

# NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



SPRING 1989

# NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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# PURCHASING LANDS FOR NEVADA INDIAN COLONIES, 1916-1917

ELMER R. RUSCO

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, a minority of Nevada's Indian population lived on reservations. There were reservations at Duck Valley, Pyramid Lake, Moapa, and Walker River; and a number of Indians lived at Fallon and Fort McDermitt on allotments in a reservation-like environment. According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1900, the population of the Duck Valley, Pyramid Lake, and Walker River Reservations totaled 1,515, only twenty-nine percent of the 5,216 Indians listed by the United States Census Bureau as living in Nevada.<sup>1</sup> A population figure for the Moapa Reservation as of 1916 raises this total to 1,634, or about thirty-one percent of the state's Indian population. This figure probably does not include the Indians living at Fallon and Fort McDermitt but, even if they are added the reservation population at that time, remains a minority of the total Indian population.<sup>2</sup>

Although most of Nevada's native peoples still lived in or near their aboriginal homes at the turn of the century, they did so under altered conditions. Because they had lost control of many key resources, especially much land and water, they had been forced to change their way of life. Many of them lived on or near the new ranches owned by non-Indians and made their livings partly as employees of the ranch owners; the men were ranch hands, engaging in a variety of activities for low pay, and the women provided domestic labor, also at low pay. There exists no extended account of what this circumstance meant for Indians, but it was a major pattern of response to EuroAmerican intrusion and displacement.<sup>3</sup>

Another significant segment of Nevada's native population in 1900 lived in settlements, sometimes called camps, in or on the edges of the towns and cities that had grown up in Nevada. Gradually, these locations came to be known as colonies, a name apparently unique to Nevada. In some cases the

Elmer R. Rusco is a retired professor of political science at the University of Nevada, Reno. His primary research interest is ethnicity in Nevada, particularly governmental policy affecting Native Americans. Part of the research for this article was made possible by a research grant from the Nevada Humanities Committee.



Captain Jim, a Washoe Indian, traveled to Washington, D.C., in 1892, in an effort to influence political leaders to establish a reservation in Nevada for the Washoes. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

colonies were on what was regarded by most Nevadans as public domain (although doubtless many if not most of the Indians continued to regard these lands as belonging to them because there had never been any legal transfer of

ownership); in other cases, the colonies were located on private lands. Gradually during the twentieth century, most of these colonies became trust territories, controlled by the federal government for the Indians. This process began with congressional appropriations for the purchase of the Lovelock Colony in 1910 and the Las Vegas Colony in 1911, but there was a dramatic increase in the number of trust-status colonies during 1917-18, when seven colonies were purchased or established by executive order.<sup>4</sup> This was the largest expansion of the Nevada Indian land base to occur between the creation of the first reservations during the nineteenth century and the Indian New Deal of the 1930s.

The legal status of colonies was unclear to some extent until 1938, when the United States Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. McGowan* that the Nevada colonies were reservations in the full sense of the word.<sup>5</sup> The *McGowan* case, which applied specifically to the Reno-Sparks Colony, cited as authority for that colony's creation two separate portions of an Indian appropriation act passed by Congress in 1916. One section of this law authorized the spending of \$10,000 to buy "land and water rights" for the Washoe Indians, and the other provided \$15,000 to buy land and water rights for "the nonreservation Indians in the State of Nevada."<sup>6</sup> This article examines the circumstances that led to the passage of these two provisions in order to shed light on this important period in Nevada Indian history.

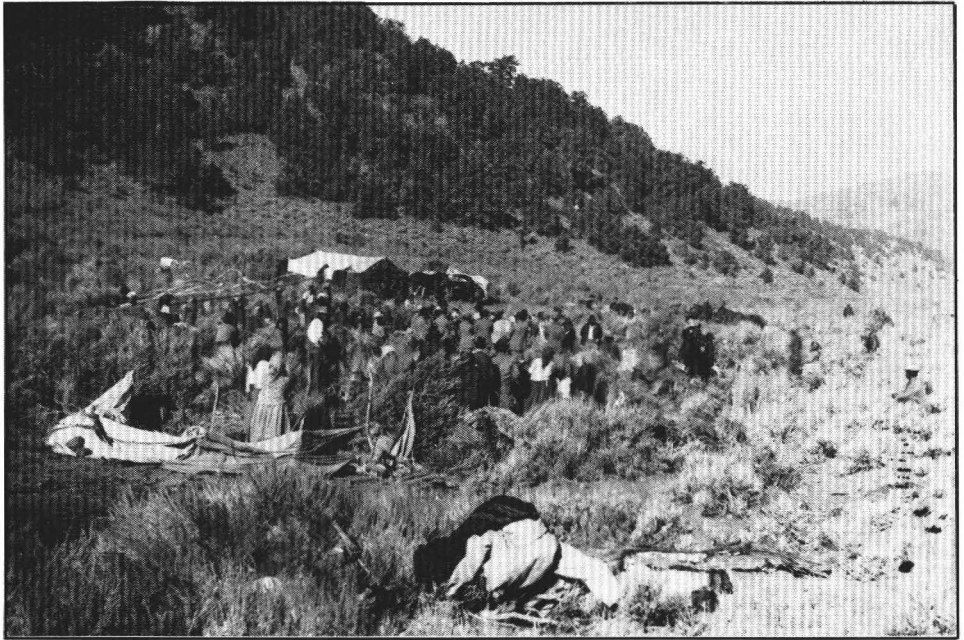
#### INITIAL STEPS TOWARD ACQUISITION OF COLONIES

The process that led to the creation of several new reservations in a short period of time was complicated, and certain elements of it remain obscure. But it is clear that attempts to secure land for the Washoe Indians before 1916, the activities of the Nevada Indian Association between 1914 and 1916, the efforts of Nevada Senator Key Pittman, the precedent of land purchases in California, and the viewpoints of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were all important.

##### *Land for the Washoes*

The federal government made no treaties with the Washoe Tribe, and provided them with no reservations until 1917. However, there were various proposals from the Washoes and various field employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a reservation, plus many complaints about the condition of the tribe in the absence of a reservation, over many decades before action finally was taken.

In 1859, Indian Agent Frederick Dodge proposed that Washoes should be moved to the Pyramid Lake or Walker River Reservations, created in that year, but this never happened. In 1865, 1871, and 1877, agents of the Bureau



Washoe Indians involved in a rabbit drive, May 1901. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

of Indian Affairs recommended that a reservation be established for the Washoes, but again there was no action.<sup>7</sup>

Washoes requested a treaty as early as 1861. Subsequent Washoe protests and requests that at least some land be left to them go back to at least 1880. In 1891 Washoe leaders prepared a petition requesting land, and in 1892, with the help of non-Indian Nevadans who raised money for their expenses, two Washoe leaders—Captain Jim and Dick Bender—traveled to Washington, D.C., to request help. They were offered land in the Humboldt Valley, not in their homeland, but nothing came of this either.<sup>8</sup>

In 1901, Jeanne Elizabeth Wier reported that Captain Pete of the Washoes was asking for a 200-acre plot of irrigated land in Carson Valley for homesites and gardens. She wrote that citizens of Ormsby, Storey, and Washoe Counties had been raising money to finance another Washoe trip to Washington.<sup>9</sup>

Wier also reported that, after passage of the Dawes Act of 1887, which contained a provision authorizing homesteads on the public domain for landless Indians, Washoes began to “make settlement in the valleys” of western Nevada. However, because “white residents coveted” these lands, the Washoes were persuaded to exchange them for land allotments in the Pine Nut Mountains. She says that “the chief men of the tribe consented to the removal, but one year’s experience in their new homes proved that the land was useless for agricultural purposes.”<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps because of the 1892 visit to Washington and the local support for

it, a number of individual Washoes also received allotments of land in the Pine Nut Range, south and east of the Minden/Gardnerville area, beginning in 1893 and continuing until 1910.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, these allotments did not have water supplies attached to them and were in any case unsuitable for agriculture, because of the mountainous terrain. Also, the one resource on these allotments, the piñon forest, was often subject to non-Indian encroachment. The Washoes protested again, and sometimes received the support of Nevada or federal government officials; but the most important thing that happened was the institution of leasing agreements, with very small payments to the Washoes, beginning in 1913.<sup>12</sup>

Beginning in 1903, with a report by Superintendent James K. Allen and Special Allotting Agent W. E. Casson, various Indian agents began to suggest that the Pine Nut allotments be exchanged for agricultural lands.<sup>13</sup> In 1910 the superintendent of the Carson Indian School, recognizing that the Pine Nut allotments were inadequate, suggested the purchase of a tract with a water right for the members of the tribe.<sup>14</sup>

Calvin H. Asbury, who at the time was the head of the Carson Indian School, sent a report to the Washington office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the condition of the Washoes on 27 December 1911. This report noted that the allotments made to Washoes in the 1890s totaled fifty to sixty thousand acres. The report, according to the office,

shows that many of the allotments have practically little or no value, but that some of them contain timber valuable for fuel; that these might be sold for a sufficient amount to buy the Indians a small tract of land near the communities where they work for a livelihood. He has suggested that the worthless allotments be canceled and that the Indians be permitted to select more valuable lands wherever this may be possible.<sup>15</sup>

In 1912, Nevada Governor Tasker Oddie, Lieutenant Governor Gilbert C. Ross, and a number of citizens of Carson City sent a petition to Nevada's congressional representative, E. E. Roberts, asking that "legislation be procured in behalf of the Washoe Indians in Nevada"; apparently, the letter asked that land be provided for them. Roberts forwarded the petition to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, requesting that the reply be sent to Colonel S. H. Day of Carson City, because the representative was going to be absent for some time. The reply to Colonel Day indicated that the bureau had been looking into the condition of the Washoe Indians since the year before.<sup>16</sup>

### *The Bureau of Indian Affairs Takes Action*

All of this activity from the Nevadans produced a concrete response from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At some time between the December 1911 report noted above and 9 October 1912, the writer of the report, Calvin





Louisa Tom in Dresslerville, lands which were purchased from William Dressler for Washoe Indians in Carson Valley. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Asbury, was appointed “a Special Indian Agent to look after the interests of the various scattered bands of Indians in the State of Nevada.”<sup>17</sup> Although this wording indicates that he was intended to concern himself with other tribes as well, it was apparently the Washoes who received the most attention for several years.

As noted above, Asbury had originally championed the proposal to sell the Pine Nut allotments to get money to purchase more suitable land for the Washoes. In response to the 1912 petition, the bureau initially accepted Asbury’s recommendation: Second Assistant Commissioner E. F. Hauke wrote to Colonel Day that, because the Washoe allotments totaled a substantial number of acres, “there would be no justification . . . in recommending that a large appropriation be made to buy land for them elsewhere; at least, until a very careful examination has been made into” whether the allotments could be exchanged for “small tracts for permanent homes near the towns where they earn their livelihood.”<sup>18</sup>

Apparently Asbury’s recommendation against purchase of more land for the Washoes was based on the view that most members of the tribe were relatively well off economically and that the only problem was with the elderly members. In his report of 27 December 1911, Asbury wrote:

The Washoe Indians do not live in any one close community,—in fact, there is hardly enough of them living at any one place to constitute a real village. Through Carson Valley around the small town of Gardnerville there are Washoe families living

adjacent to almost every farm where they make their living working at regular farm labor and at domestic work around the homes. They have work a large portion of the year, and all of the younger people who are strong live very well. There are [a] few camps about the towns of Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada, and Truckee, and Loyalton, California, and through the summer, there are many of them employed around Lake Tahoe, fishing, acting as boatmen, guides, etc., while the women may make and sell baskets and work about the camps and resorts.<sup>19</sup>

After quoting this passage, the letter to Day from Hauke stated that while "some of the old people are reported to be quite poor, . . . the indications are that the younger ones, those who are strong and healthy, live very well upon the proceeds of their individual labor."

In 1913, a new effort to secure land for the Washoes began, initiated by leaders of the tribe. A petition was prepared by Washoe leaders Captain Pete and Captain Pete Mayo, which was signed by twenty other Washoes and witnessed by George F. Kenney of Carson City. The petition noted that the Pine Nut land allotments were "barren, desolate in the extreme, and of such character that [they] cannot be cultivated" and stated that "a home for each family with a parcel of ground to cultivate would remedy this very largely, something which is utterly impossible on the ground now allotted us." This petition was accompanied by a basket specially woven for the purpose by Sarah Jim, daughter of Captain Jim. The basket was to be given to President Woodrow Wilson. The president did receive it, though what happened to it after that is not known.<sup>20</sup> The 1913 Nevada Legislature, presumably in response to this or similar efforts, adopted a resolution requesting the Nevada congressional delegation

to use all honorable means to obtain all necessary and proper relief and aid to the Washoe tribe of Indians in the way of obtaining parcels of land and water rights, furnishing them with farming implements and other necessities to enable them to cultivate the soil, and assist them to become self-supporting in accordance with the best judgment of congress.<sup>21</sup>

Also in 1913, Representative Roberts introduced a bill in Congress "to purchase lands and establish homes for the Washoe Indians," but the bill did not emerge from the House Committee on Indian Affairs.<sup>22</sup> In February 1914, Senator Francis Newlands of Nevada introduced a bill for the same purpose, but it, too, died in committee.<sup>23</sup>

On 28 March 1914, Kenney transmitted to Congress, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to the Honorable Harry Day a five-page petition signed by a large number of Washoe Indians, asking for land for the tribe. Perhaps this was the 1913 petition, although it may have been another one. Kenney said that he was forwarding the petition "at the request of representatives of the Washoe Tribe of Indians."<sup>24</sup>

The Bureau of Indian Affairs supported purchasing land for the Washoes; a



Paiutes in camp, c. 1910. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

bill had already been introduced to do so. In a reply to Kenney, Second Assistant Commissioner Hauke wrote that “the condition of the homeless bands of Indians in Nevada, mainly Washoes, Shoshones and Piutes [sic], is well known in this Office, as reports have been received from field officers fully setting forth their needs and the necessity for an appropriation to relieve their distress.” Hauke then noted that Senate Bill 4472 (actually 4473) in the Second Session of the Sixty-third Congress had proposed the appropriation of \$50,000 “to purchase land and establish homes for Indians of the Washoe tribe in Nevada.” (This was the bill introduced by Senator Newlands.) He indicated that the office, in its report on this bill, had endorsed the request for \$50,000 but had also broadened the request to provide that the money be used to buy “land and water rights for homeless and destitute Washoes, Paiutes and other Indians in the State of Nevada not residing upon any Indian Reservation.” Hauke wrote that the appropriation might be used to purchase either small tracts “for assignment to families or individuals” or “a permanent location to which they might return after their work and where they would be in no danger of being told to ‘move on.’”<sup>25</sup>

### *The Nevada Indian Association Enters the Picture*

The Nevada Indian Association was organized in February 1913 “by some Reno women, for the purpose of raising money for a Young Men’s and Young Women’s Christian Association building at the Carson Indian School and

maintaining a secretary there.”<sup>26</sup> The leadership of the association came from Lillie R. Corwin, a missionary appointed by the Baptist Women’s Home Missionary Society of New York, who had been serving Nevada Indians since 1907. Miss Corwin had begun her work at the Reno Baptist Church and had established a Baptist mission on the Fallon Reservation before undertaking work at the Carson Indian School. In February 1913, national representatives of the YMCA and YWCA were in Reno and Carson City and the Nevada Indian Association was formed at that time. Apparently the association raised money for the building that is the core of what is still the Baptist Church at the Stewart property and also for a home for Miss Corwin “on the edge of the Stewart campus.”<sup>27</sup> Thereafter Miss Corwin served Indian students for several years at the Carson Indian School. The association was in existence for a number of years (at least until 1918), and it gradually broadened its activities to include seeking larger appropriations for the Carson Indian School, attempting to get more schools for Nevada Indians as well as to secure admission for Indians to the Nevada public schools, and supporting efforts to secure land for homeless Nevada Indians.<sup>28</sup>

### *Senator Pittman Lends a Hand*

The Nevada Indian Association found its most important supporter in Senator Key Pitman, who joined the association himself.<sup>29</sup> On 29 September 1915, Senator Pittman addressed the Ormsby County branch of the association on the subject of increased appropriations for the Carson Indian School. “He urged members of the association to collect facts regarding the school and present them to Congress and promised to lend his aid in every way in getting the desired appropriation for the enlargement of the institution.”<sup>30</sup> Evidently the association also lobbied for support of land for the Nevada Indians, because in 1915 a Senate committee reported of the proposal to buy land for the Washoes that “there have been filed with your committee numerous signed petitions from residents of Nevada requesting this appropriation.”<sup>31</sup> Probably because of his interest in Nevada’s Indians, Pittman was a member of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs during the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, during which the provisions authorizing purchase of lands for Nevada Indians were moving through Congress, and he clearly led in bringing about their ultimate approval.

### ACTION BEGINS—THE 1916 INDIAN APPROPRIATIONS ACT

The Indian appropriations act for the 1916 fiscal year failed to pass at the last moment because of a filibuster over claims payments to Mississippi Choctaws, so tracing the legislative history of this bill requires an examination of hearings and debates over two years.



Pine Nut harvesting near Lovelock, Nevada, c. 1912. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

### *A Constituent's Request*

An element that became important later but seems not to have been part of the initial effort to approve the 1916 Act was a constituent's request addressed to Senator Pittman. The constituent, John Beare O'Sullivan, was concerned about both his own economic status and the future of the Indians who would eventually become residents of the Reno-Sparks Colony. On 9 December 1914 he wrote to Senator Pittman asking him if he could not secure an appropriation to purchase "a certain tract of land belonging to me adjoining the city of Sparks [on which] is located a settlement of Indians." O'Sullivan explained that

I have an opportunity of disposing of this tract of land, provided that I remove the Indians. There is no other place they can move to within a radius of several miles, and I dislike extremely to cause these poor unfortunates to leave, especially as some of them have erected comfortable frame cabins. At the same time, my means are such that I need the money that I would receive from the sale.<sup>32</sup>

He wrote that he had "called at the Indian Agency" and been told that there was an appropriation of \$10,000 to buy land for California Indians, but none for buying land for Nevada Indians. Evidently the letter caused Senator Pittman to inquire into the matter. On 18 December Pittman wrote to O'Sullivan that he had received his letter and would "take up with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs immediately the question of appropriating lands for homeless Indians in Nevada. I am encouraged to believe that I will succeed." By 15

January 1915 Pittman was writing O'Sullivan that he would have nothing definite until the Committee on Indian Affairs met.<sup>33</sup> O'Sullivan's father had established a ranch along the Truckee River in the 1850s, and the ranch had for decades been one of the sites for several Indian camps.<sup>34</sup>

### *Influence of California Land Purchases*

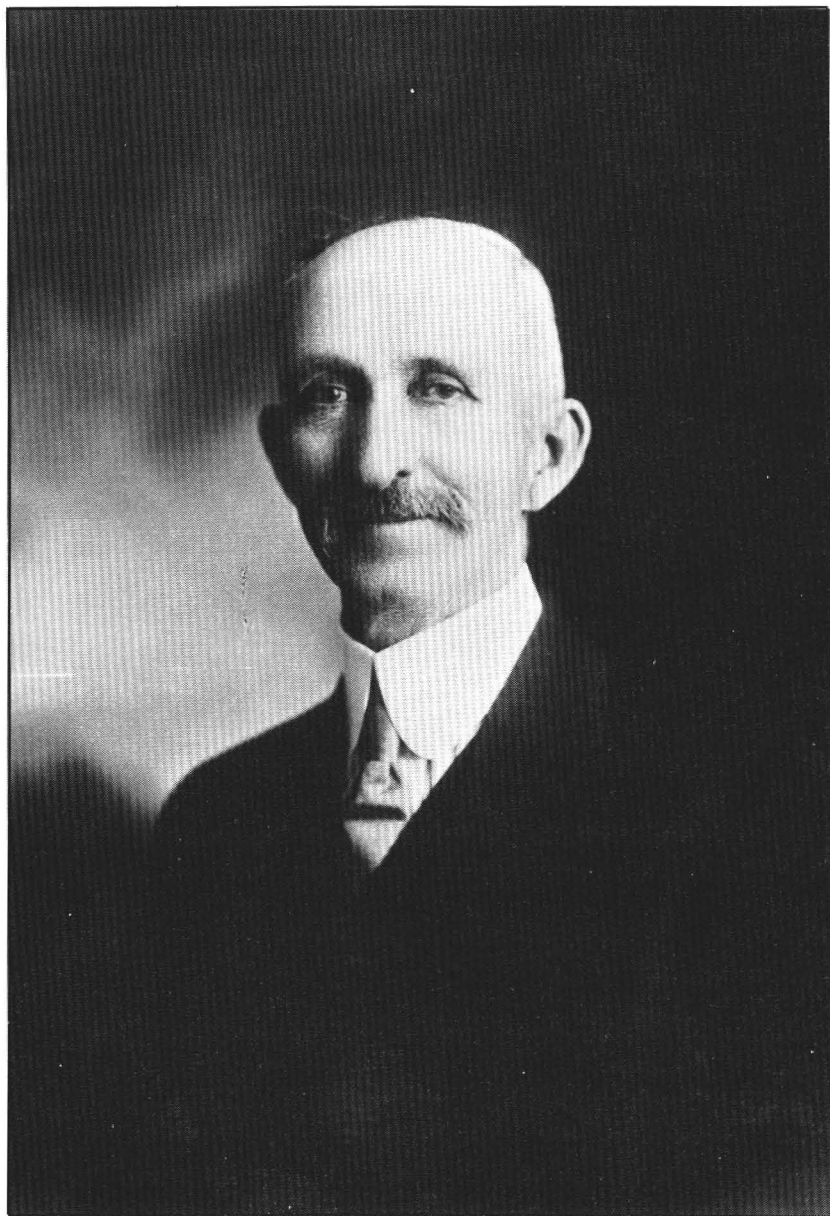
The Bureau of Indian Affairs may have decided to seek purchase of lands for Nevada Indians partly because a similar program was already underway in California. Although eighteen treaties were negotiated with various California Indians during 1850-52, the Senate refused to ratify them in 1852, and so a high proportion of California Indians were landless. Several military reservations set up between 1853 and 1855 were eventually replaced by only five reservations for all the California Indians. Beginning in the 1890s, however, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and private sources began to purchase residential reservations, called rancherias. In 1905, C. E. Kelsey, an attorney who was secretary of the Northern California Indian Association, was appointed as special agent of the bureau to study ways to improve the situation of the many landless California Indians. Following his report in 1906, Congress appropriated \$100,000 to buy rancherias for California Indians, and between 1907 and 1909 twenty-five rancherias were purchased.<sup>35</sup>

In January 1915, the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs was considering a proposal to continue these appropriations for lands for the homeless California Indians.<sup>36</sup> On 25 January 1915, Senator Pittman appeared before the committee and requested an appropriation of \$10,000 to buy land for the Washoe Indians; he did not mention the Reno-Sparks situation, and in fact referred only to Washoes living in Carson Valley. He told the committee that the three or four hundred Washoe Indians were "the best Indians in our State. They are a splendid, high-class type of Indian." He noted that land had been purchased for them some years before (the Pine Nut allotments), but that this land was "impossible for agricultural purposes. The Indians were unable there to do anything." He added that consequently

these Indians live just from hand to mouth. They will pitch a little bit of a tent around the edge of a town or mining camp. The women will try to get washing and the men will try to get a job chopping some wood, but it is a very precarious living they earn at the outside. They have no reservations [*sic*] to live on, and no protection whatever, and it is an outrage.<sup>37</sup>

After some friendly discussion with members of the committee, Pittman offered to prepare an amendment to authorize \$10,000 to purchase lands for the Washoe Indians plus \$5,000 to furnish them with "the necessary agricultural implements" to enable them to support themselves, and to check this proposal with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.





Lorenzo D. Creel was hired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1917-1918 to purchase lands for Nevada Indians. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The next day, on 25 January, Pittman introduced an amendment that he said he had "prepared in consultation with" Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Meritt. His amendment increased the amount requested for

purchase of lands from \$10,000 to \$15,000, plus \$5,000 "for the support and civilization" of the Washoe tribe, and it stated that the title for the "land and water rights for the Washoe Tribe" was to be "held by the United States for the benefit of" the tribe.<sup>38</sup>

### *Pittman Broadens the Scope of the Effort*

Some time in January or February of 1915 Pittman received a petition requesting appropriations to purchase homes for "homeless Indians in Nevada." On 15 February he wrote to the foreman and members of the federal grand jury in Carson City, who had sent the petition, indicating that he had introduced an amendment to buy land for the Washoes. This letter said that "it was only with regard to these Indians that I received petitions prior to the receipt of yours, and therefore other homeless Indians other than the Washoes have not been cared for." He wrote that he would see to "this matter" in this next session of Congress, noting, however, that "it is very difficult to obtain any appropriation by reason of the necessity for economy on behalf of the Government."<sup>39</sup>

In 1915 the Committee on Indian Affairs recommended \$15,000 to the Senate, which agreed, for purchase of land for the Washoes. The conference committee appointed to reconcile disputes between the two houses reduced the amount to \$12,500.<sup>40</sup> At this point, however, the entire bill was lost, and so the matter was put over until the next Congress.<sup>41</sup>

### THE 1916 INDIAN APPROPRIATIONS ACT—THE SECOND ROUND

Senator Pittman brought his proposal for land for the Washoes back to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs on 21 February 1916. This time the request had been reduced to \$10,000 for the purchase of land and water rights and \$5,000 to enable the tribe to use the lands that would be purchased. The committee agreed to the amendment after a brief discussion, the most important point of which was that Pittman agreed that he did not "expect" to ask for a similar appropriation the next year; in other words, he envisaged it as a one-time expenditure.<sup>42</sup>

The biggest change in Pittman's request, however, came when he indicated that he would introduce a bill to appropriate \$100,000 to buy land for other homeless Nevada Indians, as he had said the year before that he would do.<sup>43</sup> The 1915 Nevada Legislature had passed a resolution requesting an appropriation in the amount of \$100,000 "for the purchase of small parcels of land, water rights, garden tools, and to erect dwellings in this state" for the Washoes "and many members of other tribes of Indians in this state [who] are homeless and nonreservation Indians."<sup>44</sup>

Pittman also cited the fact that Special Agent Asbury recommended this amount. In a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in October 1915, Asbury had recommended the use of \$100,000 to buy lands for all Nevada Indians in need of such aid, and added that there were homeless Indians in every county of the state. The Secretary of the Interior, in a report cited below, estimated that approximately 3,100 (or 59 percent) of Nevada's 5,240 Indians had "no land or reservation rights."<sup>45</sup> Asbury discussed the situations of specific tribes, but then offered a description of the condition of the Indians generally.

These Indians make their living at common labor about towns and on the ranches adjacent to where they live, the women earning a large part of the living, doing washing and other domestic work about the homes of the white people. They live in such small houses and shacks as they can provide for themselves, usually located on a barren spot, which no one else wants.<sup>46</sup>

Asbury suggested that it should be possible to find "small tracts where they can be encouraged to build for themselves better homes:

These tracts should not be purchased with a view to assembling any considerable number of Indians at one place, but should be bought in the locality where the Indians now live and where they have a chance to earn their living, as they do at the present time, supplemented by such garden and small farming as they may be able to do on small tracts.<sup>47</sup>

Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane, in a letter dated 8 February 1916, endorsed the idea of supporting land purchases for homeless Nevada Indians as an "experiment," noting that a similar program had for some time been carried on in California. He suggested an appropriation of \$15,000 to buy "home and farm sites, with adequate water rights, and [to provide] agricultural equipment and instruction and other necessary supplies for the non-reservation Indians in the State of Nevada." Senator Pittman, saying that he could not "expect any more than the department recommends," reduced his request to a total of \$15,000. This amount, quickly approved by the committee, was later accepted by the Senate as a whole.<sup>48</sup>

During 1915-16, then, there were two separate provisions dealing with the purchase of land for homeless Nevada Indians. The House Committee on Indian Affairs discussed the request on behalf of the Washoe tribe on 22 December 1915. Assistant Commissioner E. B. Meritt brought the proposal before the committee, but merely referred to Senator Pittman's testimony of the previous January before the Senate committee. When the chairman of the House committee asked Meritt, "Has the Government ever had supervision and control over them?" he answered that "they are supposed to be under the jurisdiction of the Government."<sup>49</sup> Meritt also stated, in response to the chairman's inquiries, that it would not be practical to find allotments on

the public domain for members of the tribe because of the difficulty of finding land with a water supply.<sup>50</sup>

Meritt discussed both proposals before the House committee on 15 April 1916. He admitted that he did not know the tribes of the various homeless Nevada Indians, but he may have been referring to the Indians living on what would become the Reno-Sparks Colony when he gave the following response to a request to explain the item about the Washoe Indians:

They are a small band of Indians that have been living around a town there in Nevada, and the owner of the land is about to require these Indians to move, and it will be necessary that we purchase some land for them.<sup>51</sup>

The committee took no action on the amendment at this hearing, but later, in its report to the House, it recommended the full amount of \$15,000 to purchase land for the Washoes. The House accepted this amount, although it struck out language allowing the appropriation to be carried over into another fiscal year if not expended in the year for which it was appropriated.<sup>52</sup> The Senate had previously approved the same amount for Washoe lands; with both houses in agreement, there was nothing to resolve in conference, and this provision became law.

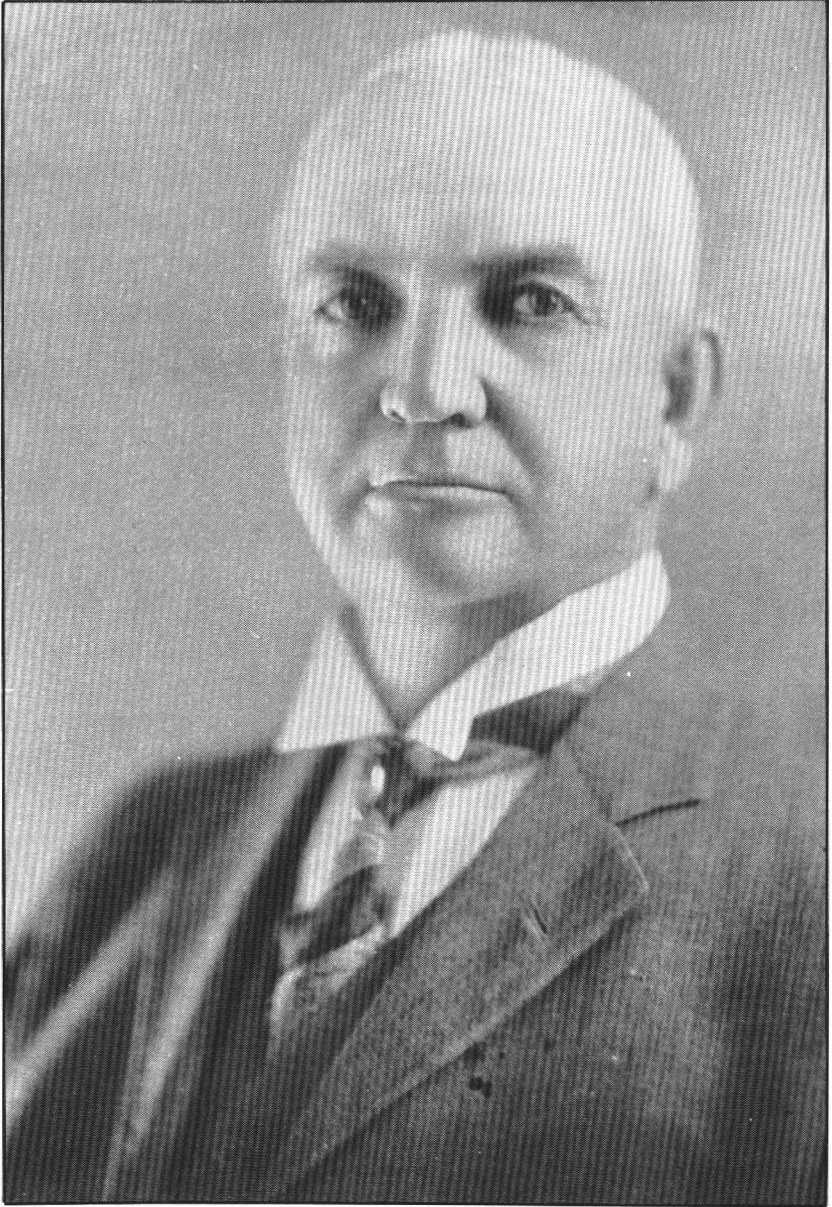
The House committee in 1916 approved the additional appropriation to purchase land for other Nevada Indians, and again the House accepted the amount proposed by the Senate, so this provision also became part of the Indian appropriation act without dispute.

#### RENT FOR THE RENO-SPARKS COLONY

In none of the proceedings summarized above was there any certainly specific reference to the Reno-Sparks Colony, but on 2 March 1916, Senator Pittman brought up the colony before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. His request at this time, however, was for an appropriation to pay rent for the previous ten years for land occupied near Sparks by Washoe Indians. Specifically, the request was

for the payment of rental of private land occupied by nonreservation homeless Indians, in the vicinity of Sparks, Nevada, from May first, nineteen hundred and five, to May first, nineteen hundred and fifteen, ten years, at \$360 per year, in all \$3,600.<sup>53</sup>

A letter from Secretary of the Interior Lane stated that a number of Washoe Indians had been living on an undetermined number of acres near Sparks for ten years, on land belonging to John B. O'Sullivan. O'Sullivan had for some time given his "tacit consent" that the Indians should live there, but in the previous year the Bureau of Indian Affairs had paid him \$30 a month for rent, and had then entered into a lease contract with Mr. O'Sullivan for a year,



Congressional Representative E. E. Roberts introduced a bill in Congress in 1913 to purchase lands and establish homes for the Washoe Indian. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

ending 30 June 1916. The request was for back rent for the previous ten years. The secretary recommended against the appropriation, on the grounds that the government had no obligation to pay rent prior to 1 May 1915, when

payments had begun, and that "the sum of \$3,600 is far in excess of the rental value of the land for the period mentioned."<sup>54</sup>

Faced with the opposition of the Interior Department, Senator Pittman fought hard for his appropriation but eventually withdrew it when he realized that he could not get it approved. Senator Harry Lane (Democrat, Oregon), who also referred to the Indians involved as Washoes and said that he had known "personally of those Indians for the reason that I was born in that country," explained to the committee that "they are 'camping on the old camp grounds' that their ancestors camped on hundreds of years ago, and the town has come in there and they do not desert their camp ground any further than they have to."<sup>55</sup> The rest of the committee apparently regarded the matter as one of rewarding Mr. O'Sullivan as a private landowner. Senator Carroll S. Page (Republican, Vermont), the committee chairman, even suggested that the committee might "gain the reputation that it has more of graft in it than any other committee in the Senate, and I think we are perhaps coming to deserve some of that, because so many, many things that come up are new, untried, and we step in because we have a little sympathy and say 'Amen.'"<sup>56</sup> Pittman then tried to gain approval for the back rent by reducing the sum to half that in the original proposal, but even this was not acceptable to the rest of the committee.<sup>57</sup> (In April 1917 Pittman introduced a bill "for the relief of John B. O'Sullivan," but the bill did not get out of committee, probably because O'Sullivan's land was purchased in 1917 for the Reno-Sparks Colony.)<sup>58</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This account of congressional action leading to the passage in 1916 of two separate provisions for the purchase of lands for homeless Nevada Indians suggests some confusion on the part of the congressional committees involved. Clearly the effort began with an attempt to buy lands for the Washoe Tribe, but perhaps Senator Pittman and the Bureau of Indian Affairs were contemplating the eventual Reno-Sparks Colony as well as the situation of the Washoe Indians in Carson Valley. There was no specific reference to any other Nevada Indian tribe or location, however. But because at least some of the Indians living on O'Sullivan's land were Washoes, either appropriation would have been legitimate authority for the purchase of the land that became the Reno-Sparks Colony, regardless of the specific intent of Congress.

The implementation of these two authorization provisions is another story. The Bureau of Indian Affairs hired Lorenzo D. Creel, who had been working with landless Indians in Utah, as a special supervisor assigned to make land purchases for Nevada Indians. He began with efforts to purchase land for Washoe Indians in Carson Valley. Creel secured from the William F. Dressler family a gift of land which became Dresslerville, and also an option to



purchase a ranch near Genoa. He then made a tour of the state, which resulted in several additions to the supply of colonies. During 1917 and 1918, lands for colonies were purchased in Carson City, Fallon, Reno-Sparks, and Yerington, and colonies were established by executive order in Battle Mountain and Elko.<sup>59</sup>

There was no significant attempt in Congress to buy additional lands for Nevada Indians, even though the colonies created in 1917 and 1918 did not give trust status to all of the existing Indian camps, and they certainly did very little for the "scattered" Indians in the state. In 1917 Malcolm McDowell, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, made a study of "The Landless Indians—Paiutes and Washoes of Nevada," but it led to no new legislative proposals.<sup>60</sup> Also in 1917, the Indians living on allotments at Fort McDermitt sent a petition to Nevada's congressional delegation requesting additional allotments for Indians of that area who were landless. The petition was signed by thirty Indians identified as "landless" and by sixteen identified as "Indians who are allotted, but desirous of aiding their less fortunate brethren."<sup>61</sup> Senator Pittman responded to Dale H. Reed, the superintendent of the Fort McDermitt School, who had sent a letter with the petition, that "it is too late at this session to do anything with regard to the matter of which you write, but I hope to accomplish something at the next session of Congress." However, there is no evidence of congressional consideration of further allotments for the Fort McDermitt Indians. Nevada Indians without lands of their own had to await the Indian New Deal before significant action would provide them with land, although the Ely Colony did gain trust status in 1931.<sup>62</sup>

The United States Indian policy nationally during this period was directed toward reducing reservations, not creating them. The centerpiece of policy was clearly the General Allotment (or Dawes) Act of 1887, and this act aimed ultimately at converting Indians into individual property-owning farmers who would no longer need the special legal status enjoyed by Indians on reservations. Moreover, the Dawes Act in fact led to the loss of enormous amounts of formerly Indian lands to non-Indians. The act itself contemplated release of "surplus" lands on reservations once all the Indians living there had been allotted, but the major reason for the great loss of lands was that individual Indians, lacking capital for farming—in some cases not desiring to make their livings in this way, and in most cases not understanding the complexities and value assumptions of the non-Indian property system—sold their lands to non-Indians. Why was there an effort to create reservations in Nevada while government policy in general was directed in the opposite direction?

Three hypotheses can be suggested to explain this paradox. First, Indian policy has in fact always been made on a decentralized basis; the national government was and is dealing with hundreds of different groups, each with a different history before the EuroAmerican contract and each with a different

pattern of relationships with the national government. The Washoes in particular had never enjoyed trust status for any of their lands and had consistently protested this condition, but only a minority of Nevada Indians lived on reservations by 1916. Especially since similar efforts were already under way in California and Utah, and for similar reasons, acquiring land for the Nevada Indians made sense in spite of the over-all policy's focus on breaking up reservations.

Second, the Dawes Act assumed that Indians would make their livings as farmers, but this of course required that they own land. The Dawes Act probably explains the Pine Nut Allotments, but these allotments were useless for agricultural purposes. No one could realistically expect the Washoes to become self-reliant farmers when all of the land on which farming could take place had been taken from them. Before the Indians could realistically be encouraged to approximate the Jeffersonian ideal of independent farmers, they had to have land, and this was precisely what was missing for most Nevada Indians.

Third, it is likely that self-preservation and expansionist goals of the bureaucracy itself played a role in these events. Whatever the orientations of congress and the president, governmental agencies (and indeed bureaucracies of all kinds) typically favor policies designed at the minimum to preserve their agencies and at the maximum to expand them. In short, there are several reasons why Indian policy in Nevada took the direction it did during 1916-17, even though in doing so it moved in the opposite direction from over-all policy at the national level.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1901:694. This estimate may not be precise; however, it was chosen because it is based on the count by the U.S. Census, which reported a stable Indian population for Nevada of around 5,000 from 1890 through 1950. By contrast, for 1899, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had estimated that the population of the same three reservations was 1,306, or 16.1 percent of a total state Indian population of 8,121. Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1900:644.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Congress. House 1915:18.

<sup>3</sup> The best study of this situation deals with the status of the Indian residents of Helen J. Stewart's ranch in Las Vegas Valley in the nineteenth century. See Knack 1987.

<sup>4</sup> In 1910, the United States Congress appropriated \$3,000 for "the purchase of land adjacent to the Lovelock School site, in Nevada, for the use and occupation of certain Indian families." 36 Stat. US 278. Nevada Senator George S. Nixon requested the appropriation. Apparently some land had been purchased for the Lovelock Colony in 1907. Intertribal Council of Nevada, 1976a:41-42. The Las Vegas Colony was purchased for \$500 from Helen J. Stewart in 1911. Intertribal Council of Nevada, 1976b:120.

<sup>5</sup> *United States v. McGowan*, 302 U.S. 535.

<sup>6</sup> 39 Stat. 125: 143 (1916).

<sup>7</sup> Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976c:51-56. Also, see d'Azevedo 1986b: 493-97.

<sup>8</sup> Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976c:53, 56-61.

<sup>9</sup> Wier 1901: 26-72, hand-drawn map between pages 25 and 26.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 19. The Dawes Act is one of several statutes which, beginning in 1875, have allowed Indians to obtain "trust or restricted parcels," often called allotments, on the public domain. Cohen 1982:40.

<sup>11</sup> Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976c:62-64.

- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., 64-66.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., 69-70.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., 70.
- <sup>15</sup> Hauke 1912.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid. Colonel Day was the assistant adjutant-general of Nevada in 1904; in 1878 he had been the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for surveyor-general of Nevada. Wren 1904:230, 81.
- <sup>17</sup> Hauke 1912.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> d'Azevedo and Kavanagh 1974; Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976c:72-74.
- <sup>21</sup> Nevada, *Statutes* 1913:583. (Resolution no. 5, approved 28 February 1913.)
- <sup>22</sup> Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976c:71; U.S. Congress 1913:151.
- <sup>23</sup> Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976c:71; U.S. Congress 1914:3370.
- <sup>24</sup> Kenney 1914.
- <sup>25</sup> Hauke 1914.
- <sup>26</sup> Johnson 1984:15.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., 23. See also Davis 1913:542-43; Trout 1917:159.
- <sup>29</sup> In a letter to Senator Pittman written 7 November 1918, Helen Fulton, secretary-treasurer of the Nevada Indian Association, asked the senator to renew his membership. She added that the association's president, Mrs. F. E. Humphrey, had "deemed it advisable, because of the quarantine, to abandon her plan for calling the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Nevada Indian Association, which should have been held in October." Fulton 1918.
- <sup>30</sup> Johnson 1984:15.
- <sup>31</sup> U.S. Congress. Senate 1916:225.
- <sup>32</sup> O'Sullivan 1914.
- <sup>33</sup> Pittman 1914, 1915a.
- <sup>34</sup> Rusco 1987.
- <sup>35</sup> Castillo 1978a,b; Heizer 1978a,b.
- <sup>36</sup> U.S. Congress. Senate 1915:6.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., 226-28.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid., 252-53.
- <sup>39</sup> Pittman 1915b.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., 565.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., 565-7.
- <sup>42</sup> U.S. Congress. House 1916:218.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Nevada Legislature 1915.
- <sup>45</sup> U.S. Congress. House. 1916:218.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., 221.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., 219.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., 259-60.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., 261.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid., 117.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., 2146-47.
- <sup>53</sup> U.S. Congress. Senate 1916:563.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid., 565-67.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid., 565.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid., 566-67.
- <sup>58</sup> U.S. Congress. Senate 1917:188.
- <sup>59</sup> For Carson Colony, Dresslerville, and the Reno-Sparks Colony, see Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976c:79. For Yerington, Fallon Colony, Battle Mountain, and Elko, see Clemmer and Stewart 1986:533. An incomplete account of Creel's efforts is provided by documents in the Papers of Colonel Lafayette A.

Dorrington in the San Francisco Branch of the National Archives and the Lorenzo D. Creel Papers at Special Collections, Gatchell Library, University of Nevada, Reno.

<sup>60</sup> McDowell 1917.

<sup>61</sup> Indians Residing at Fort McDermitt 1917; Pittman 1917.

<sup>62</sup> The Ely Colony was purchased in 1931. Intertribal Council of Nevada 1976d:89.

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# NEVADA HISTORY: A RESEARCH AGENDA

EUGENE P. MOEHRING

THE PUBLICATION IN 1987 OF THE SECOND EDITION of Russell Elliott's *History of Nevada*<sup>1</sup> demonstrated how far the documentation of Nevada's history has come in the last fifteen years. Aside from the expanded content, the volume's new bibliography is almost forty percent longer than the first edition's 1973 list, which encompassed most of the past century's research. Nevertheless, many topics have yet to receive adequate treatment. This situation is slowly changing, however, thanks to the increased availability of source materials. In the past fifteen years the Nevada Historical Society in Reno has substantially increased its holdings and even published a guide to its manuscript collections. And the State Archives in Carson City has recently begun preparing a computerized catalog of every item on its shelves. Similar efforts are under way at other repositories, including the State Library, the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society in Las Vegas, and the special collections departments of the Noble Gatchell Library at the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR) and the James Dickinson Library at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV), as well as in smaller museums, historical societies, and libraries across the Silver State. In addition, there is a relatively new entity, the State Historical Records Advisory Board (SHRAB), whose programs, discussed below, will dramatically expand the number of historical documents available to scholars in the 1990s.

With more sources becoming available each year, historians will find it easier to revise the work of earlier scholars and to pioneer research into previously neglected topics. This essay attempts to provide suggestions for such research based on documents that are currently accessible. As Russell Elliott's bibliography indicates, the gaps in the historical literature are myriad. Nevada's Indians are a case in point. For the past twenty years the field has been dominated by anthropologists and social scientists. Elmer Rusco, Martha Knack, Omer Stewart and others have indeed contributed signif-

Eugene Moehring is associate professor and chairman of the History Department at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. A specialist in urban history, he is currently preparing a study of the city-building process in the modern southwest.

A number of people contributed their thoughts to this manuscript, including Gary Elliott, Michael Green, James Hulse, Susan Jarvis, Jeffrey Kintop, David Millman, Lee Mortensen, Guy Rocha and Ralph Roske.



icantly to our knowledge, but their research has focused largely on the Paiutes and Washos; the Shoshones have been virtually ignored.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, historical methodologies have not been used to any great extent in the study of Nevada's Indians. For example, no social historian has yet attempted a comprehensive, interdisciplinary study of tribes even though there exist the census rolls, artifacts, manuscripts, and printed sources that would make possible the examination of social structures, gender roles, divisions of labor, and tribal responses to white policies and behavior. In addition, Nevada's Indian tribes need to be placed in the larger context of regional and national events.

Twentieth-century Indian history is an even more promising field of research, for two reasons: first, it has been the subject of few works, and, second, many records for the period are now becoming available. In his article in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Winter 1987), Elmer Rusco reviewed the creation of the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony in 1917 and described subsequent federal efforts to provide the community with water, housing, and other social services. To a large extent, his research benefited from the rich collection of Bureau of Indian Affairs records in the National Archives, both in Washington, D.C., and at the regional center in Laguna Niguel, California. The SHRAB has also helped by funding a survey of records for the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony. Though the Indians restrict access, these records are crucial to understanding how the Paiutes and Washos governed themselves and responded to federal programs, especially after 1933. Also valuable is the large collection of records for the Pyramid Lake Paiute tribe (1934-79) and the Washo tribe of Nevada and California (1951-69) in the Gatchell Library's special collections. Together with the Robert Leland papers (1955-73), Margaret Wheat papers (1940-80), and Lorenzo Dow Creel papers (1875-1945), also at the library, they provide a solid foundation for scholars interested in modern Nevada's Indian history, as do the Inter-Tribal Council's records at the Nevada Historical Society.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, the arrival of whites in Nevada disrupted the natural environment as much as it did the Indian society. Logging, mining, milling, ranching, and agriculture all transformed the landscape and threatened delicate ecosystems. With the exception of Douglas Strong's work on aspects of the Lake Tahoe problem, surprisingly little has been written about the Silver State's environmental history. If one began in the state's territorial period, the timber industry would be a logical starting point. While logging operations in the Pacific Northwest and California have received extended treatment, there are no in-depth historical studies for Nevada, even though the Gatchell Library has numerous source materials for the Lake Tahoe area.<sup>4</sup> One could easily document the staggering amount of timber used to buttress individual mine shafts by consulting the library's substantial collection of mining-company records as well as the files of the El Dorado Wood and

Flume Company (1862-1940), which supplied the Comstock district. Analysis of Flume Company sources would yield answers to a variety of questions, including the scale and complexity of operations. Payrolls and account books would reveal how much loggers were paid and how much wood was sold to the mining camps, the railroads, and out-of-state markets. Except for the writings of Dan De Quille, Duane Smith, and a few others, we know little about the ecology of the Comstock and especially about the deforestation crisis it triggered in the Sierra.

Aside from its insatiable appetite for timber, mining posed other threats to the natural environment. The presence of large-scale strip mining operations in the Ely and Ruth areas raises questions about the extent of government regulation at the state and local levels. Historians also need to explore the response of agricultural and ranching interests to mining operations. We know that, for the past hundred years, coal strip mining in Colorado, Wyoming, and elsewhere has aroused ranching interests by threatening livestock areas.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, there has been less conflict in Nevada, but we ought to assess the impact of mining upon ranching and agriculture, especially in places like the lower Carson Valley where mercury and cyanide pollution was substantial. We know that mining and farm interests battled over taxation for many decades, but were there environmental conflicts also? Moreover, how did the mining coalition react to efforts by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Bureau of Land Management to regulate grazing? And, conversely, how did politicians representing Nevada's ranching, farm, and city interests react to federal programs designed to control timber harvesting and strip mining?

These questions point to an even larger issue: Nevada's reaction to the whole conservation movement. Thanks to infusions of capital and the penetration by the railroads of timber and mineral lands, Nevada, like the rest of the West, was primed for development by the late nineteenth century. While the state enjoyed fewer natural resources than California or the Pacific Northwest, there was still unbridled optimism that development would bring substantial profits, thereby widening the tax base for revenue-starved Nevada. At the same time, however, the conservation spirit that pervaded the Progressive Era promoted tension throughout the West. In some states like Washington, the governor opposed national regulation in favor of local control. Though an outspoken critic of federal conservation, Governor Marion Hay recognized that resource allocation was crucial to Washington's economy.<sup>6</sup> What about Nevada? How did governors and legislators view conservation? On the national level, Senator Francis Newlands's support for reclamation is legendary, but what about his position on other environmental issues? How did Nevada's congressional delegation view specific Progressive and New Deal measures?

Conservation in the post-World War II era is even more intriguing. How

has Nevada reacted to the dizzying variety of new federal programs and Environmental Protection Agency regulations? We know, for instance, that Las Vegas and Clark County officials were slow to endorse the costly construction of wastewater treatment plants for Lake Mead. In addition to the sewage issue, the build-up of the Colorado's salinity and silt has also become a pressing concern, while in the eastern part of the state, parks rather than water have stirred controversy. For the past few decades a coalition of groups has opposed the Great Basin National Park. Who are these interests? What is the historical basis for their concerns? And what influence will these pressure groups exert upon future efforts to expand Nevada's protected wilderness areas? These questions invariably lead to the larger issue of the federal government's historic control over most of Nevada's land. At present, there is no in-depth study of federal land policies that compares Nevada's experience with those of other western states. As a result, the historical roots of the so-called Sagebrush Rebellion remain largely unexplored.

In the nineteenth century, Nevada's environmental history was shaped primarily by the mining industry, which was in turn driven by a feverish optimism that assumed the presence of a mother lode in almost every mountain range. This speculative mania began, of course, in 1859. For more than a century the Comstock has fired the interest of historians, but, surprisingly, many subjects remain untouched. For example, we still have no study of the San Francisco stock market during the era even though bank records and mining stock certificates are available in both California and Nevada. On a larger scale, the big bonanza needs to be integrated into the larger economic and political history of both the West and the nation. Specifically, how did the silver strikes change American history during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods? To what extent did Virginia City's decline reflect late-nineteenth-century trends in the region? The current literature is not definitive. Edwin Dodson's master's degree thesis on Nevada during the Civil War is dated, and Eugene Berwanger's study of the West during Reconstruction largely ignores Nevada, as do most Gilded Age studies. We also know little about the Comstock's influence upon world mining technology. Rodman Paul and others have provided introductory surveys, but we need a systematic study of the Nevada Historical Society's Mining Art Archive, which contains clippings from contemporary mining and scientific journals, with hundreds of references to the Comstock's innovative equipment and techniques.<sup>7</sup>

Beyond the Comstock phenomenon, Nevada mining in general deserves more research. We are indebted to Russell Elliott, Nancy Schreier, Hugh Shamberger and others for their coverage of the state's nineteenth- and twentieth-century mining booms. However, many corporate records have yet to be used extensively. A generation ago Russell Elliott demonstrated the value of the Bancroft Library's collection of ledger books from the various Goldfield mining companies.<sup>8</sup> Similar holdings at the Nevada Historical Society could

support the same kind of research for many northern Nevada mining camps. For the southern region, the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society at Las Vegas owns the records of the Southwest Mining Company, whose operations were scattered throughout the area. This collection contains executive correspondence regarding capital investments, supplies, and personnel policies, as well as daybooks detailing ore shipments. Historians could use such information from Southwest Mining and other companies to recreate their supply, distribution and market patterns, thus clarifying how Nevada's mining economy actually worked. What supplies did the companies typically requisition? Who supplied their food, lumber, and equipment? Where was the ore shipped? Was it sent primarily to local smelters or to California or Utah? What role did teamsters, express companies, and the railroads play in the transportation process?

We must also explore the urban dimensions of these events. Currently available records could be used to write the history of many mining towns. Family histories, newspapers, diaries and traveler's accounts would yield much information about daily life in places like Rhyolite, Manhattan, Delamar, and other towns. The secretary of state's incorporation records in the State Archives would provide guides to mining-district records and sites. County archives, local historical societies and the Nevada Historical Society hold site surveys, claim maps, and plat maps identifying the locations of blocks and lots. Manuscript census rolls could be combined with them to identify virtually every person and family and plot their exact locations. To assess each district's current and potential yield, United States Geological Survey records and reports by the Nevada Bureau of Mines could also be consulted. Promotional efforts could be traced by using the Nevada Historical Society's collection of company prospectuses designed to attract the interest of investors. These could be supplemented with chamber-of-commerce publications, guidebooks, and sporting-event publicity (especially for the boxing matches that promoted Goldfield, Tonopah and Reno), as well as other booster materials which are extant for many towns. Aside from state and local papers, federal sources could also be helpful, especially for the economic dimensions of the boom towns. In the past, historians have not made enough use of the *Reports* of the United States Bureau of the Mint or of the Interstate Commerce Commission's *Annual Reports of the Statistics of the Railways of the United States*, which detail the scope of Nevada's mining economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

For most of its history, Nevada mining relied upon the iron horse. Like mining, Nevada's railroad industry has been the subject of many popular works. Thousands of readers have enjoyed the colorful prose of David Myrick, Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg. However, despite the quality and extent of this literature, there is still no definitive study of railroad policies and politics for the nineteenth and especially the twentieth centuries. In-

deed, the Union Pacific archives in Omaha and the Central Pacific's in San Francisco have been used by only a few scholars having a Nevada focus. Even with the publications of Ted Wurm and Harre Demoro, we need more specific information about such intrastate lines as the Nevada Copper Belt Railroad, the Nevada Northern, the Virginia & Truckee, and others. A lot of these company records are available at the Nevada Historical Society as well as at the Huntington, Bancroft, and Gatchell Libraries. Historians should address precisely what role the railroads played in planting, promoting, and punishing specific towns and counties over the course of many decades. And what about the companies' lobbying efforts in Carson City and Washington, D.C.? It is common knowledge that railroad rates discriminated against northern Nevada in the late 1800s, and, after 1900, high prices thwarted all efforts to develop a thriving intrastate economy between the north and south. But too little of substance is known about these policies. On the positive side, there is still much to be written about how the Central Pacific and other lines promoted the Silver State. How did the railroads attempt to persuade Californians to invest in Nevada? We know from local newspapers that in 1911 Senator William Clark rented exhibition space at his own expense at the "Land and Products Exhibition" in the Los Angeles Exhibit Building to showcase cotton, cantaloupes and other crops from the Las Vegas-Moapa area in an effort to enhance Clark County's image as a potentially rich agricultural hinterland. In addition, railroad publicity in the East marketed Las Vegas as a "sanitarium—a haven for the winter tourist and a blessing to [those] subject to pulmonary complaints." Yet, there is no history of railroad advertising for Nevada that systematically explores these marketing strategies.<sup>9</sup>

Similar gaps pervade the literature on ranching and agriculture. Naturally, there are some key works like Orville Holderman's master's thesis on the ranching empire of Jewett Adams and W.N. McGill, as well as the publications of John Townley, Clel Georgetta, and others. Nevertheless, we lack a comprehensive survey of Nevada ranching and agriculture. Any such work should make substantial use of family documents. Although many of the papers for key families in Elko, Douglas, Washoe, and other counties are probably still locked in attics, many records are available. In particular, the Oral History Project of the University of Nevada, Reno, has published dozens of transcripts based on interviews with prominent rural families throughout the state.<sup>10</sup> These materials are filled with information about environmental and economic factors as well as the impact of government regulation and reclamation after 1900. Corporate and personal papers could also be useful. The recently opened George Wingfield collection at the Nevada Historical Society would be especially valuable to agricultural historians. Because the tentacles of Wingfield's banking empire reached into many rural counties, examining his financial correspondence and loan records would be like dropping a plumb line into Nevada's ranching and farming society. A blend of this in-

formation with assessment rolls and other county records could recreate a detailed picture of these industries. Once the major ranching families and operations had been identified, the historian could begin to answer a variety of questions. What about social stratification, debt load, and political power? How did various panics, wars, the Great Depression, and the New Deal alter the political and economic balance of these sections? We need analyses of Nevada's counties similar to Donald Worster's detailed studies of Cimarron County, Oklahoma and Haskell County, Kansas, in his popular book, *Dust Bowl*.<sup>11</sup> Then, like Worster, we could examine the attitudes of ranchers and farmers toward planned production, conservation, government regulation, federal subsidies, and mechanization, as well as other popular themes in agricultural history. The records and oral histories necessary to document such an enterprise are available now.

Like Nevada's early industries, their modern counterparts are in need of greater scrutiny. There is, for instance, no detailed history of gambling. Fortunately, the searing exposés of Las Vegas and the mob have been counterbalanced more recently by the thoughtful scholarship of John Findlay, William Eadington and others.<sup>12</sup> Still, we need to go farther and trace the origins and development of Nevada gambling. In what ways did it evolve on the frontier and become institutionalized in the Silver State? Oral histories and diaries along with newspapers could provide first-hand information, while analysis of the Nevada Historical Society's collections of casino records from the Silver Spur and Harolds Club would contribute to our understanding of casino management—especially the profit and loss records, the key barometer in determining how much floor space was allotted to different games. For students of politics, the oral histories and executive correspondence could document the influence that casino executives enjoyed within state and local power structures as well as clarify the position of the gaming establishment on civil rights, taxation, education, social programs, and other issues. Was the industry monolithic, or were there independent views? And what about gaming control? Despite its significance, we still lack a comprehensive study of gaming regulation in Nevada. Much of the correspondence and reports of the Gaming Control Board and the Gaming Control Commission can be found in the State Archives, while a rich collection of memorabilia, artifacts and books relating to the history of gambling is located in the Dickinson Library at UNLV.

On a related front, the history of Nevada's resort industry also begs to be written. As William Lang has noted, western dude ranching still awaits its historian. In Nevada, however, the development of the industry was unique because of its close ties with liberalized divorce and casino gambling after 1930. We need to examine this symbiotic relationship more closely, especially in the Reno area. Similarly, the impact of the skiing industry upon the economy of the Lake Tahoe basin merits attention. And what about Las



Vegas? Why did it become an international tourist destination so quickly after World War II? How was the city marketed in California and nationally, and how did it relate to the "search for the Golden West" so ably described by Earl Pomeroy more than a generation ago?<sup>13</sup> On a grander scale, what did the Riviera, Tropicana and other resorts have in common with their counterparts in Miami Beach and the Caribbean? What about hotel grounds, building decor, and entertainment? In what respects was the resort culture of Las Vegas derivative and in what way unique? Historians must go beyond the work of John Findlay and place Las Vegas in the larger context of western civilization's postwar obsession with leisure, travel and entertainment. How have Las Vegas and Nevada, through their marketing and pricing strategies, spearheaded the effort to democratize leisure for middle- and even lower-income visitors? We need a full-scale study of Nevada's tourist and convention industries relating them to their larger national and even international counterparts.

Moreover, a history of Nevada's efforts at economic development is required for both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. How have state agencies, development authorities, corporations and chambers of commerce teamed with booster journalists and other promoters to publicize Nevada's climate, tax advantages, and its mining, ranching, farming, gambling and other industries? Though access is restricted, chamber-of-commerce records for Las Vegas and Reno, along with their suburbs, could be combined with promotional literature for Tonopah, Goldfield, Delamar, Virginia City and other towns to document the century-long effort to promote the Silver State.

Of course, no history of Nevada's economic development would be complete without a detailed analysis of how federal programs have transformed the state. In terms of reclamation, Norris Hundley, Joseph Stevens and Richard Wilson have all enlightened us about the Boulder Dam project, while Donald Pisani, Gary Elliott, and others have broadened our knowledge of water issues. John Townley, too, has skillfully examined the effects of the Newlands Project upon Churchill County, but we need more local studies like Townley's as well as larger works illuminating the political, economic, and social impact of reclamation upon places like Boulder City and upon Nevada as a whole.<sup>14</sup> In what ways has the state's economy been transformed? And, specifically, how has this altered power bases and political interests at the state and local levels? For the planning, engineering, and impact studies, federal records are the logical starting point. The library of the Department of Interior and the National Archives and its regional centers in California contain large amounts of reclamation materials. Following the construction phases, water management operations could be traced through Department of Interior records as well as local sources. The Nevada Historical Society, for instance, possesses a large collection of records from the Truckee-Carson Irrigation District that could shed much light on the development and effectiveness of water policies in Western Nevada.

Federal defense projects have also changed Nevada. Paul Boyer, A. Costandina Titus, Freeman Dyson and other scholars have all contributed to the growing literature on the Nuclear Testing Site and the national government's testing program.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the scholarship on military installations is much slimmer. Aside from official histories, we lack solid studies of Nellis, Indian Springs, and Stead Air Force Bases as well as on the Fallon Naval Air Station and Hawthorne Ammunition Depot. How did defense policies combine with political considerations to establish and expand and, in some cases, to deactivate and reactivate these bases? How did they reshape the political, economic, and social landscapes of nearby communities? During the past decade, historians interested in martial cities have traced the impact of Tinker Air Force Base upon Oklahoma City and Camp Shelby upon Hattiesburg, Mississippi. They have also looked at the army's presence in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Nevada specialists could undoubtedly make substantial contributions to this subject. Of course, defense plants have also exerted an influence. Gerald Nash has recently examined the effects of World War II factories upon the urban West, and Howard Rabinowitz has briefly described the effects of the Sandia Laboratories upon Albuquerque.<sup>16</sup> This would be a fruitful line of research for Nevada. At present, William Dobbs and Jay Coughtry are preparing separate studies of black rights, housing policies, and labor turmoil at Basic Magnesium, Inc.<sup>17</sup> But we need also a full-scale history of Henderson and its close relationship with the nearby factory complex; particularly in the wake of the 1988 explosion at the Pacific Engineering and Production Company of Nevada (PEPCON) plant in Henderson; scholars ought to investigate the history of environmental concerns, community safety efforts, and the entire regulatory process.

Aside from reclamation, nuclear testing, and defense plants, what about the overall federal influence upon Nevada? Since the time of its conquest by the United States in the Mexican War, Nevada has remained, to some extent, a colony of the federal government. The National Archives in Washington and its regional centers in California are bulging with documents outlining the relationship between virtually every federal agency and Nevada since the mid-nineteenth century. National policies and programs regarding parks, range lands, wilderness areas, energy, conservation, highways, defense, civil rights, and a score of other topics could be analyzed from the data contained in these archives along with those in regional, state, and local depositories.

If federal control has been a continuing theme in Nevada's history, so has urbanization. Indeed, the emergence of Reno and Las Vegas as glittering resort cities has inspired several books: John Townley is currently preparing the second volume of his projected trilogy on the development of Reno; and William Rowley has also produced a brief survey of the railroad town, while Ralph Roske and I have done the same for Las Vegas.<sup>18</sup> But in-depth studies are still needed. Historians could approach the task from a variety of directions. Considering the rapid growth of both cities over the past three de-

acades, an examination of the history of their real estate would no doubt prove instructive. Once the large commercial and residential developers had been identified, one could pinpoint their major construction projects and assess their overall impact upon metropolitan history. In the process, questions relating to centers of construction activity and general growth tendencies could be addressed. More important, we could ask in what directions were Las Vegas and Reno growing in various decades? How did these patterns compare with those of other western towns like Phoenix, Albuquerque and Boise? What roles did the railroads, highways, topography, and even casinos play in guiding the direction of building? What was the exact relationship between gambling and urbanization? And what about the processes of suburbanization and annexation? Both Reno and Las Vegas failed to annex the peripheral communities that grew in response to the central city's economy. Similar events in Los Angeles and San Francisco ultimately resulted in the fragmentation of government. To what extent has this occurred in Reno and Las Vegas with regard to zoning and police, fire, sanitation and medical services? Moreover, in what other ways have Nevada's cities resembled their counterparts in California and the West generally? John Findlay and James Hulse have suggested that casino gambling discouraged the funding of poor relief, aid to fatherless families, and other social services designed to combat modern urban problems.<sup>19</sup> Historians need to examine the problems of welfare programs in these casino cities to determine if they were unique or were part of a trend commonly found in the sunbelt and Southwest. Municipal, county, state, and federal files for all social-service policymaking are available to support such research.

The striking contrast in Atlantic City between the Boardwalk's palatial resorts and the decaying tenements nearby once again raises the issues of poverty and civil rights in a casino city. In both Las Vegas and Reno, public housing and rent history would be practical research topics, because housing authority records and census data, as well as assessment rolls and deed books, are available to identify areas of high population density and even segregation by race and class. In addition, newspapers, federal court records, school district papers, and even union proceedings could be used to help document cases of discrimination in housing, education, and employment. Historians and social scientists in nearby states are currently evaluating the social problems triggered by rapid urbanization in their areas; we should do the same for Nevada.

Much of the scholarship on southwestern cities has emphasized the incredible growth of their economies since World War II. Thanks to Carl Abbott, Bradford Luckingham, Harold Platt, and others, the historical literature on sunbelt cities has exploded in the past twenty years.<sup>20</sup> Now is the appropriate time to place Nevada's cities in the larger regional and national context of post-World War II trends. Just as Luckingham has tied the de-

velopment of Phoenix to its burgeoning aerospace and electronics industries, we, too, need to explore more fully the relationship between Nevada's leisure economy and the development of Reno and Las Vegas. Have zoning measures been able to prevent the intrusion of gambling into residential areas? And what about the large hotels and their marketing strategies? Specifically, how have these businesses strengthened Reno's links with Sacramento and the Bay Area? What about Las Vegas and southern California, and also the budding relationship between Laughlin and Phoenix? It is time to look more closely at the economic relationships that Nevada's hotels, convention bureaus, and development authorities have established with companies and industries in other states.

While the blossoming of Reno and Las Vegas has been largely a postwar phenomenon, the roots of Nevada's urbanization lie deep in the nineteenth century. Central to any study of the state's railroad, mining, ranching or gambling industries are the towns. While the historical literature for these communities is substantial, many gaps still exist. There are, for example, no comparative studies of how Virginia City, Goldfield, Tonopah, Austin and other towns handled police and fire protection, education, taxation, and other municipal activities. While Donald Abbe's work on Austin, Turrentine Jackson's on Treasure Hill and Barbara Richnak's on Virginia City have been helpful, we need full-length histories of Virginia City, Eureka, Pioche and the smaller mining camps.<sup>21</sup> What about local politics and power brokers? The composition of various elites could be quickly determined from the political, business and social columns of newspapers. With this data, historians could begin to address such questions as, Who made up the major political factions? Why and how did these groups form, and over what issues did they collide? Who sat on town boards? Were they mining executives, professional men, small businessmen, artisans or union officials? Where was their power base, and who challenged their hegemony? How did local government work? Guidebooks and city directories often describe the governmental organizations, municipal services, and even procedures for obtaining licenses and privileges. It is to be hoped that Sally Zanjani's upcoming history of Goldfield will address some of these questions and inspire more research in this area.

For those interested in physical development, the town-building process can be documented with the help of hundreds of maps at the Nevada Historical Society. As John Reys and others have demonstrated, plat maps are useful in identifying patterns of land subdivision, including lot sizes and street widths.<sup>22</sup> Equally important is the Society's collection of Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps, which describe the location, size, use and physical composition of every building within a community's fire limits. These maps exist for many Nevada towns and were redrawn periodically to update the calculation of premiums. Because these maps reflect the locations of residential, commercial, and industrial sections, they are a valuable tool for illustrat-

ing change in land use over time. Indeed, the questions that these sources can help answer are myriad. For example, what was the physical layout of early Reno? Did land-use patterns change in the newer subdivisions as the town expanded outward? Aside from Virginia Street, what were the primary and secondary streets and how did they relate to residential zones? How did Tonopah, Goldfield and Elko develop in relation to their business districts? Analysis of these insurance maps in combination with the Historical Society's other collections and those of the United States Geological Survey would yield much information about the physical growth of these towns and how this process related to the local economies.

Equally important is the social history of these communities. Although, nationally, much of this type of research continues to focus on colonial American towns, nineteenth-century cities, black enclaves, and farm communities in the Midwest, quantitative studies of Nevada's towns would enrich the historiography. The Nevada Historical Society's collection of city directories and the earlier statewide resident listing could be combined with census data to track hundreds of individuals and families over time. These materials could be used with tax lists and municipal censuses to reconstruct the demography of mining, railroad and agricultural communities. In addition, church records (discussed below) could be used to calculate birth rates, spacing of children, number of marriages per person, mean ages for marriage by sex, mortality rates, and causes of death. Through the use of statistical analysis, dozens of questions could be resolved by these sources. Historians could, for instance, follow the pioneering work of Kathleen Neils Conzen and blend social-science theory with quantitative methods to identify the residential patterns of towns.<sup>23</sup> The percentages of native Nevadans, other Americans, and foreigners could be gleaned from the census data to document the extent of ethnic clustering and informal residential segregation in Gilded Age Nevada. In addition to age, gender, race, and ethnicity, other quantifiable factors could be examined, including the percentage of school-age children that attended classes regularly, sizes of households, lengths of residence, the mean value of property, and the numbers of professional men, teamsters, and common laborers, as well as mobility and migration patterns. Nevada's towns are ideally suited for quantification because the relative lack of population makes the numbers and sources more manageable.

The same could be said for the state's counties. Surprisingly, they have been the subject of few book-length surveys. There have, of course, been notable exceptions like James Hulse's *Lincoln County, Nevada, 1864-1909*, but we must expand upon his research and extend our investigation to all areas of the state. Clearly, the county approach has much to offer. Witness John Townley's detailed study of the Newlands Project in Churchill County and Russell Elliott's marvelous book on *Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom*.<sup>24</sup> Both works demonstrate the value of a county focus. Elliott's, in

particular, was strengthened by its reliance upon the wealth of documentation available in county archives. In an effort to recount the influence of mining upon Nye County's history, he used *District Court Minutes*, the *Index to Corporations and Franchises*, *Articles of Incorporation* for mining companies, and even the *Minute Book of the Hall of Tonopah Lodge No. 7 of the Ancient Order of United Workmen*, which offered a revealing look at the worker's world. At the county clerk's office he consulted the *Proceedings of the Town Boards of Rhyolite and Tonopah*, which chronicled the operation of those governments. The *Records of Naturalization* for Nye County reflected immigration trends, while the *Record of the Constable of Tonopah Township* offered insights into criminal behavior and police policies. County clerks' offices in Nye, White Pine, and Esmeralda Counties also yielded the indispensable *Minutes of the County Commissioners* for all three jurisdictions in addition to the *Register of Action and Fee Books*. Elliott then rounded off his study by delving into the county recorders' files, which supplied him with hundreds of birth, death, and marriage certificates (compilation of vital statistics became a state function in 1911), as well as indexes to mining districts, lease agreements, and even maps of mines and mining camps.

County records are especially useful to historians tracing the ownership and use of land because county assessment rolls provide the tax rate and a legal description for each piece of property. By combining this source with deed books containing the records of land sales, one can quickly calculate the difference between a property's actual and assessed values, which in turn permits reconstruction of the changing real estate market for any given area at any given time. The line of research is particularly useful when trying to determine the effects of booms and busts upon local economies and societies. Property values are also helpful for estimating the number and relative positions of middle- and upper-class taxpayers. In his award-winning book, *The Urban Crucible*, Gary Nash traced the rise and fall of elites in prerevolutionary Boston, New York, and Philadelphia by tracking their appearances and disappearances on county tax rolls and other sources.<sup>25</sup> He found significant class fluidity present during the boom-and-bust cycles occasioned by major Indian wars in the countryside. The cyclical nature of Nevada mining might well have produced that same fluidity, but only by following the status of nontransient residents can we know for sure.

In states like Nevada, with few incorporated towns, county records often make up the basic sources for urban history. Indeed, municipal officials not only corresponded with county authorities regarding such issues as crime, education, and taxation, but county commissioners often acted as the town board, governing a township until incorporation occurred. Moreover, owing to the cyclical nature of Nevada mining, a number of incorporated cities eventually disincorporated. When this happened, governmental power reverted back to the county commissioners, who once again functioned as a



town board, and all municipal documents were forwarded to the county clerk. Thus, when Virginia City disincorporated in 1881, its records were sent to the Storey County clerk's office, where they are today. Unfortunately, there is no item-by-item survey of county documents, although the Historical Records Survey Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) published its helpful *Inventory of County Archives of Nevada* between 1937 and 1941. This work, which is available at the Nevada Historical Society, is an indispensable tool for those interested in county history before World War II.<sup>26</sup>

Actually, the Virginia City experience is part of a larger story that county sources could help document. Nevada's five hundred or so ghost towns provide economic and social historians with an opportunity to trace the decline of many one-time boom camps. Until now, this phenomenon has not been adequately explored on a statewide basis or in case studies. Analysis of census data, tax rolls, business records, diaries, oral histories, and church records, as well as the membership lists and biographical sketches of members of the Masons, Knights of Pythias, Pacific Coast Pioneers, and other fraternal orders (housed in the Nevada Historical Society) would graphically illuminate the economic and social repercussions of the disintegration process experienced by so many Nevada communities. Despite the work of Rodman Paul, Duane Smith, and others, historians have largely failed to examine the urban dimensions of the Panics of 1873, 1893, and 1907 and the more localized economic collapses when the ore gave out. Census roll data will permit us to calculate the variations of property values by class, race, and ethnicity, while tax lists and bankruptcy records will shed light on the pace of change.

For those less interested in quantification, there is much to learn about daily life in Nevada's small towns. One might begin with the Nevada Historical Society's huge collection of directories, promotional pamphlets, and photographs that provide sketches of the mills, stores, depots, courthouses, and other landmarks for many towns. Local newspapers are also informative because their advertisements and society columns offer glimpses into community customs, styles, tastes, and values as well as details on food prices, wage rates, job opportunities, housing quality, sanitary facilities, leisure pursuits, and other factors from which the standard of living could be estimated. The quality of medical care could also be documented by consulting the records of Nevada physicians, pharmacists, hospitals, and even nurse's associations at the Historical Society in Reno. The society's Print File is another useful tool for social historians because its clippings and other materials contain thousands of items relating to the lives of ordinary people. Especially valuable are the department-store catalogs (for example, Montgomery Ward's), which illustrate the kinds of furniture, clothing, appliances, and other products that appealed to frontier people in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The demographic composition of these small communities also demands attention. We know from census records that immigrants always formed a large percentage of Nevada's population. Even Las Vegas at its founding in 1905 counted more than thirty percent of its population as foreign born. Unfortunately, immigration remained a largely neglected field until 1970, when Wilbur Shepperson helped lead the way with his influential book, *Restless Strangers*,<sup>27</sup> and little has been done in the intervening years to extend his research, even though federal immigration records in Washington, D.C. and San Bruno, California, hold a wealth of information. As we approach the release of the 1920 manuscript census (the last before widespread quotas were invoked), the time is ripe for some ambitious historian to attempt a full-scale history of immigration in Nevada.

Of course, the ethnic composition of Nevada's urban centers also warrants scrutiny. A recent issue of the *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, devoted entirely to the state's ethnic groups, raised more questions than it answered while demonstrating the paucity of our knowledge about the Jews, Slavs, Italians, Irish, and others. During the past few decades, historians like Gary BeDunah and Adam Eterovich have contributed significantly to the literature, but their work needs updating. Moreover, the historiography needs to be expanded so that all groups receive attention. Clearly, publications like Andrew Russell's recent study of Clark County's Japanese are a step in the right direction.<sup>28</sup>

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for women's history. Although there has been some work on Sarah Winnemucca, gender roles in Mormon communities, and Comstock prostitution, we still lack a comprehensive survey of women on the Nevada frontier. Ten years ago, Nancy Cott's *The Bonds of Womanhood* substantially revised our image of women in early New England.<sup>29</sup> Her research was based largely on the diaries of several hundred Massachusetts women. The same kind of work could be done for Nevada, because the special collections department at the Gatchell Library has acquired a collection of similar diaries for Nevada women who lived on ranches and farms, in mining camps, railroad towns, large cities, and the wilderness areas. These diaries span the full length of Nevada's history and, when combined with interviews of the women studied by the UNR Oral History Project, form the basis for a significant addition to the literature on the history of women in Nevada.

This kind of research would also contribute to our knowledge of children and families. Indeed, with the exception of the Mormon communities, we know little about children's lives on the Nevada frontier. The same is true for the state's small towns and modern cities. Research on education, like that on women's history, might prove a helpful approach to the subject. But, again, except for a few limited studies, there is no comprehensive survey of education in Nevada, although the records exist to support one. Especially helpful

for the nineteenth century are the *Annual Reports of the State Superintendent of Education* in the State Archives, which list the name of every school and teacher, while also discussing matters of curriculum, discipline, and funding. This source could be used in combination with the Nevada Historical Society's records of individual Nevada schools as well as actual samples of classroom work created for San Francisco's Midwinter Fair Exposition and the records of Nevada's Country School Legacy Project. Equally valuable is the Getchell Library's collection of textbooks used in Nevada's schools from the territorial period to the present. In his provocative study of education in antebellum Boston, Stanley Schultz characterized that city's public-school system as a culture factory, where curricula and textbooks were aimed at instilling "American values" into the minds of children from immigrant families.<sup>30</sup> What kinds of values did Nevada's schools emphasize and how did they change in response to the Socialist menace, two world wars, and mushrooming population growth? A detailed examination of education on Nevada's frontier and in her cities would contribute mightily to the growing literature on education in the West.

The same would hold true for higher education in the Silver State. With the exceptions of James Hulse and Samuel Doten, historians have largely ignored the university system (even John Caserta's master's degree thesis on the state's community-college movement is just a beginning) though the issues are myriad.<sup>31</sup> For example, what role has the University of Nevada played in the development of modern Reno? In the south, who led the fight for the creation and expansion of UNLV? Correspondence and policy statements regarding curricula, fund raising, budgetary priorities, and community relations fill the papers of past school presidents. These university archives are maintained in the respective libraries of each campus, with the micro-filmed reports and correspondence of the Board of Regents housed in the UNR archives. It is fortunate that many of the individuals who were involved with these matters are available today for historians to interview. Clearly, the history of higher education in Nevada is inextricably linked to the development of Reno and Las Vegas and to the careers of the universities' illustrious graduates, many of whom have gone on to shape events at the local and state levels.

Like ethnicity and education, religion deserves more attention. While much has already been written about the Mormons in Pioche, Panaca, the Muddy and Virgin Valleys, and similar settlements, we are largely ignorant of those who lived outside the famed Mormon Corridor. Furthermore, we still know relatively little about the Mormons and their ranching, mining, agriculture, and trade networks; and much less of their role in the gambling and defense industries, banking, and especially state politics. The same is true for Catholics and Jews. As yet there are no adequate studies of Nevada's Catholics, although limited access is available to diocesan records in Reno. More-

over, the WPA's *Inventory of Church Archives of Nevada* for the Catholic (1939) and Episcopal (1941) Churches can be used at the Nevada Historical Society.<sup>32</sup> These contain lists of clergy and laymen as well as correspondence and policy statements regarding church and local affairs. For the most part, Mormon stake records are located in Utah, and, as in the case of most Catholic files, access requires permission. Unfortunately, Methodist, Presbyterian, and many other denominational records are scattered throughout the state in parish files, historical societies, and the homes of prominent church members. Despite these inconveniences, the study of Nevada's religious history must be pursued if we are to understand the state's ethnic, immigration, urban, and financial history, because pious men and women formed the backbone of many Nevada communities. Catholics, for instance, played an active role in developing the Comstock and other mining areas, while the Mormons pioneered in agriculture and later joined with the Jews and Italians in developing the gaming industry in Reno and Las Vegas. Although the Mormons and Italians have largely escaped the notice of professional historians, efforts are under way to write the history of southern Nevada's Jewish community. Similar research in Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Portland has already shed much light on the development of those cities, and Las Vegas and Reno should not be exceptions.<sup>33</sup>

Of course, religion has always been a prerequisite for upward mobility. Paul Johnson's study of antebellum Rochester, New York, suggests that religious affiliation, not dogged individualism, was the key to higher socioeconomic status. One wonders to what extent this might have been true in Nevada. And what about the world of the worker? For centuries religion has been used as an instrument of social control. Labor history is replete with stories of large employers contributing generously to local congregations in support of ministers who discouraged strikes. While Guy Rocha, Sally Zanjani, and others have exposed the discrimination, violence, and injustice faced by radical labor leaders in Goldfield, Tonopah, and elsewhere, we need to learn more about church responses to these kinds of incidents as well as religion's everyday influence upon workers' lives in more stable communities.<sup>34</sup> Lastly, we ought to look at religion and the state's Asian population. Despite some work on the nineteenth-century Virginia City and Reno areas, there has been no concerted attempt to study Chinese and Japanese workers, much less to incorporate Buddhism, Taoism, Shintoism, and other native philosophies into their labor histories.

Similar gaps pervade the literature on the state's twentieth-century labor history. For example, although Mary Ellen Glass has ably covered the right-to-work law controversy of the early 1950s, we need full-scale accounts of the Reno and Las Vegas Culinary Unions as well as of the state AFL-CIO and the city locals.<sup>35</sup> If the 1920s are generally regarded as a decade of union decline nationally, then why was the Clark County Central Labor Council successful-

ly organized by 1929? Who organized the building trades, and who did the trades support in local, state, and national elections? What has been the impact of national labor disputes within Nevada's borders? Jerome Edwards has briefly described the hostility of John L. Lewis and others to Senator Patrick McCarran, but we need more information about organized labor's relationship with McCarran, Key Pittman, Alan Bible, Howard Cannon, Grant Sawyer, and other political figures, as well as about the positions of the unions regarding the Cold War, welfare spending, education, and civil rights.<sup>36</sup>

Whether the subject be civil rights, welfare, labor turbulence, ethnic conflict, education, town government, or virtually any other topic under the catchall term *social history*, court records are a source that should not be overlooked. Although court records have provided a foundation for publications dealing with water rights, union disputes, and a variety of constitutional issues, many historians still seem reluctant to use them. In Nevada part of the problem has been accessibility, but the SHRAB is currently funding a project sponsored by the Nevada Supreme Court to establish records-management programs at the state, county, and municipal court levels. As a by-product, this project will also promote the inventory process, making it easier for historians to find the sources they need. As one might expect, the location of court papers varies with the jurisdiction. The Nevada Supreme Court's records, which consist largely of appeals cases, are located in the State Archives. For the original trial testimony, one must go to the district court's case files, usually found in the county clerk's office. These records, moreover, are useful not just for legal history. Indeed, as Guy Rocha and Sally Zanjani demonstrated in their recent book *The Ignoble Conspiracy*, trial transcripts are invaluable to labor and social historians because they represent a rich collection of vernacular biography—the testimony of literally thousands of ordinary people whose lives, beliefs, and folkways would otherwise be invisible to scholars.

John Demos's celebrated study of Puritan life in colonial Plymouth showed how court records can be used to illustrate a society's values and conflicts.<sup>37</sup> In Nevada, district court records speak volumes about local attitudes toward gambling, prostitution, miscegenation, minority rights, Mormonism, government regulation, and other issues. When combined with state statutes and local ordinances, they form a codified list of Nevada's folkways—a priceless source of material for legal and cultural historians alike. Moreover, these documents would be crucial to any comparative study relating Nevada's values to those of other western states. Such an effort would be helpful in determining the validity of many assumptions underlying Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis and the subsequent historiography.

Unfortunately, many of Nevada's legal institutions still await their historians. No one has yet attempted a history of the state Supreme Court even

though the State Archives have most of the case files. With the exception of William Thompson, no one has examined the Office of the Attorney General in any systematic way, although most of the written opinions for the past century are also housed in the State Archives.<sup>35</sup> This collection is an integral part of Nevada's legal heritage because these opinions constitute the official state position on all matters of statute as well as on suits to which the state has been a party. In another curious omission, virtually nothing has been written about Nevada's city and district attorneys even though many of the state's major political figures launched their careers from one or both of these offices. The records pertaining to these posts are available in the local jurisdictions.

For scholars interested in gubernatorial history, the State Archives are again the key repository because they contain the executive records of the state's twentieth-century governors as well as of Territorial Governor James Nye. Although no full-length history of Nevada's territorial era has yet been written, its future historian will immediately recognize Nye's papers as the primary source. Gubernatorial records would also provide direction for any comprehensive survey of the Silver State during the Progressive Era, World War I, the 1920s, the New Deal, World War II, or the postwar era—none of which, by the way, has an adequate history. In general, the governors' records contain correspondence from all state agencies as well as from federal offices, lobby groups, private citizens, corporations, out-of-state parties, and even foreign governments.

As a rule, the governors' records are useful to Nevada historians in all fields. The special and biennial reports of state agencies are a case in point. Their worth lies in the detailed information they offer on a wide variety of subjects. Students of crime, for instance, would find the reports of the state warden for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries invaluable. In addition to providing information on all expenses and operations within the prison system, these reports list the name, age, nativity, crime, sentence (and in some years, the occupation) of every inmate in the state penitentiary from the 1870s to 1913. Labor historians tracing Nevada's commitment to job safety would want to consult the biennial and special *Reports of the State Inspector of Mines*, which, beginning in 1910, listed the causes of all fatal mine accidents. Similarly, the adjutant general's records would be central to any study of Nevada's military history. These files contain the actual muster rolls with the names of those who joined the state militia or later the National Guard. Anyone investigating the role of the Guard in suppressing civil disorders or assisting victims of natural disasters would need these documents. And last, those interested in capital punishment would want to examine the state warden's reports and the *Minutes of the State Board of Prison Commissioners*, especially for 1924-25, when Nevada became the first state to use the supposedly more humane gas chamber for executions. The petitions, corre-



spondence, and reports surrounding the executions of Gee Jon and later inmates are all available in the State Archives.

Aside from Supreme Court and governors' records, the State Archives also contain the special territorial and state censuses for 1862, 1863, and 1867, which, if combined with the 1875 state census and the federal decennial censuses, would enable investigators to track the movement of individuals and families as well as plot the changing demographic characteristics of the general population during and after the Civil War. Of even greater value, however, is the archives' vast holdings of records pertaining to agencies of state government. Indeed, the correspondence and reports of these departments would be a crucial prerequisite for any scholarly work on immigration, highway projects, transportation networks, public schools, parks and recreation, higher education, and labor. In addition, students of government regulation would be overwhelmed by the records of agencies having jurisdiction over wildlife, utilities, banks, and insurance companies.

Scholars investigating any of these subject areas would also profit from a trip to the State Library, whose collection of books, maps, manuscripts, and printed sources relating to Nevada is virtually unsurpassed. Of particular value are the library's holdings with regard to state issues of the past thirty years. For example, historians tracing Nevada's participation in the Sagebrush Rebellion of the 1970s and 1980s would find most of the relevant materials in the State Library; and the same is true for most other subjects. In fact, the State Library and State Archives, used together, could provide the basic documentation for badly needed institutional histories of the governors, the state Senate and Assembly, the Supreme Court, the Secretary of State, the Treasury, and other departments of government.

Naturally, such studies would have to be grounded in Nevada's political history—another underdeveloped field. It is surprising, but we still need book-length histories of Nevada's Democratic and Republican parties. For nineteenth-century events, the historiography lacks definitive studies. Even Mary Ellen Glass's perceptive survey of the Silver Party needs expansion and updating. Along with state politics in general, we must put Nevada's silver movement into a larger regional and national context as well as determine the extent to which the state's Silverites were actually Populists. In his influential work *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America*, Lawrence Goodwyn identified two major wings of the Populist party in Texas and Kansas.<sup>39</sup> In view of these findings, how monolithic was Nevada populism? How did the Silver State's miners and farmers relate to Goodwyn's groups in the South and Midwest? Finally, in what ways was Nevada's experience unique?

Twentieth-century movements raise even more questions, because the literature is shamefully thin. Nevada socialism is a case in point. With the exception of Wilbur Shepperson's *Retreat to Nevada* and Guy Rocha's works

on radical labor, there is little in the field. The same might also be said for Nevada Progressivism. Eric Moody's article on the formation of the Bull Moose party and William Rowley's upcoming biography of Francis Newlands are helpful but not enough; the era's major figures, including the governors, congressmen, and local officials, also need coverage. Major biographies of John Sparks and Emmet Boyle, based upon their gubernatorial files in the State Archives, would greatly contribute to our knowledge about Nevada's adoption of the referendum, recall initiative, and direct primary as well as to the political debate surrounding such controversial issues as gambling, prostitution, liberal divorce, mine safety, workmen's compensation, abolition of child labor, and the minimum wage.<sup>40</sup> At the local level, we could benefit from a detailed investigation of urban Progressivism. In fact, the whole urban reform movement in twentieth-century Nevada should be placed in the broader context of national events. How much influence did the National Municipal League, the American Institute of Planners, and similar reform groups enjoy in Reno and Las Vegas? Why did Las Vegas opt for commission government in 1911 but delay hiring a city manager until 1943? How did Progressivism's "City Beautiful" movement inspire park construction along the Truckee in Reno? These and other questions require answers.

While case studies, period pieces, and full-length surveys are all needed, the state's political historiography could profit greatly from more biographies. For the nineteenth century, for instance, although William Stewart, Judge John North and congressman-editor Rollin Daggett are the subjects of detailed biographies, Governors H. G. Blasdel, L. R. Bradley, John Kinkead, and Jewett Adams are not. And even though Jud Samon briefly covered James Nye in his doctoral dissertation, William Sharon, John P. Jones, and James Fair have not been treated at all.<sup>41</sup> In a similar vein, while such twentieth-century figures as Tasker Oddie, George Springmeyer, Pat McCarran, and Key and Vail Pittman have attracted book-length studies, Emmet Boyle (except for a master's degree thesis), Fred Balzar, E. P. Carville, and even modern leaders like George Malone, Walter Baring, Cliff Jones, Rex Bell, Norman Biltz, Grant Sawyer, Paul Laxalt, and Mike O'Callaghan have not. Except for a single master's thesis, James Scrugham, state engineer, governor, congressman, senator, and newspaper publisher, has been largely ignored. Governor Charles Russell, the driving force behind gaming regulation and educational reform, has suffered a similar fate even though he contributed an oral history and most of his executive and personal papers are conveniently housed in the State Archives and the Gatchell Library.<sup>42</sup>

Nevada's congressmen have been especially neglected by historians, in spite of the fact that documents covering the careers of these politicians are readily available. For example, the paper of Congressman George Bartlett (1907-11) reside in Special Collections at the Gatchell Library, while those of Francis Newlands (1893-1903) are divided between the Yale University Li-

brary and Nevada Historical Society. The latter repository also contains correspondence and records for other congressmen, including E. E. Roberts (1911-19), James Scrugham (1933-42), and Walter Baring (1949-52, 1957-72). As with his gubernatorial papers, the congressional documents for Charles Russell (1947-48) can be found in both the State Archives and the Getchell Library.

Even those careers that have drawn the interest of biographers could stand more scrutiny. Despite Russell Elliott's lengthy biography of William Stewart, the Stewart collection at the Nevada Historical Society is so immense that many topics have yet to be considered. The same is true for Pat McCarran. Sister Margaret McCarran's two biographical essays are informative,<sup>43</sup> but Jerome Edwards's book represented the first in-depth look at the political boss. Although Edwards ably surveyed McCarran's activities in Nevada, we still lack a definitive study of his Senate career. Such a study could also expand upon Gerald Nash's recent portrayal of McCarran as a pivotal figure in the West's move for postwar economic development. Few Nevada history books have employed regionalism as a conceptual framework. A McCarran biography would offer the perfect opportunity to explore the senator's organization of the Western Conference of Senators, his support for the copper, tungsten, uranium, and other mineral industries, and his insistence that each western state and city prepare plans for postwar economic development. As with any federal official, a full-scale biography would involve considerable research at the National Archives and Library of Congress, but the eventual book would tell us much about the functioning of the Senate itself as well as of the Judiciary and Appropriations Committees. Moreover, the findings would substantially contribute to the historical literature for the Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman presidential years. Similarly, a new biography of Tasker Oddie would enrich our understanding of the pre-McCarran era in state and national politics. Loren Chan's introductory volume must be expanded and revised, taking into account more of the documents in Oddie's gubernatorial files in the State Archives.

A number of new biographies are already in progress, including William Rowley's life of Newlands. The earlier-than-expected opening of the George Wingfield collection at the Nevada Historical Society promises to make Elizabeth Raymond's study of the great banking magnate a truly pathbreaking work. In addition, the Wingfield papers will undoubtedly influence all future scholarship on McCarran, Pittman, Oddie, and other interwar figures. For the modern era, A. Costandina Titus is currently in the early stages of her biography of Howard Cannon, while Gary Elliott is pursuing his study of Alan Bible. Both works promise to extend our knowledge of the state's recent political history as well as of the New Frontier and Great Society of Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. In general, we need to rewrite Nevada's political history, placing more emphasis on the influence of key

governors, senators, and assemblymen, and with a sharper focus on the state's north-south rivalry.

Nevada's political history would also be strengthened by studies of prominent newspapermen. Francis Weisenburger's biography of Rollin Daggett is a start, but what about the *Nevada State Journal's* C. C. Powning, a major figure in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Reno, and the Steninger family, who have controlled the *Elko Free Press* for most of the century? The *Elko Independent's* Warren "Snowy" Monroe (1937-70s), who was also a legislator, and the *Reno Evening Gazette's* John Sanford, a Reno fixture since the early 1930s, have both been interviewed by the UNR Oral History Project. The same is true for *Nevada State Journal* editor and McCarran ally, Joe McDonald, who edited the newspaper during most of McCarran's Senate career. In southern Nevada, the *Las Vegas Review-Journal's* Al Cahlan (1926-60) was a longtime McCarran ally, as was his brother editor John Cahlan. On the other hand, the *Age's* Charles "Pop" Squires (1908-40s) was a Republican partisan while the *Sun's* Hank Greenspun (1950- ) steered an independent course. Michael Green's recent essay on the Cahlan-Greenspun newspaper war of the 1950s demonstrates the value of this approach. In fact, all three Las Vegas editors would make excellent subjects for study because their careers literally span the city's entire history. Of course, the small-town editors of the nineteenth century also deserve attention. Men like Henry Mighels of the *Carson Appeal* (1865-79) were influential opinion makers and community activists. But as the recent work of Richard Lingenfelter and Karen Gash indicates, we also need histories of specific newspapers based on personal papers, correspondence, interviews, and clipping files.<sup>44</sup> The Nevada Historical Society and Getchell Library contain a variety of sources which could be used for such northern papers as the *Territorial Enterprise*, *Gold Hill News*, *Reno Evening Gazette*, and *Nevada State Journal*. In the south, "Pop" Squires's *Age*, *Tonopah Times*, *Pioche Record*, and *Las Vegas Review-Journal* all could use monographic studies. Journalism history is today one of the fastest growing fields in the profession, and its value as an approach to state and local history should not be overlooked.

The editorials and columns found in these news organs also represent a small but significant part of Nevada's vibrant intellectual and cultural history. Literary works form another. Indeed, the novels, plays, and short stories of Mark Twain, John Franklin Swift, Charles Goodwin, and dozens of other Nevada-based artists have been dissected over the years by a legion of western buffs and professional scholars. More recently, historians have begun to interpret the vast collection of emigrant memoirs, accounts of foreign travelers, survey reports, and other literature regarding the land, ecology, and images of the Great Basin. Elizabeth Raymond, W. Eugene Hollon, and Dan Flores, among others, have contributed to this trend. At the same time, critical interpretations of Nevada's past have also begin to appear. Witness

James Hulse's provocative essay, *Forty Years in the Wilderness*, which raises troubling questions about casino gambling, uncontrolled growth, underfunded government, and other hallowed traditions that have shaped the state's development for decades.<sup>45</sup> Even though historians have been relatively active in discussing ideas and culture, we can still expand the scope of our inquiry in these fields. The Nevada Historical Society is currently compiling a list from its Print File of all the books, plays, stories, films, and documentaries for which Nevada has served as subject or stage. The data will someday enable us to reconstruct how the state, its people, and their values have been portrayed in different eras by artists and media in other states, regions, and nations. On a larger scale, we also need to identify the specific contributions that Nevadans have made to American culture and ideas. Wilbur Shepperson's recent anthology, *East of Eden-West of Zion*,<sup>46</sup> has addressed this question as have earlier works on the Basques, Mormons, and other groups. But the subject requires more broadly based studies that trace the evolution of Nevada's cultural institutions, mores, and ideas and relates the state's various groups and subcultures to one another as well as to the West and the nation. Furthermore, investigations of this type should adopt a more interdisciplinary approach and attempt to integrate developments in Nevada with the growing body of theoretical literature that scholars in cultural history and the social sciences are currently producing.

Beyond these topical suggestions, Nevada history could also benefit from a greater emphasis upon the south. For many years the textbooks have been preoccupied with the Comstock, Reno, and northern Nevada in general. This lack of balance is understandable because, for a long time, population, economic development, and political power were concentrated in that region. It is not surprising that many of the source materials collected by the Nevada Historical Society relate to people and events in central and northern Nevada. However, over the past few decades, the situation has been changing, thanks somewhat to the growth of southern Nevada and the emergence of UNLV. Today, the Special Collections department at the James Dickinson Library has become a valuable repository for documents relating to the south's history. The collection features such records as the *Minute Books of the Las Vegas City Commission*, which cover every meeting from 1911 to 1959. These volumes contain all the motions, ordinances, and discussion summaries for every issue considered by the municipal government—an invaluable source for anyone interested in the history of real estate, zoning, liquor and gaming licensing, municipal services, and local politics. For the period after 1959, Oran Gragson's mayoral papers (as yet unprocessed) abound with correspondence, policy statements, and reports from city agencies regarding most government operations.

Aside from city papers, UNLV's library owns thousands of documents relating to the history of southern Nevada. Anyone, for instance, who wanted to

examine the hiring policies of Six Companies, Inc., at Hoover Dam would have to consult the Leonard Blood files. The papers of Howard Eells, on the other hand, would be crucial to any history of Basic Magnesium and the origins of Henderson. UNLV has also acquired the private papers of many prominent businessmen, politicians, and families. One of the most informative relates to Charles "Pop" Squires, a city booster, pioneer businessman, and editor of the *Las Vegas Age*. The library also boasts a substantial file of columns written by Al Cahlan, the *Review-Journal's* longtime editor. For scholars interested in southern Nevada's automobile business, the chamber of commerce, or even the controversy surrounding the state's right-to-work law in the early 1950s, the James Cashman collection would be a logical starting point. For students of the state's Democratic Party in the immediate postwar era, Dorothy Dorothy's papers would be helpful, as would Howard Cannon's.

Like personal papers, newspapers are an indispensable source for most political history. Although UNLV has many issues on microfilm, the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society in Las Vegas has indexes of the *Age* (1905-40), the *Review-Journal* (1930-51), and the *Pioche Weekly Record* (1872-1904). Together with the Las Vegas City Library's index of the past two decades of the *Review-Journal* and *Sun*, they represent a valuable, time saving reference for historians. A similar effort of the Nevada Historical Society in Reno has produced indexes to Virginia City's *Territorial Enterprise* (1859-81) and some Washoe County newspapers (1863-70s).

Of course, the holdings of the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society at Las Vegas go beyond newspaper indexes. Indeed, this facility also has many Clark County records of historical interest, including deed books to 1960, trust deeds and marriage files, and some assessment rolls. The staff is also in the process of building a manuscript collection. Scholars working on virtually any topic in Las Vegas history since 1930 would want to consult the papers and photographs of John Cahlan and those of his wife, Florence Lee Jones. The same would be true for the huge McNamee collection, because the McNamees have played a continuing role in the Las Vegas area's legal, social, and political life since the late 1890s. In fact, family history would be a constructive way of approaching Nevada's political past because prominent families traditionally have exerted an inordinate influence over government in many parts of the state.

The foundation for new research into political history or any of the other fields discussed in this essay lies in the acquisition and systematic organization of more document collections. At the present time, Nevada is on the verge of a breakthrough in this regard. Not only are the State Archives, university libraries, and other repositories enlarging their holdings, but the SHRAB is currently engaged in an ambitious program to expand dramatically the amount of documents available. Organized in 1976, the SHRAB makes



funding recommendations to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) of the National Archives and Records Administration concerning grant applications from Nevada governments and organizations charged with preserving their historical records. In addition, the SHRAB sponsors records surveys and even develops its own grant proposals.<sup>47</sup> Since 1985, this board has made a determined effort to encourage federal funding for a variety of projects to identify and preserve large collections of documents relating to Nevada's past. For example, the UNR Special Collections department's Nevada Newspaper Project, now completed, has identified every newspaper issue ever printed in the state and has plugged this information into the On-Line Computer Library Center (OCLC) system, a national data base of 300,000 American newspapers. As a result, Nevada's newspapers are now accessible to scholars across the country. On another front, the SHRAB is currently funding a project (mentioned earlier) sponsored by the Nevada Supreme Court to identify records of legal and historic value at the district, justice, and municipal court levels. At the same time, a records-management program (complete with a manual suggesting retention schedules) is being prepared to guide court personnel in deciding which documents have historical value. This preservation system is being established none too soon; already thousands of court dockets and justice-court records have been destroyed—an irreparable loss for scholars intent on tracing the history and patterns of crime in Nevada's towns.

In other areas, the SHRAB has acted in time. During the past three years it supported funding of the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony for its effort to create a records-management program for the Inter-Tribal Council. It is hoped that this program will serve as a model for other colonies and reservations in the state. In the end, the efficient organization of these records will benefit not only the Indians, but also scholars pursuing Indian history in twentieth-century Nevada.

The SHRAB has also played a major role in preserving records from the territorial period. In the 1970s the SHRAB supported the Nevada Territorial Records Project, which resulted in the identification of large groups of records in California, Utah, and Nevada relating to Nevada's territorial period. Then, in the 1980s, the SHRAB endorsed a recently completed project by the State Archives' staff to arrange and describe over 480 cubic feet of records covering the period 1855-1945. Besides civil-defense correspondence (between the national government and state and county defense councils) for both world wars, reports of territorial officers, and state land-office records, the project has identified the manuscript copies of the journals for each session of the state legislature. This major discovery will provide political historians for the first time with the actual text (not merely the title) of every bill introduced between 1864 and 1915. In addition, the SHRAB-supported program has also identified and inventoried the records of Carson County for the

Utah and Nevada territorial periods, which include such valuable documents as original water and mining claims, probate-court files, and land records.

In a similar vein, the SHRAB will soon submit a proposal to secure NHPRC money for a project to establish a records-management and archival program for Nevada's counties and cities. Not only will this program train public employees to manage their files more efficiently, but the resulting inventory of historically valuable records will provide a comprehensive survey of city and county government records. At present, there is no union catalog itemizing the exact holdings of all Nevada governments. The compilation of such a comprehensive list would remove the last great barrier to historical research in this state.

Meanwhile, a growing scholarly interest in Nevada's past has become evident. Thanks partially to the explosive growth and systematic organization of document collections, more Nevada history is being written today than ever before, and the trend should continue for the foreseeable future. Certainly, the writing of Nevada's social history should be a major priority as should filling the many gaps in the state's political past. But whatever the research field, there is no lack of subjects for study. We are bound only by the limits of our imaginations.

#### NOTES

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<sup>2</sup> Elmer Rusco, "The Formation of the Reno-Sparks Tribal Council, 1934-1939," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Winter 1987): 316-339; Martha Knack and Omer C. Stewart, *As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnology of the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) and Omer C. Stewart, "The Northern Paiute Bands," *The University of California Anthropological Records* 2 (1939) and his other publications.

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<sup>5</sup> Lang, 280-282.

<sup>6</sup> Lang, 276.

<sup>7</sup> Edwin Dodson, "A History of Nevada During the Civil War" (Master's Thesis, University of Oregon, 1947); Eugene Berwanger, *The West and Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

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<sup>26</sup> WPA, Nevada, *Inventory of County Archives of Nevada*, 7 vols. (Reno: Historical Records Survey, 1937-1941).

<sup>27</sup> Wilbur Shepperson, *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970).

<sup>28</sup> Elmer Rusco and Sue Fawn Chung, eds., "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada," *Nevada Public Affairs Review* No. 2 (1987): 3-91; Gary BeDunnah, "History of the Chinese in Nevada, 1855-1904," (Master's Thesis, University of Nevada, 1966); Adam Eterovich, *Yugoslavs in Nevada, 1859-1900* (San Francisco: R. and E. Research Associates, 1973); Andrew Russell, "A Fortunate Few: Japanese Americans in Southern Nevada, 1905-1945," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Spring 1988): 32-52.

<sup>29</sup> Juanita Brooks, *Quicksand and Cactus: A Memoir of the Southern Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1982); Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); Marion S. Goldman, *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

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<sup>34</sup> Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1978); Sally Zanjani and Guy L. Rocha, *The Ignoble Conspiracy: Radicalism on Trial in Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986). See also Guy Rocha's earlier article, "Radical Labor Struggles in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, 1901-1922," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Spring 1977): 3-45.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Ellen Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s: Decade of Political and Economic Change* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1981), 73-86.

<sup>36</sup> Jerome E. Edwards, *Pat McCarran: Political Boss of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982), 114-115.

<sup>37</sup> John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

<sup>38</sup> William N. Thompson, "The Office of the Attorney General of Nevada in the Nineteenth Century, Part I," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Winter 1983): 272-297; and Part II (Spring 1984): 13-33.

<sup>39</sup> Mary Ellen Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada: 1892-1902* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969); Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

<sup>40</sup> Wilbur Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I* (Carson City: University of Nevada Press, 1966); Eric N. Moody, "Nevada's Bull Moose Progressives: The Formation and Function of a State Political Party in 1912," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Fall 1973): 157-180.

<sup>41</sup> Russell R. Elliott, *Servant of Power: A Political Biography of Senator William Stewart* (Reno: Uni-

versity of Nevada Press, 1983); Merlin Stonehouse, *John Wesley North and the Reform Frontier* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965); Francis Weisenburger, *Idol of the West: The Fabulous Career of Rollin Mallory Daggett* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1965). For Nye, see Jud Samon, "Sagebrush Falstaff: A Biographical Sketch of James Warren Nye" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1979) and Effie Mona Mack, "James W. Nye, 1814-1876," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (July/December 1961): 1-59. Christopher Driggs, "Governor Emmet D. Boyle of Nevada: A Man of His Times" (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1987).

<sup>42</sup> Loren B. Chan, *Sagebrush Statesman: Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973); Sally Springmeyer Zanjani, *The Unspiked Rail: Memoir of a Nevada Rebel* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1981); Jerome Edwards, *McCarran*; Fred Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963); Eric N. Moody, *Southern Gentleman of Nevada Politics: Vail Pittman* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1974). Mary O. Doyle, "The Political Career of James Scrugham, 1928-1945" (Master's Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1956).

<sup>43</sup> Margaret Patricia McCarran, "Patrick Anthony McCarran," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Fall-Winter 1968): 5-66 and (Spring 1969): 5-75.

<sup>44</sup> Michael S. Green, "The Las Vegas Newspaper War of the 1950s," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Fall 1988): 155-182; Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen Rix Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1854-1979* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984).

<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth Raymond has produced several articles from her doctoral dissertation research on the Great Basin; see, for instance, "Geographic Purgatory: Sense of Place in the Great Basin," *Halcyon* (1988): 187-200; W. Eugene Hollon, *The Great American Desert: Then and Now* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); Dan Flores, "Zion in Eden: Phases of the Environmental History of Utah," *Environmental Review* (Winter 1983) as cited in Raymond, 199. See also Ann Ronald, "The Nevada Scene Through Edward Abbey's Eyes," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (Spring 1984): 3-13 for a brief analysis of a contemporary writer's view of Nevada.

<sup>46</sup> Wilbur Shepperson, ed., *East of Eden-West of Zion: Essays on Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989).

<sup>47</sup> Nevada State Historical Records Advisory Board, *Functional Plan* (February 26, 1988), 1-3; *Annual Report of the Nevada State Historical Records Advisory Board, 1986-87*, 1-4.

AN EXCERPT FROM LOUIS DE COTTON'S  
*A TRAVERS LE DOMINION ET LA  
CALIFORNIE*

TRANSLATED BY GEORGES J. JOYAUX

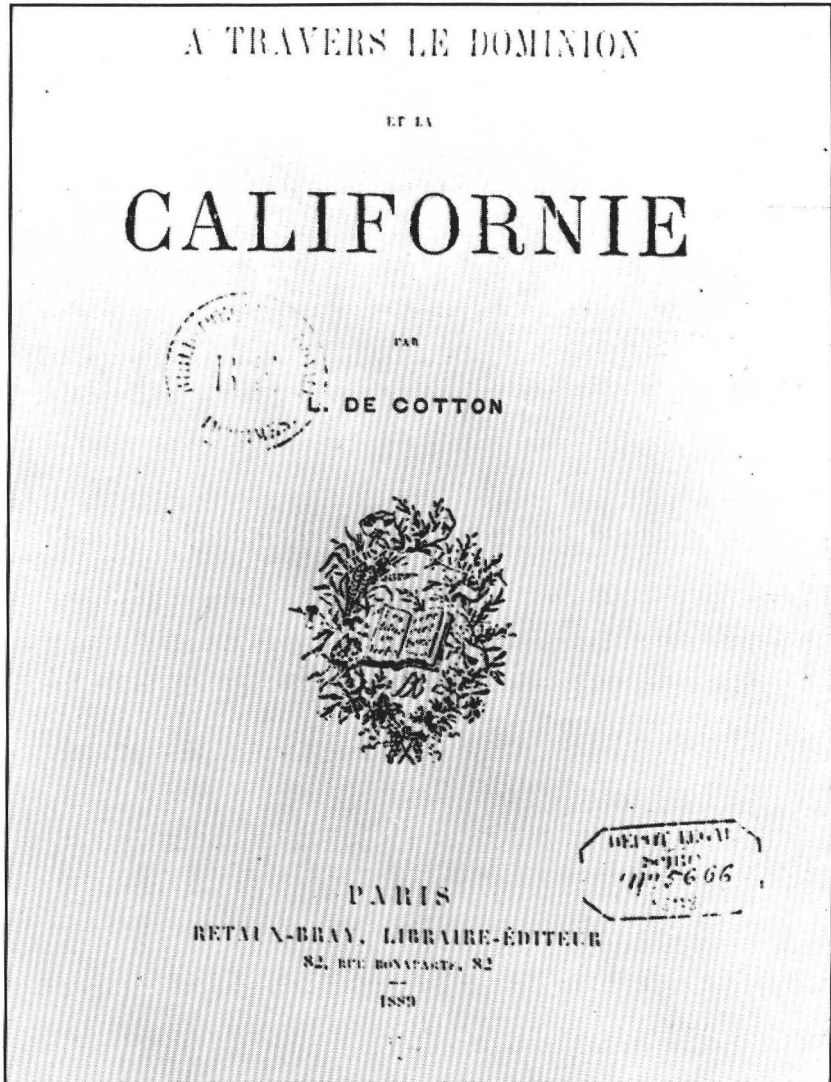
INTRODUCTION

*A TRAVERS LE DOMINION ET LA CALIFORNIE* WAS PUBLISHED in Paris in 1889.<sup>1</sup> It is an almost day-by-day account of a four-and-a-half month trip to North America (Canada and the United States) by Louis de Cotton, from June to September, 1886. The book is a collection of letters which the lonely traveler wrote to his family as he crossed the North American continent, and through which "[he] was only seeking the pleasure of chatting with his relatives and the joy of living again with his family once a week." De Cotton wrote his first letter on June 1, in London, where he was making final preparations for his trip overseas, and mailed it on June 4 in Londonderry where his steamship made her last European call "to pick up the Irish mail." The last letter, dated September 23, 1886, was written in St. Louis where de Cotton was making arrangements for the last leg of his journey, a train ride to New Orleans, whence he sailed home.

Thus far, little information has been found about the author—except for what can be gathered from the text—but there seems to be little doubt that this was his sole literary venture. The book itself gives no clue as to the reasons for the trip and there do not seem to have been any, except pleasure and curiosity. Although some of his best known predecessors and/or contemporaries came to the New World to observe and study various aspects of life in the new republic, de Cotton was but one of the many Frenchmen (and other Europeans) who had simply to see, at first hand, what Gilbert Chinard called "*le mirage américain*." He made it clear, in a short epilogue appended to the letters at the time of publication, that "his notes did not pretend to be a serious study of America and that they were not intended for publication."

Georges J. Joyaux is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Romance and Classical Languages at Michigan State University. For the past several years he has been publishing translations of various accounts of French travelers in the United States in the nineteenth century.





Original cover of Louis De Cotton's manuscript, Paris, 1889. (Courtesy of translator)

On the other hand, if de Cotton's diary were merely another travelogue, it would not justify further consideration. But de Cotton proved to be a shrewd and intelligent observer, and what makes his diary interesting are the numerous comments on the mores and institutions of North America scattered throughout the whole book.

Apparently, de Cotton had long been interested in the United States and Canada. He had thoroughly prepared himself for his trip through extensive reading. Likewise, he had secured many letters of recommendation to various friends' acquaintances—particularly in ecclesiastical circles—which

made it possible for him to see and learn more than an ordinary tourist might have.

De Cotton was an aristocrat and a devout Catholic who mourned the disappearance of the aristocratic land he once knew, or had heard of. His travel to Canada was, in part, a quest for "What was best in France." It would be wrong, therefore, to assert that he was not prejudiced from the start, especially when thrown into a world "where the lack of an aristocracy and the intermingling of social classes created an inherent evil."

But de Cotton was also a well-read and well-educated man, well aware of the many clichés and misrepresentations about America. Thus he was willing to learn and to touch up the French image of the newcomer on the international scene:

How well you deserve your reputation, travelers! It is always easy to lie about far away lands. All of my European ideas concerning the New World are being shattered day by day and bit by bit. And you, humorous writers, who amused me with your fables, what is left of your eccentric descriptions? Nothing! Yet, I cannot be too harsh with you. The traveler arrives at his destination with outlandish prejudices, with his mind made up to see all from a certain angle. Naturally, he discards all that is ordinary, for it would not amuse readers. On the other hand, much attention is given to the chatter of all the gossips: their stories are rearranged and even embroidered. Not a piece of truth is left in them—admitting that they ever contained a shred of it—but how much more pleasant they are now. The French reader dies with laughter, and he makes fun of that strange and ill-bred creature which he calls a "Yankee."

Depict Americans as they really are and that day we will be ashamed. Instead of half-barbarians who frame your head with their boots on their desks, who smoke in front of ladies, and who indulge in all kinds of similar incongruities, you will have a gentleman of irreproachable behavior, polite with ladies—as one no longer is in France—and disposed to help others to the limits of his powers. I am well aware that I am going against deep-rooted views—I came here myself with the same prejudices!—but I want to give back to Caesar what belongs to him . . .

Louis de Cotton sailed from Liverpool on June 3, 1886, aboard the *Polyne-sian*, a British steamship of the Allan Company, bound for Quebec. After a rather uneventful ten-day crossing along the Northern route, "longer and more expensive," but easily "compensated by the pleasure of encountering icebergs and sailing upstream, from Belle Isle to Quebec, along the most beautiful river in the world," he landed at Levis on June 13.

He spent the next six weeks or so in eastern and central Canada where he felt most at ease, despite the ominous clouds on the horizon. Still, and though he deplored the spread of free-thought, the pernicious and growing influence of secret societies, the general weakening of morality and the growing influence of the United States, he urged the French Canadians "to stay home, and not to come to see our misery, our vices especially!"

While in the Great Lakes area, de Cotton visited Chicago and, as expected, devoted a few pages of his letters to the world-famous slaughterhouses:



Virginia City from the California Pan Mill, as Louis de Cotton may have seen it on his visit in 1886. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Not only do they provide meat for the butchershops of several cities, New York in particular, but they flood Europe with their canned meats. Thus, I owed them the honor of a visit and I know you are impatiently awaiting my comments.

I do so grudgingly as I was deeply disgusted . . .

From the Midwest, de Cotton leisurely made his way to Vancouver aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Toward the end of August, he embarked on the *Queen of the Pacific*, and sailed for San Francisco where he arrived on September 5, spending the next week or so in California.

The pages offered below in an English translation relate Louis de Cotton's experiences on his return trip across the western states of the Union, from San Francisco to St. Louis, which he reached on September 23. There, in his last letter to his family, he informed them of his plans for the final leg of his trip.

### *A Travers le Dominion et la Californie*

Virginia City, September 14

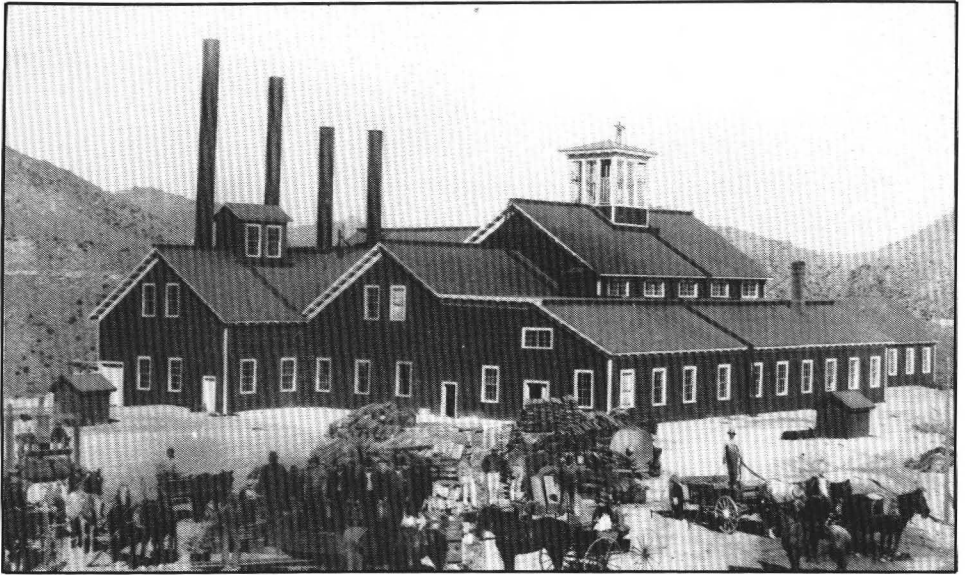
Sacramento is a city of 27,000 souls, without any interest. The houses, built of wood, seem to be made of cardboard. The special touch of the town is the overhanging roofs, resting on pillars, and covering the sidewalks. The only

important building is a kind of Pantheon, rather ridiculous, called the *Capitol*, and used as City Hall. I do not know why, but all the inhabitants seem to me to have nasty looks. There are many Chinese. The Sacramento River, bordered with weeping willows, flows on one side of the city; its water is yellow and unhealthy, yet it is the only water used by the people.

During the night, I crossed the Sierra Nevada range, and in the morning I was in Reno, the starting point for the railroad to Virginia City, the capital of the mines. Though the two cities are only sixty miles away,<sup>2</sup> the round trip costs six dollars.

American railroads, in the West, charge exorbitant prices, whenever they do not have to fear competition. As the crow flies Reno and Virginia City are very close to each other; but the tracks wander so wildly throughout the mountains, that when one reaches his destination, one finds oneself exactly across his point of departure, after having covered three quarters of a circle. For a while, the tracks follow the meanders of a small river, alongside which are mills where the quartz, brought in from the mountains, is crushed, and where the precious metal is amalgamated with mercury. The landscape is far from beautiful in the valley, but on the heights it is awful. The high ranges are absolutely barren, speckled only occasionally with tufts of wild thyme, throughout which can be seen everywhere, similar to the scrapes of rabbits, the drilling works, and, less numerous, the large wooden structures sheltering the wells with, all around, the piles of chippings. Near Virginia City, the hills, called *Golden Hills*, have been extremely disrupted by the various drilling projects.

Virginia City has a population of some 10,000 to 11,000 souls. It is a poorly built city, poorly maintained and which has no other reason for its existence than the mines; in fact, it is more a camp than a city and though one can say that it "rolls on gold," most of the inhabitants are poor. Just as, in some very old cities, one comes across, at street corners, old cannons, stuck into the ground, and with their breechblocks up in the air, to protect public buildings and to add local color, in the same way, here in Virginia City, we can see, half buried, huge cast-iron cylinders, looking like cannons, and with a narrow neck, recalling the breechblock. They are the containers in which was transported the mercury. For the most part, the population of Virginia City is Catholic in name, just like the worshippers of the Golden Calf were Israelites. In San Francisco, a man, whose welcome had earned my gratitude; had given me a letter of introduction to the curate of Virginia City, who, in fact, received me rather poorly: he did invite me to sit down, but he let me go with haste and handed me one of these four-line letters of recommendation which recommend nothing at all. His letter in hand, I presented myself at the home of the *Superintendent* of the most important mine. In America, the simple title of *Intendant*<sup>3</sup> would not have enough prestige and they thought it necessary to add a little something. Thus far, they have not thought of any-



Louis de Cotton saw numerous mines such as the Sierra Nevada Mine, when he visited Virginia City. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

thing better than *super*, but if anyone can come up with something better, I can assure him a fortune. Furthermore, my *super* is also *general*, naturally. Unfortunately, all these higher ranks did not prevent him from being sick that day—he had been in bed for several days. So, I was received by mere colonels; after a few amenities, they suggested I come back in an hour, at which time I would be escorted for the visit of the mines. When I did return, however, the gates were carefully locked; an aide de camp who was on his way to work and who saw me, entered through a service entrance, locking the door behind him. I needed no more evidence, and I did not insist.

Though I was thus mistreated by those from whom I might have expected a better treatment, I did succeed nevertheless in visiting the mines. But it was a Good Samaritan who proved to be my fellowman. I could not have travelled as I did for four months without acquiring some degree of flair and shrewdness. I discovered a fellow countryman in an ordinary drinking place. The poor old woman had led a rather agitated life: an orphan from the mountains of Savoie, she found herself on the streets in Paris where, too proud to beg, and yet too honest to resort to vice to buy bread, she came close to dying of hunger. Once in 1848, as she fainted at the corner of the Pont Neuf, she was saved by a lady who successfully disguised her charity. Soon the young woman began selling newspapers; for three months she slept outside the printing shop so as to be served first. When she learned, through her papers, that gold had been discovered in California and that maids could get as much



as 100 francs a month, she did not hesitate: she left for California. Arriving in the first months of 1850, she was horrified by the lives led by her countrymen and she soon began to regret Paris. At that time, she cut her hair short, put on man's clothes and, pick in hand, she began to work the gold fields, under the name Marie Pantalon—a name which she still uses today. While digging for gold, at times, her hands full of gold and, at other times, down in her luck, she knew, all the time, that a plot of land she had bought earlier contained a fortune. But she did not dare to start digging as these were bad times, guns and free-for-alls; every one would have jumped her claim and she would have gained nothing but blows. To safeguard her placer, she had planted it with grapes. In the long run, she did manage to amass quite a large capital—enough in fact to be able to lose some 150,000 dollars in the gold mines of Virginia City! Today, she still owns a large ranch, but the unfortunate lady is herself possessed by the demon of gambling and whenever she has some cash on hand, she invests it recklessly in the mines where her money is unavoidably swallowed. Did she make her money otherwise than through her ranch and her placer? I don't believe so and, furthermore, I do not want to know. Why would I look for evil in the very place where I found only good. Indeed, to help me out, Marie Pantalon sent for a former mine foreman—a man from New Orleans who spoke French—in her carriage. He showed me, in all its details and with all possible explanations, the only quartz mill in Virginia City.<sup>4</sup> I would not have to stop alongside the river and lose another half a day. This morning, he managed also to have me go down in one of the shafts which I had all the time to study in depth with the intelligent explanations of a French Canadian. When I came out of the mine, and while sweating profusely, I was removing my miner's overalls, they prepared for me a wonderful hot bath in an adjoining room. Let God take into account the good the Good Samaritan did for me and which I cannot pay back.

There are, in a radius of some eight miles, about 30 active mines around Virginia City, and a few more, now abandoned. All these mines are linked together, 1,500 feet underground, by a gallery which opens into the valley<sup>5</sup> and which is the passage way for all the waters of infiltration. This gallery is in the hands of a private company to whom all the others must pay dues. The depths of the shafts vary: I went down in a shaft 2,500 feet deep; another, close by, is 3,200 feet deep. The wealth of the ore is also variable: often it is only four to ten dollars per ton—I was told that a minimum of twenty-five dollars per ton is needed to cover expenses. Other times, it can go as high as four to 500 dollars per ton. Yesterday, I watched workers load a train of wagons, each carrying seven tons and each valued at five to 600 dollars. With such profits, stock holders must receive nice dividends. Alas! the only ones who get rich are the workers whose salaries are set at four dollars per day. Did I say the only ones? I forgot to mention the few millionaires at the head of the affair. It is hard to understand why, but it seems that the latter always



manage to get richer, while the small stockholders are constantly asked to come up with additional investments. It is true that there does not seem to be any control; investors know only what these gentlemen are willing to communicate to the papers and, even at that, only when they feel like it. From time to time, there is a rumor that new wonderfully-rich veins have been discovered; immediately, stock prices rise. But, alas! it was a mistake! Quite on the contrary, digging has practically come to a standstill and new capital is badly needed. It seems, furthermore, that on account of some downright fatality, in these moments of crisis, the big stockholders do not have a single available stock in their hands; on the other hand, they are always lucky enough to be able to dispose of a few stocks when the good news of new rich veins comes out. A man named M. M.\*\*\* is quite famous in Virginia City;<sup>6</sup> he has amassed a prodigious fortune in mining—and elsewhere too, he owns one of the transatlantic cables. He is well-known throughout the world, adored in Paris, etc. Fifteen days before the advent of his sudden luck, this man, some evil tongues say, had an unpleasant encounter with the police as he could not even come up with the five-dollar bond they had levied against him.

It is awfully hot in certain sections of the mines, and there diggers work only six hours a day; even at that, the real working time is further reduced to three, as they work in teams of two, with one man digging for twenty minutes while the other rests and breathes fresh air. They use picks or drills. All the rooms and galleries are shored up with wood as it is done in coal mines, but far more solidly, for there are huge open areas where various galleries stand side by side and on different levels.

The work at the mills is very complex:

1. The ore is thrown on grids which separate the big from the small. The latter is directly conveyed to pythons set on sloping planes; the former follows the same path once it has been crushed.

2. The quartz is thus reduced to mud. This mud is then directed to very fine sieves through which it passes when it is sufficiently crushed and then it is carried away to

3. Rubber aprons, slopping and agitated by a double motion, one very rapid and lateral, the other a slow rotating movement going against the slope. The light sand is carried away by the flow of the water and discarded; the heavier parts remain on the belts which convey them upward against the flow of the water to be gathered in wooden vats. Here we have the concentrated ore; it contains from three to 400 dollars per ton.

4. This mixture is then thrown in vats with mercury, salt, copper sulfate, and perhaps some other substances designed to free and eliminate the foreign elements, especially the iron sulphides. In these vats, agitated with a rapid rotating motion, the temperature is very high: the amalgamation takes place. This operation lasts from four to six hours. The mixture is then emptied in a cold vat agitated with a slow rotating motion which makes the mercury fall to

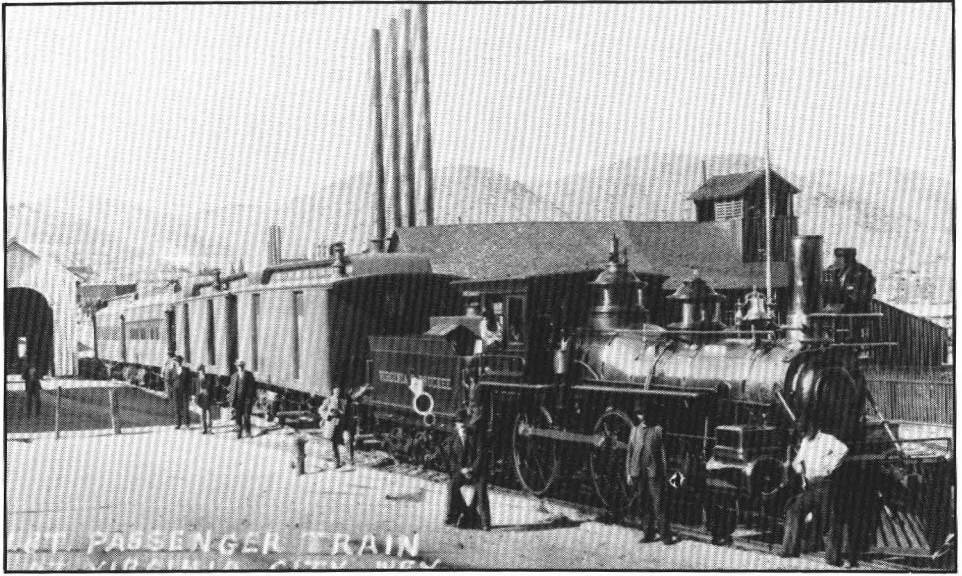
the bottom. Next the mixture is poured into very finely-woven canvas bags which retain the doughy paste while the mercury seeps through the canvas and is collected. All that remains is to have the mercury evaporated, which is rather simple. The separation of the gold from the silver is done elsewhere, in laboratories, and is based on the difference of the respective melting points of the two metals.

The precious metal is contained in quartz in such fine dust that neither the eye nor the microscope can detect it. It is only when the percentage of silver content is very high that the stone takes on a bluish hue. Gold, on the other hand, does not change the color of the stone, and, when one notices a yellowish powder or more or less larger grains, what shines is not gold, but iron sulfide, whose presence in the ore, far from being useful, is bothersome.

### September 17

I spent the night in Reno and I am now on my way to Ogden. The Nevada territory, characterized by bare mountains and crossed from one end to the other by the railroad, is *nearly* a desert. Herds of horses and cattle and cultivated areas are rare enough exceptions to justify the use of *nearly*. The rest of the territory is taken over by earth-colored aromatic plants. A few grey hares live there, and a wolf which looks at us as we pass by some sixty steps away has probably no other game. As for trees, I saw only a few willows in the bed of some torrents. We had dinner at the buffet of Humboldt,<sup>7</sup> where, following the western style, the traditional bell to call travelers to the table has given way to the Chinese gong. We stopped for a snack in Elko and, without any regret, we entered into the night. Early in the morning, there appeared on our right, the large Salt Lake, but still the desert. One must enter Utah, right in Mormon land, to notice a change in the scenery. In Ogden, the station for Yellowstone park, nature takes on again a marvelous opulence, fields are well enclosed and smartly cultivated, the prairies have a nice green color, and one sees orchards everywhere. The immediate surroundings of the station were crowded with parades of stiff and severe-looking Freemasons, saber in hand and heavily bedecked with medals. There was, ahead of us, a whole train of these jokers on their way to make merry in St. Louis. Secret societies have spread with frightening speed in America; one hardly sees a man who does not display some insignia on his lapel. The large number of saloons and the electoral struggles have done much to keep up the evil.

While I buy a round trip ticket to Yellowstone and place my fifty dollars on the counter, I ask for some information: "What do you mean! Ten days at least for the excursion to Yellowstone? You must be mistaken, my dear Sir?—Not at all; twenty-four hours on the train and full days in a coach to get to the Park; as many days to come back; altogether, six days traveling, and you'll need four days at least for the visit itself." I had resigned myself to devoting



Louis de Cotton traveled by train on the Virginia and Truckee railroad during his visit to Nevada. (Nevada Historical Society)

eight days to Yellowstone, but ten days frightened me and with the gesture of a *croupier* I gather my gold. Too bad for Yellowstone! Instead, I get into the train for Salt Lake. A well-dressed older lady strikes up a conversation with me under the pretense of asking for some information. She speaks three languages, and her French is very correct, which does not prove to be very useful as she abandons me for two younger persons as soon as she realizes that I am not a prophet. Across from me in the car, three young women already burdened with children look at me in a strange way while talking in a low voice. One of them makes a face and murmurs, "*Stranger!*" Immediately I am scorned. These three *belles* obviously belong to the same harem as they wear the same dress style and even the same uniform hat, with some slight differences, however, in accessories. The oldest wins the palm for the luxury of the feathers while the youngest does not seem to have won all her badges yet. These women get off the train at the station which precedes Salt Lake City.

"Why don't they build cities in the country? The air there is so pure!" This naive comment of Mrs. de Prudhomme<sup>8</sup> comes back to my mind as I enter the Mormon capital. Are we in a city? Are we in the country? For a city, there are too many trees, too many orchards; houses tend to disappear into the landscape, and one cannot distinguish a church thirty feet away. It is a well inhabited park! One feels well at ease under its many shade trees and the activity, well-being and prosperity of the place are most appealing. I stay in a

hotel which is not in the least "Mormonian," but, and I do not know if that is a part of their propaganda machine, the cooking is so spiced as to create havoc in your entrails.

The location of the city, between the lake and the mountain, may not please every one, but as far as I am concerned, I find it well chosen. It will be much more attractive, however, when the surrounding heights are planted with trees. As it stands now, they are as bare as hills in oriental landscapes and, just as they are, they are basking in the sun. The waters of the lake are so heavy that a man cannot sink down to his shoulders. As for interesting monuments, they are rapidly passed in review: all Mormon temples are alike and similarly arranged. One is first struck by a huge fortress, with towers at the four corners, not unlike Bossan's.<sup>9</sup> This unfinished building, which, as it stands now, resembles the Dungeon of Vincennes,<sup>10</sup> was begun in 1873; the construction continues deliberately slowly, for it depends on subscriptions, a marvelous opportunity for intelligent leaders to fill their pockets. Once completed, it will be reserved for mysterious ceremonies. On the front entrance, a huge inscription in gold letters tells the public that the temple was built to Jesus Christ by the Saints of the Latter Day. . . . Above the opposite entrance, seven stars represent the Big Dipper. Next to the Temple, one can visit the famous Tabernacle. It is famous, because it has been the subject of much talk! As a matter of fact, it is a horrible-looking building. On the outside it looks like the huge dam of a beaver; inside, a bare ellipse, lined up with tiered rows of seats; at the rear, organs, beautiful for the country, and, in front, the seats of the prophets. They say that this room is marvelously equipped for sound. Our guide takes us to the organs and then returns to the other focus of the ellipse, a pin in his hand. They say we will hear the noise of the fall when he drops the pin! I do not know why . . . , I am a man of little faith.

Next to the Tabernacle is another equally uninteresting temple. The guide delivers his lines in such a convincing way that he brings tears to one of the visitor's eyes when he recalls the persecutions endured by the Saints.

That is all there is to see in Salt Lake City: consequently, I leave tomorrow for Denver. Two days on the road. Were one condemned to stay here, the mountains, rich in ores of all kinds, could always provide another excursion; one could also visit the sulfurous springs, the soldiers' encampments and other secondary curiosities.

There are many soldiers in Utah: it is believed that it is wiser to protect the gentiles against what are supposed to be the Saints' evil intentions. In the whole territory, there are about 220,000 Mormons, while the overall population numbers only 250,000. In Salt Lake City alone, the Mormons are 25,000 for a total population of 30,000. These good people's religion allows them to lie and to resort to calumny, whenever they have quarrels with the gentiles, and the death of one of the latter is viewed as a good deed; it is easy, in such conditions, to understand that precautions are taken. On several occasions,

the Mormons have tried to shake off the yoke, but in vain. To avenge themselves, they would like to see the territory become a state; they would, **then**, have their autonomy and they would show their enemies. As a matter of fact, they have a long list of grievances, as they have long been persecuted for their conjugal beliefs; laws prohibit polygamy and all is done to have the Mormons abandon this practice. All their former leaders are in jail. The present President, John Taylor, is in hiding and a warrant has been issued for his arrest. His right-hand man has been arrested but he jumped bail, abandoning the 45,000 dollars bond he posted. . . . To recoup his losses, he made a collection which brought in 56,000 dollars, thus giving him a healthy profit. Mormon leaders are not crazy!

Mormon leaders put pressure on the faithful and get all they can from them. The ordinary Saints must, first of all, pay out one tenth of all their income, and I mean not a penny less than one tenth, without counting the many collections and extraordinary levies. All this money does not find its way into their leaders' pockets however; a good part of it is used to bribe the government. Thus, last year, a very severe law, which would have brought about the ruin of Mormonism, was enacted by the House [of Representatives]. The Mormons were successful, however, in preventing this law from being acted upon by the Senate.

While wandering through the city, I came across old Brigham's tomb:<sup>11</sup> in a large field with enough space around him, to bury his nineteen wives, and all his grand-children's children. At one end of the field, a flat stone shelters the prophet's rest; no other ornament, nothing at all! To have had nineteen legitimate wives, without encroaching upon others, to have had a bevy of children, to have founded a religion and yet to be reduced to such misery!

That evening, I was sitting, at dinner, next to two young Germans who are on the first leg of their trip around the world. They know France, they speak English and French, and they were telling me that these far-away travels are becoming popular in their country. Why is it not the same in ours?

Denver, September 19

From Salt Lake City to Denver, it is a long ride, thirty-seven-and-a-half hours on the train! There are few compensations to the length of the journey, however: after the endless arid plains and the barren hills which make of these central parts of America the ugliest country in the world, we finally enter the gorges of the Rockies. Friday, which started poorly, ended rather well. At first, there were high hills literally covered with bushes, the leaves of which have already taken on the hues of our wild grapes in the fall. Next, we entered a valley, rightly called *Castle Valley*.. This vertical crack, which splits the mountain, creating bizarre drawings, is made of perfectly horizontal strata of rocks. All alongside these walls, the spirit of the waters who dug it

took great pleasure in simulating the strangest outlines of fortifications: here, *cul de lampes*, there, crenels, elsewhere, machicolation. A few high pyramids are crowned with protruding diadems, on top of which rustic pines looks like light aigrettes. Finally, we reached the pass, called *Porte du Chateau*: on one side, a section of wall, several hundred feet high, on the other, and almost touching it, a huge separate block, not unlike the huge pile from a fallen-down bridge. And the railroad got under way on this broken down vault!

Saturday morning, we are still right in the middle of a narrow gorge, where the building of the railroad must not have caused much less difficulty than that of the well-known Chabet el Akra line,<sup>12</sup> between Bougie and Setif, deep in a gorge which is not without some similarities to the one we are now crossing. Thirty feet away, on the other side of the torrent, some deer, just back from drinking, are making their way to higher ground, leaping from rock to rock; suddenly the train comes to a screeching halt. I am convinced that the Yankees are after these graceful animals. Indeed, it is typically American to stop for a nice shot! Well, as it turns out, that is not the case! Two wheels have fallen off one of the cars and the car in question is dancing in a most disorderly fashion on the tracks. Ladies are yelling, men are yelling louder, to calm them down, and it looks as if panic is going to prevail. Instead, the train comes to a halt and every one steps down looking for news. A gentleman, obviously mad about fishing, does not lose a moment, and, without bothering to find out whether there are any wounded, grabs his fishing rod and, jumping onto a rock in the middle of the torrent, casts his fly for a trout. Others engage in games of skill, joking or helping with the rescue, since it has now been learned that the trouble cannot be fixed and that the last three sleeping cars will have to be abandoned on the tracks. The travelers, driven away from their sleeping quarters, pile up in the other cars to the great dismay of their first occupants. But what else can be done? It is neither the time nor the place to jump off the tracks: we are very close to a chasm undoubtedly very picturesque when seen from high above, but far less interesting at close range. Fortunately, American trains are equipped with an alarm system, a rope going through each car and attached at its extremity to a warning bell. A pull on the rope and the engineer is warned that there is trouble. This system is far better than anything I have seen in Europe.

In the crippled car, there is a good English lady whom I had met at the Mormon Temple and who is on her way back to England after an eighteen-month trip. All shaken, she is telling me her adventures. It is her third such accident since she left home: in Sydney, the propeller shaft of her ship broke, just as they were putting out to sea and she was stuck in Australia. Near Melbourne, the carriage she was riding was thrown in the bed of a flooded river. Yet, all these misfortunes are minor when compared to what happened to a friend of hers, in whose house she was staying in Melbourne and who lost her son in tragic circumstances during her visit: the country, very unin-



habited, is still less criss-crossed with roads. The young man and a friend had left in a carriage for a one-day exploration; just in case, they had taken along enough provisions for a few days. After a week had gone by and the two friends had still not returned, it became clear that they no longer had any provisions. Scouts were sent out to look for them but they came back with sad news: they had found the carriage's tracks, which clearly showed that the two young men had started on their way back, but the tracks went far beyond the path leading to their home. The scouts followed these tracks for quite a distance until they gave up, realizing that there was no hope of ever finding them again. The good English lady displays such a serene soul that I cannot but admire her. Ever since she left England, she has not received a single letter from her children, yet, she has no doubt that they wrote to her often. Eighteen months have gone by, however! I am willing to bet that when she gets home, she will have much to add to the profit and loss account.

While I was telling you this story, we covered some more ground and we are now in the process of climbing one of the main massifs of the Rockies. The word "climb" is justified indeed as we stand 11,540 feet above sea level when we reach our destination. I have never climbed that high on my own two legs. They had to divide the train in two sections and pull each with two engines. I am in the rear section and it is quite amusing to see these two halves of a snake, running one after the other as they twist their way on the side of the mountain. I see, ahead, the lead section going through "Ss," "Bs," and the most fantastic figures; every once in a while it heads for us and passes over our heads as it ascends the opposite side. As for the view, the mountains are simply spectacular; only a few peaks are steep; on the whole, they are more like round breasts, covered with bright red or yellow shrubs; one would swear they are flowers! Very few white spots however, which I found quite surprising, since we are more than 11,500 feet above sea-level and surrounded by peaks, most of which are 13,000 and more feet high. In Europe, all of that would be glaciers. On the other hand, if there is but little snow in the summer, it is clear that snow is not lacking in the winter: all alongside the higher parts of the mountain slopes, they have built long wooden sheaths, similar to tunnels. I cannot believe that these tunnels have any *raison d'être* other than to provide cover against the snow. The train has hardly come out of one of these tunnels, to let the travelers catch a glance of the countryside, than it enters the next one. Crossing these mountains is not the only attraction of the day! In the evening, we enter what is probably the most famous gorge in America, the *Royal Gorge*. However fiery and ranting it might be, it cannot be the torrent which, at any time during the life of the world, dug its path through the earth. What tremor shook the high sierra to create these glaring cracks? What force moved apart these two vertical walls? The sunset plays with light through the gorge: large patches of red collide, without any transition, with darker veins; other rocky faces, more oblique,

are studded with soft pastel colors, ranging from slate grey to soft pink.

How small our train looks at the bottom of this trench! And yet, how much effort and how many dollars were required to prepare its furrow! In a certain area, they even gave up cutting into the rock, and for eighty meters, the train rides above the precipice. Relying on a bold concept, the Americans managed to have the bridge lean only on one end against the rocky wall, while suspending it like a chandelier with heavy wires anchored higher up on the rocky face.

The sight of the *Royal Gorge* was the last we saw that day; night fell and prevented us from enjoying the superb gorge of *Toltec*, and the equally famous gorge of *Veta*. Usually, tourists stop in Colorado Springs, three hours away from Denver, to visit *Manitou*, the so-called *Garden of the Gods*, well known for its caves, its panoramic views of the mountains and the jagged outlines of its chalky rocks which are so strange that they call to mind the skeleton of a grandiose city, brought back to light. A fellow traveler who saw them both, compared *Manitou* to Pompei. I was unable to appreciate the exactitude of the comparison as I have seen neither. He who does not know his limitations does not know how to travel, any more than he knows how to write, and I deprived myself of the *Manitou* so that I could enjoy the dominical rest in Denver.

Denver, which appeared suddenly, as if summoned by a fairy's wand, is still too young to have a history and all it has now is its ambition. It is a nice town, well built in bricks and decorated with monuments which, if nothing else, are very expensive. Everywhere, strollers can enjoy the shade of large trees, which is, for me, one of the main charms of western cities. Denver is located on a 5,200-foot high mesa, surrounded with a half a circle of mountains. The foot of the mountains is less than ten minutes away and their white peaks, crowning slopes vaguely colored in blue by the mist, constitute an admirable backdrop. It is naturally cold at this altitude; oats are not ripe.

### St. Louis, September 23

From Denver to St. Louis, the country, flat and ugly, is inhabited by large herds of cattle and horses. Kansas City promises to become a beautiful town: it is already quite sizable and they hasten to build it up, both lengthwise and breadthwise, as if a whole people were expected within its walls. Still, forced as I was to spend a whole day there, I found the city rather dead. The Missouri, a revolting muddy river with flat and silty banks, rolls about its feet. Formerly, St. Louis was a French city: twenty years ago, they still preached in French at the cathedral. Today, the French element has been stifled and I met only one countryman, a coachman, who robbed me with the complicity of the police, an institution with which wise people would be well-advised not to deal in the New World. The city, one of the most important in

the United States, lacks trees; the Mississippi crosses St. Louis but it is far from a title to fame. It should not be allowed, for such a great river, to be so dirty! As a result, the river was not even honored with presentable wharfs, and the whole population of the city stays away from the river. At the moment, St. Louis is being carried away in a whirl of feasts: for a while, I was reminded of the distress of Toronto and I had all the difficulties in the world to find an acceptable shelter for the night—for which I pay more than I would have paid a nice room. I am sure you read all about the St. Louis Exposition in the newspapers. They have made much of it in America, though, to tell the truth, there is not much to crow about; any attempt to compare it to the London or the Paris Expositions<sup>13</sup> can only make those who have seen either smile. On the other hand, the Exposition is the least of the St. Louis attractions: this year, St. Louis is hosting the tri-annual Convention of the Masonic societies. The papers make mention of some 30,000 Knights of the Temple in attendance; I believe it is much too high an estimate, but there are still enough of them to fill all the hotels of the city to capacity, even to overflow; it is so bad that many of the delegations had to stay in the sleeping-cars and steamers which brought them here. Naturally, the city is bedecked with flags from top to bottom, and every evening, there is a magical light show. Even the illuminations in Paris, on August 15, under the Second Empire, cannot compare with them. Americans juggle with millions as we do with pennies. In all the important streets, there are, every ten feet, double pyramids of red, yellow and blue globes, linked by strings of multicolored lights; they form a compact luminous ribbon above each side walk. Public buildings and many private homes are also decorated with lights and, every three hundred feet or so, a huge arch of triumph, leaning on both sides of the street, displays its multicolored garlands as high up as the fourth floor. These expenses are assumed by the St. Louis merchants.

A while ago, the big parade and the review of the troops of the Temple took place. Actually, if one can suppress the feeling of mild gaiety which such a display of childish vanity brings to mind, the sight is beautiful indeed: each and every group competes with one another as to which will have the richest lights, the best musicians and the most sumptuous outfits. A few of these uniforms, made of velvet embroidered with gold and silver, must have cost several hundred dollars. What madness! It is true, nevertheless, that the whole show turns the head of women and also of what we call the gawkers. The crowd's intoxication is becoming frenzy. While the commanders parade on horse back, leading their troops, they are acclaimed by thousands of spectators crowding all the windows and forming a double live hedge on their passage. The bands follow, playing martial music; finally comes the main battle corps, all the men standing erect and proud, as if they were returning home after having conquered the world. The 700,000 inhabitants of the city and the 100,000 out-of-town visitors applaud, stamp their feet with enthu-

siasm, wave their handkerchiefs, throw flowers. This phantasmagoria looks very much like a national celebration.

The most serious people tell me that in America, secret societies are not dangerous and that they engage only in philanthropic activities. I shake my head sadly and I do not believe a word of it. The swords' sheaths are crosses, each and every helmet or kepi is adorned with a cross, which is also invariably present on all the banners with the motto "*In hoc signo vinces*," or "*Rex regnum*."<sup>14</sup> How can one fail to believe that these people have a religious objective and how is one to believe that this aim is commendable, when none of these alleged knights ever set foot in a church and that the whole sect has been excommunicated by the Pope?

How vain Americans seem, when seen from the vantage point of these celebrations! They mock others, and the French in particular. Indeed! That is a good one! With their ribbons, their gold decorations, their medals, men are changed into veritable reliquaries, and their wives, instead of splitting their sides with laughter, as the sensible Moliere's Nicole<sup>15</sup> would do, look at them ecstatically, and trim their bodices with the same frills and flounces. I must conclude that Americans, whom I like and whose great qualities I like to acknowledge, do not have a sense of the ridiculous. And I might add that, if they had an army in earnest, especially one that would cost them a few hundred millions dollars a year, maybe they would not feel the need to parody it is such a ludicrous way.

The heat is atrocious in St. Louis. I would like someone to tell me why one suffers so much from the heat in St. Louis at the end of September? Three months from now, the temperature will probably drop to twenty degrees below zero. That is America for you, extreme in every respect!

I am going to be called "Potier" for the next two days, and after practicing for a few minutes, I signed Potier, with the boldness of a light-of-step notary, on the return travel voucher which I bought to go to New Orleans. Faced with the gravity of this deed, I was hesitant, but I was told that scruples would simply be ridiculous: although forbidden officially, trafficking in tickets is done on a large scale and in the open. My bargain ticket cost me forty francs; I gave an additional thirty francs to reserve a pullman; thus, for seventy francs, I will travel almost 700 miles and in the kind of luxury one finds only in a first-class hotel. Indeed, it is quite a good deal!

My journal suddenly comes to an end in St. Louis. Written day by day, these notes do not pretend to be a study of North America, and were not intended for publication. When he was writing down his impressions, as they have been reproduced since, the traveler intended only to chat with his relatives and was looking only for the pleasure of living with his family once a week. Thus, when the hour of departure was near, the pen was entitled to take a rest.

But, if I admit not to have brought back from a four-and-a-half month trip

the elements of a serious study, why then, I will be asked, roam the world in such a way? Is it not a waste of money and energy, just to satisfy a futile curiosity? Well, do not be too harsh, fellow reader, for after crossing twice this huge continent and comparing with one another so many grand sites—lush or barren—I have discovered what I was hardly looking for, namely, that the most beautiful country in the world is the one where one is loved, and for that discovery I do not think I have paid too high a price.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Louis de Cotton, *A Travers le Dominion et la Californie* (Paris: Retaux-Bray, 1889).

<sup>2</sup> The length of the route of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad between Reno and Virginia City was actually about forty-five miles.

<sup>3</sup> In France, the title "Intendant" dates from the Middle Ages and indicates an important official.

<sup>4</sup> This was probably the Consolidated Virginia and California mill.

<sup>5</sup> The Sutro Tunnel was completed on July 8, 1878.

<sup>6</sup> John Mackay, millionaire Comstock mining entrepreneur, had a home in Paris at this time. It later became the Belgian Embassy.

<sup>7</sup> The Humboldt House, east of Lovelock on the route to Winnemucca, was famous for its good food.

<sup>8</sup> This personnage was created by Henri Monnier (1805-1877) to represent bourgeois conformism.

<sup>9</sup> Pierre Bossan (1814-1888) was a French architect. The Mormon Temple in Salt Lake City was still uncompleted in 1886.

<sup>10</sup> Vincennes, east of Paris, is well-known for its forest and its fourteenth-century fortress.

<sup>11</sup> Brigham Young died in 1877.

<sup>12</sup> Chabet el Akra, the road from Bougie to Setif in eastern Algeria (a French possession from 1830 to 1962) follows the gorge of the Ogrion oued.

<sup>13</sup> The Great Exhibition, the first world's fair, was held in the Crystal Palace in London in 1851. The Paris Exhibition was in 1855.

<sup>14</sup> The slogans are translated, "In this sign you will conquer" and "The king reigns" (literally "The king is kingdom"). As a conservative French Catholic, de Cotton was typically suspicious of secret societies—even those with religious overtones—because they were believed to have brought about the Revolution of 1830 and the downfall of the monarchy of Charles X in France.

<sup>15</sup> Nicole is the knowing servant in Moliere's well-known play, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, of 1670.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Women's West.* Edited by Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. 323 pp., index, illustrations.)

IN THIS VOLUME, BASED ON THE PROCEEDINGS of the 1983 Women's West Conference held in Sun Valley, Idaho, editors Armitage and Jameson seek not simply to supplement the traditional history of the American west, but to cast it in new terms. Arguing that "no other region of the United States has so shaped our image of our national identity as has the west" (p. 3), they point out that the familiar history of that region leaves out the experience of many people, including women. With this collection of twenty-one essays, they seek to remedy that situation. While they perform a most valuable service in presenting this group of essays on women in the west, they fail in their more ambitious goal of reintegrating western history to "change the way the story is written" (Armitage, p. 11). For the most part the volume represents a traditional history of the western experience with the female perspective added, rather than a new conceptualization of the diversity of western experiences among people of different ethnic backgrounds, economic classes, and social statuses.

As is customary in any such collection, the essays vary in quality. Particularly valuable for their breadth and insight are those by Rosalinda Mendez Gonzales on "Distinctions in Western Women's Experience: Ethnicity, Class, and Social Change," and by Elizabeth Jameson on "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West." In both of these essays the authors make broad conclusions about the complexity of western U.S. history, and caution against reliance on familiar stereotypes such as the west as the last bastion of rampant individualism, or women's long-accepted roles as "gentle tamers" of a barbaric region.

Other essays, such as those by Elliott West, "Beyond Baby Doe: Child Rearing on the Mining Frontier," or Mary Lee Spence, on "Waitresses in the Trans-Mississippi West: 'Pretty Waiter Girls,' Harvey Girls and Union Maids," examine both the stereotypes and the reality of women's behavior in specific and illuminating contexts. All of the essays concentrate on the trans-Mississippi west beyond the 98th meridian, including two on Canada, by Norma J. Milton on "Immigrant Domestic on the Canadian Prairies, 1885-1930," and by Sylvia Van Kirk on "The Role of Native Women in the Creation of Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1830."

The volume is divided into five sections. Part One, entitled "Myths," ad-



dresses the traditional images of women in the west, and includes two essays on women in art. One of these, by Corlann Gee Bush on "Images of Women and Men in Cowboy Art," has a suggestive thesis, but is hampered in its presentation by a paucity of illustrations. In general this section is less successful than the three that follow. Part Two, entitled "Meetings," considers contacts between different cultures in the American west, and includes the essay by Van Kirk among others. Part Three, "Emotional Continuities," considers literary sources that illuminate the lives of women in the west, including a delightful essay by Kathryn Adam on "Laura, Ma, Mary, Carrie, and Grace: Western Women as Portrayed by Laura Ingalls Wilder," that calls renewed attention to the fine resource for western women represented by the Little House series.

Part Four, "Coming to Terms with the West," includes the articles by Jameson, Milton, Spence, and West, among others. It generally addresses the adjustment of nineteenth-century Anglo women to the frontier. The final section, "Expanding Our Focus," is the most explicitly multicultural, including articles on Italian Americans in twentieth-century California, by Micaela Di Leonardo, on Chicanas in the Sun Belt, by Patricia Zavella, and a concluding personal reflection by Native American poet Susan Shown Harjo. Like Part One, however, this section seems weaker than the others, possibly because of its inability to live up to its daunting task of "connecting the lives of our foremothers to women's lives in the contemporary West," and "considering larger economic, social, and cultural changes that helped shape the lives of western women" (p. 236) in the twentieth century. Although there is some interesting material here, the section fails to cohere as a whole.

In general, the west of this volume is not geographically specific, and none of the essays except West's treats material from Nevada. His contribution on childrearing on the mining frontier will perhaps be of most immediate relevance to Nevada readers, although the conceptual essays by Susan Armitage, "Through Women's Eyes: A New View of the West," as well as the essays by Gonzales and Jameson mentioned above, will be especially suggestive for students of Nevada history. To the extent, however, that *The Women's West* provides a valuable corrective to hackneyed views of the west as the land of six-guns and cowboys, it represents a valuable addition to *any* library.

Elizabeth Raymond  
University of Nevada, Reno

*Joseph Wharton: Quaker Industrial Pioneer.* By W. Ross Yates. (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1987. 413 pp., illustrations, bibliography, notes, index.)

W. ROSS YATES, in *Joseph Wharton: Quaker Industrial Pioneer*, has written an insightful biography of a notable nineteenth-century figure. Wharton today is best known as the founder of the famed business school bearing his name at the University of Pennsylvania; but as Yates shows, his fuller life as an industrial entrepreneur, spanning the years from 1826 to 1909, illuminates the central features of American history in the age of industrialization.

Readers of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* may wonder why a biography of an eminent Philadelphian is reviewed here. As it happens, among the last of Wharton's many enterprises was one that occurred in Nevada at the turn of the twentieth century. Between 1880 and his death in 1909 he was a principal figure in the Southwestern Mining Company in El Dorado Canyon (located near the southernmost point of the state). In contrast to earlier and later mining booms this undertaking was of small proportions and does not figure in the annals of Nevada history. Yet, in Yates's telling of the tale (and in his brief recounting of other Wharton Far Western ventures, in Oregon and Idaho) readers will find informative, if brief, discussions of the attitudes, interests, and practices that underscored the involvement of foreign capitalists in frontier mining and transportation enterprises.

The value of Yates's discussion stems from the context in which he writes. He is not interested in the Far West, but in the life of this metropolitan, eastern, entrepreneur. Thus he recounts Wharton's Nevada enterprise from the perspective of his subject's earlier, and stunning, successes as an amateur metallurgist and mining entrepreneur (in the fields of zinc, iron, and nickel production). Throughout Yates gives particular attention to, and offers numerous insights into, the network of relations and associates within which Wharton built his family's fortune.

From this viewpoint, Wharton's Nevada venture proved to be his strangest investment, although one not untypical of his counterparts within the first generation of industrial capitalists. According to Yates the venture was strange precisely because of the extent to which, in carrying it out, Wharton departed from the Quaker-like prudence and thorough calculation that otherwise marked his business career. Wharton's involvement in the Southwestern Mining Company occurred when he was well into his seventies, a millionaire, and scion of a famous family. Nonetheless, his nature was such that he could neither countenance retirement nor ignore the prospect of digging millions of dollars of gold out of the forbidding Nevada desert. Although he never collected a single dividend from the venture, he avidly continued his quest for treasure until his death in 1909 at age eighty-two.

Wharton's Far Western enterprises, it needs to be emphasized, comprised

but a small portion of his life—and of Yates's biography. There is much more to this fine book. Yates—a gifted stylist who manages to make the complexities of Wharton's scientific accomplishments comprehensible and interesting—provides a wealth of detail on the evolution of his subject's Quaker faith, the development of the industrial capitalist class in Philadelphia, and the political world view of Wharton and his individualist, pre-corporate, counterparts in American life. Wharton's escapade in Nevada—given its contrast with the otherwise stolid life of this Philadelphia patrician—reveals once again the lure of western treasure to the entrepreneurial mentality of nineteenth-century America.

David A. Johnson  
Portland State University

*Western Trails: A Collection of Short Stories by Mary Austin.* Edited by Melody Graulich. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1987, 309 pp., introduction, notes, index.)

MARY AUSTIN (1888-1934) IS AGAIN A SIGNIFICANT presence in American literature. After years of neglect, her vision of vividly indiosyncratic men and women, whites and Indians, who populated the West's vast landscapes when this century was young is increasingly recognized not only as relevant but prophetic. In thirty books, both fiction and non-fiction, Austin explored conflicts inherent in our society that are at least perceived as central to the American experience, their successful resolution essential to our very survival as a people. The conflicts Austin dramatizes typically arise from various kinds of exploitation, conflicts between nature and civilization, individual freedom and social tyranny, white capitalism and Indian tradition, woman's integrity of spirit and man's apparent need to rule.

Austin's best work brims with vigor, insight, and an almost mystical appreciation of the bond that ties people to the land they inhabit. Perhaps because she grew up amid the arid openness of east-central California, where the bare bones and sinews of Earth are largely unobscured by forest or other vegetative cover, Austin is keenly aware of the effect that land and climate have on human character. Her life-long admiration of the way native Americans accommodated themselves to the natural world, respecting its limits and lessons, strongly reinforced her sense of this environmental bond.

In *Western Trails*, a new collection of Austin's short stories, Melody Graulich provides a superbly readable introduction to the author's major themes. Culled from widely scattered sources, including some previously unpublished manuscripts from the Huntington Library, this anthology brings back into print some of the finest regional writing ever produced. In stories

like "The Basket Woman," "The Return of Mr. Wills," "The Walking Woman," and "Mahala Joe," Austin creates sharply etched vignettes of Indian and pioneer life, commonly blending elements of nature, legend, and psychological realism to achieve an indelibly memorable effect. Writing with a lucid simplicity that disguises art, she exercises a firm control over her material, even when it is potentially sentimental—such as her depictions of the Indians' long vanished way of life or a white boy's obliviousness to the heroic loyalty of an Indian friend ("Mahala Joe"). A classic of the American West, "The Last Antelope" employs a coolly objective style to narrate a rancher's slaughter of his region's last wild animal of its kind. The writer's anger is undeniably present, but it is not allowed to mar her artistic neutrality.

Most of Austin's stories are brief, some little more than colorful sketches, but all sharpen the reader's sensitivity to some freshly perceived aspect of human relationships and motivation. Humor, as well as a satiric criticism of social mores, inform many of the stories, such as "The House of Offence" in which two mining camp women, one a harlot and the other a respectable matron, are inexorably linked by a mutual need.

*Western Trails* is appropriately titled, for Austin was an artist who blazed a path through frontier deprivations and social barriers to find her own way toward self-definition and fulfillment. Although feminist critics have properly viewed her as a pioneer champion of women's personal independence and artistic freedom, Austin has a broader significance. Her fictional characters, typically unencumbered by the ambitions or values of an acquisitive society, are generally free to learn from experience what they really want in life. Like the author herself, they struggle to see the world not "in the way (most) men see it," but to recognize "the importance and validity of . . . seeing it in some other way." As a guide toward achieving an individually authentic vision, Austin's stories appear to all readers.

Steve Harris

*California State University, Sacramento*

*Shrubs of the Great Basin: A Natural History.* By Hugh N. Mozingo. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987. 342 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index.)

BY DESIGN, THIS BOOK IS NEITHER A COMPREHENSIVE handbook nor scholarly treatise. Rather, this is one of a series of books to introduce the curious to a wide range of features and organisms within the Great Basin. Mozingo's book admirably accomplishes this objective in the case of shrubs. Supported by excellent line drawings by Christine Stetter and color plates, Mozingo's an-

ecdotal style also painlessly introduces the reader to some scientific concepts and glimpses of how scientists do their work. The sometimes humorous asides about the human side of science may be more important in creating public awareness of what plant taxonomists and ecologists are and do than the factual information imparted.

Mozingo's volume tells the reader how to identify about sixty-five shrubs within the region. He also gives information about their geographic distributions, habitat preferences and present and past values and uses. The listing is not comprehensive. While all of the major genera are included, the species selected have a definite bias toward the western Great Basin. I found somewhat puzzling the inclusion of some shrubs restricted to generally forested portions of the eastern Sierra, e.g., brush chinquapin and Sierra coffeeberry. Less common shrubs centered along the Wasatch Front on the eastern boundary of the Great Basin have not been included.

An especially valuable feature to those interested in human use of these shrubs is the ethnobotanical information: that is, how aboriginals used these plants. Mazingo has also included an appendix of names of these shrubs used by the Paiute, Shoshone and Washoe people.

In summary, I feel that many students and interested lay people will now have available to them a highly readable entrée to key information about some major shrubs of the region. This work should convince them that there is much more than sagebrush and greasewood in the Great Basin.

Neil E. West  
*Department of Range Science*  
*Utah State University*

*A Great and Shining Road: The Epic Story of the Transcontinental Railroad.*

By John Hoyt Williams. (New York: Times Books, 1988. 341 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index.)

AMERICANS HAVE NEVER BEEN AMBIVALENT ABOUT the western movement, about railroads, or about vast capitalistic ventures. From the early years of the republic, the new, the industrial, the West was touted over the modest, the native, the traditional. It was young, free-spirited and ambitious men who, in the main, pushed the frontiers westward. The average age of members of many territorial legislatures was under thirty-five. The untamed wilderness was glorified for the economic and political gain that it could yield. And those with western investments behaved like other special interest groups, advancing their concerns at the expense of all. Through political clout, financial greed, and guts, the builders of the transcontinental railroad

achieved their ambitions while the taxpayers and the immigrants often paid much of the bill.

Of course, no great human exploit describes itself. Only by repeated "takes" and through critical study do epics in the grand tradition become landmarks or established myths. The Pacific Railroad Act of July 2, 1862, has been accepted for 125 years as opening the door to a legend. Scores of articles, books, and photographs have appeared on the Central Pacific, the Union Pacific, the slaughter of buffalo, the introduction of immigrant work gangs, the cutting of forests, the rise of towns, and a dozen related topics. But there has been a surprising paucity of attempts to encompass all, or most, of the political, economic and social issues surrounding the first transcontinental line. John Hoyt Williams combines primary sources and popular gossip, scholarly judgments and colorful sensationalism to provide a resource, a detailed informative narrative, indeed, a compendium on the subject. He has written a large book with small print, a witty, even racy, historical account filled with raucous quotes and hundreds of endnotes. After reviewing his exhaustive bibliography on railroads one is inclined to paraphrase a barb aimed at students who overanalyze Sherlock Holmes's detective fiction. "Never has so much been written by so many for so few."

As a chronological, descriptive history of human action, *A Great and Shining Road* offers a vivid picture of the life and times of mid-nineteenth-century America. As Williams tells the story, it seems that the capitalists, the politicians, the generals, the Mormons, the engineers, the con-artists were all in the right place at the right time. Much of America was ready to see nature conquered, the natives crushed, and the nation bridged. The plan was anchored in a vision of manifest destiny, technological America, and the march westward. The master builders and financiers enjoyed a shared purpose because they were "impassioned profiteers . . . ruthless [and] guilty of bold financial double-dealing and ferocious ingenuity" (jacket). The Irish workers on the Union Pacific were driven by pistols and bullwhips to track-laying records, while the Chinese "blasted, climbed and inched" the Central Pacific over the Sierra. The railroad decimated Indians and buffalo and built the timber and steel industries. It was "empire building at its most vulgar and glorious" (jacket).

It is revealing of the era that there seems to have been few disinterested voices questioning the desirability of a railroad or its impact upon the frontier. There was no discussion of the ultimate democracy of time, only the will to tame, to conquer, and to replace the natural with the artificial. Even as the forests and the buffalo were slaughtered no one conceived of the railroad as a monster with a gluttonous appetite. No one echoed the voice in the whirlwind which informed Job that all creation was not for man. The perspective of Thoreau, who died in 1862 as the transcontinental legislation was being passed by Congress, had no place in the new western design.



Williams often uses the journalistic technique of introducing a score of unrelated events to create perspective and provide a setting. For example, "1863 was a year suitably complex worldwide. Henry Ford was born and so were Norwegian painter Edvard Munch and Frenchman Lucien Pissarro, while Ferdinand Victor Eugène Delacroix died and James Whistler painted some of his finest works. John Stuart Mill wrote on utilitarianism, John Hanning Speke sought the White Nile, the London Underground was begun, roller skating was introduced into the United States, and a French army captured Mexico City." Section headings are colorful and crafted to popularize: "plot and Counter Plot in California," "The Shopkeepers Harness the Elephant," "Showdown at Fort Saunders," "Rearranging the Sierra," are typical of Williams's capacious approach.

The book is readable, exciting, full of zest and utility, but it is also flippant, undisciplined, indiscriminating, and sometimes unreliable. To note a few of the factual errors related to Nevada—Reno had to wait over forty years to achieve the "boisterous population of fifteen thousand" claimed for it in 1869 (206). The summers were not "staggeringly hot" at "120 degrees" along the Central Pacific in northern Nevada (207-8). No student of the area has viewed Mark Twain, Lucius Beebe or Charles Clegg as accurate or reliable historical pundits (210). Lake Winnemucca "another stagnant pond" is not near to or associated with the founding of the town of Winnemucca (241). Elko is over a hundred miles from, not "almost at, the Utah border" (242). The Virginia and Truckee Railroad ran south not north from Virginia City and did not reach Reno in "twenty-one miles" (243).

A . . . *Shining Road* was not designed to deal with broad polemical, philosophical, or personal questions. Nor does it attempt to discover principles, notice cultural patterns, or evaluate consequences. The new school promoting the study of women in the western movement will be disappointed. The "motor of life" is seen rarely. We are told that Anna Judah was confident of her husband's engineering plans to tame the Sierra; that Hannah Strobridge, wife of another engineer, was allowed to tap the Golden Spike at Promontory Point after all of the men had swung at it; and that there was not a "virtuous woman west of Cheyenne." In short, the blurb on the book jacket is accurate. "Williams combines scholarship with personalities, historical analysis with plain old tall tales."

Williams, also, rather inadvertently, tends to overwhelm us with a myriad of examples of the era's all-embracing faith in technology, with America's delirium for expansion and growth, and with man's mania for using and abusing the West's natural bounty. He leaves us with a picture of a society that was public and active rather than private and reflective; it had a steadfast purpose to provide voice and presence rather than to serve and inform. By the 1860s America had become a land of wide diversity, ravenous ambitions and raw enthusiasm.

Wilbur S. Shepperson  
*University of Nevada, Reno*

*To No Privileged Class: The Rationalization of Homesteading and Rural Life in the Early Twentieth-Century American West.* By Stanford J. Layton. (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1988. 105 pp., introduction, notes, index.)

THIS VOLUME ANALYZES THE ROLE OF POPULAR sentiment and politics in the shaping and passage of the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 and the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916. Layton traces the deterioration of Theodore Roosevelt's country life movement into a "bastard child" back-to-the-land movement, which in turn encouraged thousands of unsuspecting city people to claim homesteads in the submarginal lands of the West. He argues that the back-to-the-land movement heightened the impact of the Enlarged Homestead Act, supplied much of the impetus for the Stock Raising Homestead Act, and was indirectly responsible for the conditions that led to passage of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934.

The author is at his best in describing the back-to-the-land literature that appeared between 1910 and 1918 in popular magazines such as *Collier's*, *The Independent*, and *Atlantic Monthly*. He shows that this propaganda was directed toward three audiences: city dwellers desiring to live in rustic settings just beyond the urban fringe, men intent on establishing commercial farms, and single women seeking the independence that a viable homestead would provide. Predictably, the articles underplayed the rigor, monotony, and loneliness of homestead life, and in some cases ignored these matters completely.

Layton is less effective in attributing the reversal of federal land policy in the 1930s to social and ecological problems that developed from ill-advised homesteading two decades earlier. Here, his argument is probably valid, but it needs more thorough analysis and in-depth documentation to be convincing. In particular, the connection between a report on flooding along Utah's Wasatch Front in 1930 and political maneuvering about public land issues a year later is shaky, and should be supported by more substantive evidence.

The book is a revision and extension of Layton's 1972 doctoral dissertation at the University of Utah. In the years since his original research was undertaken, several other scholars have investigated the early twentieth-century American homesteading movement, particularly within a regional or local context. Layton brings some of their findings to bear on his own analysis, but he ignores the recent contributions of Barbara Allen (*Homesteading the High Desert*) and Robert A. Goldberg (*Back to the Soil*), who shed still more light on the back-to-the-land movement in its Intermountain West setting. Incorporation of their views would have added more strength and breadth to his presentation.

The author and Brigham Young University's Charles Redd Center should be complimented for producing an informative, readable, and attractive

volume. Nevadans will be distressed to find that Layton has misplaced the state's early twentieth-century dry farming experiment station by about forty miles, but slips of this sort are rare. On the whole, it is a clear, accurate, and well-documented account of the roots of an important movement in Western history. The handful of scholars working in this field, and laymen who have wondered about the underlying causes of homesteading in the Intermountain West, will make this volume a welcome addition to their bookshelves. All of us are indebted to Layton for calling our attention to an important dimension of the settlement process.

Marshall E. Bowen  
*Mary Washington College*

## READER'S NOTEBOOK

### *A Report on Recent Books and Articles*

STORIES DEALING WITH THE LAKE TAHOE BASIN and its inhabitants over the past century and a half have appeared in David J. Stollery, Jr.'s *More Tales of Tahoe: Lake Tahoe History, Legend, and Description* (Encino, Calif.: David J. Stollery, Jr., 1988). This book is illustrated with often humorous line drawings; two other new publications on the Tahoe area contain splendid selections of photographs. The first of these, Carol Van Etten's *Tahoe City Yesterdays* (Tahoe City, Calif.: Sierra Maritime Publications, 1987), focuses on a single community, while the second, Jim Bell's *Tahoe's Gilded Age, 1890-1917: A Photographic Portfolio* (Auburn, Calif.: El Toyon, Ltd., 1988), offers views of the basin before it was inundated with automobile travelers. Some of the notable nautical craft that have plied Tahoe's waters are reviewed in Carol Van Etten's *Prewar Wood: Speedboats of Lake Tahoe, 1910-1941* (Tahoe City, Calif.: Sierra Maritime Publications, 1985).

Another vessel with Nevada associations, the U.S.S. *Nevada*, is the subject of David D. Henley's *Battleship Nevada: The Epic Story of the Ship that Wouldn't Sink* (Fallon, Nev.: Lahontan Valley Printing, 1988). The booklet is one volume in a Western American History Series that the author, a brigadier general in the Nevada National Guard, is writing. Another volume is *Brigadier General Sylvester Churchill: The Story of an American Army Hero, Together with the Saga of Nevada's Pioneer Fort Churchill and the Fighting Warship USS Churchill County* (1988). An 1872 conflict between Nevada's Indians and whites, as well as between tribal groups, that precipitated minor U.S. Army intervention is related in Doris D. Dwyer's "Captain Breckenridge and the Stillwater War," *In Focus* (annual journal of the Churchill County Museum Association) 2 (1988-1989). (Additional information on the Stillwater Paiutes, early in the twentieth century, is found in the same issue of this journal in "Excerpts from Tsoa-me-ny-ee [Flaming Bead]: The Story of Her Early Life and the Toi-Tucka-Tuh of the Stillwater Marshlands.) A present-day Nevada military figure, retired U.S. Air Force General Dale O. Smith, recalls events of his early career in *Cradle of Valor: The*

*Intimate Letters of a Plebe at West Point Between the Two World Wars* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1988).

Explorers of frontier Nevada, military and private, are discussed in Gloria Griffen Cline's *Exploring the Great Basin*, a 1963 work reprinted, with a new introduction by Michael J. Brodhead, by the University of Nevada Press in 1988. Army engineers who surveyed and mapped in the Great Basin (wagon roads, the Pacific railroad) and much of the rest of the nation are the subject of Frank N. Schubert, ed., *The Nation Builders: A Sesquicentennial History of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1838-1863* (Fort Belvoir, Va.: Office of History, United States Army Corps of Engineers, 1988). The experiences of some subsequent users of routes blazed by explorers and early road surveyers are described in several articles appearing in the 1988-1989 annual issue of *In Focus*: "Crossing Nevada by Auto in 1914: Excerpts from the Diary of Paula Davis"; Firmin Bruner's "Freight Stations Along the Lincoln Highway, Churchill County"; and a "Photo Essay of Early Nevada Motoring," depicting a party of travelers "who tried to drive from Reno . . . to Calgary, Alberta . . . about 1910."

Earlier travelers, those plodding by wagon along the emigrant routes to the Pacific coast, encountered worse problems than bad roads. In "Treading the Elephant's Tail: Medical Problems on the Overland Trails," *Overland Journal* 6 (1988), Peter D. Olch looks at the varied "medical and surgical problems" of the emigrants, which he finds "were essentially the same on both the northern and southern routes and did not change radically during the thirty-year period (1834-1864)." The same number of *Overland Journal* contains LeRoy and Jean Johnson's "Researching the Trails of the Death Valley Forty-Niners," which describes the authors' efforts to determine the exact routes taken by rescuers of the Manly party, which became stranded in Death Valley in 1849.

A number of old Nevada mining camps have recently received attention from writers. Unionville's past and present are surveyed in M.F. Whalen, "Signs of Life Still Seen in Unionville," *The Nevadan Today* (Sunday magazine of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*), August 28, 1988. The history of the state's most prominent marble mining center is related in William J. Metscher, "Carrara, Nevada," *Central Nevada's Glorious Past* (publication of the Central Nevada Historical Society) XI (November 1988), while two articles in the May 1988 number of the same journal recount the lively early days and current development of an important twentieth-century gold mining camp: "Round Mountain, Nevada, 1900's-1940's," by Eric N. Moody, and "The Mine of Opportunities," submitted by the Round Mountain Gold Corporation. The major mines of Virginia City and the Comstock, and the methods used to extract precious metals from their ores, are sketched in *Gold and Silver Mines on the Comstock Lode* (Mesa, Ariz.: Publications Press, 1988), a guidebook by John D. Wilburn, and one of the lode's most famous rescue efforts is

recalled by Mike Little and Douglas McDonald in "Hell Was Next Door; Heroics Gave a Happy Ending to Alta Mine Disaster of 1882," *Nevadan Today*, July 17, 1988. Two California camps which bordered Nevada and had connections with mining in the Silver State are treated in Dennis Casebier, "Will Hart Boom Again?," *Nevadan Today*, May 22, 1988, and Douglas McDonald, *Bodie: Boom Town, Gold Town! The Last of California's Old-Time Mining Camps* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1988).

The development of several agricultural communities is traced in Howard Hickson, "Jiggs and Mound Valley," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* No. 88-3 (Summer 1988) and Sheila Gardner, "A Tale of Two Towns," *Nevada Magazine*, June 1988, about Minden and Gardnerville. Another non-mining town, California's Susanville, which thrived on lumbering in the eastern Sierra, provides the setting for a reminiscence by George N. McDow, *Booms & Mushrooms: The Saga of Susanville and the McDow Boys from 1910 to 1930* (Susanville: Lahontan Images, 1988). Susanville is also featured in a new book about the natural history and modern utilization of a body of water located just north of that community: *Purdy's Eagle Lake* (Lahontan Images, 1988), by the leading historian of the Susanville-Honey Lake area, Tim I. Purdy.

Recent history of southern Nevada is dealt with in Eugene P. Moehring's "Suburban Resorts and the Triumph of Las Vegas," *Halcyon* (journal of the Nevada Humanities Committee) 10 (1988), which views that city's development in the context of urban growth in the southwestern United States; Donn Knepp's *Las Vegas, The Entertainment Capital* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Lane Publishing Co., 1987), a *Sunset Magazine* pictorial work that deals principally with the evolution of the city's hotel-casino entertainment scene; and Dennis McBride's two articles, "Dragged Into Democracy," *Nevadan Today*, September 11, 1988, and "Birthing Boulder City," *Nevadan Today*, September 18, 1988, a study of the events of the 1940s and 1950s that led to self-government for Boulder City. (An earlier article by McBride, critical of Sims Ely, Boulder City manager in the 1930s, which appeared in *The Nevadan Today* on April 10 and 17, elicited an extended response from Ely's son, Northcutt Ely, in the May 15 issue of that magazine.)

The massive dam that brought Boulder City into existence has figured as a major element in the centuries-old conflict over the control and development of water resources in the West. The past decade's major published works on the history of water in the West, and of the battles that have swirled about that resource, are surveyed in Donald J. Pisani's "Deep and Troubled Waters: A New Field of Western History?," *New Mexico Historical Review* 63 (October 1988), while Robert Gottlieb, in *A Life of Its Own: The Politics and Power of Water* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), looks at the contemporary western "water industry" and the ongoing struggle between those interests that control water and view it as an economic re-



source and opposing groups who, seeing it as a "living resource," worry about its quality and the quality of western life, which it governs. A prominent western writer who was involved with water controversies of the early twentieth century—she opposed the construction of Hoover (Boulder) Dam—is the subject of Benay Blend's "Mary Austin and the Western Conservation Movement: 1900-1927," *Journal of the Southwest* 30 (Spring 1988). (The University of Nevada Press recently issued two Austin books, *Western Trails: A Collection of Short Stories by Mary Austin* (1987), edited by Melody Graulich, and *Cactus Thorn* (1988), a previously unpublished novella.)

Events of Nevada radio and television broadcasting's earlier years are subjects of Connie Benedict's "Public Station Celebrates Silver Anniversary," *UNR Times* (University of Nevada-Reno alumni magazine), Fall 1988, a look at KUNR Radio's growth, and K.J. Evans's "Robert Stoldal Grew Up Inside Local TV News," *Nevadan Today*, October 30, 1988, about the television news director who has been associated with Las Vegas stations since the 1960s.

Aspects of Nevada's involvement with motion picture and television program production, and with Hollywood's movie stars, are examined in Marc Charisse, "Tapecutter," *Nevadan Today*, August 28, 1988, about Bob Hirsch and his work as director of the Nevada Division of Motion Pictures and Television; Carol Hendershot, "Elko Remembers Bing," *Nevada Magazine*, August 1988, in which Bing Crosby's Elko ranching years are recalled; Reva Lundberg, with Howard Hickson, "Emilio Dotta and David Dotta," *North-eastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* No. 88-2 (1988), which also contains information on Crosby's Elko activities; David Stenn, *Clara Bow, Runnin' Wild* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), a record-straightening biography of Hollywood's "It Girl" who retired to southern Nevada as the wife of Rex Bell, the cowboy film star who became the state's lieutenant governor; and Phillip I. Earl, "Hollywood Comes to the Black Rock: The Story of the Making of *The Winning of Barbara Worth*," *The Humboldt Historian* (North Central Nevada Historical Society Quarterly) XI (Winter-Spring 1988). Accompanying the above article on Samuel Goldwyn's ambitious 1926 production is "Recollections of an 'Extra'," by Margaret Butts, a Winnemucca resident who participated in the filming on the Black Rock Desert.

If the desert landscape of *The Winning of Barbara Worth* made a strong impression on its viewers, even though it was intended to represent California's Imperial Valley, the event was only one instance of Nevada having such an effect on those who saw it or lived in it. Literary perceptions of the state and its neighboring high desert regions are explored in Elizabeth Raymond's "Geographic Purgatory: Sense of Place in the Great Basin," *Halcyon* 10 (1988), while the work of Robert G. Schofield, a painter who depicted Pioche and other eastern Nevada locations at the turn of the century, is displayed in Phillip I. Earl's "The Lost Paintings of Pioche," *Nevada Magazine*, October

1988. Observations on rural Nevada's people and their creations, as well as their natural environment, are contained in Andrea Graham and Blanton Owen's booklet *Lander County Line: Folklife in Central Nevada* (Reno: Folk Arts Program, Nevada State Council on the Arts, 1988).

Western law enforcement and the effect of the "reward system" on its development are studied in Stuart H. Traub, "Rewards, Bounty Hunting, and Criminal Justice In the West: 1865-1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* XIX (August 1988). A modern Nevada lawman, former Clark County Sheriff Ralph Lamb, talks about his controversial career in K.J. Evans, "Lamb's Law," *Nevadan Today*, June 19, 1988, while George Sumner, who "cleaned up Nevada's prisons" as a warden and then director of the state prison system, is profiled in A.D. Hopkins, "He's Spent a Career Taming Tough Prisons," *Nevadan Today*, July 3, 1988.

Politics, and political figures—beyond those involved in law enforcement have recently been written about by Michael S. Green, who describes the 1948 election in Nevada in "The Shoo-In that Wasn't," *Nevadan Today*, July 31, 1988; K.J. Evans, who looks at District Judge William Beko in "A Giant Jurist in Central Nevada," *Nevadan Today*, July 31, 1988; A.D. Hopkins in "If You Knew Susie," *Nevadan Today*, May 29, 1988, an article about Secretary of State Frankie Sue Del Papa; Elizabeth Raymond in *George Wingfield: King of Nevada* (Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1988), a booklet which accompanied a recent Society exhibit on the state's "most powerful economic and political figure" during the first third of this century; and Kathryn Anderson in "Anne Martin and the Dream of Political Equality for Women," *Journal of the West* 27 (April 1988).

Women's contributions, political and otherwise, to the development of the West, and thus Nevada, have been examined in Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L. Ruiz and Janice Monk, eds., *Western Women; Their Land, Their Lives* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988); Glenda Riley, "American Daughters: Black Women in the West," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* 38 (Spring 1988); Pamela Herr's major biography, *Jessie Benton Fremont* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1987); and Don Lynch, "The Amazing Grace," *Nevada Magazine*, October 1988, which looks at the life of the Carson Valley rancher and historian who did much, through her writing and the establishment of the Grace Dangberg Foundation, to encourage the study of Nevada's past.

Various businesses and industries of the state are dealt with in a number of new writings. One of the gaming industry's major figures is portrayed by A.D. Hopkins in "Barron Hilton at the Helm," *Nevadan Today*, July 24, 1988; and the career of E. Parry Thomas, whose banks furnished vital capital for the development of Law Vegas casinos, is observed in Christie Wagner's "Pioneer in a Business Suit," *Nevadan Today*, July 17, 1988. A leading executive of the Nevada-based airlines, Bonanza and Sunworld, is the subject of

K.J. Evans's article "Larry Decker," *Nevadan Today*, October 16, 1988. Some results of the construction industry's work in the state are described in Kenneth C. Knight and T.H. Turner, *An Inventory of Nevada's Historic Bridges* (Carson City: Nevada Department of Transportation, 1988); and inventions by Nevadans, preserved in nineteenth-century patent models for such items as a drill sharpener, a mechanism to prevent boiler explosions, and even an improved "egg-carrier," are described by Bret Farnum in "Models of Invention," *Nevada Magazine*, October 1988. David Dary's *Entrepreneurs of the Old West*, originally published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1986, has appeared in a paperback edition. The book remains an entertaining survey, although its focus on commercial activity leads it to neglect those ambitious individuals who established mines, mills, foundries, soap factories, gas works, and a multitude of other industrial enterprises. Beer brewing, just one of the widespread manufacturing endeavors not discussed by Dary, has its Nevada history briefly told by Robert Joe Stout in "Thirstiest State in the Union," *Nevadan Today*, August 7, 1988; and what was probably the state's first brewery—certainly its longest lived—is examined by Robert A. Nylen and Eric N. Moody in "Carson Brewery: Flowing Barrels of Beer," *Carson City Almanac*, 1988-89 (Gardnerville, Nev.: Record-Courier, 1988).

Studies of the nineteenth-century brewing industry in Nevada and elsewhere in the United States reveal the large role played in it by German immigrants. Other ethnic groups of Nevada are viewed in Maryellen Sado-vich and Diana Gail Brown's "The Chinese Sojourn in Lincoln County," *Nevadan Today*, October 9, 1988, and Muhsin D. Yusuf's "The Arab-American Community in Southern Nevada," *Halcyon* 10 (1988), while "Royal Hunt in Central Nevada," *Central Nevada's Glorious Past* 11 (November 1988), recalls the appearance of another foreign visitor, Nepal's King Meheन्द्रa, who came to hunt mountain lions in 1960. The Chinese inhabitants of California's Nevada County, which adjoins Nevada, have been described by David Beesley in "From Chinese to Chinese Americans: Chinese Women and Families in a Sierra Nevada Town," *California History* LXVII (September 1988).

The University of Nevada Press has reprints of several Nevada and Sierra Nevada books that could justifiably be called classics: Russell R. Elliott's *Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely*, a 1966 work that now carries a new introduction by Jerome E. Edwards; George and Bliss Hinkle's *Sierra Nevada Lakes*, originally published in 1949, it has a new foreword by Gary F. Kurutz; and Oscar Lewis's *High Sierra Country*, which first appeared in 1955.

Nevada's museums have reached an age where they are attracting their own historians. In *The Parker Lyon-Harrah's Pony Express Museum* (San Francisco: Chrysopolis Press, 1987), Greg Martin describes in words and pictures the magnificent collection of western artifacts gathered by Parker Lyon

and subsequently purchased by William Harrah, who displayed part of it in his Pony Express Museum. The entire collection was eventually dispersed when Harrah's and Holiday Inns, which bought Harrah's, sold it in a series of auctions between 1975 and 1986. In "A Short History of the Northeastern Nevada Historical Society and Museum," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* No. 88-2 (1988), Howard Hickson traces the impressive development of the institution he has directed since 1969; and in "20 Years and Still No Cobwebs!," *In Focus* 2 (1988-1989), Sharon Lee Taylor, director of the Churchill County Museum, describes that museum's creation and its growth to become a prominent and popular feature of Fallon and Churchill County's life.

Eric Moody

## NEW RESOURCE MATERIALS

### *Nevada Historical Society*

During the past several months, the Society has added a number of mining records and mining-related materials to its collections. Among these are a ledger from the Comstock Pumping Association (donated by Jack and Patricia Sheen of Reno), which details its operations during the period 1909-1911; a printed *Report on the Project of the United Comstock Pumping Association for Unwatering the North Comstock Mines* (1913); a timekeeper's record book for the Comstock's North End Mines, 1918-1931; a copy of W. Rose's *Chart of the Comstock Mines and Sutro Tunnel*, 1878 (from Louie Gardella of Reno); photographs of the Rockland Mine in Lyon County (from Peter H. Hahn of Reno); a collection of papers of C.D. Wilkinson, a Tonopah mining engineer, relating chiefly to the development and working of properties in the Gilbert Mining District during the early 1930s; and a photographic copy of a code book used by the Virginia City stock brokerage firm of Archibald J. McDonell and David M. Ryan in the 1880s and 1890s.

The society has also acquired several dozen "home movies" which depict Nevada and eastern Sierra Nevada scenes and activities from the 1920s to the 1960s. The earliest, donated by John Macauley of Reno, records events of a winter carnival at Truckee. More than a dozen films are of rodeo events at the Reno fairgrounds, the Baker Ranch in the Truckee Meadows, Battle Mountain, Yerington, Winnemucca, and other locations. A substantial collection of black and white films taken by Dr. Claudius W. West of Reno contains views of Tasker Oddie at Pyramid Lake, skiing in the Sierra, and the Baer-Uzcudun prizefight that was held in Reno in 1931.

Eric Moody  
*Manuscript Curator*

### *Nevada State Museum and Historical Society*

Dorothy Wright, consultant for the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, recently completed a survey of the historic Las Vegas High School neighborhood. The area is one of the oldest intact neighborhoods in Las Vegas, and still has much of its original charm and atmosphere. Anchored visually by the Art Deco Las Vegas High School, the streets boast an eclectic

mix of Spanish, Tudor and other styles popular in the 1930s and 1940s. Although many of the buildings have been converted to professional offices, the new owners have, by and large, tended to preserve the architectural integrity of the structures.

The survey, funded in part by the Division of Historic Preservation & Archeology, covered a ten-block area roughly from 6th to 9th and Cass to Clark. Approximately 140 properties containing 188 separate structures were described, photographed, researched and recorded.

Completed in two volumes, the document was presented to the City of Las Vegas in October for use by its Planning Department, Redevelopment Agency and Historic Preservation Officer. The survey is available to the public at the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society in Lorenzi Park.

As a follow-up, the Museum will produce an exhibit scheduled for May and June of 1989, examining the historic neighborhood and its importance to the community. Both the buildings and the people who lived in them will be detailed in the exhibit, which will be accompanied by a catalogue and slide presentation.

David Millman  
*Curator*

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

#### MANUSCRIPTS

The Special Collections Department recently acquired 200 pieces of Vail M. Pittman correspondence. These letters, dating from 1896 to 1912, are the oldest materials in the Pittman collection and help document Pittman's early Nevada years. Most of the correspondence is from Pittman's friends and relations, with some letters from Pittman to friends and associates. We would especially like to thank Eric Moody, manuscript curator at the Nevada Historical Society, for his assistance in identifying a number of the correspondents in these letters.

The Department has also acquired the manuscript of Teri W. Conrad's work, "Women in the West: A Bibliography, 1984-1987." This bibliography supplements two similar, previously published works and was sponsored by the Coalition for Western Women's History. Conrad located 798 citations for works published between 1984 and 1987 using computer data base searches, book dealers' catalogs, and historical and social science journals. Teri, who is



a former employee of Special Collections, reports that the publication is available from the Coalition.

Susan Searcy  
*Manuscript Curator*

#### PHOTOGRAPHS

Two collections of negatives have been added to the Special Collections Department's photograph holdings. One set of fifteen negatives documents the 1923 construction of an addition to the Nevada State Prison in Carson City. The second collection comprises twenty-five glass plate negatives produced in the first decade of the twentieth century by Virginia City photographer Thomas Woodliff. The images include exterior and interior views of mines and mills, Virginia City street scenes, and studio portraits of Native American women and children. Contact prints made from both collections have been photocopied and are available for reference use in the department.

Kathryn Totton  
*Library Assistant IV*

# NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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FOUNDED IN 1904, the Nevada Historical Society seeks to advance the study of the heritage of Nevada. The Society publishes scholarly studies, indexes, guidebooks, bibliographies, and the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*; it collects manuscripts, rare books, artifacts, 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.

# BECOME A MEMBER OF THE NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OR GIVE A GIFT MEMBERSHIP

Memberships help the NHS by providing funds to publish the **QUARTERLY** and to create new exhibitions for the changing galleries.

## MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS

- *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*
- **Nevada State Museum Newsletter** — the publication of a sister museum in the Department of Museums and History, the newsletter keeps all members informed of upcoming events.
- **Discount** of 15% in the Nevada Historical Society Gift Shop and in the gift shops of the other museums of the Department of Museums and History.
- **Tours** — Society sponsored tours take members to historic sites within reach of Reno. 15% discount on tour fares.
- Special notice of all Society events and activities.

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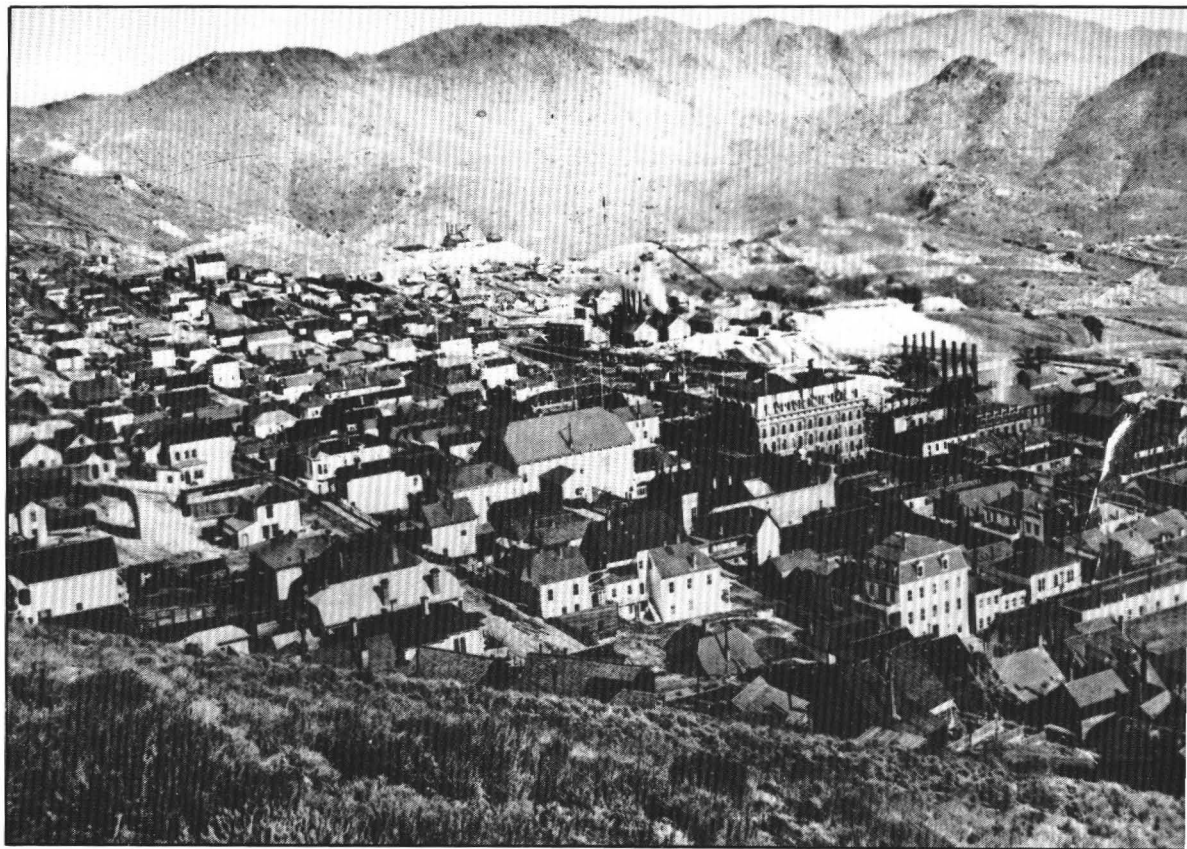
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has no other reason for its existence than the mines; in fact, it is more a camp than a city and though one can say that it "rolls on gold," most of the inhabitants are poor.

Louis de Cotton  
*A Travers le Dominion et la Californie*