NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

WINTER 1988

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

Prospective authors should send their work to The Editor, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503. Papers should be typed double-spaced and sent in duplicate. All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform with the most recent edition of the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and numbered consecutively. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor.

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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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BACK COVER: Eugene V. Debs, a Socialist candidate for president during the 1912 election, spoke to a packed house in Reno at the Majestic Theatre. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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.

SOCIALISM IN NEVADA, 1904-1918: FAINT ECHOES OF AN IDEALISTIC NATIONAL MOVEMENT

JAMES HULSE

BROAD MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL REFORM HAVE SELDOM been popular in Nevada—a commonwealth that has long been identified as a "single industry" state and notorious as a jurisdiction that encourages gambling, winks at prostitution, and for decades financed its schools and welfare programs at poverty levels. There have been many special-interest groups formed for both private and public purposes. Few multi-purpose organizations have dared to organize a diverse political platform for social justice.

Until recently, social reformers have received little attention in the Silver State, either in their lifetimes or in the reflected light of history. Writers who have made retrospective studies of Nevada have concentrated their attention on the successful politicians or the rich and powerful plutocrats, whose reputations for integrity are seldom justifications for the attention they have received.

One movement dedicated to regenerating society in Nevada in the early 1900s went under the label of "Socialist." It prospered briefly between 1904 and 1916—roughly during the glory days of the mining towns of Tonopah and Goldfield, the rise of the White Pine copper industry, and the beginnings of the Newlands Project. Then the infant Socialist movement faded in the patriotic upsurge of World War I, the "Red Scare," and the popular tilt toward "normalcy." Before the war, in Nevada and nationwide, Socialist candidates for the United States Senate and for the House of Representatives had a growing constituency that startled the older political parties and challenged them in the name of more democratic principles.

The period of Socialist activity in Nevada coincided almost exactly with the years during which Eugene Victor Debs led the main branch of the movement on the national level.[1] The Nevada experience was a miniature sample

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Attorney A. Grant Miller was a leader in the Socialist Party in Nevada. He ran unsuccessfully for office with that party and was editor of a newspaper that promoted socialism. (From *The Nevada Newsletter,* November 28, 1914)

of the national and international movements. On the other hand, events in Nevada had relatively little to do with Debs himself.[2]

Nevada Socialism had two notable leaders during that era—A. Grant Miller and Martin Scanlan. Their immediate political achievements were modest, but they developed for the Socialist movement two assets—the allegiance of a substantial number of miners, reclamation-land farmers and railroad workers and a measure of respectability under the banner of a moderate, many-faceted reform program. When the Socialist Party which they had led collapsed during World War I, each eventually identified himself with the Republican Party and continued his work for social justice.

Nevada Socialists were the indirect heirs of the Nevada Silver crusaders, who dominated state politics from 1892 until about 1900 and who were identified first with the Populists and later with the Democrats. Gradually the Silverites had been absorbed within the Democratic fold under the national leadership of William Jennings Bryan in his presidental campaigns of 1896, 1900 and 1908. As the "fusion" of the Democrats and Silverites turned gradually away from the causes of free and unlimited coinage of silver, reform, and populism, some Nevadans who had favored the Silverites in the 1890s supported the cause of Socialism.[3]

The Socialists made gradual progress at the polls for several years in Nevada. They offered three presidential electors, pledged to Debs, for the first time in 1904 and received about seven per cent of the popular vote. In 1906, the label Democrat-Silver appeared on the ballot for the last time, and the new Socialist Party was represented for the first time with a slate of candidates for all the major statewide races. In the 1906 and 1908 elections, Socialist candidates won between eight and ten per cent of the popular vote.[4]

Between the 1906 and 1908 elections, Goldfield experienced the most serious labor unrest in its history when the Industrial Workers of the World and the Western Federation of Miners tested their strength against that of the mine owners. On January 20, 1907, some Goldfield workers conducted a parade to commemorate the second anniversary of the infamous "Bloody Sunday" in St. Petersburg—the opening event of the 1905 Revolution in Russia. There were several strikes, much picketing, and occasional violence in Goldfield. Early in 1907, a shooting occurred on a picket line, and two laborers—Morrie Preston and Joseph Smith—went on trial for murder and were convicted on the basis of highly questionable evidence.[5]

At the peak of the tension in November, Governor John Sparks asked President Theodore Roosevelt to send federal troops to Goldfield to reduce the possibility of violence. When the President complied, the mine owners used the troops as protection for themselves and their property while they lowered the wage scale and required their employees to sign an anti-union pledge card as a condition of future employment. President Roosevelt, feeling that he had been tricked, withdrew the troops early in 1908, but in the

Martin J. Scanlan ran on the Socialist ticket in Nevada and won election to the state Senate in 1912. (From *Nevada Socialist,* September, 1914.)

meantime the governor had been forced to call a special session of the legislature, which had established a new state police force. While these events produced a victory for mine owners, they embittered many industrial workers and other laborers, and they provided one cause for the expansion of the Socialist movement in Nevada.[6]

By 1910, Socialists had begun to find the organization and the message for an effective campaign, partly because A. Grant Miller, a Michigan-born attorney, had arrived in Nevada about two years earlier. The son of a Baptist minister, he combined a moral zeal with the art of persuasive preaching, which he transferred to Socialist causes. Born in 1867, he had read law in the office of a relative and had begun a legal career by serving large Michigan corporations; but at an early stage he had become interested in the cause of labor. He had studied the famous Pullman Strike of 1894, had become sympathetic with the working men, and had joined the Socialist movement in 1900, the year that Debs made his first run for the presidency.

Miller settled in the new railroad town of Sparks upon coming to Nevada in 1908. He rapidly became a prominent spokesman for the cause of the workingman. In the following twelve years, Miller ran for national office four times (1910, 1914, 1916, 1922)—making the final race as a Republican, because the socialist movement by that time had collapsed.

Miller tried to advance the Socialist cause initially in 1909 and 1911 through two successive newspapers and a magazine. In 1909 he became editor and publisher of *Nevada Forum,* which he soon renamed the *Forum.* This was a crusading tri-weekly published in Sparks when Miller assumed the editorship. It had vehemently advocated the abolition of legalized gambling in Reno, the repeal of Nevada's state police law, and general municipal reform. Under Miller's leadership, the *Forum* became a vehicle for chronicling the struggles of laboring people in other parts of the country and the world. This venture failed in the spring of 1910, but he soon initiated a successor, *The Voice of the People,* which advocated the Socialists' points of view during the general election of 1910 and the Reno municipal elections of 1911.

In the 1910 election, Miller was a candidate for the House of Representatives on the Socialist ticket; he recived 2,409 votes from the total of 20,163 (nearly 12 per cent), leading all the other Socialist candidates. In that election, Republican E. E. Roberts won the election with 10,066 votes; the Democrat Charles Sprague, received 7,688. If Sprague, a Goldfield newspaper editor, had received Miller's votes, he would have won the election by thirty one votes. Sprague therefore drew the conclusion that Miller had been the spoiler—a candidate planted by the Republicans to assure the election of Roberts.[7] (By this time Socialists were accustomed to such charges. Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor had charged in 1908 that the Republicans had financed the presidental campaign of Debs to weaken the Democrats and assure the election of William Howard Taft.)[8]

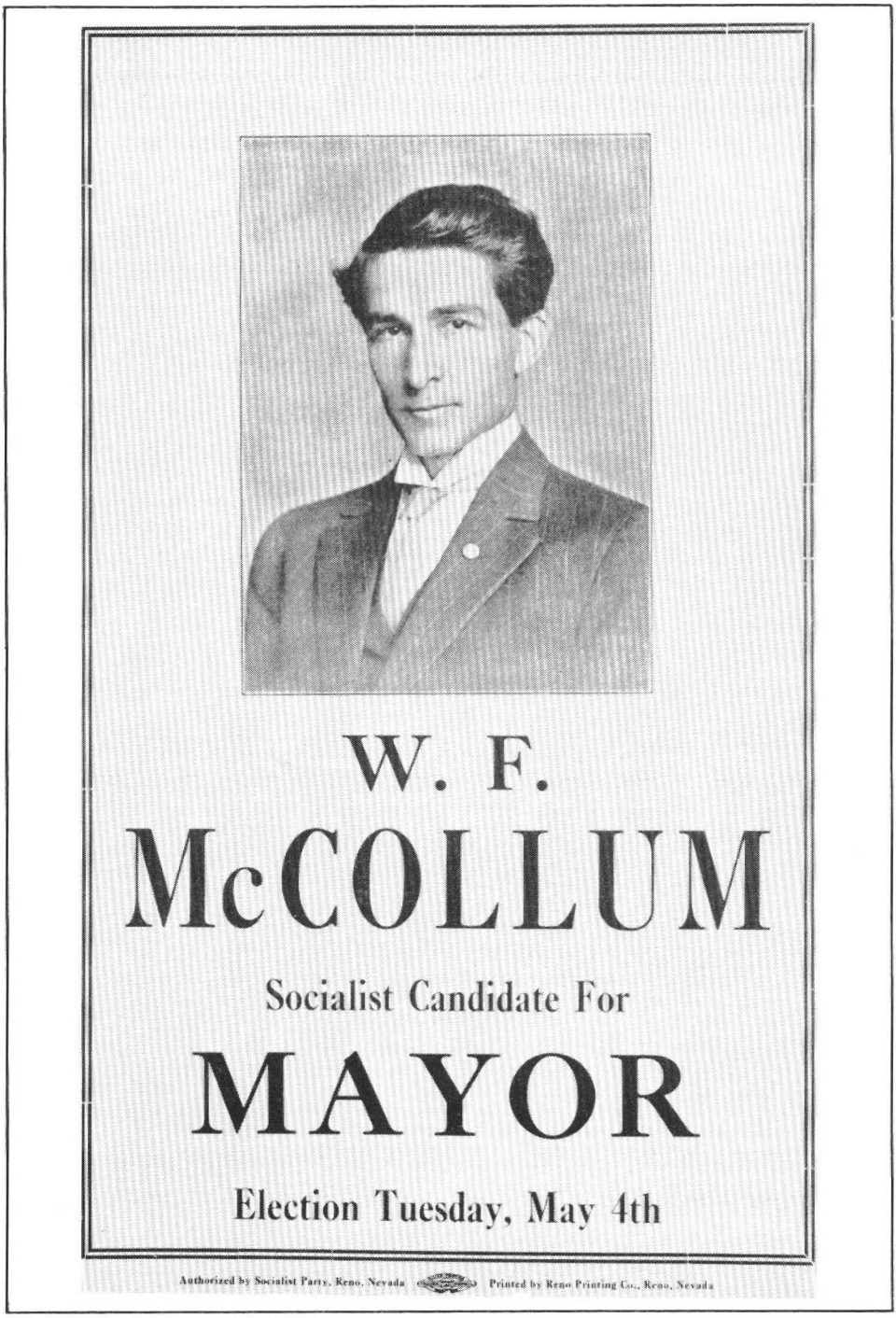
Jud Harris, a carpenter, represented the Socialists in an advisory referendum on the selection of United States Senator (the Seventeenth Amendment providing for direct election of senators had not yet been approved) and received slightly less than ten per cent of the popular vote. There were also Socialist candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, one district judgeship, and two seats on the University Board of Regents.

This election provided the first concrete opportunity for Socialists to define their message and to try to build a broad constituency in Nevada. In their state platform, they made a sweeping endorsement of the national Socialist program and argued for the establishment of a "co-operative commonwealth" to replace the "competitive system of industry" imposed by capitalism.[9] The platform called specifically for women's suffrage, for the initiative and referendum, and for employer-financed industrial compensation for workmen injured in industrial accidents. There were statements advocating the abolition of the death penalty, the adoption of free, uniform textbooks in the public schools, free medical service for all school pupils, hearings for teachers faced with the threat of dismissal, and opportunity for public use of school buildings during non-school hours.

The 1910 Socialist manifesto also focused on several sensitive local matters, such as the unpopular state police law passed by the 1908 special session of the legislature. There was a plank demanding a law which would require regular paydays for laborers and the right of workers to impose a laborers' lien upon the property of an employer who failed to pay workers' wages on time. It advocated improvement of the law regulating primary elections to assure the secrecy of the ballot and to provide better opportunities for small parties to present candidates. A residence requirement of only ten days was recommended to reduce the possibility that the itinerant laboring population would be deprived of the franchise by the vagaries of industrial employment. Some of these ideas seemed radical in 1910, but most became part of the law later.

Not long after the 1910 general election, Miller and his associates turned their attention toward municipal reform efforts in Reno, invoking examples from other parts of the country, and especially from the Middle West. In 1911, he contributed an analysis of the work of Socialist members of the Milwaukee City Council and the Wisconsin State Legislature, where the most successful state and local Socialist programs were underway. Socialists there had proposed legislation in favor of the eight-hour working day, greater safety precautions in the workplaces, legislation to assist the poor in housing and legal matters, and—once again—election reform.[10] Miller waged an unsuccessful campaign for city attorney in the spring of 1911, using the regular municipal elections as a forum for his ideas.

In the 1912 general election, when Miller's name was not on the ballot, there was a four-way contest for President between the Democrats (led by



W. F. McCollum was defeated in 1915 when he ran for Mayor on the Socialist ticket in Reno. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Woodrow Wilson), the regular Republicans (led by incumbent President William Howard Taft), and the Bullmoose Progressives (led by former President Theodore Roosevelt), and the Socialists (under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs for the fourth time). The candidates for the Socialists polled more than fifteen per cent of the Nevada votes in the Presidential and House races. Debs made a campaign stop in Reno and spoke to a packed house in the Majestic Theater. When the votes were counted, he ran ahead of President Taft in Nevada, but far behind the victorious Wilson.

Many historians of Socialism regard 1912 as the year when the American Socialist Party was at the peak of its influence. The strong showing of Debs—with more than 900,000 popular votes— set new records that seemed to portend better things for the future. The movement was not able to continue its momentum, however, partly because internal factionalism between left, center, and right-wing groups crippled its efforts.[11]

In Nevada the most promising results came two and four years later. In 1914, during the first election for the Senate under Article XVI of the U.S. Constitution, Miller opposed the two-term incumbent Democratic Senator Francis G. Newlands and the highly respected Republican Samuel Platt. The former won with only a 40-vote plurality out of a total of 21,567. One surprising element was that Miller received 5,451 votes, or more than 25 per cent of the total.[12] He carried Nye and Esmeralda counties—the locales of the booming camps of Tonopah and Goldfield. He also ran well in the copper producing towns of White Pine County and in other small mining and railroad communities. Socialists seemed to be making progress each year. By this time, fellow zealots from outside the state had become convinced that there was a good opportunity to win a decisive victory for their cause in Nevada.[13]

The 1916 election, which featured President Wilson's reelection campaign and the Republican challenge from Charles Evans Hughes, the Socialist presidential bid (this time not represented by Debs) was overshadowed in Nevada. Miller, again the Socialist candidate, fared very well in the senatorial race against Democratic incumbent Senator Key Pittman and Republican Platt. He had 9,507 votes, or nearly 29 per cent, of a total of 32,890. Once again Miller received many votes in the younger and more prosperous mining communities. He ran ahead of Senator Pittman in five of Goldfield's six precincts, in both Las Vegas precincts, in Mineral County and—by a thin margin—in the Senator's home town of Tonopah.

If only the votes from the larger and newer towns had counted, Miller would have cut short the senatorial career of Key Pittman at the end of one term. But he lost Washoe County to both his opponents by more than a thousand votes, and he ran badly in rural, and especially in Mormon, communities. It must have been a heady matter for this relative newcomer to Nevada to contemplate a seat in the United States Senate under the Socialist banner in 1916. The Socialist wave may have crested on the national level in 1912, but that fact was not clear in the western deserts four years later.

Simultaneously with this partial success, some Socialists from outside Nevada launched a noble and—in the last analysis—rather pathetic effort to establish a utopian socialist-pacifist colony near Fallon under the leadership of Job Harriman (who had been the vice presidential running-mate of Debs in 1900) and C. V. Eggleston, his financial advisor. The rise and fall of the Nevada City cooperative colony between the spring of 1916 and the early part of 1918 has been well documented.[14] This was peripheral to the wider Socialist movement in Nevada, but the disenchantment and the suggestion of anti-patriotism associated with that movement during World War I obviously hurt the reputation of the entire Socialist cause.

In 1914 and 1916, Miller shared the socialist ticket with Martin J. Scanlan, a typical representative of the western mining frontier.[15] A native of Massachusetts of Irish background, Scanlan had followed the mineral rushes to Utah, Montana, Alaska, California, Arizona and Mexico before he reached Tonopah in 1906, learning some law along the way. He spent a decade (1906-1915) in that town and won election to the state Senate as a Socialist in 1912. In that same year Tonopah elected a Socialist Justice of the Peace, Harry Dunseath, who had a long and honorable career on the justice court bench in Tonopah and Reno.

When Scanlan took his seat in the Senate chamber of Carson City in 1913, he had a legislative program ready. He offered bills to strengthen the office of State Inspector of Mines, to require higher standards for the ventilation of underground workings, to provide workmens' compensation for injured industrial and utilities employees, to assure the rights of striking and picketing workers, to provide poor people with equal access to the courts, to repeal the poll tax law, to restrict the hiring of armed possees by private interests, and to strengthen the initiative and referendum as instruments of democratic reform.

Most of Scanlan's innovations failed, both in 1913 and when he reintroduced them in 1915. In most cases they died in committee or were short-circuited on the senate floor. He became the advocate of many of the reforms to aid the poorer elements of society and the working men, reforms which failed in his own time but became standard procedure a generation or two later.

When Scanlan made his first run for Congress in 1914, he received little support outside the younger mining and smelting communities, but he did receive twenty per cent of the votes. Two years later, again on the ballot with Miller, his share dropped to about sixteen per cent of the total. In the meantime, he had passed the bar and had set up a law practice in Reno.

* * *

During the most successful years of the Socialist movement in Nevada, the party was able to elect at least two other legislators, two justices of the peace, constables, members of local school boards, and other civic officers. Then came the American entry into the war and the surge of patriotism,

which spelled the doom of the Socialist movement. Miller threw himself into the causes to support the war, becoming a member of the Nevada Council on National Defense.[16] Scanlan made one more effort to push the Socialist cause before the public, this time in 1918, in a half-hearted race for the U.S. Senate. On this occasion, he was matched not only against the Democrat C. B. Henderson and the Republican Roberts, but also against Anne Martin, the crusader for women's rights who was making her first bid for national office. This time, Scanlan did little campaigning and attracted only 710 votes in a total of 27,427—2 1/2 per cent. Clearly the reform momentum that had hitherto fortified the Socialist cause had been dissipated, and apparently much of it had shifted to Martin.[17]

There are several reasons why the Socialist movement in Nevada did not flourish, despite the fact that many parts of its platform later became popular and were enacted into law by the major parties. Ironically, it came to be associated both with the pacifist-antipatriotic movement, as in the Nevada City experiment, and also with the Bolshevik Revolutionary rhetoric on class violence. The harsh federal wartime statutes—the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918—were designed to discourage the movements that raised questions about social justice in America in the context of a world war. Debs himself was arrested, tried, and convicted under the Espionage Act; few non-zealots were willing to remain committed to the movement after that. (President Warren G. Harding subsequently granted Debs a pardon because he remained one of the most respected advocates of the reform movement in the country.)

Miller did not follow Debs in his pacifism, but instead supported the efforts toward mobilization. Scanlan kept a comparatively low profile by the standards of a pre-war Socialist candidate. Like many European Socialist movements, this one split on the shoals of patriotism and war. In addition, Debs—the hero of the American movement—had not run in 1916, and that was a disorienting experience for his followers.[18] In these circumstances, it is remarkable that Nevada's Socialists fared as well as they did.

Both Miller and Scanlan subsequently had long, distinguished careers in the Nevada bar, and each occasionally took on new social causes in their later years. Miller became the Republican candidate for the House of Representatives in 1922 but lost in an off-year Democratic upsurge; later he was a law partner of the future Senator Pat McCarran, who was also regarded as a champion of the "little man" in the early stages of his career. Scanlan became a leader in the Robert M. LaFollette Progressive presidential campaign of 1924. For a number of years he served as correspondent for the American Civil Liberties Union in Nevada when it had no active chapters in the state, and he was long an advocate of labor rights. He was also an outspoken foe of the death penalty.

It is worth remembering that the mining population which formed the

basis of much of the Socialist support was transient; much of it moved on as the Goldfield and Tonopah booms subsided during and after the war. The population of Fallon, like that of most rural agrarian populations, became more economically conservative as it became more accustomed to its new terrain. Little wonder that even Miller and Scanlan surrendered something of their Socialist zeal to the passage of the years.

Like the sometime leader Debs, Miller was a middle-class reformer, drawn to Socialism by idealism as much as by ideology. Scanlan belonged to the mining fraternity and shared the interests of the laboring groups more fully than Miller. But each represented essentially a native-born Socialist movement; one finds little Marxism in their rhetoric. They were genuinely interested in trying to correct the social injustices of the day and concerned about the plight of the laborers as humans, and not merely as tactical pawns in a larger political chess game. They resembled many of the moderate, reformist Social Democrats and Laborites in Europe and Britain who regarded responsible social change as an alternative to violent revolution for the exploited classes.

NOTES

The author would like to thank Guy Louis Rocha, Nevada State Archivist, for his helpful suggestions and criticism.

[1] See Bernard K. Johnpoll and Lillian Johnpoll, *The Impossible Dream: The Rise and Demise of the American Left* (Westport, CN, and London: Greenwood, 1981); and Ira Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement: 1897-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 212. When Debs first ran for the presidency in 1900, he won slightly fewer than 97,000 votes. In 1904 he received 408,000; in 1908, 421,000. In the 1912 four-way race, he recorded more than 900,000. With a lesser-known presidential candidate, Allan Benson, in 1916, the Socialist total dropped to 585,000. In 1920, Debs made his last race while serving a prison term for his anti-war activities, and he received more than 900,000 votes.

[2] On the diversity of American Socialism in this era, see Irving Howe, *Socialism in America* (San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), 3-15. Another informative work is James Weinstein, *The Decline of American Socialism: 1912-1925* (New York, London: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

[3] An admirable study of the Fusion movement may be found in Mary Ellen Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada: 1892-1902* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969), 167-191.

[4] William D. Swakhamer, *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: 1973) 6th ed., 187-188. For an earlier summary of Socialist activity in Nevada, see Wilber S. Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I*, with the assistance of John G. Folkes. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 51-59.

[5] Sally Zanjani and Guy Louis Rocha, *The Ignoble Conspiracy: Radicalism on Trial in Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986).

[6] Russell R. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 103-152.

[7] *The Goldfield Daily News (Evening Edition)*, 10 November 1910.

[8] Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement*, 212.

[9] "Platform of the Socialist Party of Nevada," *Voice of the People*, (Reno) I, (October 10, 1910): 3.

[10] Grant Miller, "Practical Socialism," *The Truth*, (Reno), I, (January 21, 1911): 6-7. See Also Howe, *America and Socialism*, 3-48.

[11] Irving Howe, *Socialism in America* (San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1985), 3-48. See also Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement*, 365ff.

[12] State of Nevada. *Official Returns of the Election of November, 1914*, compiled by George Brodigan, Secretary of State. (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1915), 34-35.

[13] Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada*, 52.

[14] In Shepperson's *Retreat to Nevada*.

[15] See the biographical sketch of him in James G. Scrugham, *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land* (Chicago, New York: American Historical Society, 1935), II, 174-175.

[16] Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada*, 174-175.

[17] Anne Bail Howard, *The Long Campaign: A Biography of Anne Martin* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1985), 138.

[18] Howe, *Socialism in America*, 37.

IMAGES OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE: NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE *HISTORY OF NEVADA*

KATHRYN M. KURANDA

WESTERN AND NEVADA HISTORIANS ARE WELL ACQUAINTED with editor Myron Angel's *History of Nevada*.[1] This comprehensive work has served as an invaluable source since its publication in San Francisco by Thompson & West in 1881. Studied for both its content and context, the work serves as a gazetteer for facts and biographical data as well as an example of the period's historical scholarship. The illustrations in the *History of Nevada* also provide rare glimpses into nineteenth-century Nevada. Forty-nine of the 114 illustrations depict agricultural scenes focusing upon farmsteads. These illustrations offer clues to the physical pattern of agricultural life reflected in buildings, objects and landscape features.

The farmstead is the center of an agricultural enterprise. Usually including dwellings, barns, stables, associated outbuildings and landscape features, the farmstead serves as processing center for agricultural products, a distribution point for raw materials and as a primary residence. This paper examines the farmsteads illustrated in Thompson & West and offers some observations on their unifying characteristics and similarities to other regional forms.

Three graphic techniques are utilized in the illustrations of the *History of Nevada*. Portraits are executed in woodcuts and steel engravings while buildings and landscape illustrations are crayon lithographs. In the latter, drawings are completed in grease crayon and duplicated during printing. Lithography was the last major graphic reproductive process to gain wide use prior to the introduction of photography and photography-based graphics. The versatility and adaptability of lithography provided numerous commercial applications and the medium was widely used in book illustrations. Landscape and por-

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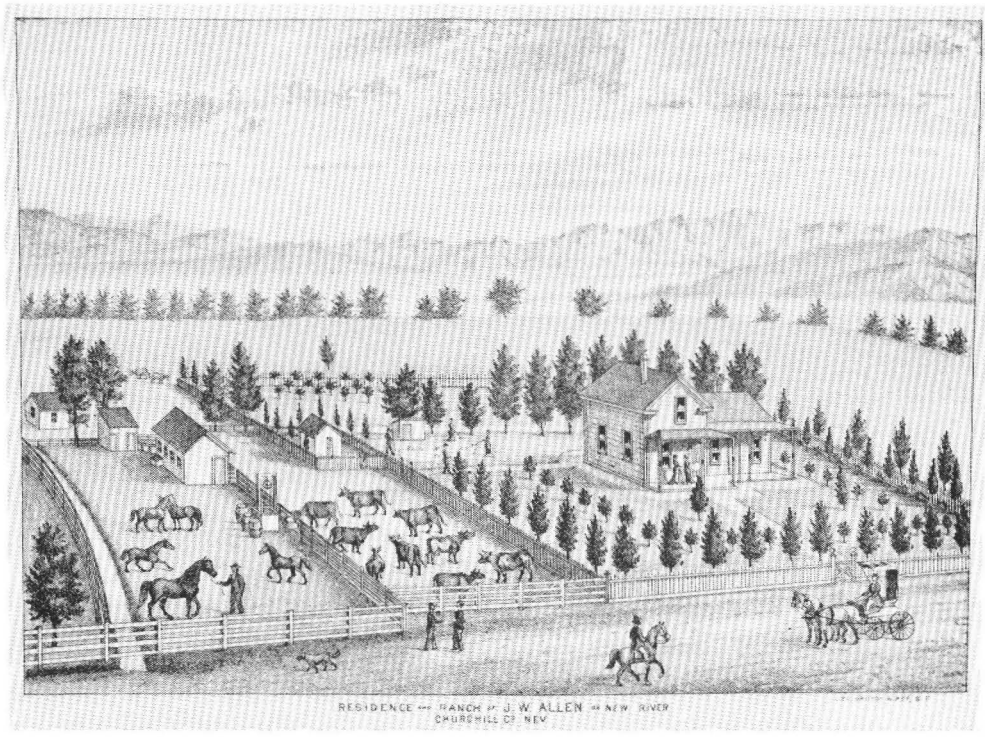

Figure 1. Farmstead incorporating paling and horizontal fence types. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 156)

traiture were two areas of illustration in which nineteenth-century European and American practitioners of lithography excelled, and it is not unusual that they were combined in the *History of Nevada*.[2]

Each landscape illustrated in the *History of Nevada* is an individual work subject to artistic interpretation. It is unlikely that the illustrations present completely accurate representations of their subjects. Some undoubtedly reflect a romanticized image interpreted by the artist while others, the aspirations of the property owner. An overwhelming majority of the property owners whose holdings are illustrated were also patrons of the history. It was therefore in the publishers' interest to portray the farmsteads to their best advantage. Although the Thompson & West illustrations are general views frequently lacking specific details, these illustrations nevertheless offer a record of Nevada's late nineteenth-century farms and ranches, if only from the mind's eye. This pictorial record assumes greater significance as agricultural buildings and associated landscape features are altered or replaced to keep pace with the demands of the twentieth century.

Owing to the generalized nature of the images, the information which may be gleaned is equally generalized. These data include the overall plan of the

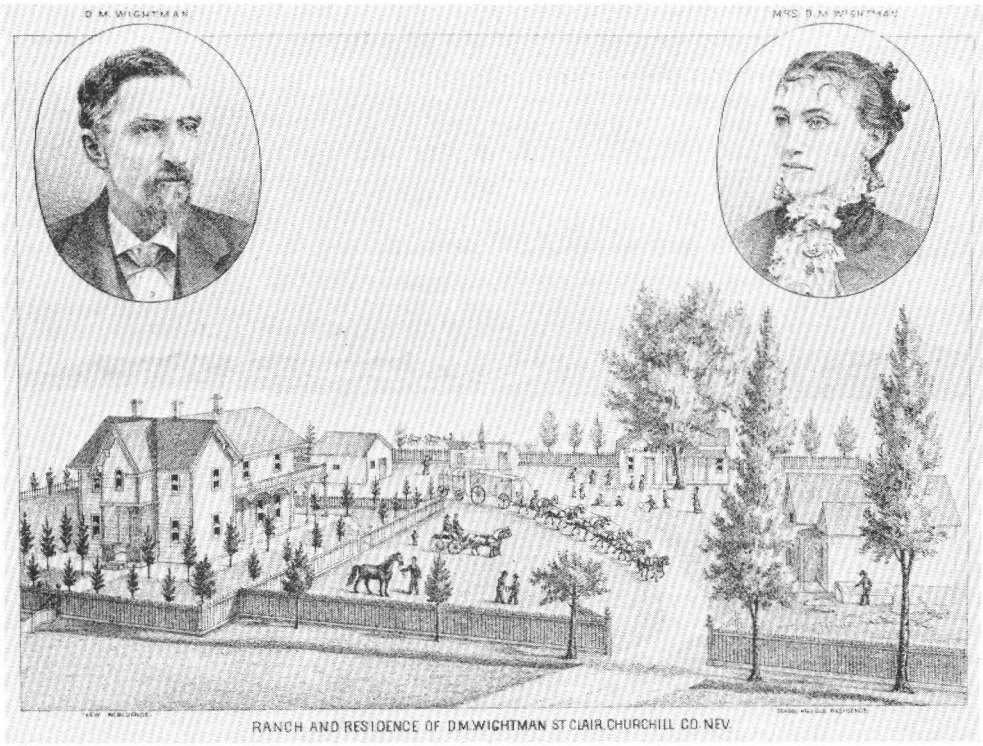

Figure 2. D. M. Wightman Ranch. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 260)

farmstead, the number and form of buildings, the placement and plan of significant landscape features, and clues to the technologies employed on the ranch or farm as seen in irrigation ditches, hay derricks and miscellaneous agricultural machinery.

Supplementing the information found in the illustrations with the text and appendices, it is possible to determine the size and function of the illustrated farmsteads as well as background information on their owners. The farmsteads depicted represent enterprises ranging from 80 to 4,000 acres with an average size of 728 acres. This average is based on data available on forty-three sites and includes six encompassing 1,000 acres or more. Overall size is not an accurate reflection of the number of acres under cultivation as evidenced by data available on five sites where the percentages of cultivated land range from eight percent to eighty-three percent. Seven of the forty-nine sites illustrated combine agriculture with a secondary function such as travelers' services including way stations or hotel facilities.

The majority of the landowners represented migrated from the eastern sections of the country to the California goldfields and east to Nevada. The Mid-Atlantic states are the birth region of thirty-four percent of these land-

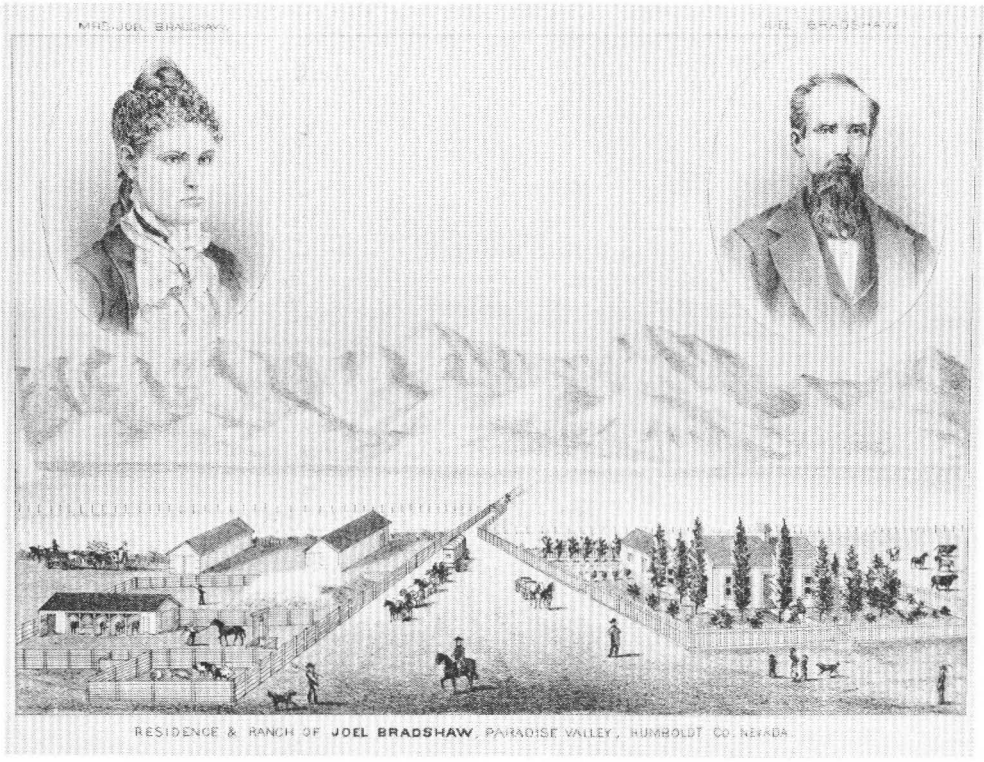

Figure 3. Joel Bradshaw House. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 448)

owners while twenty-four percent are of European origin. New England accounts for fourteen percent while the Upland South, South, Great Lakes and Mid-West account for the remaining twenty-eight percent.

The majority of the farmsteads depicted occupy valley sites in what continue to be established agricultural areas. Most prominent of these areas are Mason and Paradise Valleys although Smith and Pleasant Valleys also claim significant concentrations. The predominance of valley farmstead sites is not surprising due to the state's basin and range topography and established transportation routes. The latter was a factor in some of the farmstead's dual role in providing travelers' services.

The farmsteads exhibit a linear plan in which the rectangular subdivision of an overall rectangular site is the dominant pattern. The exception to this rectangular pattern can be seen in isolated corrals where circular or curvilinear forms can be found. Areas of specialization are commonly delineated by horizontal fence lines, although the use of more ornate, vertical fencing is not uncommon surrounding immediate house sites and dooryards. Variations on the horizontal board fence and the paling fence are two of the three most

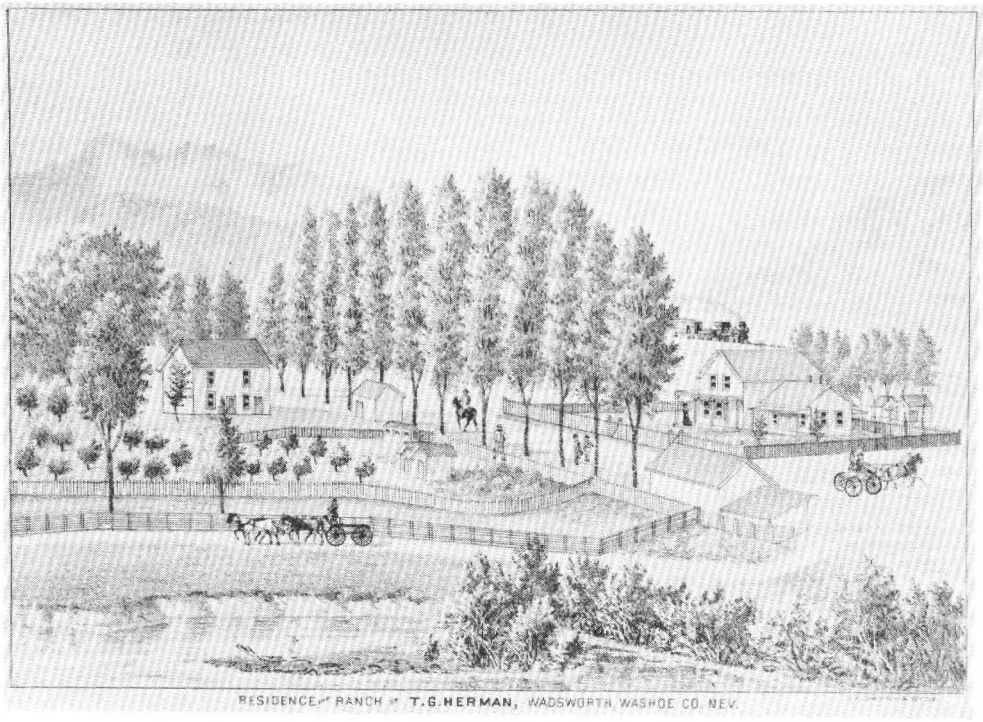

Figure 4. T. G. Herman House. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 640)

common fence types found from the American Colonial period (1620-1775) to the present.[3] Of the paling, horizontal and masonry fence types, the former forms were readily adapted to the post pioneer period in the Great Basin. (Fig. 1)

Although linear farmstead plans occur throughout history, they are particularly associated with the modern agricultural period where efficient handling of materials is critical. The form represents an evolution in agricultural plans from the longhouse where farmstead and dwelling were incorporated under one ridge, and the courtyard stead where adjoining agricultural buildings were oriented towards a central enclosed square.[4]

The size of the ranch is not indicative of the size or number of associated buildings. The number of illustrated buildings ranges from two to fifteen with an average of six. The types of buildings depicted can be roughly divided into dwellings and outbuildings. The farmsteads are owner-occupied enterprises as opposed to tenant or co-operative efforts. As is indicative of first period settlement, the farmstead and homestead are synonymous. Dwellings are the primary farmstead building and frequently serve as the visual and physical focus of the agricultural complex. The architectural styles and design sophis-

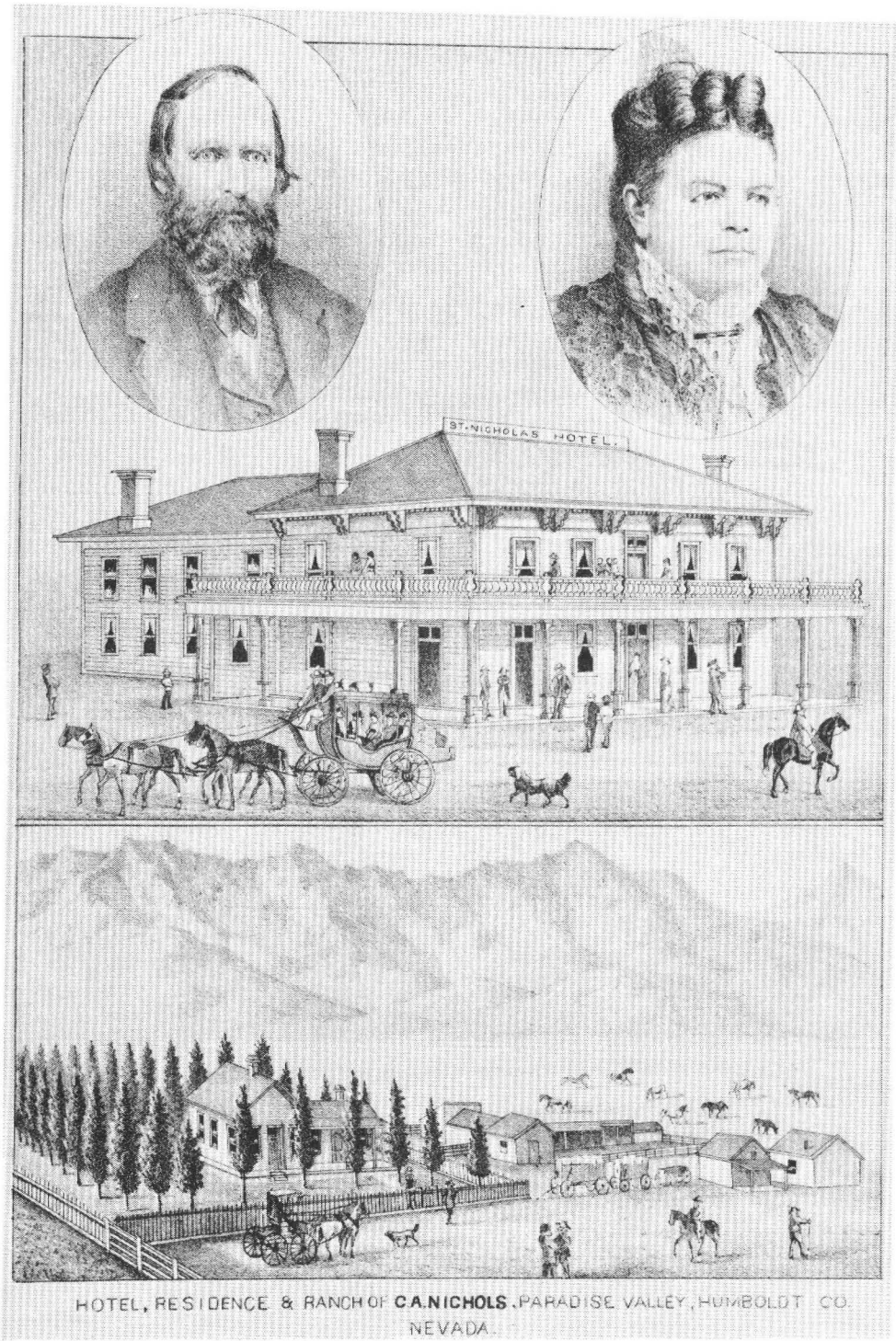

Figure 5. C. A. Nichols House. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 352)

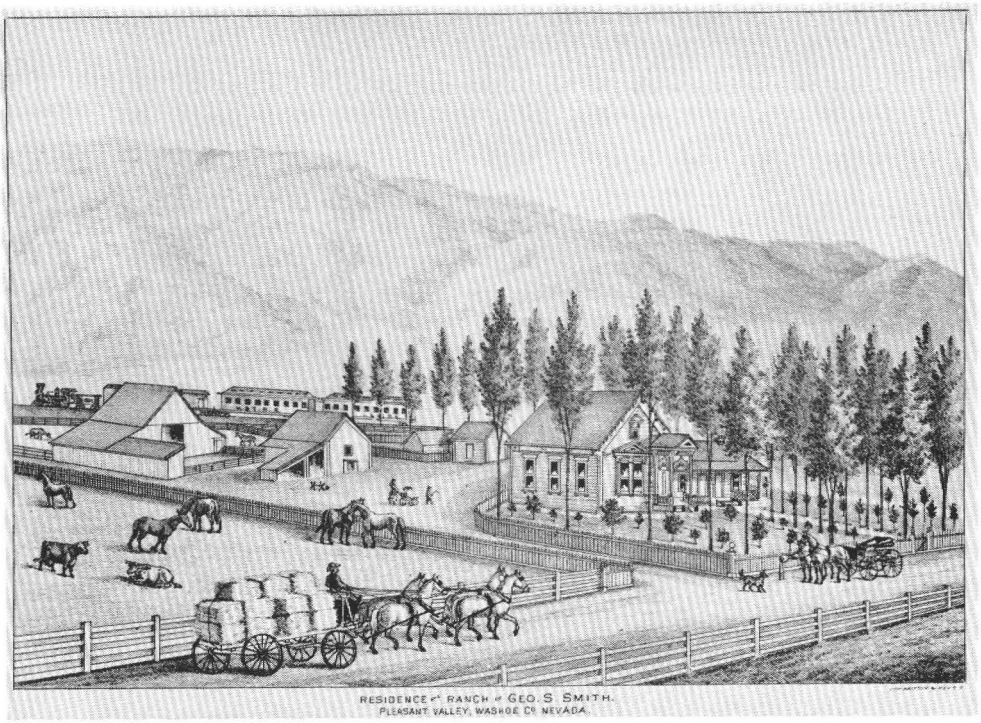

Figure 6. George S. Smith House. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 224)

tication found in the illustrations range from modest, single story buildings to elaborate, high style structures reflecting current architectural trends. Dwellings possessing definable architecture style are frequently associated with the second or replacement houses such as in the case of the D.M. Wightman Ranch where a substantial, Gothic Revival style house replaced a modest, single story, adobe building as the primary residence in 1880. (Fig. 2)

Although a complete architectural analysis of the dwellings is not possible based on the illustrations, several general trends can be noted on the overall form of the buildings. Variations on at least three distinctive vernacular dwelling types are found in the illustrations as well as elements of at least two high style forms. The simplest dwelling type is the single story, rectangular cottage containing a single room. This form, illustrated by the Wightman adobe, is perhaps the most common house type associated with early settlement. The form has been documented throughout the Mormon settled West[5] and is associated with American westward expansion since the Colonial period. A related form is the single story, two room cottage. The Joel Bradshaw House intimates a two room type in its overall form. (Fig. 3) At least two other vernacular dwelling types are depicted in the Thompson &

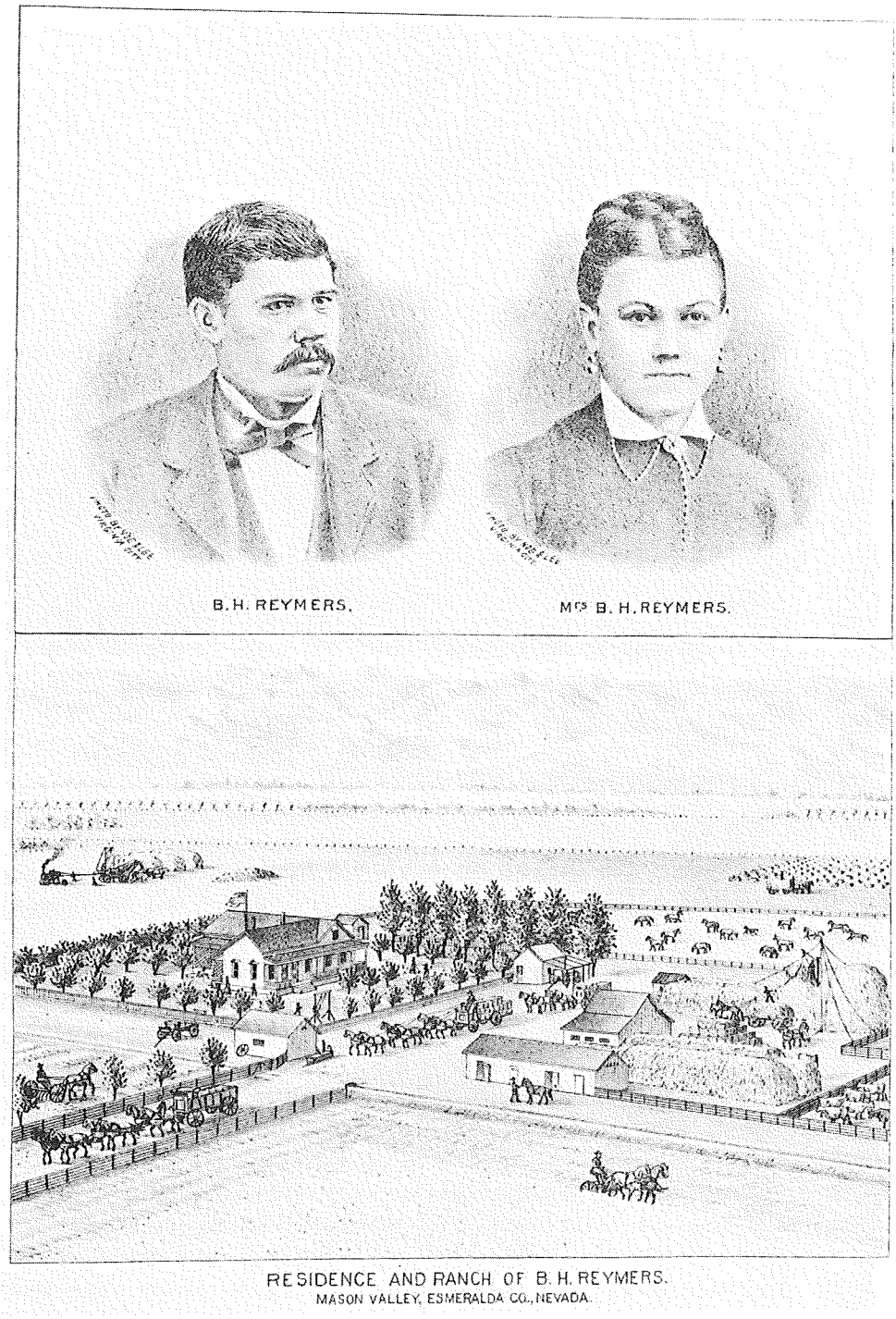

Figure 7. B. H. Reymers House. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 400)

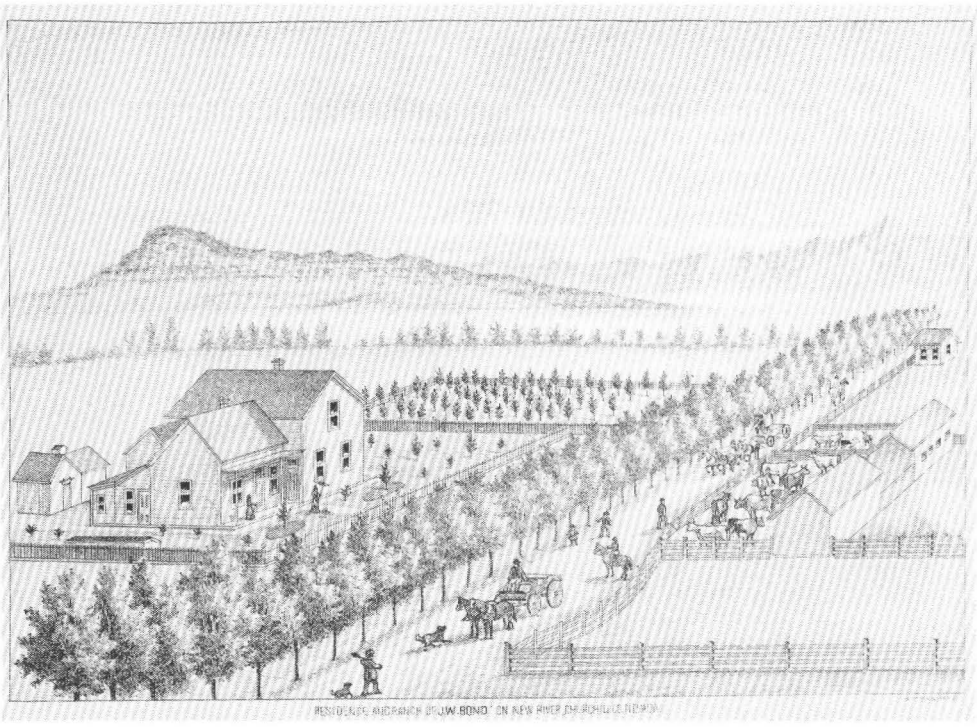

Figure 8. J. W. Bond House. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 252)

West illustrations. These types are the "Upright-and-Wing" and the "Gabled Ell."[6] The former is a nineteenth-century house type originating in New England and migrating west through the Great Lakes Region. The "Upright-and-Wing" combines a one-and-one-half to two-story principal block with a gable front orientation and a one to one-and-one-half story side wing. The "Gabled Ell" is related in plan to the "Upright-and-Wing"; however, the side wing is now an integral part of the plan. Ranging in height from one to one-and-one-half stories, the "Gabled Ell" is characterized by its intersecting gable roof and wing entry. Examples of the "Upright-and-Wing" form include the T. G. Herman House, the C. A. Nichols House and the George S. Smith House. (Figs. 4, 5, 6) The "Gabled Ell" form can be seen in the B. H. Reymers House, and the J. W. Bond House. (Figs. 7, 8)

Two "high" architectural styles, Greek Revival and Gothic Revival, can be identified in the farmstead dwellings. The degree to which these architectural forms are integrated into the overall building design varies from applied ornamentation to integrated design. The Greek Revival style is evidenced through "survivalist" details such as cornerboards, and gable returns suggesting pedimented fronts. The Gothic Revival style is represented by integrated designs such as the W. D. Harden House which includes Gothic arch windows, steeply pitched roof, and ornamental window lintels. (Fig. 9)

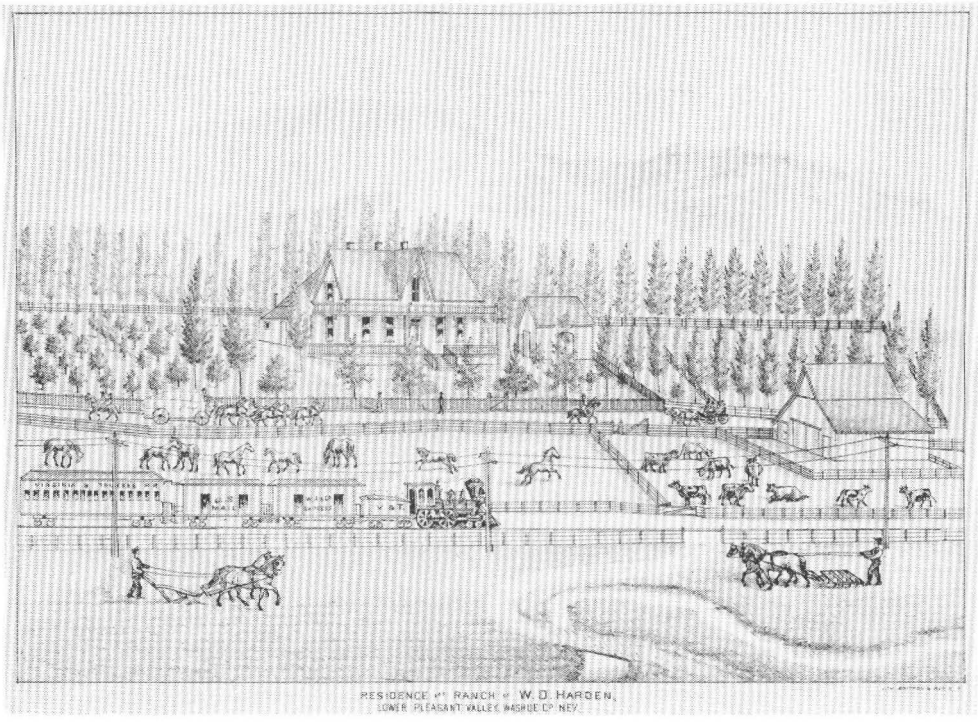

Figure 9. W. D. Harden House. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 652)

Outbuildings depicted in Thompson & West illustrations represent a spectrum of support structures ranging from stables and stock sheds to store houses and school houses. Barns are the largest and most prominent of these buildings. Without exception, the barns depicted are freestanding structures of substantial scale in comparison to the farmstead buildings. The number of barns depicted is unexpected due to the low survival rate of this building type. Two major barn designs can be identified in the illustrations. These are variations on the gabled roof form and incorporate shelter for stock with upper level hay storage. The simplest of these forms is a rectangular plan terminating in a gable roof with a three-bay, gable-end elevation. Access to the building is usually gained through the gable end. This barn type, sometimes referred to as the Intermontane Barn, has been documented as a dominant barn type in Utah.[7] A variation on this form is depicted in the illustration of Ragtown Station, where the gable ends of the station's two Intermontane Barns have been faced with false fronts. (Fig. 10)

The most prominent barn type depicted in Thompson & West is rectangular in ground plan and terminates in a shallow gable roof extending to flanking shed roofed wings. This characteristic roof configuration houses a center-gable loft. Primary access is again through the gable end. Variations on

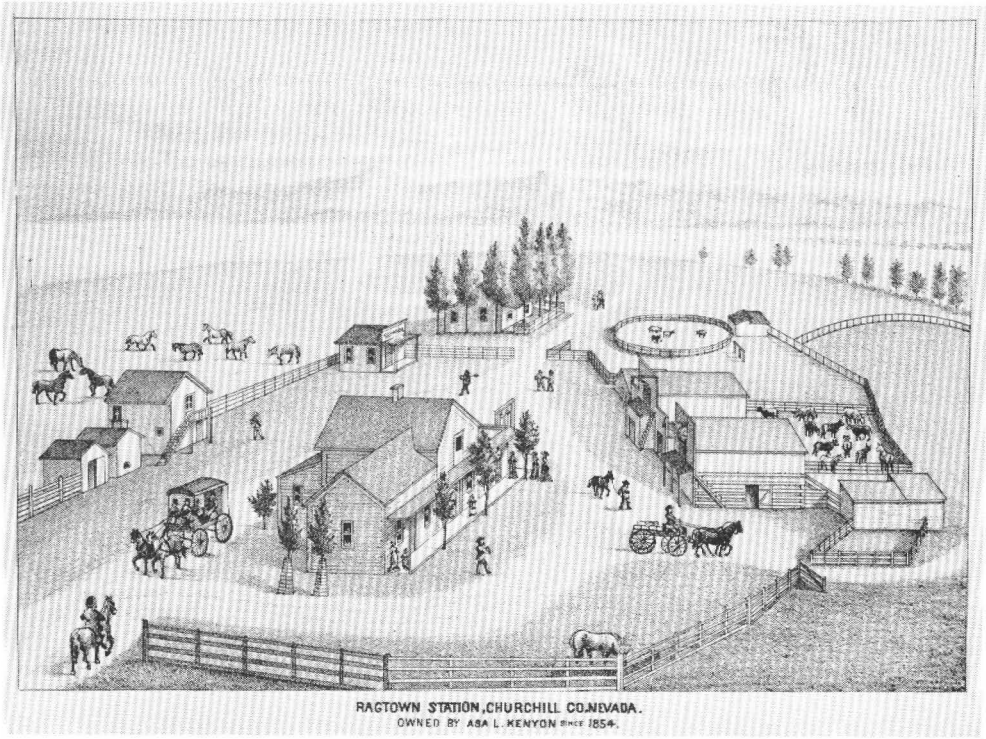

Figure 10. Ragtown Station. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 240)

this form range from two to three stories, with stock occupying the first and second levels.

The majority of the barns illustrated include some form of hay hoist designed for providing access to the barn loft hay door. These hoists range from the elongated hay hood found in the Intermontane Barn of the Barrett & Mallett Ranch to the simple pole hoist seen at the John Q. Adams Ranch to the Pulley system shown at Ragtown Station. (Figs. 6, 10, 11)

While illustrations of substantial barns and related outbuildings frequently occur, it is probable, owing to the state's arid climate, hay production figures found in the text, and historical agricultural patterns, that most of the hay produced by the ranches was stored unprotected. This assumption is supported by two features frequently depicted in the illustrations. The first, and most obvious, is the recurring image of hay stacks; the second is the number of hay derricks. Derricks, sometimes called "Mormon derricks," are an agricultural phenomenon which have been documented in much of the ranching west. The derrick is a fixed agricultural implement used to hoist hay from wagons to massive stacks. This process can be seen in the illustration of the C. Hernleben Ranch. (Fig. 12)

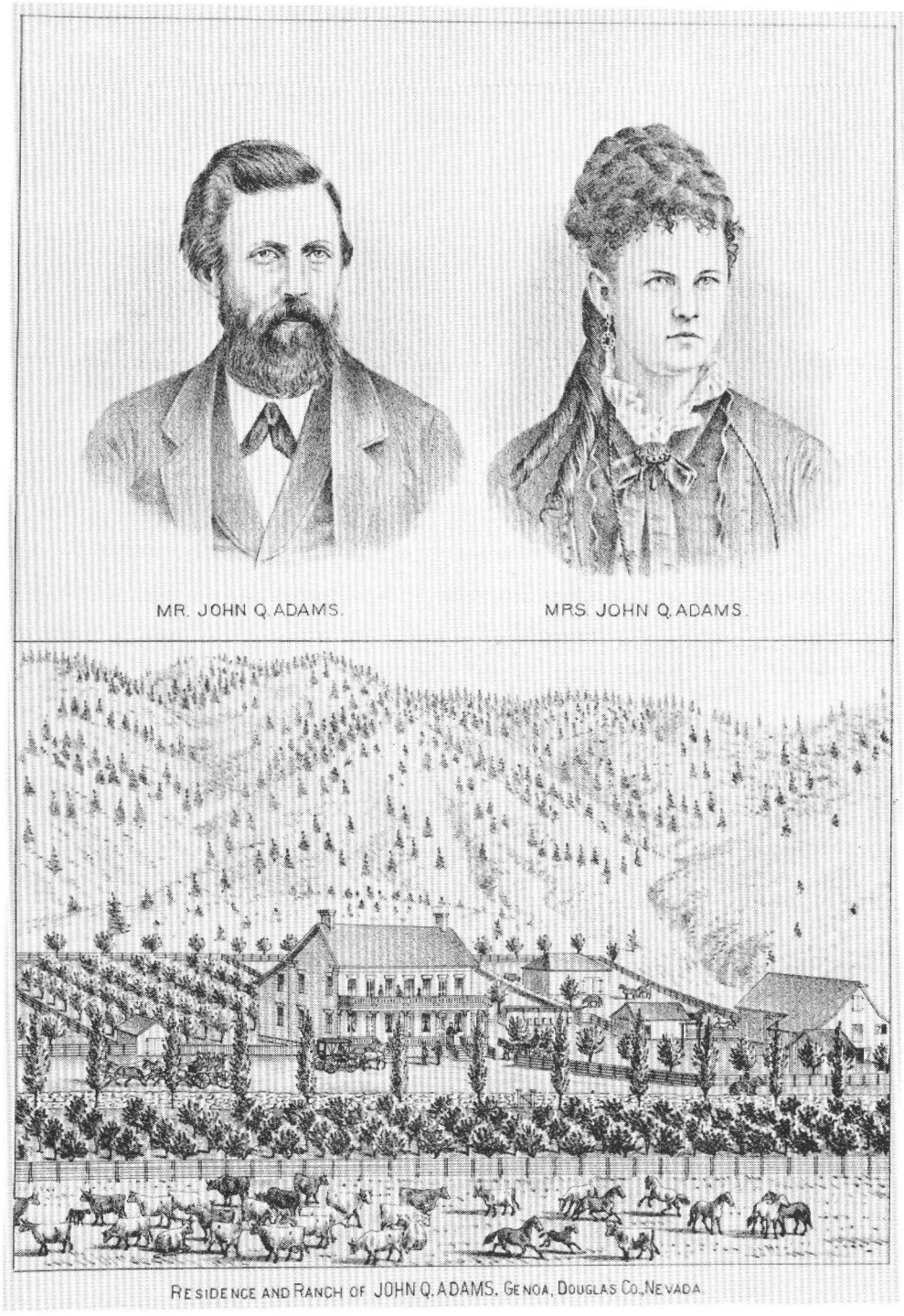

Figure 11. John Q. Adams Ranch. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 268)

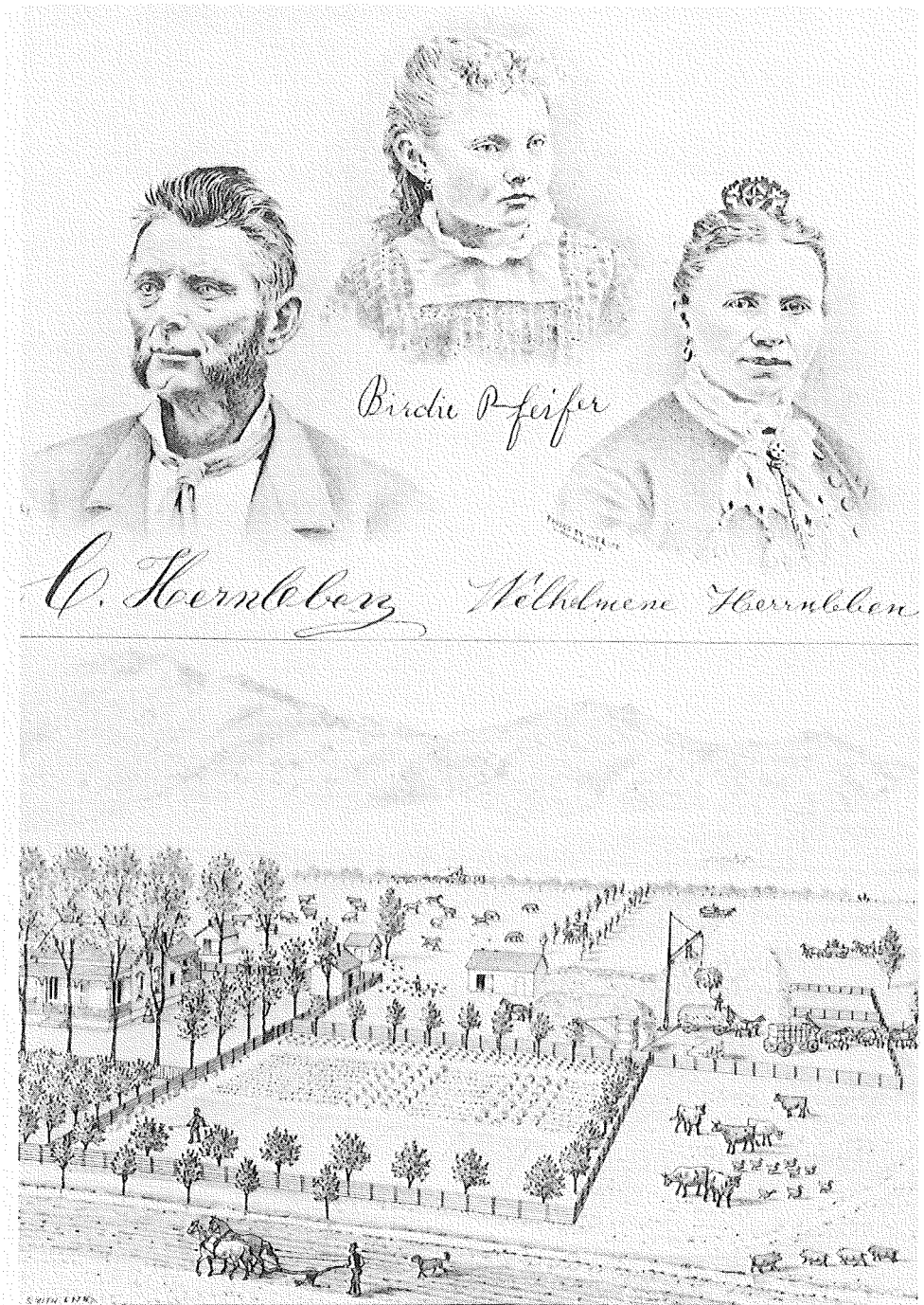

Figure 12. C. Hemleben Ranch. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 416)

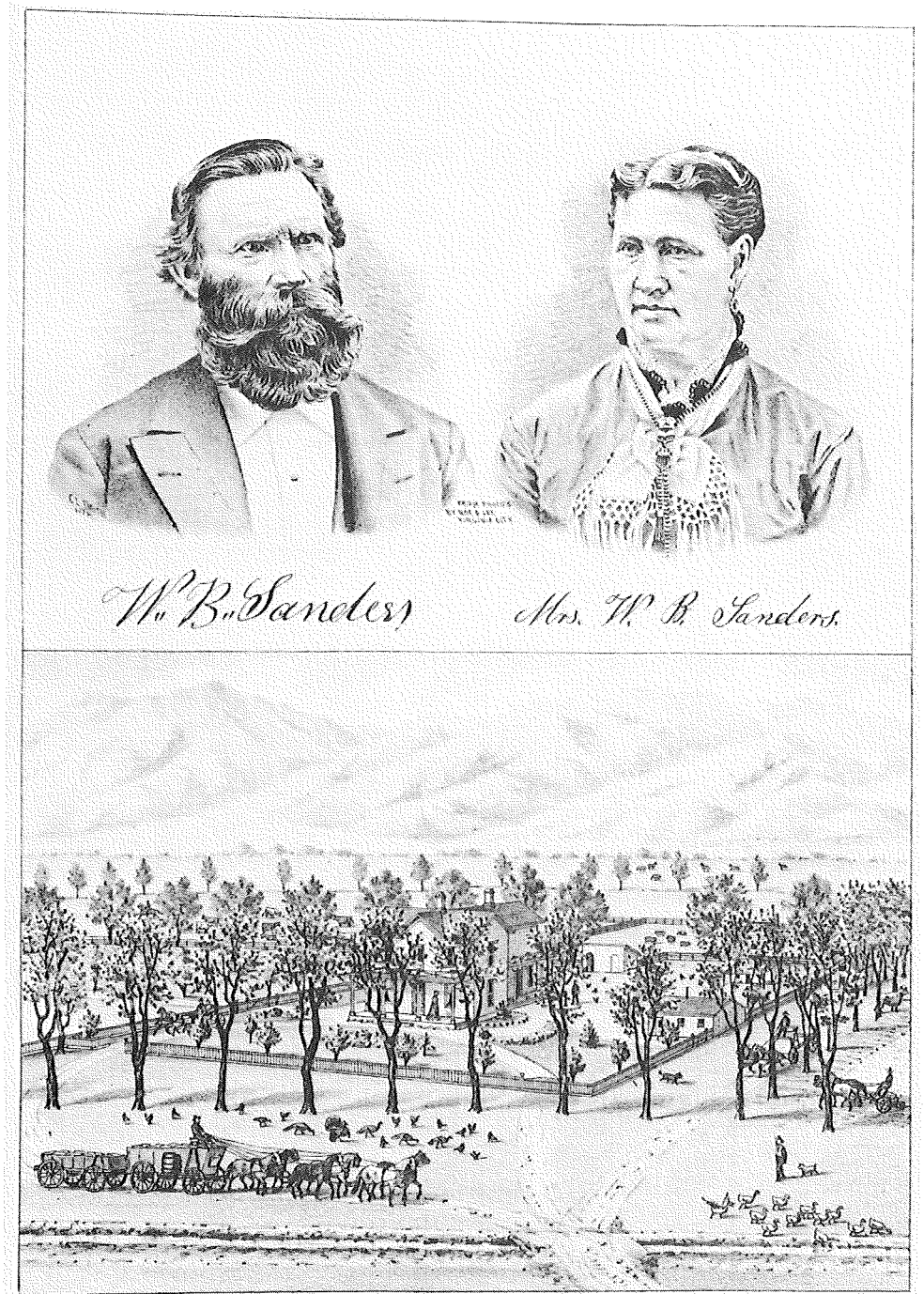

Figure 13. W. B. Sanders Ranch. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 432)

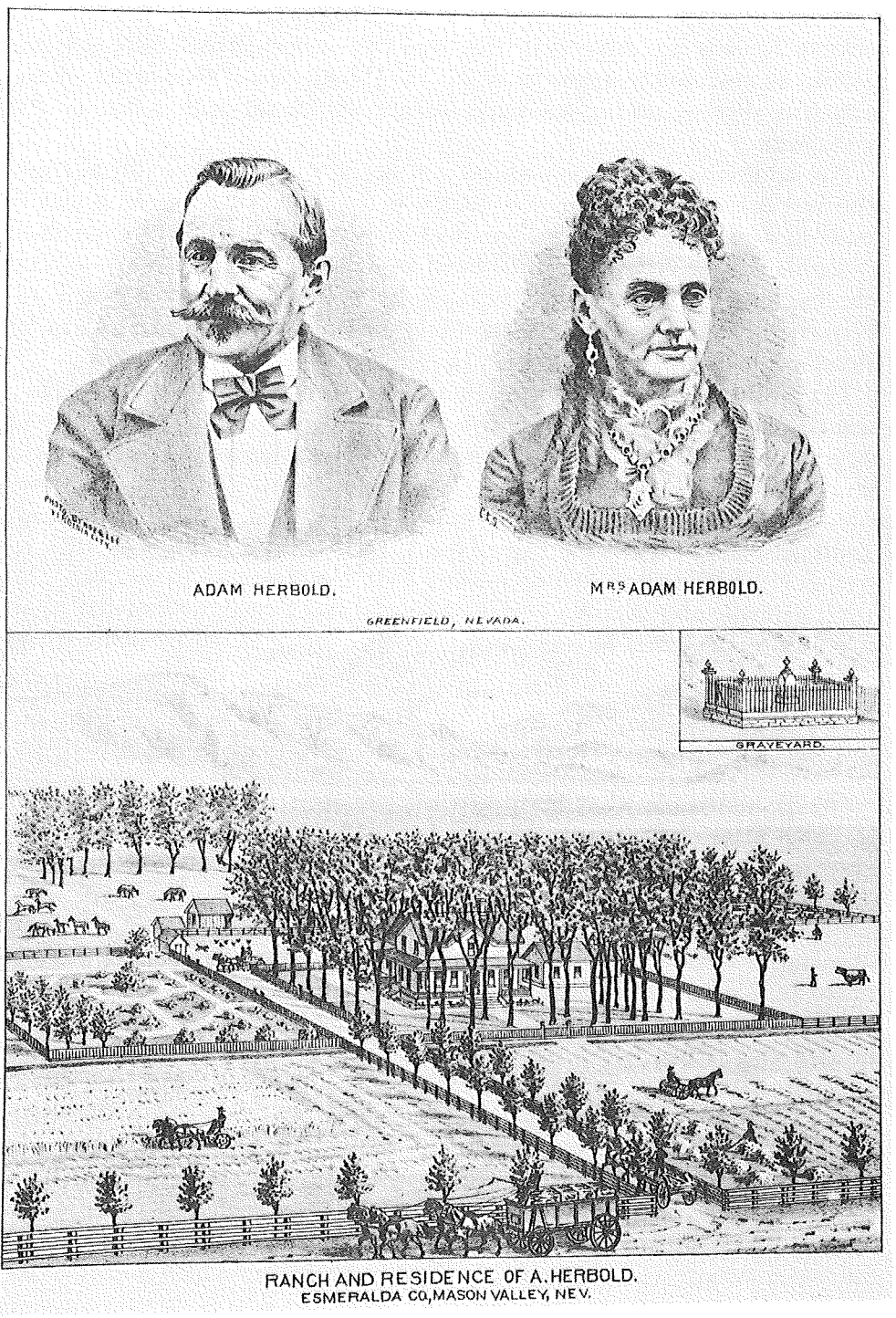

Figure 14. A. Herbold Ranch. (*History of Nevada.* ed. Myron Angel. page facing 168)

Recent work by folklorist Andrea Graham has documented that hay derricks in Nevada are associated with irrigated haying lands.[8] Although this pattern is not readily apparent from the Thompson & West illustrations, irrigation ditches are a landscape feature associated with many of the farmsteads.

Two additional landscape patterns can be derived from the illustrations. The first is the organization of orchards. In addition to hay, orchard fruit is listed as a primary agricultural product for many of the depicted ranches. Orchards usually occupy a well-defined area delineated from the remaining site by fencing. Orchards are defined by their rigid symmetry and are frequently located immediately adjoining the dooryard. This feature can be identified in thirty-four percent of the illustrations.

The final land use pattern which can be identified in the illustrations reflects Victorian period attitudes toward landscape architecture. Current styles emphasized a romantic approach to garden design which can be seen in several of the illustrations. The W. B. Sanders Ranch (Fig. 13) adopts curvilinear entry paths with symmetrically placed ornamental and foundation plantings while the garden design of the A. Herbold Ranch (Fig. 14) utilizes a well-defined landscape area delineated from the dooryard by fencing. This latter example also includes curvilinear paths and formal, ornamental plantings in a symmetrical arrangement.

Conclusions

The Thompson & West illustrations document the relationship between Nevada's nineteenth-century farmsteads with national and regional architectural forms. The illustrations also provide clues as to how these forms were functionally related in unified agricultural complexes.

National architectural influences are most apparent in domestic design. Dwellings reflect both vernacular and high style forms. The former is illustrated by Upright-and-Wing dwellings whose form can be traced to New England. The prototype for the house form frequently adopted a Greek Revival style embellished by pedimented porticos, full cornices and rich neoclassical moldings. As the house form was brought west through the Great Lakes region, characteristic stylistic details were simplified and finally eliminated. Although the transmission of the house form from the Great Lakes region to the Great Basin has not been established, the form has been documented as far west as the Willamette Valley in Oregon.[9] It is likely that Nevada examples arrived in the state as a "mental template" carried by farmstead owners who subsequently constructed houses which reflected this mental image.

Current architectural and landscape styles are also evidenced in the illus-

trations. The Gothic Revival style associated with Victorian period house design is represented as are current approaches to landscape architecture.

Despite the dominant eastward migration of farmstead owners from California, the Nevada illustrations in Thompson & West exhibit several building and agricultural patterns common to the Great Basin region in the use of materials, first period building forms and agricultural technology. These similarities can, in part, be attributed to the climatic and environmental factors which gave rise to the development of similar practical and expedient solutions to the problem of settlement. Further, the possible influence of the Mormon Cultural Region in Nevada cannot be discounted due to ongoing Mormon involvement in the state. Similarities between the two groups can be seen in the use of adobe as a first period construction material, the Intermontane type as the prominent barn form and the use of similar agricultural technologies.

Although the illustrations found in Thompson & West provide insights into the organization of early Nevada farmsteads, meaningful analysis of Nevada's early agricultural building tradition awaits systematic field survey of surviving sites. The data gathered from such a survey will enable researchers to place Nevada's early agricultural buildings within the context of western agricultural development, as well as identify unique Nevada forms and construction methods.

Notes

[1] *History of Nevada*, ed. Myron Angel. (Oakland, California: Thompson & West, 1881; rpt. Berkeley, California: Howell-North, 1958).

[2] Frank Weitenkampf, *The Illustrated Book* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 139-143.

[3] Rudy J. Favretti and Joy Putnam, *Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings: A Handbook for Reproducing and Creating Authentic Landscape Settings* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1978).

[4] John Weller, *History of the Farmstead* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1982).

[5] Richard H. Jackson, "The Use of Adobe in the Mormon Cultural Region," *Journal of Cultural Geography*, (Fall/Winter 1980).

[6] A number of terms are used to describe similar vernacular architectural forms. The classification system suggested by the Midwest Vernacular Architecture Committee has been used for the purposes of this paper. Please note that the terms "Temple Form" and "Cross Wing" also apply to the forms referred to as "Upright-and-Wing" and "Gabled Ell." Some authors have classified "Upright-and Wing" and the "Gabled Ell" forms as part of the "Gable-Front-and-Wing Family."

[7] Richard V. Francaviglia, "Western American Barns: Architectural Form and Climate Considerations," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 34 (1972): 15-60.

[8] Andrea Graham, "Western Nevada Hay Derricks," American Folklife Society, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 25 October 1987. Also see Richard V. Francaviglia, "Western Hay Derricks: Cultural Geography and Folklore as Revealed by Vanishing Agricultural Technology," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11 (1978): 15-60.

[9] Peirce F. Lewis, "Common Houses, Cultural Spoor," *Landscape 19 (1966): 1-22.*

WANDERERS HELL-BENT ON PLUNDERING: A REVIEW ESSAY

WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON

I WAS HANDED *BLUE DESERT* DURING THE SUMMER OF 1987 and asked to provide a quick review of it for an upcoming issue of this *Quarterly*. I delayed, procrastinated and claimed a heavy work schedule. Many months later I started selectively reading chapters in the book and was at first annoyed, then fascinated, and finally consumed by the obvious sincerity, easy wit and natural character behind the stories. Although neither a Southwestern specialist nor an environmentalist, a literary critic nor a backpacker, the energetic nature of Charles Bowden's prose has led me to extend a brief review into a compressed article.

In *Blue Desert* (The University of Arizona Press, 1986, 175 pages. $16.95) Bowden blows some dust off Southwestern history, undertakes a little anthropological and biological research, reveals an impassioned attraction for the desert, and highlights his personal experiences. He depicts this hodgepodge of seemingly incompatible elements through the eyes of a reporter for the *Tucson Citizen* and as a verbally artistic environmentalist. While trying to convey the state of mind of his colorful subjects he refrains from exaggerating the sad story of Mexicans, Indians, the displaced and others. Bowden does not produce implausible heroes or heroines, nor does he accentuate the spiritually grim and hedonistic life style which has overtaken the Southwest.

The contrast between the mysterious Indian and the boisterous white, between the *mañana* of the West's past and the urbanization of the present, between the pragmatic Euro-American and the sensitive western environment are by now well-traveled roads. Obviously soil erosion, desertification, agricultural destructiveness are among the most pointed threats to long-term civilization. But Bowden is not discussing soil fertility or rainfall, rather he is clustering human interest stories around the land. "This book proceeds,

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much the way I do, in a disorderly, relentless fashion. It is fat with contradictions but sounds one steady note: the land." (p. 1)

The work's three parts are broken into eleven brief chapters. Part I ostensibly notes bats, antelope, fish and a conference on the tortoise held in Laughlin, Nevada. The author's personal escapades highlight stories about the destruction of the natural habitat and the tragic depletion of plant and animal species. In Part II Bowden reveals the many economic and cultural layers to be found in Arizona's contemporary boom economy. There are confused Papago Indians like Mark Rios, vocal opponents of Glen Canyon Dam like Dave Foreman, and the resentments and crude self-indulgences of a depressed and dying copper town. In Part III Bowden, the crime reporter, searches for thugs who rape old women, kidnap and molest children, and use pit bull dogs to destroy neighbors. And, finally, the author is driven to physically spend himself by climbing across the black rock lava chaos of southwest Arizona and northwest Mexico and to undertake a night walk through the snake infested brush following the pattern of *Majados* sneaking across the border.

Charles Bowden is from an Illinois farm; he later lived in Chicago until twelve, and he grew up physically in Arizona and emotionally while traveling about the country. Clearly undisciplined and a youthful product of the sixties' mentality, he chose the open road; yet he never quite trapped himself by wanderlust or aimless drifting. He did, however, resist academic demands and regular employment; his talents finally lured him into the life of a freelance reporter.

Bowden's first work, *Killing the Hidden Waters* (1977), grew out of a study of Papago Indian lands. It was a ground water project designed by the Office of Arid Land Studies at the University of Arizona. After the usual reports, graphs and statistics the author personally traversed the mountains and deserts walking with Indians, scientists and alone. "I learned with my feet what the books, reports, symposiums, commission conclusions, and studies skirted: that resources are limited and that technology, invention, and industrial voodoo cannot increase the amount of a resource but simply accelerate the destruction of a resource through consumption. *The well does not make water; it mines water.*" (p. 136)

After a shift in interest, a partial return to his Illinois origin and a new look at Chicago, he coauthored *Street Signs Chicago: Neighborhood and Other Illusions of Big-City Life* (1981). Bowden quickly returned to his true love, the Southwest deserts, and was employed by the *Tucson Citizen* to provide weekly feature articles; later he became editor of "City Magazine." Fortunately the chapters of *Blue Desert* have not been copy edited and smoothed to literary and bourgeois perfection. Most manuscripts profit from a bit of formalization; Bowden's work is the exception.

Along the way the author graduated from the University of Arizona and

received a Masters Degree in American history from the University of Wisconsin (1967). He taught for a while at the University of Illinois, Chicago campus, received a Guggenheim Fellowship, and in 1987 became the eleventh Writer in Residence for the *San Francisco Examiner*. *Frog Mountain Blues* published in 1987 may become the second work in a trilogy (along with *Blue Desert*) to be rounded out with "Mezcal," an autobiography.

According to Bowden, he is now "incapable of any gainful employment" and therefore treks across the summer badlands from Palm Springs to Yuma, the Gulf of California to the Gila River country. In the desert he slowly came to understand that his computerized high-technology society lived in a world of dreams. The highly urbanized West was not composed of people who "believed in the desert or lived in the desert or heard the rasping whispers of the landscape stretching beyond their safe city streets or narrow furrows." (p. 137)

Blue Desert grew out of the Arizona ambience which the author has absorbed over the past three decades. Yet it is more than a regional exposé. The essays are on-the-spot accounts, descriptions, thoughts, which reveal the immediate. Sometimes it is difficult to separate entries of planetary and epochal dimensions from musings and observations. One hopes that the stories are merely isolated chords, rather than accounts of a hopelessly fragmented society. Broad generalizations race across the reader's mind. There seems to be a breakdown of ethical fiber. There is a growing suspicion that things humane are not working or are excuses for silly conferences, like the tortoise convention. The social forces of religion and simple human compassion seem to be facing a collapsing infrastructure. A fundamental ignorance expressed in self-defeating growth and excessive wealth has come to plague America and particularly the Sunbelt. There is a grand indifference to human anguish and a stimulation of human greed. The land, the animals and the people are all being trashed.

Bowden is in the Hunter S. Thompson mode (*Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*) of journalism in that he interjects himself into the essays and makes little effort to be objective. Nevertheless, the novelist Lawrence Clark Powell, a friend of Bowden, has praised him as the first major southwest writer since Edward Abbey authored *The Brave Cowboy* and *Desert Solitaire*. Professor Powell finds Bowden an original, imaginative and angry journalist who wraps old things in a fresh new vision and does it with compelling authority. Abbey himself notes that Bowden writes on unfashionable topics with "humor, style, and laconic compression." And the ethnohistorian Thomas E. Sheridan characterizes Bowden's stories as providing "small, dark holes in the heart of the Sunbelt."

Clearly Bowden is not in the old Yiddish mold of, "Troubles overcome are good to tell." Rather, one finds little idealism, less goodness, and no satisfactory tool for assessing society. Even the beauty and magnificence of external

nature seem to be abandoned. While most of the essays do not in themselves have a bitter or chilling twist, there is no light deception or muffled humor to take the harshness out of injustice. Bowden's characters, whether unscrupulous, ineffectual, desperate or successful, seem to be failures in Southwestern America.

The author's device is to investigate a single incident and then to let it stand alone. The entire presentation may require a few pages or only a paragraph. The approach sometimes elicits a smorgasbord of visceral responses and allows both the writer and the reader to be self-indulgent. In short, the book is journalism rather than literature. It is not factual, monumental reporting of history like Marc Reisner's *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water* (1986), nor is it the more scholarly and ideological approach of Donald Worster in *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity & Growth of the American West* (1985). Although at times clinical and unforgiving, *Blue Desert* remains strangely divorced from ideology. Bowden is capable of liking and befriending people who are his philosophical nemeses.

Those looking for style and elegance to match the creative intensity and pathos of the stories will be disappointed. The book is bare-bones, youthful vigor, realism mixed with pessimism. It is seldom suffused with happiness, hope or reconciliation. According to Bowden, change and growth have brought loss not gain. In the clash of cultures, with their human verities, there have been no valedictions. "The land always makes promises of aching beauty and the people always fail the land." (p. 1) *Blue Desert* is poignant even savage, strong minded even fierce.

One cannot read Bowden or Reisner or Worster or Abbey or the others and not reflect back on the idealism, romanticism and hope of another America. To quote Thoreau becomes a mockery. "The earth [is] the most glorious instrument, and I [am] audience to its strains." The great dream of the West "where the skies are not cloudy all day" seems far away. Driving through Phoenix today one does not recall Hamlin Garland's grand reverie.

> I have threaded the wild with the stealth of a deer,
> No eagle is freer than I
> No mountain can thwart me, no torrent appall.
> I defy the stern sky.
> So long as I live these joys will remain,
> I have touched the most primitive wilderness again.

Bowden is a curious watcher of his own out-of-the-ordinary life style. He projects an element of disdain but also a touch of high seriousness. Episodes in his life are sifted and examined with mild fatalism. Some experiences are controversial and all show a bit of the dramatic, the leisurely, the menacing, and the sun-dazed. Despite a constant odyssey and personal punishment in

the desert, he is no self-appointed prophet or pilot of society. He gladly accepts the price paid for quick thrills with women, alcohol, and Nevada gambling. "I have yet to meet the casino that cannot seduce me." (p. 31) And again, "My body may be sprawled in the desert tonight but a part of me is always seduced by the bright lights of the casino." (p. 36) Indeed, he found Nevada greed delightful, intriguing and profoundly human. "There are few places as honest as the rampant fraud and fantasy of a casino. Here we let down our hair, our pants, everything and confess to all our secret hungers." (p. 31) After carefully inspecting the old mining town of Goldfield, Nevada, he marveled at the social and economic freedom of the place and recalled the wonderful arrogance of man as he sacked the deserts. "There is not much difference between the proud new Sunbelt cities and the old mining camps. They are both temporary Woodstocks of wanderers hell-bent on plundering. They will exhaust the place and then move on." (p. 36)

Without directly focusing on capitalism Bowden seeks to demonstrate the inability of traditional forms of economic and environmental planning to meet the challenges posed by industrial and urban growth. He reveals the structures of social inequality, the operation of political power, and the attitudes and habits of the economic expansionists. But he is slow to reckon with the most dynamic factor of all—what Joseph Schumpeter labeled the "creative destruction" of capitalistic growth. And he is not as cogent as Abbey in noting the smog, the aircraft, the Coke machines and the asphalt of the Southwest and labeling them symptoms of the "madness," the "insanity," the "monster" that is "Industrial Civilization." Like others from the Wilderness Society, the Earth First and Deep Ecology, he finally comes to believe that, "The industrial culture that made me and controlled my mind possessed a mentality of such power that it was immune to simple warnings." (p. 137)

Of course, to those millions seeking "progress" (increased energy, growth, water, new jobs, freeway contracts) Bowden's *ad hoc* approach represents little more than the negative fringe. It could be argued that his essays fall within the new subject genre of Sierra Club mentality and are written for thin-skinned intellectuals with their neuroses and insecurities. Perhaps America has always possessed an unruly, even destructive, national spirit. Perhaps wealth and possessions have always lured man and supplied his highest goals. Even Emerson could write, "Money, which represents the prose of life, is, in its effects and laws, as beautiful as roses." Surely growth is natural to enlightened and healthy societies. The Greek historian Polybius counseled over 2000 years ago that economic expansion was as basic to man as "growth in an organism."

But it is not capitalism or urbanization, fragile environment or extinction of species which slowly gnaws through the foundations of the reader's world; rather it is stark realism. *Blue Desert* leads through a series of quick mind-harassing sights and experiences. There is no mysticism, no moralizing, no

romance. We are left to conclude that much of the human race, at least in the Southwest, is truly "forlorn and blind." *Blue Desert* is primarily a personal statement. The drive and idealism of the author reminds us that the enthusiasm of youth can be a creative asset. It allows him to conduct a physical quest for what it means to be a *bracero* in America, an Indian in a white man's world, a union man when the mine is closing, an ecologist in an expanding suburbia. At his best Charles Bowden shares our conscience and serves as our guide. He reminds us that there must be a purpose in life other than consumption, that if we are to survive there must be a reconciliation between man and his environment, and that in the Southwest nature must be cherished and not tamed or conquered.

EXPLORATION AND EARLY MAPPING IN EASTERN NEVADA

ALVIN R. MCLANE

THE FIRST EURO-AMERICAN EXPEDITION TO CROSS EASTERN NEVADA was a trip pioneered by Jedediah S. Smith in 1827, with companions Silas Gobel and Robert Evans. Smith was an indomitable mountain man who traversed the Great Basin via the Virgin and Colorado rivers, and entered San Bernardino Valley, California, during late 1826 with a party of fifteen men who had been trapping beavers and looking for the mythical San Buenaventura River. The men were detained in California for several months by Mexican authorities under suspicion of military trespass. Finally, after six harbor masters at San Diego vouched for the authenticity of Smith's papers, he was released in the spring of 1827. With his two partners, Smith then crossed the Sierra, passed south of Walker Lake, and entered eastern Nevada during June. He crossed over Black Rock Summit in the Pancake Range, continued past the Big Spring at Lockes, and crossed Railroad Valley. His trail continued over the mountains at the north end of the Grant Range, then northeast along White River Valley, past the large springs at Preston and Lund. Continuing over the Egan Range, the route crossed Steptoe Valley, and the Schell Creek Range by way of Conners Pass. In Spring Valley, Indians guided Smith to a spring, probably Layton Spring, a few miles west of Osceola, where he was able to obtain water. Fortunately this discovery allowed him to aid one of his companions who was faltering along the way. The Smith route went over Sacramento Pass and northeast over Snake Valley. The party then left the region and continued their travels to the "mountain man rendezvous" at Bear Lake, Utah.

Peter Skene Ogden, chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, was the first mountain man to enter present-day Nevada in 1826. Most of his travels

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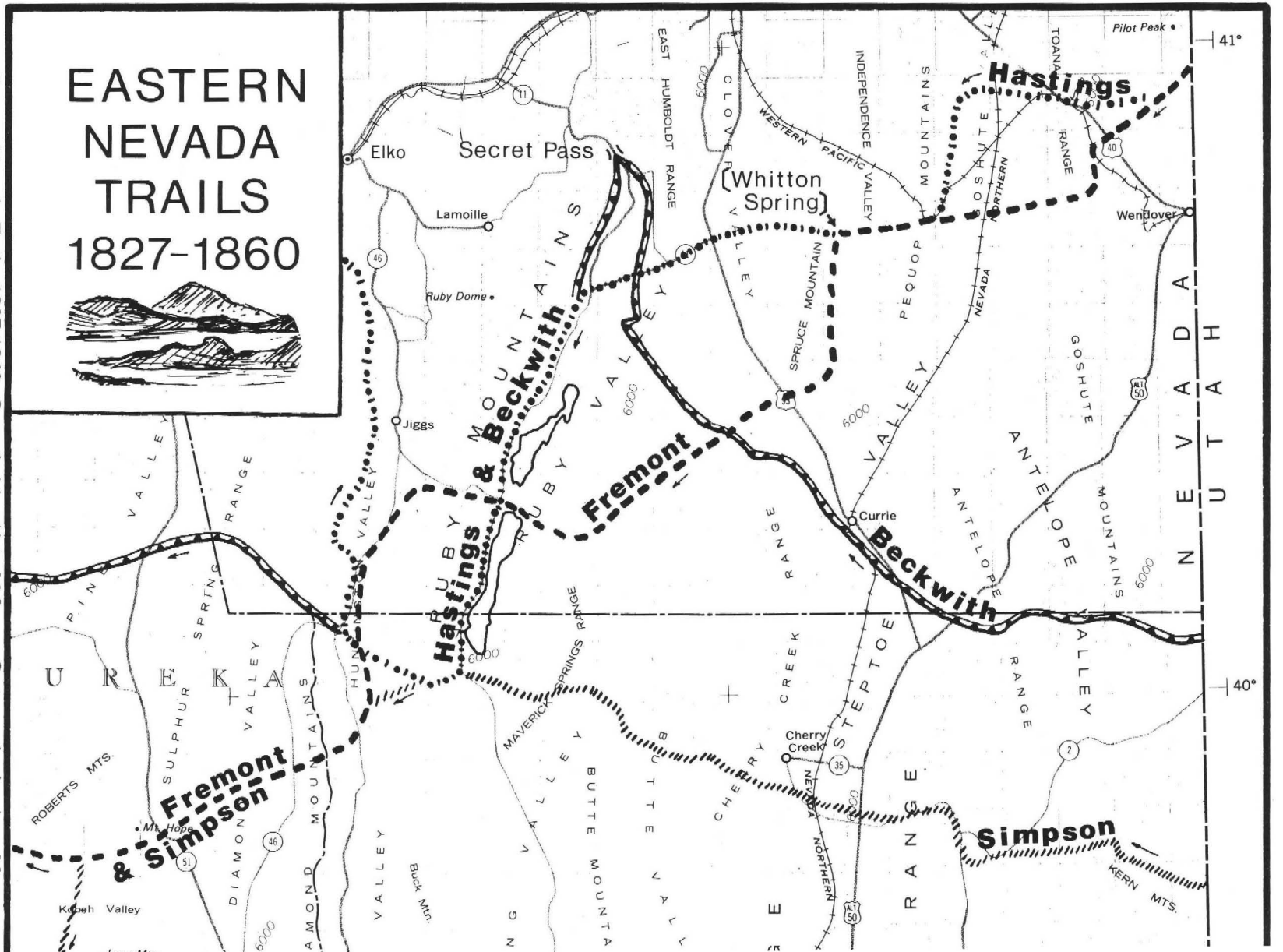
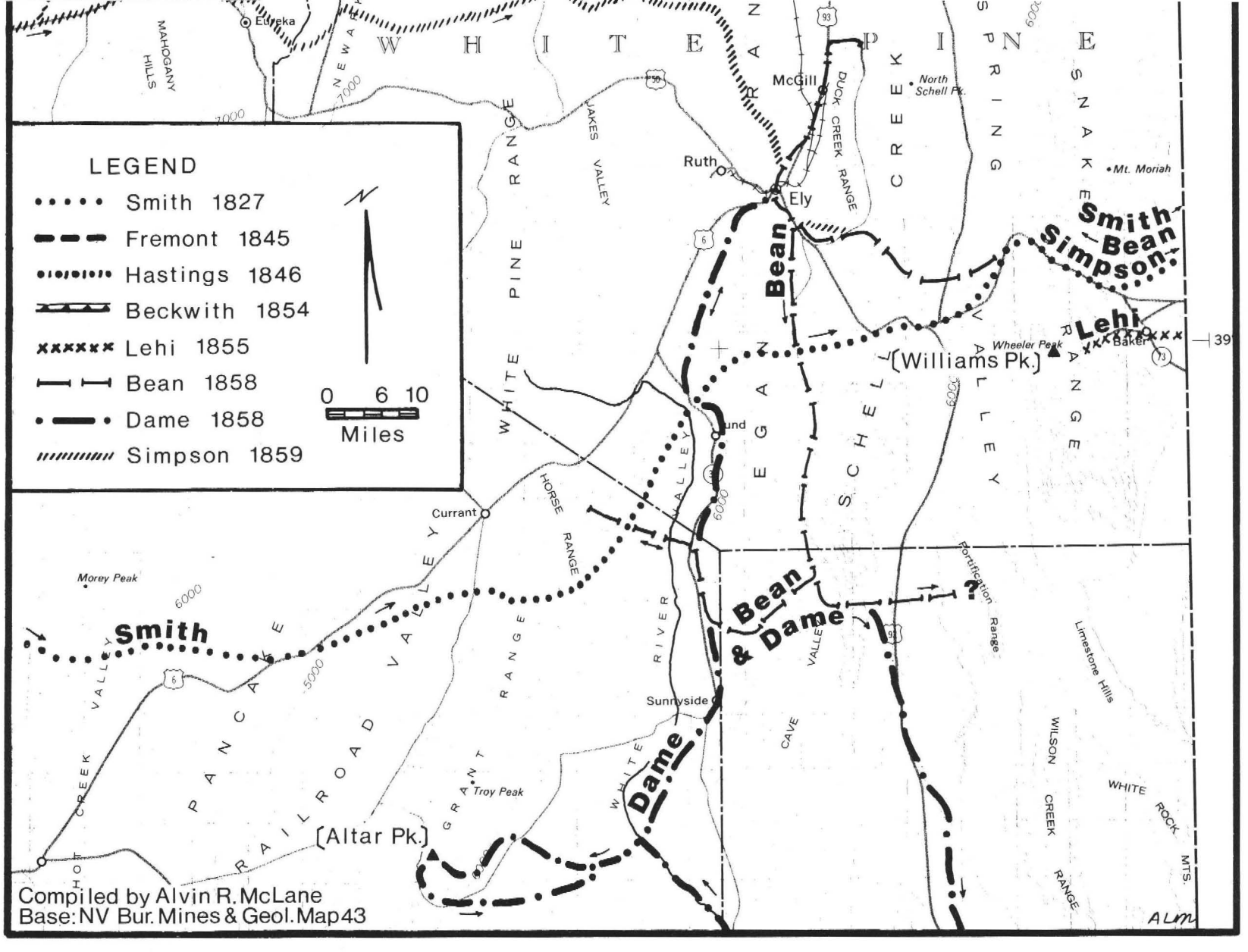
were north of White Pine County, as were John Work's, who later took over Ogden's Snake Country expeditions. Ogden's 1828 and 1829 route went back and forth over Elko County by way of Secret Pass, Snow Water Lake, Flowery Lake and the north end of the Pilot Range. Parts of this route were later used by Frémont and formed some of the Hasting's Cutoff of the California Trail. An eastern journey over Nevada by Ogden in 1829-1830 may have passed along the Elko and White Pine County boundary. A letter written by Ogden states that he traveled from the frozen lakes of the Unknown [Humboldt] River and reached the "Great Sandy desert of Great Salt Lake" in January 1830. With this bit of information, his route cannot be traced with much certainty.

Exploration activity in Nevada increased with the opening of the Spanish Trail by way of Las Vegas Spring in 1829-1830, the trapping expeditions of Joseph Reddeford Walker along the Humboldt River in 1833 and 1834, and the first immigrant crossing through northern Nevada by the Bidwell-Bartleson party during 1841. It was not until 1845 that the next incursion was made in present White Pine County, when John C. Frémont crossed the northwest part of the country. Frémont is one of the great Western explorers. A lieutenant in the U.S. Topographical Bureau, Frémont surrounded himself with prominent mountain men, such as Thomas Fitzpatrick, Joseph Walker, and Christopher "Kit" Carson, and the eminent cartographer Charles Pruess, a native of Germany. Frémont had explored along the western border of Nevada during 1843 and 1844. He was not home long until he headed west again in late 1845. The party examined the Great Salt Lake region in October, and afterward traveled to the base of Nevada's famous landmark, Pilot Peak. Frémont then crossed over the Goshute Mountains and Valley and over the Pequops into Independence Valley. While camped at Whitton Spring (now called Mound Spring), Frémont split up the exploring group in an effort to learn more about Great Basin geography. Edward M. Kern, a skilled artist, was put in charge of the main group, with Walker as its guide. This group would follow Ogden's 1829 route through Secret Pass, then down the Humboldt River and rendezvous with Frémont at Walker Lake. Frémont picked ten men and headed south around Spruce Mountain, and wandered through the northern end of the Medicine Range before crossing west along the gravel bar between Franklin and Ruby lakes. The party crossed the Ruby Mountains via Harrison Pass and then journeyed south along Huntington Creek and the large springs at its head. Frémont crossed Overland Pass in the Diamond Mountains before continuing the trek to Walker Lake. Originally named Chokup's Pass by James H. Simpson, Overland Pass became the route of the Pony Express. Frémont's map of 1848 was the first to show topographic detail of any portion of White Pine County.

The Bidwell-Bartleson group of immigrants were the first to travel overland to California. They entered Nevada by Pilot Peak and it appears that



Eastern Nevada Trails, 1827-1860. Compiled by Alvin McLane. Cartography by Amy Mazza.



Compiled by Alvin R. McLane
Base: NV Bur. Mines & Geol. Map 43

they went over the Rubies by Harrison Pass. As later immigrants toiled along the Humboldt River, down from Fort Hall, another branch was added to the California Trail. The Hastings Cutoff, opened in 1846, came into Nevada south of Pilot Peak, continued over Silver Zone Pass, and through Jasper Pass in the Pequop Mountains. Along the east base of the Ruby Mountains the cutoff followed in the trail taken by Beckwith in 1854. This route was followed south, and the Rubies were crossed by Overland Pass before swinging back north along Huntington Creek and South Fork Humboldt River to the California Trail.

In 1854, an almost forgotten explorer made a significant contribution to Great Basin geography. E.G. (Edward Griffin) Beckwith, then a First Lieutenant, 3rd Artillary from the War Department, commanded a Pacific railroad expedition after his superior Captain J.W. Gunnison fell under an Indian attack on the Sevier River near Delta, Utah. Beckwith received orders, while in Salt Lake City, to explore the Basin "passing to the south of the Great Salt Lake in the direction of the 'Sink' of Humboldt or Mary's river, thence towards Mud Lake [Black Rock Desert] and across to the tributaries of Feather River, and thence by the most practicable route to the valley of the Sacramento River."

Accordingly, Beckwith's mapping expedition left Salt Lake City on May 5. Their route entered Nevada and White Pine County during mid-May about three miles south of the Elko County boundary. They encountered inclement weather when "A heavy fall of rain at camp during last night, covered the mountains well down toward the desert with snow." Their line of travel extended over Antelope Valley, past the north end of Goshute Lake (named by Beckwith) around the north end of the Cherry Creek Range, and on northwest to Secret Pass at the south end of the East Humboldt Range. Along this portion of the trek, the artist Egloffstein had traveled to a peak in the Pequop Mountains and sketched a beautiful panorama of the surrounding country. Also, near the Cherry Creek Range, Beckwith discovered an old man and a young woman at a "Digger wick-ey-up." "They had no shelter, no blankets—nothing but a deer-skin or two, a few ground-rats, a little grass-seed in grass baskets . . . and a variety of artemisia-seed . . . for two of the most emaciated and mean-looking dogs I ever saw." Instead of crossing Secret Pass, the group traversed south along the east base of the Ruby Mountains and crossed the range by Overland Pass. The expedition forded Huntington Creek on their way westward to Lassen Meadows, on the Humboldt River, and on into California.

During 1854 and 1855 several of the settlers of Utah made exploring trips into the central Great Basin. In 1854 O.B. and C.A. Huntington, John Reese, and three others searched for a route west from Salt Lake City to California by way of Carson Valley for Lt. Col. Edward J. Steptoe. On their outward route they followed much of the trail recently made by Lieutenant Beckwith.

On their return route, though, they made new explorations east of Carson Lake. It appears that they made their way back to Ruby Valley, and followed Beckwith's trail back to Salt Lake City, thus, not making new explorations through White Pine County. Reese took a different route than the Huntingtons, found New [Reese] River, but after that, the route of his wandering back to Salt Lake City is not clear. James H. Simpson hired Reese as a guide four years later, but even then Reese claimed that the Reese River area was not familiar to him.

Originally, Steptoe was given the unenviable task of investigating the murder of J.W. Gunnison. The following year, 1855, Steptoe was expected to search for a wagon road across the central Great Basin. Scouts that had been sent out from Salt Lake City returned with discouraging results. Instead of making new explorations into the Great Basin, Steptoe and Capt. Rufus Ingals skirted the area by following along the Humboldt River. Another officer, Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry took the Mormon Road through Las Vegas.

Another Utah gentleman, Major Howard Egan, explored through White Pine county in 1855. His explorations took him along a route that would later be surveyed by J.H. Simpson and used by the Overland Mail Company and the Pony Express. Egan Canyon and the Egan Range are geographic namesakes of the Major.

Members of the Latter-day Saints Church (Mormons) made important excursions into eastern Nevada beginning in 1855. Looking for new places to settle, the original White Mountain Mission (White Mountain is presently Crystal Peak in Millard County, Utah) left Lehi, Utah, May 22, 1855. Led by David Lehi, the town's founder, the mission entered Greasewood Valley (Snake Valley) and came to Knoll Springs. The "White Mountain" was sighted far to the south in the Wah Wah Range. From Knoll Springs, their guide took them west to the Peup Mountains (Snake Range). Several of its members ascended Wheeler Peak and named it Williams Peak, for E.G. Williams, one of the climbing brethren, "as I was the first white man to gain its exulted summit." Though this was the only Mormon exploring group into White Pine County, other missions entered Nevada. John Steele established Las Vegas Mission, on the Spanish Trail, after arriving there on June 15, 1855. They put in gardens, surveyed lots, built a 150-foot fort, a corral and houses. A Southern Indian Mission explored the Colorado River and helped brother Steele build the Las Vegas Mission, which broke up in 1858.

Fearing persecution from the U.S. Army, Brigham Young ordered new explorations west in 1858 to search for new sanctuaries. This order resulted in two White Mountain exploring expeditions. One, led by George Washington Bean with 104 men, set out from Provo, Utah, March 20, 1858. A "brother" named Adams maintained the "chart" (map) for this group. They followed much of the same trail as the David Lehi party of 1855 into Snake Valley.

Forty-five men were left to farm and herd near the sink of Snake Creek (present-day Garrison, Utah). Here, the brethren divided into two parties. While one explored to the north, the Bean group entered present-day Nevada via the route of U.S. Highway 50 over Sacramento Pass. They crossed Spring Valley and climbed over the Schell Creek Range by Cooper Canyon and Steptoe Creek. Murry Creek, coming out of the Egan Range, was located. From here, explorations were made as far north as Duck Creek at Gallagher Gap. The Mission explored south through Steptoe Valley, and over Bullwhacker Summit into Cave Valley where they discovered and explored Mormon (Cave Valley) Cave.

Meanwhile, another White Mountain Mission, or more properly the Desert Mission, was exploring north from the south. It was led by William H. Dame with James H. Martineau officiating historian and mapmaker. The party of sixty-six men left Parowan, Utah, on April 23, 1858. They passed into Nevada by way of Acoma, Bennett Spring and crossed Dry Lake Valley to the White River drainage. Traveling to the north they made a camp at present-day Murphy Meadows. The Desert Mission traveled west from White River Valley and noted a natural arch between the Seaman and Golden Gate ranges. They explored into the Grant Range, and near Cherry Creek Summit; they climbed a mountain that they named Altar Peak, and built a large altar, or cairn, of stones.

Back at White River Valley (Murphy Meadows), the main group explored north, while another party reconnoitered south to the Pahranagat Valley region by way of White (Coal) Valley. Dame and Martineau explored north into Lone Rock (Murry) Canyon. They located Murry Springs and followed the water to the mouth of the canyon where they saw the tracks of Bean's White Mountain Mission. While traveling back to the main camp at Willow (Emigrant) Springs, they explored the upper reaches of Eureka (Ellison) Creek. During their absence, the Bean party had passed through camp and explored northwest toward Current Creek. Some of the explorers went back to Desert Swamp (Butterfield) Springs, while Martineau and others went to Bean's White Mountain Mission in Cave Valley Cave and explored the cavern there. The wagon group of the Desert Mission retraced their route back to Meadow Valley, while Dame, Martineau, and nine others struck out for a new route to that rendezvous. The White Mountain missionaries traveled with the Desert Mission over Patterson Pass in the Schell Creek Range. In Lake Valley, Bean and part of his company continued easterly, past the south end of the Snake Range on their way to Beaver, Utah. The remaining party continued south along Lake Valley, past Pony Springs on their way to Meadow Valley where they located a place for a farm (present-day Panaca).

Another Great Basin geographical and mapmaking expedition was launched by the War Department in 1859. Led by Captain James H. Simpson of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, a group of sixty-four competent

specialists left Camp Floyd (south of Salt Lake City) on May 2. Along the way they picked up guide John Reese who had been dispatched earlier to reconnoiter the route ahead. The group entered White Pine County through Pleasant Valley, north of the Kern mountains. Simpson recorded much ethnographic information on Native Americans. Here, in Pleasant Valley, he amusingly describes a food they ate, made from seeds and roots from canyon bottoms. "I tasted it, but it looked precisely like a cake of cattle-ordure, and having anything but an agreeable taste, I soon disgorged it." Simpson's trail followed the route of the Overland Mail Company to Huntington Valley. Along the way, he passed the stations of Schell Creek, Butte Valley and Ruby Valley. In Spring Valley, Lott Huntingdon (namesake of Huntington Valley) was encountered. He was out hunting lost mules. Huntingdon was in charge of the Overland Mail Station from Pleasant Valley to the Humboldt River near present-day Beowawe. While camped at the south end of Huntington Valley, Simpson was visited by "Cho-kup, the chief of the Humboldt River band of the Sho-sho-nees," about 35 years of age. Cho-kup was described "dressed in buckskin pants, a check under, and a woolen over shirt; has a handkerchief tied around his neck, wears shoes, and has a yellowish felt hat." The pass ahead in the Diamond Mountains was named Cho-kup, in honor of the Shoshone chief.

Simpson continued to Genoa in western Nevada where he was saluted with thirteen guns "in honor of the party's having successfully accomplished the object of the exploration—the opening of a new and short road across the Great Basin from Camp Floyd, and thus facilitating the mails and emigration." The animals recuperated at Genoa while Simpson traveled to Sacramento to arrange for more supplies and equipment for the return to Camp Floyd.

After settling accounts in Genoa, they left June 24 for the return trip. The Diamond Mountains were crossed about 30 miles south of Simpson's outward route. He had ascended Simpson Creek, named for Captain Simpson in later years, and descended Pinto Creek. A detour was made north to Bluff Creek (Water Canyon) where "An Indian trail passes this way," before the route struck east across Buel (Newark) Valley. Simpson's road continued across the south end of Long Valley, through the Too-muntz (Butte) Mountains, and down a deep-walled gorge in the Mon-tim (Egan) Range. This striking canyon was named by Simpson, the Gate of Hercules. A large Indian trail passed down the canyon. "The Indians say it is the trail of the To-sa-withch band of the Sho-sho-nees, living about the Humboldt River, who yearly take this route, to trade horses with the Pahvant Indians about Fillmore." Capt. Simpson's route passed through present Ely, where by now he had encountered the previous year's trail made by Bean's White Mountain Mission. Most of this route was followed east into Utah. Simpson described the castle-like limestone rocks along Steptoe Creek, and saw "a very pretty

arch, through which I could see the blue sky." On the summit of the Schell Creek Range was noticed "four dug holes, evidently places in which the Mormons had *cached* some of their property when they passed here in the spring of 1858, but which now were empty." Simpson's road continued across Spring Valley and on into Utah via Sacramento Pass. To the south towered Wheeler Peak and Simpson recorded the Indian name for the summit as Too-bur-rit, but could not ascertain its meaning. Earlier, on his outward route, Simpson had named this high point Union Peak, and the range Go-shoot or Tots-arrh Mountains, "on account of its presenting itself in a doubled and connected form." Simpson remarked, "Indeed, I think this peak the highest we have seen on either of our routes." (The summit of Wheeler Peak towers to an altitude of 13,063 feet.) Indeed, it was.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Fishes of the Great Basin: A Natural History. By William F. Sigler and John W. Sigler. (Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1988. 425 pp., illustrations, maps, annotated checklist, literature cited, index.)

PROBABLY NO OTHER GROUP OF ORGANISMS ILLUSTRATES as well as the fish the ecological and historical significance of the Great Basin; a geographical area defined by ancient connections of water drainages. William and John Sigler (father and son) have put together an interesting account of the existing fish fauna, their habits, status, and importance to this region of the west. It is a sad account in some ways, not in the way the writers express themselves, but in their recounting of the former abundance of many of the fish within the living memory of people in the basin.

After a broad sketch of the subdrainages and basins that comprise the Great Basin, the authors review the history of fishing in the region primarily in Utah and Nevada. This chapter presents a vivid account of the importance of fish to Native Americans, early explorers, settlers and to modern anglers. From a time in the mid-to-late 1800s, fish populations relied upon for food, typified by the situations in Pyramid Lake and Utah Lake, declined greatly. Not the least of the reasons for such a decline was a common misconception: "Underlying the entire situation was the reasoning that since there were so many fish the population could not be damaged." (p. 23)

The book covers the life history of ninety-one species or subspecies: those that are now considered established in the Great Basin. Of these only slightly more than half are native species, the rest, introduced. Of the forty-seven native species, eighteen are listed by the federal government as threatened, endangered, or of special concern because of their status. Each species account includes coverage of its importance, range, identifying characteristics, size and age, food, breeding, habitat and conservation status. Each species is illustrated with a line drawing before its account. Eleven species are shown also in color plates. Unfortunately, the color drawings, although lovely, are of the usual sport fishes (except the Bonneville Cisco), more than half of which are introduced species. I think the authors missed an opportunity here to depict some of the beautiful non-game species and those not already commonly available in a myriad of sporting publications and even art posters. The verbal descriptions ("Males have orange to red on the axils of the paired fins, . . . golden-red speck at the upper end of the gill opening, . . . bluish above and silvery below . . ." p. 174, Leatherside Chub; or, quoting

Snyder on p. 212, the Lahontan Redside is "best identified by its spectacular breeding colors, which are a scarlet stripe on the sides, a shiny olivaceous back, and a silvery belly.") cry out for a color rendition.

Two short chapters seem not quite on target. Chapter Six, on the unique ways of fishes, draws mostly from well beyond the Great Basin. The examples and anecdotes are interesting, but I think the diversity of fish life in the Great Basin could have been used to greater extent. Chapter Fourteen, a checklist of fishes of the Great Basin, is redundant. It follows a thorough species account (Chapters 8-13) and precedes the listing and status of all species (Appendix 1).

A section in Chapter Four on the meaning of the scientific names is most welcome. Besides unlocking the mystery behind the Latin, it makes remembering the names much easier and logical. The rest of this chapter dealing with classification, however, seems designed for a college course. And a complete scientific name (p. 45) should include the date of description as well as the genus, species and author.

Terms used in the text (but not the key) are defined in a comprehensive glossary. With a few exceptions (Chironomid means a midge fly in the family Chironomidae, not a genus; and definition of some of the limnological terms follow a layperson's rather than a limnologist's understanding of them) they are accurate and complete. Terms used in the key (Chapter Seven) are not all defined and the asterisk system of reference to figures is confusing.

The aside (p. 9-10) concerning the effect of exceptional runoff in 1983-84 tends to draw our attention away from the more common disaster—low water in this desert basin. Exceptionally dry periods (1976-77 water years and 1987-88) in addition to the already heavy demands on water for human use are certainly a more immediate threat to fish life. The conflict over water for "people or fish" is of long duration. Recent efforts to reestablish threatened species such as the Lahontan cutthroat trout are beset by problems of diminished habitat, competing introduced species and even public concern over use of toxicants to remove unwanted species from its range. The attitude at the turn of the century was expressed by pioneering ichthyologist J. O. Snyder (1918) in his paper *The Fishes of the Lahonton system of Nevada and Northeastern California:*

> A considerable and constantly increasing amount of the flowing water must be used first for power and then for irrigation, and when any measure intended for the protection of fishes is found to seriously interfere with the working of power plants or the demands of agriculture it will have to be abandoned. (p. 41, *Bull. U.S. Bur. Fish.* 35[1915-1916]:31-86.)

One hopes this attitude has changed since then.

Overall, the book achieves its goal of helping us recognize the importance, beauty, and uniqueness of fishes in the Great Basin.

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A Lighthearted Tour of the West on a Search for the Two-Story Outhouse. By Norm Weis. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1988. 273 pp., index, illustrations.)

A Lighthearted Tour of the West on a Search for the Two-Story Outhouse by Norm Weis is not a good book. It is superficial; it digresses in odd ways; and the portraits of Native Americans and their "squaws," as they are called, seem openly racist. Still, aspects of the work deserve a few comments, and some of what *The Two-Story Outhouse* sets out to accomplish is commendable.

Weis's book is not intended as a serious, methodical survey of outhouses in the west, a field much in need of such a study. The retired school teacher does not profess to be a scholar, and has obviously set out to have a good time. His essay is a lighthearted tour just as it purports to be. One should not, therefore, hold it to the same standards as a scholarly work. It should be sufficient that portions of the book are fun to read. Nevertheless, other parts are silly and predictable and, occasionally, an accumulation of "all the neat stuff I know about history but never hoped to put down in one place." A diverse collection of photographs, however, makes up for a great deal.

Perhaps most significant is the book's underlying premise: people of the past lived lives which included all the dimensions humanity has experienced throughout its existence. The study of history traditionally experiences a methodological tug-of-war between those who seek to underscore the universality of humanity and those who stress diversity and cultural change. Weis's subject, needless to say, falls into the first camp. Yet his book is not restricted to outhouses. He includes a wealth of folklore salted among odds and ends, bizarre observations and other accounts of questionable worth.

In a way, it is unfortunate that Weis does not focus more on outhouses. This was a remnant of the past which deserves study before it becomes completely foreign to us. Because of changes in technology, we are losing touch with a crucial part of what the historical experience was all about. These structures are important because of their dominant role in society, and because they were often the subjects of craftsmanship, artistry and expertise.

Despite its importance, outhouse architecture is extremely difficult to document. Preservation efforts often focus on mansions and allow shacks to fall to ruin, encouraging a sanitized understanding of the past. The popular

inclination to save attractive remnants of the upper class jeopardizes a comprehensive understanding of history. This process has also victimized utilitarian structures such as outhouses. Weis is pointing in the right direction, but a more serious examination of the topic is warranted.

His travel-log style, fourteen-page review of Nevada, for example, is of more value to the folklorist than the architectural student. Still, it clearly represents a grand leap forward in the field: the Division of Historic Preservation and Archeology has almost nothing on outhouses in its files.

The Weis book is a reasonable reminder that now is an appropriate time to initiate a survey of Nevada's outhouses and other functional outbuildings. These resources are not likely to be recipients of intensive rehabilitation efforts in the near future, and we stand to lose a central component of our material past. If Weis succeeds in encouraging the documentation of these structures, then he deserves some thanks. If he had fun along the way, so much the better.

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Sierra Nevada Lakes. By George and Bliss Hinkle. New forward by George F. Kuntz. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987. 383 pages. Reprint: illustrations, index.)

I AM NOT CERTAIN WHEN IT WAS THAT I FIRST read the Hinkles' volume *Sierra Nevada Lakes,* but I remember Bill Hotchkiss telling me that one of his former teachers at Berkeley, George Stewart, had voiced some enthusiasm for the volume when it first was published and Stewart did write a "fine review" of the Hinkles' efforts. I was surprised to discover that the University of Nevada Press had reprinted the book in a paperbound edition.

Sierra Nevada Lakes does not actually have all that much to do with lakes, as such. It does deal with a small portion of the vital and colorful history of the mountainous region that formed the final barrier to the westward flow of emigration into California.

The volume attempts to bring to life the saga of two states which abut the Sierra; their efforts to determine their common boundary; and generally relates further the adventures of those who lived out the human dramas associated with Donner Lake, Gold Lake, Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, Mono Lake, Webber Lake, Meadow Lake, and, finally, the grand blue jewel of the mountains, since turned green, Lake Tahoe—which the reverend Thomas Starr King suggested as early as 1863 was the lake that "existed for beauty alone."

The "beauty" that the Hinkles saw, however, was mostly commercial and romantic, white man style. They fancy-framed a bustling Truckee and a developed Tahoe area, idealized Kit Carson's wanderings, and completely forgot most of the lakes and the Native Americans who lived and worshiped there. It is as if nothing happened and no one was around before the "real" history of the West began—that is the coming of white men and women, most of whom do not match the mountains, neither physically nor spiritually, which they passionately and often recklessly call their own.

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American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492. By Russell Thornton. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. 312 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.)

OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES, SCHOLARS INTERESTED in the history of American Indians have recognized the importance of European diseases in reducing the preColumbian native population. Books by Alfred W. Crosby, Francis Jennings and Henry F. Dobyns have demonstrated that Western Europeans invaded a "New World" whose indigenous peoples had few natural defenses against pandemics of smallpox, typhus and measles. For nearly four hundred years, American Indians experienced the worst demographic disaster in human history before their nadir came at the end of the nineteenth century. Russell Thornton, a sociologist at the University of Minnesota, estimates that a native population of over 72 million in 1492 declined to under 4.5 million in the 1890s. This represents a population reduced to six percent of its preColumbian size.

Such sustained destruction of human life can be considered, as Thornton does in his book's title, the "holocaust" for American Indians. Yet Thornton does not bury his study at Wounded Knee. He carries forward to the present day with demographic evidence that shows not only Indian survival but also dramatic growth.

Most of his book examines the native population in the area of what has become the conterminous United States. Yet this setting is placed in a broader hemispheric and even global context. So for example on page 37, Thornton records the estimated populations of major areas within the Eastern Hemisphere circa 1500, such as China and Europe. These figures may be compared with his own carefully constructed estimates in the same era for the population north of present-day Mexico which appear on page 31. These are only two statistical tables in a feast of fascinating data. He even includes an

appendix on the population history of the native peoples of Canada, Alaska and Greenland.

Building on one of his earlier publications, Thornton examines the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890 as examples of revitalization movements that responded to the severe cultural displacement brought on by intense population losses. Within the twentieth century, he has an entire chapter that considers not only the positive story of population recovery but also the thorny question of the definition and enumeration of contemporary American Indians.

This admirable volume is an essential reference for all libraries and for any scholar interested in American history.

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Utah State University

New Views in Mormon History: Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington. Edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987. 480 pp., introduction, notes, bibliography, index.)

New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington is a *festshrift* grown large. With eighteen essays and the long list of Arrington's publications, the book encompasses 480 pages and deals with a wide variety of Mormon themes. Articles reflect both the scope and limits of Mormon archives, the energy and scholarly care of the New Mormon History, and the admiration and respect in which Arrington is held by his colleagues.

Broken into four parts *New Views of Mormon History* is effectively organized. In "Early Mormonism" appear Richard Bushman's discussion of the Book of Mormon as history, an account by Dean Jessee of the Missouri imprisonment of Mormon leaders, Thomas Alexander's consideration of Joseph Smith's theology, and a tracing of the process by which the Mormon "articles of faith" emerged by David Whittaker. "Utah and Abroad" offers essays on early tithing practices by William Hartley, the United Order in Salt Lake City by Dean May, the influence of church attendance in Salt Lake City by Ronald Walker, coming of age in a Salt Lake County farming community by Gordon Irving, Mormon education in the Pacific by Lanier Britsch, Mormon women in turn-of-the-century politics by Carol Cornwall Madsen, the impact of church welfare on the Women's Relief Society by Jill Mulvay Derr, and a consideration of the role of languages other than English in the Mormon church by Richard Jensen. In "Mormon-Gentile Relations" Eugene

Campbell writes of pioneers and patriotism, Richard Poll of Utah and Mormons, and Jan Shipps of Mormon and non-Mormon stereotypes. And in "The Larger Perspective" appear a comparison of Mormons and Anabaptists by Michael Quinn, a consideration of time in Mormon history by Paul Edwards, and a look at Mormon historians by James Allen.

Each of the writers is a longtime associate of Arrington's. No fewer than thirteen of them are colleagues at Brigham Young University, either in its history department, the library, or the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Mormon History. Two were associates of Arrington's at the Historical Department of the Church. One is a Mormon historian at an eastern university, one a Reorganized Latter-day Saint historian, and one a historian of American religion with an abiding interest in the Mormon past. In varying ways Arrington has been the mentor of each of these scholars.

New Views is an informative and pleasing work that will add to the growing body of Mormon historiography. Scholarship is sound. Much detailed information and many valuable insights are called to attention. Writing is clear and generally readable. The editors show good judgment and careful attention in organization and preparation; and the University of Utah Press does an excellent job in presenting the book with one notable slip: more than a page of endnotes are unnumbered. Particularly engaging for this reader are points about church attendance as a manifestation of faith, the evolution of tithing practices, the impact of the emergence of the church welfare program in the 1930s upon the Women's Relief Society, and the history and prospects of the symbiotic relationship between Mormons and Utah.

Nevertheless, one has the feeling that the reach of these essays sometimes falls short of the title's *New Views* claim. A sense of the shopworn appears in reworked themes, in the limited if rich source material, in narrowness of topic that by its very nature limits audience, and by a tendency to view already narrow topics without much concern for context, synthesis or portent. Once or twice faith and history seem mixed, a good example being in the Missouri imprisonment essay's conclusion that "inspired instructions given there" helped make the experience a good one for those involved. Perhaps most difficult to understand is the lead essay which seems to assume that records from which the Book of Mormon was compiled are as subject to verification as records in the Historical Department of the Church or elsewhere. That assumption mixes "ways of knowing" that are essentially different in a way that can only tend to limit Mormon history to believing readers.

Charles S. Peterson
Utah State University

The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the West. By Patricia Nelson Limerick. (W. W. Norton and Company, 1987. 396 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.)

PROPERTY AND PROFIT, ABOVE ALL, MOTIVATED THE WESTERING American. Such is the stark and thematic foundation of the disillusive overview which is Professor Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest.* The author is responding to a general public assumption that there is discontinuity between the frontier and the Western present. She acknowledges she is developing a theme of Earl Pomeroy who stressed continuity in Western history and downplayed the frontier. *The Legacy of Conquest* would rescue the history of the West (the trans-Mississippi in the scope of the book) from the Turnerian frontier which is a process rather than a place. Instead, Professor Limerick promotes a definite regional history, one not ideological, one which is a story of acquisition, of cultural dominance, of economic expansion, of pillage, and of unresolved jealousies of power between locals and the federal government. The author is attempting a synthesis of regional specialty studies, largely a review of secondary sources.

In the spirit of said continuity the history treats matters of topical interest such as what is the public domain and what is private property when considering the natural commercial resources of the West; or the hypocritical rhetoric of independence from central government while in reality the West is conspicuous for its nursery relationship to federal funding. Apart from its anti-Turnerian essay *The Legacy of Conquest* has a design which would cause it to be considered as a textbook on the trans-Mississippi. It contains a useful bibliography, a sprinkling of incidental illustrations, and a general history of such currently favorite studies as resource management and various ethnic woes. The author's careful review of more up-to-date sources can be seen, for example, when she demonstrates commendable caution against the previous cliché-ridden treatment of the Industrial Workers of the World.

For those who wish to see the forest as well as the trees, questions about the history of the West which we may call Turnerian or neo-Turnerian will probably remain pending. The sharp challenge of *The Legacy of Conquest* to those questions is both bracing and healthy for discussion. More fertile analysis might have mentioned, after showing the association of property to power in the minds of Adams and Jefferson, how it helped to spawn pioneer acquisitiveness, which Turnerians glorified. Another early celebrity, Hamilton, expressed the fear that the westward movement obstructed manufacturers and slowed the growth of capital. In other words, it is evident that the pioneer was motivated not only by acquisition of property and profit for himself, but also by a need to escape the property and profit motive of others, which Hamilton cherished. Another way to put it: the advance of the dominant culture does not preclude the advance of its counterculture (those

fleeing the dominant culture), or even that the latter may have been the vanguard.

There are some curiosities in Professor Limerick's treatment of the trans-Mississippi. On the shoulders of Stephen Douglas seems to weigh the primary responsibility for disunion because of his promotional scheme for the central plains and the resulting fiasco of Kansas. The Latter-day Saints receive a more favorable promotion. Absent is any notion of the machinating theocracy, and instead is today's more preferred view of a persecuted minority. The author makes the artful simile of comparing Western displeasure at federal authority to blaming the traffic cop for the traffic jam. Yet the evidence contained in the book seems to confirm that the traffic cop is blameworthy.

Most troubling is how to fit the author's sketch of westering settlers to what she perceives as the reality of their past. Many residents of boot hill would not recognize themselves from her dark image of cupidity, alleged increased criminality, and wanton discrimination.

Robert H. Spencer
Reno, Nevada

Nevada: A History of Changes. By David Thompson. (Reno: The Grace Dangberg Foundation, Inc., 1986. 232 pp., illustrations, maps, index.)

THE STRIKING COVER OF THIS SOFTBOUND BOOK features a wraparound illustration of a painting by Nevada artist, Bill Barker. The painting depicts an incident attributed to Wovoka, the famous Paiute shaman, wherein he uses his magic hat to show a vision of the world of the future—Nevada as we know it today. This cover is an appropriate choice for a publication of the Grace Dangberg Foundation, as Wovoka was one of the subjects of Miss Dangberg's historical and anthropological research. Unfortunately, the promise of the fascinating cover is not fulfilled within the text.

The book is divided into six chapters: The Indians; Transportation; Mining; Ranching; Government; and Gaming. Each chapter is basically chronological; however, discussion jumps backward and forward in time. One page discusses events happening in the years 1870, 1889, 1930, 1887, 1934, 1878, 1882, 1924, 1932 and 1934, in that order. In places the text reads more like a timeline than a narrative. The format creates confusion and the reader finds it difficult to weave the isolated facts together for an understanding of any given time period. Information which is essential to one chapter frequently is not presented until a later one.

The writing of a history textbook seldom requires original research. The

author, instead, must examine a large variety of secondary sources to present a balanced overview of the history. Thompson's research appears to be in depth when dealing with topics familiar to him, such as Wovoka or water rights as discussed by Grace Dangberg in *Conflict on the Carson*. Broader research in other areas would have prevented further errors: placing Fort Bridger in Utah; noting "Huntingdon Library" instead of the Henry E. Huntington Library; referring to Hoover Dam, the official name, as Boulder Dam and to the Industrial Workers of the World as the International Workers of the World; noting the Bowers Mansion as a state park, instead of a Washoe County Park; and having Archibald Stewart selling the Las Vegas Ranch to the Union Pacific Railroad nearly twenty years after his death, instead of his heirs making the sale to Senator William A. Clark of the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad. A review of the manuscript before publication by a few Nevada historians could have corrected these and other errors.

The treatment of the contributions of minorities and women to the state is limited with the exception of the Nevada Indians. The use of the words "intruders" and "intrusion" in referring to the white trailblazers, miners, and settlers seems too biased for a textbook. Missing are people like Woodrow Wilson, Maude Frazier, Luther Mack, Helen J. Stewart, Yonema "Bill" Tomiyasu, Robert Laxalt and Jeanne Elizabeth Wier.

It is unclear for what age level the book was intended. Some sections read as if they were written for fifth grade level. Indeed, the term "our State" is frequently used, reminiscent of Effie Mona Mack's early text, *Our State Nevada*. By applying the Fogging Index to numerous random segments, I found that the majority of the writing is college level or above. Certainly, words such as "cognomen" are not in the vocabularies of most public school students.

The book is inundated with illustrations and quotations. The quotations take up almost as much space as original text. The author relies heavily upon the words of Mark Twain, Dan De Quille, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Myron Angel and Grace Dangberg, as well as early Nevada newspapers. The profusion, some over a page in length, of quotations diverts the reader's attention from the text. The nearly 230 illustrations are well chosen and interesting, but compete with the original text for space comprising over seventy pages of the book. Most of the information in the captions is extremely long and could have been integrated into the original text.

There is little "white space" in the book. The print of the original text is very small and the lines are very close, making them hard to read. The numerous quotations are in even smaller print. Educators have a right to expect a better quality of editing from a publisher in the education field. The number of typos is unacceptable. Proper names are sometimes spelled two different ways. Capitalization is inconsistent. An apostrophe is consistently added to the name, "Harolds Club," yet the accent in "Frémont" and

"Garcés" is always missing. Credits of illustrations are not always in the same format, even for the same institution. Careful editing could have avoided these and other editing problems.

Appendices with teaching aids such as a glossary and lists of the state's governors, senators and congressmen would be useful. Based on my experience as a former Nevada history teacher in junior high school and former member of the Clark County School District Textbook Committee, I do not believe this text can compare with the Nevada history texts written by respected historians Dr. Russell Elliott and Dr. James Hulse.

Carrie Townley-Porter
Reno, Nevada

NEW RESOURCE MATERIALS

Nevada Historical Society

Mount Rose Hospital Records

The Mount Rose Hospital was one of several small, private hospitals that operated in Reno during the first decades of this century. Active between 1914 and 1922, largely as a surgical center, it was most closely identified with Dr. George McKenzie and Sarah A. Hegarty (later Mrs. George Trosi), who was head nurse and superintendent. Recently, the Society acquired the hospital's daily journal, 1914-1922, which records the names of patients, services rendered, and the charges for those services. The record book, which was kept in part by Sarah Hegarty, constitutes a significant addition to the primary source materials available for the study of medicine and the medical profession in Nevada's earlier years.

Aurora Documents

The Society has received two groups of papers relating to Aurora, Nevada, during its years as a major mining center. The first, and largest, of these is a collection of documents donated by William Leavens of Carson City. This valuable collection, which was compiled by members of the Leavens family, includes a scrapbook containing bills, receipts, legal agreements and other documents relating to mining, stock transactions, and a variety of retail business activities in Aurora during 1861-1865. Some of the individuals and businesses involved are James M. Braly (one of the discoverers of Aurora), William Feast, J.C. Noland, Calvin H. Higbee, the Utah Mining Company, and the Burns and Porter Gold and Silver Mining Company. Also included in the scrapbook are photographs by Gordon Leavens, Jr., of Aurora, Bodie and Sunshine, California, and several locations in western Nevada in 1941 (Gordon Leavens, Sr., is shown in some of the photographs). Accompanying the scrapbook are sections from account books of a toll road company, a general store, and another unidentified business at Aurora in the 1860s, and a record book, indicating members and dues payments, from the Aurora lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars, 1878-1881. We thank Mr.

Leavens for his gift, which adds significantly to our holdings of original material from one of Nevada's earliest and best-known mining camps.

Additional Aurora-related items are found in a small group of James W. Nye papers recently purchased by the Society. It is known that Nye, who served as Nevada's territorial governor from 1861 to 1864, and later as one of the state's first U.S. senators, was involved in mining speculation and had interests in Aurora mining companies; these documents from 1861-1862 offer additional evidence of his private mining ventures at Aurora and loans (probably related to mining) that he was making at the time. Together with Nye's official governor's records at the state archives, the documents help to round out our perception of the ambitious Nye and his activities while he held the chief executive's office in Nevada territory.

Eric Moody
Manuscript Curator

Special Collections Department
University of Nevada-Reno

The Special Collections Department is pleased to announce that the Isabel Kimble papers have been donated by Mrs. Kimble through the assistance of Professor Emeritus Elmer R. Rusco. Consisting of .75 cubic feet of material and dating from 1972-1983, these papers include correspondence, reports, minutes, bylaws, and publicity material related to Nevada's efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment; and two women's organizations, the Women's Political Caucus of Northern Nevada and the Anne Martin Women's Political Caucus. Mrs. Kimble was president of the former group and active on the board of directors of the Anne Martin Caucus, Women's Center, Nevadans for ERA, and the ERA Coalition. An unpublished guide is available in the repository.

Dr. Rusco, a retired faculty member of the Political Science Department at UNR, has also donated one cubic foot of material gathered in the course of his work as co-editor of a recent issue of the *Nevada Public Affairs Review* on ethnicity and race in Nevada. Preparation of a guide to the collection is in progress.

Correspondence of Pelham W. Ames, secretary of the Sutro Tunnel Company of San Francisco, to Adolph Sutro in Nevada was recently accessioned. Over 180 letters dating from December 18, 1877, to May 13, 1880, discuss Sutro's telegrams of instructions to Ames, equipment purchased, tunnel progress, financial data, release and sale of company stock, and book purchases for Sutro's library. The Sutro Tunnel, built to drain the vast quan-

tities of water from the Comstock mines, was nearing completion at this time; Sutro's instructions directed Ames to purchase a variety of materials, including sheet iron and electrical equipment for the tunnel, and seeds and frogs for enhancing life in the community of Sutro.

Kenneth Carpenter, former head of the Special Collections Department, has donated a manuscript and books by his late wife, Patricia Healy Evans Carpenter. The manuscript for *A Modern Herbal* complements that of one given earlier called *Rimbles,* a collection of children's rhymes for games such as jump rope and hopscotch. Several of the original *Rimbles* sections were also donated, as were *An Alphabet Book* and *The Mycophagists' Book.* Most of these publications are filled with the author's charming illustrations.

Susan Searcy
Manuscript Curator

Oral History Program
University of Nevada-Reno, Library

Harry Callahan, as yet untitled. The latest in our series on Nevada ranching history is a collection of tape-recorded interviews with Harry Callahan. Transcript editing is now complete, and we anticipate that the oral history will be available to be public by the end of October.

Harry Callahan was born in 1895. He is the grandson of Matt Callahan, an Irish immigrant who owned major brickyards in Carson City and Virginia City during the years of the Bonanza. In 1883, with the demand for bricks in steep decline, Matt sold his Virginia City brickyard and bought the Jacob Griner homestead in the Steamboat Hills a few miles north of Washoe City. Within a few years, additional parcels of land were acquired, and the ranch provided a livelihood for the Callahan family, in whose possession it remains today.

Harry Callahan's oral history describes the development of the ranch and contains informative memories of rural schooling, Indian-white relations, the economic matrix of the region, water rights struggles, and other topics useful in developing an understanding of the ranching experience in this part of Nevada.

The Oral History Program *Collection Catalog* update, an annotated listing of all available oral histories as well as works in progress, will be available by winter 1988. In addition, the Master Index, a comprehensive guide to the collection of oral histories including references to all works completed since January 1987, is now available for purchase.

Helen M. Blue
Program Coordinator/Editor

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