prineville, Oregon: Bonanza Publishing, 1986), and in "Twin Bridges CCC Camp," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1987), Louis A. Kamps and Edna B. Patterson relate Kamps' experiences at a Civilian Conservation Corps camp in the same county in 1940. James W. Hulse, in "The Afterlife of St. Mary's County; Or, Utah's Penumbra in Eastern Nevada," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 55 (Summer 1987), discusses the political, economic and cultural ties that exist between Utah and an area of eastern Nevada that once was a part of Utah territory. Some active churches have their history related in *A Journal of 100 Years: Catholic Life in Yerington and Smith Valley, Nevada* (Gardnerville, Nevada: Carson Valley Printing Co., 1986), a compilation by Ione Minister of items from newspapers and church records, and in Meryl Deming's *First Congregational Church of Reno, 1871-1986* (Reno: Women's Fellowship, First Congregational Church of Reno, 1986). One of Nevada's oldest settled areas is the subject of Linda Sommer's *A Carson Valley Bibliography* (Reno: Camp Nevada, 1986). *Tahoe, Lake in the Sky*

(Lakeport, California: WESANNE Enterprises, 1987), by Anne and Wes Seagraves, describes the past and present Lake Tahoe Basin in a brief text and many color and black-and-white photographs. The premiere number of *Churchill County In Focus* (annual journal of the Churchill County Museum Association), which appeared in 1987, contains a number of historical articles about the county and sketches of some longtime residents. Included are Sharon Lee Taylor's "Nevada's Underwater Mystery in the Desert," an article about a flooded nineteenth-century soda works whose secrets were finally yielded only after underwater archaeological surveys, and Brian W. Hatoff's "Archaeological Research in Churchill County: A Tale of Changing Perspectives." Archaeological work in Churchill County and elsewhere in Nevada and the Great Basin is examined in C. Melvin Aikens, editor, *Current Status of CRM Archaeology in the Great Basin*, issued by the Nevada State Office of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management in 1986 as No. 9 in its Cultural Resource Series.

A reference work that will be useful to anyone interested in Nevada's current and recent politics is the *Nevada Legislative Almanac, 1987* (Las Vegas: Forrester Enterprises, 1987), by Mary Forrester and Michael Lamont. The volume contains, in addition to such things as information on the legislative process and a directory of lobbyists, portraits and biographical profiles of legislators, the governor and lieutenant governor, as well as lists of contributors to these officials' election campaigns. Several individuals who have figured prominently in Nevada's recent political history are the subjects of biographical sketches published during the past year: "Paul Laxalt: President from Nevada?", by Mitch Fox, appeared in the July 1987 issues of both *LV* ("The Magazine of Las Vegas") and *Reno* ("The Magazine of Northern Nevada . . ."); Robert Broadbent, recently U.S. Commissioner of Reclamation, is profiled in Franklin Bills' "Power Player Bob Broadbent Glad to be Home," *The Nevadan Today* (Sunday magazine of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*), July 12, 1987; the career of former Las Vegas chief executive Oran Gragson is examined in Jean Norton's "The Non-retirement of Mayor Gragson," *The Nevadan Today*, October 18, 1987; and the Cashman family of Las Vegas, a business and political force in southern Nevada since the 1920s, receives attention in Christie Wagner's "Cashman's Dynasty," *The Nevadan Today*, April 19, 1987. The still very active daughter of one of Nevada's most famous U.S. senators is portrayed in "Pat McCarran's Daughter is Rancher, Nun, Activist," an article by Victoria C. Nash in *The Nevadan Today*, August 9, 1987.

Non-political personalities have also been the subjects of notable new articles. Wilbur May, the department store fortune heir who adopted Nevada as his home, is written about in Phyllis Zauner's "Wandering Wilbur's Curios Compose a Museum," *The Nevadan Today*, July 16, 1987, and two individuals who spent some time in the Silver State are recalled in Lynnette Luke's

"Will Rogers' Nevada Days," *Nevada Magazine*, November/December 1987, and James W. Hulse's "Thomas Starr King: Practical Visionary of the Pacific Slope," *Journal of the West*, XXVI (July 1987). Sally Zanjani relates a Nevada incident in the career of gunman Jack Longstreet in "Gunfight at the Chispa," *The Nevadan Today*, September 6, 1987, while the activities of a group of stagecoach robbers, among them Charley Allison, a onetime handcuff salesman in Nevada, are recorded in Mark Dugan, *Bandit Years: A Gathering of Wolves* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Sunstone Press, 1987).

Aspects of Nevada's industrial economy are dealt with in two recent publications. The first edition of *The Compleat Nevada Industrial Directory* (Gold Hill and Las Vegas, Nevada: Gold Hill Publishing Co., 1987) contains information on business developments in the state, a list of industrial companies, and short articles on Nevada's educational institutions and major airports. Kimberly S. Harris, in "Manufacturing Employment Growth in Nevada," *Nevada Review of Business and Economics*, XI (Winter 1986-87), examines "job creation by new manufacturing firms in Nevada between 1974 and 1984" and finds, among other things, that much of that manufacturing was related to the gambling industry. A possible future key to high tech industrial development in the state is discussed in the August 17, 1987, issue of *High Country News*: Steve Hinchman and Ed Marston, in "The Superconducting Collider," examine the multi-billion-dollar federal project for construction of a Superconducting Super Collider atom smasher and the efforts by several western states, Nevada among them, to secure the project and its anticipated economic benefits.

Eric N. Moody
Curator of Manuscripts

New Resource Materials

Nevada Historical Society

GEORGE WINGFIELD PAPERS

In 1967, eight years after his death, the papers of George Wingfield, Nevada mining entrepreneur, banker, rancher, hotel owner and preeminent political figure, were donated to the Nevada Historical Society by his son, George Wingfield, Jr. Originally, the collection was closed to public use until the year 2017; in 1981 the termination date of the use restrictions was lowered to 1997. In 1987, shortly before his own death, George Wingfield, Jr., removed all restrictions on access to the papers, effective January 1, 1988. Consequently, the Society has opened the Wingfield papers to researchers and a guide to them, prepared by Elizabeth Raymond, who processed the papers, has been issued.

The Wingfield collection constitutes one of the most significant primary sources extant on Nevada's economic and political affairs during the first four decades of this century. Consisting principally of correspondence files and corporate records, it contains material on Wingfield's activities throughout his long, varied and controversial career. There is a small body of correspondence and financial documents pertaining to his early days in Goldfield when, with future U.S. Senator George S. Nixon, he began to acquire the mining properties and companies that formed the basis of his wealth and behind-the-scenes political power. A considerable portion of the papers relate to the Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company, which, from its formation in 1906, was Wingfield's most important mining enterprise, and such other mining ventures as the Nevada Hills Mining Company, the Buckhorn Mines Company, the Reorganized Booth Mining Company, the Aurora Consolidated Mines Company, the Boundary Red Mountain Mining Company, and the Getchell Mine, which he and Noble Getchell developed in the 1930s.

Some of the other businesses owned or controlled by Wingfield whose records reside in the collection are: the Reno Securities Company, a holding company which owned the Golden and Riverside hotels in Reno; the various banks of the so-called Wingfield chain (Carson Valley Bank, John S. Cook & Company, Reno National Bank, and Riverside Bank among them); the Nevada Surety and Bonding Company, which bonded many public



George Wingfield at the mining camp of Wahmonie in 1928. (Photo from the George Wingfield Papers, Nevada Historical Society)

officials—including state treasurer Ed Malley and state controller George A. Cole who, in 1926, were found to have embezzled half a million dollars in state funds; a number of ranches and livestock companies, including Meadowbrook Ranch near Susanville, California, and the Nevada Stock Farm, where Wingfield raised racehorses; the Riverside Realty Company; the Riverside Mill Company; the Bonanza Hotel Company, which owned the magnificent Goldfield Hotel; and the Churchill Creamery.

Information on the above companies is also found in the collection's general correspondence files, the bulk of which are for the period 1910-1951, as is material on Wingfield's personal finances and his relationships with leading political and business figures in and outside of Nevada. There is, in addition, a small but fascinating group of photographs included at the end of the correspondence series.

George Wingfield was the dominant figure in Nevada business and politics from about 1910 until the failure of his banks in the early 1930s, and he continued to be an important public personality until his death at the age of eighty-three in 1959. The record of his activities, as embodied in the 150 cubic feet of his papers at the Nevada Historical Society, is an invaluable source of information for anyone interested in George Wingfield's career and, beyond that, the political and economic life of Nevada in the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Eric Moody
Curator of Manuscripts

Special Collections Department
University of Nevada-Reno, Library

The Special Collections Department recently added two important new collections to its manuscript and photograph holdings. The Alfred A. Hart photograph collection consists of sixty-one stereographic views of the route followed by the Central Pacific Railroad as it was constructed through Nevada in 1868. Hart, a Sacramento photographer, was hired by the Central Pacific to photograph the route as part of an effort to publicize the railroad and attract settlers to the adjacent land. As payment for the work, Hart was allowed to sell the stereographic views. The sixty-one images in this collection are part of the nearly four hundred Hart produced for the Central Pacific.

The Jewett family papers consist of thirteen letters dating from 1861 to 1867. Oscar and Alonzo Jewett came west from Saginaw, Michigan to the California gold mines in the 1850s. Like many, they followed the Washoe rush east and by January of 1861 had interests in three Virginia City claims.



Chinese Camp, Brown's Station. (From the Alfred A. Hart Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno)

Beginning with their letter home in July, 1861, the Jewetts narrate their personal story of the rough and tumble life in Nevada Territory, describing in detail their wages, living conditions, events in Virginia City such as Governor Nye's inauguration and desperado Sam Brown's demise, and the rise and fall of mining fortunes. This accession includes letters from family members in Saginaw which comment on this Nevada news as well as reporting on family activities. According to one of Alonzo's letters, their news of the enlistment and subsequent death of brother Wallace in the Civil War prompted Oscar to enlist as a 1st lieutenant in Company D, Nevada Territory Volunteers, serving initially at Fort Churchill and in the Honey Lake region. Oscar later served with distinction under General Patrick E. Connor in the 1865 Powder River expedition. Published campaign accounts and Alonzo's letters document Oscar's service. A guide to this collection lists each letter and summarizes their contents.

In addition to new acquisitions, several previously accessioned collections have now been fully cataloged and have guides available to assist researchers.

The George F. Smith papers, 1919-1934, consist of .75 cubic feet of correspondence. Donated by Bruce A. and Samuel F. Beardsley, this collection contains extensive correspondence between Smith (Reno Postmaster, 1926-1934), Senator Tasker L. Oddie, and Representative Samuel S. Arentz: Smith served as their political advisor and "ears" in Nevada and regularly sent frank reports to Washington. Both incoming and outgoing letters are included, as are letters to postal colleagues of Smith.

The Sierra Club records consist of two separate accessions, one donated by Rose Strickland on behalf of the Toiyabe Chapter, and the second by Richard C. Sill, former physics professor at UNR and an officer in national and Nevada Sierra Club governing bodies. The Sill accession consists of 51 cu. ft. (1957-1980) and is now processed and available to researchers. The Toiyabe Chapter section consists of 24 cu. ft. (1924-1987); the collection has been processed but is waiting final review by the Chapter before it is opened to the public.

Susan Searcy
Manuscript Curator

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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, 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.

