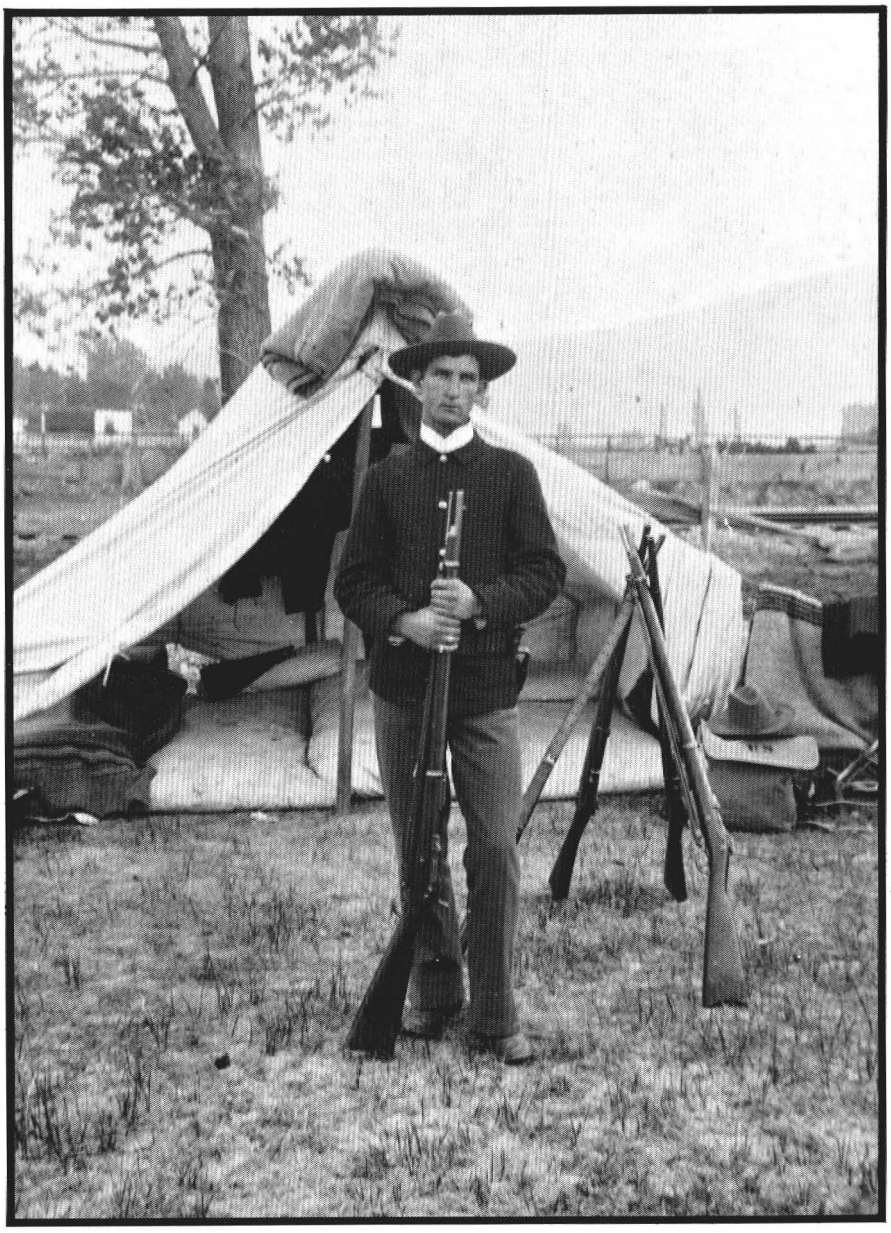
Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly



FALL 1990

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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

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

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FRONT COVER: Private Frank R. Bigelow, Company D, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, Camp Clark, August 1898.

SUMMER SOLDIERS:
The First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry in the Spanish-American War

Phillip I. Earl

ALTHOUGH THE LITERATURE OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR and the Philippine Insurrection is voluminous and continues to grow in the wake of America's most recent adventures in Southeast Asia,[1] accounts of the comic-opera saga of the recruiting, organizing, and training of the volunteers called to the colors that long-ago summer remain scattered and await a comprehensive, comparative study.[2]

Among those who responded to the call were 603 Nevadans recruited for service in two companies of cavalry and an infantry battalion. With the exception of a brief history of Troop M, Second United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, penned by one of the officers,[3] and a semifictional account of a battle in the Philippines written by a member of Troop A, First Nevada Volunteer Cavalry,[4] the Nevada volunteers have yet to find a place in the historiography of the conflict. Records of all three units are to be found in the collections of the National Archives and Records Service in Washington, D.C.,[5] but there is not a single entry for the state in the bibliographic publications of the United States Army Military Research Collection at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.[6]

Like their colleagues all across the country, Nevada editors followed the course of the Cuban Revolution from its inception in February 1895, and enthusiastically subscribed to the portrait of Spanish degeneracy and cruelty propagated by William Randolph Hearst's *New York Evening Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *Evening World.* Most were also backers of the Free Silver Movement and became increasingly hostile to President William McKinley's policy of refusing to recognize Cuban belligerency or to intervene, a tack they ascribed to the influence of Americans who held Spanish bonds backed by Cuban real estate.[7]

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Nevada's political leaders, all Silverites, were also beginning to line up against McKinley's timorous policies. In February 1896, Lieutenant Governor Reinhold Sadler expressed himself as being in favor of United States recognition of the justice of the cause of the Cuban people. Just a year later, as acting governor, he signed a legislative resolution to that effect.[8]

With the sinking of the *USS Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898, the country was set upon a course of action that would lead to war two months later. At that time, Nevada's National Guard consisted of five companies of infantry and an artillery battery. Nevada's adjutant general, Charles Galusha, could have equipped another 300 men from stores in the State Armory at Carson City and was authorized to requisition arms and equipment from California's Benecia Arsenal to put an additional regiment of 800 to 1,000 men at the ready. Like other state officials, Galusha was prone to boast of the prowess of his men and the haste with which they could respond to a call to arms, but they were poorly equipped and lacking in the type of training that would have prepared them for modern combat. Their rifles were 1873 Springfields, single-shot breachloaders, and their training regimen consisted of weekly close-order drill at local armories and regimental maneuvers or sham battles during annual encampments at Carson City. Nevada had no course of instruction for officers, nor did the state require examinations for appointments or promotions. The state did not have adequate uniform reserves or supplies of tenting and other camping gear, and much of the personal equipment in the armory was in poor condition because of age, improper storage, and the lack of an inspection and replacement program.[9]

Three days after news of the sinking of the *Maine* reached Nevada, officers of Reno's Company C contacted Adjutant Galusha about reorganizing the unit. A meeting was held on February 21, and twenty new recruits were sworn in within ten days. Regular drills and a training schedule were instituted, and the company's signal unit was reactivated. On April 4, a reporter from the *Nevada State Journal* noted that the signalmen were flashing messages nine miles across Washoe Valley with their heliographs.[10]

An effort was also getting under way to organize a guard unit from Eureka and Ruby Hill. Twenty men signed on, but dissension among several cliques in the two communities over the naming of officers could not be resolved. In Elko, talk of organizing a new company began shortly after news of the events in Cuba appeared in the local press. A number of men indicated an interest in enlisting, and the first organizational meeting was held on March 19 at the law offices of Henderson and Brown. Charles B. Henderson was appointed secretary for the gathering that night, and Gerry B. Sanders was elected captain of the new unit. Walter Henderson was named first lieutenant; W. H. O'Neill and Howard Riddle, second lieutenants; and Louis Wintermantle became the company's First Sergeant. Forty-five men signed

the roll, and they scheduled another meeting to adopt a constitution and bylaws and arrange for the rental of a hall for meetings and drills.[11]

Governor Sadler had meanwhile received an offer from Henry E. Witherspoon, a former commander of Battle Mountain's Company G, then living in California, to raise a regiment, and W. H. A. Pike of Wadsworth claimed to have a hundred men ready for service. Editors around the country were by then assuming a rabid, warlike stance, and Sadler was queried by the editor of the *New York World* as to his opinion of the course that McKinley should take. On February 26, he wired back that the United States should demand an indemnity from the Spanish government for the loss of the ship and an official apology. Should neither be forthcoming, Congress should declare war.[12]

The findings of the Naval Court of Inquiry that the *Maine* had been destroyed by a submarine mine were not submitted to McKinley until March 21, and meanwhile some Nevada editors had serious doubts that the true story would ever come out or that the administration in Washington would have the backbone to demand retribution. A Silver Peak correspondent for the *Walker Lake Bulletin* predicted that the panel would find that the ship was "destroyed by the periphery of the piston rod coming in contact with the Hypothenuse and blowing out the ash pan or some other similar accident." As to the president, he would "probably take a trip to Ohio to get his second wind and Spain offer us another coffin the size of the Maine and three dollars to 'close the incident.' "[13]

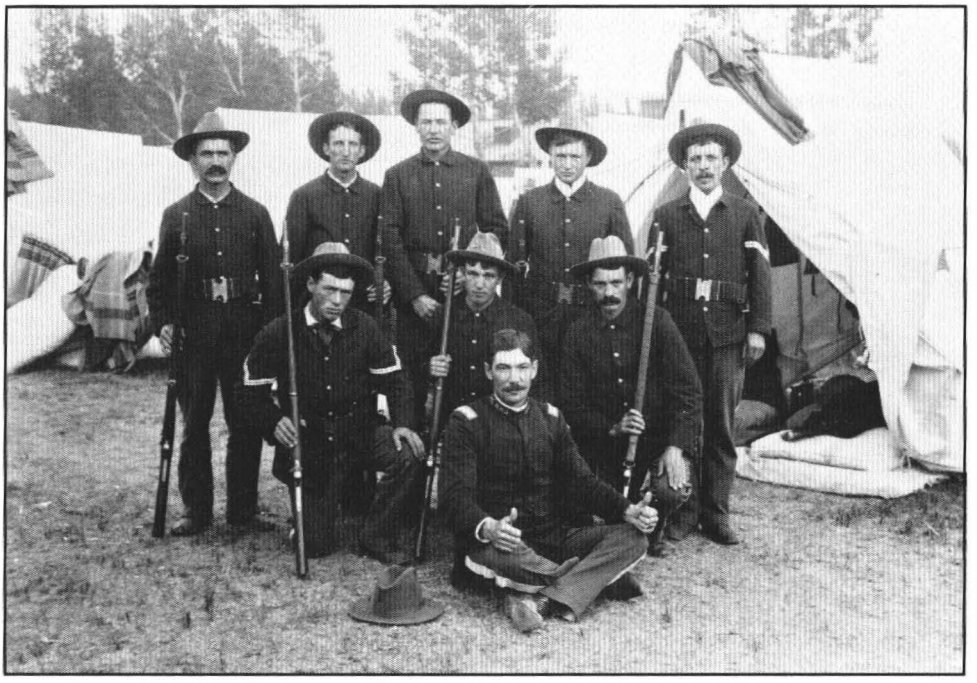
McKinley read the court's report and forwarded it to Congress on March 28 with a recommendation for arbitration of the differences between Spain and the United States and a request for compensation for loss of the ship. News of the investigation's conclusions and the president's probable response had leaked to the press by that time, and several Nevada editors had already taken a stand. On March 26, F. W. Fairbanks of the *Lyon County Times* predicted that the demands of the American people for revenge would soon make McKinley throw over his "bondholding friends" who were holding him back. "War is hell," he concluded, "but it is worse than hell to be considered a lot of cowards by every nation on earth, and especially by a little lice of a country like Spain." Following the release of the court's report, Fairbanks asserted that "it is well enough to demand a money settlement for destruction of property, but we cannot understand what kind of men those must be who can consider a money payment satisfactory for the loss of American lives. The manner in which this whole Cuban matter has been conducted has made true Americans very much disgusted." E. C. Snyder of Elko's *Daily Argonaut* was similarly enraged. Writing of a possible war with Spain, he contended that "there are times in the lives of nations, as in the lives of individuals, when it is unmanly to seek to measure the probable cost of a righteous act. This is one of the times. The sailors

on our ships are asking whether any manhood is left in our government or not." Returning to the theme on March 31, he added that had the *Maine* been a British warship, "before now Havana would be a smoking ruin and the arm of Spain would have been broken forever. To talk of settling such a thing by arbitration, or talk of making compensation for it, is something which makes every American feel as though he had received a blow in the face."[14]

The impending conflict had quickly become a favorite topic for feature writers, lecturers, and theatrical troupes. Several Nevada editors carried features on submarine torpedos, the costs of war, and naval tactics and strategy, while readers of Virginia City's *Territorial Enterprise* were treated to the trials and tribulations of "An Army Wife," a long-running serial that had begun in late February. The war dramas *A Woven Webb* and *A Naval Cadet* played to packed houses in Reno, Carson City, and Virginia City, and lantern slides depicting the destruction of the *Maine* were shown to a Reno audience that had gathered on March 18 for a lecture on the Alaskan gold rush. Eureka's Klondike Dramatic Club put on a play entitled *Cuba* on March 19 at the home of Mrs. Henry Zadow on Nob Hill. With a cast of the community's young people, the production centered upon a young American girl who had been arrested in Cuba and charged with spying by Spanish authorities. Sentenced to be shot, she was then pardoned and returned to the United States; later war broke out, and Cuba was liberated.[15]

With a declaration of war a distinct possibility, Governor Sadler met with Adjutant General Galusha and Colonel Frederick C. Lord of the First Regiment, Nevada National Guard, on April 3 to assess the status of the Nevada units. Lord reported that six partially equipped infantry companies were ready to take the field, and he recommended that initiation fees be waived so as to enable company officers to begin filling their ranks up to a full complement of seventy-five men each. The governor agreed, ordering Galusha to so inform his commanders.[16]

Reno's Company C was at full strength at the time of the meeting, but other units were still lacking men. Both of Virginia City's units, Company A, the Nationals, and Company B, the Emmet Guard, began taking in new recruits shortly after Galusha's wire arrived, and there was talk of increasing company quotas to one hundred men and starting a third company. Although a few recruits from Dayton, Washoe Valley, and Reno found places in the Comstock units, most of those accepted had been members of Battery A, the artillery unit that was being disbanded. The Paiute Indians of Virginia City sensed war in the offing, and Captain Sam Jack offered a contingent of his best men, but was turned down. On April 14, Paiutes held a fandango in the lower part of town that many old-time Comstockers claimed resembled the type of ceremonies the Indians held in the old days when preparing for war with tribal enemies.[17]



Men from Company B, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, Camp Clark, August 1898.

In early March, Captain Henry Schmidt of Winnemucca's Company D had reported that the community could furnish five hundred men in case of a war with Spain, but his unit was some thirty men shy of full strength when Galusha wired him of the new quota. On April 9, Schmidt put out a call for new recruits, and within a week the unit was busily engaged in skirmish drills on the outskirts of town.[18]

Elko's nascent guard unit had meanwhile taken the name Elko Light Infantry. On April 8, an order came from Adjutant Galusha that the unit was henceforth to be known as Company E, First Regiment, Nevada National Guard. Thirty-one men assembled at Harris Hall on the evening of April 11 to take the oath administered by Major William M. Cox of Colonel Lord's staff. Judge George F. Talbot and W. W. Booher, editor of the *Elko Daily Independent,* made short patriotic speeches following the swearing-in, and Major Cox concluded the ceremony with a stirring address on United States relations with Spain and the necessity of war "to wipe out the stain put on the nation by the sinking of the *Maine.*" Each speaker was interrupted several times, and they were given standing ovations afterward. Another thirteen men were enrolled on April 12, and weapons arrived from Carson City the next day. On April 15, the officers sponsored a dance to

raise funds to purchase uniforms and rent an armory building, and Captain Sanders had the men out for their first drill at Harris Hall on April 19. All in all, they were a ragtag lot, many of them clad in uniforms salvaged from closets and trunks undisturbed since the days when their fathers marched home from the Civil War. Those men who had not been issued weapons either brought their own that evening or went through their paces carrying large sticks or pieces of board cut to resemble rifles. Among those who turned out to watch were a number of young ladies, and a dance was held afterward.[19]

Harry Warr of Dayton, a former army scout who had served in Arizona during the Apache campaigns, was meanwhile trying to organize his own volunteer cavalry unit by sending telegrams around the state asking for recruits in the name of Governor Sadler, who he claimed had authorized him to raise a troop of 125 men. On April 18, he was in Carson City declaring that he had seventy-five men from Mason and Smith valleys mounted up and ready to go. On April 26, several northern Nevada newspapers carried notices that he was seeking volunteers, and three Reno boys, all members of the Cadet Corps at the University of Nevada, were reported to have signed on in hopes of getting commissions. Several men from Winnemucca also contacted him, and Sadler was soon receiving so many inquiries that he felt compelled to announce that Warr was not acting on behalf of either himself or any other state officials.[20]

Nationally, pressures were building to force McKinley's hand. On April 11, he delivered a message to Congress in which he requested authorization to use such military and naval forces as might be necessary to bring about an accommodation between Spain and the Cuban insurgents. Many congressmen considered the message weak and criticized him for not demanding immediate military intervention in Cuba. Booher's *Elko Daily Independent* flayed him for holding back, declaring on April 12 that the American people should demand military action and insist that the sinking of the *Maine* be recompensed in Spanish blood. "Time-serving, money loving, liberty hating statesmen should be forced to the rear," wrote Booher, "and none but patriots put on guard." McKinley was also losing his strongest supporter in Nevada press circles, Allen Bragg of the *Reno Evening Gazette;* Bragg expressed the opinion that Spanish diplomats appeared to have gotten the best of the president and suggested that it might perhaps be better to use "cannonballs for arguments" in the future, "unless he wants to make the nation the laughing stock of every fifth-rate nation on the globe."[21]

On April 20, Congress passed a joint resolution declaring the right of the Cuban people to be free of Spanish control and empowering McKinley to use military force. He signed the document that same day and gave the Spanish ambassador an ultimatum to the effect that he would take whatever

steps might be necessary to carry out the resolution. Spain recalled her envoy the next day, and McKinley ordered Admiral William T. Sampson's squadron at Key West to blockade the ports of Havana, Matanzas, Mariel, and Cárdenas on April 22. The day after that, he issued a call for 125,000 volunteers, and the Spanish parliament passed a declaration of war. Congress followed up on April 25, declaring that a state of war had existed since April 21.[22]

McKinley's call for volunteers had stirred a spate of rumor and speculation in Nevada military circles. On April 23, the editor of the *Territorial Enterprise* reported that the state's quota would be only fifty-five men, who would be ordered to duty with a unit being organized in another state. Governor Sadler, at the request of Colonel Lord, had already contacted Senator William M. Stewart about a quota of 500 men to be organized as a separate infantry battalion, the editor reported, adding that the governor had refused a request from the War Department for 120 men. On April 25, the *Enterprise* gave vent to another rumor that the quota would be 138 men, only a company at best. Lord and other state officials were still unhappy because so small a unit would be lost in a larger force and would thus bring no honor to the state should it get in on the fighting. George Nixon of the *Silver State* protested that such a system gave state guard units no encouragement to maintain their readiness in peacetime and declared that Nevada boys who enlisted would have to stifle whatever pride they had in their state. The men themselves were equally dismayed at the prospect of having their units disbanded, and Winnemucca's Company D got up a petition protesting the policy and placed it at Diehl's Bookstore to be signed by their fellow citizens.[23]

On April 25, Sadler received a telegram from the secretary of war requesting organization of a troop of eighty-five men for service as a mounted rifle company. He passed the word on to Galusha, and guard commanders around the state were ordered to assemble their men and call for volunteers. The next day, Sadler wired Washington that the required number of men would be furnished within ten days. He also asked the secretary to consider authorizing an additional four to six companies of sixty to seventy men each. When the companies met, however, the commanders found their men unenthusiastic at the prospect of cavalry service and having their ranks picked apart for a few volunteers. Captain Schmidt of Company D wired back to Sadler on the morning of April 26 requesting that his entire unit be mustered in if an infantry battalion were authorized. When he presented the order from the secretary of war at a company meeting that night, however, only six men stepped forward. Two additional volunteers, who were not members of the company, joined the next day, but the guardsmen stood their ground. Captain Gerry Sanders of Elko's Company E had a similar experience, only seven men out of forty-five present at the

meeting signifying a willingness to volunteer. In Reno, Captain Walter O. Wright and Lieutenant A. E. Caughlin of Company C signed the volunteer roll, but their companies, to a man, held back. When Wright informed Adjutant Galusha of the situation the next day, he asked that his whole unit be taken into the new mounted troop. Carson City's Company F had twelve men sign on, including Harry Warr, who happened to be in town on April 26 recruiting for his own unit. Major William C. Morrison of Virginia City's Emmet Guard advised his men to await a call for an infantry unit, as did the officers of Company A. The members of the latter unit had initially voted to enlist together as either infantry or cavalry, but sixteen of them had second thoughts later in the evening and told their officers that they wanted to sign the volunteer roll. The next day, several of them confirmed that decision by appearing in uniform on the streets wearing yellow paper badges lettered "First Nevada Mounted Rifles."[24]

Although Sadler had stipulated that members of the National Guard be given preference in enlistment, he was soon besieged with offers from other Nevadans. Edmund E. Caine, principal of Wadsworth's public schools, was among the first to volunteer his services, and several members of the university's Cadet Corps applied for commissions. Three Winnemucca nurses offered to go along should Company D be called to the front, and only the reluctance of military authorities to accept females for hospital service prevented several women from Elko from applying. It was reported on April 25 that seventy-five Germans and Danes from Carson Valley who had served in the armies of their native lands were ready to volunteer, but only twenty-five sent their names to Carson City.[25]

Life insurance agents were meanwhile doing a brisk business among those men planning on going off to war, and both Winnemucca and Wadsworth were troubled by an army of tramps going door-to-door working on the sympathies of the citizenry by claiming that they were hoboing east to enlist. Hotels and resorts of Lake Tahoe were fast becoming meccas for San Franciscans who feared the appearance of Spanish warships off their coast, and poets were making the most of the crisis.[26] On April 23, the *White Pine News* carried the following ode:

To Arms

The red cloud of war hovers over our Nation;
Our flag is insulted, our country defamed;
Arise now, ye sons of Columbia, gird on
your armor.
Avenge those brave men that went down
in the *Maine*.
Slowly they sank in the dark, rolling
waters,

Their voices on earth we will ne'er
hear again,
But the sons of Columbia have
assembled for the battle
To avenge those brave men that went down
in the *Maine.*
And now fathers and sons and brothers
beloved,
Show the Goddess of Liberty calls
not in vain.
But strike ye for justice and strike ye
for honor,
And avenge those brave men that went down
in the *Maine.*
Yes, show to those despots, those fiends,
those demons,
How the sons of Columbia their honor
maintain;
Drive out from fair Cuba every
treacherous Spaniard
And avenge the brave men that went down
in the *Maine.*

On April 21, an effigy of Alfonso XIII, the young Spanish king, was suspended from a telegraph wire above Winnemucca's Bridge Street, and university and high school students in Reno were sewing together a hay-stuffed effigy of Praxedes Sagesta, the prime minister, that afternoon. A few hours later, they draped it with two signs, one reading "Sagesta" and the other "Spain" and took it downtown; there they dragged it up and down Virginia Street for an hour or so singing "We'll Hang Old Sagesta to a Sour Apple Tree" at the top of their lungs. Finally tiring of these antics, the students paused at the railroad crossing, where someone threw a rope up over the crossarm of a telegraph pole. Securing the end of the rope about the dummy's neck, they hoisted it up as a large crowd applauded and shouted approval. The next evening, the students retrieved the effigy, gave it a coat of tar and dragged it back to the campus, where it was set afire. As the tar caught, they began a lively, whooping war dance around the blazing remains.[27]

The students considered themselves to be patriots, but at least one editor, A. J. McCarthy of the *Walker Lake Bulletin,* viewed them as little better than hooligans. In an April 27 editorial, he called the demonstration a "disgraceful exhibition" and wrote that those Americans who deplored a recent attack on United States Minister Stewart L. Woodford in Madrid by

a Spanish mob "must blush for shame at the contemptible spectacle given by the students of our principal educational establishment."[28]

In Carson City, a conflict was shaping up over the new canopy on the city's bandstand. As it happened, it was red and yellow in color, the hues of the Spanish flag. Editor Sam Davis of the *Morning Appeal* demanded that it be removed or destroyed, but all he succeeded in doing was calling forth a bit of good-natured ribbing. The editor of the *Carson City News* called his demand "idiot patriotism" and pointed out that red and yellow were also the colors of the Knights of Pythias and were found in the rainbow as well. Davis stood by his principles, however, retorting that what was appropriate within the confines of the Knights' hall was not necessarily so in a public square during a war with Spain.[29]

The first units authorized by Congress after the declaration of war were three volunteer cavalry regiments. The first, the Rough Riders, was to be commanded by Colonel Leonard E. Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt; the second by Colonel Jay Linn Torrey, a prominent Wyoming cattleman; and the third by Melvin Grigsby, South Dakota's attorney general. On May 3, Governor Sadler was informed by the secretary of war that the Nevadans were to be assigned to Colonel Torrey's regiment, the Second United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, then forming at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming. Colonel Lord turned down the command, so the governor ordered Adjutant Galusha and Captain William Cox to notify unit commanders to assemble their men.[30]

The men of Reno's Company C, under the command of Captain Wright, arrived in Carson City on the Virginia and Truckee Railroad on the morning of May 4. A temporary encampment—dubbed Camp Sadler—had been set up at the racetrack, and the Reno men spent the day erecting tents in the open area in front of the stables. Volunteers from Virginia City and Gold Hill arrived the next morning, and those from Elko and Winnemucca got in on May 6. Three days later, Governor Sadler relieved Captain Wright of his temporary command, replacing him with Captain Cox of Galusha's staff. On May 13, Sadler was informed that arrangements for the unit's departure were complete, and they left by rail the next morning.[31]

As the men of the first unit were preparing to leave, Sadler received a telegram from the secretary of war authorizing a second cavalry troop, an independent unit to be known as Troop A, First Nevada Volunteer Cavalry. Responding to criticism that the first unit did not represent all sections of the state, he announced that National Guard members would not be given preference over other volunteers. He also tried to work out a quota system for the counties, but men soon began showing up in Carson City to sign the muster rolls with no one keeping track of who came from where. Twenty-nine men who had not found places in the first unit were accepted immediately, and ten more arrived from Wadsworth on May 18 under the com-

Carson City Chapter of the Red Cross, July 1898.

mand of Major W. H. A. Pike. Genoa, Gardnerville, Lovelock, Winnemucca, and Mason and Smith valleys were soon represented, as were Reno, Carson City, Elko, Tuscarora, Wells, Austin, and Delamar. Sadler personally contacted several men in Eureka and White Pine counties who had previously written of their interest in serving and held places for them because of the distance they had to come to enlist.[32]

Physicians at Camp Sadler examined the men as they came in, and by May 20 Sadler was able to announce that the second unit had a full complement of eighty men. They were issued hats and blouses from the armory, and a daily training regimen was established. Colonel Lord once again turned down the unit command, so Sadler appointed only the junior officers, Fred Gignoux of Dayton and Captain Wright, first and second lieutenants, respectively. He tried to enlist Albert Saxton, a Carson boy and a graduate of West Point, as troop commander, but the War Department would not release him from his assignment at Camp Robinson, Nebraska. On May 24, the governor appointed Fred Linscott, a senior mining student at the University of Nevada who was serving as commander of the Cadet Corps. Linscott immediately began arranging for rations and transportation for his men to Fort Russell, where they were to be mustered in, but a shortage of railway passenger cars delayed the departure until June 3.[33]

By the time Captain Linscott and his men departed, war news was completely dominating Nevada's press. Red Cross chapters were being organized throughout the state, and merchants were doing a land-office business in flags, stars-and-stripes bunting, and red, white, and blue belts, neckties, lapel pins, and fans. Garters in patriotic colors were also popular among young girls that summer, and plaster busts of Admiral George Dewey and Admiral Sampson sold by the thousands, as did models of the *Olympia,* Dewey's flagship; but it soon began to appear that the war would be over before Nevada's volunteers could get to it.[34]

Dewey had attacked and destroyed a Spanish flotilla in Manila Bay on May 1 and could have taken the city itself at any time. In the Caribbean, Sampson's heavy cruisers had shelled the coastal fortifications of San Juan, Puerto Rico, on May 12. Two weeks later, May 25, the vanguard of the Philippine Expedition, 2,500 men of the Eighth Army Corps, sailed for Manila. A second contingent of 3,500 left on June 15, and 4,600 additional troops passed through the Golden Gate on June 27 and June 29. The first elements of Major General William R. Shafter's Fifth Corps and Roosevelt's Rough Riders embarked for Cuba on June 14.[35]

Nevada's first mounted unit, Troop M, Second United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, had been mustered into service on May 19. Departing Fort Russell on June 22, they arrived at Camp Cuba Libre in Jacksonville, Florida, six days later, where they were to be garrisoned for the duration of the war. Troop A was mustered at Fort Russell on June 8 and entrained for San Francisco four days later. Initially posted at Camp Merritt, the men were transferred to the Presidio of San Francisco on June 22 and remained there until they sailed for the Philippines on November 6.[36]

On May 26, President McKinley called upon the states for another 75,000 volunteers. The secretary of war had not requested additional men, but the president believed that there was a need for reserves to back up the ambitious campaigns in Cuba and the Philippines. Colonel Lord, who had just turned down the captaincy of Troop A, once again importuned Sadler to contact Senator Stewart and Congressman Francis G. Newlands regarding a Nevada infantry battalion. On June 4, Newlands wired Sadler that a battalion would soon be authorized, but word came from the secretary of war on June 9 that Nevada had already exceeded her quota and would not be required to furnish additional men. Senator Stewart had also been pushing for another Nevada unit. On June 13, the *Morning Appeal* reported that he had informed Sadler that the state would soon be called upon to furnish at least another company. This did not satisfy Colonel Lord, however, and a telegram went off that afternoon requesting that Stewart work for a larger unit.[37]

The matter of sending more Nevada boys off to war had meanwhile generated a debate in the state's editorial circles. Fred J. Norris of the

Territorial Enterprise expressed the hope that Newlands and Stewart would prevail, but W. W. Booher of the *Elko Daily Independent* declared that those who argued for another unit were not the men who would do the fighting but only those who sought a command for themselves. As to Stewart and Newlands, he suggested that they could use their time to better advantage than "hanging around the War Department importuning the authorities to send more young Nevadans to face Spanish bullets." He claimed that the citizens of his section of the state were opposed to sending more men. Should anyone question their devotion to their country, however, he added that they were "as loyal and patriotic as those who would depopulate the State in order to gratify their own insatiable ambitions."[38]

Hal A. Lemmon of the *Carson City News* agreed. "War is a duty and not a pastime or a public picnic," he wrote on June 15. "Nevada has already done her duty and more." Addressing himself to Nevada's representatives, he called upon them to see that Nevadans bore their share of the burden, but "if we send a battalion more than our share, our representatives are responsible for the murder of every one of our boys who die." George Nixon of the *Silver State* was critical of both Booher and his Carson City colleagues, declaring that the Elko editor misrepresented the people of the state and contending that the first cavalry unit was not a part of the general call for volunteers. He defended the efforts of Congressman Newlands and Senator Stewart as simply being in line with their duties rather than in furtherance of selfish motives.[39]

Officials at the War Department had meanwhile reversed themselves again, and Newlands wired Sadler on June 18 that Nevada had been authorized to raise another three companies of infantry. Confirming the decision the next day, Secretary of War Russell A. Alger informed the governor that four full companies were being called for. Colonel Lord reported that some 385 men were enrolled in the guard units, 27 short of the 412 required. Of these, 85 were either overage or physically disqualified, so Sadler ordered Adjutant Galusha to have his commanders begin recruiting.[40]

When company meetings were called, however, the officers learned that there were divisions in the ranks, a number of men telling them that they were reluctant to leave their jobs and families because they believed that the war would be over in a month or so. These sentiments were not communicated to Sadler or Lord, who were planning on the basis of enlistments by the members of the guard units. The unit commanders, faced with the possibility of coming up short when orders came to assemble at Carson City, began recruiting right away. Major Morrison of the Emmet Guard sent recruiters to Dayton, Mason Valley, and Hawthorne, and Lieutenants Van Camp and Groton of Reno's Company C brought in twenty-two men from Wadsworth. They also recruited in Lovelock and in Truckee, California. Representatives of Carson's Company F visited Washoe Valley and

Lake Tahoe, and Lieutenant Charles H. Stone enlisted twenty-three men from Carson Valley. The ambitious young officer also visited Bridgeport, California, and claimed that he could have taken in twenty-seven men from the community if a California recruiter had not arrived a few days earlier.[41]

Captain George B. Ackerman of Winnemucca's Company D relied upon the call being disseminated through local newspapers and by word of mouth. In late June and early July, men began to arrive at the company's armory, sign the roll, and await the governor's call. The Ladies' Relief Corps and local businessmen furnished board and lodging, and company officers organized the men into platoons and began drilling them on the streets three times a day.[42]

When Captain Sanders of Elko's Company E called a company meeting on July 1, not a man stepped forward. A number of men from Delamar and Pioche were in town by that time, as were prospective recruits from Ely, Tuscarora, Mountain City, Palisade, and Battle Mountain, and Sanders accepted thirty-four of those who had passed their physical examinations the next day. Men continued to arrive, and soon so many of them were hanging around the streets engaging in war talk that the Indians, who had been working as hay hands on local ranches, were so alarmed they quit and left town.[43]

When the muster lists were turned in on July 5, the full extent of the disaffection of the regular members of the militia became evident for the first time. Of fifty-seven signing on from Virginia City's Company A, only nine were previously enrolled. Company B did a little better, with thirty-seven guardsmen and fifteen recruits. The list for Reno's Company C showed sixteen regulars and sixty new men, and that for Winnemucca's Company D totaled six regulars and forty-six new volunteers. Elko's Company E included six men who had been charter members in a total contingent of fifty-eight men, and the commander of Company F, the Carson guard, submitted the names of eighteen guardsmen and fifty-four recruits. Colonel Lord was shocked. "The action of the members of the militia," he wrote in his report to Adjutant Galusha, "who have for many years worn the government uniforms on occasion of public parade, and now decline to respond to the call for actual service, is most certainly in strong contrast to the patriotism of the recruits who have so nobly enlisted." He recommended that the state suspend payments of armory rent and that the unit commanders be ordered to turn in all arms and equipment. His recommendations were passed on to the Board of Military Auditors that met on July 28. That day, the board members made an appropriation for July rents only, informing Governor Sadler that they considered the Nevada National Guard to be disorganized."[44]

The editor of the *Territorial Enterprise* supported Colonel Lord, writing that his recommendations "can hardly fail to meet with more or less ap-

proval at the hands of the taxpayers," but another view came from the pen of Booher of the *Elko Daily Independent.* In a July 8 editorial he charged Colonel Lord with having connived for an infantry command since the war began; his thoughts were of himself, not the needs of the country, and the members of the guard units had held back for that reason. Lord's aspersions upon the patriotism of the enlisted men were also the subject of comment. One man, writing anonymously in the *Morning Appeal* of July 7, contended that there would have been more enlistments if each man received $269 a month, as Lord did, rather than the $13 a month meted out to privates. Another, writing under the name Rejected Militiaman, suggested that the colonel should have investigated further. Some men were too young for active service and could not get their parents' permission, he wrote, while others were either married, absent from the state, or members of units previously called.[45]

Around the state, speculation mounted as to whom Sadler would name to command the battalion. Lord was reported to have the inside track, but David M. Ryan, a former officer of Company A, and William Morrison of the Emmet Guard were being urged upon him by the citizens of Virginia City. The men of Company A preferred Captain Mark Averill, and Captain Ackerman of Winnemucca's Company D was the choice of the citizens of his section of the state. Lieutenant Saxton, whom Sadler had tried to get out of the regulars to command one of the cavalry units, was also under consideration, as were former Lieutenant Governor Joseph Poujade, Carson City undertaker Joseph Conboie, and several other men. But Colonel Lord was already in the process of taking himself out of contention. In early June, he had written to Congressman Newlands, Senator Stewart, and Senator John P. Jones regarding an appointment to the position of paymaster with the volunteer command at the Presidio at San Francisco. With their help, he was confirmed by Congress on June 21, but did not accept the position until July 6, by which time he was coming under fire from the press for his criticism of guardsmen who did not volunteer for the new unit. He left for California on July 9 with the best wishes of several editors, but Booher of the *Independent* could not resist a parting shot. In his column of July 12, he commented that "there's nothing like a howling patriot when a fat salary is in sight."[46]

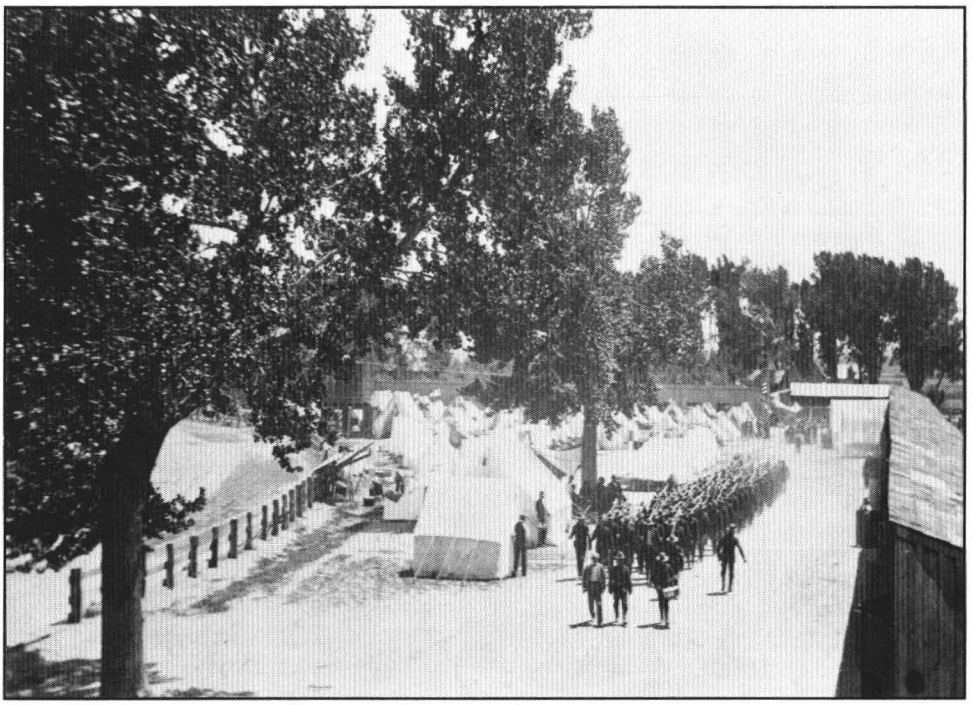
Governor Sadler had meanwhile been informed by the secretary of war that the various units were to report to Carson City. The order was passed to the company commanders, but the men were allowed to remain at home for the Independence Day holiday. The men of Carson's Company F reported to Camp Sadler at 11:00 A.M. on July 7 and spent the day raising tents, cleaning out sewers and getting the camp in order. A delegation marched to the depot that afternoon to meet the men of Company C and escort them to the mustering officer, First Lieutenant Charles A. Bennett

of the Third Artillery, San Diego Barracks. He spoke briefly of the mustering ceremony before releasing them to be marched out to the racetrack by their officers.[47]

That same day, Sadler announced his selection of Major Morrison to be acting battalion commander. He also made public his choices of officers for the companies that would make up the unit, now known officially as the First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry. Captain Charles H. Colburn was to head Company A, with Jacob Gosse as first lieutenant, Henry Conrad as second lieutenant, and George Noel, as junior lieutenant. For Company B, he named only George D. Pyne, as second lieutenant. Charles H. Stoddard was selected to command Company C, and Frank Campbell was named first lieutenant. Winnemucca's Company D was to be captained by George Ackerman, and George D. Rose and Robert Brackett became second lieutenant and junior lieutenant, respectively. No officers were named for Company E, but Henry Burlington and Charles H. Stone were chosen as first and second lieutenants for Company F.[48]

On the Comstock, volunteers from Company A and the Emmet Guard spent July 8 at their respective armories making ready to depart. That evening, they made the rounds saying final farewells, and several were considerably hung over when they reported the next morning. The Comstock Brass Band escorted the men of Company A to the depot first and followed with the Emmets a few minutes later. Among the crowd on hand to see them off were their former comrades who had declined to enlist, the Cold Feet Detachment, as they were called by the editor of the *Virginia Chronicle*. They stood in a group together, objects of stone-like stares from former girlfriends, who had been sending worn-out overcoats, overshoes, and old winter scarfs to their homes. The band struck up a ragtime piece as the volunteers boarded the cars, and at the last minute clambered aboard themselves, instruments and all. Volunteers from Gold Hill, Silver City, and Dayton boarded at the Gold Hill depot, and contingents from Company C and Company F were on hand at the Carson depot when the train arrived there a half-hour later.[49]

Men from outlying areas who had been recruited by the Comstock units had been notified individually that they were to report to Carson City rather than to their units. One Dayton recruit, Forest Richardson, rumored to have backed out at the last minute, found himself hung in effigy on Dayton's main street on the morning of July 9, a crudely lettered sign reading "Cold Feet or the Man who Likes to Sign His Name" dangling from the dummy's feet. Those who carried out the hanging apparently misunderstood what had happened, however. Several editors later reported that Richardson had tried to enlist twice, first in one of the cavalry units and later in Company A, but had failed physical examinations on both occasions. In any case, he was said to be "disagreeably surprised."[50]



First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, Camp Sadler, July 1898.

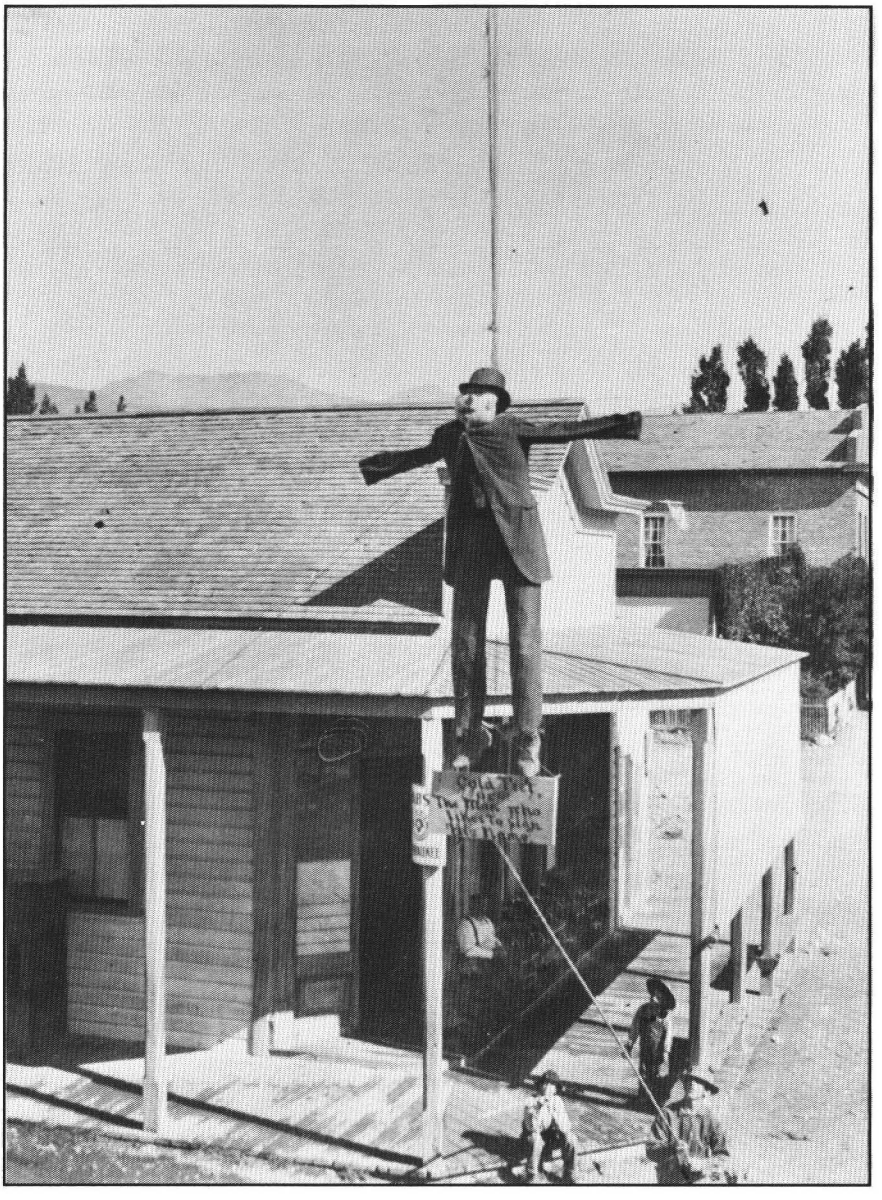
In Elko, the Knights of Pythias and the Rathbone Sisters gave a farewell banquet for the men of Company E on the evening of July 8. The town's brass band played, and there were speeches by Judge Talbot, Professor Kaye of the high school, and I. N. Sherwood. The men spent the next day getting their affairs in order and were ready to depart that evening, but the westbound Southern Pacific train onto which their coach was to be added was late, and they did not get under way until after midnight. The coach had meanwhile been decorated with flags, bunting, sagebrush, and a large banner reading "Nevada Volunteers, Company E." Accompanying the men was a young eagle that had been captured near Tuscarora by one of the recruits from the north. His comrades thought the bird quite a novelty and decided to take it along as a mascot.[51]

That same evening, Winnemucca's McDermitt Relief Corps put on a dinner for the volunteers from Company D. Captain Ackerman was presented with a company flag, and Lieutenant Robert E. Lee Windle responded for the men. At 3:00 the next morning, they reported to the armory and marched down Bridge Street to the depot. Despite the early hour, the streets were lined with well-wishers, but the train did not arrive until 6:00 A.M. Their coach had also been adorned with bunting, sagebrush, and small flags as it waited on a siding, and it was hooked on behind that

of the Elko volunteers. Additional recruits came aboard at Lovelock and Wadsworth later in the morning, and the ladies of the Wadsworth Red Cross provided lunches. In Reno, the men spent a couple of hours sightseeing and visiting local saloons before going off to early suppers at the Riverside Hotel, the Palace, or the Arcade Dining Room. Late that afternoon, they boarded a Virginia and Truckee special for Carson. A delegation of twenty men from each of the three companies already in camp was on hand to meet them, as was the Comstock Brass Band, which broke out with a lively ragtime tune as they stepped off their coaches. After being marched to the capital to be introduced to Governor Sadler, they reported to Major Morrison and were sent to dinner at the Briggs House. William Cox of Elko, writing home to editor Booher, described the first night in camp as "all confusion and chaos." Neither tents nor bedding awaited them, and it was long after dark before they were able to turn in. Most of his comrades were so disgusted that they were talking of walking out then and there and returning home, he wrote, but were in a better frame of mind the next morning when they were assigned company areas and provided with rudimentary quarters.[52]

Governor Sadler was meanwhile receiving other offers. The *Silver State* of June 28 reported that a Captain Gamble of nearby Grass Valley was talking of organizing a mounted Dynamite brigade to be composed exclusively of miners. Sadler also had an inquiry from George D. Kellogg of Newcastle, California, who offered to raise a company of total abstainers. A Chinese cook from Carson City, Ali Sing Bo, also sought a place in the new unit. "Me fine cook," he reportedly said. "Me fight like hell, too. Bet your life. I hit one goose two hundred fifty yards every time. Me cook plenty and fight between meals. Maybe I get two men's pay. Eh?" His offer was politely declined, but a contingent of men from Woodland, California, was accepted. The men had originally reported to Oakland for assignment to the Eighth California Volunteer Infantry Regiment, but Governor James H. Budd had refused to acceed to their choice of a company commander, and they subsequently withdrew and returned home. Jesse H. Dungan, editor of the *Woodland Mail* and former publisher of the *Genoa Weekly Courier,* learned of the recruitment difficulties that some Nevada commanders were having. He discussed the matter with the local unit commander and wired Governor Sadler on June 9 with an offer of fifty men. Sadler turned him down, but one of the officers of Company F learned of the communication and made private arrangements for the Californians to join his unit. The first contingent arrived in Carson City on the morning of July 13, but Sadler, who had not been informed of this turn of events, was heatedly denying press charges that he had accepted California men in preference to those of his own state who wanted to serve.[53]

Uniforms and rifles were issued shortly after the men arrived in camp,



Forest Richardson was hung in effigy on Dayton's Main Street, July 9, 1898, because of a rumor that he had enlisted in the Infantry Battalion, but had backed out at the last minute. In fact, he had only failed the physical examination.

and they were soon drilling four hours a day and otherwise learning the rudiments of soldiering–saluting, proper deference to officers, field sanita-

tion, uniform maintenance, and care of weapons. They were still taking their meals at local hotels and inns, however, but the fare was too rich for some, and a few complained of stomach upsets. A detachment of men marched out to the hot mineral baths at the prison each day, while others either wrote letters at the Red Cross tent or read books and magazines furnished by the women of the Carson City chapter. Many spent their leisure hours taking in the sights around town or passed some time in local saloons. There were water fights on the capital lawn during the first days in camp, and a dance was held at the armory on July 11. Some of the Elko men spent their time training the eagle that had accompanied them, and the bird was soon flying at will all over camp. The men of Company F also had mascots, a pair of handsome bantam roosters donated to the unit by a Carson grocer.[54]

On July 9, Sadler appointed Dr. Sidney Pinniger of Cortez to the position of battalion surgeon, and the next day, Company F's Lieutenant Charles H. Stone became battalion adjutant. Still awaiting orders from the secretary of war to muster the men into service, the governor came out to camp on July 13 to visit and learn of the preference of the men in the matter of officers. Although he had the authority to name them himself, he decided to allow the men of Company C and Company F to choose their own. At a meeting that afternoon, the Reno men selected the officers they had reported with, Captain Charles H. Stoddard, First Lieutenant Frank Campbell, and Second Lieutenant Albert W. Cahlan. Because there were to be only four companies in the battalion, the governor ordered Company F designated as Company D. As officers, the men selected Captain Edward E. Carney, First Lieutenant Henry Burlington, and Second Lieutenant Charles Stone, then serving as battalion adjutant.[55]

Neither Company A nor the original Company D were at full strength, so Sadler consolidated the units into one with the designation Company A. Charles H. Colburn of Gold Hill was elected captain, Robert E. Lee Windle of Winnemucca became first lieutenant, and Henry Conrad of Virginia City took the position of second lieutenant. Company E and Company B joined to become Company B, Major Morrison commanding. Captain Garry Sanders of Company E was demoted to first lieutenant and Virginia City's George Pyne was named second lieutenant, leaving Lieutenant James Sullivan of Virginia City without a position. The Elko men were upset over losing their unit designation and were strongly opposed to having Captain Sanders moved down to second in command. Lieutenant Sullivan was popular with his men, and Sadler was informed that the members of both companies would refuse to take the oath until either Sanders or Morrison was named battalion commander. A place would thus be created for Lieutenant Sullivan. Sadler took this as a challenge to his authority and told the men that he would not name a commander until the men were mustered in. Negotiations followed

and tempers cooled when he announced that the men could elect their own commander.[56]

Dr. Pinniger had begun giving physical examinations before his formal appointment. Four Comstock men were rejected, three for poor eyesight and one for defective hearing. When the men of Company A and Company D were examined, seven were reported to be ill, one with a malarial-type fever, and were rejected. W. S. Kelton of Elko failed because of a hernia, and an Austin boy, F. H. Oakes, could not pass the eye examination. His comrades believed that he failed on purpose—"cold feet which stuck to his orbs during his examination"—as one of them put it in a letter home.[57]

The various officers were still recruiting since a company could not be mustered in with less than a hundred men. Lieutenant Campbell signed another fifteen in Reno to complete the quota for Company C, and Lieutenant Sanders of Company B and Captain Colburn, Company A, were reportedly trying to recruit each other's men. The dispute reached the ear of Governor Sadler, and he summoned them to discuss the matter. They became embroiled in a boisterous argument in his office, and a report circulated for a time that Sanders would be court-martialed. But when Company A recruitment reached full strength, the two patched up the rift and were soon denying that there had been any trouble between them.[58]

Lieutenant Bennett had meanwhile received orders to begin mustering the men into service. He informed Sadler that Company C and Company D would go first on July 19, and that the others would follow as soon as their rolls showed a hundred men. The governor came out that morning and announced that the election of battalion commander was to take place before the mustering company. Captain Stoddard of Company C said that he preferred to remain with his own unit, and George Ackerman, former commander of Winnemucca's Company D, failed his physical examination. Lieutenant Sanders did not place his name in nomination, but Captain Colburn did. John A. Hamlin of Reno, an enlisted man, also came forward, and there were two contenders from Carson City, George Cowing and Joseph Poujade. Major Morrison was a candidate by virtue of his position as acting commander, and he received 281 votes to 107 for Colburn. Morrison's elevation to the top spot created a vacancy in Company B for Lieutenant Sullivan, but he had created such a commotion over being left out that he was not considered. Lieutenant Sanders moved up to captain and Second Lieutenant Pyne took over as second in command. To fill the third position, William Rigsby of Elko was brought up from the ranks.[59]

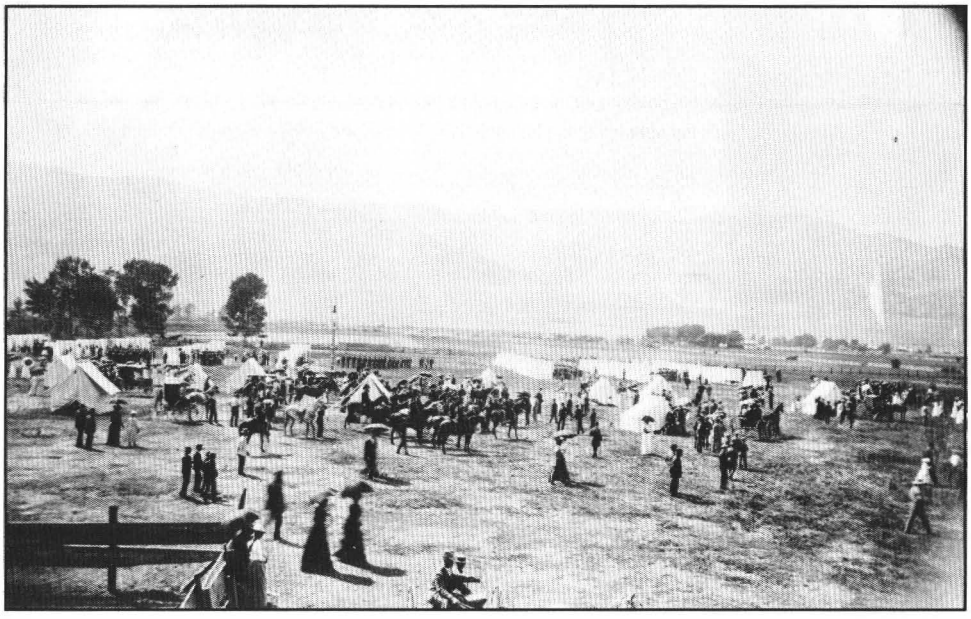
As the men of Company C and Company D stood in formation that afternoon, Lieutenant Bennett told them that any man who was having second thoughts could take his leave. One Carson boy started to step out of the line, but boos and hisses from the crowd of townspeople that had gathered forced him back, and the mustering ceremony continued without

further incident. Another eighteen men from Woodland, California, arrived the next day. They were assigned to units still short of men, and Company B was mustered on July 21. Three men assigned to Company A walked out of camp on the evening of July 22, and three more skipped the next morning, a couple of hours before their unit was scheduled for muster, so Lieutenant Bennett put off the ceremony until later in the day. By that time, three others had gone downtown drinking and had to be rounded up by their comrades. One was considerably intoxicated when it came time to take the oath, and Lieutenant Bennett refused to swear him in. In the meantime, however, four new recruits from Douglas County had shown up, and Captain Colburn informed Bennett that he had enough men to go through with the ceremony.[60]

Government rations—bacon, fresh meat, coffee, canned salmon, potatoes, onions, and bread—had arrived on the day of the first muster; men who had had some culinary experience as civilians were appointed cooks, but the fare they laid out soon became a major source of dissatisfaction. In a letter to the editor of the *Elko Daily Independent* dated August 1, William Cox wrote that, with the exception of the fresh beef, the food was of the poorest quality imaginable. He also claimed that there was never enough of it, three days' rations being expected to last six. As an example, he described his breakfast that day: "a small ladle of thin hominy, bread, and water barely colored by a very inferior grade of coffee." Cox's letter was picked up and reprinted by other editors, and those from Carson City took a personal look. A reporter dispatched to camp at mealtime on July 20 reported that the men refused to eat the salmon and were pouring their coffee on the ground. Company officers switched cooks several times that summer and made arrangements to purchase fruit and vegetables from local farmers, as well as fresh milk, bread, and cheese, but they continued to hear complaints from the ranks.[61]

The men also had good reason to complain about living conditions at Camp Sadler. There were no trees to provide shade, and the high walls of the racetrack shut out the westerly breezes. A prevailing stench of manure from the stables hung over the camp, and the sewers were inadequate for the number of men quartered there. The soldiers also considered the water unfit for drinking, and several came down with dysentery. Carson physicians feared an outbreak of typhoid before the summer was over, but they were spared that problem.[62]

Camp Sadler was also limited in area, and the tents were too close together. Drills were conducted daily, however, and dress parade was held each evening. The skirmish drills were held outside on the streets of Carson City, much to the delight of young boys and teenage girls who turned out to watch. The members of the Comstock Brass Band had returned home on July 15, but the director of the Carson City Band volunteered his men to



Camp Clark, Carson City, August 1898.

play at evening formation. The men put together their own musical group in late July, and the evening parades were soon attended by so many local residents that Major Morrison had to remind them that visiting hours ended at 8:00 P.M.[63]

Battalion officers also had trouble with the payroll forms, and the men received no pay until September 19. Local merchants and saloonkeepers extended credit for drink and tobacco, and Governor Sadler and other state officials sent several cases of cigars, cigarettes, and pipe tobacco. The ladies of the Red Cross placed containers in local stores to raise money for the purchase of underwear and handkerchiefs, and several of them went out to camp to do sewing and bring back washing each day. Others sent out cakes, cookies, and gingerbread. Members of Winnemucca's Red Cross chapter sent stamps, envelopes, stationery, combs, towels, and money to their community's volunteers, as did the ladies of the Virginia City chapter. In early August, a subscription fund was started in Reno to purchase a battalion flag, but the organizers were informed that regulations forbade the flying of any banner other than those issued by the War Department.[64]

All things considered, however, life at Camp Sadler had a pleasant side. In due course, the men became acquainted with the young ladies of the town, and there were frequent band concerts and dances. The men also organized baseball teams, and Sam Davis of the *Appeal* suggested that they

charge admission to their games to raise money. The ladies of the Red Cross and the Custer Relief Corps sponsored entertainments at camp, and the choirs from the Methodist and Episcopal churches also visited, as did their pastors, who delivered a few words of encouragement and moral uplift.[65]

Entertainment and diversion were not what the men had enlisted for, however, and frustration began to mount as news of American victories in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines appeared on the front pages of the papers. The first reports of drunkenness and stealing in camp surfaced on July 18, and in the next few days Sheriff William Kinney made several arrests downtown. There were fights in camp, and the *Carson City News* of July 22 revealed that a Reno volunteer had tried to desert, but had been caught by his fellows and dunked in a horse trough. On July 25, Major Morrison appointed a court martial board. Private Charles Bergerhoff of Company A deserted that day, and Sergeant Harry A. Adams of Company C took his leave on July 27. The Reno unit also lost four teenage volunteers who had lied about their ages to enlist, Edward Miles, David Green, William Van Duzer, and William C. Hunt. They were relieved from duty on July 31 and sent home. The members of the court martial board heard their first cases on August 1, when William A. Cutting and Judson H. Atwell of Company A appeared before them charged with insubordination. Cutting got thirty days at hard labor, and Atwell received two days. Private Bergerhoff was never apprehended, but Adams returned to camp on August 15 and the next day was sentenced to twenty days at hard labor and a reduction in rank. Another eleven cases were heard in August, mostly on charges of willful defiance of orders, drunk and disorderly conduct, and absence without leave for short periods of time. Fines of $10 were levied against some offenders, while others were sentenced to a term in the guardhouse or put to digging ditches. The men themselves were becoming disgusted with the troublemakers in their midst and were taking care of some of them without any urging from their officers.[66]

Sheriff Kinney had meanwhile armed his deputies and was talking of establishing civilian patrols in the neighborhoods around the camp. In an interview published in the *Carson City News* of August 8, he said that several men from Camp Sadler had wrecked a saloon in the south end of town a few nights earlier, and that others had been threatening saloonkeepers who refused to serve them free liquor. Some had taken to hanging around the streets insulting and challenging passing civilians, he said, and homeowners were complaining of drunken soldiers wandering their streets at all hours of the night, hollering at the top of their lungs. Only a few troublemakers, "the hobo element," were responsible, he acknowledged, but he warned Major Morrison that Carson City would soon have the only "uniformed chain gang in America" if he did not deal with them.[67]

The men had also begun to patronize the saloons and opium dens of Carson City's Chinatown, and rumors circulated that the inhabitants were buying stolen blankets, uniforms, and weapons. As a part of a general crackdown on the enlisted men, battalion officers planned to raid the Chinese quarter on August 6. At 7:00 that morning, 190 men assembled under the command of Major Morrison and formed a line surrounding the area. Bayonets were fixed and the men moved forward at a signal, shouting and whooping as they kicked in doors, broke windows with the butts of their rifles, and roused the slumbering Chinese from their beds. With the advantage of surprise, they cowed the hapless householders and proceeded to ransack every dwelling, saloon, and outbuilding. On taking inventory a few minutes later, the officers found only one bar of soap stamped "U.S." and two partially burned army candles. They were somewhat red-faced about the whole incident and refused to talk to reporters, but several editors chided them for using excessive force. The raid was a serious matter to the Chinese themselves, and they talked of filing suit to recover damages.[68]

On August 9, Al Livingston of the Carson City Agricultural Association approached Morrison about moving the battalion to another location so that preparations could be made for the fall racing season. The commander wired the secretary of war two days later and received a directive from the Office of the Adjutant General that same day to relocate the camp. Morrison also received word from Washington that 70,000 volunteers were to be mustered out within twenty days. A peace protocol was signed in Paris the next day, August 12, but as he had been given no indication that his men were to be discharged, he proceeded with the search for a new encampment site. Day's Ranch east of town was considered, as was a field at the mouth of King's Canyon belonging to Aaron D. Treadway. National Guard encampments had been held there for several years, but Treadway was asking a rental of $1,000 a month. On learning that other sites were being considered, he came down to $75, and sixty men were sent out on August 14 to put in new water pipes, dig sanitary trenches, and lay off company areas.[69]

The move was made on August 17, and the men settled in by nightfall. The new encampment, christened Camp Clark in honor of the commander of the battleship *USS Oregon,* was popularly referred to as Treadway Park. Located west of the city in the path of cooling breezes, the camp was surrounded by orchards and verdant fields. There was space to spread out the tents and more room for drills and dress parade. Skirmish drills were moved from the streets, and the men engaged in a full-scale sham battle on August 18.[70]

On the day of the move, Major Morrison received a telegram from the secretary of war stating that another 50,000 men were to be released. Most of the volunteers in Carson City had come to believe that they would never

get in on the fighting, and many were perhaps wishing for a quick end to their abbreviated military careers, but Senator Stewart happened to be in town at that time, and the battalion officers prevailed upon him to make another attempt to get the unit an assignment outside the state. In an August 19 letter to Secretary of War Alger, he endorsed a proposal to consolidate units from Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada into a regiment, but received a telegram later in the day informing him that the Nevadans were to be sent to Arizona for garrison duty. When this word reached Camp Clark, the reaction was immediate. Although some men told reporters that they would serve wherever they were needed, most said that a garrison assignment in Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the islands was the least they would accept. Others talked it over and decided that they would just as soon be mustered out. They got up a petition to Secretary Alger the next day and a hundred men had signed it before the document was seized by Captain Colburn.[71]

The guardhouse at Camp Sadler was emptied when the men of the battalion moved to Treadway Park, but they had not been in the new camp two days when a Chinese saloonkeeper complained to Sheriff Kinney that three soldiers had stolen a bottle of whiskey from him. On August 21, three men were court-martialed for fighting in camp and were locked up in an old milkhouse on the property, but the structure could not hold them both, and they were turned over to county authorities. Drunken soldiers were again reported to be running at will and Sheriff Kinney reported on August 23 that he had arrested two of the volunteers for fighting in the Chinese quarter and two others for kicking in doors and breaking windows.[72]

On August 25, Secretary of War Alger reversed his previous order, wiring Major Morrison that the Nevada infantry unit was to be among those mustered out. Morrison said nothing to his officers, however, awaiting further confirmation. When Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin wired Governor Sadler on August 31 that the entire unit was to be released as soon as possible, Morrison passed the word down. The men reacted with whoops and cheers, even though no definite date had been set. Their officers showed little enthusiasm and had nothing to say to newspapermen who ventured out to camp to report on their response to the news.[73]

As the volunteers waited, anticipating word of their fate, life at Camp Clark went on much as before. On August 29, three men entered John Myers's saloon and threatened to break up the furniture unless they were given whiskey. Myers complied, but reported the incident. Private Henry McNamara of Company A squared off downtown with a civilian on September 4 and was badly beaten; over the next three weeks a total of eleven men were court-martialed for minor infractions, including drunk and disorderly in quarters. Evening formation and formal dress parades still drew dozens of spectators, and each company organized a baseball team. There was also

a vocal quartet, and the men sponsored several boxing matches at an improvised arena at the camp. Others whiled away the hours playing poker with brass uniform buttons and wooden matches.[74]

Lieutenant Bennett arrived back in Carson City on September 7. At formation that afternoon, he told them that the War Department was concerned about the worsening situation in the Philippines and planned to release only one fourth of them right away, sending the others off on thirty-day furloughs. Even that news was cause for celebration, however, and the men were still at it in downtown saloons when the pressmen got off work at the *Morning Appeal* early the next morning. Major Morrison forwarded the paysheets to San Francisco on September 9, and Dr. Pinniger began conducting final physicals so that there would be no delays once the paymaster had arrived. Some men, nursing hatreds and resentments against their officers, were said to be planning a day of reckoning as soon as they doffed their uniforms, but others were diplomatically trying to break off with local girls or making plans to marry them.[75]

On September 13, Congressman Newlands came out to camp to observe the dress parade. Following the ceremony, he addressed the men from the viewing stand, reading a telegram he had recently sent to the War Department informing Secretary Alger that the Nevadans had voted to either go to the Philippines or Hawaii or be mustered out. He then read Adjutant General Corbin's reply that the men of the First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, were to be either furloughed or mustered out immediately. When Newlands then asked them if they wanted out, the answer was a thundering "aye." Major Morrison stepped to the stand to say that the first steps had been taken, and the battalion band struck up "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" as the men gave three cheers for their commander and the congressman.[76]

Colonel Lord arrived from San Francisco on the morning of September 18 and spent the remainder of the day renewing acquaintances and working on pay records. Next morning, Major Morrison detailed forty men to remain behind to strike and store the tents and clean up the camp. Weapons were turned in, and the fifty-five men who had opted for discharge were paid off. The remainder were given two months' salary and sent off on a thirty-day leave. Following company get-togethers, at which the officers received gifts in token of their men's esteem, the soldiers went off downtown to celebrate their freedom and pay off saloonkeepers and merchants who had extended credit during their stay in town. Several found themselves in Sheriff Kinney's jail the next morning, among them five men who had returned to the Chinese section and come off second best in a lively brawl with a gang of Chinese toughs up from San Francisco. Reno was full of drunken soldiers for several days, and one of them became involved in a knife fight in a Commercial Row saloon on September 21. Others visited

the Nevada State Fair, and two Company C members who had remained in Carson City waylaid a man coming out of a faro parlor on September 29 and were caught going through his pockets by a sheriff's deputy.[77]

The furloughs were not up until October 19, but forty men returned early and found themselves with neither quarters nor rations. A severe cold snap made matters worse, and several were reported to be going from door to door claiming to be hungry. Major Morrison refused to do anything for them until Congressman Newlands, Senator Stewart, and editor Sam Davis interceded in their behalf. Overcoats were requisitioned from the armory and arrangements made to accommodate them at local hotels and boardinghouses. Their comrades joined them on October 18, and mustering-out proceedings got under way the next day.[78]

Camp Clark meanwhile stood deserted, unsightly debris and partially filled sanitary trenches marking the green field where neat rows of white tents once stood and blue-coated soldiers delighted their admirers with the military precision of their drills. A *Morning Appeal* reporter visited the site on the morning of October 19. As he sat before his typewriter that afternoon, he thought of the men. "They will soon disappear from our midst," he mused, "and the war alarm will seem like the remembrances of a dream."[79]

The eagle brought in by the Elko volunteers earlier in the summer had been turned loose when they left for home. Fending for itself, the bird had been raiding local chicken ranches. On October 19, Fred Wilder spotted it near one of his coops and killed it with a shotgun. When he discovered it was an American bald eagle and not a hawk, he told a neighbor and the word spread. Among the curious who came out from town was a member of Company B. He returned and told his comrades, and a dozen of them visited Wilder's ranch that afternoon to demand an explanation. Wilder said that he had not recognized the bird as an eagle, but offered to pay whatever damages the men believed fair. They accepted only a token $5, however, and took the dead bird with them, saying that they intended to have it stuffed and mounted.[80]

On October 26, three days before the volunteers were scheduled to be paid off and released, an outbreak of Indian trouble threatened near Midas in Nye County. An Indian had stabbed a white man in a dispute over a bottle of whiskey, and panicky townsmen had telegraphed Governor Sadler for arms and ammunition. Major Morrison halted all proceedings and was said to be consulting with the governor about sending a company of his men out. The trouble blew over, however, and the editor of the *Belmont Courier* later reported that the gravity of the situation had been much exaggerated by the press.[81]

Colonel Lord returned from San Francisco on October 28 and the men were paid off; Lieutenant Bennett mustered them out the next morning. At

a final formation that afternoon, the men rendered a vote of thanks to local residents who had looked after their welfare, particularly George B. Quong, a Chinese gardener who had furnished them with fresh vegetables. The Woodland volunteers wrote a letter to the editor of the *Morning Appeal* thanking a Mrs. Furlong, who had provided eggs, milk, and chickens from her farm. Dr. Pinniger wrote a letter of appreciation to the ladies of the Red Cross for aiding him in caring for soldiers who had fallen ill. He added that the health of the men had been remarkably good and that most were discharged in better condition than when they enlisted.[82]

Many men departed within hours of discharge, but a sizeable number remained in town for a final farewell revel. The War Department was still seeking men for the regulars, and Lieutenant Bennett set up a recruiting office the day after he completed the final muster of the volunteers. Forty men signed on that day, but the remainder had had enough of army life and were content to return to their interrupted private pursuits, saddened perhaps that the war had passed them by and feeling somewhat cheated by fate, but glad once again to be free.[83]

NOTES

[1] Stewart C. Miller, "Our My Lai of 1900," *Transaction*, VII, No. 11, Whole No. 61 (September 1970), 19-28, reviews the emerging literature on the background of America's first imperialist venture and chronicles the many similarities between the Philippine insurrection and the conflict in Vietnam, as does Richard E. Welch Jr., "American Atrocities in the Philippines: The Indictment and the Response," *Pacific Historical Review* XLIII (May 1974): 233-53. A more recent summation is to be found in the November 1979, issue of *Pacific Historical Review*, "American Empire, 1898-1903."

[2] Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971) is perhaps the most comprehensive recent study of this aspect of the war, but more work needs to be done.

[3] Charles B. Henderson, "Troop M," *The Nevada Magazine* I (October 1899): 175-81.

[4] Clyde L. Bonham, "An Adventure in the Philippines," *The Nevada Magazine* I (December 1899): 305-10.

[5] Records Group 94, Old Army and Navy Branch, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[6] Thomas B. Kelly III, *The U.S. Army and the Spanish-American War Era, 1895-1910*, Special Bibliography 9, I, II (Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army Military Research Center, 1974).

[7] Joseph A. Fry, "Silver and Sentiment: The Nevada Press and the Coming of the Spanish-American War," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (Winter 1977): 223-39.

[8] *Reno Weekly Gazette & Stockman*, 13 February 1896; *Reno Evening Gazette*, 22 February 1897; Nevada State Legislature, *Statutes of Nevada*, 18th Session, Joint Resolution No. II, passed 20 February 1897.

[9] *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General*, State of Nevada, 1895-96; cf. Michael J. Brodhead, "Notes on the Military Presence in Nevada, 1843-1988," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1989): 268-69, and Joseph Wickenden, "History of the Nevada Militia, 1862-1912," manuscript, Special Collections Department, Getchell Library, University of Nevada, Reno. For an analysis of the deficiencies of America's National Guard on the eve of the war, see Cosmas, *An Army for Empire*, 12-13.

[10] *Nevada State Journal*, 20 February 1898; 24 February 1898; 1 March 1898; 25 March 1898; 4 April 1898.

[11] *Eureka Sentinel,* 5 March 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 1 March 1898; 19 March 1898; 21 March 1898.

[12] *Virginia Chronicle,* 25 February 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 25 February 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 24 February 1898; 1 March 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 28 February 1898.

[13] U.S. Senate, *Report of the Naval Court of Inquiry Upon the Destruction of the Battleship Maine,* 55th Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document 207, Washington, D.C., 1898; *Walker Lake Bulletin,* 16 March 1898.

[14] *Lyon County Times,* 26 March 1898; 12 April 1898; *Daily Argonaut,* 28 March 1898; 31 March 1898.

[15] *Daily Evening Report,* 24 February 1898; *Genoa Courier,* 11 March 1898; *Silver State,* 12 March 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 11 March 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 25 February 1898; 27 February 1898; *Virginia Chronicle,* 8 March 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 11 March 1898; 17 March 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 18 March 1898; *Eureka Sentinel,* 26 March 1898.

[16] *Nevada State Journal,* 3 April 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 3 April 1898; Adjutant General Galusha to Company Commanders, *Adjutant General's Order Book,* 5 April 1898, 78.

[17] *Territorial Enterprise,* 6, 10, 14, 16 April 1898; *Virginia Chronicle,* 14 April 1898.

[18] *Silver State,* 2 March 1898; 9, 11, 18 April 1898.

[19] *Elko Daily Independent,* 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21 April 1898; *Daily Argonaut,* 13, 16 April 1898.

[20] *Territorial Enterprise,* 26 April 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 19 April 1898; *Silver State,* 19 April 1898; 26 April 1898; 27 April 1898; 28 April 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 26 April 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 26 April 1898; 27 April 1898.

[21] U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901) 750-60; *Elko Daily Independent,* 12 April 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 13 April 1898.

[22] Cosmas, *An Army for Empire,* 111.

[23] *Territorial Enterprise,* 23, 24, 26 April 1898; *Silver State,* 23 April 1898; 25 April 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 26 April 1898; Colonel Frederick C. Lord to Governor Reinhold Sadler, 22 April 1898; Governor Reinhold Sadler to Senator William M. Stewart, 23 April 1898, The papers of Reinhold Sadler, Nevada State Library and Archives, Carson City, Nevada.

[24] *Morning Appeal,* 26 April 1898; 27 April 1898; *Silver State,* 27, 28, 29 April 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 23, 26, 27 April 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 27 April 1898; 28 April 1898; *Carson City News,* 26 April 1898; *Virginia Chronicle,* 27 April 1898; 29 April 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 26, 27, 28 April 1898.

[25] *Wadsworth Dispatch,* 27 April 1898; *Carson City News,* 25, 26, 27 April 1898; *Genoa Courier,* 29 April 1898; *Reese River Reveille,* 27 April 1898; 30 April 1898; *Daily Argonaut,* 25 April 1898; 28 April 1898; *Tuscarora Times-Review,* 3 May 1898; Walter Van Tilburg Clark (ed.) *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903,* III, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), 1981.

[26] *Genoa Courier,* 22 April 1898; *Silver State,* 25 April 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 29 April 1898; *Wadsworth Dispatch,* 20 April 1898; 30 April 1898.

[27] Clark, *Doten,* 1980-81; *Silver State,* 21 April 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 22 April 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 22 April 1898; *Student Record,* 1 May 1898, 7.

[28] *Walker Lake Bulletin,* 27 April 1898.

[29] *Morning Appeal,* 27 April 1898; 28 April 1898; 29 April 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 28 April 1898.

[30] Clifford P. Westermeier, *Who Rush to Glory: The Cowboy Regiments of '98* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers Ltd, 1958), 32-48; *Virginia Chronicle,* 3 May 1898; *Silver State,* 4 May 1898.

[31] *Morning Appeal,* 5, 6, 7, 13, 15 May 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 5 May 1898; 6 May 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 6 May 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 12 May 1898; Clark, *Doten,* 1982; Henderson, "Troop M," 175-80; cf., Jerald L. Hoffman, *Colonel Jay L. Torrey and His Rough Rider Regiment* (M.A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 1967).

[32] Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin to Governor Reinhold Sadler, 13, 14, 17 May 1898, Sadler Papers; *Morning Appeal,* 19 May 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 17 May 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 16, 17, 21 May 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 18 May 1898; *Wadsworth Dispatch,* 21 May 1898; *Genoa Courier,* 20 May 1898; 27 May 1898; *Silver State,* 18 May 1898; 26 May 1898; *People's Advocate,* 26 May 1898; *Eureka Sentinel,* 7 May 1898; 24 May 1898; *White Pine News,* 14 May 1898; *Tuscarora Times-Review,* 17 May 1898; *Delamar Lode,* 10 May 1898.

[33] *Morning Appeal,* 2, 21, 24, 25 May 1898; 4 June 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 22 May 1898; cf., James G. Scrugham (ed.), *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1935), 392.

[34] *Carson Weekly,* 23 May 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 26 May 1898; *Wadsworth Dispatch,* 21 May 1898; 25 May 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 4 June 1898; 6 June 1898; *Virginia Chronicle,* 7 June 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 19, 21, 22 July 1898; 28 September 1898.

[35] Cosmas, *An Army for Empire,* 118, 197 *et passim.*

[36] Scrugham, *Nevada,* 391-92.

[37] Cosmas, *An Army for Empire,* 134-35; *Morning Appeal,* 26 May 1898; 2, 3, 7, 13 June 1898; *Virginia Chronicle,* 5 June 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 11 June 1898.

[38] *Territorial Enterprise,* 11 June 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 11, 13, 14 June 1898.

[39] *Carson City News,* 15 June 1898; *Silver State,* 16 June 1898.

[40] Clark, *Doten,* 1990; *Morning Appeal,* 19, 21, 23 June 1898; *Silver State,* 22 June 1898; Russell A. Alger to Reinhold Sadler, 19 June 1898, Sadler Papers; *Adjutant General's Order Book,* General Order No. 20, 22 June 1898, 87.

[41] *Lyon County Times,* 25 June 1898; 16 July 1898; *Virginia Chronicle,* 28 June 1898; *Wadsworth Dispatch,* 2 June 1898; 29 June 1898; *Genoa Courier,* 1 July 1898; *Walker Lake Bulletin,* 13 July 1898; 27 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 30 June 1898; 26 July 1898; *Silver State,* 28 June 1898.

[42] *Silver State,* 5 July 1898; 6 July 1898.

[43] *Elko Daily Independent,* 2 July 1898; 5 July 1898; *Pioche Weekly Record,* 7 July 1898; *Delamar Weekly Lode,* 28 June 1898; 5 July 1898; 14 July 1898; *White Pine News,* 25 June 1898; *Eureka Sentinel,* 9 July 1898; *Central Nevadan,* 14 July 1898.

[44] *Morning Appeal,* 7 July 1898; *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General, State of Nevada,* 1897-98, 6.

[45] *Territorial Enterprise,* 6 July 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 8 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 7 July 1898; 9 July 1898.

[46] *Virginia Chronicle,* 24 June 1898; 8 July 1898; *Silver State,* 25 June 1898; 7, 12, 15 July 1898; *Carson City News,* 10 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 7 July 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 12 July 1898; Colonel Frederick C. Lord to Congressman Francis G. Newlands, 1, 6, 25 June 1898; Papers of Francis G. Newlands, Getchell Library, Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada; Senator William M. Stewart to Colonel Frederick C. Lord, 4 June 1898, Stewart Papers, Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada.

[47] *Morning Appeal,* 7 July 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 7 July 1898; Clark, *An Army for Empire,* 1992.

[48] *Virginia Chronicle,* 7 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 7 July 1898.

[49] *Virginia Chronicle,* 8 July 1898; 9 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 9 July 1898; 10 July 1898.

[50] *Virginia Chronicle,* 8 July 1898; *Lyon County Times,* 25 June 1898; 16 July 1898; *Silver State,* 11 July 1898.

[51] *Elko Daily Independent,* 7, 9, 11 July 1898; *Central Nevadan,* 14 July 1898.

[52] *People's Advocate,* 10 July 1898; 12 July 1898; *Silver State,* 11 July 1898; 12 July 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 12 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 12 July 1898; *Carson City News,* 10 July 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 12 July 1898.

[53] *Silver State,* 28 June 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 9, 10, 14, 15, 16 July 1898; *Genoa Courier,* 13 May 1898; 3 June 1898; *Woodland Daily Democrat,* 25 June 1898; 6, 7, 11, 12 July 1898; George D. Kellog to Governor Reinhold Sadler, 12 July 1898, Sadler Papers.

[54] *Carson City News,* 8, 12, 14, 16, 20 July 1898; *Nevada State Journal,* 21 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 15 July 1898; 16 July 1898.

[55] *Carson City News,* 9 July 1898; 13 July 1898; *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General, State of Nevada,* 1897-98, 4-6.

[56] *Morning Appeal,* 14 July 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 14 July 1898; 16 July 1898; *Carson City News,* 13 July 1898; *Virginia Chronicle,* 14 July 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 14, 15, 18 July 1898.

[57] *Carson City News,* 7, 8, 18 July 1898; *Territorial Enterprise,* 13, 16, 20 July 1898; *Elko Daily Independent,* 18 July 1898.

[58] *Reno Evening Gazette,* 15 July 1898; *Carson City News,* 20, 22, 23 July 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 22 July 1898.

[59] *Nevada State Journal*, 15, 17, 19 July 1898; *Carson City News*, 14, 18, 19, 21 July 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 19, 20, 22, July 1898; *Virginia Chronicle*, 14 July 1898; *Territorial Enterprise*, 14, 16, 20 July 1898.

[60] *Nevada State Journal*, 20, 22, 23 July 1898; *Carson City News*, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 July 1898; *Muster Rolls*, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[61] *Carson City News*, 20 July 1898; *Elko Daily Independent*, 3 August 1898; 11 August 1898; *Territorial Enterprise*, 6 August 1898; *Virginia Chronicle*, 4 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 7 August 1898.

[62] *Elko Daily Independent*, 3, 6, 11 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 24 July 1898; 27 July 1898; 6 August 1898; *Carson City News*, 20 July 1898; 22 July 1898; 8 August 1898; *Reno Weekly Gazette & Stockman*, 4 August 1898.

[63] *Elko Daily Independent*, 3 August 1898; 11 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 29 July 1898; 3 August 1898; *Territorial Enterprise*, 16 July 1898; *Carson City News*, 23 July 1898; 27 July 1898; 1 August 1898; 3 August 1898.

[64] *Letters Sent File*, Major William C. Morrison to Paymaster, San Francisco, 9 September 1898, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, RG 94, NARS; *Carson City News*, 18 July 1898; 20 July 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 15, 24, 26 July 1898; 28 July 1898; 31 August 1898; *Delamar Lode*, 4 October 1898; *Elko Daily Independent*, 11 August 1898; *People's Advocate*, 17, 19, 24, 26 July 1898; *Silver State*, 17 August 1898; *Nevada State Journal*, 3, 5, 9 August 1898.

[65] *Carson City News*, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 July 1898; 3, 10, 11 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 26, 27, 28 July 1898.

[66] *Report of Cases Tried by Summary Court*, August 1898, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, RG 94, NARS; *Monthly Returns*, Company C, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, July 1898, Order No. 81, RG 94, NARS; *Carson City News*, 18, 20, 22, 26, 27, 28 July 1898; 3 August 1898; 8 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 2 August 1898; 6 August 1898; 10 August 1898.

[67] *Carson City News*, 8 August 1898.

[68] *Ibid.*, 18 July 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 6 August 1898; 7 August 1898.

[69] *Register of Letters Received*, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, Al Livingston to Major William C. Morrison, 9 August 1898; Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin to Major William C. Morrison, 11 August 1898, RG 94, NARS; *Carson City News*, 1, 16, 18 August 1898; *Nevada State Journal*, 12 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19 August 1898; *Elko Daily Independent*, 23 August 1898.

[70] *Morning Appeal*, 17, 18, 19 August 1898; *Carson City News*, 19 August 1898; *Elko Daily Independent*, 23 August 1898.

[71] *Carson City News*, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 20 August 1898; *Elko Daily Independent*, 23 August 1898; *Reno Weekly Gazette & Stockman*, 25 August 1898; Senator William M. Stewart to Honorable R. A. Alger, Secretary of War, 19 August 1898; Stewart Papers.

[72] *Morning Appeal*, 19, 23, 24 August 1898; *Carson City News*, 22, 24, 30 August 1898; 5 September 1898.

[73] *Carson City News*, 31 August 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 25 August 1898; 28 August 1898; 1 September 1898; *Elko Daily Independent*, 24 August 1898; Clark, *Doten*, 1998.

[74] *Report of Cases Tried at Summary Court*, September 1898, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, RG 94, NARS; *Carson City News*, 19, 20, 22 August 1898; 5, 8, 14 September 1898; 24 September 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 1, 4, 8, 14, 15 September 1898; *Virginia Chronicle*, 9 September 1898; *Silver State*, 12 September 1898; 14 September 1898; Clark, *Doten*, 1998-99.

[75] *Carson City News*, 29 August 1898; 8 September 1898; 24 September 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 1 September 1898; 10 September 1898; *Register of Letters Sent*, Major William C. Morrison to Paymaster, San Francisco, 9 September 1898, RG 94, NARS.

[76] *Elko Daily Independent*, 10 September 1898; 15 September 1898; *Carson City News*, 15 September 1898; 19 September 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 14 September 1898.

[77] *Register of Men Discharged in Lieu of Furloughs*, 19 September 1898, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, RG 94, NARS; *Carson City News*, 14, 19, 20, 22, 24 September 1898; *Morning Appeal*, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24 September 1898; *Nevada State Journal*, 20, 21, 22, 23 September 1898; Clark, *Doten*, 2002.

[78] *Morning Appeal*, 4, 5, 7, 16, 19, 20 October 1898; *Territorial Enterprise*, 7 October 1898.

[79] *Morning Appeal,* 20 October 1898.

[80] *Carson City News,* 19 October 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 20 October 1898.

[81] Clark, *op. cit.,* 2005-06; *Morning Appeal,* 26 October 1898; 28 October 1898; 1 November 1898; *Reno Evening Gazette,* 26 October 1898; *Belmont Courier,* 5 November 1898.

[82] *Register of Men Discharged,* 29 October 1898, First Battalion, Nevada Volunteer Infantry, RG 94, NARS; *Morning Appeal,* 29 October 1898; 30 October 1898; 2 November 1898.

[83] *Carson City News,* 29 October 1898; *Morning Appeal,* 30 October 1898.

PATRIOTIC PRISONERS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE: Penitentiaries of the Far Southwest in World War II

Judith R. Johnson

AS EARLY AS 1940, various agencies of the federal government prepared for the eventual participation of the United States in World War II. At that time, public and private organizations recognized the potential threat of aggressor nations to this country and met to discuss ways in which they could contribute to the national defense. Among these groups was the American Prison Association (APA), which, during its annual meeting in 1941, considered the use of convict labor in the war effort. "In the prisons of America we have a potential army of defense workers that only needs mobilization to become effective," noted Sam A. Lewisohn, businessman, delegate to the APA, and member of the Federal Board of Prison Industries during the 1930s.[1] As the concept developed, penitentiary officials throughout the United States organized inmates into a wartime labor force that produced military equipment, increased agricultural output, and purchased war bonds. The country benefited from convict participation in the war, and prisons and prisoners gained also because of the added opportunities for employment, vocational training, and early release through probation and parole. While these conditions obtained in prisons throughout the country, the experience of penitentiaries in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah—the Far Southwest of this study—is representative of the impact of the war in penal institutions nationwide.[2] In addition, these penitentiaries (as well as others) were able to resolve—at least temporarily—the historical problem of securing profitable and rehabilitative work for convicts.

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Once the United States had entered the war in late 1941, the position of the federal government on the use of convict labor shifted from one of restriction to one of encouragement. In fact, the war generated a complete turnaround in the employment of inmates. During the Depression of the 1930s, prison administrators sought work for convicts, but encountered intense resistance from organized labor and limitations imposed by the federal government. The worldwide conflict, on the other hand, created a shortage of manpower and triggered the employment of convicts for defense production.

Recalling the experience of World War I, when the Congressional Committee on Labor investigated ways to utilize convict labor,[3] correctional authorities and government officials of the early 1940s regarded prisoners as an untapped labor supply readily available to train in skilled jobs. When war began in Europe in 1939, leaders of the APA engaged in careful planning and attempted to develop a program that would employ convicts in the war effort. Lewisohn, as chairman of the APA Committee of Work and Placement, suggested that a national committee be formed to prepare a scheme that not only incorporated inmate labor in the production of war matériel, but also allowed the prisoners to demonstrate a sense of patriotism.[4]

In planning for use of inmates in war work, the APA and federal prison officials first reviewed the reasons for restrictions on convict labor. Satisfied that the enlistment of civilians in the armed forces would eliminate any surplus of workers and that the demands of the war would create a tremendous increase in jobs, the staff of the War Production Board (WPB) agreed that the use of prisoners during the war would not present any unfair competition to free labor.[5]

Respecting the interests of labor unions, officials of the WPB also included the concerns of small businessmen, who at first feared competition from prison labor in the pursuit of war contracts.[6] This issue remained a problem throughout the war, but the federal government recognized the importance of convict labor, and by 1942 it relaxed its restrictions and engaged prisoners to produce goods needed on both the battlefield and the home front. During the entire war, both federal and state penal institutions signed contracts with the army, navy, and other government agencies to supply food, clothing, and services for use in the war.[7]

As a result of the moderation of restraints against prison industry, convicts throughout the United States during World War II produced more than $30 million worth of war goods.[8] Included in that array were articles of clothing such as trousers, shirts, and jackets for members of the armed forces and lend-lease programs. Inmates in state prisons also manufactured furniture and ordnance supplies for the military.[9]

Although small populations and limited facilities narrowed the scope of

their activities, the penitentiaries in the Far Southwest illustrate the national trend. For example, in Nevada, convicts under the direction of the Department of Civilian Defense made cots, stretchers, and other articles for use within their state.[10] While this was a new type of industry for the convicts in Nevada, prisoners in New Mexico continued to work at the prison brick and tile factory that had been successful for a number of years. There, inmates produced materials used in the construction of military installations or for state use in New Mexico. Work in this prison industry remained constant throughout the war except for a short time in 1944 when a nationwide coal strike forced the plant to close in order to conserve fuel for heating purposes.[11]

Utah's prisoners also produced military goods. Although work in that state began later in the war, by January 1945 convicts were processing and packaging ordnance for shipment overseas. By the middle of March, more than a hundred inmates were so employed under an agreement between Utah's Board of Corrections and the Ogden Air Technical Command.[12] Of all the men incarcerated, only seven did not volunteer to be part of the project.[13] Originally, however, state law threatened the success of the program. Legislation in Utah, previously enacted by Progressive reformers who opposed contract labor for convicts as debilitating and counter to rehabilitation, prohibited agreements between the prison and the armed forces to use convict labor. Anxious to join the war effort, though, the board approached the War Department in late 1944 with a plan to circumvent the restrictions on contract labor: The army was to deliver the materials to the prison and thus avoid the need for a contract.[14] Still uncertain of the legality of the arrangement, the state legislature reversed the law during the twenty-sixth session, making employment possible for the prisoners.[15]

Prison officials in Arizona also recognized the potential contribution that convicts could make in the defense industry. Early in the war, Warden A. G. Walker informed Governor Sidney P. Osborn that the prison contained a number of skilled laborers. Walker believed that convicts trained as mechanics, carpenters, and welders might serve society better in war work, where their skills were needed, than in spending time in mere incarceration.[16] This suggestion reinforced a plan advocated by Maury Maverick, director of the Government Division of the WPB, who had communicated the same general idea to Governor Osborn in 1942.[17] Although the governor agreed in principle with the plan, he questioned whether he as chief executive of Arizona had the authority to suspend a state law that, like Utah's, prohibited contract labor.[18] Because of that law, the governor hesitated to act.

Production of war matérial was only one contribution inmates made during the war. Nationwide, convicts in federal and state prisons donated more than $10,000 to the Red Cross, gave blood for soldiers wounded on the

battlefield, and invested more than $200,000 in war bonds. These contributions, made voluntarily from meager wages, demonstrated the convicts'sense of patriotism and their eagerness to participate fully in the war effort.[19]

Prisoners in the Far Southwest became part of this patriotic surge. In 1942, Warden Richard H. Sheehy proudly reported that inmates in Nevada had purchased defense bonds and stamps in quantities that appeared to exceed the record of any penal institution in the United States.[20] Similarly, prisoners in Arizona bought war bonds and made donations to the United Service Organizations (USO).[21]

The spirit of patriotism also emerged when prisoners petitioned government agencies for early release or the expanded use of the parole system. In this case, inmates wanted to use these devices to enable them to join the military and fight the enemy, rather than to reduce their sentences. Indeed, while some inmates hoped for an early release, others expressed a willingness to enter the armed forces after discharge without a consideration of parole. Even before the United States entered the war, the Selective Service System approved changes in regulations that governed the certification of men with criminal records. The revisions in the admission policy, however, still prohibited induction of men who had committed violent offenses, such as murder or assault with a deadly weapon, and those who had been convicted two or more times of a crime punishable by more than one year in the penitentiary. To facilitate enlistments of released prisoners, the United States Congress—on the recommendation of the secretary of war—amended the Act of 1877 that had denied use of former convicts in the military.[22]

Encouraged by this congressional action, convicts in the Oklahoma State Penitentiary established Fighters, Inc. This group, which in 1943 had a membership of 320 prisoners, advocated drafting all eligible prison inmates before inducting fathers of children born prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor.[23] While the federal government never adopted this plan, released prisoners did serve in the military during the war. In fact, by 1943, the government reported that 4,459 probational prisoners from all types of penal institutions had entered the armed forces, that only 19 had been dishonorably discharged, and that 4 had been decorated for bravery.[24]

Included in those numbers were released prisoners from the Far Southwest. As early as 1940, more than a hundred inmates had petitioned Governor John E. Miles of New Mexico to help them enter the military. Recognizing what they saw as the "Great Democracy of the United States of America" in jeopardy because of the war in Europe, the convicts wanted to enlist. In requesting the governor's support, the inmates pointed out that during the "Great War from 1917 to 1918," special consideration was given to prisoners who offered their services for the defense of the country. In an outburst of patriotism and in prose not usually associated with prisoners, the inmates wrote that they considered "it an honor to offer our Services

with our blood and our lives on the altar of Sacrifice for the preservation of principles laid down by our forefathers."[25]

By 1944, authorities in New Mexico were allowing inmates to leave the penitentiary on a conditional release that permitted them to work in war industries. During that year, 282 inmates left the prison for defense work. Of that total, approximately 30 returned because of failure to fulfill the requirements of the program. But 19 former inmates who had gained early release performed exceptionally, and earned a suspension of custody so that they could join the army.[26]

Similar circumstances in Arizona and Nevada prompted authorities to implement early release for inmates. Here the requests originated from external sources. In Nevada, Governor E. P. Carville received a letter from the APA in 1943 that encouraged early or conditional release of prisoners for possible induction into the military or for service in essential war industries. Noting that the army, the Selective Service, and the Civil Service all provided extensive opportunities for released offenders, the APA urged cooperation with government agencies to give convicts work, help the war effort, and afford prisoners a chance to demonstrate their patriotism.[27] Still concerned about the limits of executive authority, Governor Osborn of Arizona instead recommended that parole practices be liberalized to allow inmates to engage in defense work. Eager to help the war effort, the Arizona Board of Pardons and Parole concurred and implemented an expanded early release program.[28]

What really set the penitentiaries' experience of World War II apart from earlier decades was the change in attitude among inmates who, ineligible for release, were employed in defense work inside the prisons. Officials quickly perceived a change in outlook among these inmates. Clearly, prisoners responded enthusiastically when given the chance to participate and, in the process, redeem themselves in the eyes of society. Thus convicts answered the call for help and viewed themselves as part of the effort by the citizenry at large to work toward defeat of the enemy. In doing war work, an inmate could see a purpose and an end to his job, one connected by intent with civilians who worked in shipyards or defense plants. Interest, self-respect, and a willingness to work replaced the lethargic and careless attitude evident in other times; levels of prison production increased and inmates began to volunteer for extra work inside the walls. As an unanticipated gain, civilians developed an appreciation for prison-made goods. Moreover, the improvement in morale resulted in fewer disciplinary problems.[29]

Warden John E. Harris of Utah was especially grateful for the improved temper of the inmates. To encourage continued good behavior, he even commended the convicts, largely because the prison had found it extremely difficult to replace experienced guards who left for more lucrative defense

jobs.[30] A similar situation existed in New Mexico, where a critical shortage in manpower for management of the penitentiary developed in 1944.[31]

Because there were fewer guards to control the inmates, and because idle convicts ordinarily mean increased discipline problems, prison authorities in many states actively pursued more work for inmates during the war. Construction and maintenance of public highways became areas of concentration. While road building had been a traditional use of convict labor, this form of employment decreased during the Depression, largely because of opposition from private construction firms. But with the advent of war, convicts in many states were again put to this type of labor when free labor was siphoned off to better-paying jobs. The construction of defense plants and military camps also required new roads, which convicts built. Continuing the practice of honor camps that had been highly successful earlier in the century, the prisons employed inmates to build roads and highways subject to heavy use in the movements of troops.[32] On the roads and in the camps, prisoners felt that they played a part in the conflict, and they viewed their work as a vital contribution to the winning of the war.[33]

In contrast to the national experience, the penitentiaries in the Far Southwest rarely used convict labor for road construction. Arizona, however, used inmates as emergency fire fighters, with officials applying the same general principles as states with prison highway crews. Arizona, a heavily forested state, needed constant protection of extensive federal and state lands. Although prison authorities feared that use of inmates in this type of work would conflict with state laws, specifically ones that protected free labor, a survey of labor groups revealed no opposition in the face of the manpower crisis. Still, to be on the safe side, officials secured the approval of superior court judges throughout the state.[34]

The most visible and perhaps most valuable convict contribution to the war effort, however, was not in road work or firefighting, but in agriculture. By 1942, the WPB identified a potential problem in the national food supply. In addition to civilian demand and the needs of the armed forces, the Allies faced food shortages abroad and were becoming increasingly dependent on United States aid. Aware that military service and profitable positions in defense plants reduced the manpower available for agriculture, Maury Maverick of the WPB wrote to various governors, urging them to employ more convicts in farming. Appealing to the patriotism of administrators and prisoners alike, the director emphasized the urgency of the agriculture problem and the necessity to boost production. Anxious to tap all sources of labor, he implored governors and wardens to utilize inmates. A versatile thinker and planner, Maverick suggested that in addition to farming, prisons should expand their industries to include canning facilities for immediate and future needs. To prisons that lacked adequate acreage the director recommended rental of nearby land. He added that farmers

who faced a shortage of agricultural manpower might welcome the utilization of their land by prisoners.[35]

The experience of the prisons in the Far Southwest is a striking demonstration of the inmate contribution to agriculture during the war. In Utah, the Soil Conservation Department of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Utah State Agriculture College established in 1941 a ten-year plan designed to improve output of the prison farm. Under that plan, productivity—vitally important in the war years—increased. Inmates worked at irrigation projects and land reclamation as well as planting the first prison orchard. By 1942, in fact, inmates had planted more than nine hundred trees and reaped a harvest of peaches, cherries, pears, apricots, and plums. Under the direction of farm superintendent Jess A. Walton, the prisoners increased the amount of poultry supplied to the penitentiary and other state institutions. Because beef was a rationed item during the war, Utah officials substituted chicken to add protein to the diet. Moreover, the WPB favored poultry over beef production because raising chickens required less land and grain.[36]

Despite increased agricultural output, prisoners in the Far Southwest suffered along with the general public from shortages and disruptions in the food supply caused by the national emergency. The war made procurement of many items difficult; in Utah, for example, the prison menu reflected deficiencies of the same foods, such as coffee, sugar, and meat, that were rationed for all Americans.[37]

In New Mexico, too, prisoners worked to increase food production. A localized drought in 1944, however, curbed output and forced the penitentiary to abandon its Santa Fe River farm. To minimize the loss, the state later leased the area to the federal government for use as a detention camp for the Japanese. In order to continue agricultural production, inmates in New Mexico worked at the Los Lunas farm, purchased before the war and located about sixty miles south of the prison site in Santa Fe.[38]

In Nevada, prisoners engaged in extensive farming activities, as encouraged by officials from the WPB. At the end of 1943, Maury Maverick again wrote to Governor E. P. Carville and urged increased agricultural production in Nevada. To expand as well as coordinate production, Maverick arranged for wardens and farm supervisors from the western United States to meet in San Francisco in early 1945. In the meantime, he solicited the aid of Governor Carville in increasing production through using prison labor, tilling additional acreage, and processing food stuffs to meet the needs of the armed forces and lend-lease requirements. To help achieve the production goals, the War Food Administration and the Department of Agriculture furnished fertilizer, seeds, and farm machinery.[39]

State and penitentiary officials in Arizona also responded to requests from the federal government to improve agricultural output. In that state,

the harsh reality of a manpower shortage surfaced in the cotton fields as early as 1943, when there were not enough workers to gather the crop. Arizona therefore turned to convict labor to accomplish the task. The long-staple variety of cotton that inmates picked was used for parachutes, clothing, and in packing munitions. Under a plan coordinated by the governor's office and the warden, selected prisoners were transported to honor camps in the southern part of the state. There they earned wages, but had to pay for their food; the balance of their earnings went into individual accounts that became available to them at discharge.[40]

Agriculture, road construction, and defense work all represented important contributions prisoners made to the war effort. This activity did not bring uniformly positive results, however, because other prison projects suffered. Educational programs in New Mexico and Utah were curtailed because of the long hours inmates worked. While academic progress became subordinate to wartime employment, wardens and other administrators never abandoned the idea of school as a rehabilitative tool. Reluctantly, they and the inmates resigned themselves to suspension of classes for the duration of the war and concentrated instead on the development of prison industries.

Construction projects suffered, too. Before the war, the state of Utah had started to build a new penitentiary to replace the old and crowded prison. But by 1942, wartime shortages of building materials were such that construction ceased, although sixty inmates did continue to live and work at the farm established at the new prison location.[41] Because of the halt in construction, the Board of Corrections agreed in late 1942 to transfer fencing material intended for the new prison to the parachute factory located at Manti in the central part of the state.[42]

While the war disrupted plans for the new prison, it also operated to relieve some of the problems at the old structure. Before the war, crowded conditions forced authorities to use the boiler room as a dormitory for inmates and made it necessary for forty inmates to share one toilet.[43] The wartime decrease in the prison population remedied that situation: In June 1940 the total number of inmates was 429, but dropped to 283 in June 1942, a decline officials attributed directly to the war. The improvement in economic conditions because of the war and the greater use of parole were both responsible for the decrease in prison population.

Although the population declined, Warden Harris still had to find work for the inmates who were not involved in farming. Adding to his concern was the lack of steel required to produce license plates, which had been a traditional moneymaking enterprise for Utah's prison.[44] Recognizing that loss of this industry meant curtailed income, the warden hoped to use the machinery instead for some kind of war work. With that in mind, he approached the WPB in October 1942, but did not get a favorable response,[45]

and the license-plate equipment remained idle until the end of 1944. At that time, the steel shortage eased and production of the tags resumed; the state ordered 175,000 plates to replace the temporary tags of 1942 and 1943, as well as new signs to update worn-out street markers.[46]

Lack of steel affected the penitentiary in Nevada, too, most notably in construction activities. For example, in 1941, the State Planning Board had outlined major prison improvements to be completed during the decade. Noting that "a careful study of trends in prison populations in western states is strongly convincing of an uptrend," the planners recommended construction of a new cell house to accommodate more convicts. Increasingly convenient and rapid modes of transportation were bringing ever larger numbers of transients from the more densely populated areas of the East, and the board members, basing their conclusions on previous experience, reasoned that many of the men would end up in prison. They thus argued that Nevada should prepare for an influx of criminals.[47]

While the fortieth session of the Nevada legislature approved a bond issue to pay for the improvements, war priorities affecting steel and other essential materials delayed the construction of a new prison in Nevada as in Utah. In the meantime, inmates worked at the prison quarry, cutting stone for the new cellblock and transporting it to the penitentiary for future use. Contrary to the planning board's prediction, however, the population in the Nevada penitentiary temporarily decreased, a direct result of the war.[48] The decline did not last long; almost immediately after the end of the war, the number of incarcerations began to climb, a phenomenon not limited to the Far Southwest, and the Nevada planners were belatedly proved correct in their projections.

Penitentiary developments during World War II provided crucial information for penologists. Prisoners had responded to the national emergency with a vibrant sense of patriotism and made vital and effective contributions in military goods, agriculture, and donations of blood and money. Drawing upon the beneficial experience for both inmates and prison systems during the war, by 1945 penologists had started to explore ways to perpetuate and institutionalize wartime changes in convict employment practices. Officials wanted to know why the war had produced such a conspicuous improvement in convict morale, one that went beyond obvious explanations of patriotism. Faced with the problem of maintaining the level of production, optimism, and improved discipline in prisons, administrators pondered the question, basing their understanding on what they believed was an obligation to extend employment for the prisoners. An investigation by the APA revealed that meaningful work was the clue to improved discipline and was the most effective rehabilitative tool within the penitentiary. While this idea had been discussed before, the experience of World War II reinforced the concept. In addition, officials recommended that newly released men

be given more assistance in making the transition from incarceration to freedom, whether during the probationary period or under the parole system.[49]

Because of close communications and shared experiences with national organizations and the federal government during the war, prison officials in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah had the benefit of extensive resources as they planned for the future. Their approach to the postwar era was thus one based on a recognized need to expand physical structures, educational programs, and types of work available for inmates in the prisons of the Far Southwest.

NOTES

[1] American Prison Association, *Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Congress of the American Prison Association* (New York: Central Office, 1941), 14.

[2] This study focuses on the experiences of adult males incarcerated in the state penitentiaries; juvenile offenders and female prisoners are not included.

[3] U.S., House Committee on Labor, "To Employ Convict Labor for the Production of War Supplies: H.R. 7353," 65th Cong., 2d sess., 1918, 8.

[4] American Prison Association, *Proceedings of the Seventy-Fifth Annual Congress of Correction of the American Prison Association* (New York: Central Office, 1945), 84.

[5] Richard J. Purcell, *Labor Policies of the National Defense Advisory Commission and the Office of Production Management, May 1940 to April 1942, Special Study No. 23* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Reports of the War Administration: War Production Board, 1946), 93.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] American Prison Association, *Manual of Suggested Standards for a State Correctional System* (New York: American Prison Association, 1946), 28.

[8] American Prison Association, *Proceedings* (1945), 84.

[9] American Correctional Association, *The American Prison: from the beginning . . . A Pictorial History* (College Park, Md.: The American Correctional Association, 1983), 185.

[10] Nevada, *Appendix to Journals of the House and Senate,* "Biennial Report of the Warden of the State Penitentiary and Superintendent Nevada State Police, July 1, 1940 to June 30, 1942," 41st sess., vol. 1:5.

[11] Penitentiary of New Mexico, *Report of the Board of Commissioners and Superintendent to the Governor of New Mexico for the 34th Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1946,* 2.

[12] *Salt Lake Tribune,* 15 March 1945.

[13] Utah, "Board of Corrections, Minutes," 11 April 1945, Utah Department of Corrections, Salt Lake City.

[14] Utah, "Board of Corrections, Minutes," 10 January 1945.

[15] *Salt Lake Tribune,* 15 March 1945.

[16] Arizona, *Annual Report of Warden A.G. Walker, Arizona State Prison For the Thirtieth Fiscal Year, 1941-1942* (1942), 7.

[17] Maury Maverick to Sidney P. Osborn, Governor of Arizona, 3 April 1942, Governor's files, Arizona State Archives (ASA), Phoenix.

[18] Governor Sidney P. Osborn to Maury Maverick, 14 April 1942, Governors' files, ASA.

[19] American Prison Association, *Proceedings* (1945), 84.

[20] Nevada, "Biennial Report . . . 1940 to 1942," 5.

[21] Arizona, *Annual Report . . . 1941-1942,* 7.

[22] American Prison Association, *Proceedings* (1941), 16.

[23] *Salt Lake Tribune,* 25 September 1943.

[24] *Salt Lake Tribune,* 29 September 1943.

[25] "Petition to Governor John E. Miles," 1940, Miles papers, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives (NMSRCA), Santa Fe.

[26] "NM Penitentiary Annual Report, 1944, to Governor John J. Dempsey," Dempsey papers, NMSRCA.

[27] American Prison Association to E.P. Carville, Governor of Nevada, May 6, 1943, Carville Papers, Nevada State Archives (NSA), Carson City.

[28] Governor Sidney P. Osborn to Maury Maverick, 14 April 1942, Governors' files, ASA.

[29] American Prison Association, *Proceedings* (1945), 84.

[30] Utah, *Public Documents*, 1945-1946, "Report of the Board of Corrections," vol. 2:20.

[31] "NM Penitentiary Report," (1944), NMSRCA.

[32] American Prison Association, *Proceedings of the Eighty-first Annual Congress of Corrections of the American Prison Association* (New York: American Prison Association, 1951), 50.

[33] American Prison Association, *Proceedings* (1945), 85.

[34] A.G. Walker to Frank C.W. Pooler, 3 April 1943, Governors' files, ASA.

[35] Maury Maverick to Sidney P. Osborn, Governor of Arizona, 7 December 1942, Governors' files, ASA.

[36] Utah, *Public Documents*, 1941-1942, "Biennial Report of the Board of Corrections," vol. 2:35.

[37] Utah, *Public Documents*, 1945-1946, "Report of the Board of Corrections," vol. 2:20.

[38] "NM Penitentiary Report," (1944), NMSRCA.

[39] Maury Maverick to E.P. Carville, Governor of Nevada, 7 December 1943, Carville Papers, NSA.

[40] Governor Sidney P. Osborn to James W. Coddington, 5 May 1943, Governors' files, ASA.

[41] Utah, *Public Documents*, 1941-1942, "Biennial Report of the Board of Corrections," vol. 2:7.

[42] Utah, "Board of Corrections, Minutes," 8 July 1942.

[43] *The (Salt Lake City) Herald*, 29 February 1976.

[44] Utah, "Biennial Report," 1941-1942, 22.

[45] Utah, "Board of Corrections, Minutes," 14 October 1942.

[46] *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 December 1944; Utah, *Public Documents*, 1943-1944, "Biennial Report of the Board of Corrections," vol. 2:12.

[47] Nevada State Planning Board, *Report on Preparation of Six Year Improvement Program for Buildings, Hospitals, Institutions, and University* (Carson City: State of Nevada, 1941), 17.

[48] Nevada, *Appendix to Journals of the House and Senate*, "Message of Governor E.P. Carville to the Legislature of 1943," 41st sess., vol. 1:9.

[49] American Prison Association, *Proceedings* (1945), 86-87.

BOOK REVIEWS

East of Eden, West of Zion: Essays on Nevada. Edited and with an introduction by Wilbur S. Shepperson. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1989. 189 pp., notes.)

THIS BOOK OF ESSAYS CONVEYS THE FEELING that something important is happening in Nevada and that its contributors come close to defining it. *East of Eden, West of Zion* is thought provoking from editor Wilbur Shepperson's first reaction against James Hulse's "critical dissection" (x) of gambling in *Forty Years in the Wilderness* (1986), to its vivid title abstracted from work by William Rowley, to its wide-ranging inquiries about Nevada's meaning new and old. It reaches well beyond Nevada but is basically about a state. It is done by people who see themselves as Nevadans. It is about the Nevada past, about its present and its future. It testifies that federalism is not yet out of style and that state history is alive and well in Nevada at least.

Written by thirteen commentators (more as "free spirits" than as "historians or literati") the essays that comprise *East of Eden, West of Zion* "pursue individual paths" and yet add up to a recognizable whole.

Historical chapters by Russell Elliott, William Rowley, and Eugene P. Moehring deal respectively with the burdens and benefits of mining; with Reno and the roles played there by social conscience, free booting, divorce, Depression proofing, and the emergence of glitz; and with the making of Las Vegas as railroading, highways, suburbs, labor, defense industries, and gambling lead to the present. Each is a competent revealing historical statement that brings the best tools and insights of the trade to bear.

Historically pointed but partaking more of personal views and popular awarenesses is Elizabeth Raymond's essay on desolation and its images, and the Mormon settlement and tourist promotion that modify desolation in the Great Basin sense of place. Similarly Robert Laxalt mixes history, personal background, and what seems to be an immigrant's memoir in comments on Nevada as melting pot. James W. Hulse gives history a nostalgic turn in recalling political figures and educators in whose visions of Nevada social conscience and traditional morals played a large part.

In thoughtful essays that are even more personal and journalistic William A. Douglass talks of family, of times past and present, of civic burdens shifted through gambling, and of honesty in self perception in his effort to

define future Nevada as a pacesetter and privileged place; while Charles R. Greenhaw takes readers on a delightful romp through West Wendover as the place where the West begins, as perpetual action, as a purgatory of hanging loose, of losers forced to carry burdens, as cutting edge technology, and—signaling the message of the whole book—as the incarnation of "an extraordinary presence in the American soul." (115)

Ann Ronald and John H. Irsfeld shift to literary analysis in respective treatments of Reno portrayed in fiction as a matrimonial sea made big during the 1930s and 1940s by the tide of divorce and wedding; and a Las Vegas whose seamy fictional representation fails to quench Irsfeld's hope that some novelist will soon capture the gift for hope and romantic readiness that he sees in the city.

And in a final category author William Kittredge writes of the "land where everybody gets to do what he wants to do," (73) of his buckaroo youth, of restlessness, of crackerbarrel yarns and epic tales (xi), of high deserts, hayfield meadows, and of roads and rodeos. In the process he flavors not only his own essay but *East of Eden, West of Zion* generally with a view of myth and reality that successfully defies the position of other essays that powerful global forces have obliterated the new Nevada's cowboy past.

Some essays seem stronger than others. Some lack inner cohesiveness, some lack tight organization, some approach the outlandish. But there is a larger cohesion unity, for which the essayists must be given credit. However, the book's character and success, generally, are the result of an extraordinary job of editing by Wilbur Shepperson whose views are strongly voiced in a preface, introduction, and a concluding chapter which leave no question as to its basic message. Like seventeenth-century cities of the Western Hemisphere which heralded the way to new world prosperity by their development of a paramorality that enabled the legalizing of many aspects of piracy and smuggling, Nevada and its cities reflect the national emergence of new tolerances about which Shepperson and most of his contributors are optimistic. To reach this point reformers and progressives are subtly debunked as Cassandras and moralists, and ratings near the bottom of national and international indexes for crime, death rates, and support of education seem to be swallowed in the general swell of Nevada's promotion. But there is little doubt that *East of Eden, West of Zion* must be taken seriously by thoughtful Westerners as well as people interested in state history. It takes its place alongside Patricia Nelson Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest* (1988); Michael Malone and Richard Etulain, *The American West* (1989); and the November issue of the *Western Historical Quarterly* (1989) as a new-West-study that should be soberly addressed.

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Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930-1970. By Eugene P. Moehring. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1989. 329 pp., illustrations, notes, maps, bibliography, index.)

THIS IMPORTANT BOOK PROVIDES A DETAILED account of the emergence of Las Vegas as a major American metropolis. Professor Eugene P. Moehring, a faculty member of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, meticulously describes the complex multiplicity of economic and political factors which have produced one of the nation's most rapidly growing urban centers since World War II. Based upon an impressive research effort into heretofore unused primary sources, this book is not only a welcome addition to the slender body of literature on twentieth-century Nevada history, but also a valuable contribution to the larger field of American urban history.

Drawing upon the relevant secondary literature, Moehring demonstrates that Las Vegas has followed a pattern of growth and development remarkably similar to other postwar sunbelt boom cities. Like such cities as Phoenix, Albuquerque, Houston and Miami, Las Vegas grew rapidly without careful planning as developers were given virtually a free hand in determining lasting urban patterns. Given a jump-start by the economic impact of the Second World War, Las Vegas has followed the all-too-common pattern of pell-mell suburbanization while enduring the inevitable problems that accompany rapid growth.

Established as a railroad town in 1905, Las Vegas received its first major boost toward urban status by the construction of Hoover Dam during the 1930s. In 1940 Las Vegas registered a population of less than 10,000, and no one recognized that it was poised to become one of America's most important cities. The development of Nellis Air Force Base and the establishment of the Basic Magnesium plant during the war set off what Moehring describes as a "federal trigger." Las Vegas benefitted enormously from the Cold War as an expanded Nellis and the Nevada Nuclear Test Site pumped billions of federal dollars into Clark County. The federal bonanza complemented the growth of tourism, which emerged during the 1950s as the city's most important endeavor. Within this context, Moehring provides a richly detailed narrative of the rise of gaming as the city's dominant economic force. Tourism began on a modest basis during the 1930s with the legalization of gambling and expanded with the wartime boom; it would be, however, the visionary mobster, Bugsy Seigal, who would point the city in exciting new directions with the opening of his opulent Flamingo in 1946.

This book is reflective of recent trends in urban historiography. Moehring borrows heavily from the social sciences for his methodology and has focused his attention primarily upon economic and political factors. We thus learn a great deal about bond elections, convention center politics, shopping center construction, subdivision battles and pivotal city elections. We

learn especially about the growth of the city's infrastructure. But most important, we learn of the frenetic period of growth of the gaming industry along the world-famous "Strip." In the process the reader is inundated by waves of statistical data and confronted by an enormous listing of names of people and places.

At times it seems that Moehring is influenced unduly by the Las Vegas booster mentality which he seeks to describe. He appropriately describes the dreary story of discrimination against blacks, but concludes with the rationalization that "it was no worse" than in other western cities. Surprisingly, he relegates the existence and contributions of the Hispanic and Oriental communities to one sentence. Moehring acknowledges that the infusion of large sums of money from organized crime sources provided critical funding for the construction of many of the city's largest hotel-casinos before 1980; he justifies this by pointing out that most out-of-state financial institutions did not wish to become involved in a gaming economy. Although the growth of the hotel-casino industry is described in detail, the reader looks in vain for a discussion of such important social factors which are believed endemic to gaming cities: crime, delinquency, alcoholism, divorce, drug trafficking, and suicide.

Surprisingly, Moehring provides little information about the cultural life of Las Vegas. There is no mention of the lively arts community which has developed in Las Vegas during the past half-century, although we learn about the many "stars" who performed at the hotels. Similarly, discussion of the public schools is limited to governance and growth issues, while Clark County Community College is ignored and the role of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas minimized. Although Moehring identifies the pervasive booster spirit which has long characterized the leadership of Las Vegas, he does not provide an analysis of this intriguing phenomenon. Although he alludes to the "notorious image" that has plagued Las Vegas, this reviewer wishes that he had more vigorously pursued this unique aspect of the city's history because it is what has set Las Vegas (along with its smaller sister city of Reno) apart from all other American cities.

These omissions notwithstanding, Moehring has written one of the most important books on Nevada to appear in the past decade. It is must reading for anyone concerned with the history of Nevada or twentieth-century urban America.

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The Source and the Vision: Nevada's Role In The Civil War. By Leslie Burns Gray. (A Bicentennial Book by Gray Trust, 1990. 356 pp., notes, index.)

FOLKLORISTS SUGGEST THAT THE LANDSCAPE becomes infused with power from what occurred there, i.e. Thoreau's Walden Pond, Twain's Mississippi River, Cather's Midwestern prairies, Steinbeck's Monterey Bay. Despite all of their writing on Nevada, J. Ross Browne, Dan DeQuille, and Mark Twain did not create a sense of place or bestow upon the Nevada landscape guardian spirits. The impoverishment of place is the message of these writers. Nevadans must exist with the stark reality of the place without the enchantment of literary myth and legend. Contemporary historians and writers are largely thrown back upon the raw material of time and place as they seek to relate an illusive past.

Leslie Gray does not find the past illusive. He uses politicians and constitutional documentation to create lost roots, to create a respect, to create a fascination for Nevada's early origins. While proud and satisfied with Nevada's congressional role in the immediate post-Civil War era, Gray's enthusiasm leads him to reclaim politicians and to try and turn the era into a rich political sojourn for Nevada and the nation.

Author Gray does for Nevada's Civil War period and for Senators William Stewart and James Nye what the publication *Confederate Veteran,* attempts for the Old South. In requesting financial assistance, the March-April, 1990 issue of the magazine declares, "In defending our Confederate heritage . . . it is important not only to react to negative images, but also to arrive, to create positive images of the Confederacy." Fundamentally Gray wishes to create positive images for Nevada and for Nevada's early congressional delegation.

The Source and the Vision is a detailed political and constitutional account of circumstances surrounding Nevada's admission to statehood in 1864 and the role of the state's congressional delegation during the ratification of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. More specifically, the book is a compilation of senatorial debate during the six year period 1864-1870. It is at one and the same time a reference work and a Victorian potpourri focusing on a now seemingly distant age. Throughout there is an assumption that one of the traditional roles of the Nevada political writer is to provide a window on the past and to bear witness to the state's role in the Congress of the United States. And bear witness Gray does. Consequently the book is personal, as well as professional in intent and filiopietistic as well as analytical in character. Gray, like Thomas Carlyle and Effie Mona Mack, accepts the "great man theory" of history. He argues that Stewart influenced events, while most academics have argued that events influenced Stewart. The book is not, however, an apology or a justification. Gray

has mined the congressional speeches and he never bends the truth to fit a theory, prove a point, or give the comfortable glow of political correctness. Nevertheless, in *The Source and the Vision* politics and the law drive all. Gray pictures a hard serious world and some are declared wanting.

Well over half of the work is devoted to the senatorial speeches of William Stewart and James Nye. Gray reflects a deep admiration for Stewart—finding him "sincere and reasonable," a "faithful servant" who provided "legislative inspiration" and was "selfless and relentless" in his service to Nevada and the nation. Gray pointedly challenges academics and others who have been critical of the senator.

Gray writes for the insider; he assumes the reader is intellectually curious, politically oriented, and historically concerned. In short, he often does not take time to set the stage, to paint the background, to analyze the disparate interests. His introduction of characters requires prior knowledge. For the age in general, and for Stewart in particular, speech was a religion. All had to be sacrificed to rhetorical ambition. Indeed, in acknowledging the remarks of his own editor, Gray quotes her as saying, "I laughed out loud when transcribing some of the senatorial natterings about points of order and similar issues of immense impact. Does the U.S. Senate still carry on at times like kids in a sand box?" (v)

Critics have sometimes noted that the details of early Nevada politics and the rivalries which shaped the infant state were as dry and unproductive as the desert itself. They argue that Nevada attracted its share of ambitious men who were not above embellishing the story of their achievements. According to the critics most officeholders were more interested in political success than in intrinsic values. And while agreeing that Stewart never allowed reality and pragmatism to blur or slip from his grasp, nevertheless, the critics seek in vain for memorable wisdom or calm humility. Stewart epitomized an age in which politicians seemed to have "an iron ego" and "a brass mouth."

Gray's position and beliefs are always clear; he has no doubts; he does not agree with the critics. Rather he demonstrates a kind of traditional reverence for Nevada's founders. He recognizes and often jokes about the rapacious political-economic skullduggery of the age and yet he is fascinated and admiring of the system and most of the major players. He almost creates a 1776-1789 "founding fathers" image for Nevada. For example, on the back cover he declares, "The extended research has taught me that the best Governor of Nevada was the first one, the best Senators were the first two, and that the first three congressmen stand unexcelled in our annals."

Wilbur S. Shepperson
University of Nevada, Reno

The Earps' Last Frontier: Wyatt and Virgil Earp in the Nevada Mining Camps, 1902-1905. By Jeffrey M. Kintop and Guy Louis Rocha. (Reno: Great Basin Press, 1989. 60 pp., bibliography, illustrations.)

MY INTEREST WAS QUICKLY AROUSED WHEN IT WAS announced that a book was in publication about the Earps in Nevada. Reading newspaper files twenty-plus years ago, I had noted an item in a 1905 *Elko Daily Free Press* about the death of Virgil Earp in Goldfield. I made a mental note at that time that it would be interesting to know more about Virgil's presence in Nevada.

On learning that the new book was by Jeffrey Kintop and Guy Rocha, I looked forward to reading it. Kintop is an entertaining speaker, well organized in his delivery. Rocha is an excellent researcher and an experienced historical writer. There is some new information in the book, and the tale it spins is entertaining. Overall, the tale is told in a very readable style. This little volume is not intended as a scholarly monograph; it is a popular history item. The size and price are appropriate and the cover appealing.

As their story reveals, the Earp brothers had made their names and reputations long before settling down to a fairly uneventful life in Nevada. The few occasions where their lives might have risen from the ordinary occurred mostly in the minds of news reporters, in articles located by Kintop and Rocha through a lot of research in old Nevada newspapers. The clips clearly make the point that the Earps were known by reputation, and for them a hand on a holstered gun was usually enough to settle things down. There is no indication that any "young guns" ever sought them out to make a reputation, as Hollywood would have us believe was the fate for the fastest gunmen.

At this point the review must change direction. This is a desktop publishing edition, and it demonstrates the dangers of that function in word processors. Lines of type on the pages are unjustified (the right margin is ragged, like typewriter pages), which is unnecessary and detracts from readability. The type, apparently a laser printer form of Times Roman, is too large for the pages, or else the between-typelines spacing (leading) is inadequate. Use of a totally different typeface for italics (Courier) is amateur. Chapter headings in Bodoni type are set in all-capitals, crowding lines.

Creating an attractive, readable book involves both art and skill. There are many references available on book design, and anyone with desktop publishing capability should avail themselves of this assistance.

On the whole, Great Basin Press is an endeavor worthy of encouragement for its work in presenting more of Nevada's history. It should be praised for bringing glimpses of our past to us in a popular format.

Bob Stewart
Carson City, Nevada

Sagebrush Soldier: Private William Earl Smith's View of the Sioux War of 1876. By Sherry L. Smith. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989, 158 pp., notes, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index.)

EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE THERE COMES to the crowded field of Great Sioux War literature a thoroughly satisfying new book, and that is precisely what we have in Sherry Smith's *Sagebrush Soldier.* Her "sagebrush soldier" is Private William Earl Smith, Fourth U.S. Cavalry, whose 1876 diary of General George Crook's Powder River Expedition forms the core of this work. Author Smith, who coincidently is Private Smith's great-great granddaughter, wraps the diary into a larger, well-told telling of Crook's third consecutive campaign against Sioux and Cheyenne Indians in the government's fateful effort to control these heretofore nomadic northern plains buffalo hunters.

The paucity of frontier enlisted soldier diaries is a well-established fact. What compelled Private Smith to take up the pen is not clear, but through Crook's autumn Powder River Expedition he did keep a detailed daily journal. Despite spending some of the November and December campaign as an orderly assigned to Colonel Ranald Mackenzie's headquarters camp, Smith's usual journal perspective was framed by his low rank. Comments about food, his distinct contempt for the regiment's abrasive sergeant major, and personal fears about Indian campaigning are altogether common. Smith's diary, fortunately, contains insightful human interest notes: on November 9 two soldiers of the "old gard" who showed such disrespect for Colonel Mackenzie that they subsequently spent the next hour and a half saluting a stump as punishment; or the candid descriptions of the November 25 fight with Cheyennes on the Red Fork of the Powder River in northern Wyoming. Although this was the crowning accomplishment of Crook's fall campaign, through Private Smith's eyes we read of a pathetic encounter with an old Indian woman, about the hazards of thickly flying bullets, and of his grieving for the dead.

What makes *Sagebrush Soldier* doubly satisfying is author Smith's embellishment of Private Smith's story. By pairing his diary with other enlisted and officer accounts, plus official records, Crook's movements culminating in the fight on the Red Fork of the Powder have substance and perspective. Equally noteworthy is Sherry Smith's sensitive look at the Cheyennes and their participation in this Great Sioux War. The death of women and children does not make for pleasant nighttime reading, and their harrowing experiences after the Red Fork fight are particularly grim. Smith's story is not moralistic, but simply honest.

By all measures Sherry Smith's *Sagebrush Soldier* is a first class work. Her great-great grandfather's diary is insightful. She tells the story of the

1876 Powder River Expedition with careful balance. This is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature on this great conflict.

Paul L. Hedren
Williston, North Dakota

Preserving the Game in the Vanishing West. By J. R. Jones. Preface by Margaret E. Murie. (Boise: Hemingway Western Studies Center/Boise State University, 1989. 172 pp., bibliography, index, illustrations.)

J. R. Jones was a "devilish good romancer" like his uncle and these stories are entertaining stories, well told. One of his articles alerted the nation to the sad condition of the elk herds (though, according to a preface by Margaret Murie, he was wrong about the reason for their plight). Jones also argued for more wildlife refuges (though he was a big-game hunter's guide). And make no mistake in underestimating his courage as a westerner "on the ground" to speak out for wildlife protection (though not all wildlife, for he did not like snakes, squirrels, wolves, eagles, foxes or coyotes).

But what can the historian make of a book entitled *Preserving the Game in the Vanishing West* with a cover picture of its author sitting in a chair made of antlers with the curved trophy of a bighorn sheep in his lap? What can any reader make of a book with that title which devotes most of its pages to tales of gold rush gamblers and prospectors, of homesteading, of big-game hunting expeditions? And what are we to make of the failure of the author and editor/compiler to reconcile the contradictions in Jones's career? In fairness, the editor tries. Jones was forever decrying the avarice of gamblers and prospectors (he was both) but we learn that he came to Jackson Hole to investigate stories of hidden gold. He gambled on rising land prices and took a homestead but failed as a farmer-stockman, became a merchant, then a hunting guide and occasional writer. The homestead was sold to the preservationists whose cause he championed because (we are told) he thought the land was best employed as a scenic tourist attraction and protected wildlife habitat. To account for Jones's dislike of wild predators, the editor admits that Jones was no ecologist but rather a preservationist.

These attempts to make Jones's career admirable in our environmentally conscious age do not ring true, any more than do attempts to make Hemingway's brand of outdoorsmanship respectable today. (The Hemingway Western Studies Center published this book.) No matter.

For the historian, no reconciliation or apologies are necessary. Jones, though more visible, appears to have been a typical westerner trying to live off the land. Like other pioneers, he shot up the wildlife and encroached

upon its habitat until the animals were almost gone and the land despoiled. Jones and his fellow westering Americans, like the coyotes they hated, were predators also and unwilling to admit it. They took a leading role in making the West vanish. Some of them even claimed it was not their fault but the fault of "foreign" sheep herders, and "tuskers from the slums of large cities" who killed elk to sell the teeth as watch fobs to members of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. (Eventually, the BPOE helped to end this repulsive trade.) When the animal populations were depleted, the new goal of the pioneers was to preserve game for local citizens and rich headhunters from the cities (who did not live in the slums). Although Jones was the first pioneer in his own spectacularly beautiful neighborhood to cast a lonesome vote for preservation, he did nothing inconsistent with his economic interests. In this Jones was a typical pioneer and a typical American too. And that is one hard, inescapable reality in the environmental history of the American West.

Morgan Sherwood
University of California, Davis

NEW RESOURCE MATERIALS

University of Nevada, Reno

N.S.T. and Company Financial Ledger

The N.S.T. and Company, identified only by its initials, was located at Tybo, Nye County. The ledger is a financial daybook and dates from August 1, 1876 to June 30, 1877. Any assistance in identifying the full name of this company would be appreciated.

R. N. Graves Correspondence

This letterpress copy book dates from October 16, 1866 to June 16, 1867 and contains Graves's letters as mine superintendent to George R. Spinney and S.P. Dewey, mine officers in San Francisco. Graves's Gold Hill mine is not identified by name but these letters provide a wealth of information about the mines' progress and that of adjacent mines (which are named), labor relations with the Gold Hill Miners' Union no. 54, joint shaft operations, and the financing of the mine works.

Mary Ellen and Alton Glass recently donated several items including letters from Thor Smith and Alton and Mila Glass regarding the sale of the Carnelian Bay Water Company, 1975; a souvenir photo book of the Coronation of King George V, 1911, which has been added to the Trenmor Coffin Papers; a photo of the Truckee River in Reno; and a table of Lake Tahoe elevations during high and low water levels, 1888-1989, compiled by the Glasses from U.S.G.S. Water Supply papers and U.S. District Court Water Master records.

Susan Searcy
Manuscript Curator

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