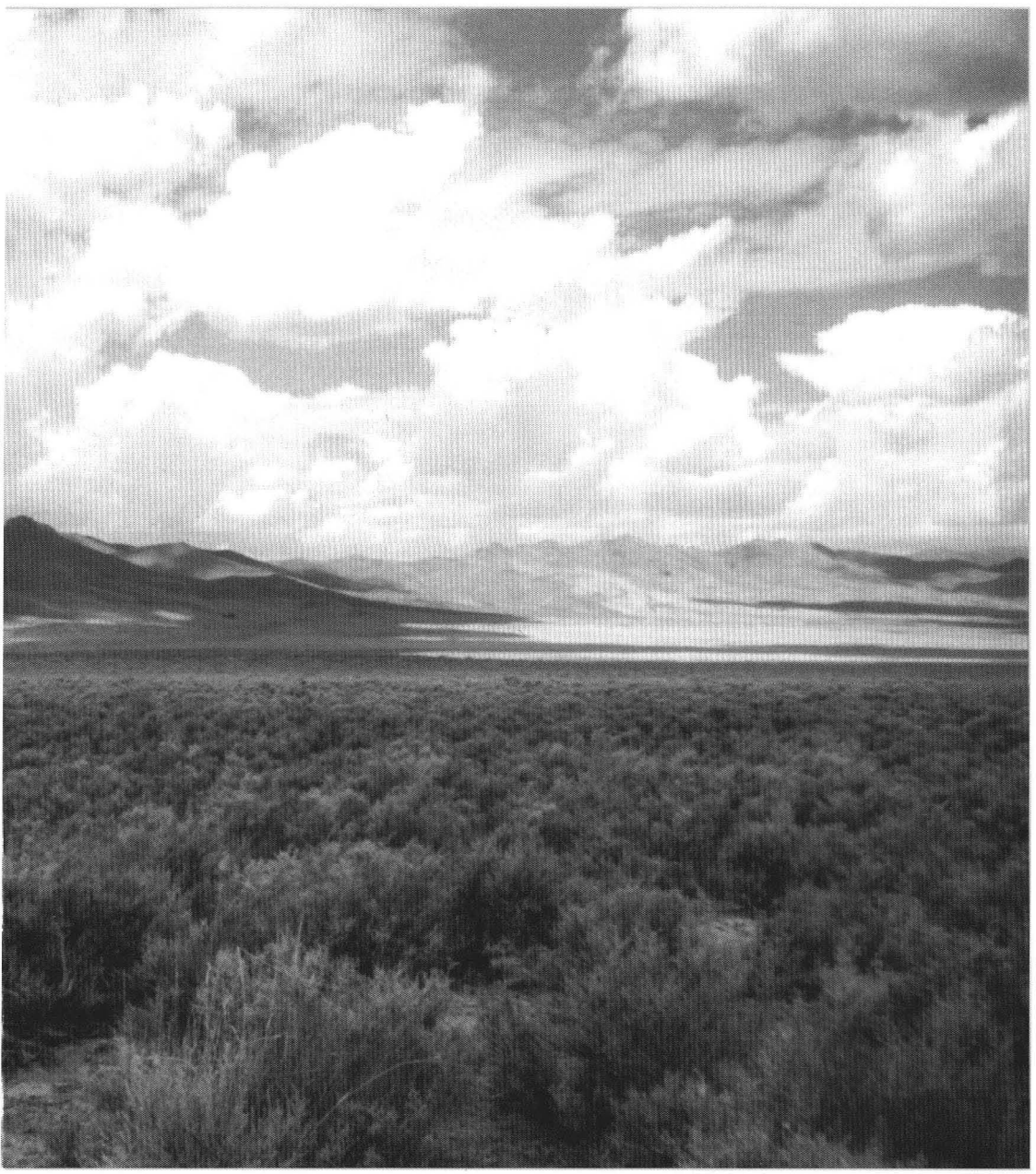
Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly



FALL 2001

Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

The *Nevada Historical Society 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; 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, along with a copy on disk (in MAC© or IBM© compatible form-WordPerfect© 5.1, 6.0, or Microsoft Word©). All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform to 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. Submission guidelines are available on request. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor.

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Front Cover: Thousand Springs Valley, Nevada. *(Polly Aird)*

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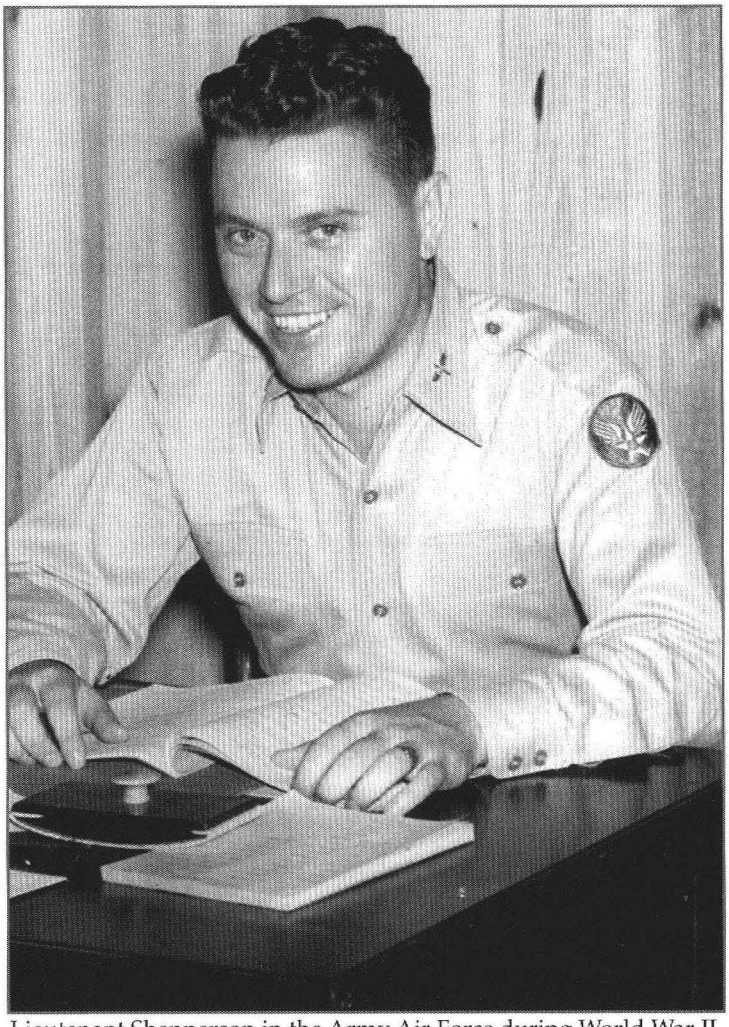
In Memorium

Wilbur S. Shepperson
1919-1991

Professor Wilbur S. Shepperson
1919-1991

This fall 2001 marks the tenth year since the death of Professor Wilbur S. Shepperson (1919-1991) of the History Department at the University of Nevada, Reno, longtime member of the board of the Nevada Historical Society and the Department of Museums and History, and chairman of the Nevada Humanities Committee. He was prominent in almost every historical and cultural organization in the state during a forty-year career in Nevada, 1951 to 1991. He grew up on a farm in northern Missouri and graduated from Northeast Missouri State College in 1941, now Truman State University (the name change would have pleased him). After service in the Army Air Force during World War II, he received his M.A. from the University of Denver in 1947 and Ph.D. from Western Reserve University in 1951. In that year he began his career at the University of Nevada in Reno. In the following years he produced books on immigration and Nevada history: *British Emigration to North America (1957); Retreat to Nevada. A Socialist Colony During World War I (1966); Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants* (1970); *Mirage Land: Images of Nevada* (1992). He founded and edited the Nevada State Humanities annual publication, *Halcyon: A Journal of the Humanities.* Internationally, he was a Fulbright Professor to the University of Liverpool and taught at the University of Wales in Aberwyswyth. These assignments furthered his study of immigration. His widow Margaret survives him in Reno as does his daughter, Tara, and two grand daughters, Clare and Chelsea. A son, Carlyle, lives in France. In this tenth year since his death, it is fitting to note and remember the contributions "Shep" made to Nevada history and the cultural growth of the state.

The Editor



Lieutenant Shepperson in the Army Air Force during World War II.
(Nevada Historical Society)

Escape from Zion
The United States Army Escort of Mormon Apostates, 1859

Polly Aird

Ten years before, the forty-niners had rushed west to find gold in California. Ten years in the future, the railroad would span the continent. But this midpoint, 1859, held significance of its own quite apart from what bracketed it on either side. It was the year of the "fifty-niners"—the would-be millionaires from the mostly depleted placer diggings in California, from the exaggerated mining prospects in British Columbia's Fraser Valley, and from the East seeking a new start after the depression of 1857—who swarmed toward Pike's Peak in the Rocky Mountains, lured by the glowing reports of new-found gold.

In Nevada, then still part of Utah Territory, gold was discovered on the Walker River near Mono Lake and at Gold Hill. Before the year was out, the latter boomed into the silver riches of the Comstock Lode. Carson City, a mere hamlet of some twelve houses and two stores in June, exploded with a population of 4,000 by December.[1] Reno did not become a town until nine years later, and Las Vegas not for nearly half a century. In 1859, the only area of activity by Americans was in Carson Valley. Two years earlier, 450 Mormons living at the base of the Sierra Nevada had been called back to Salt Lake City to defend Zion in the so-called Mormon War of 1857. Despite the small number of residents remaining, there emerged a movement to split off the western half of Utah Territory (which, since its creation in 1850, reached to California) into a separate territory, a movement that gained momentum when a constitutional convention was held in 1859 to establish a provisional government and elect officials.[2]

Carson Valley and particularly Genoa, the oldest settlement, saw a parade of people coming and going that year. From California, they rushed over the Sierra to Washoe, reversing the westward trend characteristic of the intermountain mining frontier up to that time. From the East, however, came a stream of emigrants, including one unusual group of between 160 and 200 people who

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had been escorted by a contingent of the United States Army for more than 500 miles from Camp Floyd, southwest of Salt Lake City. The army took them just beyond today's Winnemucca; from there they traveled the last 150 miles to Genoa and then on to California on their own. They were refugees from the Mormon kingdom who had sought the army's protection because they feared their former coreligionists.

These apostate Mormons were part of perhaps the largest emigration on the California trail of any year before the Civil War. Those who kept diaries in 1859 wondered at its size: "The road is crowded to Cal. One man told us he counted 400 teams in 1/2 day, and he believed he saw 25,000 head of loose cattle that will be driven through," and "We were told . . . that the emigration was the largest ever known."[3] Captain Lafayette McLaws, one of the officers in the military escort of the apostates, noted in his diary on the army's return up the Humboldt River, "Emigration passing daily on foot, horseback & in wagons by hundreds & thousands with cattle, horses, mules, oxen, cows & sheep."[4] And Major Isaac Lynde, who led the army's expedition, reported that he had met as many as three hundred wagons a day.[5]

Journalists also continually remarked on the large emigration. One such reporter writing from Genoa in early September said, "Since I commenced writing this letter, and I am not a slow writer, I have counted no less than fifty-six wagon loads of immigrants, going towards California . . . . In my opinion not less than fifty thousand persons will seek a home in California by this route."[6] If his estimate is right, the 1859 number equals that of the high tide of the California gold rush in 1852.[7]

Among those who entered the scene from the East in 1859 was Captain James H. Simpson, a topographical engineer of the United States Army who had been ordered to find a new and shorter route between Salt Lake City and Genoa. In this he succeeded admirably, eliminating some 250 miles—or about two weeks of traveling—compared to the old Humboldt River road. By the next year, 1860, his route was followed by the Pony Express, the Overland Mail, and the telegraph, and was favored by many emigrants.

A second national figure, Horace Greeley, the famous editor of the *New York Tribune* who once advised, "Go West, young man," took his own counsel and arrived in Genoa in late July after an exhausting ten-day stagecoach ride from Camp Floyd. During the last five days the stagecoach went day and night, and in Genoa, Greeley stayed only long enough for a meal and to deliver a short speech.[8] In his dispatch to the *Tribune,* he was effusive in his praise of Carson Valley:

> I may never see this lovely valley again...but its beauty, its seclusion, its quiet, the brightness of its abundant rivulets, the grandeur of its inclosing mountains, the grace and emerald verdure of their vesture of pines, have graven themselves on my memory with a vividness and force which only he who has passed weary weeks on some great, shadeless, verdureless desert can fully realize.[9]

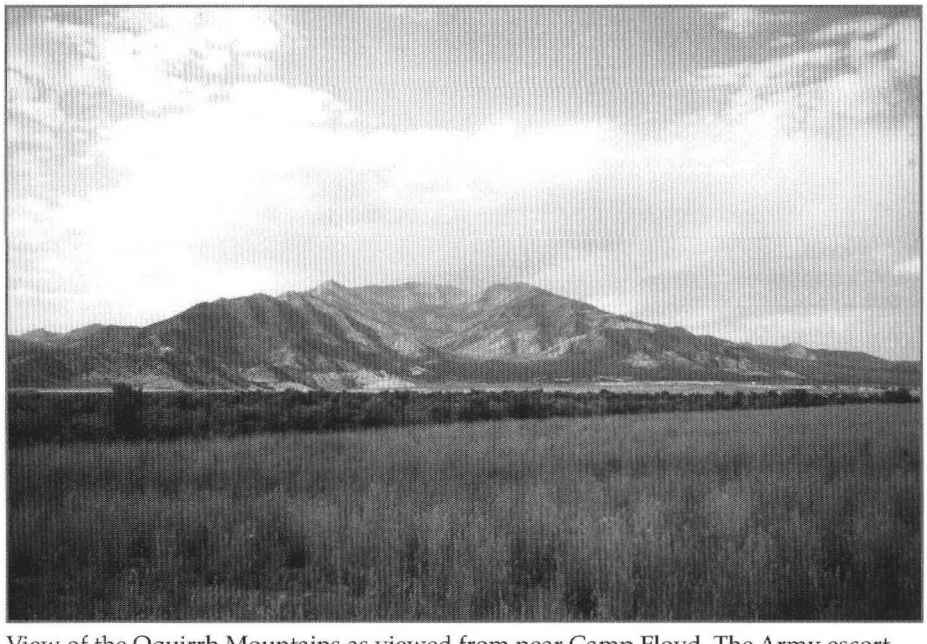
Meanwhile, 570 miles to the east, on the other side of Utah Territory, lay the established Mormon settlements; there, excitement and turmoil also ran high, but the drama was from a far different cause. It was reckoning time. Rather than welcoming the discovery of new mines and opening the doors to development of all kinds, Brigham Young and the Mormon leaders were looking at events through a very different lens.

Having established themselves twelve years earlier in this remote region in order to be free of the persecutions they had suffered in Missouri and Illinois, the Mormons wanted only to live their religion without interference. But in 1857, newly elected President James Buchanan listened to public pressure voiced in the eastern presses protesting polygamy and a theocracy existing in the midst of a democracy, and especially to tales of trouble that earlier federal officials in Utah Territory had brought back to Washington. In response, he acted decisively and ordered to Utah 2,500 troops, the largest number anywhere in the United States, to put down the "rebellion" and make sure the Mormon people accepted new federal officials, including a governor to replace Brigham Young. This massive show of power entered the Salt Lake Valley in June 1858, and in the end peacefully, marching through the city and establishing Camp Floyd some forty miles southwest in Cedar Valley. Thus ended the Mormon War, but not the federal presence.

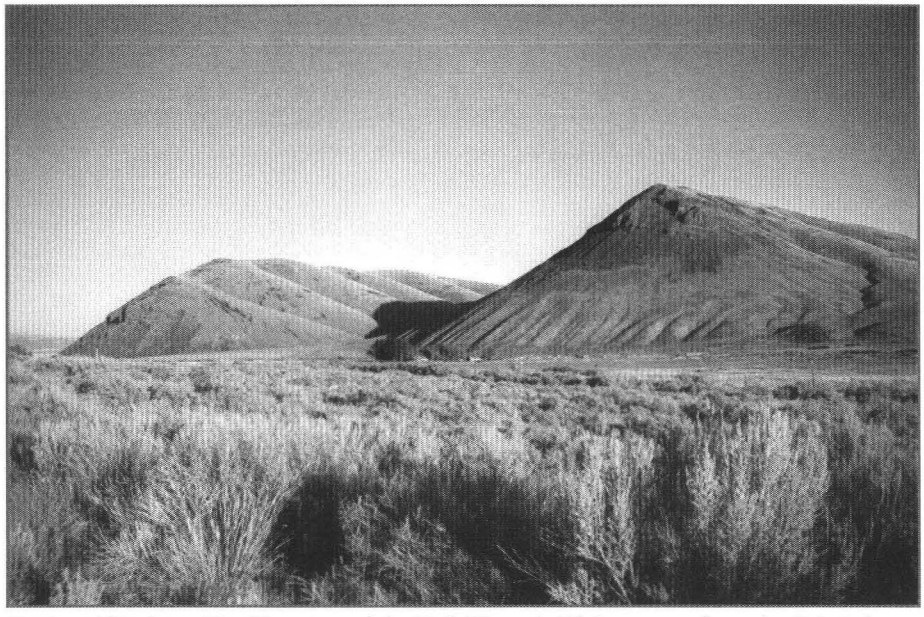
This situation sparked hot emotions, which ran especially high for the three years between 1856 and 1859 as outside and inside pressures mounted in Mormon Zion. From the inside came the church-led "reformation," in which people were driven to confess real or imagined sins when grilled by the leaders and one another, and were ritually rebaptized. Inflammatory preaching revived the tenet of "blood atonement," which held that some sins, including adultery and apostasy, were so unforgivable they could be cleansed only through shedding the person's blood by slitting the throat from ear to ear. In perhaps the most famous sermon on this subject, Brigham Young declared, "There are sins that can be atoned for by an offering upon an altar as in ancient days; and there are sins that the blood of a lamb, or a calf, or of turtle doves, cannot remit, but they must be atoned for by the blood of the man."[10]

To "cut people off from the earth" was "strong doctrine," Young explained in the same sermon. But he felt driven to excessive exhortations to consolidate his people. He wished to limit the influence of the rising number of non-Mormons ("Gentiles") who had also settled in Utah. He needed to integrate the annual arrival of new Mormon immigrants, mostly from Great Britain and Scandinavia, many of whom did not speak English. And finally, he wanted to get rid of resident apostates, the festering abscess that required lancing and cleaning before it could infect other parts of the collective Mormon body. Such extreme statements, he hoped, would frighten people into clinging to their faith ever more fervently, or result in quickly cutting away the bad flesh.[11] George A. Hicks, a Mormon who lived through this period, related that, "The wildest

Site of Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley, Utah. These six photos were taken by the author along the route that the Army escort followed. *(Polly Aird)*



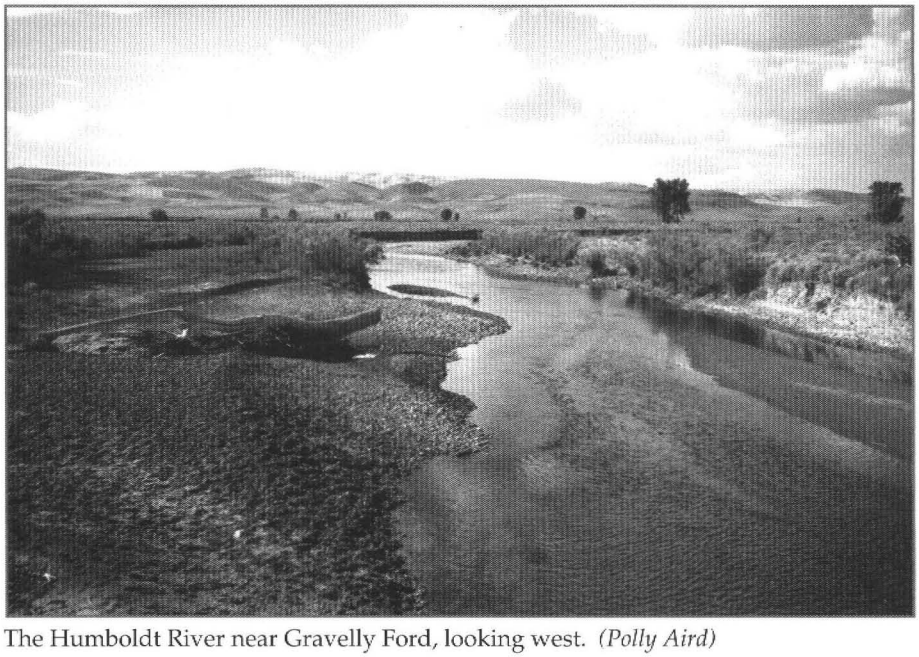
View of the Oquirrh Mountains as viewed from near Camp Floyd. The Army escort would have followed a road to the right of the mountains as they headed toward Salt Lake City. *(Polly Aird)*



Bookend Rocks at The Narrows of the Raft River, in Idaho near where the Salt Lake Cutoff joined the California Trail. *(Polly Aird)*

The Raft River, in Idaho near where the Salt Lake Cutoff joined the California Trail. *(Polly Aird)*

Thousand Springs Valley, Nevada. *(Polly Aird)*



The Humboldt River near Gravelly Ford, looking west. *(Polly Aird)*

bombast was preached as the Gospel of Christ. The church was to be purified; undesirable people were to be removed."[12]

Statements on blood atonement have been discounted by many Mormon historians as nothing more than fire-and-brimstone preaching that was never acted upon. One historian, however, has carefully cited at least a dozen murders in which the evidence is quite compelling that they resulted from such a belief.[13] George Hicks, from his perspective of that period, reported the result of the fiery preaching: "A spirit of secret murder stalked abroad among the people, and many of the 'undesirables' lost their lives by being murdered by unknown assassins, unknown so far as the general public were concerned."[14] Even if some murders were not the direct result of the doctrine of blood atonement per se, Brigham Young, as the president and prophet of the church, still carried the responsibility for his preaching and that of the other leaders, which fostered an atmosphere in which violence was acceptable. He was also responsible for the repeated emphasis on unquestioning obedience to church authority, which undoubtedly led some members to act on his words. And, finally, since Mormons read the scriptures literally, why would they not have taken literally the words that he, a prophet, spoke as well?

The best documented case of killing for the sin of apostasy is that of the Parrish-Potter murders in Springville, Utah County, in March 1857. Briefly, William Parrish with his sons Beason and Orrin, having become disillusioned with Mormonism, decided to leave Utah. According to William's wife, Alvira, "There had been public preaching at Springville, to the effect that no apostates would be allowed to leave, if they did, hog-holes in the fences would be stopped up with them . . . . My husband was no believer in the doctrine of killing to 'save' as taught by the teachers."[15] Two men had duped William into believing that they, too, wished to leave the territory, but they actually had been sent by the bishop to gain William's confidence and find out when the Parrishes were planning to leave. William and Gardner "Duff" Potter, one of the betrayers, fixed on an afternoon to wait outside the city walls until dark when William's sons would come with the second man, Abraham Durfee. The affair was partially bungled, and, in an ambush, Potter was killed along with William and the older son, Beason. Several testimonies taken two years after the murders suggest the direction of the plot involved the entire church reporting line from Brigham Young down to Aaron Johnson, bishop of Springville.[16]

Six months later, in September, a more horrendous event took place at Mountain Meadows near Cedar City, in what is now southwestern Utah. A party of more than a hundred emigrants, mostly families from Arkansas bound for southern California, accompanied by a group of ruffians calling themselves Missouri Wildcats who probably were herding a large drove of cattle, were betrayed and murdered by the Mormons with some assistance from local Indians. Only seventeen small children were spared. The cause of this infamy was most likely a fervent desire to avenge the 1844 murder of the founder and

prophet of Mormonism, Joseph Smith, and his brother Hyrum, and also the murder just four months earlier, in May 1857, of one of the most beloved church leaders, Parley Pratt, who had been killed in the same area of Arkansas from which the emigrants came. Joseph, Hyrum, and Parley were martyrs, and their followers ached for revenge.[17]

The prevailing attitude is revealed in minutes kept by Thomas D. Brown

> Bror Jno. [John] Lott . . . spoke of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, of the rise of this church, of his suffering tarring and feathering—and other persecutions . . . . We suffered from damned Sectarians in Missouri, driven, robbed and murdered. I hope to see the day when the blood of martyrs will be avenged, and these damnable rebels make restitution, or the children suffer for the wickedness of their Fathers. We will do good, God being our helper.

In the same meeting, "Bror Lewis, reviewed the principles of the previous speakers all good & for good. All the scenes Bror Lott has recounted I shared in, my Brother Benjamin was killed in Missouri, and I am alive to avenge his blood when the Lord will."[18]

Fueling this fire just a month before the massacre, Brigham Young wrote sardonically to Jacob Hamblin, who lived near Mountain Meadows,

> We have an abundance of 'news.' The Government have at last appointed an entire set of officials for the Territory. These Gentry are to have a body guard of 2500 of Uncle's Regulars . . . . The current report is that they somewhat query whether they will hang me with or without trial. There are about 30 others whom they intend to deal with."[19]

Now another prophet was to be added to the roster of martyrs.

Juanita Brooks, author of the most definitive account to date of what became known as the Mountain Meadows massacre, attributed the cause to war hysteria and mob psychology, primarily whipped up by corpulent George A. Smith, a Mormon apostle, when he made a hurried trip through the southern settlements shortly before the event. Smith's report of that trip, however, described his surprise at the fervor he found existing there already: "There was only one thing that I dreaded and that was a spirit in the breasts of some to wish that vengeance for the cruelties that had been inflicted upon us in the States. They did feel that they hated to owe a debt and not be able to pay it."[20] No doubt agitation, anxiety, and foreboding at the approach of the United States Army and the fundamental belief in obedience to church authorities played roles in the deed.

No person was ever charged or punished in the Parrish-Potter murders, and only one man, John D. Lee, was convicted in the Mountain Meadows massacre, but not until twenty years after the event. The Mormons at the time denied any part, blaming the massacre on the Indians, and in both cases used every ploy to protect their own so that federal officials were continually thwarted in their investigations. An atmosphere of violence, suspicion, secrecy, and retaliation pervaded Mormon towns; Brigham Young himself was so fearful that the

soldiers meant to assassinate him that he rarely went out and always had an armed guard.[21]

Murder and fear, of course, were not the only preoccupations in the Mormon settlements. Once the army established itself at Camp Floyd, normal pioneer activities resumed: building adobe houses and walls around the cities; planting orchards, vegetables, and wheat; establishing new towns; welcoming immigrants each fall; attending meetings; and paying tithes. But for those whose faith was shaken, the harsh preaching, the murders, and the associated community tension loomed large. One can imagine, then, the strain endured by those who had become disillusioned and contemplated leaving the faithful to escape west and join the emigrant tide, but who dared not reveal it to anyone for fear of their personal safety.

At Camp Floyd, meanwhile, the United States Army stood ready to protect the new federal officials in their roles in Utah Territory and was looking for an excuse to fight the Mormons. The commander, General Albert Sidney Johnston, responded to other needs as well, particularly that of protecting emigrants along the California Trail from Indians and bandits. The road to California, for road it was by then, was particularly unsafe in the late 1850s between Fort Hall (in present-day Idaho) and the Humboldt Sink, five hundred miles to the west. The causes were numerous: lack of representation of the region's Native Americans in the Fort Laramie Treaty Council of 1851; failure of the Office of Indian Affairs to approve, and of the United States Senate to ratify, an 1855 treaty made by Indian agent Garland Hurt with the western Shoshone; nonmaterialization of gifts sometimes promised by Indian agents; lack of army posts on this section of the road (construction of Fort Churchill, twenty-five miles east of Dayton and the Comstock, was not started until 1860); indiscriminate robbing, raping, and murdering of Indians along this route by unscrupulous white traders or bandits; and the market in the northern Mormon settlements for stolen stock or other goods obtained by the Indians and outlaws.[22]

But the greatest cause of attacks by the Indians was simply that they were starving. Frederick Lander, superintendent of a large government road-building effort, related in early 1859 what Washakie, chief of the eastern Shoshone, had told him:

> Before the emigrants passed through his country, buffalo, elk, and antelope could be seen upon all the hills; now, when he looked for game, he saw only wagons with white tops and men riding upon their horses; that his people were very poor, and had fallen back into the valleys of the mountains to dig roots and get meat for their little ones.[23]

Compared to Washakie's eastern Shoshone, the western bands were significantly worse off. They roamed the land through which the California road traversed, from the Bear and Malad rivers and Goose Creek Mountains to the valley of the Humboldt and about a hundred miles south of the river. The

Mormons had settled in the fertile valleys at the foot of the Wasatch Mountains where the Indians had formerly hunted, and the emigrants swept through the desert to the west, denuding it of game and cutting the piñon pines vital for their nuts. The western Shoshone were forced to search out the smallest food sources, including roots and pine nuts, crickets, grasshoppers, lizards, snakes, ants, grass seeds, and bark. The emigrants, having no understanding of the skill it took to find such food in the desert, in derogation called them Digger Indians.

Frederick Dodge, the Indian agent in the western part of Utah Territory, portrayed their plight in his 1859 report:

> The Humboldt Indians see by the experience of other tribes that roads are the harbingers of civilization, and the certain sign of their own subjugation and final extirpation. All they ask is something to eat. And herein lies the true secret of most of the Indian depredations upon this great line of travel . . . . They must . . . steal or starve.[24]

In the same year, an old mountaineer, Charles H. Miller, referring to the western Shoshone, described how trouble could start:

> As to the emigration, the Indians often approach small trains and ask for food or presents, sometimes endeavoring to frighten the emigrants into giving them these articles. The emigrants resist, and often fire upon the Indians. Blood once shed, the next party of emigrants is almost sure to be attacked.[25]

The Indians had many reasons for attacking emigrant trains, but they were also blamed for depredations committed by white men. These bandits, who dressed and painted themselves as Indians, were probably outlaws and refugees from justice, or men who, having failed to make their stake in the California gold rush, now found an easier way to riches. There was little doubt about their ethnicity, for people who survived attacks reported that some had long beards, light hair, blue eyes, and spoke English fluently to each other.[26]

Some claimed the bandits were Mormons, others that they were Mormon apostates. Secretary of War John B. Floyd, probably still reacting to the Mountain Meadows massacre and inclined to believe the worst about the Mormons, wrote at the end of 1859,

> Murders and robberies of the most atrocious character have been perpetrated in the Territory upon emigrants from the States journeying towards the Pacific, and, in some of the most shocking instances, by white men disguised as Indians. The general impression . . . amongst those having opportunity to know, is, that these murders are the work of the Mormon people themselves, sanctioned, if not directed, by the authority of the Mormon church."[27]

However, five years before, Brigham Young himself had warned emigrants to protect themselves after leaving Bear River against "a numerous and well organized band of *white* highwaymen, painted and disguised as Indians."[28] And in a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Jacob Holeman, an Indian agent

in 1852, wrote that at least one bandit "was once a member of the Mormon church, [but] he is now held by them in utter contempt."[29]

The "white Indians" were frequently more brutal than their "red Indian" counterparts. Delano R. Eckels, chief justice of Utah Territory, wrote to the secretary of interior about such a case in the summer of 1859: "In the first train attacked this season, on this road, there was a white woman ravished by five men, and then shot by them; but she lived until she was enabled to inform one of her party that they were all white men. They had not taken the precaution to paint the whole body." Other attacks reported that summer included one little girl about five years old who had her legs and ears cut off, her eyes gouged out, and was scalped.[30]

Thus, people wishing to leave Utah for California had much to fear from Indians and bandits. But for many of them, their blood ran especially cold from fear of fanatical Mormons. In addition to the Mountain Meadows massacre, which appalled by its numbers and the betrayal of trust, and the Parrish-Potter murders, another betrayal that demonstrated what could happen to apostates, stories of other murders were whispered through the Mormon settlements. These were said to be committed by the Destroying Angels, or Danites, Brigham Young's secret police, who were allegedly dedicated to killing and taking the property of nonbelievers.[31] How real the threat of the Destroying Angels was to apostate Mormons is impossible to gauge at this date, but there is no doubt that the perception of danger was great. According to one nineteenth-century Mormon, "The word apostate, stood for all that was vile. To call a man an apostate was the epitome of all that was evil."[32] Those who became disaffected believed they had reason to tremble.

Chief Justice Eckels gave evidence of such fear in early 1859 when he wrote while on a leave of absence to the United States secretary of state and enclosed a letter from J. V. Vernon written the previous September. Eckels described Vernon as having been a high priest of the Mormon church, but now was head of a party of apostates. Vernon's three-page letter detailed how everything in the territory was under the control of Brigham Young despite the appointment of a civilian governor and judges and the presence of the army. Continuing that "neither life nor property nor business operations are safe one hour," he ended, "If you do not return early in spring[,] we intend to leave the Territory, our lives are in jeopardy every hour while we remain here . . . . P.S. If you publish this letter[,] please do not publish my name."[33] Similarly, General Albert S. Johnston, commander of the army in Utah, received two letters that spring telling of disaffected Mormons who feared for their safety.[34]

The *Mountain Democrat* of Placerville, California, reported on the panic exhibited by Mormon refugees. Two men, said the article, were hired to guard the Overland Mail from Genoa to Big Meadows near the Sink of the Humboldt and then return with the westbound stagecoach. In their report of July 13, 1858,

the men "stated that . . . they overtook a train consisting of sixteen Mormon families . . . hastening on to Carson Valley. These families were, they said, in perpetual dread of being pursued and massacred by the Salt Lake Mormons, and were making almost super-human efforts to widen the distance between themselves and the sanguinary saints."[35]

Another example of frightened refugees was described by Lieutenant D. D. Perkins, who provided protection in 1860 along the new road to California scouted by Simpson the previous year: "On my arrival at Deep creek I found awaiting me an emigrant party, Mormon apostates, so called, of 186 men, women, and children. By means of Mormon threats, both before and after leaving Salt Lake valley, they had been reduced to a state of abject fear." Referring to this same group, Assistant Surgeon C. W. Brewer wrote, "Before leaving [the apostates] were threatened by both Brigham & their teachers, with their being overtaken on the road by the vengeance of the Danites & there being another Mountain Meadow Massacre."[36]

Even with federal protection, apostates faced danger. Captain Jesse Gove of the Tenth Infantry, in the army's winter camp near Fort Bridger, wrote in a May 1858 article to the *New York Herald*, "From the Governor's own admissions his authority is but a myth, and it is well authenticated that a party of poor people, whom he gave permission to leave the Territory unmolested, have been stopped at the cañons and their stock taken from them." He described three families who had come into camp as "the most destitute and pitiable looking objects one would wish to see." They said that twice on their way they had been detained, but then had met Governor Cumming as he was returning to camp from Salt Lake City. They "implored him to save them and pass them beyond their enemies. They assert that, had it not been for this providential meeting they would all have been killed or left to perish on the mountains."[37]

Besides believing the threats that they would be murdered, apostates also feared that they might be prevented from leaving by church authorities who claimed that they had not paid their tithing or the debt owed to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, which helped them emigrate to Utah in the first place (if they were from Europe, as the majority of the population was).[38] Kirk Anderson in Salt Lake City reported,

> A large number of apostate Mormon emigrants have left this Territory within the last few weeks. A detachment of troops . . . was deemed necessary as the church authorities here would strip and rob them on their way, and they have had agents in the cañons for weeks, demanding of the poor emigrants their tithing and dues to the 'perpetual emigration fund,' and when it was not paid, or the parties unable to pay it, their property has been taken from them.[39]

Similarly, another Salt Lake City correspondent who signed himself J. E. D. wrote, "Only to-day we were assured by one . . . who was called on for such duty this morning before daylight that there are men stationed to intercept persons who leave claims unsettled."[40] These reports are substantiated by

entries in the diary of Hosea Stout, a Danite, an attorney, and a member of the Utah legislature: "Several Lawsuits to day Three vs some Norwegians who owed the Perpetual Emmigrating Fund & were trying to leave for Cal without paying," and "Appointed attorney to collect the perpetual Emmigrating Fund debts of all those who are about to leave the Territory without paying and commenced several suits immediately."[41]

A significant number of disaffected Mormons must have left in the summer of 1859. Emigrants from the East spoke of meeting them. Howard Williams, coming from Wisconsin, noted when his party was near the Sweetwater River, "We have met quite a number of people from Salt Lake. All Mormons, or were once . . . . They say that they have lived at Salt Lake long enough and are now leaving for good. The troops sent out by the U.S. Government have opened the way for those to leave who wish."[42] Another emigrant met apostate Mormons just west of Fort Laramie: "Camped . . . with some thirty Mormons that was going back to the States saying they had a nuff of Mormonism."[43]

Papers across the country, perhaps from the same few sources, reported four or five thousand leaving, for both the East and California. The *Weekly California Express* in Marysville said that the paper's correspondent in Salt Lake City, in a letter dated late September, at the end of the emigration season, had written "A general stampede seems to have seized the sojourners, and they are leaving the Territory in all directions." An earlier report in the same paper signed by "F" in Salt Lake City said, "Many dissatisfied persons are leaving the country, and it is estimated that Brigham has lost not less than five thousand followers" since the melting snow opened the roads.[44]

This number may well be high, considering that the population in Utah was about 40,000 or 43,000, but it speaks to the unsettled conditions, conflicting pressures, and turbulent exodus then taking place.[45] Even though it would have been difficult and dangerous to leave in the summer of 1857 when the army was en route to Utah, the urge to get out spurred some to do so. Brigham Young wrote to two church leaders in Great Britain, "Our city looks as though it had taken an emetic and vomited forth apostates, officials, and in fact all the filth which was weighing us down."[46] In the following year it still would have been a challenge to leave, as the army had only just arrived and their role was uncertain.[47] But by 1859, conditions came to something of a head. As a biographical sketch of Peter McAuslan, Jr., who was one of those who left with the army escort in 1859, explained, "Upon learning from good authority that the Mormons and not the Indians were responsible for that terrible crime [the Mountain Meadows massacre], his faith in the church . . . was so shaken that he determined to leave Salt Lake City at the first opportunity."[48] Thus, there was likely a significant pent-up demand to leave, especially from families with small children, who looked to Alfred Cumming, the new governor, for protection through a military escort.

To consider leaving, however, the person must have had not only the desire,

but the means, and the majority of settlers in Utah were extremely poor, especially after having endured grasshopper and cricket plagues, followed by drought, and then by a particularly harsh winter that killed up to half the livestock in northern Utah. John Hyde, an apostate Mormon, gave a description of the problem:

> There are large numbers of persons very desirous but quite unable to leave Utah, for lack of the necessary means. They...have spent their little all in toiling there; many of them going into debt in order to get there at all. With large families dependent on them, they have to labor wearily, to provide the barest subsistence for them . . . . They are now a thousand miles from civilization. They need two months' food in advance, when it is more than they can do to provide a week beforehand. They need a wagon to carry that food, when many of them are sleeping in mud-hovels on stick bedsteads. They need a team to haul it . . . . They are poor and helpless, and helpless because they are poor.[49]

Yet such was the desire that many did find the means to escape. The group of apostates that left in 1860 was described as "having been making for three years silent but steady efforts to get away."[50]

On May 9, 1859, Governor Alfred Cumming, responding to requests, addressed a letter to General Johnston:

> Sir: The public interest requires that a military force should be furnished for the protection of persons and property on the northern route to California . . . . Many persons who contemplate leaving this Territory would probably prefer accompanying the command. You will therefore oblige me by giving me an early notice of the probable time of the departure of the troops, that I may notify the parties.

To this, Johnston replied,

> Sir: . . . I propose during the traveling season to place a force on the northern route to California for the protection of travelers . . . . If persons desirous of emigrating from this Territory could assemble at a given time and place, with their families, trains, stock, &c., complete protection by a special escort could be given them; and should I be notified by any considerable number of such intentions, I will furnish the force for their protection.[51]

On May 16, Governor Cumming asked the *Deseret News* and the *Valley Tan*, the anti-Mormon newspaper, to run the last part of Johnston's letter telling of the availability of the military escort.[52]

In the same issue of the *Valley Tan* that complied with Cumming's request, another item advertised a meeting at the California House in Salt Lake City on May 21 for those who wished to emigrate to discuss a starting date and a place to gather.[53] The California House was a hotel belonging to William H. Rogers, a respected frontier scout known familiarly as Uncle Billy, who once had been a marshal in California and then a well-known citizen of Carson Valley, which he had left less than a year before. He was now a deputy United States marshal in Utah, having been sworn in during the course of a frustrated trial for the Parrish-Potter and other murders.[54]

Attention, Emigrants

Having through His Excellency Governor Cumming, asked of Gen. Johnston a military escort to conduct us beyond the lines of danger, on our road to California, and the same being readily granted, we respectfully solicit all who wish to avail themselves of this security, and can be ready for an early start, to convene at the California House, of Uncle Billy Rogers in this city, on Saturday, the 21st., at 11 a.m., to decide upon a date for starting and place for gathering. Come one, come all!

EMIGRANTS.

Call to those wishing to leave with the U. S. Army escort. Salt Lake City's *Valley Tan, May 17, 1859*

The next letter from Governor Cumming to General Johnston came on May 24, and with it he forwarded a note from D. W. Bayliss, "chairman of an emigration meeting," and James E. D. Jester, "meeting secretary." Bayliss's letter said, "We will use every endeavor to assemble our families and gather our stock and effects at or near the crossing of Bear river, on the north route, on or before the 1st day of June . . . ." There they would await the escort. He ended the letter, "Estimating from our best information, we will number about forty families, with considerable loose stock."[55] General Johnston replied to Cumming, "A detachment of troops will march from Camp Floyd on the 12th of June . . . with instructions to accompany the emigrants and afford to them the needful protection. Before the time mentioned, it is not probable an uninterrupted march could be made, on account of high water."[56] Winter had brought unusually heavy snow in the mountains, and spring came late with high runoff from the melting snow.[57]

General Johnston then ordered two companies, one infantry and one dragoon (cavalry) for the purpose, making a total of 162 military men, with rations for eighty days.[58] On June 5, in a letter of instruction to Major Isaac Lynde, who was to lead the escort, he said, "A considerable number of defenseless families, (principally women and children), wishing to leave this Territory for California, have asked that the strong arm of the government may be specially extended over them." He added that these people wanted to travel with the detachment:

> Some of the families have come to this camp, where they will stay till you march, to obtain, they say, in the vicinity of the army, security against marauders and persecutors, which the laws of the Territory and the sentiment of the community will not give. Many families will join you near Salt Lake City, some will fall in with your column as you pass their respective homes, and others will await your arrival on Bear river.

Johnston's final word to Lynde instructed him to go no farther than the Sink of the Humboldt, unless he was convinced that the emigrants needed further protection.[59]

The apostates were seeking protection from the potential retribution of the Mormons, but the United States Army saw its mission as one of protecting emigrants from Indian or bandit attacks. In this case, however, General Johnston recognized the apostates' need and accommodated them. Although there were other escorts of emigrants, this was the only time such a group—essentially oppressed religious refugees—was given assistance in a preplanned, organized fashion.[60]

How the emigrants left their homes, with what fear or what secrecy, can only be imagined. Probably some said they were moving to another town, and then went to where they would meet the army escort. Among those who arrived at Camp Floyd in early June was the McAuslan family. They had immigrated from Scotland in 1853 and 1854 and had most recently been living in Spanish Fork, just six miles from Springville, where the Parrishes had been killed. Without a roster of those who were escorted by the army, it is difficult to say whether they were typical, but they fit General Johnston's "defenseless families" description. Peter McAuslan and his wife Betsy were nearing sixty years of age and were accompanied by their two youngest sons, Frank, age twenty-two, and David, sixteen. Their oldest son, Peter, Jr., age thirty-five, joined those leaving along with his wife Agnes and two young daughters, one almost two and the other only six weeks old. Finally, another son, William, age twenty-seven, came as well, bringing his wife Mary and their two daughters, ages four and one and a half. Mary was three months pregnant. The departure of these McAuslans represented a major split in the family, for they were leaving behind in Utah five married daughters, two wed to the same man in a plural marriage, and the other three in monogamous marriages.[61]

Also traveling under the protection of the army were D. W. Bayliss and James E. D. Jester, who had addressed the letter to Governor Cumming from the "emigration committee." These men with their families either joined the convoy as it passed through Salt Lake City, as General Johnston suggested they might, or went north to the Bear River. The 40-family estimate that Bayliss gave is the only indication of the number who decided to leave, and whether he included those who came from the settlements in Utah Valley and farther south, who would have gone to Camp Floyd, is not known. If, however, the estimate is correct and each family had 4 or 5 members, the total number would have been 160 to 200 emigrants.[62] With the escort of 155 enlisted men and 7 commissioned officers, the total company probably had 320 to 360 people.[63]

Camp Floyd, established less than a year before in a valley west of Utah Lake, resembled a substantial town with 300 to 400 small one-story adobe houses lining wide streets, and had a large parade ground. Its location forty-four miles southwest of Salt Lake City was meant to reassure the Mormons that the Army

was not there to molest and plunder or to incite trouble by having hundreds of soldiers in the streets of the city. At the same time, the military encampment declared an unmistakable federal presence. In the late spring of 1859, about twenty-eight hundred military men were stationed there, with almost as many others working for the army in some capacity, many of whom lived in adjacent Frogtown or Dobietown (Fairfield). Together they formed a community of more than five thousand people, making the second largest city in Utah Territory a military one.[64]

Everyone who wrote of visiting or living in Camp Floyd complained about the dust. Horace Greeley described what he found in July: "The soil is easily pulverized when dry, and keeps the entire area enveloped . . . in a dense cloud of dust, visible for miles in every direction. I saw it when eight miles away, as I came down from Salt Lake City."[65] Captain Albert Tracy wrote in late May, "Dust and wind today, beyond all precedent. Every one within doors, and shut close. 'Johnsoons,' we call these dust-storms now—in honor of the founder of the camp."[66] And Captain Lafayette McLaws summed it up for all: "Dust Horrible—all hate the place."[67]

Boredom was another common complaint; one officer, Captain John W. Phelps, spent a good part of his time measuring and writing notes on cloud types, temperatures, inches of rain (3.75 inches in six months), and the strength of dust devils.[68] Among the soldiers, it was mostly gambling and drinking. One emigrant whose friend visited there said, "They have half a dozen fights a day; and gambling all night. He has lived in California and says it beats all he ever saw there."[69] Excitement of another type occurred when the supply train from Atchison, Kansas, rumbled onto the military post. The forty-four wagons each pulled by eight mules had been trapped all winter at Fort Laramie, but finally arrived in Salt Lake City on June 9. Twenty-five wagons were unloaded there, and the other nineteen went on to Camp Floyd, probably arriving the day before the convoy started.[70]

By June 10, Captain Phelps reported, "A considerable number of Mormons are collected near camp to go to California with Major Lynde."[71] Lynde, in his final report on the trip, wrote, "Eight wagons with ox teams left the vicinity of this camp under my protection, which caused my progress to be slow at first. These emigrants avowed themselves to be seceders from the Mormon faith, and stated that they had reason to fear molestation from the Mormons, and for that reason they sought the protection of the troops."[72] Assuming two families to a wagon, approximately sixteen families left from Camp Floyd.[73]

On Sunday, June 12, the caravan started. According to Captain Tracy, it was an unpleasant day: "Another 'Johnsoon' in the air, and existence is almost unendurable with the dust and stifling. There is no nook or cranny but the dust will reach it . . . ."[74] Once the party left Cedar Valley and the thousands of people and animals at Camp Floyd, conditions probably improved. The convoy traveled north to join the traditional California Trail. This was because

Simpson had not yet returned from exploring the new route directly west, and Lynde's orders were to protect all emigrants on the trail along the Humboldt River. Their route thus required that they go through Salt Lake City. Two days after leaving Camp Floyd, the troops and apostates entered the city from the west.[75]

On June 13, the night before Lynde's company arrived in Salt Lake City, an incident took place that typified the hostility between the army and the Mormons. Captain Richard H. Anderson and a hundred dragoons were returning south from a month-long expedition to protect emigrants along the California road. When he arrived in Salt Lake City, he camped in a field just south of the city. Here the reports diverge. The Mormons claimed that this was part of the "Big Field" which had been planted in wheat by John Van Cott. Captain Anderson claimed it was a deserted field covered in weeds, with stock ranging on it. Van Cott asked Anderson to move his camp; when he refused, Van Cott became abusive, and Anderson put him under guard. News of Van Cott being held reached the city, and in the middle of the night the Mormon militia began to parade the streets. Governor Cumming got involved, but Anderson refused to release Van Cott to him. Eventually, in the early hours of the morning, Van Cott was freed after a federal judge issued a writ of habeas corpus. At daybreak, Captain Anderson broke camp and moved south toward Camp Floyd.[76]

The next night, June 14, Major Lynde with his command and the emigrants camped east of Sugar House on land called Parley's Park, which was owned by Samuel Snyder. The *Deseret News* claimed that they, too, "intruded themselves into a field . . . to the great damage of the owner," and that twenty soldiers went into the city that night and became "disorderly."[77] According to testimony given by Elias Smith, a Mormon probate judge, Major Lynde went to the office of Jacob Forney, the Superintendent of Indian affairs, the next day, before his command left Salt Lake City. There, according to Smith, Lynde

> said that he believed that Brigham Young had ordered every one of the murders which had been committed in the . . . Territory[,] and God damn him, he . . . wanted to have the first shot at him, . . . that they meant to have started the shooting through camping in the wheat field the other night (referring to Capt. Anderson's detachment camping in the Big Field . . . and Major Lyons[Lynde's] detachment camping on Samuel Snyders meadow . . . without leave) so that they could have had an excuse for wiping out the Mormons.

Obviously, bad feelings existed on both sides. The *Deseret News* did report, however, that when Major Lynde left the city and went through the northern Mormon settlements, he "was very careful not to encamp in the wheat fields, nor trespass in any way upon the citizens."[78]

Salt Lake City, the largest settlement between the Missouri River and California, had a population of about eight thousand in 1859.[79] Most emigrants and visitors found its wide streets and abundant shade trees pleasing, especially after weeks of trudging through sage-covered country. Captain Jesse Gove

described it shortly after he arrived with the army in 1858: "Probably no other city in the world of this size presents to the eye of the approaching *voyageur* so magnificent a prospect . . . . This city, so beautiful, so isolated from the rest of the world, at present so full of interest to the world, with its pleasant orchards and gardens, is the work of but ten years."[80] In 1859, Brigham Young's handsome Beehive House and Lion House were complete, as were the Social Hall and Council House. The first tabernacle, with a pitched roof, was the center for religious services, and the temple foundations were still hidden by dirt placed there to protect them from desecration when the army marched through the city.[81]

One seventy-year-old emigrant from Seneca Falls, New York, Hozial H. Baker, arrived in Salt Lake City the same day the army escort left. Of the city, he wrote, "Brigham Young's houses are the most conspicuous and costly; indeed the common buildings are falling to decay generally. Many have props to hold them up or keep them together. Numbers are leaving the devoted city, and many have left; an incubus seems resting upon it." After noting that many of the inhabitants were from Great Britain and Scandinavia and mostly illiterate, he said, "A general apathy seems to prevail among the inhabitants. There appear to be only two classes, the servants and rulers. The one class labors and the other lives on their labor. The laboring class seem obliging and kind . . . . Those falling structures are left by persons emigrating to the States and elsewhere."[82]

Because one of Baker's party was ill, they laid over for the next two days, which gave him a chance to see more of the city. "The arsenal, the temple [tabernacle], and even Brigham's buildings for his horses and mules are costly and splendid." He continued that because he did not have an introduction, "I saw nothing of Brigham, as he keeps himself secluded, attended by his body-guard, fearful of assassination; but I saw two of his wives, dressed in silks, riding in a carriage, with a negro driver, while at the same time I saw another Mormon woman, poorly clad, hoeing in a lot." He commented that he heard no profanity among the Mormons, but the "renegade" Mormons "are the vilest people in their conversation I ever knew." Baker's party started on again, but after two days, laid over once more on account of the same sick man. When he recovered, the party moved quickly, catching up to and passing Lynde's escort on June 30.[83]

Also passing through Salt Lake City and traveling on the road to California were miners returning from Pike's Peak, which had failed to live up to the superlative advertisements. "A gentleman just arrived from the East assures us that Pike's Peak is a humbug, and says he met about 10,000 persons returning to the States, many of them destitute," wrote J. E. D., the *San Francisco Herald's* Salt Lake correspondent.[84] Other reports said that thousands of men were starving and dying on the road, that the majority of the hungry and disillusioned men were going east as the nearest place to obtain provisions, that those slightly better off were headed to California, but that their condition was so wretched,

the government was issuing rations at Fort Laramie.[85] In the end, good mining was found in the Colorado Rockies, but it was experienced miners and those who persisted who made their stakes. Those duped by the tales of easy wealth had only disappointment, poverty, and hardship to show for their travels.[86]

From Salt Lake City the expedition moved north past the hot springs just outside the city, and to Farmington, which had a population of about a thousand.[87] The caravan kept to the "upper road" at the base of the mountains as the lower ground was boggy because of snow melt in the mountains. First Lieutenant Thomas Amory, at Lynde's direction, kept a detailed itinerary of the trip from Salt Lake City on. This itinerary, reproduced in Appendix B, describes the countryside, especially water, grass, and sources of fuel—the "trinity" of necessities—as well as the temperatures and miles traveled.[88] As the convoy passed through Farmington, Amory noted, "road crossed at short intervals by mountain streams; . . . all full; rushing from hills over gravelly beds; water clear and cold; road and crossings good." Twenty miles farther, the expedition passed to the west of Ogden, which, with a population of about two thousand, was the largest city north of Salt Lake City. There they found the bridge over the Weber River "out of repair" and the road nearby "miry."[89]

On May 25, J. E. D., the Salt Lake correspondent, had reported, "Already a large company is gathering on Bear river, where they have appointed a rendezvous to await the escort promised them, and they expect to take a final leave of the 'kingdom' about the first of next month." Later in the article he added, "Emigrants are fast leaving and preparing to start. Those bound for your State [California] by the northern route have . . . sought a military escort . . . and in about ten days a large company, conducted by a detachment, will leave Utah, and bid defiance to her assassins."[90] But it was not until June 18 that the escort actually reached Brigham City, the northern-most Mormon settlement, and the Bear River, having come 113 miles from Camp Floyd.

Lynde noted in his final report,

> Being informed at Brigham City that Bear river was so high that it could not be forded, I proceeded to the ferry on Bear river which is about ten miles below the usual fording place. On reaching that point I found the river very high and difficult to cross on account of the miry nature of the banks. I crossed my train by the ferry, but in doing so, had four mules drowned by the breaking of the ferry boat.[91]

This accident was reported by the *Valley Tan:* "The waters north are still high. Bear River is six feet higher than it ever has been known by the ferryman. Major Lynde and command crossed last week; four of his mules, with their harness on, backed off the ferry-boat, and were drowned."[92] Amory reported that the ferryboat was "out of repair" and the river about sixty yards wide. For June 20, he wrote that the mules had been ferried over in the morning and that the day before had been spent ferrying men and forty wagons.[93] If half the wagons were for army supplies, the other twenty would have belonged to the

apostates, and, assuming two families to a wagon, the number again comes to approximately forty families who were leaving Utah by this means.

Major Lynde reported that from the Bear River to the City of Rocks (a distance of about a hundred miles), the country was generally hilly "with plenty of grass and good water, with but little fuel except sage." Near this point, the emigrant's road, known also as Hensley's Salt Lake Cutoff, joined the main California road.[94] The route skirted south of the City of Rocks, a landmark now in southern Idaho of jumbled, eroded granite where many left their names. The Salt Lake road met the California Trail five or six miles after the latter wound through the dramatic spires. Most likely some of the emigrants took a side trip to see it and caught up with the party later in the day. An earlier emigrant wrote that he saw there "sphynxes and statues of every size, and haystacks and wigwams and castles, and towers, and pyramids and cones and projecting turrets and canopies, and leaning columns, and so on throughout a thousand varieties of fantastic shapes."[95]

About twelve miles from where the trails joined, Lynde's expedition came to the foot of the Goose Creek Mountains and climbed up through Granite Pass. "The ascent to the summit of the mountain on the east side is very gradual," wrote Lynde, "but the descent on the western side is abrupt and the hills very steep." Amory added about the descent, "Road to foot of mountain rough and gravelly, up and down hill, short, sharp pitches."[96] Once at the bottom, the group crossed Birch Creek, dropped down one more ravine, and soon joined Goose Creek at Flatiron Mountain. At this point, Hozial Baker's small party caught up to where the escort caravan was camping: "Passed soldiers' encampment,—two companies, designed as a guard for the Mormon emigrants as far as the Humboldt River." Baker went on to describe meeting Indians there, "We have calls from Sho-Shone Indians about every meal, for biscuits. They are great beggars, yet always seem pleased." He noted what a luxury it was to eat dinner under the shade of some "cedar" (juniper) trees that grew on the sides of the mountains. Most of the country was only sagebrush, and the summer heat had arrived, which Amory noted each day. Baker ended that day with, "Now on again, over hills and through gulches, the sun burning our feet over the heated gravel and stones."[97] Near this point, the emigrants passed over what would become the Utah-Nevada border.[98]

The emigrant road followed Goose Creek, left it to cross Rock Spring Valley, and eventually came to Thousand Springs Valley. Amory described the last as having "a dry creek, with water in holes, running from one thousand springs."[99] Here Hozial Baker, whose party must have stopped, met the army group again: "Passed those soldiers, in camp at the so-called Thousand Springs. They were slaughtering an ox." One of his party bought some beef from them at seven cents a pound.[100] The next day, Lynde's party reached the head of Thousand Springs Valley, where hot and cold springs lay within feet of each other. Many emigrants commented in their journals on the sulfur smell from the hot wells.[101]

Howard Williams, an emigrant who arrived there nine days after Lynde's convoy, noted that the water from the hot springs "runs a few rods and empties into a cold water stream. It makes a fine place to bathe, right at the junction."[102]

"From Goose creek to the head waters of the Humboldt river," wrote Lynde, "a distance of about eighty miles, the grass is scarce, yet by driving stock from one to three miles from the road, a sufficient quantity can be obtained."[103] On July 4, instead of stopping to celebrate, the group traveled hard, making more than twenty miles, and crossed the divide between Thousand Springs Valley and the valley of the Humboldt River. As they approached the Humboldt Wells, now Wells, Nevada, where the Humboldt River begins, both Baker and Amory found the flies thick and annoying.[104]

Here they had their first view of the Humboldt, distinguishable in the distance by dense willows along its banks, which they were to follow for the next three hundred miles. Now in the desert, they had water, but it would become increasingly unfit to drink. The historian Dale Morgan called the river a paradox: "It was almost the most necessary river of America, and the most hated."[105] An 1859 emigrant school teacher from Iowa, James Berry Brown, echoed this sentiment when he noted in his diary, "We are now on the water of the Far famed Humbolt [*sic*]. So much dreaded and so long wished for."[106] The same month, another emigrant, Thomas Ambrose Cramer, reflected on Baron Alexander von Humboldt, for whom the river was named: "He was filled with wisdom and goodness; it [the river] only with mineral and vegetable poisons."[107]

Carson Valley's John Reese, who acted as a guide for Captain Simpson in establishing the new route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, described the old road along the Humboldt River as "objectionable, on account of high water in the spring overflowing the valley and forcing the road on the bluffs, which are very sandy."[108] Lynde confirmed this upon reaching the Humboldt:

> I found that the stream was so high that I could not travel by the usually traveled road, which passes down the north side of the stream and near its banks. I had to take the road on the south side, which runs along the base of a chain of mountains, which I found very rough and hilly, but the road was tolerably good as far as the south fork of the Humboldt river, a distance of about seventy miles.[109]

Howard Williams, who followed the army convoy on this high road and met up with them at Gravelly Ford, said, "We have come out of the way all of fifty miles[,] so the officers of the U.S. troops told us."[110]

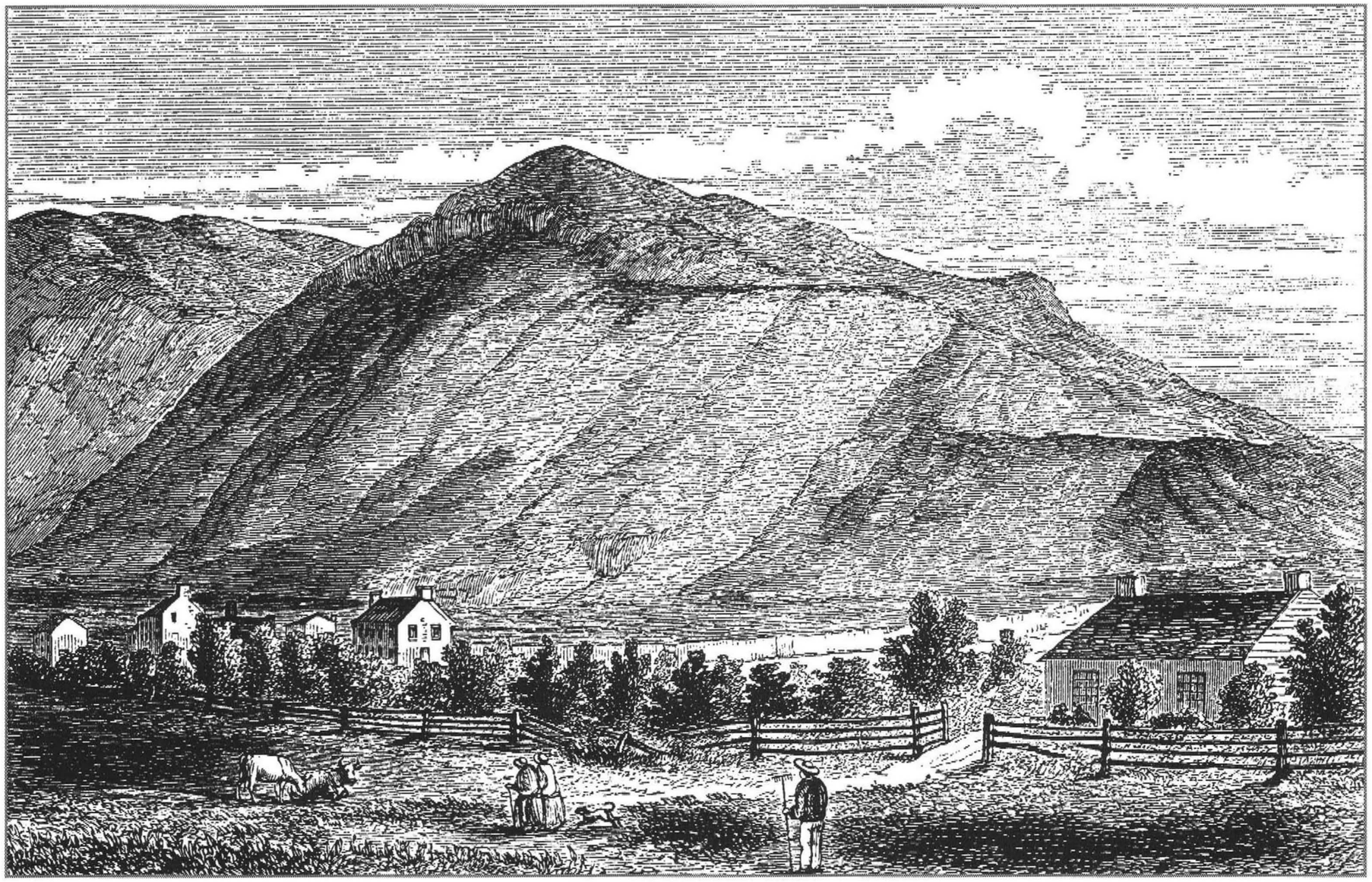
Between July 4, when Lynde's expedition first reached the Humboldt, and July 10, the weather turned cloudy and cool, often with rain in the evenings; this change must have helped to keep the dust down and been a relief from the hot days they had experienced since leaving Camp Floyd.[111] After crossing the South Fork of the Humboldt, the convoy entered Carlin Canyon and then detoured around Palisade Canyon, going over Emigrant Pass and down Emigrant Canyon. Lynde noted, "The mountains close in upon the river, and the road passes over a mountainous country, and does not again touch the valley

of the Humboldt for a distance of about fifty miles, near Gravelly Ford. This distance is over some of the worst hills and the worst road I ever saw."[112] Midway on this section, Captain McLaws reported that they came on Pike's Peakers who were "the most destitute" of emigrants; the apostates gave them milk and also beef in exchange for driving their cattle. McLaws also remarked on the "magnificent" scenery as they went through Carlin Canyon.[113]

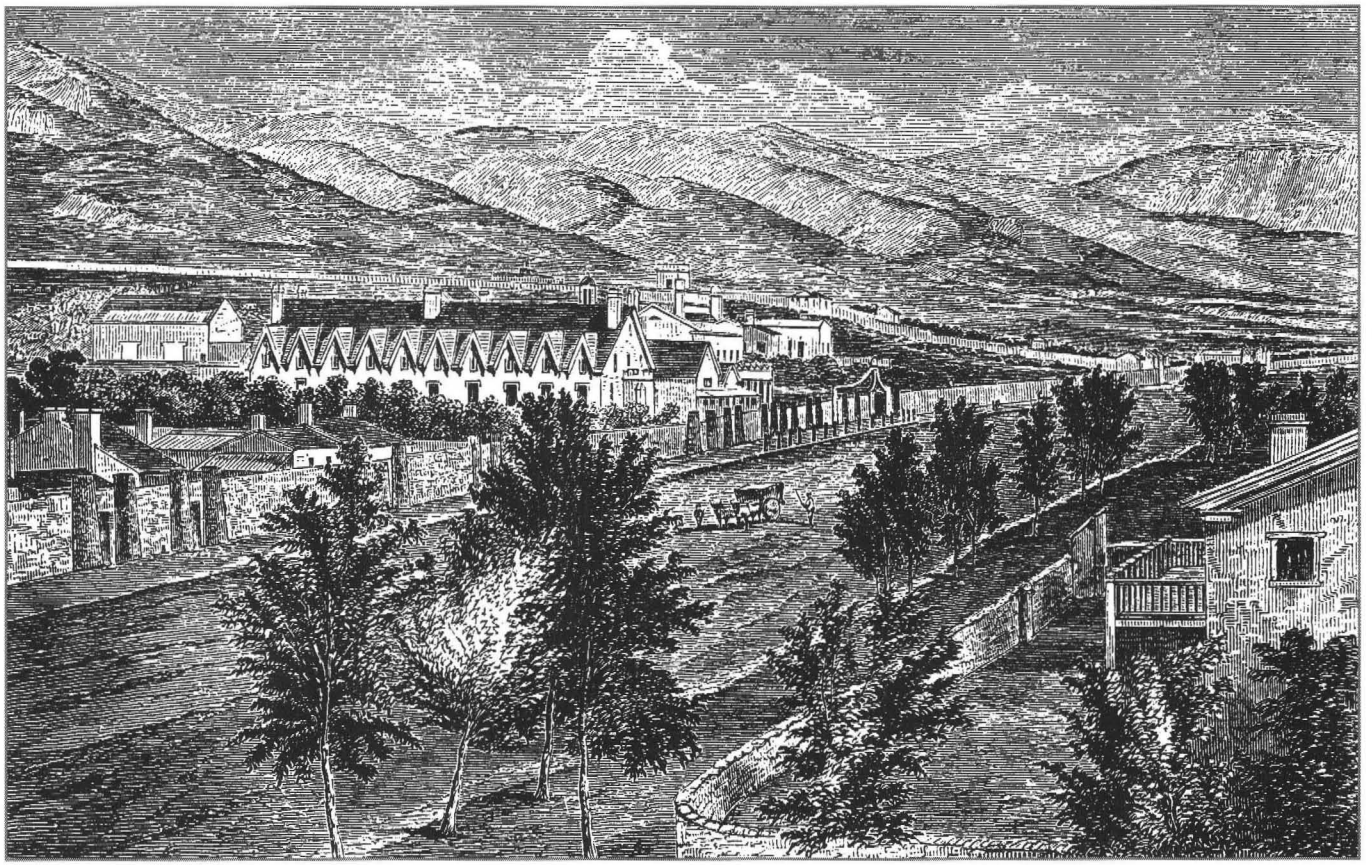
Gravelly Ford, where the road once more came to the Humboldt, was named for the gravel in the river that made it easy to cross and is a few miles east of today's town of Beowawe. Here the party found a mail station, as the mail road from Camp Floyd, traveling on the first part of Simpson's new route, joined the old California Trail at this point. By the next year, the mail would travel the whole way to Genoa on the new route. Howard Williams reported that the river here was warm "and slightly alkalied; grows worse as we go down. There are several Indians around the wagons; some of them with scarcely a rag around them. They subsist chiefly upon these ground squirrels or gophers; eat only once a day, and eat everything but the bones and skin."[114] Lynde also found them "miserably poor, nearly naked, and subsisting on squirrels and nuts that they dig from the ground. They beg from the emigrants the cattle that die from disease, and eat them." Lynde added that the "musquitos and flies became very troublesome to the men and animals, and the water very much impregnated with alkali."[115] Williams complained, "The mosquitos are pretty thick. I slept none all night."[116]

After a layover day, Lynde's convoy left Gravelly Ford on July 14, and generally followed the river to Stony Point, near present-day Battle Mountain, and a second mail station, described by Williams as "nothing but a tent and a corral for stock."[117] When they camped here, Dr. Edward Covey, the medical officer, reported to Lynde that one private in the 2nd Dragoons was so ill that "it would endanger his life to move him," and the doctor could not estimate how long it would take before he would be well enough to travel. As a result, Lynde left the majority of his command there under Captain McLaws and went on with the emigrants and a smaller detachment of fifty men and three officers. For the next ninety-six miles, the river valley was "covered with water, and deep sloughs running parallel to the river render it impossible to reach the main stream except at long intervals." The water had a high concentration of alkali, which made it dangerous for the animals, and "the musquitos and flies worse than I ever saw them before."[118] Again, Williams, now six days behind Lynde, echoed, "Mosquitos are getting worse."[119]

When the army escort had come about half way along this section, they found the stripped bodies of two white men. Captain Amory noted in his itinerary that they buried them in a ravine two hundred yards from the right of the road. Near today's Winnemucca, the caravan came to another mail station and a trading post, called Chauvins by Amory.[120] Here Williams said that the mosquitoes were not as troublesome, and that the men at the mail station and trading post



"Ensign Peak, north end of Great Salt Lake City' showing the view the Army escort would have had as they left Salt Lake City. *(Richard F. Burton, The City of Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California)*



"The Prophet's Block" showing Brigham Young's Lion House (with many dormer windows) and behind it the Beehive House..
(Richard F. Burton, The City of Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California)

said that "we will not be pestered any more by them."[121] Welcome news indeed, especially as other aspects of travel increasingly were taking their toll.

The diaries invariably mention dust. Charles Frederick True, another 1859 emigrant, told of wandering off from his train not long after leaving the Humboldt Wells and looking back. "In . . . this vast desert scene was a cloud of gray dust which marked the movement of our train and through which I could see the obscure forms of our companions and loved ones wearily trudging along in their few faded worn-out garments by the sides of those familiar heavy creaking springless canvas-covered wagons." He also could see "the dust covered, unwieldy indistinct forms of the panting, overheated oxen with tongues protruding from their wide-opened mouths, while with heavy bows and cumbersome yokes and clanking chains between, they were drawing the wagons containing our few worldly possessions." Viewing the desert stretching to the horizon, he sighed, "Still hundreds of miles of interminable sage, dust and sand remained to be traversed and several more weeks required until the aromatic odor of the omnipresent sagebrushes would give place to that of the pine-scented forests of the far-away Sierra Nevada Mountains."[122]

One emigrant wrote, "I believe it is Miss Mitford who designates dust 'as mud in high spirits'; but I would, for my part, rather encounter it in its most sullen mood."[123] Another complained that it was "thick and constant and penetrating beyond experience and comparison. It filled the air,—it was the air; it covered our bodies,—it penetrated them; it soared to Almighty attributes, and became omnipresent . . . and reduced everything and everybody to a common plane of dirt, with a soda, soapy flavor to all."[124] The unrelenting dust gave emigrants a hacking cough, and the dryness cracked their lips, which then smarted from the acrid water. The sun reflecting off the hot, white land and the dust made even the animals' eyes water. Dryness and hot sand also caused wagon-wheel problems: "The felloes and naves shrunk, the tyres loosened, and the spokes rattled like a bag of bones; but we resolved to manage by wedging until we got to the Sink, where we intended submerging them in water, to swell them out, before attempting the Desert," wrote one weary traveler.[125] Yet there was relief at night under the vast starry sky, and Hozial Baker on this section of the road, now several days ahead of Lynde's command, found "buffalo bushes, hanging loaded with their red and yellow berries, similar in taste to our domestic currants."[126]

Lynde decided that the need for his protection was over: "The persons at the mail stations reported that no Indians were in the valley, and I had seen none since leaving Gravelly Ford, except a few individuals employed about the mail stations. Believing that it was useless for me to proceed further, I determined to return." He had brought the Mormon apostates 584 miles. "From this point to the sink of the Humboldt is about eighty miles, as near as I could judge from the best information I could obtain. I arrived at this point on the 19th of July, and commenced my return march the next day."[127] They were now just beyond

present-day Winnemucca. From here the religious refugees would be on their own. Now they could drop the name Mormon and become just emigrants on the trail. In less than a month, they would be able to call themselves Californians, for by then they would have crested the Sierra Nevada and entered a new promised land.

APPENDIX A: THE OFFICERS WHO ESCORTED THE MORMON APOSTATES

The following are brief biographies of the officers who served in Major Lynde's Humboldt expedition in 1859.[128]

Major Isaac Lynde. Born in Vermont in 1804, he was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1827. A veteran of the War with Mexico, he campaigned in the West for much of his career. He had been made a major of the Seventh Infantry in 1855 and was commander of Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory, from October 1857 until August 1858, when he was ordered to Camp Floyd. [129] Lynde was fifty-five years old when he led the escort toward the Humboldt Sink.

After a summer of escort duty, Lynde remained at Camp Floyd until May 1860, when he reported to the Union forces in New Mexico. In July 1861, he ordered his troops to abandon Fort Fillmore, on the Rio Grande about 40 miles north of El Paso, Texas; then, on the march toward Fort Stanton, about 150 miles northeast, he surrendered to an inferior Confederate force commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor.

> In conversation with many of the men . . . tears would come to their eyes, when recounting the disgraceful affair. Their voices would end in a whisper . . . . Lynde was left in command of the surrendered or paroled men until his arrival at Leavensworth [*sic*], Kansas, when he was dismissed. We . . . understood that after the war his appeal on account of excellent service in Mexico and the Frontier and his destitute family was reviewed by President Lincoln, who restored him to his rank of Major; . . . he then retired.[130]

It was actually President Andrew Johnson who revoked the dismissal order and restored his rank in July 1866. Lynde died in Florida in 1886 at age eighty-two.

Captain Lafayette McLaws. Born in Augusta, Georgia, in 1821, McLaws was the second in rank in Lynde's escort. Sporting dark curly hair and a bushy beard in 1859, he was thirty-eight and a captain in the Seventh Infantry. He was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1842, was married to the niece of President Zachary Taylor, and had served in the War with Mexico. McLaws resigned from the United States Army in March 1861 and helped organize the

Tenth Georgia Infantry of the Confederate Army. He fought as a major general at Antietam and was a division commander at Fredericksburg; he also fought under Major General James Longstreet at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. After the Civil War, he became postmaster of Savannah, Georgia, where he died in July 1897 at age seventy-six.

First Lieutenant Thomas J. C. Amory. Born in Boston in 1828, Amory was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1851. Appointed to the Seventh Infantry, he was thirty-one in 1859 and assigned to keep the itinerary on the Humboldt expedition. He joined the Union forces in September 1861, and in February 1864, as a colonel in the Seventeenth Massachusetts Infantry, helped repulse an attack by Confederate Major General George E. Pickett at New Berne, North Carolina. He was brevetted as brigadier general in October 1864 for gallant and meritorious service, but died shortly afterwards from disease in Beaufort, North Carolina, at the age of thirty-six.

Second Lieutenant John S. Marmaduke. Born in 1832 in Missouri, he was twelve when his father was elected governor of the state. As dashing in looks as he was in name, six-foot tall Marmaduke attended both Yale and Harvard before entering the United States Military Academy, graduating in 1857. He immediately joined General Johnston's expedition to Utah as part of the Seventh Infantry. In 1859, he was only twenty-seven years old, and in February, before the Humboldt expedition, he commanded a detachment that accompanied Major Henry Prince, paymaster, on a journey to California to obtain funds to pay the soldiers, who had been without wages for more than six months.[131]

Marmaduke resigned from the United States Army in April 1861 and volunteered his services to the Confederate Army. He rose steadily in rank, was wounded at the Battle of Shiloh, and was later assigned to command a cavalry division in the Trans-Mississippi Department. In October 1864 he was captured and remained a prisoner for the rest of the war; while in prison, he was promoted to major general. He never married. He was elected governor of Missouri, and died in office in 1887 at the age of fifty-five.

First Lieutenant Thomas Hight. Born in Indiana in 1829, Hight graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1853 and was assigned to the Second Dragoons. He took part in the Sioux Expedition in 1855 under General William S. Harney and participated in the Battle of Ash Hollow, for which he was mentioned in Harney's report as having rendered efficient service.[132] In 1859, he was thirty years old. In the Civil War, Hight, a captain in the Second United States Cavalry of the Army of Virginia, was captured while reconnoitering in late August 1862. Less than a month later, he was freed in an exchange of prisoners.[133] From late January to April 1863, he was absent without leave, and upon his return in April, resigned. In March 1864, he reentered service as a

lieutenant colonel in the Army of the Potomac, commanding the Thirty-first Regiment Maine. He was made a colonel the next month and saw action in May 1864 in both the Battle of the Wilderness and the Battle of Spottsylvania. He received an honorable discharge the next July because of poor health and died in Maine in 1867 at age thirty-eight.

Second Lieutenant Henry Brockholst Livingston. From New York, Livingston was appointed to the Second Dragoons in 1855 directly from civilian life. In Harney's Sioux Expedition, he fought in the Battle of Ash Hollow and, along with Hight, was recognized for his services. Later in the summer of 1859, after the escort duty along the Humboldt, he was sent on another escort along Hudspeth's Cutoff in what is now southeastern Idaho.[134] He was promoted to first lieutenant in January 1861 and then to captain in the Second Cavalry in August. He retired in August 1862 because of disability and died in 1865, probably only in his thirties. He was described as "one of the most popular men in the regiment; a superb horseman; . . . an excellent officer, and courteous gentleman."[135]

Assistant Surgeon Edward N. Covey. From Maryland, Covey was appointed assistant surgeon in August 1856 and was attached to the Second Dragoons in 1859. He had his own trouble with the Mormons. In November 1858, Dr. Covey was in Salt Lake City, perhaps pursuing amorous adventures, when he and Charles Kincaid, a merchant, quarreled with Marshal John Sharp and several deputies, including William Hennifer. When Sharp attempted to arrest the men for disturbing the peace, a brawl broke out, and in the shooting that followed, Covey received two bullets in his shoulder, and another officer, Lieutenant William P. Sanders of the Second Dragoons, was also wounded. A member of the Second Dragoons who penned articles under the name "Utah" for Philadelphia's *Daily Evening Bulletin* wrote that Covey " lay for a while in a critical condition but is now happily recovering," and then added, "The doctor is a very fine man; in fact he is beloved and respected by the soldiery . . . . Yet I must admit that he is entirely to blame in this affair."[136]

The aftermath came in May 1860 when Covey was transferred to New Mexico with others at the start of the Civil War. As they camped in Echo Canyon on their way to Fort Laramie, whence they would march to New Mexico, a group of Mormons, who were heading beyond Fort Bridger to establish a blacksmith shop, camped nearby. When Covey discovered that William Hennifer was in the Mormon camp, he and several soldiers went there, tied Hennifer spread-eagle to a wagon wheel, and proceeded to lash him with a heavy riding whip at least seventy times. It was an ugly instance of revenge and exemplifies the hostility that existed between the army and the Mormons.[137]

Covey resigned from the United States Army in June 1861 and joined the Confederate forces, where he was a surgeon from 1861 to 1865. He died in September 1867.

APPENDIX B: FIRST LIEUTENANT THOMAS AMORY'S ITINERARY

Excerpt from "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-sixth Congress.

Detachment of the army of Utah, composed of company "B," 2d dragoons, and company "D," 7th infantry, en route from Camp Floyd, U. T., to sink of Humboldt river, commanded by Major J. Lynde, 7th infantry.

Date.	Hour.	Temperature.	Dist.	Total.	Remarks.
1859.			*Miles.*	*Miles.*	
June 15	6.30 a. m.	Summer heat.....	.....	26	Great Salt Lake City.
	7.30	.....	3		Good water in small stream from
			5	8	spring in mountain to right of road; oak bushes for fuel; grass abundant; road very good; water plenty. After passing Hot springs keep upper road at this season, on account of boggy ground below.
16	6.00	Summer heat.....			
	6.35	.....	2	.....	H. C. Kimball's mill.
	10.30	.....	12		Good camp in oak bushes; grass
					tolerable; water excellent and abundant; soil gravelly; rolling country; road crossed at short intervals by mountain streams; finely watered and cultivated country; about Farmington heat in the valley; streams all full, rushing from hills over gravelly beds; water clear and cold; road
			4	18	and crossings good.
17	6.00	Summer heat.....			
	7.40	.....	5	.....	River high; road good, hard and gravelly; rolling country; grass and water abundant.
	11.00	.....	10	.....	Bridge out of repair; road miry in vicinity of bridge; water plenty; grass plenty.
					Cedar on hills in vicinity of road.
	12.10	.....	3	.....	Bad crossing of small creek, boggy;
			1		road good.
			1	20	Camp on Asaquia; grass abundant; no wood; water tolerable.
18	5.30	Summer heat in daytime, nights cool, wind N. N. E.			
	6.30	.....	3	.....	Road good; grass abundant.
	9.00	.....	7	.....	Firm, gravelly road; water abundant; crossings good; fine bunch grass on hills; well cultivated country.
			8	.....	Road excellent; well watered country; grass abundant, generally along road.
			1	19	Take hill road to extreme right from Box Elder; lower roads very boggy; water abundant; grass scanty, less than at any camp yet; no wood.
19	5.30	Summer heat.....	6	.....	Camp on bluffs: grass at camp
	9.40	.....	6	12	abundant; sage for fuel. Crossed Bear river by ferry; river high; about sixty yards wide; ferry-boat out of repair; lost four mules in crossing; landing on north side boggy for 48 yards.

Date.	Hour.	Temperature.	Dist.	Total.	Remarks.
1859.			*Miles.*	*Miles.*	
June 20	10.00	Summer heat.....	.....	77	
	10.50	.....	.....	.....	Ferried most of mules over this morning. All day yesterday was spent in crossing over men and 40 wagons.
			2¼	.....	Crossing good; short bridge; sage plains; good grass.
	1.00	.....	6	8¼	Good camp at Mountain springs; water good near its head, brackish lower down; grass good; no wood; road very good.
21	5.30	Wind S. E.....			
	6.00	.....	1¼	.....	Road good.
			16¼	18	The water of Blair springs is mineral, and not very cool, but not bad either for men or animals; grass abundant; sage for fuel. No water along road to-day between camps, but great abundance of good grass.
22	5.30	Summer heat.....			Road hard and gravelly.
	6.40	.....	4	.....	No water on road; top of hill from camp grass good; no wood or water.
	7.50	.....	3¼	.....	Rocky hill.
	10.5	.....	6¾	14	Water and grass good and abundant; cedars for fuel on hills near camp.
23	5.30	Summer heat.....			
	7.35	.....	6	.....	Good road; good crossing, hard, gravelly bottom; water good; grass plenty along creek; sage for fuel; road very good.
	10.00	.....	6	12	Water good; grass indifferent, but sufficient; sage for fuel.
24	4.45	Temperate and pleasant..			
	5.00	.....	1	.....	Grass here about the same as at our camp 1 mile above. Sage plains.
	9.00	.....	12		Abundance of excellent grass and water; thick growth of willow, cottonwood, and birch along the creek; the best camp we have had so far. Laid by here on the 25th. The best grass is in the cañon three quarters of a mile from camp; good water and grass; sage for fuel; road good.
	2.00	.....	15¼	28¼	
26	5.30	Warm.....			
	8.30	.....	9	.....	Good water and grass; road good; sage plains.
	9.25	.....	2		Road here crosses creek to right. At this season keep left hand road without crossing, as the banks are bad and the bottom boggy.
			2	.....	Water good; grass tolerable; sage and willow; rocky, sideling road on mountain side.
			1¾	14¼	

Date.	Hour.	Temperature.	Dist.	Total.	Remarks.
1859.			*Miles.*	*Miles.*	
June 27	5.30	Temperate		172½	Good road.
	7.00		5		Good crossing; grass not sufficient for camp; sage brush.
	8.30		5		Point of cedars crossing the road.
	9.00		1½		Road good.
	10.30		4	15½	Summit of Goose Creek mountain; camp on Spring branch, crossing the road at foot of Goose Creek mountain; water and grass abundant and good; sage for fuel.
28	5.5	Summer heat	4		Deep snow in ravines near road.
			7		Road to foot of mountain rough and gravelly, up and down hill, short, sharp pitches.
	9.15		2		Cedar on low hills to left of road;
			1	14	road good; creek high; water not clear but good.
29	5.5	Summer heat			Road very good, in some places boggy in bottom, which avoid by keeping hillside; left-hand road best in wet weather; grass along creek abundant and good.
			12		Thick growth of willow on creek; road good; crossings of small streams all good.
			4	16	Valley very narrow here; camp on hillside; grass very good in bottom, bunch grass on hills.
July 1	5.20	Wind N. E.	3		Road through cañon very good.
	11.00		11		Water good and plenty; grass very poor; grass in valley 1 mile N. W. of camp; cedar on hills near camp. Road to-day very good,
			3	17	hard and gravelly; country rolling; sage.
2	5.15	Summer heat			No water or grass; road good.
	8.00		8½		Road good; sage plains; little or no grass.
	10.40		8		A dry creek, with water in holes, running from one thousand springs, One Thousand Springs valley.
	12.00		4		Very good grass; no wood; water
	12.25		2	22½	warm and brackish; good water can be had by digging; road good.
3	5.15	Summer heat	4		Ground in vicinity of springs boggy.
			15	19	Head of One Thousand Springs valley; plenty of water and good grass on mountain side to left of road; no wood. Take road to right, which makes a long bend, to avoid marshes; water in road and on both sides.

Date.	Hour.	Temperature.	Dist.	Total.	Remarks.
1859.			*Miles.*	*Miles.*	
July 4	5.30	Cloudy, rain in the evening.	.....	276¼	
	6.25	.....	3	.....	Summit of dividing ridge; road good; up hill.
	7.00	.....	2	.....	Right hand road to crossing of main Humboldt.
	9.00	.....	6	.....	Good water in holes; grass very fine; sage; road good.
	10.00	.....	3	.....	Springs of good water; wheat grass.
			2	.....	Three wells about one hundred yards to right of road; grass very fine; water excellent; no wood.
	12.5	.....	4¼	20¼	Grass good in bottom; flies very bad; water bad; sage.
5	4.15	Cool and foggy.....			
	6.10	.....	6	.....	Road runs through bottom; very good road; grass in bottom good; sage.
					The road makes a long bend northwest in the ten miles to Digge's creek.
	7.30	.....	4	.....	A fine mountain stream coming in from the east; good grass and willow; crossing good.
	8.00	.....	2	.....	Road runs along mountain side; fine grass all along.
	9.00	.....	3	15	A fine stream of cold, clear water; wood and grass abundant and excellent.
6	5.25	Cloudy and cool; rainy; cloudy.	¼		
	6.40	.....	3¼	.....	Road still along mountain side, generally good; north fork of Humboldt in sight, about six or seven miles northwest of road.
	8.45	.....	6	.....	Clear, cold stream; grass abundant; wood on creek; one mile from camp road makes a bend northwest to avoid marshy ground.
	11.00	.....	7	.....	Take right hand road to avoid bad crossings; road crossed almost every half mile by small streams.
7	5.13	Cloudy and cool; rainy in evening.	1	18	
			2	.....	Road good; water abundant; crossings good.
			5	.....	Large, well-timbered mountain stream; good gravelly bottom; fine grass.
	8.00	.....	1		
	10.50	.....	8	.....	Road boggy, in consequence of numerous small streams crossing road.
	12.30	.....	5	21	Fine, large streams, well wooded, cottonwood and quaking aspen; good crossing; short, rocky hill on west side; grass abundant and very fine.

Date.	Hour.	Temperature.	Dist.	Total.	Remarks.
1859.			*Miles.*	*Miles.*	
July 8	5.20	Cloudy and cool.....	.....	352½	
			2	.....	Well wooded stream; good grass.
	6.15	.....	1		
	7.15	.....	3	.....	Fine grass along all these streams; crossings good.
			½	.....	Boggy piece of road for half a mile.
	8.00	.....	1½	.....	Sage barrens, with occasional patches of grass.
	11.15	.....	9½	17½	Good camp on South fork; large streams; plenty of wood; good grass on bottom; sage on hills; no water; road hilly; sage.
9	5.30	Cloudy in morning; rain at night quite hard.			
	6.25	.....	.....	.....	Road turns sharp to the right at top of hill after crossing first fork to ford of second; good crossing; a little boggy on east side. This bottom shows signs of recent overflow, when it must have been impassable.
	7.45	.....	4	.....	Road runs over cedar ridges; no water.
	8.50	.....	3	.....	Good water; not much grass; no camp.
	10.00	.....	3	.....	Road crosses small stream of good water; no grass at this point.
			9½	19½	Camp on hill side; excellent grass; sage for fuel; Indian asquia on hill; road runs through cañon, along stream; march on left of stream; fine grass on hills.
10	5.30	Cloudy; rainy in evening.	.....	.....	Two miles from last camp the road descends by a very steep succession of hills several hundred feet into cañon.
	7.00	.....	2	.....	Road to-day worse than we have yet had.
	8.00	.....	3	.....	Road through cañon was along creek of good water; very fine grass and wood; good place to camp.
	12.35	.....	9	14	Camp in cañon, on spring of good water; grass and wood plenty; steep hills to descend one mile before reaching camp.
11	5:35	Summer heat.....			
	7 20	.....	4	4	Good water and grass abundant in cañon; camped here to work road one mile ahead, which is boggy crossing creek; road hilly for first two miles on leaving camp No. 27.

Date.	Hour.	Temperature.	Dist.	Total.	Remarks.
1859.			*Miles.*	*Miles.*	
July 12	8.00	Summer heat.....	2	405¼	Good grass and camps through cañon.
	11.20	.....	10	.....	Road strikes bend of river here; good grass in bottom, but boggy sloughs make it bad for animals; musquitoes thick; water good; grease wood and sage for fuel; willows on north side of river;
			2¼	14¼	road good; sage barrens; no grass.
14	5.30	Summer heat.....	1	.....	Road runs to right to avoid sloughs.
	9.15	.....	10	.....	Point of mountain; good place to camp; grass, water, and wood.
	1.30	Summer heat.....	12	23	Grass in bottom not very abundant; no wood; water good, but not permanent; steep hills.
15	9.00	Summer heat.....	.....	.....	(A portion of the command under Captain McLaws, seventh infantry, was left, July 15, at camp No. 30, Major Lynde, with 20 dragoons and 20 infantry, proceeding on down the Humboldt.)
	12.20	.....	13	13	Bottom grass; sage and willow; water indifferent; road good.
16	5.30	Summer heat.....	22	22	Mail station on side of lone hill; fine spring of good permanent water; fuel scarce; grass in bottom, and bunch grass in hills three miles northwest of camp; sage barrens; road good.
17	6.00	Summer heat.....			
	9.00	.....	9¼	.....	Road good; sage barrens.
	10.30	.....	4¼	.....	Road through cañon rocky.
	1.00	.....	7¼	20	Good camp; grass and wood on mountain; stream clear, but not very cold.
18	6.00	Summer heat; cloudy; sultry.			
	8.00	.....	9¼	.....	Found and buried two murdered white men (stripped) in ravine two hundred yards to right of road; road good.
	8.30				
	11.35	.....	11	.....	Good road; grass along river bottom.
	12.00	.....	3	23	Dry bunch grass in hills south of road; good bottom; grass and water in slough; willows for fuel. A store at Chauvins.
19	6.00				
	11.5	.....	18	18	Good grass and water; willows for fuel; road heavy, running through sand to avoid wet bottom; river high, but falling.

Notes

[1]James H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin in 1859* (1876; rpt. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 91; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, 1540-1888* (1890, rpt. Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1981), 108.

[2]It was not until March 1861, however, that the Territory of Nevada was officially established.

[3]For numbers mentioned by emigrants in 1859, see George R. Stewart's introduction in James Barry Brown, *Journal of a Journey across the Plains in 1859* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1970), xvi.

[4]Lafayette McLaws, Diary, 15 August 1859, copy of holograph, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[5]I. Lynde to Asst. Adjt. Gen. F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-sixth Congress*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., S. Exec. Doc. 2, Serial 1024 (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1860), 243-44.

[6]"Our Carson Valley Correspondence," *San Francisco Herald* (7 September 1859), p. 3. Other reports on the large emigration are found in the *San Francisco Herald* for 9 February; 30 March; 1, 10, 20 July; 4, 9, 12-15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 31 August 1859.

[7]John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 120, 442 n. 4. Unruh estimated seventeen thousand emigrants came through Nevada in 1859, though he noted that the figure was "almost pure guesswork." His number is considerably below what people at the time reported.

[8]Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey: From New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 219-39; "Our Carson Valley Correspondence," *San Francisco Herald* (14 August 1859), p. 3.

[9]Greeley, *Overland Journey*, 236.

[10]*Deseret News* (1 October 1856), p. 235.

[11]Paul H. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation of 1856-1857: The Rhetoric and the Reality," *Journal of Mormon History*, 15 (1989), 61, 67.

[12]George A. Hicks, "History of Spanish Fork," 1913, typescript (p. 13), Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[13]For example, see Peterson, "Mormon Reformation," 83 n. 66; and Davis Bitton, "'I'd Rather Have Some Roasting Ears': The Peregrinations of George Armstrong Hicks," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 68:3 (Summer 2000), 209-10. Countering these is evidence cited by D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 243-44, 248, 252-55, 256-57, 273. Robert Cleland and Juanita Brooks have noted, "The doctrine of blood atonement . . . may today be only a mystical symbolism in orthodox Mormon belief. At the time [John D.] Lee wrote, however, it was a literal and terrible reality. Brigham Young advocated and preached it without compromise." Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), I:129 n. 143.

[14]Hicks, "History of Spanish Fork," 14.

[15]"Testimony of Mrs. Alvira L. Parrish," in John Cradlebaugh, *Utah and the Mormons. Speech of Hon. John Cradlebaugh, of Nevada, on the Admission of Utah as a State* (Washington, D.C.: L. Towers & Co., 1863), 45. Salt Lake City's anti-Mormon newspaper, the *Valley Tan* (5 April 1859), p. 1, reported: "Orson Hyde, a short time before the murder of the Parrishes, in a discourse delivered at Springville, said that apostates would not be allowed to leave; and if they attempted it, hogholes would be stopped up with them."

[16]Cradlebaugh, *Utah and the Mormons*, 43-61; *Valley Tan* (29 March; 5, 19 April; 24 August 1859).

[17]George Powers and P. M. Warn, emigrants who came on the road to southern California a few days after the massacre at Mountain Meadows, gave depositions to the *Los Angeles Star* about the massacre and mentioned the reaction of some San Bernardino Mormons who "considered it the beginning of long-delayed vengeance" against those who had persecuted the Mormons. Others "express gratification at the massacre," and one said, "The Hand of the Lord was in it . . . ! " Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community*

(Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 364.

[18]Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1972), 25.

[19]Quoted in Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950; rev. ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 34.

[20]Quoted in *ibid.*, 39.

[21]Hannah K. Clapp, letter, Salt Lake City, 17 July 1859, *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries & Letters from the Western Trails, 1840–1890*, Kenneth L. Holmes, ed. and comp., 11 vols. (1983; rpt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), VII:247-53.

[22]An excellent discussion of the role of the U.S. Army in relation to overland travel is in Unruh, *Plains Across*, ch. 6. Indian problems are outlined on pp. 222-26. The 1855 treaty is covered in Steven J. Crum, *The Road on Which We Came: A History of the Western Shoshone* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 20. In an 1860 letter, Assistant Surgeon C. W. Brewer, attached to the army at Camp Floyd, claimed that Brigham Young had sent men to the mail stations west of the post to stir up trouble and that one had shot an Indian "in cold blood." Young, Brewer explained, "was anxious to excite troubles on the road in order to prevent an Exodus of his people." C. W. Brewer to Capt. John W. Phelps, 6 August 1860, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. I am indebted to William MacKinnon for bringing this letter to my attention.

[23]Albert H. Campbell, "Report upon the Pacific Wagon Roads," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior Communicating Reports upon the Pacific Wagon Road constructed under the direction of the Department*, 35th Con., 2d sess., H. Exec. Doc. 108, Serial 1008 (Washington, D.C.: James Steedman, 1859), 68.

[24]"Utah Superintendency, 29 September 1859," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1859*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., S. Exec. Doc. 2, Serial 1023 (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1860), 744.

[25]Campbell, "Report upon Pacific Wagon Roads," 73.

[26] For example, see D. R. Eckels to J. Thompson, 23 September 1859, *Message of the President of the United States, Communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, information in relation to the massacre at Mountain Meadows, and other massacres in Utah Territory*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., S. Exec. Doc. 42, Serial 1033 (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1860), 111. An overview of "white Indians" is given in Unruh, *Plains Across*, 194-97.

[27]"Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 15.

[28]Brigham Young, "Emigration," *Deseret Weekly News* (13 July 1854), 2.

[29]Quoted in Dale Morgan, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1943), 214.

[30]D. R. Eckels to J. Thompson, 23 September 1859; "Dr. A. W. Tjader's statement of condition of the wounded now living"; and testimony of Nelson Miltimore, all in *Message of the President of the United States*, S. Exec. Doc. 42, 110-14.

[31]Background and evidence for such stories are in Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 242-58. Army Capt. Jesse A. Gove, on his way to Utah, wrote what apostate Mormons told him: "Murders are as common among them, to all those who do not bow to Mormondom, as the sun rises . . . . They have 70 men whom they designate as the destroying angels. These men put out of the way any man whom they suspect of expressing any dissatisfaction of the creed." Otis G. Hammond, ed., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: Letters of Capt. Jesse A. Gove, 10th Inf., U. S. A., of Concord, N. H., to Mrs. Gove, and Special Correspondence of the New York Herald* (Concord: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928), 68.

[32]Don Carlos Johnson, *A Brief History of Springville, Utah, from Its First Settlement September 18, 1850, to the 18th Day of September, 1900* (Springville: William F. Gibson, 1900), 40.

[33]D. R. Eckels to L. Cass, 18 January 1859, and J. V. Vernon to D. R. Eckels, 25 September 1858, State Department Territorial Papers, Utah Series, National Archives, RG 59, M12, 316-21. John Vernon left Utah and went to San Francisco, where he is listed with his wife and five-year-old daughter in the 1860 U.S. Census. It is not known if he traveled with the Army escort.

[34]Col. Daniel Ruggles to A. S. Johnston, 2 June 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 185-89, in which a Dane told Ruggles that he wished "to be protected . . . and [obtain] some assistance to get his family out of the country"; Garland Hurt to A. S. Johnston,

1 May 1859, "Letters Sent, Letters Received, 1859-1861," Adjunct General's Office, Army Headquarters, War Department, National Archives, copy in Utah State Historical Society, in which three men said that "there is no security for them if they are known to oppose the Mormons except in the immediate vicinity of the army."

[35]Myron Angel, *History of Nevada with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (1881; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1973), 104.

[36]D. D. Perkins to L. A. Williams, 13 June 1860, *Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 3, 1860*, 36th Cong., 2d sess., S. Exec. Doc. 1. Serial 1079, (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1861), 87-88; C. W. Brewer to J. W. Phelps, 6 August 1860.

[37]Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 265.

[38]The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was a revolving fund from which emigrants could borrow in order to emigrate to Utah, but which they were to repay as soon as possible after they arrived so as to allow other emigrants to borrow from it.

[39]Kirk Anderson, "Utah Correspondence, Great Salt Lake City, June 16, 1859," *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican* (10 July 1859), p. 2. A similar item was reported in the same paper on 4 July 1859, (p. 2). Besides reporting for the St. Louis paper, Anderson started the *Valley Tan* in Utah as a paper independent of the Mormon church.

[40]"Our Salt Lake Correspondence, May 25, 1859," *San Francisco Herald* (8 June 1859), p. 3.

[41]Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 1964), II: 554. Another instance is given in Lyman, *San Bernardino*, 356. Capt. Gove listed the names of 214 apostates who were to travel with Gov. Cumming when he returned to Fort Bridger, the army's winter quarters, from Salt Lake City. According to a statement by Thomas Coverdale, a Gentile who was traveling with them, they "were detained for a week paying true and false debts, and to answer other charges. No man was allowed to come away if he owed anybody a cent. The word of any Mormon there was unquestioned proof that any person who desired to leave was in debt." Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 290-92, 296. One of that company, Frederick Gardiner, gave the number of apostates as 236, and said he was detained by George Sims, a clerk for Brigham Young, because Gardiner's father, who was not leaving, was in debt; Gardiner was forced to sign over the deed to his house and lot before Sims would let him go. Hugh Garner, ed., *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardiner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, 1993), 106.

[42]Howard D. Williams, Diary, 13 June 1859, typescript, Utah State Historical Society.

[43]Arthur Homer Hays, ed., "Diary of Taylor N. Snow, Hoosier Fifty-Niner," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 28 (Sept. 1932), 201 (entry for 23 June 1859).

[44]The Marysville *Weekly California Express* (29 October 1859), p.1, (6 August 1859), p. 4. See also *Valley Tan* (22 February 1859), p. 2; *San Francisco Herald* (17 March 1859, p. 2); and the *Daily Missouri Republican* (21 July 1859), p. 2. Among those who left were disaffected Mormons from Springville, the site of the Parrish-Potter murders; the names of at least six such families mentioned by Johnson in his *Brief History of Springville* (pp. 48, 49, 55) appear in the 1860 U. S. Census in southern California.

[45]A population of more than 42,800 is given for March 1859 by Garland Hurt in "Population and Resources of the Territory of Utah," in Simpson, *Report of Explorations*, Appendix N, 451-55; a population of 40,000 for 1860 is given in "Historic Population Growth," *Atlas of Utah* (Provo: Weber State College and Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 110.

[46]B. Young to O. Pratt and E. T. Benson, 30 June 1857, as quoted in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 19:35 (29 August 1857), p. 556. Confirming this, Capt. John W. Phelps, who was marching toward Utah with the army, noted in his diary in July 1857, about sixty miles west of Ft. Leavenworth, "A train of ox wagons from the westward encamped near us last night. With them were a number of seceeding [*sic*] Mormons who found the severity of the Saints untolerable and who left Utah last April. They said secret assassinations had occurred during the last winter." "Diary of Captain Phelps," in *The Utah Expedition, 1857–1858: A Documentary Account of the United States Military Movement under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, and the Resistance by Brigham Young and the Mormon Nauvoo Legion*, LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds. (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1982), 96. Disaffected Mormons also took the southern road to California in 1857 and 1858. Lyman, *San Bernardino*, 355-60, 414.

[47]Between 214 and 236 apostates did apply to Gov. Cumming in May 1858, and, after being

detained for a week in paying real or trumped up debts, were allowed to leave. Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 291-92; Garner, *Mormon Rebel*, 106.

[48]J. M. Guinn, *History of the State of California and Biographical Record of the Sacramento Valley, California* (Chicago: The Chappman Publishing Co., 1906), 660.

[49]John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W.P. Fetridge & Co., 1857), 315-16. Gove described some of the impoverished apostates who came into the army camp at Fort Bridger in May 1858: "These people that came in are without clothing . . . entirely destitute, ragged and dirty, the most pitiable looking people imaginable. They say they are better off than thousands." Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 164.

[50]C. W. Brewer to J. W. Phelps, 6 August 1860.

[51]A. Cumming to A. S. Johnston, 9 May 1859; A. S. Johnston to A. Cumming, 11 May 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 175-76.

[52]*Valley Tan (*17 May 1859), p. 2; *Deseret News (25* May1859).

[53]"Attention, Emigrants!" *Valley Tan* (17 May 1859), p. 2.

[54]"Statement of Mr. Wm. H. Rogers," in Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Appendix XI, 271; Michael J. Makley, *The Hanging of Lucky Bill* (Woodfords, Calif.: Eastern Sierra Press, 1993), 25, 114. By October 1859, Rogers was an assistant Indian agent, supervising an Indian farm at Ruby Valley, about mid-way between Salt Lake City and Genoa on Simpson's new route. Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California*, Fawn M. Brodie, ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 527.

[55]A. Cumming to A. S. Johnston, 24 May 1859; D. W. Bayliss to A. Cumming, 21 May 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 182–83.

[56]A. S. Johnston to A. Cumming, 27 May 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 183.

[57]Reports on the heavy snows, late spring, and flooding from runoff are found in reports to the *San Francisco Herald* (12 May 1859), p. 3; (8 June 1859), p. 3; (14 June 1859), p. 2, and the *Valley Tan* (22 March 1859), p. 2; (12 April 1859), p. 2; (24 May 1859), p. 2.

[58]A. S. Johnston to C. F. Smith, 27 May 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 184.

[59]A. S. Johnston to I. Lynde, 5 June 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 189-90.

[60]For other escorts, see Unruh, *Plains Across*, 218, 220-21, 239; W. Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846–1869* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 87–88; Donald R. Moorman, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 214-15; D. D. Perkins to L. A. Williams, 13 June 1860, 87–88.

[61]The author is working on a book about Peter McAuslan, Jr., and this information comes from a number of sources.

[62]The two letters about the army escort of Mormon apostates in 1860 further confirm the estimate given here: C. W. Brewer to J. W. Phelps, 6 August 1860, refers to 40 families, while D. D. Perkins to L. A. Williams, 13 June 1860, 87–88, gives the number as 186 people.

[63]Table G—Position and distribution of the troops in the department of Utah, commanded by Bvt. Brig. General Albert S. Johnston, colonel 2nd cavalry.—Headquarters Camp Floyd, U. T., June 30, 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 608-9.

[64]Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858–1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 34:1 (Winter 1966), 6; "From Camp Floyd," *San Francisco Herald* (1 May 1859), p. 3.

[65]Greeley, *Overland Journey*, 207-8.

[66]Herbert S. Auerbach, ed., "The Utah War: Journal of Capt. Albert Tracy, 1858–1860," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 13:1-4 (1945), 68.

[67]McLaws, Diary, 27 April 1859.

[68]John W. Phelps, Diary, copy of holograph, Utah State Historical Society.

[69]Williams, Diary, 27 June 1859.

[70]"From Salt Lake," *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican* (18 July 1859), p. 2. The freighting trade in this period is covered in William E. Lass, *From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake: An Account of Overland Freighting* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1972), ch. 3.

[71] Phelps, Diary, 10 June 1859.

[72]I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, 240.

[73]This assumption is based on two families, or ten people, to a wagon, which was typical of Mormon overland companies in the early 1850s. See, for example, Mary L. Morris, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), 10 October 1853 (p. 1), LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History); Philip A. M. Taylor, "The Mormon Crossing of the United States, 1840–1870," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 25 (1957), 326 n. 23.

[74]Auerbach, ed., "Utah War," 68 (diary entry for 12 June 1859).

[75]Clippings from *Deseret News*, in Journal History, 12, 15 June 1859.

[76]Kirk Anderson, "Utah Correspondence, Great Salt Lake City, June 16, 1859," Journal History, 13 June 1859, 1; Brooks, *Mormon Frontier*, 696-97; *Valley Tan* (22 June 1859), p. 2.

[77]Clippings from *Deseret News*, in Journal History, 12, 15 June 1859.

[78]Journal History, 16 June 1859, 1; clipping from *Deseret News*, in Journal History, 15 June 1859, 1. Major Lynde is mistakenly referred to in both places as Major Lyon(s).

[79]Hurt, "Population and Resources of the Territory of Utah," 452.

[80]Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 343-44.

[81]Hurt, "Population and Resources of the Territory of Utah," 452-53; "Salt Lake City," *San Francisco Herald* (26 May 1859), p. 3.

[82]Hozial H. Baker, entry for June 15, 1859, *Overland Journey to Carson Valley & California* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1973), 42.

[83]*Ibid.*, 43-45.

[84]"Our Salt Lake Correspondence, June 1, 1859," *San Francisco Herald* (16 June 1859), p. 3.

[85]"Our Salt Lake Correspondence, June 15, 1859," *San Francisco Herald* (1 July 1859), p. 3; "Our Carson Valley Correspondence, July 16, 1859," *ibid.* (20 July 1859), p. 2; and "Later from Salt Lake," *ibid.*, (28 May 1859), p. 3.

[86]For an overview of the Pike's Peak rush, see Ray Allen Billington, *The Far Western Frontier, 1830–1860* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1956), 259–66.

[87]Hurt, "Population and Resources of the Territory of Utah," 452.

[88]The "trinity" of necessities comes from gold rusher Bernard Reid, as quoted in Unruh, *Plains Across*, 385–86. Lt. Amory's itinerary is in "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 245–55.

[89]Lt. Amory's Itinerary, 245.

[90]"Our Salt Lake Correspondence, May 25, 1859," *San Francisco Herald* (8 June 1859), p. 3.

[91]I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, Oct. 24, 1859, 240–41.

[92]*Valley Tan* (29 June 1859), p. 2. The same item was later picked up by the St. Louis *Daily Missouri Republican* (24 July 1859), p. 3, (25 July 1859), p. 1.

[93]Major Lynde's Itinerary, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 245–46.

[94]I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, Oct. 24, 1859, 241. For descriptions of the Salt Lake Cutoff, see L. A. Fleming and A. R. Standing, "The Road to 'Fortune': The Salt Lake Cutoff," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 33:3 (Summer 1965), 248-71; Will Bagley, "Hensley's Salt Lake Cutoff," *Trailing the Pioneers: A Guide to Utah's Emigrant Trails, 1829–1869*, Peter H. DeLafosse, ed. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994), 93–109.

[95]Bernard J. Reid (1849), as quoted in Richard K. Brock, ed., *Emigrant Trails West: A Guide to the California Trail from the Raft River to the Humboldt Sink and the Greenhorn Cutoff* (Reno: Trails West, Inc., 2000), 26-27.

[96]I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, Oct. 24, 1859, 241; Major Lynde's Itinerary, 247.

[97]Baker, entry for 30 June 1859, 45-46.

[98]Section-by-section descriptions with maps of the California Trail through Nevada can be found in Harold Curran, *Fearful Crossing: The Central Overland Trail through Nevada* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1982); and Brock, *Emigrant Trails West*.

[99]Major Lynde's Itinerary, 247.

[100]Baker, entry for 2 July 1859, 46.

[101]Brock, *Emigrant Trails West*, 59-60.

[102]Williams, Diary, 14 July 1859.

[103] I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, 241.

104 Baker, entry for 3 July 1859, 46; Major Lynde's Itinerary, 248.

105Morgan, *Humboldt*, 5.

106Brown, *Journal of a Journey across the Plains*, 48.

107Thomas Ambrose Cramer, entry for 26 August 1859, journal transcript, Nevada Historical Society.

108Simpson, *Report of Explorations*, 91–92.

109I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, 241.

110Williams, Diary, 21 July 1859.

111Major Lynde's Itinerary, 248–49.

112I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, 241.

113McLaws, Diary, 9 July 1859.

114Williams, Diary, 21 July 1859.

115I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, 241.

116Williams, Diary, 21 July 1859.

117*Ibid.*, 22 July 1859.

118I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, 241-42.

119Williams, Diary, 23 July 1859.

120Major Lynde's Itinerary, 250.

121Williams, Diary, 26 July 1859.

122Charles Frederick True, *Covered Wagon Pioneers*, Sally Ralston True, ed. (Madison, Wisc.: College Printing Co., 1966), 83.

123William Kelly, *An Excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains, and Great Sierra Nevada*, 2 vols. (1851; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1973), I:286. Mary Russell Mitford, an English author, was best known for sketches of country life, character, and scenery that were first published in magazines and then collected in *Our Village* (1824–32).

124Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States with Speaker Colfax* (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles & Co., 1865; Readex Microprint, 1966), 136.

125Kelly, *Excursion to California*, 278.

126Baker, entry for 11 July 1859, 49.

127I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, 24 October 1859, 242.

128"Commissioned Officers on Northern Route to California," in "Commissioned Officers: Post Return of Camp Floyd, U.T. for June 1859," Returns from U. S. Military Posts, Records of the Adjunct General, National Archives, RG 94, M 617, Roll 268. The basic information here comes from Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, 2 vols. (1903; rpt. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). I am indebted to William MacKinnon and Michael Brodhead for setting me straight on several military matters.

129George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy, at West Point, N. Y., from Its Establishment, March 16, 1802, to the Army Re-organization of 1866-67*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), I: 321-22; LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834–1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1938), 299.

130Dale F. Giese, ed., *My Life with the Army in the West: The Memoirs of James E. Farmer, 1858–1898* (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967), 40.

131*Valley Tan* (22 February 1859), p. 2, (19 April 1859), p. 3; McLaws, Diary, 10 February 1859.

132"'Blue Water'—General Harney's Report," *From Everglade to Canyon with the Second United States Cavalry*, Theophilus F. Rodenbough, comp. (1875; rpt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 528.

133Robert N. Scott, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 3 ser. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), ser. 1, vol. XII, part 2, 81, 743; Fred C. Ainsworth, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 3 ser. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), ser. 2, IV:577-78.

134I. Lynde to F. J. Porter, Sept. 10, 1859, "Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1859," 238-39.

135"Military Records of Officers," Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Canyon*, 462 n.

[136]B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), IV:461. Moorman, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, 257-58; Harold D. Langley, ed., *To Utah with the Dragoons and Glimpses of Life in Arizona and California, 1858–1859* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974), 128–29. "Utah" wrote Covey's name as Cuvier; and Langley, the editor, misidentified him as John Cuyler.

[137] Moorman, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, 258–59; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, IV:554-55.

Hacienda Airlines
A First-Class Airline for Coach-Class Passengers

DANIEL BUBB

When we think of tourists flying to Las Vegas, Reno, and other casino cities today, we normally think of passengers arriving on regularly scheduled flights to those destinations which they booked at the standard fares offered by American, Delta, or some other commercial airline. But there is another side to the air transport business that for more than forty years has played a significant role in the gambling business. As early as 1959, the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce reported that 151,173 passengers who flew to Las Vegas arrived on charters or private flights.[1]

These so-called junkets not only contributed significantly to volume in the passenger transportation industry, but also represented a new marketing niche for the hotel business. No junket airline in Nevada epitomized this more than Warren "Doc" Bayley's Hacienda Airlines, which he began in 1959 to feed tourists and gamblers to his Hacienda Hotel. With eight airplanes flying between Las Vegas and destinations in California, New York, and Hawaii, and scores of people waiting to make reservations on the inexpensive flights, Hacienda Airlines quickly became the most successful junket carrier in Nevada.

Traditionally, junket deals were available only to high rollers. Gambling resorts showed little interest in offering these packages to the lower ends of the market. As Mark Skidmore pointed out in his study of the industry, "each junketeer was a male over the age of 21, working in a profession where he earned an annual salary exceeding $30,000."[2] Skidmore also noted an additional prerequisite: Each junketeer had to establish a $2,500 minimum line of credit with the casino. In return he received a complimentary hotel room, meals, beverages, and a show ticket. In *Big Julie of Vegas*, Edward Linn provided a similar description of a junket, especially when he wrote about a group of doctors,

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The Hacienda Chamoagne Tour Fleet. *(Howard W. Cannon Aviation Museum)*

lawyers, and other professionals who flew from New York to Las Vegas on a chartered United Airlines DC-8. At the casino, each of them spent hundreds of dollars and in return received coupons for complimentary beverages, a buffet, and show tickets.[3] Though Skidmore and Lynn argued that junkets catered only to wealthy customers, both authors were unaware that a junket-airline market for moderate- and lower-income travelers had already been established.

Before Hacienda Airlines even began, other junket carriers had been flying people to Las Vegas for almost twenty years. These junkets were popular and contributed a hefty increment to hotel profits. In 1942, the Hotel Last Frontier bused many of its customers to town, but it shifted to airplanes the following year because highway travel was too slow. By contracting with various air charter services in Los Angeles, the hotel was able to transport more people daily. William J. Moore, general manager and co-owner of the Last Frontier, negotiated an arrangement with these carriers which allowed him to offer his guests a package deal "at a very reduced price" that included a room, a number of meals, and transportation to and from the airport. Customers arrived in Los Angeles from Detroit or Dallas on a commercial airline, and then boarded a plane operated by a local air-charter service for the short flight to Las Vegas.[4] In a reminiscence, Moore claimed that the Last Frontier pioneered charter airplane promotions, creating a new niche in the Las Vegas travel market that "attracted a lot of people" to town.[5]

One of the air services in southern California with which the Last Frontier contracted was Los Angeles Air Service (LAAS), owned and operated by a young entrepreneur named Kirk Kerkorian. His fleet consisted of a Douglas DC-3, a twin-engine Cessna, and a single-engine Beechcraft.[6] Though LAAS flew people from Los Angeles Municipal Airport to many different destinations on the West Coast, the most common was Las Vegas, where Kerkorian also did a lot of business with Moore. In 1950, Kerkorian moved his operation to the Lockheed Air Terminal in Long Beach, where he competed with forty other junket airlines. He struggled for a while until he upgraded his service by purchasing a four-engine Douglas C-54. After he spent $28,000 retrofitting it and refurbishing the interior, his flights were always full.[7] Kerkorian quickly became a contender with the other junket airlines, and in the process learned a lot about the casino city he would someday help transform.

Despite his progress, young Kerkorian never matched the success that Warren Bayley enjoyed with Hacienda Airlines. This carrier began in 1959 when Henry Price, who was already on a hotel-promotions staff and owner of an air charter service in Burbank, asked Bayley if he would be interested in having southern California gamblers and tourists flown to the Hacienda. Price explained that he operated weekly flights to the Showboat and Thunderbird hotels, whose managers complained about not having enough rooms available to accommodate weekend crowds. Bayley immediately accepted Price's offer, on condition that Price would offer flights on weekdays and weekends. The Hacienda Hotel manager, Richard Taylor, recalled Bayley saying that, "if 32 people in Los Angeles are willing to fly to Las Vegas on a weekend, then there certainly must be 32 more willing to come on a weekday."[8]

Bayley's intuition proved correct. In 1959, he launched the resort's Hacienda Flight Division with one DC-3. It became so popular that soon, thereafter, he added a DC-4. As his passenger volume continued to grow, Bayley realized that he needed more airplanes. By the end of the year, he had a fleet of eight airplanes.[9]

At the time Bayley began his air operation, the Dunes Hotel, his major competitor, had been providing daily junket flights for several years from Los Angeles, Long Beach, and Burbank with a single DC-3. For $24.95 a guest received a tour of the luxurious palace resort, lounge entertainment, show tickets, cocktails, a buffet dinner, a bottle of the Dunes Gold Label Champagne, and free limousine service. Tourists who wanted a room paid an additional $8 per night on weekdays, and $13 more during weekends and holidays.[10] The existing Dunes model was important, because it convinced Bayley that operating his own airline was feasible.

Once Bayley's service began, he wasted little time in appointing Henry Price as manager of his Hacienda Flight Division to oversee flight operations. Bayley began, like the Dunes, with one airplane, a leased DC-3. Increasing passenger traffic soon convinced Price to urge Bayley to buy a larger airplane and

abandon leasing. Bayley purchased a DC-4, and spent $95,000 to completely refurbish it with comfortable seats and a piano bar.[11] Bayley then hired Dick Winslow, a former Hollywood actor, as his in-flight entertainer. Winslow, who played tunes and sang popular songs during the flights, conceded that his music was secondary to his primary responsibility: calming nervous passengers who had never flown before—a common problem in the 1960s.[12] Other entertainment on these "long-distance" flights included young, attractive women modeling fashions for the passengers. Contrary to rumor and claims in *The Green Felt Jungle* that these ladies performed a striptease, they never went actually nude, though some of their lingerie was risqué for the time.[13]

For $27.50, a Hacienda Airlines passenger received $5 in chips, a buffet dinner, a bottle of champagne, membership to a golf course lit at night (where each guest had a chance to win $5,000 for a hole-in-one), a show ticket at the New Frontier (in which Bayley had earlier purchased a 90 percent share), and limousine service. The guest also received a totebag bearing the Hacienda insignia as a souvenir of his experience. While at the hotel, guests enjoyed complimentary glasses of champagne, and those who wanted to stay overnight paid $35.50; weekend packages cost $9 more.[14] Guests who arrived on the long-distance flights could stay five or six days with the same amenities for $188.50.[15] These bargains drew so much traffic to Bayley's airline that TWA, United, and other commercial carriers serving Las Vegas filed numerous complaints with the Civil Aviation Board (CAB), accusing Bayley of engaging in unfair competition.

Bayley offered low fares, and he frequently advertised his airline in Los Angeles newspapers and on highway billboards. His creative management team even came up with the idea of printing flight schedules on the inside covers of matchbooks dispensed from cigarette vending machines all over the West. This gimmick was ingenious at the time. Thanks to innovative advertising, Bayley's carrier booked thousands of gamblers into Las Vegas.[16]

The resort's flight schedule and range of departure cities was impressive. Hacienda Airlines offered daily flights to Las Vegas from Los Angeles, Long Beach, Santa Ana, Burbank, San Francisco, and San Diego using DC-3s and Constellations. Typically Constellations were used primarily for long-haul flights, but Hacienda enjoyed such popularity with its short haul flights that DC-3s were often too small to accommodate the demand, and Constellations were pressed into service. Longer flights, from Dallas, Saint Louis, Chicago, New York, Detroit, and Honolulu, required use of Bayley's DC-4 and the Constellations. In a 2000 interview, Boyd Michael, Hacienda's chief pilot and director of pilot training, outlined a flight crew's typical weekly schedule to demonstrate the size of Bayley's operation and how it served many of the same cities as the commercial airlines. He recalled that on a Friday afternoon a DC-4 crew would leave Burbank Airport for Las Vegas, continue to Saint Louis, and terminate in Chicago. The crew had a layover on Saturday, and then on Sunday

would leave with a partial load returning from Chicago to Saint Louis, where they would take on more passengers before heading to Las Vegas for even more passengers before terminating in Honolulu. For the DC-3 junket flights, a crew would leave Long Beach Airport and fly to Los Angeles, then to Burbank before landing in Las Vegas. Constellation crews traveled primarily from Las Vegas to Saint Louis, Detroit, Chicago, New York, Dallas, and Honolulu. The airline also operated flights between San Francisco and Las Vegas. Twice weekly, according to Michael, a DC-3 crew flew five round trips per day between San Francisco and Las Vegas. By 1961, Hacienda Airlines operated seventy flights a week.[17]

Bayley soon found himself the owner of a sizable airline. In 1962, the appraised value of his fleet was between $1 and $2 million.[18] However, in 1961, Bayley had agreed to purchase twenty-five additional Constellations from TWA. The arrangement also included thirty-eight extra engines, twenty-five extra propellers, and $3.5 million worth of spare parts and tools. At that time, it was the largest investment by any air-service operator in Nevada history and would have put the value of his fleet much higher.[19] But because of growing financial difficulties related to problems with the CAB, he never took delivery of those Constellations. Had he done so, his fleet would have exceeded thirty airplanes and his service would have more than tripled the capacity of the hotel's guest capability. In addition to purchasing these planes, Bayley bid $35 million for six jets including a Boeing 707 from TWA. One Convair 880 and a Boeing 707 were scheduled for delivery in April 1962.[20] He intended to use these aircraft for nonstop service from Las Vegas to Honolulu, New York, Chicago, and Miami. But once again, because of Bayley's problems with the CAB, these jets never appeared on the flight line.

Bayley's only maintenance base for his aircraft was at Long Beach Air Terminal where a staff of sixty-two mechanics tended to his fleet. He wanted to move his entire operation to Las Vegas, but fear of prompting a lawsuit or complaint from the commercial airlines discouraged him from doing so. Had Bayley moved to Las Vegas, his reduced operating costs would have allowed him to fly even more passengers from southern California and the East to southern Nevada. The move also would have pumped an estimated $520,800 into southern Nevada's economy annually from the maintenance payroll alone. In addition, Bayley would have contributed another $1.5 million in payrolls for his flight crews.[21] A record of the hotel's assets in 1961 places the airline's value at $1,373,576.55, and the hotel's total assets at $9,712,938.17. The airline's liability of $244,784.44 represented only a fraction of the hotel's total liabilities of $8,719,642.12.[22]

In 1960, Hacienda Airlines delivered more than 70,000 passengers to McCarran Airport, with projections for 120,000 in 1961.[23] Its success, however, continued to spark growing resentment among the commercial airlines. In 1960, they filed a formal complaint with the CAB claiming that Bayley's airline

was operating without the operations certificate required under the Federal Aviation Act.[24] United, TWA, and the others also filed a complaint in 1960 against the Dunes, which offered free flights in its DC-3. The complaint alleged that the Dunes operation also lacked a certificate. In 1961, after CAB pressure, the Dunes canceled its air service to avoid expensive litigation. Hacienda Airlines became the next CAB target.

On August 12, 1960, a year and a half after the Hacienda began its airline, the CAB issued an order to close it down. CAB examiner Richard Walsh's investigation concluded that Bayley's carrier violated the Federal Aviation Act by operating "package tours" without an operations certificate.[25] The Hacienda's general manager, Richard Taylor, countered that the airline "provided air transportation free of charge solely for guests of the Hacienda in Las Vegas and thus was not engaged in carrying passengers for compensation or hire and did not need a certificate."[26] Hacienda attorneys filed numerous appeals and were able to obtain a federal injunction on May 5, 1961, which blocked the CAB from enacting and enforcing its order. The court allowed the airline to operate its long-range flights under Federal Aviation Regulations Part 42, which permitted ten flights a month from any city in the United States to Las Vegas.[27] This order decreased the number of the airline's long-range flights, but still allowed it to continue the rest of its operations.

Hacienda Airlines executives and attorneys re-emphasized to the CAB that their airline did not require a certificate because it was a charter service and not a scheduled airline. However, the CAB insisted that, because the carrier operated like a commercial airline with a flight schedule and charged customers money for package deals, it needed an operating certificate. After rejection of their argument, the attorneys filed a second application for a certificate (Bayley had filed a previous application, which the CAB had not reviewed). The attorneys later conceded that when the airline began in 1959, for a brief time, customers bought tickets, but once the Hacienda offered package deals, passengers no longer had to buy tickets. They essentially flew for free. The package amount that they paid was equal to the value of an airplane ticket.

Of course, there was another powerful argument against the federal government using its regulatory power to shut down this business, as Taylor observed: The Hacienda generated a tremendous amount of new business for Las Vegas—a point that the resort's attorneys and promoters emphasized. Taylor also stressed that the commercial airlines showed consistent increases in passenger volume.[28] Hacienda attorney John Preston, Jr., asserted that the operation was not "for hire" and was only a "business promotional device."[29] But the commercial airlines' opposition continued. On June 6, 1961, Hacienda was forced to operate from the Las Vegas Airmotive Terminal because of complaints by Bonanza Airlines that "the ramps were getting overcrowded for the commercial airlines."[30]

In the end, the CAB sided with the airlines. Robert Toomey, attorney for the

CAB again argued that the Hacienda operated illegally without a certificate and cautioned that other resorts would follow suit if allowed to do so. He asserted that an increase in competition would be detrimental to the commercial airlines. Toomey recalled in 1960 that the CAB had "adopted its examiner's findings that Las Vegas Hacienda Inc., and Henry Price, manager of Hacienda's Flight Division, had operated as a common carrier for compensation between California and Las Vegas without CAB authority in violation of the Federal Aviation Act."[31]

Despite the increased tourism that Bayley's carrier awarded Las Vegas, the other resorts in town overwhelmingly supported the CAB's decision. One anonymous casino executive pointedly asked: "What incentive will the airlines have to boost Las Vegas when we fly a minimum of three thousand passengers a month for free?" He further cautioned that "we are also going to be in trouble if we couple booze with gambling and gimmick-style promotions and toss in $5 for lure . . . . That puts us in a class of 'Sin City USA,' an identification we have successfully avoided for five years."[32] The Strip hotels opposed any changes affecting their traditional practice of catering to opulent customers. In fact, they even opposed new CAB-sanctioned competition.

As a result of concerted pressure from commercial airline attorneys and growing criticism from Strip hotels and local newspapers, lawyers for the CAB went to a California state court of appeals seeking an order to shut down Hacienda Airlines permanently. On January 17, 1962, they emerged victorious, but the Hacienda immediately appealed to the California Supreme Court. Taylor predicted that his operation would not cease, because, as he put it, the courts would recognize "that the CAB was influenced by major airlines" and that Hacienda Airlines was not violating the law.[33] However, on May 21, 1962, the California Supreme Court justices upheld the lower court's decision and ruled that "the Hacienda program, while different, still required a Certificate of Convenience and Necessity."[34] On May 26, the Hacienda once again appealed, but the justices reaffirmed their decision and ordered the Hacienda to cease operations by July 10.

This was a major defeat for Bayley. In an address to company employees, he reported that a certificate application had been on file with the CAB, and after two and a half years it was still pending. He also expressed his concern that the loss of the airline could damage his resort's business. "Unless we find relief in some manner," he warned, "the effect on the hotel will be unknown as we have had flight customers from the beginning, and therefore have no yardstick by which to measure business after our flights are curtailed."[35]

While it might be expected that at least some Las Vegas resort owners would unite around Bayley, this was not the case. Instead, they continued to support TWA, American, and the other commercial airlines. Specifically, the resort community criticized Bayley for pursuing only moderate- and lower-income customers rather than high rollers. Las Vegas hotel executives argued that

wealthy people traditionally spent more money gambling and were more representative of the type of image the resorts should promote. This criticism echoed loudly in the local newspapers, where columnists such as Paul Price criticized Bayley for not catering to wealthy gamblers, and argued that, as a result of these "free flights," commercial airlines would lack incentive to expand their fleets and markets and any new airlines serving Las Vegas would follow suit.[36] Price sharply criticized Bayley for blatantly disregarding the damaging effects that his junket airline had on commercial service by slowing its development and growth.

In retrospect, Taylor noted that as a result of the widespread success of Hacienda Airlines and its parent hotel, few Strip resorts liked Bayley's "new ideas," and he was pressured to shut down his airline and stop the "Hacienda Holiday."[37] But Bayley purposely avoided catering to the wealthy, Taylor explained, because he would have had to hire big-name celebrities such as Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis, Jr., and others, who would have demanded extravagant salaries in addition to large commissions from the sale of their overpriced tickets. Bayley wanted his hotel rooms to be affordable and sought to promote a family atmosphere. He preferred that a moderate- and lower-income clientele fly on his airline and enjoy themselves at his hotel without pressure to spend exorbitant amounts of money. Bayley believed that his hotel's location, at the beginning of the Strip near the airport, would attract families heading north on the highway in their automobiles. The resort's pools, go-cart track, and other attractions would lure the families in, and the bargain prices would induce them to extend their stays. Bayley's marketing strategy and market niche were markedly different from those of his Strip competitors.

The Hacienda's troubles did not end with the California Supreme Court's order to cease operations. In September 1962, Blatz and Standard, two southern California airlines, faced disciplinary action from the CAB for operating flights to Nevada casinos, including the Hacienda, without CAB approval. Shields B. Craft was Standard's chief executive officer; his airline had been charged with "taking part in various pooling and working agreements with the Hacienda Hotel, a resort hotel found to have operated an air service between Los Angeles and Las Vegas without CAB authority."[38] According to one newspaper, Standard had apparently broken the law for several years. A Standard attorney denied that his airline did business with the Hacienda, though he later conceded that occasionally some of the Hacienda pilots had been hired on in the same manner as pilots from other airlines.[39] For their part, the commercial airlines charged that Standard wanted to convert its individual ticket service into a charter operation, which CAB regulations prohibited. In the case of Blatz, the accusation involved repeated violations of "civil air regulations, by failing to charge fares specified in its tariffs by providing service to persons to whom it had not sold tickets, and by operating flights without authority to several Nevada cities under arrangements with gambling casinos." According

to a CAB report, the airline had made agreements with casinos to fly their patrons to Reno, Searchlight, Hawthorne, Winnemucca, and Tonopah.[40]

The demise of the Hacienda Airlines pleased the commercial airlines, the Strip hotels, and the local press. The junket airline had been an unwanted competitor, especially for the commercial airlines. But for the Hacienda management and hotel employees, it marked the end to a spectacular operation that powered the hotel's early success. The shutdown was briefly overshadowed on December 28, 1964, when Bayley collapsed in his office and died from a massive heart attack at the age of 64.[41] Among those who attended his funeral were Governor Grant Sawyer, United States Senator Howard Cannon, and Hollywood actor Gene Autry. Bayley's death was reported in newspapers across the country. Richard Taylor remembered Bayley as a visionary and "one of the last 'silver tongued' salesmen and promoters who was the backbone and the driving force that made the Hacienda a success."[42]

Bayley's junket airline and his promotion of package deals laid the foundation for the junket business to Las Vegas in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In addition, it served as a model for later hotel junkets offered by the MGM, Hilton, Caesars Palace, and Circus Circus in association with both charters and commercial airlines. In fact, the business grew to such an extent in the 1970s and 1980s that in 1993, McCarran Airport officials had to build a separate charter terminal to handle the increased passenger volume. Airport officials also had to keep an eye on the steadily rising number of corporate passengers who deplaned from private jets each day at Signature Air Service. Because of the soaring number of passengers visiting McCarran, a new international airline service, and a rapidly expanding cargo service, officials are still considering further airport expansion. In 1973, when officials adopted the McCarran 2000 Master Plan for expansion, their plans were designed to accommodate only 30 million passengers, a number they did not expect to reach until the year 2015. In 1996, McCarran Airport reached the 30 million passenger mark, and officials are now expecting that number to double by 2012.[43]

The Hacienda, Dunes, and Frontier hotels provided important air service to Las Vegas. They invented the airline junket business for tourists of moderate and lower incomes, and in the process expanded Las Vegas's customer base to include low-end gamblers. But, because the Dunes and Hacienda airlines did not possess operating certificates, federal regulators forced them out of the aviation industry. According to Taylor, Bayley and his management team knew early on that they stood little chance against the commercial airlines and their longtime ally, the CAB.[44] Bayley's only hope at the time was that his attorneys would keep the airline's second application pending, and would continue to appeal adverse court rulings until some court reversed the earlier decisions. For two and a half years, Bayley and his team had a pending application for a certificate that the CAB never processed. And no court ever came to the Hacienda's aid. Clearly, the CAB and the courts would not allow a

Nevada casino to operate an airline that threatened the business of America's established commercial carriers.

Today, the casino-bound tourist is overwhelmed by the myriad deals offered by airlines and hotels alike on the Internet and in travel sections of Sunday newspapers. Advertisements announcing low airfares and inexpensive rooms regularly appear in travel magazines to entice the tourist into booking a glamorous weekend trip to Las Vegas. Typical is American Airlines, which touts its "Fly AAway" travel packages to Las Vegas that include airfare, hotel accommodations, and meals for one reasonable price. Southwest, America West, United, and Las Vegas-based National Airlines also offer package deals from many cities in the United States.

But for all of their criticism of Doc Bayley and his airline in the early 1960s, both the commercial airlines and Las Vegas's modern resorts later adopted his modus operandi of providing air travel to Las Vegas for moderate- and low-income travelers. In some of Las Vegas's recent efforts to promote itself as a family destination, Circus Circus, Excalibur, and other resorts that cater to the lower-end markets are building upon a tradition that Warren Bayley's hotel and airline helped establish almost a half century ago.

NOTES

[1]*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (24 May 1960), p. 1. Note that the *Las Vegas Review -Journal* published a morning and evening edition. The articles cited in this essay are entirely from the evening edition. Also, many of the newspaper articles here cited are compiled in Richard Taylor's *History of the Hacienda Hotel as Reported by the Las Vegas Review-Journal and the Las Vegas Sun* (Las Vegas: Beehive Press, 1986). The book was reprinted in 1989 and a supplemental edition was published in 1990.

[2]Mark Skidmore, "Gaming Junkets in Nevada" (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1990), 27. This thesis contains numerous inaccuracies. Larry Alan Walters, *A Study of Gambling Junkets within the US Gaming Industry* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1979) also argues that junkets exclusively catered to the wealthy. However, his study, too, contains inaccuracies.

[3]Edward Linn, *Big Julie of Las Vegas* (New York: Walker Press, 1974), 3.

[4]William J. Moore, interview by Elizabeth N. Patrick (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1981), 22.

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]Dial Torgerson, *Kerkorian: An American Success Story* (New York: Dial Press, 1974), 76.

[7]*Ibid.*

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]*Ibid.*

[10]Dunes Hotel advertising pamphlet, date unknown.

[11]George Stamos, Jr., *Las Vegas Review Magazine* (12 August 1979), p. 7. This magazine is an editorial insert in the Sunday edition of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal.*

[12]George Stamos, Jr., *Las Vegas Sun,* "Hacienda: A First Rated Loser - But the Skeptics were Wrong" (14 February 1991), p. A32.

[13]Ed Reid and Omar Demaris, *The Green Felt Jungle* (New York: Trident Press, 1963), 50. For Bayley's ownership share of the Hacienda and New Frontier hotels, see pp. 224, 228.

[14]*Las Vegas Sun* (14 February 1991), p. A32.

[15]*Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (12 July 1962), p. A16.

[16]Richard Taylor, Hacienda Hotel general manager, telephone interview by author, 19 September 2000.

[17]Boyd Michael, chief pilot and director of flight training, Hacienda Airlines, telephone interview by author, 27 September 2000.

[18]*Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* (17 October 1962), p. D1.

[19]*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (23 October 1961), p. 2.

[20]*Ibid.* (6 November 1960), p. 32.

[21]*Ibid.* (23 October 1961), p. 2.

[22]Hacienda Hotel Shareholders Stock Report: Balance Sheet (31 December 1961), p. 3.

[23]*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (5 May 1961), p. 5.

[24]The airlines that filed the complaint were not named.

[25]*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (24 May 1960), p. 1.

[26]*Ibid.*

[27]*Ibid.* (23 October 1961), p. 2.

[28]*Ibid.* (11 November 1961), p. 1.

[29]*Ibid.*

[30]*Ibid.* (6 June 1961), 5.

[31]*Ibid.* (15 August 1960), p. 1.

[32]Paul Price, *Las Vegas Sun* (16 June 1960), p. 4.

[33]*Las Vegas Review -Journal* (17 January 1962), p. 1.

[34]Hacienda Hotel Shareholders' Stock Report: Corporate Address (31 December 1961), 4.

[35]*Ibid.*

[36]Price, *Las Vegas Sun* (16 June 1960), p. 4.

[37]Richard Taylor, *Southwest Aviation Report* (April 1993), p. 7.

[38]*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (13 September 1962), p. 1.

[39]*Ibid.*

[40]*Ibid.*
[41]Stamos, "Hacienda: A First Rated Loser ", p. 8.
[42]*Ibid.*
[43]*Las Vegas Business Journal Special Report* (30 June 2000), p. 2.
[44]Taylor, interview

The Movie Star Nevada Never Claimed

DENNIS MYERS AND GUY LOUIS ROCHA

One day in 1938, the great Russian film director Gregory Ratoff startled his film crew on the set of *Rose of Washington Square* by suddenly turning his back on a scene as soon as the cameras started rolling. When the scene was finished and the cameras stopped, Ratoff turned back and said, "Okay, print it."

Someone in his crew asked Ratoff why he had turned away from the scene while it was being shot. "That man, Cavanaugh," he replied in stilted English. "He is so funny, he makes me cry if I look at him." The *New York Times* commented, "His explanation was logical enough, at that."[1]

That man, Cavanaugh—a Broadway and film star described as "one of the movies' and stage's best known character actors,"[2] whose "face was familiar to millions of moviegoers"[3]—and a Nevada native.

Hobart Cavanaugh's acting career was of such breadth that the statistics are astonishing; no reliable figure is available for the number of films he made, but we have found at least 178. (To provide some frame of reference, John Wayne, who, like Cavanaugh, began making films in the late 1920s but survived him by thirty years, made 150 movies.) Cavanaugh became so familiar a figure to moviegoers that one critic said his presence in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* helped make Shakespeare palatable to a popular audience.[4]

Cavanaugh took to the road as a boy when vaudeville was still in flower, was a Broadway fixture until called to Hollywood, sang and danced with Al Jolson, Dick Powell, and George Murphy. Yet Nevadans, who have sought to identify their state with famous figures—from Mark Twain to Bugsy Siegel to Greg LeMond—are scarcely aware he ever existed.

John Hobart Cavanaugh was born in Virginia City on September 22, 1886, during the long depression that followed the decline of the Comstock Lode.

Dennis Myers, former chief deputy secretary of state of Nevada, is a veteran Nevada reporter and columnist. Guy Louis Rocha, coauthor of *The Ignoble Conspiracy* (University of Nevada Press, 1986), is administrator of the Nevada state archives and records management program.

Studio portrait of John Hobart Cavanaugh by Scotty Welbourne.
(Photo courtesy of Dennis Myers Collection)

The *Virginia Evening Chronicle* recorded the event with a one-line notice the next day:

BORN

In this city, September 22, to the wife of J.A. Cavanaugh, a son.

Elsewhere on the same page, a lighthearted item records the same event:

New Today

Under this heading Professor J.A. Cavanagh announces that he has made an addition to his stock of earthly goods. The little joker (a 10-pound son) was born early this morning, and mother and child are doing well. Jack is as proud as a peacock, and struts around town as if he was the only father of a bouncing baby boy.[5]

One must wonder from this mention of "Professor" Cavanaugh whether Cavanaugh's father had an image similar to that which later typified Hobart's screen persona of a nebbish.

The baptismal registry of Saint Paul's Episcopal Church shows Hobart Cavanaugh was baptized on October 13 in the rectory of the church.

We don't know how Cavanaugh's family happened to be in Nevada, or why the family departed. *The Versatiles*, by Alfred Twomey and Arthur McClure, says that Cavanaugh was the "son of a railroading engineer" and his *Los Angeles Times* obituary described him as the "son of a railroading family,"[6] and it is true that Virginia City had a railroad, the Virginia and Truckee. More is known of Cavanaugh's mother, however. Alice May Cavanaugh, née Galloway, was the daughter of a prominent Comstock resident, James Galloway, a lumberyard salesman who fathered two children in addition to Alice.[7] Her brother, John Debo Galloway, later wrote *Early Engineering Works Contributory to the Comstock* (1947) and *The First Transcontinental Railroad* (1950).[8]

While we do not know what led Cavanaugh's family to depart the Comstock for the Bay Area, economic hardship is a likely reason during those years in Nevada. It does appear that the family departed early in Hobart's life, because he became a public person in the Bay Area as a toddler: He was reportedly used as the model for cherubs in frescoes at the Church of St. Francis de Sales and for paintings in the MacDonough Theater, both in Oakland.[9] We do know that by age three he and his family were in San Francisco.[10] When in 1925 he appeared in a play in San Francisco, he was also described as being the nephew of John D. Galloway, then a local civil engineer.

There is some indication Cavanaugh considered following his uncle's profession before the stage called, and also that Galloway was supportive when he chose the stage instead. He may also have considered the priesthood; one report has Father John Cullen of Sacred Heart Church offering to pay his seminary fees.[11]

In later years, San Francisco would claim him as a native son: "He was born here on Hayes street . . ." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 June 1925), and "Hobart Cavanaugh, San Francisco born . . ." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 February 1930). The incongruity is that San Francisco claimed Cavanaugh as a native son while Nevada scarcely knew of his existence.

According to later San Francisco press reports, Cavanaugh was educated at Lick Grammar School and Lowell High School—but these are the same press reports that had him born in San Francisco, so we must be cautious. In fact, the exasperations of dealing with show-business press clips are neatly illustrated by the Hayes Street comment we quoted. The full sentence reads: "He was born here on Hayes street and got his education at the Lick grammar school, the Lowell High and a year at the University of California." This sentence, from the show-business column of George Warren, begins and ends with false information, with another falsehood in between. Not only was Cavanaugh not born on Hayes Street, but his college attendance is exaggerated—and he didn't go to Lowell High. (Warren is also the source of the report on the fresco cherubs.) When we first found a reference to Cavanaugh as college student in the 1942-43 *Motion Picture Almanac*, we made an inquiry to a Berkeley archivist, William Roberts, who responded:

> *The Golden Book of California*, which purports to list all attendees of UC up to 1935, whether they graduated or not, does not list Cavanaugh. Nor did he appear in any lists of students between that time and 1942, the date of your reference; it seemed unlikely at that age but I looked anyway. I was curious so I looked at a few student lists when he would have been about age 20, and I did find Hobart John Cavanaugh who was a civil engineering student apparently for only one semester, Fall 1908.[12]

In addition, we made contact with Lowell High School's alumni group president, Robert Holden. Lowell still exists and has an archivist, Paul Lucey. Holden asked Lucey to survey the records. He went through not just the graduating lists, but other student registers and lists which would indicate attendance short of graduation between the late 1890s and 1907. They did not show Cavanaugh attending Lowell. Lucey himself was later interviewed and he said flatly, "I can say with certainty that Hobart John Cavanaugh did not attend Lowell High School."

Cavanaugh's *Los Angeles Times* obituary says, "His school friends were Walter Catlett, Charlie Ruggles, Lou Holtz, and William Gaxton.[13]" It does not say at what school level he knew these men, who, like him, were to become prominent show business figures. But certainly he knew Catlett well before high school, and Catlett was to be a significant figure in his life. Born February 4, 1889, in San Francisco, Catlett had a career that paralleled Cavanaugh's. Both became leading character actors. Catlett made at least 122 films, acted on stage, sang opera, and was also a screenwriter.

When Cavanaugh was twelve, according to the *New York Times*, he began his stage career in a juvenile production called *The Brownies*, an operetta performed

at the California Theatre.[14] Catlett was also in the production, and at some point these two formed a vaudeville act and went on the road, touring up and down the Pacific Coast as the "Irish Boy Comedians." Cavanaugh was also reported (by George Warren, the columnist of doubtful reliability) to be a member "at the Alcazar Theater in Fred Belasco's stock company. There he performed with Bert Lytell, with whom he appeared in *The Pit, Sweet Kitty Bellaire,* and *The Squaw Man.*"[15] Warren says Cavanaugh was with the Belasco company for about a year. He was about to go from regional theatre to the big time: Broadway.

Press reports indicate his big break came in 1908 when he was taken east with Richard Jose's traveling company of *Silver Threads among the Gold,* a play developed to capitalize on the popularity of the hit record—or rather hit cylinder—that Jose had cut for the Victor Talking Machine Company. Jose also made a silent movie of the play.

Jose had come from Britain to Virginia City at age twelve after the death of his father to join his uncle—who had gone to Montana by the time Jose arrived in Nevada.[16] Whether having Virginia City in common was a factor in Cavanaugh's joining the Jose company will likely never be known. There are suggestions in different news reports that the Jose company toured for a time before it arrived in New York. Once in the city, *Silver Threads* represented Cavanaugh's New York debut.

By 1911, Cavanaugh was appearing in *Mile-a-Minute Kendall,* and then replaced Frank Craven in *Bought and Paid For* in 1912. The play was highly successful and toured both in the United States and overseas.

Among the players in *Bought and Paid For* was a young woman named Florence Heston. She had been performing since taking a role in *Under Southern Skies* in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1905. Her credits included *Checkers and Cinderella Man.* She and Cavanaugh were married in 1913. She continued her career and they are known to have toured together, including trips to Australia and South Africa.[17]

Cavanaugh was becoming noticed, working steadily in what the *New York Times* called "a long series of successful stage engagements, including roles in *Irene, So Long, Letty, The Show-Off, Broadway, Tangerine,* and *Remote Control.*"[18] His portrayal of Aubrey Piper in *The Show-Off* gained particular attention and seems to have been a breakthrough role for him. In its second year on Broadway, *The Show-Off's* touring company gave him the opportunity to return to San Francisco, where in 1923 he was given the local-boy-makes-good treatment. He returned to San Francisco again in 1928 as the lead in *Broadway* and in 1930 with *A Cup of Coffee.* These road-show appearances overlapped the start of his film career in southern California; he made a film called *San Francisco Nights* in 1928 that may have been a short.

During his stage years Cavanaugh worked with others who would also go on to great success as actors. Some became top leading men and women; oth-

Cavanaugh (right) in what is believed to be his first full-length feature film, *I Cover the Waterfront*. *(Photo courtesy of Dennis Myers Collection)*

Cavanaugh with Victor Mature, Ann Sheridan, and Leif Erickson (l to R) in *Stella*. It was Cavanaugh's last film. *(Photo courtesy of Dennis Myers Collection)*

ers, like Cavanaugh, became some of the greatest character actors in the nation. He performed in *Tell Her the Truth* with William Frawley (aka Fred Mertz) and Margaret Dumont (Groucho Marx's foil in innumerable films); *Bulls, Bears, and Asses* with Robert Shayne (Inspector Henderson in TV's "The Adventures of Superman"); *Kibitzer* with Edward G. Robinson; and *Sweet Mystery of Life* with Gene Lockhart and Broderick Crawford. Cavanaugh once replaced Catlett in *So Long, Letty*.

In spite of what is now his indelible image as a nebbish, it is apparent that in the early days of his career his image was more fluid and took some time to settle into the groove we know.

Critical reviews almost uniformly praised him; indeed, we have been unable to find any negative views of him from this period (though there was one peculiar review of *Sunshine*, which failed even to mention the lead character, played by Cavanaugh). Here are samples from the New York Times reviews of Brooks Atkinson

> Hobart Cavanaugh slides trifling lines into genuine humor by the casual remoteness of his playing. The radio announcer with his sugary voice and success obsession is as amusing in this play as the unforgettable Aubrey Piper of *The Show-Off*. (*Remote Control*, 11 September 1929)

> Hobart Cavanaugh as a beer-stained reporter has an amazing gift for smearing lines with hilarity. (*The Man on Stilts*, 10 September 1931)

> From . . . Hobart Cavanaugh as a smooth assistant and others on a long payroll, the support is better than good. (*Hot Money*, 9 November 1931)

> But the actors include . . .Hobart Cavanaugh, whose bland, drowsy and astonished clowning has its best vehicle in this play. He is the most ineffectual salesman in a discouraged life insurance office. (*Sweet Mystery of Life*, 12 October 1935)

The *Times* once reported that Cavanaugh "left Broadway for Hollywood in 1933, and did not return until late in 1948, when he went east again to play the barber in *As the Girls Go*."[19] This is not true; we found at least one other instance, *Sweet Mystery of Life* (1935), of Cavanaugh going back on the New York stage after his movie career began.

In 1932, in the midst of the depression, Cavanaugh was offered a film contract and departed for Hollywood. "The picture he came to Hollywood to play in was never made," the *Los Angeles Times* later reported. Instead, his initial Hollywood role was in *I Cover the Waterfront*, the first of scores of movies he made. This may not have been his first film role, however—he made shorts called *The Headache, The Poor Fish, Sympathy,* and *Close Friends* (released in 1929, 1930, and 1932); *San Francisco Nights* (released in 1928); and the *Wall Street Mystery* (released in 1932), while the release date for *Waterfront* is 1933. But the shorts may have been made in New York. In any event it appears that *Waterfront* was Cavanaugh's feature film debut; but we make this statement with two hedges. Little is known of *San Francisco Nights*, the 1928 Gotham Pictures film,

including whether it was a feature or a short. We do know it was shot on location in San Francisco. And it should also be kept in mind that Jose made a film of *Silver Threads among the Gold* and that Cavanaugh was a member of the Jose troupe, so there is always the possibility that he appeared in that film.

Cavanaugh established himself quickly—in 1933 he made an incredible twenty-two movies. But there were also downsides to his film career. For one, he lost much of the visibility he had earned on Broadway, where he was frequently reviewed and sometimes played the leading man. In movies he was rarely reviewed and was nearly always in supporting or background roles. And in films he was quickly stereotyped, rarely thereafter performing outside a narrow range of roles. He was so often described in the same general fashion that articles about him probably exhausted the clichés for his type

> Mr. Cavanaugh had been in constant demand in Hollywood, particularly for character roles of the "Milquetoast" variety, of which he made a specialty. (*New York Times*, 1935)

> Often appearing as a hen-pecked husband or a harried bookkeeper . . . (*Associated Press*, 27 April 1950)

> Mild mannered, bald and bespectacled American character actor, usually seen as clerk, nervous husband, or frightened caretaker. (*The Filmgoers' Companion*, by Leslie Halliwell, 153)

> Constantly assigned to be the Casper Milquetoast office type or the henpecked family man. (*Hollywood Character Actors* by James Parrish, III)

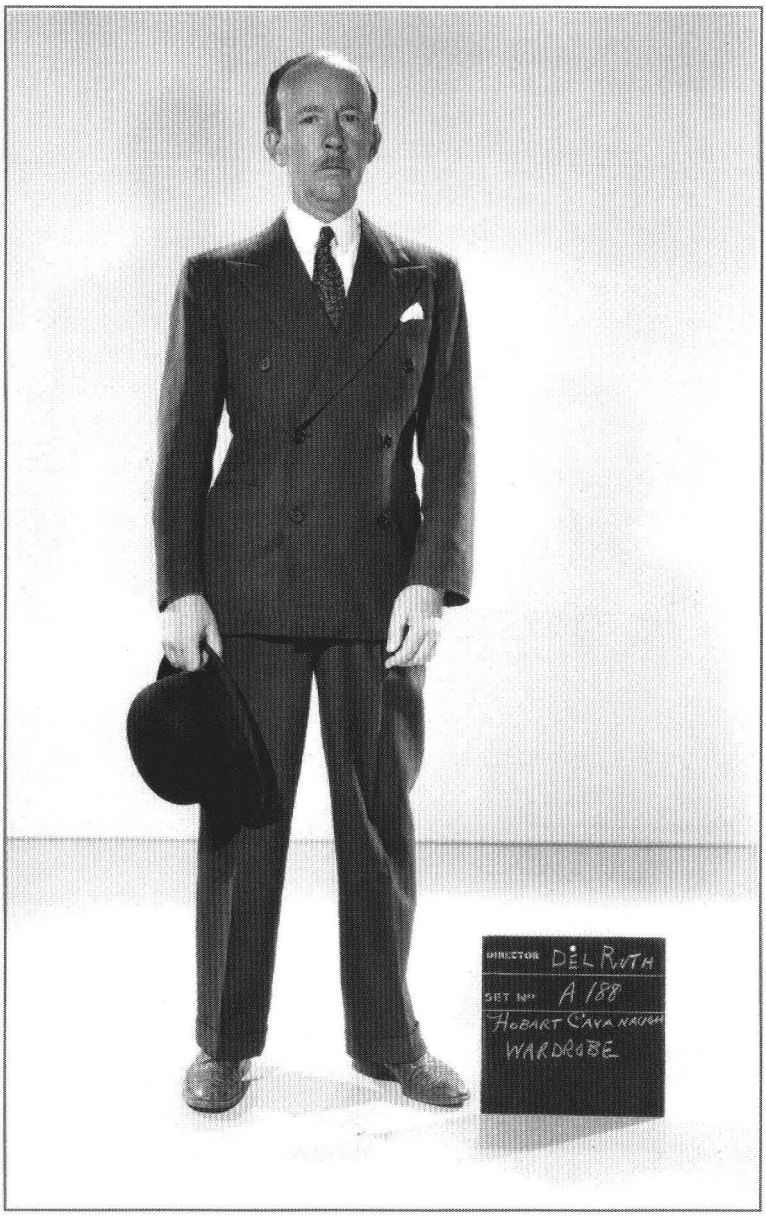
> Stage veteran who played character roles, in scores of Hollywood films, often as a henpecked husband, nervous clerk, or assortment of other meek, sometimes nasty, little men. (*The Film Encyclopedia*, by Ephraim Katz, 235)

This view of Cavanaugh is so repetitive that it suggests recycling of these characterizations. Compare, for instance, the characterization of the *New York Times* and *Associated Press* descriptions quoted above with this later one:

> He was in constant demand, particularly for character roles of the "milquetoast variety", of which he made a specialty. Often appearing as a hen-pecked husband or a harried bookkeeper... (*The Versatiles* by Alfred Twomey and Arthur F. McClure)

The very names of Cavanaugh's characters often conveyed the nature of his roles—Homer Pringle, Philbert O'Slemp, Eustace Federie. He twice played characters named Tremble.[20]

Cavanaugh's motion picture career is filled with colorful, novel, or historic benchmarks that provide a cross section of film history. *Rose of Washington Square* was a thinly veiled version of the story of Fanny Brice and Nick Arnstein that preceded *Funny Girl* (Brice sued for $750,000, settled for $25,000[21]). It was a comeback film for Al Jolson, who slid the movie right out from under its stars, in which Cavanaugh and Jolson sang and danced together as a duo. Cavanaugh appeared with Catlett in at least three films—*Horror Island*, *Cain and Mabel*, and



A wardrobe still from an unknown film. Although director Roy Del Ruth's name appears on the slate, Cavanaugh's name does not appear in the credits for any of his films. *(Photo courtesy of Dennis Myers Collection)*

Sing Me a Love Song. He was also in at least three Ronald Reagan films, *Naughty but Nice, Cowboy from Brooklyn*, and *Santa Fe Trail*. He appeared in one film—*Gildersleeve on Broadway*—based on a radio program and another—*Little Iodine*—based on a comic strip. (Cavanaugh played Iodine's father. Her mother was portrayed by Irene Ryan, later famous as Granny Clampett in *The Beverly Hillbillies* television series.) In 1939 he played in a movie whose production carried out the promises of on-screen appearances made to winners of a national talent contest sponsored by Wrigley's Doublemint Gum and CBS Radio.[22]

Cavanaugh was in three elaborate Busby Berkeley musicals, *Fashions of 1934*, the celebrated *Footlight Parade*, and *Gold Diggers of 1933*, the latter so popular it was followed by sequels in 1935 and 1937. In the movie of Robert Sherwood's Pulitzer Prize winning play *Idiot's Delight*, the famous film in which Clark Gable sings and dances "Puttin' on the Ritz," Cavanaugh plays the manager of the theatre where Gable performs. He played in one of the vehicles, *Hearts Divided*, used by William Randolph Hearst to promote the film career of his mistress, Marion Davies. (The movie was a joint production of Hearst's Cosmopolitan Studio and two other studios.)

Cavanaugh appeared in one film story that was remade six times under various titles; the Cavanaugh version was called *Hi, Nellie!* and was the second of the six (the story is best known to current viewers as the Montgomery Clift film *Miss Lonelyhearts*). One Cavanaugh film, *The Lady Consents*, provoked protests from glassblowers' unions in the United States and Canada, because of its footage of beer in a tin can.[23] Cavanaugh was in one Sherlock Holmes movie, *A Study In Scarlet*, that had nothing to do with the story as written by Arthur Conan Doyle. He was in *Steamboat Round the Bend*, Will Rogers's last film, which was released after Rogers's death in a 1935 plane crash.

Cavanaugh was also a player in an almost forgotten group of films—the Robert Benchley shorts. From 1928 to 1945 humorist Benchley made several dozen films (mostly one reelers) like *How to Eat, The Courtship of the Newt*, and *How to Be a Detective for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer*. One of the Benchley shorts, *The Sex Life of the Polyp*, is in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, and *How to Sleep* won an Academy Award in 1938. Another, *A Night at the Movies*, was nominated for an Oscar in 1937.

In *The Great Movie Shorts* Leonard Maltin wrote,

> "The MGM shorts had another plus factor in the latter part of the decade: good supporting casts. Little Ricardo Cezon was perfect as the youngster who doggedly stares at Benchley throughout the evening; Ruth Lee was a perfect wife in numerous shorts; and such familiar character actors as Hobart Cavanaugh provided Benchley with exactly the ordinary everyday types he sought to satirize."[24]

Although the Benchley shorts are often overlooked in reference-book lists of Cavanaugh's credits, he made at least three of them—*The Day of Rest* (released September 6, 1939), *See Your Doctor* (December 16, 1939), and *Home Movies* (February 17, 1940). Catlett also was making shorts during this period, though apparently not with Benchley.

Cavanaugh with Alice Faye, his co-star in *Rose of Washington Square*, one of his better showcases. *(Photo courtesy of Dennis Myers Collection)*

Cavanaugh made at least three films that involved Nevada, yet they did not bring his native status to light.[25] *The Merry Wives of Reno* appears from all evidence we have been able to gather to have been shot entirely at Warner Brothers in southern California. Playing off Reno's fame as the divorce center, the film was released in 1934 to little notice, then or since.

Reno, released in 1939, is one of at least two films of that name. Directed by John Farrow (father of Mia), it was mainly filmed at RKO's California studio, but there was an opening montage showing various familiar Reno scenes—neon club marquees, the Mackay statue, Powning Park, and an early portrayal of a woman throwing a wedding ring off the Virginia Street bridge.

The film tells the story of Reno through the life of a lawyer, played by Richard Dix, who supposedly built the city into a divorce capital. Cavanaugh and Dix had worked together six years earlier on *No Marriage Ties* and appeared together again in *The Kansan* in 1943. (A bit player in *Reno*, Carol Landis went on to stardom the next year as a cave dweller in a movie made in Nevada, *One Million B.C.*)

Margie is the most Nevada-based of Cavanaugh's three films related to his native state. This college comedy was filmed in Reno "because its tree-lined streets and the university campus resemble more a midwestern setting than

any city in California," according to the *Reno Evening Gazette's* characterization of the comment of a publicist for Twentieth-Century Fox.[26] Reno played a small town in Ohio.

The filming began in January 1946 and was completed, edited, and the movie released into theatres before the year had ended. Researcher Gary DuVal says filming on *Margie* began January 30 and ended February 13. Cavanaugh portrayed a mortician and the father of *Margie* who was played by Jeanne Crain. A building at 140 Ridge Street played the role of Cavanaugh's mortuary, and the private home of Ben and Angelina Raggio (grandparents of future Washoe County district attorney and Nevada state senator William Raggio) at 135 Maple Street became the family home of Crain and Cavanaugh. Also featured in the film were Hattie McDaniel (Mammy in *Gone With the Wind*), Alan Young (later *Mr. Ed's* Wilbur), and Conrad Janis (Mindy's father on *Mork and Mindy*). A hundred-person crew arrived in Reno from Twentieth Century Fox.

University of Nevada locations were heavily used in the movie. About three hundred university students were hired as extras on the film for $7.50 a day. Additional students were put to work hauling snow down from Mount Rose to give Reno a wintry look.[27] (A week after the snow haul, Reno and the shooting location were hit with a real snow storm.[28]) Because the film was set in an earlier period, locals also made money renting the company their old automobiles and bicycles.[29]

The filming took two weeks, providing plenty of opportunity for features on the production and players, yet local newspapers did nothing with the local-boy-makes-good angle, and company publicists apparently did not alert them (if they knew of it). We could, in fact, find not a single mention of Cavanaugh in local news coverage (though there were several of his role). Nor did the opening of the film in Reno spark any coverage of the Cavanaugh link.

When the filming was completed, local chamber of commerce president Forest Lovelock wrote to Twentieth Century asking that the premiere of *Margie* be held in Reno. The local-boy angle would have been a good selling point, but there is no evidence it ever surfaced. Twentieth-Century flack Jason Joy responded with a letter that praised Reno's hospitality to the film company but was noncommittal on the premiere (we have found no record that it did in fact take place in Reno).[30]

The role in *Margie* was one of Hobart Cavanaugh's last performances. He died on April 25, 1950, after finishing *Stella*, his final film. He was sixty-three years old. Had he lived, the age of television might have given Cavanaugh's career a whole new life. A number of character actors, including many with whom Cavanaugh had shared a cast, found fame in television well beyond their former vaguely familiar status.

In the course of his career, Cavanaugh worked with every leading motion picture studio, some lesser studios, and some that no longer exist. He performed with virtually every movie star of his time, from Al Jolson to Natalie

Wood (his nine-year old costar in *Driftwood*), and with all the great character actors of film history. He performed in dramas, musicals, comedies, westerns, mysteries, even shoestring horror movies (such as 1941's *Horror Island*, described by one film encyclopedia as "the bottom of the low budget barrel . . . Unfunny, unterrifying, and uninteresting"[31]). Cavanaugh performed in film versions of stories by authors from Shakespeare and Saroyan to Arthur Conan Doyle and Albert Payson Terhune. His credits include some of the most important films of the age—*Captain Blood, Rose of Washington Square, Gold Diggers of 1933, State Fair, A Midsummer Night's Dream, A Letter to Three Wives, Footlight Parade,* and *Idiot's Delight.*

Hobart Cavanaugh's career stands as a reminder of the importance of character actors in the growth of the film industry. Often the supporters saved a film that misfired, as in Clark Gable's *Cain and Mabel*, which critic Leonard Maltin describes as "rescued somewhat . . . by the supporting cast" that included Cavanaugh.[32] Howard Rosenberg, film critic and University of Nevada, Reno, cinema professor, says Cavanaugh's seemingly natural on-screen persona as a milquetoast could conceal the difficulty of portraying that familiar character.

> If you look at *Margie*, this is a man who conveyed with very economic gestures the feelings of a man who's left with a daughter whom he's terrified to raise and gives that job up to [someone else]. While he was best remembered for being the meek, mild accountant, this is a character man from the word go . . . I wonder what would have happened had he lived into the 1980s and '90s when the meek, mild-mannered type roles often had a core of steel and poison.[33]

Many whose names appeared in lights acknowledegd their debt to those character actors. Dick Powell, the actor, director, and song-and-dance man, appeared with Cavanaugh in *Cowboy from Brooklyn, Footlight Parade, Naughty but Nice, Broadway Gondolier, Colleen, Hearts Divided, Page Miss Glory,* and possibly *Her Cardboard Lover*.[34] In 1935 Powell, then enjoying a long and successful career, was talking to Alex Evelove of the *New York Times* about some selections from *Rigoletto* he sang in *Broadway Gondolier.*

"Of course, I don't sing the quartet all by myself," Powell said. "I have some help from George Barbler, Hobart Cavanaugh, and George Murphy."[35]

Lobby card. *(Photo courtesy of Dennis Myers Collection)*

Appendix: Cavanaugh's Broadway Credits

Cavanaugh Plays

This list is limited to New York City plays; Cavanaugh's credits undoubtedly include numerous roadshow plays.

As the Girls Go, 1948 Winter Garden (the barber)
Bought and Paid For, 1912
Broadway
Bulls, Bears, and Asses, 1932
Gilding the Ballyhoo Lily,1931 Plymouth Theatre (McGann)
Her Way Out, 1924
Hot Money, 1931 George M. Cohan Theatre (Mike Donahey)
Irene
Kibitzer, 1929 Royale Theatre (Emil Schmidt)
Made in France, 1930 Cort Theatre (Tom Hawley)
Man on Stilts, 1931
Mile-A-Minute Kendall, 1911
The Nervous Wreck, 1923
Pleasure Bound, 1929
Remote Control, 1929 Forty-eighth Street Theatre (Ralph Shugart)
Saga of the Market, 1932, Playhouse (Charlie Moore)
The Show-Off
Silver Threads among the Gold, 1908 (?)
So Long, Letty
Sunshine, 1926 Lyric Theatre (Laffy Putnam)
Sweet Mystery of Life, 1935 Shubert Theatre (Rosmer Peek)
Tangerine
Tell Her the Truth, 1932

Cavanaugh Film Credits

All films are black and white unless otherwise noted This list is as complete and accurate as we have been able to make it. We pooled various lists of Cavanaugh's films and then checked each title individually. We struck some titles, such as *House of Fear* and *You Gotta Stay Happy*, from our final roster because some listmakers mistook Paul Cavanaugh for Hobart Cavanaugh (the two actors appeared together in at least one film—*Reno*). The tie breaker and final authority was *The Motion Picture Guide 1927-1983*. Underlined titles are those listed in some Hobart Cavanaugh filmographies but about which we still have some uncertainty. The authors would be grateful for any readers' corrections or additional information.

Adventures of Jane Arden, 1939
An Angel From Texas, 1940
Best Man Wins, 1948 Columbia (Amos)
The Black Angel, 1946 Universal (Jake) •
Bordertown, 1935 Warner Brothers (drunk)
Broadway Brevities, 1935 [short]
Broadway Gondolier, 1935 Warner Brothers (Gilmore)
Broadway through a Keyhole, [aka *Broadway thru a Keyhole*], 1933 UnitedArtists/Fox (Peanuts Dinwiddie)
Business Is a Pleasure, 1934
Cain and Mabel, 1936 Cosmopolitan/Warner Brothers (Milo)
Captain Blood, 1935 Warner Brothers/First National (Dr. Bronson) •
Career, 1939 RKO (Bronson)
Carnival Queen, 1937 Universal (Professor Silva)
Charter Pilot, 1940 Twentieth Century Fox (Horace Sturgeon)
Chicken Wagon Family, 1939 Twentieth Century Fox (Henri)
A Child Is Born, 1940 Warner Brothers (Mr. West)

Cinderella Jones, 1946 Warner Brothers (George)
Close Friends, 1932 [short]
Colleen, 1936 Warner Brothers (Noggin)
Convention City, 1933 Warner Brothers (Orchard)
The Covered Trailer, 1939 Republic (Beamish)
The Cowboy from Brooklyn, 1938 Warner Brothers (Mr. Jordan)
Dangerous Blondes, 1943 Columbia (Pop)
Dark Hazard, 1934 Warner Brothers/First National (George Mayhew)
The Day of Rest, 1939 MGM [short]
Death Watch, 1933
Don Juan Quilligan, 1945 Twentieth Century Fox (Mr. Rostigaff)
Don't Bet on Blondes, 1935 Warner Brothers (Philbert O'Slemp)
A Dream Comes True, 1935
Driftwood, 1947 Republic (Judge Beckett)
Dr. Socrates, 1935 Warner Brothers (Floyd Stevens)
Easy Come, Easy Go, 1947 Paramount (auto repair shop manager)
Easy to Love, 1934 Warner Brothers (clerk)
Faithful In My Fashion, 1946 MGM (Mr. Wilson)
Fashions of 1934, [aka *Fashion*], 1934 First National (Monsieur Gautier) •
The Firebird, 1934 Warner Brothers (Emile)
Footlight Parade, 1933 Warner Brothers (title thinker upper) •
From Headquarters, 1933 Warner Brothers (Muggs Manton)
The Ghost Comes Home, 1940 MGM (Ambrose Bundy)
Gildersleeve on Broadway, 1943 RKO (Homer)
Girl Overboard, 1937 Universal (Joe Gray)
Gold Diggers of 1933, 1933 Warner Brothers (dog salesman) •
The Golden Arrow, 1936 First National/Warner Brothers (De Wolfe)
Goodbye Again, 1933 Warner Brothers (Clayton)
The Great O'Malley, 1937 Warner Brothers (Pinky Holden)
The Great Plane Robbery, 1940 United Artists (Homer Pringle)
The Hard Boiled Canary, [aka *There's Magic in Music*], 1941 Paramount (announcer)
Harold Teen, [British title: *The Dancing Fool*] 1934 Warner Brothers (Pops)
Havana Widows, 1933 First National/Warner Brothers (Mr. Otis)
The Headache, 1930 [short]
Headline Shooter, [British title: *Evidence in Camera*] 1933 RKO (Happy)
Hearts Divided, 1936 Cosmopolitan & First National/Warner Brothers (innkeeper)
He Knew Too Much, [aka *The Devil's Mate*] 1933 Monogram (Parkhurst)
Here Comes Carter, [aka *Loudspeaker Lowdown*] 1936 First National/Warner Brothers (Mel Winter)
Hi, Nellie!, 1934 Warner Brothers (Fullerton)
Hired Wife, 1940 Seiter/Universal (William)
Home Movies, 1940 MGM [short]
The Honeymoon's Over, 1939 Twentieth Century Fox (Butterfield)
Horror Island, 1941 Universal (Jasper)
Housewife, 1934 Warner Brothers (George Wilson)
I Am a Thief, 1935 Warner Brothers
I Cover the Waterfront, 1933 Rogo/Twentieth Century Fox (McCoy) •
Idiot's Delight, 1939 MGM ("Frueheim", the theatre manager)•
I Live For Love, [British title: *I Live For You*], 1935 Warner Brothers (Townsend C. Morgan)
I'll Remember April, 1945 Universal (Billings)
The Immortal Blacksmith, 1944 [short]
The Inside Story, 1948 Republic (Mason)
I Sell Anything, [aka *I Sell Everything*], 1934 First National/Warner Brothers (Stooge)
I Stole a Million, 1939 Universal (bookkeeper)
I've Got Your Number, 1934 Warner Brothers (Happy Dooley)
I Wanted Wings, 1941 Paramount (Mickeyu)
Jack London, [aka *The Adventures of Jack London* and *The Life of Jack London*], 1943 UnitedArtists (Mike) •

Jackass Mail, 1942 MGM ('Gospel' Jones)
Jimmy the Gent, 1934 Warner Brothers (imposter)
The Kansan, 1943 United Artists (Mayor Josh Hudkins) •
Kansas City Princess, 1934 Warner Brothers (Sam Waller)
The Key, 1934 Warner Brothers (Homer)
Kismet, [aka *Oriental Dream*], 1944 MGM (Moolah) *in color* •
The Lady Consents, 1936 RKO (Yardley)
Lady in a Jam, 1942 Universal (reporter)
Lady on a Train, 1945 Universal (drunk) •
Land of the Open Range, 1941 RKO (Pinky Gardner)
A Letter to Three Wives, 1949 Twentieth Century Fox (Mr. Manleigh) •
Lilly Turner, 1933 Warner Brothers/First National (Earle)
Little Iodine, 1946 United Artists (Mr. Tremble)
A Lost Lady, [British title: *Courageous*], 1934 (Robert)
Louisiana Hayride, 1944 Columbia (Malcolm Cartwright)
Love Begins at Twenty, [British title: *All One Night*], 1936 (Jake Buckley)
Love, Honor, and Oh Baby!, 1940 Universal
Love in a Bungalow, 1937 Universal (Mr. Kester)
Love Letters of a Star, 1936 Universal (Chester Blodgett)
Madame DuBarry, 1934 Warner Brothers (De La Vauguyon)
The Magnificent Dope, 1942 Twentieth-Century Fox (Gowdy) •
Mandalay, 1934 Warner Brothers (purser)
The Man From Down Under, 1943 MGM (Boots)
Margie, 1946 Twentieth-Century Fox (Angus McDuff) *in color* *
Mary Stevens M.D., 1933 Warner Brothers (Alf Simmons)
The Mayor of Hell, 1933 Warner Brothers (Tommy's father)
The Meanest Man In the World, 1943 Twentieth Century Fox (Mr. Throckmorton)
Meet the Chump, 1941 Universal (Juniper)
Merry Wives of Reno, 1934 Warner Brothers (Derwent) **
A Midsummer Night's Dream, 1935 Warner Brothers (Philostrate) •
The Mighty Treve, 1937 Universal (Mr.Davis)
A Modern Hero, 1934 Warner Brothers (Mueller)
Moulin Rouge, 1934 Twentieth Century Fox/United Artists (drunk)
My Favorite Spy, 1942 RKO (Jules)
Mysterious Crossing, 1937 Universal (Stebbins)
My Woman, 1933 Columbia (Mr. Miller)
Naughty but Nice, 1939 Warner Brothers (piano tuner)
Never Say Die, 1939 Paramount •
Night and Day, 1946 Warner Brothers (man with wife in hospital) *in color* •
Night Key, 1937 Universal (Petty Louie)
No Leave, No Love, 1946 MGM
No Marriage Ties, 1933 RKO (Smith)
Now I'll Tell, [British title: *While New York Sleeps*], 1934 Fox (Freddie)
Orphans of the Street, 1939 Republic (Gran)
Our Wife, 1941 Columbia
Page Miss Glory, 1935 Cosmopolitan [Hearst]/Warner Brothers (Joe Bonner)
Picture Snatcher, 1933 Warner Brothers (drunken reporter)
Pilot No. 5, 1943 MGM (boat owner)
Pittsburgh, 1942 Universal (derelict) •
Playmates, 1941 RKO (Tremble)
The Poor Fish, 1930 [short]
Private Detective 62, [aka *Man Killer*], 1933 First National/Warner Brothers (Harcourt S. Burns)
Public Deb No. 1, 1940 Fox (Mr. Schlitz)
The Remarkable Andrew, [aka *At Good Old Siwash*], 1942 Paramount *
Reno, 1939 RKO (Abe Compass) • *
Reported Missing, 1937 Universal (Al Steele)
Rose of Washington Square, 1939 Fox (Whitney Boone) •

Roughly Speaking, 1945 Warner Brothers (teacher)
San Diego, I Love You, 1944 Universal (Mr. McGregor)
San Francisco Nights, [aka *The Fruit of Divorce*], 1928 Gotham ***
Santa Fe Trail, 1940 First National/Warner Brothers (barber Doyle) •
A Scream in the Dark, 1943 Republic (Leo Starke)
See Your Doctor, 1939 MGM [short]
Shooting High, 1940 Fox (Clem Perkie)
Sing Me a Love Song, [British title: *Come Up Smiling*], 1936 Cosmopolitan [Hearst]/Warner Brothers/First National (Mr. Barton)
Skylark, 1941 Paramount (little guy in subway)
The Spider Woman Strikes Back, 1946 Universal (Mr. Stapleton)
Stage Struck, 1936 Warner Brothers/First National (Wayne)
Stage to Chino, 1940 RKO (Rogge)
Stand By For Action, [British title: *Cargo of Innocents*], 1942 MGM (Chips)
State Fair, [Television title: *It Happened One Summer*], 1933 Fox (hog judge)
Stella, 1950 Fox (Tim Gross) ****
Steamboat round the Bend, 1935 Twentieth Century Fox (listener)
St. Louis Kid, [British title: *A Perfect Weekend*], 1934 Warner Brothers (Richardson)
Strange Faces, 1938 Universal (man)
Street of Memories, 1940 Fox (Mr. Foster)
A Study in Scarlet, 1933 KBS/World Wide (Publican) •
Sweet Rosie O'Grady, 1943 Fox (Clark) *in color*
Sympathy, 1929 [short]
Tarzan's New York Adventure, 1942 •
Tell No Tales, 1939 MGM (Charlie Daggett)
That's My Story, 1937 Universal (Sheriff Otis)
That's Right, You're Wrong, 1939 RKO (Dwight Cook)
Thieves Fall Out, 1941 Warner Brothers/First National (David Tipton)
Three Smart Girls, 1937 Universal (Wilbur Lamb) •
Together Again, 1944 Columbia (Perc Mather)
A Tragedy at Midnight, 1942 Republic (Mr. Miller)
Two against the World, [aka *One Fatal Hour*; British title: *The Case of Mrs. Pembroke*], 1936 Warner Brothers, (Tippy Mantus)
Up in Central Park, 1948 Universal (Mayor Oakley) •
A Very Honorable Guy, 1934 Warner Brothers/First National (Benny)
The Wall Street Mystery, 1932
We're In the Money, 1935 Warner Brothers (Max)
What a Woman, [aka *The Beautiful Cheat*], 1946
While the Patient Slept, 1935 First National/Warner Brothers (Eustace Federie)
Whistling in Dixie, 1942 MGM (Panky) •
Wife vs. Secretary, 1936 MGM (Joe)
Wings in the Dark, 1935 Paramount (Mac) •
Wonder Bar, 1934 Warner Brothers/First National (Drunk)
You Can't Fool Your Wife, 1940 RKO (Potts) •
Zenobia, [aka *Elephants Never Forget*], 1939 United Artists (Mr. Dover) •

• Available on home videotape
* Contains scenes filmed in Nevada
** Set in Nevada but may have been filmed elsewhere
*** First known full-length movie
**** Last known movie

NOTES

[1]"Ratoff: The Last Roman," *New York Times* (7 May 1939), p. 21, col. 2.

[2]"Hobart Cavanaugh," *San Francisco Chronicle* (27 April 1950), p. 15, col. 4.

[3]Alfred E. Twomey and Arthur F. McClure, *The Versatiles* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1969).

[4]"Two Strikes on the Bard," *New York Times* (17 February 1935), p. 4, col. 1.

[5]*Virginia Evening Chronicle* (22 September 1886).

[6]"Final Rites Arranged for Hobart Cavanaugh," *Los Angeles Times* (27 April 1950).

[7]Enumerator's census ledger for 9 June 1880, Storey County, Nevada, p. 4.

[8]The elder Galloway died in 1883, several weeks after "having the flesh of his left arm lacerated by the band of a blower" in the Union Consolidated mine. *Virginia Evening Chronicle* (29 December 1883); *Territorial Enterprise* (23 September and 11, 12, 20 December 1883).

[9]"Behind the Back Row," *San Francisco Chronicle*, (19 June 1925), p. 15, col. 4..

[10]*Langley's San Francisco Directory for the Year* commencing May 1890 . . . (Geo. B. Wilbur, Receiver of Painter & Co., Publisher, 1890).

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]Memorandum from William Roberts, 11 April 1996. In city directories in the 1890s Hobart's father is listed as a clerk in the ticket auditor's office of the Southern Pacific Company, last appearing in 1895 with his residence at 213 Waller. The next year the name of Miss Alice L. Cavanaugh appears in the city directory as telephone operator residing at 2811 Harrison. John's name appears, spelled as *Cavanagh* both in the *Virginia Evening Chronicle's* "professor" item at Hobart's birth and in the Oakland city directories.

[13]*Los Angeles Times*, (27 April 1950).

[14]"H. Cavanaugh Dies; Veteran Actor, 63," *New York Times* (27 April 1950), p. 33, col. 1.

[15]"Behind the Back Row".

[16]Profiles of Jose can be found in Phillip I. Earl's *This Was Nevada*, vol.I (Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1986) and in the January 2000 issue of the newsletter of the Nevada Landmarks Society. There is also a photograph and brief profile in the 1921-22 *Nevada Historical Society Papers*.

[17]"Florence H. Cavanaugh, 76, Former Stage Actress," *New York Times* (2 July 1963).

[18]*New York Times* (27 April 1950), p. 33, col. 1.

[19]*Ibid.*

[20]In one of those cases, *Little Iodine*, the name Tremble was shortened from Tremblechin, the name of Iodine's father in Jimmy Hatlo's comic strip. But even in its shorter form, the name conveys the sense of meekness.

[21]Jay Robert Nash and Stanley Ralph Ross, *The Motion Picture Guide* 1927-1983, vol. VI (Evanston, Illinois: Cinebooks, Inc., 1986).

[22]*Ibid.*, vol. II.

[23]*Ibid.*, vol. V.

[24]Leonard Maltin, *The Great Movie Shorts* (Bonanza Books:New York, 1972).

[25]*The Remarkable Andrew*, filmed in Carson City, is listed among Cavanaugh's credits in Evelyn Mack Truitt, *Who Was Who on Screen* (R R Bowker: New York, 1984). We have found no other evidence that he appeared in the film, and it is not listed in other inventories of his credits.

[26]"Reno Scenes are Shot for Hollywood Movie," *Reno Evening Gazette* (31 January 1946), p. 13.

[27]"Home of Frank Wilson Going 'Hollywood' as Work Starts on Filming of Movie Here," *Nevada State Journal* (31 January 1946).

[28]"Unwanted Storm Expensive Item to Movie Group," *Nevada State Journal* (8 February 1946), p. 2, col. 2.

[29]"Home of Frank Wilson."

[30]"'Margie' Preview May Be Conducted Here, Firm Says" (Reno news clip of unknown date and publication).

[31]Nash and Ross, *Motion Picture Guide*, vol. IV.

[32]Leonard Maltin, *Movie and Video Guide* (New York: Plume Books, 1998).

[33]Interview with author, Reno, March 2001.

[34]*Her Cardboard Lover* is listed as a Cavanaugh credit in some lists, but not in most. The authoritative Nash and Ross, *Motion Picture Guide* does not show Cavanaugh in the cast list.

[35]"Powell and the Press," *New York Times* (14 July 1935),sec. 9, p. 4, col. 1. Dick Powell died in

1963 and his death from cancer gave him an enduring Nevada link, as one of numerous people in the cast or crew of the Howard Hughes film *The Conqueror* to die of cancers or leukemias. The film was shot in and around St. George, Utah, downwind of the Nevada atomic test site. Powell, director of the film, told his wife, June Allyson, he chose the location because "St. George, Utah, is a dead ringer for the Gobi. The same red sand—fantastic rock formations." June Allyson and Frances Spatz Leighton, *June Allyson* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, June 1982). The movie location was nearly wrecked by a terrific dust storm during the filming, and after location shooting Hughes had tons of the desert sand trucked back to Hollywood so the color of the sand in both studio and location scenes would match; thus the cast and crew may well have suffered exposures at both sites.

Notes and Documents

Bethel AME: The Oldest Surviving African-American Church in Nevada

MELLA ROTHWELL HARMON

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Reno's small African-American population had few social institutions to champion its causes or to provide continuity to its social life, but the first and most enduring of these was the Bethel AME Church. Built in 1910 as Reno's first black church,[1] it is the longest operating African-American congregation in Nevada. Holding to the tenets of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to provide opportunities for self-expression and fuller involvement in society, Bethel AME Church has fostered social equality through its active role in the community, through its direct link with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and through its abiding dignity in the face of conspicuous and unrelenting discrimination.

Bethel AME Church is located at 220 Bell Street in Reno, a tiny building on a tiny .039-acre parcel located just south of the railroad tracks that run east and west through town. The building was constructed by Reno's African Methodist Episcopal congregation, which had been established just three years earlier in 1907. The original church building, which exists beneath the surface of the brick expansion undertaken in 1941, was a small rectangular, gable-roofed, clapboard building with a centrally placed, enclosed hip-roofed vestibule, and a single entry door. The most prominent features of the little church were the four Gothic pointed-arch stained glass windows.

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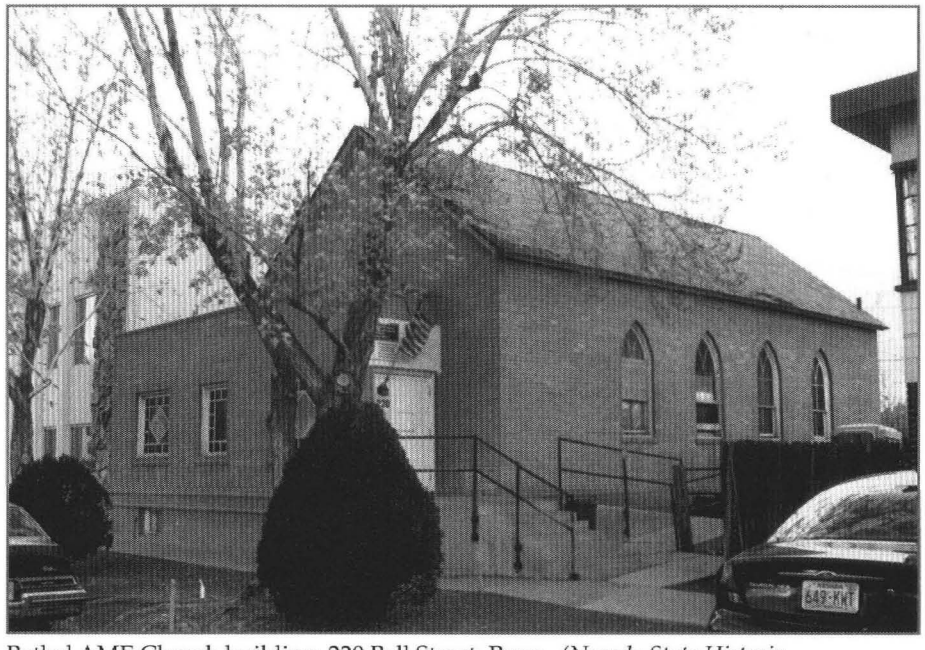
It is the remodeled version of the building that stands today. Still rectangular in shape, the 1,782-square-foot building encompasses the original sanctuary, an enlarged vestibule, and a full basement that houses a kitchen, furnace, and air conditioning unit. Additional space on the north side provides a parlor, library and study, choir room, and the pastor's office. A 1941 rendering of the proposed building shows a more formal gabled entrance than was actually built. A simple wooden cross adorns the peak of the gabled roof. At one time, the cross was outlined in neon, but only a small section of tubing remains.



Bethel AME Church building, 220 Bell Street, Reno. *(Nevada State Historic Preservation Office, Carson City)*

Blacks in Nevada

African Americans have long been a small, albeit persistent, component of Nevada's population. Black Americans were with the first exploratory probes made by the United States into the Great Basin in the early 1840s. Prominent among them was Jacob Dodson, who accompanied John C. Frémont's expedition, and mountain man James P. Beckwourth, who found the lowest pass over the Sierra just north of the Truckee Meadows in 1850. The route soon took on the name Beckwourth Pass, across which California State Highway 70 eventually extended into Sierra Valley.

With the discovery of the Comstock Lode in 1859, some blacks came to the area as they had to the gold rush in California ten years earlier. Although for the most part black men were excluded from high-paying jobs in the mines, some were able to secure lower-level employment. Blacks filled a variety of jobs in nineteenth-century Nevada. Women worked as hairdressers, waitresses, and as maids and caretakers for children, and men often found employment in a variety of service occupations. There were a number of black businesses on the Comstock, including barbering, which was profitable and respected. A recent archaeological excavation of Virginia City's successful Boston Saloon unearthed the remains of an African-American business operated by William A.G. Brown, a freeman from Massachusetts.[2] Other nineteenth-century black saloons are known from the historical records, including one in Carson City. In other parts of the territory, blacks worked as cowboys, ranch foremen, and ranch operators. For example, Ben Palmer was at one time the largest taxpayer in Douglas County. He and his sister, Charlotte Barber, were among the first non-native settlers in Carson Valley, and one of Charlotte's children was the first non-native child born in the valley.[3]

Even before Nevada's statehood in October 1864, blacks in the territory established churches, fraternal organizations, literary societies, political organizations, and other groups. The first Baptist church to be formed in Nevada was organized by blacks in Virginia City in 1863. Within the next decade, the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the AME Zion Church were established, as were several Masonic lodges. Ashlar Lodge No. 8, of Prince Hall Masonry,[4] was organized in Virginia City in 1867. It operated until the 1880s, when known records of its existence cease. A second Prince Hall lodge, St. John's Lodge No. 13, was established in Carson City in 1875, but with such a small black population it was unable to sustain itself. Other groups with educational, social, and cultural goals were organized in Virginia City and Carson City in the 1860s and 1870s. Among these were the United Sons of Freedom, which was a "benevolent association of colored persons."[5] The Dumas Social and Literary Club was organized in Virginia City in 1874, and was dedicated to the self-improvement of its members. The club met at the AME church, which is appropriate since education as a means of self-improvement is one of the underlying tenets of the AME discipline. Other social and political clubs were established, but their names have not survived.[6] With the exception of the AME Church in Virginia City, which burned in the 1875 fire and was not rebuilt, none of these organizations constructed buildings to house their activities.

In 1860 the black population totaled 44 in the section of Utah Territory that was to become Nevada. It peaked at 396 in the late nineteenth-century.[7] During its territorial days, Nevada displayed antislavery inclinations, and the pro-Union Republican party dominated the political scene until the 1870s. These conditions did not, however, preclude racial discrimination. The earliest territorial legislatures prohibited blacks from voting, holding political office, serv-

ing in the legal profession, or military service. Blacks were subject to civil, criminal, and tax law, but could not serve as jurors or witnesses in cases involving whites. Intermarriage with whites was prohibited and punishable by one to two years in territorial prison for both the offenders and the person solemnizing the union. Nevada's antimiscegenation laws were not repealed until 1959.[8] In the early years, Nevada's schools were racially segregated by statute (to exclude blacks, Indians, and Asians). The small size of the black population did not provide the minimum number of students necessary for a separate school, and when the state refused to hire a teacher for black students, the black community sued. In 1872, the State Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional.[9]

The African Methodist Episcopal Church Movement

The African Methodist Episcopal Church traces its roots to 1787, when Richard Allen and his followers in Philadelphia organized the Free African Society for blacks who had been denied freedom of worship in their chosen denomination.[10] The society was established in response to blacks' need for self-expression and fuller involvement in society, and as a means to gain a sense of dignity and self-respect. To foster these goals, the society emphasized education as a means of self-help. From the beginning, the church offered night classes for members, and in 1808 Allen and others in the society established an insurance society for slaves and freemen in America. The first members of the Free African Society, although poor and uneducated, purchased an old smithy in Philadelphia, which later became the first Bethel AME Church.[11] This church still stands today and is known as Mother Bethel.[12]

The Methodist Episcopal Conference took charge of the church established by Allen and the Free African Society, and charged exorbitant fees for supplying an ordained minister. Eventually, the society refused to accept the white pastors, and Richard Allen applied for a writ of mandamus for the right to ordination and the pulpit of the black church. With the help of a well-known attorney, the plight of Allen and the society was brought to court, and the suit was settled in favor of the black organization.[13] This led to the establishment of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, controlled by African Americans and dedicated to improving their condition.

Although generally following the doctrine of the Methodist Episcopal Church (ME), the AME Church eliminated the pro-slavery provisions in the Methodist Discipline. Richard Allen became AME's first bishop, and in 1816, at a first annual conference, the church combined with other black churches in Baltimore, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and other Pennsylvania communities.[14] By 1856, the AME Church boasted about twenty thousand members. The church's goal was to improve relations between blacks and whites and to

instill a sense of civic pride in blacks. To accomplish the latter, the church set out to offer support and services to the community, thus fostering a tradition of public service among AME members.[15]

Prior to the Civil War, the AME Church was banned from many areas in the South because slave owners feared slave revolts. In 1863, when Union forces occupied parts of coastal South Carolina, AME missionaries went from Baltimore to Charleston to establish churches. By 1866, AME churches were organized in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Following the Civil War, the AME Church took an active role in Reconstruction politics to seek civil and political equality for blacks. These activities established for the AME Church a reputation for community and political activism.[16]

During the last half of the nineteenth-century, the AME Church was one of the largest of the black churches, as it expanded nationwide with the migration of freed blacks from the South. The AME Church also extended its missionary activities overseas, with more than twenty-two thousand churches in Africa and the Caribbean.[17] AME churches have historically played significant roles in matters of civil rights. From participation in the Underground Railroad of the mid-nineteenth century to the activism of the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century, the AME Church has championed equal rights for African-Americans.

Bethel AME Church in Nevada

The earliest black religious congregation in Nevada may have emerged from an attempt to organize a branch of the Methodist Church South in Virginia City in 1862. The effort was largely unsuccessful, beyond the occasional visit from a pastor of that denomination.[18] The first Baptist Church in Nevada was formed by a black congregation that met in a meeting house on B Street in Virginia City. Although several white people attended services there, the church was established to serve the black population. Samuel T. Wagner, a founding member, stated that the blacks wanted their own church in order that "they might worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience and in their own peculiar way, without interfering with or coming into contact with their white brethren."[19]

The AME Church of California supervised churches in other western states including Oregon, Nevada, and Idaho, as well as British Columbia. Its first annual convention was held in 1863. One account of Elder Jacob Mitchell's visit to Virginia City in 1862 notes:

> . . . on his arrival there he was cordially received. Preparations for meetings had been made by the brethren, who had been apprised of his intended visit. The Court House of that city was opened for him to preach to the people in. On the first Sabbath our

meeting was numerously attended; the audience appeared deeply interested, and a collection of $100 was taken up. Our brethren there have organized a building committee, and bought a lot for the erection of a house of worship. The original size of their lot was 100 x 100 feet. Of this the brethren had been induced to sell two lots, each 100 x 25 feet, They deem their lot sufficiently large, and it has finally cost them $100. They have now in their fund, towards a building, $390.[20]

Before this building was constructed, the white Methodist Episcopal Church in Virginia City, which had just built a new church, opened its former meeting-house to the AME congregation for its services. Elder Mitchell reported that it was there that "I had the happiness of taking twenty-three of my brethren and sisters by the hand, and organizing a branch of the Church militant, under the AME Discipline."[21] This organization of the Virginia City AME congregation presumably occurred at some time during the year following the annual convention in September 1863. Of the AME Church, an 1864-1865 directory indicates that "a neat and substantial church has lately been built on F Street, and religious services are held every Sunday."[22] This information is a bit confusing, as a notice was published by Bishop Ward in 1870 that the church in Virginia City was to be dedicated on October 1 of that year. In any case, the AME Church was destroyed in the great fire that devastated most of Virginia City in the fall of 1875. It is possible that the building was rebuilt, although church records suggest that the Church gave up attempts to provide a minister for Virginia City after the fire.

Carson City maintained a small AME congregation during the 1870s, often sharing ministers with Virginia City. Carson City also supported an AME Zion Church for a few years during that decade. No records have been found to suggest there were black churches in other parts of the state during the nineteenth-century. (This search included the records of the Church Survey conducted during the Great Depression by the Works Progress Administration, under the auspices of the Survey of State and Local Historical Records project.)[23] Although the African-American population was small during the territorial years and early statehood, it made persistent efforts to maintain churches in spite of ongoing financial difficulties.

Nevada's black population fell markedly along with the general population decrease during the last decade of the nineteenth century with the 1900 census recording a total of 134 in the state. This loss of population can be attributed to a decline in the mining industry that had provided service jobs for blacks. By the second decade of the twentieth century, however, the black population had rebounded, and the 1910 census reported 513.[24] By then, Nevada's largest and most prosperous town was Reno, and it was home to the majority of the black population. Following more than twenty years without an established black church in Nevada, a Bethel AME congregation was organized in Reno, in 1907.

At the time, it was reported that there were 225 blacks in Reno, and the congregation anticipated a membership of about 50.[25] In spring 1910, the California Conference of the AME Church sent the Reverend William Solley to Reno

to facilitate construction of a church building for the small congregation. On March 16, 1910, Mr. Solley reported,

> We obtained a permit today to build our church in Reno on the lot at 226 Bell Street, just back of Sheriff Ferrel's home. The lot had a house on it—Mrs. Hamilton's—but that was moved off to make room for the church. We will put up a simple little frame church at first, but a good little building. The Reno church will be built at once. I hope we can start on it tomorrow. At any rate we will get under way some day this week sure.[26]

Good progress was made on the church, and the *Reno Evening Gazette* reported that the dedication ceremony was to be held Sunday, May 29, with the Reverend Wilson presiding. In the newspaper article on the event, Wilson indicated his desire that the ceremony be attended by all black people in Reno, and he extended a cordial invitation to white people as well.[27] The church's significance is manifest in the fact that it was only the second structure built by blacks in Nevada to house their social activities, and is clearly the oldest surviving black institution in the state.

In keeping with the tenets of their faith, congregants of Reno's Bethel AME Church strove to improve their place in society by making contributions to the community. The church was not only the seat of religious observance, but also a center of social interaction and participation. For the thirty-one years between the time Bethel AME Church was built and the 1941 remodeling, church members were active in community activities that sought to promote equality for blacks through the example of good citizenship. It is not surprising that in 1919 when Reno blacks, along with several prominent whites, formed the first Nevada chapter of the NAACP,[28] a majority of the founding membership was affiliated with Bethel AME Church.[29] Many of the names on the Application for Charter submitted to the NAACP Board of Directors listed their addresses at 226 Bell Street, a boardinghouse adjacent to the church that catered to black residents, and the chapter held its executive meetings at the church.[30]

By early 1941, the presiding pastor at Bethel, the Reverend E. H. Booker, sought to find new quarters for the congregation, which wanted to expand its facilities to include a kitchen and space for a social hall. Members of Bethel AME raised money for their church by serving meals to the public on Friday nights. Since a number of the members worked as domestics in the homes of wealthy and prominent white families, the level of culinary skill was high, and the church dinners were popular among the white population. It was also an acceptable way for the whites to support the black community.[31] To further the expansion goals of the church, the Reverend Booker made an offer on an existing building, Dania Hall, at Seventh and Sierra streets in northwest Reno.

At the February 24, 1941, Reno City Council meeting, however, a large group of property owners from the neighborhood appeared and demanded that the church be prevented from taking possession of the building. Protests were made by representatives of the university, the school board (Dania Hall was near Reno High School), and Gamma Phi Beta sorority. The protesters asserted that

property values in the neighborhood would suffer if the congregation were allowed to buy the hall. Since neither zoning nor ordinances applied to the case, a committee was named to address the neighbors' concerns.[32] It is not known what the outcome of the committee's investigation was, but in the end it was clear that the intrusion of blacks into the "midst of an old established residence neighborhood which has grown up in the vicinity of the Reno high school and the university" would not be tolerated.[33] Hence, on March 29, 1941, the *Nevada State Journal* reported that the church had relinquished the contract to purchase Dania Hall. The Reverend Booker stated,

> If we had anticipated that there would have been opposition to our purchase of the property, we would not have done so. It was the desire of the congregation to secure better quarters where our program of religious activity would have facilities for serving dinner through which we are able to help support our local church. It has now been decided to remodel the present church on Bell Street and we are appreciative of the interest and assistance which the community has given us in the past.[34]

Mr. Booker reported that the remodeling project would entail construction of a basement with kitchen and dining room, the addition of three rooms for Sunday School activities and the application of a brick veneer on the entire structure. A fund drive for $5,000 for the construction was undertaken, but by the end of May only $852 had been raised.[35]

Ultimately unable to raise the needed funds, the church petitioned the district court for permission to borrow the full $5,000, and permission was granted to secure a loan on July 10, 1941.[36] On August 16, 1941, the *Nevada State Journal* reported on the opening of the remodeled church the previous evening. Besides several church officials, in attendance were Nevada Lieutenant Governor Maurice Sullivan, representing Governor E.P. Carville, E.H. Walker of the Reno Chamber of Commerce; and the Reverend P. H. Willis, retired Methodist minister from Sparks. The *Nevada State Journal* reported: "Improvements made to the Bethel A.M.E. Church include the addition of a full basement, measuring 40 x 50 feet. The basement includes a kitchen, furnace, and a complete air conditioning system. Other improvements include a church parlor, and a study room and an office for the pastor."[37]

After the 1941 remodeling, the church remained unchanged until 1993, when the congregation acquired a larger building on Rock Boulevard in Sparks. The old church was purchased by a private owner and converted to a homeless shelter for veterans. In 1998, the Bethel congregation celebrated its ninety-first anniversary, having grown from twenty-five parishioners in 1985 to three hundred in 1998. Bethel AME is the oldest surviving black congregation in Nevada, and the first eighty-three years of its existence were at the Bell Street location. A retired minister, the Reverend Cecil Howard recalled, "The persons who started this church were genuine trailblazers. That is why we have this church today because we had no fear. We as African Americans may be persecuted, but with faith in God we don't have to face it alone."[38]

Bethel AME Church was a leading institution in Reno in the battle against the forces of persecution and discrimination. Reno's Bethel AME Church was at the center of the civil-rights movement in northern Nevada, but long before the organized activities of the 1950s and 1960s, Bethel provided a refuge and a foundation for blacks facing discrimination in the area. Blacks were among the first non-native settlers to the territory, and they faced a certain degree of prejudice and discrimination. With the Emancipation Proclamation, the end of the Civil War, and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, the future promised to be better for African Americans. But by the end of the nineteenth century, minority rights had suffered a series of setbacks that included passage of segregation laws widely referred to in the South as Jim Crow laws. By 1914, every southern state had passed laws that created two separate societies divided by race.[39] These trends also affected other states, including Nevada. For example, in November 1904, Reno's police chief ordered all unemployed blacks out of the city, reportedly in response to the attempted shooting of a police officer by a "black fiend." The move sought to remove from the city "all negroes not having any visible means of support."[40] Those refusing to comply with the order were to be jailed. The newspaper article suggested that the action was successful, and that the city was "well rid of a large number of negroes who have been hanging around the city for the past week."[41] It was only three years after this mass eviction that the Bethel congregation was organized.

Until the 1960s, Reno practiced segregation, although it was not formally legislated. Blacks were restricted in their housing and employment options. They were not served in white restaurants and bars. Nor could they enter white casinos, or seek accommodations in white hotels. Such practices were common across Nevada, resulting in the state being compared in some circles to Mississippi. Blacks in Reno strove to maintain their dignity and sense of community in the face of social restrictions. Attempts to improve their lot included the organization of the Bethel AME Church in 1907, and the Colored Independent Political Club in 1910,[42] as well as the colonization of eleven thousand acres by a hundred black families from the South in an area known as Black Springs, eighteen miles north of Reno.[43] To stem the tide of discrimination, in 1919 Reno's black community, organized the local chapter of the NAACP, which had been established ten years earlier in New York City by a group of black and white citizens committed to social justice.

Prompted in part by an epidemic of lynchings of blacks in the South, the NAACP set as its goal the abolition of forced segregation, the promotion of equal education, civil rights under the protection of the law, and an end to race violence. The NAACP strategy of ending discrimination through legal action evolved during its first twenty years, as did its commitment to nonviolence.

The NAACP focused its actions on the press, the petition, the ballot, and the courts to accomplish its goal of ensuring the political, educational, social, and economic equality of minority citizens.[44]

Reno's NAACP chapter was approved by the national organization on September 23, 1919. The chapter application listed sixty members, and although several of the founding members were white, the membership represented a significant percentage of Reno's black population, which numbered about a hundred at the time. Many of the leaders of the Reno chapter were members of the Bethel AME Church.[45]

Although the Reno chapter got off to an auspicious beginning, surviving records of the national organization do not offer much insight into the chapter's work, and no local records have been located. One significant activity involved the chapter's effort to secure prosecution of a white gambler for the shooting of a black porter at the Overland Hotel. On July 18, 1922, chapter secretary, Mrs. Thomas Russell, sent a news clipping of the incident to the NAACP national secretary. She also wrote that the man who shot William Hubbard was a gambler, and "we colored people are afraid his friends will try to squash the matter by paying a little money." Although Mrs. Russell's letter suggested that an indictment was expected, "we have decided to retain a lawyer to follow the case, and if justice is not meted out we will be in a position to carry the case on."[46] In the end the lawyer was not needed, as the perpetrator was not only indicted, but after two trials was convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to a term of one to two years.[47]

The Reno branch of the NAACP was evidently active through 1923, but by 1924, membership had dropped to eighteen, and in 1927, the balance of the branch's funds was sent to the national office. In December 1933, an unsuccessful attempt to revive the branch was led by members of the Bethel AME Church.[48]

In the mid 1930s, well-known black writer and poet Langston Hughes was in Reno. The reason for his visit is not known, although it might have been related to NAACP activities since Hughes kept an active schedule of speech making during those years. While in town, Hughes stayed with O. H. Hammonds and his wife at 226 Bell Street. The Hammondses were active in the NAACP and were members of Bethel AME Church. Hughes's stay in Reno resulted in a short story, "Slice Him Down,"[49] which was first published in 1936 in *Esquire Magazine*. Hughes also wrote an article in 1934 for the black newspaper, the *Pittsburgh Courier*. The subject of the article was Reno's O. H. Hammonds, who was notable for being the first black person employed as an observer with the United States Weather Bureau. Hughes explained how Hammonds, a former school teacher, had passed the civil service examination in 1907, and was immediately assigned to Reno. At the time of Langston Hughes's visit to Reno, Hammonds operated from his office in the downtown Reno post office building.[50]

Although Elmer Rusco reports that the Reno NAACP was re-established in

the 1940s, it was in the 1950s and 1960s that a marked increase in civil-rights activism occurred statewide. Clearly, the 1940s brought to the fore specific issues of prejudice and discrimination in the community. The furor over the acquisition of Dania Hall in 1941, and the flagrant exclusion of blacks from Reno businesses, jobs, and housing revealed a community hostile to minority rights. Signs could be found in store windows stating "No Negroes, Indians, or dogs." Blacks were being forcibly removed from white business establishments, black families were being forced away from white-owned trailer parks and housing developments, and the town effectively was closed to African Americans.[51]

During the early 1940s, Bethel's minister, the Reverend Emmer Henry Booker, corresponded with Governor E. P. Carville in an attempt to promote racial equality. In early 1940, upon receipt of an informational flyer on the "75 Years of Negro Progress Exposition" to be held in Detroit in May 1940, Governor Carville wrote to the Reverend Emmer seeking his assistance in establishing a committee to sponsor a Nevada entry. In addition to himself, Rev. Booker recommended two Reno blacks for the commission, O. H. Hammonds of Bethel AME Church and Ray Cheatham of the Negro Political Science Club. Rev. Booker also recommended four white men: politically active and influential George Wingfield, attorney Lester D. Summerfield, Dr. Leon Hartman, and the Reverend Dr. William Moll Case. Governor Carville apparently supported Nevada's participation in the exposition because Rev. Booker wrote to the governor,

> I share with you the idea that with all the other states participating in this extraordinary affair surely Nevada does not want to be left out, especially in view of the fact that her history is so significantly connected up with the granting of freedom of the Negroes in the United States. The Negroes would not have had an opportunity to make any progress had it not been for the birth of Nevada as a sovereign state. Her birth materially helped to save the union and return an oppressed people to their birth right.[52]

Ironically, it was the following year that Bethel's congregation was forced to give up its plans to purchase Dania Hall, in response to the fierce protest by white property owners. The official program of the dedication service and the newspaper articles covering the event suggest there was some support from the white population for the black community. Still, the reality of discrimination continued unabated.[53]

In 1952, a newly arrived contingent of black servicemen from the 3904th Composite Wing based at Stead Air Force Base, a few miles north of Reno, had to be bused to Sacramento for entertainment because they were unwelcome at Reno establishments. The newspaper headline read: "Air Force Men Taken to Sacramento to Avoid Humiliation Met with Here."[54] The Chamber of Commerce took immediate steps to determine the magnitude of the discrimination problem in Reno, but the chamber president expressed his doubt that "complete tolerance could be expected here at this time."[55] Reno blacks had long been relegated to segregated facilities from boardinghouses, restaurants, and churches to bars and casinos.

During the decade of the 1950s, Bethel AME Church continued in its role as arbiter for race relations. In 1954, Brotherhood Week activities were held at the church, and speakers from various denominations and organizations stressed the "immediate need for concerted action by all Reno groups in improving local conditions for minority groups."[56] The Bethel AME Church also maintained its position within the NAACP, serving as the official meeting location for the local organization, and contributing many of its congregants to the group's membership. During an "action-packed two hour meeting" at the church in January 1958, the NAACP voted to endorse the area's first low-cost public housing development proposed by the city's housing authority and approved by the Reno City Council. This meeting also set the branch's agenda for the coming year, which included the "study and development of proposals to be presented to the 1959 session of the state legislature."[57]

By the end of the 1950s, the NAACP was becoming more active as the fight to end discrimination legally continued. In 1959, the Reno-Sparks branch filed a resolution opposing State Senate Bill 177, which proposed to abolish the state welfare department and transfer welfare activities to the county level. Prior to the 1960 winter Olympics, held at nearby Squaw Valley, California, the branch also petitioned the members of the city councils of Reno and Sparks, and the Washoe County Board of County Commissioners

> . . . to make it mandatory upon the operators of all our places of public accommodation, including hotels, motels, restaurants, taverns and places of gaming and amusement to offer equal service and facilities to any well behaved, respectable person or persons who may desire same, regardless of his or their nationality, color or race.[58]

In 1960, the local NAACP branch also undertook picketing at the Woolworth's store in Reno, presumably to protest the company's discriminatory practices in the South. The August 1960 newsletter of the NAACP admonished members to continue to "withhold your patronage from this store. This program has been very effective in many areas. Remember a dollar spent in this Woolworth Store denies a Negro a seat at a Woolworth lunch counter in the South."[59]

Legislative relief from discrimination was slow in coming to Nevada. The first political action came in 1958, when a Reno judge declared Nevada's anti-miscegenation law unconstitutional. In 1959, the Nevada Legislature repealed this law, and other racist holdovers from the nineteenth-century and from an additional flurry of such legislation in 1919. In 1960, the legislature banned discrimination by public agencies, contractors for the state, and apprentice programs. It was not until 1965, a full year after passage of the federal Civil Rights Act, that Nevada enacted enforceable civil-rights legislation.[60] Housing continued to be a problem for blacks, however, and in February 1965 the situation erupted into violence as racists threw rocks and chunks of coal through the window of a home being purchased by a black family. The president of the Reno-Sparks Chapter of the NAACP, and pastor of Bethel AME Church, the

Reverend Howard Gloyd, reported that it had been the second such incident to occur that day.[61] Nevada did not outlaw housing discrimination until 1971.

Summary

Several scholars have observed the dearth of published information on Nevada's twentieth-century black experience. It is clear, however, that although conditions had seemed promising for blacks at the end of the Civil War, the coming of the Jim Crow era brought overt discrimination and de facto segregation to Nevada, particularly in the two largest cities of Reno and Las Vegas.

The Bethel AME Church houses the longest continually operating black congregation in Nevada; throughout its history it has fostered social equality through its active role in the community, through its direct link with the NAACP, and through its abiding dignity in the face of conspicuous and unrelenting discrimination. Along with the Moulin Rouge nightclub in Las Vegas, built in 1955, the Bethel AME Church in Reno stands as one of the most significant artifacts associated with the history of Nevada's black population.

Notes

[1]The second black church in the area was the Second Baptist Church, built in Sparks in 1946.

[2]Ronald M. James, personal communication, 12 November 2000.

[3]Ed Johnson and Elmer R. Rusco, "The First Black Rancher," *Nevada, Magazine of the Real West* (Jan. - Feb. 1989), 26-27.

[4]Prince Hall Masonry is the oldest and largest secret fraternal organization of blacks, dating to 1775. Elmer R. Rusco, *Good Time Coming? Black Nevadans in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 178-84.

[5]Rusco, *Good Time Coming?*183.

[6]Rusco, *Good Time Coming?*178-84.

[7]Warren d'Azevedo, "Nevada's Black Heritage: A Review of *Good Time Coming?*" *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 35: 4 (Winter 1977), 261.

[8]Michael Coray, "African-Americans in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 35:4, (Winter 1992), 239-57.

[9]Nevada Black History Project, *Nevada Black History: Yesterday and Today* (Reno: Nevada Humanities Committee, 1997), 4.

[10]Richard Allen and other blacks in Philadelphia were assigned special seats at St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, but were not allowed full freedom of worship by the white congregation.

[11]Richard Allen, *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen* (New York: Abington Press, 1960, rpt. Nashville: AME Sunday School Union/Legacy Publication 1990).

[12]Mother Bethel AME (webpage for Mother Bethel AME), available at http://www.philly2000.com/ame.htm, 2000.

[13]Allen, *Life Experience* (1960), 8.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]Middle Tennessee University Center for Historic Preservation, *Powerful Artifacts: A Guide to Surveying and Documenting Rural African-American Churches in the South* (Murfreesboro: Middle Tennessee State University, 2000), 8.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]Myron Angel, *History of Nevada*, (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1881; Reprinted Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), 209.

[19]Rusco, *Good Time Coming?*, (1975), 174.

[20]Quoted in *ibid.*, 175-76.

[21]Webster's Dictionary defines the church militant as "the Christian church on earth, which is supposed to be engaged in a constant warfare against its enemies, and this is distinguished from the church triumphant in heaven." Rusco, *Good Time Coming?*, 176.

[22]Rusco, *Good Time Coming?*, 177.

[23]Miscellaneous WPA records can be found in MS278, the 39-box manuscript collection located at the Nevada Historical Society, Reno.

[24]Rusco, *Good Time Coming?*, 177.

[25]*Ibid.*, 124.

[26]*Nevada State Journal* (17 March 1910), p. 2.

[27]*Reno Evening Gazette* (19 May 1910), p.2.

[28]The second chapter of the NAACP was organized in Las Vegas in 1927.

[29]Elmer R. Rusco, "Civil Rights Activities in Nevada from 1900 to 1945," unpublished manuscript, 14.

[30]National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Records, 1951-1965, Manuscript Collection, Special Collections Library, University of Nevada, Reno.

[31]Norma Washington, personal communication, 4 January 2001.

[32]A 1917 U.S. Supreme Court case ruled unconstitutional a Louisville, Kentucky, ordinance requiring blacks to live in certain sections of the city. *Nevada State Journal* (25 February 1941).

[33]*Reno Evening Gazette* (28 February 1941), 14.

[34]*Nevada State Journal* (29 March 1941), 16.

[35]*Ibid.*; *Nevada State Journal* (28 May 1941), 3.

[36]*Reno Evening Gazette* (10 July 1941), 7.

[37]*Nevada State Journal* (16 August 1941), 2.

[38]*Reno Gazette Journal* (16 July 1998), p. 4C.

[39]United States Black Online, *Jim Crow Laws*, available at http://www.usbol.com, 2000.

[40]*Reno Evening Gazette* (17 November 1904), 1.

[41]*Ibid.*

[42]*Nevada State Journal* (4 September 1910), 2.

[43]*Territorial Enterprise* (26 March 1913), 1.

[44]National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *What You Should Know about the NAACP*, available at http://www.naacp.org., 2000.

[45]Rusco, unpublished manuscript, 13-14.

[46]*Ibid.*, 15.

[47]*Ibid.*, 16.

[48]*Ibid.*, 17.

[49]"Slice Him Down" in *Short Stories of Langston Hughes*, Akiba Sullivan Harper, ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996).

[50]*Nevada State Journal* (16 August 1941), 2.

[51]Washington, personal communication.

[52]GOV-0366 File 010, Records of Governor Carville, Nevada State Archives, Carson City.

[53]Elmer Rusco, personal communication, 13 November 2000.

[54]*Nevada State Journal* (27 July 1952), 120. This was not the first time that the military presence near Reno contributed to social reform. In 1941, the Army Air Corps protested to city officials that the town's red light district served as an unwelcome distraction for airmen, which resulted in the banning of prostitution in Washoe County.

[55]*Nevada State Journal* (30 July 1952), 14.

[56]*Reno Evening Gazette* (23 February 1954), 2.

[57]*Ibid.* (23 January 1958), 11. The Nevada Legislature meets biennially in odd-numbered years.

[58]NC18/I/4, Manuscript Collection, Special Collections Library, University of Nevada, Reno.

[59]Reno-Sparks NAACP Newsletter, August 1960, Manuscript Collection NC18, Special Collections Library, University of Nevada, Reno.

[60]Nevada Black History Project, *Nevada Black History*, 7.

[61]*Nevada State Journal* (11 February 1965), 1.

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Book Reviews

Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life, by Newell G. Bringhurst (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999)

Perhaps no scholar in twentieth-century America has attacked the idols of three communities as intensely as Fawn McKay Brodie, the subject of Newell Bringhurst's excellent biography. Daughter of a leading family in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and niece of David O. McKay, who later served as church president, she infuriated Mormons in 1945 by publishing *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*. She rode an emerging wave of Civil War historiography in 1959, while striking a blow at partisans of the Dunning school and the Lost Cause, by publishing *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South*. In a frontal attack on one of America's most cherished icons, she outraged Jefferson scholars by publishing *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* in 1974.

In addition, she published a number of other works. These included two more biographies, several books on foreign policy (in part with her husband), editions of two significant travel narratives, and a number of other articles and monographs. One of the biographies, that of the nineteenth-century English adventurer Richard Burton, elicited generally positive comment. Her biography of Richard Nixon received mixed reviews.

Bringhurst sees Brodie as a reflective, brilliant, and troubled woman who adopted heresy and iconoclasm quite naturally. He argues that her mother, Fawn Brimhall McKay, a closet doubter, and her uncle Dean Brimhall, both influenced her. Studies at the University of Utah nurtured her doubts. And at a decisive fork in the road, she opted to pursue a graduate degree at the University of Chicago instead of accompanying her boyfriend, Dilworth Jensen, a recently returned Mormon missionary, to the University of California. Her parents favored her decision, a preference that must have come back to haunt her father, Thomas E. McKay, an LDS general authority.

Study at Chicago increased her budding disaffection and secularization. There she received a master's degree in English, and she married Bernard Brodie, a promising graduate student in international relations.

As an intellectual biographer, Bringhurst follows Brodie's developing emotional and thought patterns. He argues that her interest in Joseph Smith began with a desire to understand the origins and development of the *Book of Mormon*. Instead of searching for an understanding of Smith's religious motivation, however, she confined her research to temporal influences. She found the

answers she sought in such works as Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* and Thomas Dick's *The Philosophy of a Future State*. With an environmental explanation in hand, Brodie "wrote about a man who called himself a prophet but whom she believed to be an imposter" (p. 268).

She sought and received assistance from a number of Utah people. Most influential was undoubtedly Dale Morgan, a respected scholar. Other consultants included Vesta Crawford, Claire Noall, M. Wilford Poulson, and Juanita Brooks. Brooks, an orthodox Mormon, was shortly to write the standard work on the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Response to the Smith biography varied. Utah's Latter-day Saint community greeted the book at first with studied silence. Soon, however, orthodox Mormons launched withering attacks on her and her book. Missouri's Reorganized Latter Day Saints responded with outrage and threats of lawsuits. Scholars generally approved the biography, though with some reservations.

By the time the Smith biography appeared, Brodie had long since made the emotional and intellectual break with the church. An ecclesiastical court, which she did not want to attend and at which advanced pregnancy made it unsafe for her to appear, excommunicated her in June 1946.

While working on the Smith biography, Brodie moved with her husband and family as he accepted a series of academic and research positions. After the book's publication, the family moved to Pacific Palisades, California, where Bernard worked for the RAND Corporation before joining the faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles.

As Brodie reared her three children in California, Norton published the Stevens biography. In California she began a serious study of psychoanalysis, a discipline implicit, though undeveloped, in her works on Smith and Stevens. She applied psychoanalytic methodology to her biographies of Burton, Jefferson, and Nixon.

After teaching part time in the UCLA history department, Brodie received an appointment as lecturer in 1967 and a full professorship in 1971. She spent several years in writing the Jefferson biography that Norton published in 1974.

Unlike the Smith, Stevens, and Burton biographies, which scholars generally reviewed favorably, the Jefferson biography elicited mixed responses. Some scholars, like Ray Allen Billington, Page Smith, and Alfred Kazin, thought it absolutely brilliant. Others, like Michael Kammen, Garry Wills, and Paul Boller, criticized her psychobiographical methodology. Jefferson scholars Merrill Peterson, Julian Boyd, and Dumas Malone responded with intense disdain. Recent DNA evidence, which indicates that Jefferson probably fathered children by Sally Hemmings, has raised serious objections to some of the negative comments.

The book was a financial success, and after considering a number of subjects Brodie began the Nixon biography. She died of cancer at age sixty-five in 1981 while completing the biography, which Norton published posthumously.

As a scholar of the Mormon past, I have to differ with Bringhurst on one matter. Bringhurst interprets Brodie's work on Joseph Smith as "a transition point" between "the old and the New Mormon history" (p. 266). Many scholars know that Moses Rischin introduced the term New Mormon History in 1969 to characterize scholars who study "the details of Mormon history and culture . . . in human or naturalistic terms . . . without thus rejecting the divinity of the Church's origin and work" ("The New Mormon History," *American West*, 5 (March 1969), 49).

Thus, contrary to Bringhurst's characterization, because of her unwillingness to give serious consideration to religious motivation in Smith's work, Brodie's biography belongs to the old Mormon history. This type of history consists of works by apologists who consider the Church's leaders as guided entirely by God and free of human foible, and studies by those who profess to see anything but divine influences in the work of Latter-day Saint leaders.

Nevertheless, with this minor disagreement, I judge Bringhurst's biography an admirable book.

Thomas G. Alexander
Brigham Young University

Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons, by Jan Shipps (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000)

For forty years, Jan Shipps has been an acute observer of Mormonism and one of its most influential interpreters. She first encountered Mormons in Logan, Utah, where her husband, who recently had completed his Ph.D. in English literature, was hired in 1961 by the Utah State University library. Her one year in Logan hooked Shipps on Mormonism. She returned to Utah to do doctoral dissertation research for her degree at the University of Colorado, and soon after set out to write a study of twentieth-century Mormonism. Finding she had to go back to its roots, she wrote her powerful interpretation of the religion in *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*. Along the way, she turned out one influential essay after another and became the informant of choice for news people working on Mormon stories. This wonderful collection combines the story of Shipps's life among the Mormons with essays turned out over the years for the periodicals and groups which have asked her to speak or write for them.

Flashes of insight flare in her essays like lightning over a dark landscape. Surprisingly, considering the contested nature of Mormon studies, her perceptions are helpful to Mormons and non-Mormons alike. She has immersed herself so deeply in Mormon culture that she almost always gets it right from a

Mormon viewpoint. Mormons know she understands the culture to its core. On the other hand, her strong Methodist commitments and her position in religious studies and American studies at Indiana University-Purdue University give her appropriate academic distance. She candidly rebukes the Church when it goes off the track. In a revealing instance, she defended the excommunication of a group of Mormon intellectuals in the mid 1990s as a necessary form of boundary maintenance. The exclusion of certain kinds of intellectual exploration trespassed the limits of Mormon identity, Shipps told inquiring reporters. At the same time, she writes movingly about the suffering of a friend who was Mormon through and through, and yet was cut off by the Church for intellectual rebellion.

Is it worthwhile to devote so much time and attention to a culture not one's own, and especially a culture as marginal as Mormonism? Shipps justifies her interest by seeing in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints something more than an eccentric nineteenth-century sect that became a respectable twentieth-century church. Shipps enlarges the scope of her studies by conceiving of Mormonism as a new world religion, with the potential of standing alongside Islam or Christianity. Her famous formulation in *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* is that Mormonism is to Christianity as Christianity is to Judaism. Mormons believed themselves to be the truest and best Christians, the only authentic biblical Christianity. But their reading of the Bible led Mormons on a tangent away from historical Christianity. By absorbing so much Hebraic religion in the form of temple worship, Abrahamic plural marriage, and ordinations to the priesthood, Mormonism evolved into a new species of Christianity that is entirely its own. Transformed by these mutations, Mormonism potentially could become an independent world religion, especially in light of its exponential growth.

Besides providing a record of Shipps's meditations on the issues that have troubled the Church over the past quarter century, *Sojourner in the Promised Land* gives her views on where the Church is headed now. To put it simply, she thinks Mormonism has reversed course. Instead of heading away from Christianity as happened under Joseph Smith, Church leaders and Church members are re-emphasizing their Christianity. The Book of Mormon is now subtitled "Another Testament of Jesus Christ." The Church logo enlarges the words "Jesus Christ" in the title. Church members embrace the Protestant doctrine of grace as never before. In many ways large and small, Mormonism is headed back toward its Christian birthplace. Shipps does not say that this trend runs against Mormonism's true nature; the Church has always been Christian at heart. But the distinctive, separating doctrines and practices, like plural marriage, are now abandoned or downplayed.

In making this U-turn, the modern Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is taking on forms that distinguish it from the Church of Brigham Young. The differences can be summed up, Shipps suggests, in the difference between

being a people and being Church members. At one time, Mormons were virtually an ethnic group, a near-nation as Thomas O'Dea called them. They had a sense of common blood in claiming Israel as their ancestor. The Church gathered converts from all over the globe into the Mormon heartland where they formed a distinctive society and became a people. In the twentieth century all of that has been reversed. Mormons are scattering rather than gathering. Converts are told to stay at home after they join the Church. They do not assemble with the Mormon people in their own spatial enclave; they become Church members.

Shipps believes that the Church's major problem now is how to retain a degree of homogeneity around the globe in the far-flung reaches where Mormons are being converted. The Correlation Committee that reviews all teaching materials and publications is one way of controlling an organization that could disintegrate under the strain of centripetal forces. In the process, Mormon orthodoxy is becoming more rigid than in the nineteenth century when unity was achieved by clustering spatially, and conformity in belief was less crucial.

Shipps makes clear that the return to Christianity is a trend in Mormonism, not an accomplished fact. Temple worship, a critical part of the old Hebraism, shows no signs of diminishing and is probably more widespread now than at any time in Mormon history. Confidence in the prophetic voice is as strong as ever. Besides holding on to Joseph Smith as a founding prophet, Mormons insist on the authority of their President today to speak as a "prophet, seer, and revelator," the very words Joseph Smith used to describe himself. That language is not used by conventional Christian denominations, and in fact is somewhat offensive to them. Mormons remain a peculiar people in their own eyes and in the eyes of other Christians. The campaign to declare Mormons non-Christians shows that a gap remains.

Mormonism today is many things. It certainly is determined to claim standing as a legitimate Christian church and not a weird cult. But in the recesses of this complex religion, Mormonism contains all the doctrines of its founding fathers and their successors in Utah. Cultural creations have a knack for persisting long after they appear to have dwindled away. They reassert themselves in new guises centuries after they were first ascendant. Nineteenth-century Mormon doctrines will doubtless prove to be just as resilient. Those ideas may yet be reborn in a Mormonism that would again distinguish itself from standard Christianity.

Shipps would not be surprised at these or any other developments in the evolution of Mormonism. Her keen ethnographic eye will be the first to pick out the new trends. Mormons are fortunate to have such an astute observer sojourning in their land. She will doubtless go on telling Mormons about themselves, commanding respect for her empathy and perception.

Richard Lyman Bushman
Columbia University.

Acts of God: The Natural History of Natural Disaster in America, by Ted Steinberg (Oxford University Press, 2000)

While the United States enjoys a favored geography, disasters frequently strike. Such events occur because of weather, earthquake, flood, and even an occasional erupting volcano. Caused by nature, all may be termed natural. Yet, they bear directly upon the built structures of human life and culture. The news here is not that natural disasters occur, but that their occurrence provokes a response and explanation scenario laced with class, gender, and race issues. In Nevada's portion of the Great Basin natural disasters have rarely demanded the attention they receive in other areas of the nation primarily because in the vast expanses of the basin there is little population to be affected by the events of earthquake, fire, or even flood. Disaster in Nevada has more often occurred in the form of industrial or human-constructed events, i.e., mining disasters or hotel fires. The aftermath produces accusations and causal explanations, but so do natural disasters that according to this work, should not merely be dismissed as Acts of God.

The disaster scenario or descriptive language also changes over time. As the nation moved toward a modern business civilization and as government became an agent of rescue, American society demanded that natural disasters be normalized—that is to say, viewed as part of the cost of doing business that often solicits subsidies from government. Business could not come to a standstill or fall under a paralyzing spell in the wake of disaster. The normalizing or naturalizing of disaster is a secularization process, according to author Ted Steinberg, closely tied to the American culture's shaping of meaning in the society. If this appears increasingly obscure, it should come as no surprise that Steinberg is delving into the mysterious realm of post modernism by pointing out the "multiple ways in which various cultures impart meaning to the world" (p. xii). American culture is no exception.

The author tells us he is interested in three issues in undertaking this study: human complicity in natural disaster, the effort to restore order or normalcy after disaster, and how events are declared beyond human control or blame. These correspond with three underlying topics: interactions of humans and nature, questions of power or social history and, finally, cultural history questions that seek meaning and interpretation. It is in these categories that issues of class, gender, and race come into play.

At times American society has attributed a feminine gender to the outrageous acts of nature's storms that denoted an irrational, erratic, unpredictable behavior. Responses to disaster often aid the classes possessing the most power in the society, with the poor and people of color left to shift for themselves. And society's interpretation of disaster's cause and meaning tells us a good deal about its values and motivations. Several issues are at stake here. Causation ranks among the foremost. For example, who is to blame when humans

build structures in storm-prone hurricane areas or construct fragile structures in known earthquake zones? "In truth," writes Steinberg, "natural calamities do not often just happen, they are produced through a series of human social and economic forces" (p. xviii). This work also draws upon the insights and methodologies of Mike Davis's *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (1998). Steinberg notes Davis's observation that American natural disaster "amounts to an ingenious strategy for recycling natural disaster as class struggle" (p. 197). All in all this excellent study marks the new directions in the study of disaster in the context of American environmental history. In the context of Nevada history, it is instructive to understand how these observations might be applied to the general history of disasters in the state that are more often associated with the creations of technical structures that reach high into the sky or deep into the mines.

William D. Rowley
University of Nevada, Reno

Super Casino: Inside the "New" Las Vegas, by Pete Earley (New York: Bantam Books, 2000)

Las Vegas and the gaming industry have caused more trees to be needlessly sacrificed than any other topic in popular culture with the possible exception of professional wrestling. This is not to say that there is nothing of interest to say about either subject; on the contrary, both are thriving industries whose practices and appeal tell the sensitive observer a great deal about American culture. But most authors seem content to ply their readers with commonplace facts ("there are three shifts in the casino—day, swing and grave"), inside vocabulary ("a 'whale' is casino jargon for a heavy better"), and recycled publicity hype ("more Americans visit the Strip than Walt Disney World"). While all of these facts may be true, they don't really explain anything about why Las Vegas is so popular.

Pete Earley's *Super Casino: Inside the "New" Las Vegas* is an "inside" history of Mandalay Resorts merged with a first-hand account of a super casino, knowledge which the author acquired mostly by hanging out in the Luxor. Earley seems to be overly impressed with the "new" Strip megaresorts of the 1990s as he reports that these were the first casinos to be marketed as complete destination resorts. In fact, that is how Strip casinos have sold themselves since Thomas Hull's El Rancho Vegas opened in 1941. This new paradigm isn't so new; it just grafts huge hotel towers and shopping malls onto the tested casino resort concept: casino, entertainment, restaurants, and rooms. The more intense theming of the casinos of the 1990s actually has more to do with trends in

American commercial culture than with Las Vegas innovation, and the larger hotels are a result of Las Vegas's successful promotion of itself as a vacation and convention destination. Earley implies these explanations, but does little more to explain why the new Las Vegas is new.

The book's structure is somewhat conflicted; a reasonably straight telling of the development of Circus Circus resorts from Jay Sarno to Mandalay Bay is followed by a seemingly random series of chapters detailing the jobs of selected casino personnel. Thrown into the mix are small vignettes from casino patrons and employees that are often complete non sequiturs. For comparison, think of *When Harry Met Sally*. In the place of couples reminiscing about how they fell in love, substitute lurid tales of the pleasures of sunbathing topless in Las Vegas, interminable contrasts to the good old days of goodfella imperium, and random tales of personal bliss and woe at the hand of the cruel goddess Fortuna. Some of the stories are interesting, but they really have nothing to do with anything else. If they are meant to capture the pulse of the real Las Vegas, they seem a rather poor representative sample; much more interesting stories are in the air even on slow nights. If they are meant to flesh out the goings on in the Luxor, they simply don't.

Earley is on his firmest ground when describing the inner politics of the Circus Circus/Mandalay Resorts company. He translated his astute observations of the corporate boardroom into genuinely interesting prose. The story of how William Bennett and William Pennington rescued Sarno's ailing Circus Circus by transforming it into the K Mart of the Strip contrasts nicely with Clyde Turner, Glenn Schaeffer, and others' baccaratization of Luxor, Circus's first foray into an upscale market. With the opening of Mandalay Bay and Circus Circus's rebirth as the Mandalay Resort Group, briefly covered at the book's end, the company had come full circle. As Earley relates, this was just as much a function of the clashing personalities of the men at the helm of Circus/Mandalay as it was the result of a deliberately studied marketing approach. In this regard, Earley provides a truly interesting look at how a large casino company actually runs.

But Earley fails to look past the hype. His consideration of actual casino operations is hopelessly uncritical. For example, he writes with admiration about the Luxor's "sophisticated" security systems without really looking at them; because the director and a few chosen shift managers told Earley that the Luxor was the state of the art in surveillance and security, the author dutifully accepted this as fact. The illusion of omnipresent, devouring surveillance and ubiquitous control is precisely that, an illusion. Earley doesn't question the logistics of how a security "force" of fifteen men and women, five of whom have assigned sitting posts, can maintain order in a crowded casino and hotel (p.236). He catches echoes of line employees' despair at Luxor boss Tony Alamo's insistence on improved service in the face of slashed costs, but doesn't really consider whether these are valid criticisms or sour grapes.

Earley disappoints most strenuously, though, in his glimpses of the "real" Las Vegas. There are the myriad high rollers, casual gamblers, and compulsive addicts, and of course the *de rigueur* look at the two most fetishized females in Las Vegas past and present, the showgirl and the prostitute. Even though Earley carefully apprises the reader of the hard work needed to become a successful showgirl, his parallel consideration of the two career paths tends to degrade the dancer's life. Besides a new security shift manager who is given a brief treatment, these two are the most consistently prominent women in the book. Is that a commentary on the glass ceiling in the casino industry or an author's lazy contentment to recycle stereotypical considerations of women in the casino? Given the success of women in rising to top management positions in several casino companies, the latter is the more obvious choice.

"Inside" books on Las Vegas by journalists (Earley is a former *Washington Post* reporter with several acclaimed books to his credit) generally follow the same pattern: The author is a Dante whose glimpse of the Inferno is only as good as his Virgil. For example, when a former law-enforcement agent is the guide the author usually wanders onto avenues of speculation about who "really" rules Las Vegas and where all the bodies are buried. In this case, Earley apparently had Glenn Schaeffer and Tony Alamo as his primary handlers. The result is excellent material on the culture of Mandalay Resort Group's boardroom and the Luxor's management team. But the specious quality of Earley's less structured research, e.g., his discussions of the lowlifes and high rollers that call Las Vegas home or haven, unfortunately slides this book precipitously close to the pile of bad books about Las Vegas. In addition, there are a few factual errors, such as the inexplicable statement that "Bally's no longer exists" at the corner of Flamingo and the Strip (p.126) or the reportage of Asian high rollers' predilection for a novel dice game called "pia gow," that might have been caught by a seasoned industry observer, or at least by someone who has spent a day on the Strip and leafed through a promotional guide to playing pai gow tiles and other games.

The casino world is unforgivingly chimerical and threatens to lead even the most deliberate chronicler astray. Like a first-timer overexcited by the lights of the Strip and the flash and glitter of the casino, a writer on Las Vegas can easily become absorbed into the hype machine and eschew his or her carefully considered prospectus for a fevered search for the real Las Vegas, to be found by interviewing the right combination of high rollers, desperate losers, circumstantial prostitutes, and jaded old-timers. Such a writer forgets a cardinal rule of the sensible gambler: don't chase your losses, but don't chase your winnings, either. If you can turn a bankroll of fifty dollars into five hundred, that is a good night's fun; don't lose it all by placing an inside roulette bet and trying to turn it into $17,500 at horrible odds. Likewise, a writer with the gift of a good prose style and access to the inner workings of a major company during a period of exhilarating turmoil should be content with a book about one face of

Las Vegas. To chase the fiction of a comprehensive look at the "real" Las Vegas is truly to tempt fate and invite ruin.

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The Black West: A Documentary and Pictorial History of the African American Role in the Westward Expansion of the United States, by William Loren Katz (New York: A Touchstone Book, 1998)

The black man in the American West remains an enigmatic figure. Many writers have romanced the role that Europeans played in settling the supposedly wild and untamed West, while ignoring blacks' contributions. Indeed, until recently, blacks have been conspicuously absent from many histories of the West. A compendium of little-known facts, in pictures and words, about how blacks played a crucial part in westward expansion, *The Black West* tries to correct this oversight, and largely succeeds. White historian William Loren Katz, author of *Eyewitness: A Living Documentary of the African American Contribution to American History* (1967), accurately and vividly documents the story of blacks on the frontier.

Katz nicely debunks many myths about blacks in the West, not the least of which is that they were uninvolved in the region's settlement. The wagon trains headed west included blacks who entered frontier regions as servants or while escaping slavery. Although slavery existed for a short period of time in the West, segregation of public facilities was even more common in the early western states. The way West, therefore, for free blacks and former slaves was long, perilous, and hard, as "they received a mixed welcome." Yet this migration was inevitable, because of the racism and segregation going on east of the Mississippi.

However, the racism and segregation also migrated. After the Civil War, the black movement to the West increased, and to the chagrin and "consternation of slaveholders, two dark [skinned] peoples [blacks and Native Americans] began to unite as allies and family." Many blacks tried to look at the bright side, never feeling entirely hopeless as they tried to escape oppression; they, too, faced the rigors and perils of homesteading and trying to succeed in an area that was new to them. Life in the West bred a sense of trust, commitment, and community among blacks, just as the move westward tended to do in the fledgling white communities. Unfortunately, though, those whites who wanted their boom towns "unsullied by black people, slave or free," tried to discourage blacks from joining them. These efforts sometimes extended to the kind of violence usually associated with the worst of the racism encountered in the South: lynchings.

According to Katz, "the greatest resentment toward black people—slave or free—came from the mining districts." True, black miners made or staked claims in gold rush communities, and blacks actively participated along the Comstock Lode in Virginia City and Gold Hill. But whites often tried to exclude them from their towns and the mining districts.

Blacks also made their mark in and on the West as cowboys on cattle drives. They included former slaves like Nat Love, nicknamed Deadwood Dick, "a self-made frontier hero, proud and loud, who earned notoriety after allegedly riding into a Mexican saloon and ordering two drinks--one for him and one for his horse." Katz concluded that black cowboys "probably suffered less because of discrimination than almost any other occupation." Yet few moved up to the job of foreman or trail boss, and others wound up resorting to stealing, rustling, and other crimes more minor in nature.

Katz also gives welcome attention to the relatively small number of black women who populated and made their mark on the American frontier. Mary Fields, who stood more than six feet tall, was a hard-drinking, cigar-smoking gunslinger known as a pugnacious pugilist—and as an extremely able mail carrier. Yet an unwritten policy in the West stated that no prostitutes were to cater to blacks, meaning that black prostitutes were an exotic item. And many black frontiersmen accordingly turned to Native American women as mistresses and brides.

Relations between blacks and Indians were, indeed, problematic for both races. Both were the victims of discrimination. Unfortunately, Native Americans faced a dual threat—from the intrusion not only of whites, but of blacks in the United States military, obeying the orders of white officers. Black mounted troops in the Nineteenth and Tenth cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth infantry were deployed to the West to try to preserve a fragile peace. Indeed, their role raises the issue that blacks ended up helping whites to win the West from the red man, another oppressed group, without winning much for themselves in the process.

Understanding the black West requires us to acknowledge how events became inextricably linked to specific places and the tenuous relations between Native Americans, Anglos, and African Americans. *The Black West* details these times and circumstances, while also outlining incidents that led to bloody confrontations. Clearly and sadly, Katz writes, "the black migrant to the frontier soon found he had no hiding place from traditional American attitudes." Although *The Black West* cannot present everything about blacks on the frontier, it chronicles their part in its inexorable movement westward. Indeed, few works of this nature have captured so well the black experience, and the still-unfolding tale of the black American West itself.

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Speaking through the Aspens: Basque Tree Carvings in California and Nevada, by Joxe Mallea-Olaetxe (Reno and Las Vegas:University of Nevada Press, 2000)

Joxe Mallea-Olaetxe is an instructor in Basque history, Nevada history, and western traditions at Truckee Meadows Community College and holds an adjunct faculty position with the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno. In this book, he analyzes the content of thousands of arboglyphs in the mountains of Nevada and California, regions where Basque sheepherders were most prominent since the second half of the nineteenth century. In the wake of the California gold rush many Basques came to the United States and started working mainly as sheepherders. Over the next hundred years these men spent long periods of time alone, herding sheep in the open range, and they used the nearby aspen trees to carve their personal messages and drawings, their only way of expression in an isolated environment.

Even though tree carving is not strictly a Basque business, Basque sheepherders were the most prolific carvers and left thousands of messages and drawings—the so-called arboglyphs—on the trees. In those brief messages the sheepherders asserted their own personalities, depicted life on the range, longed for female companionship, and displayed feelings of homesickness and country pride, as well as an ambivalent view of their new country. In some cases, the carvings are remarkable works because of their delineated features and exquisite touch, which prompts Mallea to consider them legitimate works of art.

So far the few accounts of Basque immigration provide little direct information from the immigrants' viewpoint. Filling this void, Mallea's book contains a large, previously unpublished body of information on Basque sheepherders, representative of Basques in general, one of the oldest ethnic groups in Western Europe. The arboglyphs recorded in this book show the sheepherders' own view of their history, their universe and concerns. Since those carvings were not intended for the general public, but were made for private enjoyment or the need to express some feelings, they provide a more reliable picture of sheepherders' lives than any other account.

Mallea sorts out the main topics displayed in the carvings as follows: Basque language, politics, the Basque homeland, the sheepherder's life, sexual images, and pictorial themes. A source of historical data, the tree carvings reflect the evolving environment in which the Basque sheepherders carried out their tasks over a hundred-year period in the American West. Interestingly, sheepherding as it developed in the United States, with herders taking care of thousands of sheep in the open range, was not a major activity for Basques in the Old World, there accustomed to work on small farms. However, they quickly adapted themselves to sheepherding and became the foremost ethnic group attached to that task in the American West until its decline in the recent years.

Above all, the tree carvings record the sheepherders' experiences in the American West, a foreign country in which they had to find a niche for

themselves. Different customs and ways of living made an impact in the lives of the sheepherders, who were willing to voice their views on the matter by carving on the aspens. After taking notes on and registering thousands of tree carvings, Mallea discovers ambivalent feelings among the sheepherders toward their life in the new country. According to their messages, many could not adapt themselves to the new culture, and recorded their grievances in a graphic way. On the other hand, several herders praised the new country and the opportunities it offered them. Mallea points out that Basque sheepherders followed an acculturation process different from other immigrants because they spent most of their time in the mountains with few contacts with American people–some sheepherders never mastered the English language in spite of living in the United States for dozens of years.

The tree carvings also served as a cohesive factor for many sheepherders as they found in the carvings messages from friends and relatives. In a certain way, Basque sheepherders established a network of carved messages all around the West, whereby they communicated with each other in their idiosyncratic manner. After seeing many messages of fellow countrymen claiming to be from this or that town in the Old Country, the sheepherders felt they belonged to a bigger community that revealed itself in the carvings. In this way, Basques from both sides of the Pyrenees discovered and shared a new identity as Basques in the American West.

The most shocking aspect of the tree carvings is their depiction of naked men and women—particularly prostitutes—in explicitly sexual images. Nevertheless, as Mallea notes, these images were not intended to be pornographic, rather they reflected the intimate feelings and cravings of isolated men longing for female companionship. Consequently, the aspen groves display a wide array of erotic fantasies that exposes the state of mind of their creators. Considering the environment in which the images were produced—the always—enticing Nevada and California brothels were one of the most popular getaways from the sheep camps—those carvings bring out an issue understated by historians in their works on the lives of the immigrants.

In addition to the carvings, Mallea-Olaetxe examines such sheepherder artifacts as sheep camps and bread ovens, giving us an extensive account of locations and features, and illuminating these remnants of an era that is gone and that should be preserved for the enlightenment of future generations. His book serves as a reminder of a different way of making a history, a way of sharing memories and narratives in a more democratic manner, as well as providing a solid foundation for further research on the subject.

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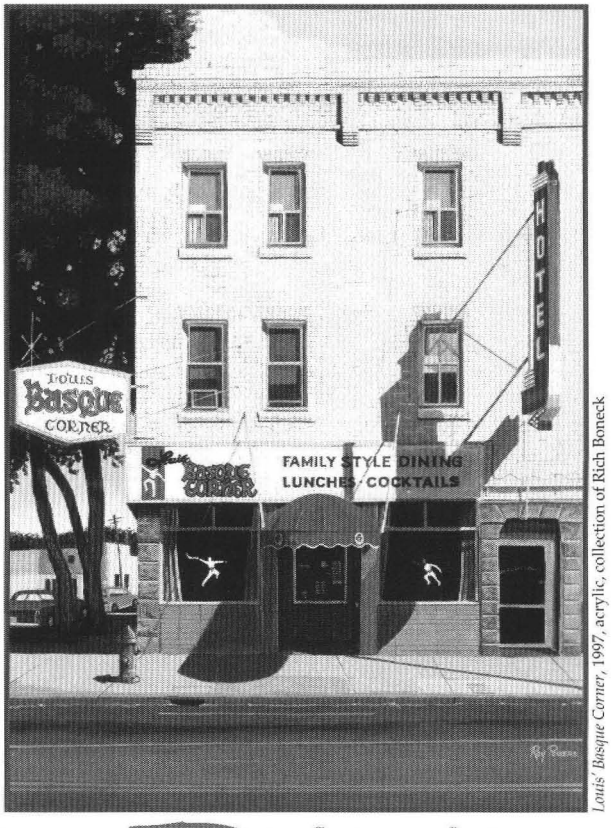
A Reunion of Landmarks



Louis' Basque Corner, 1997, acrylic, collection of Rich Boneck

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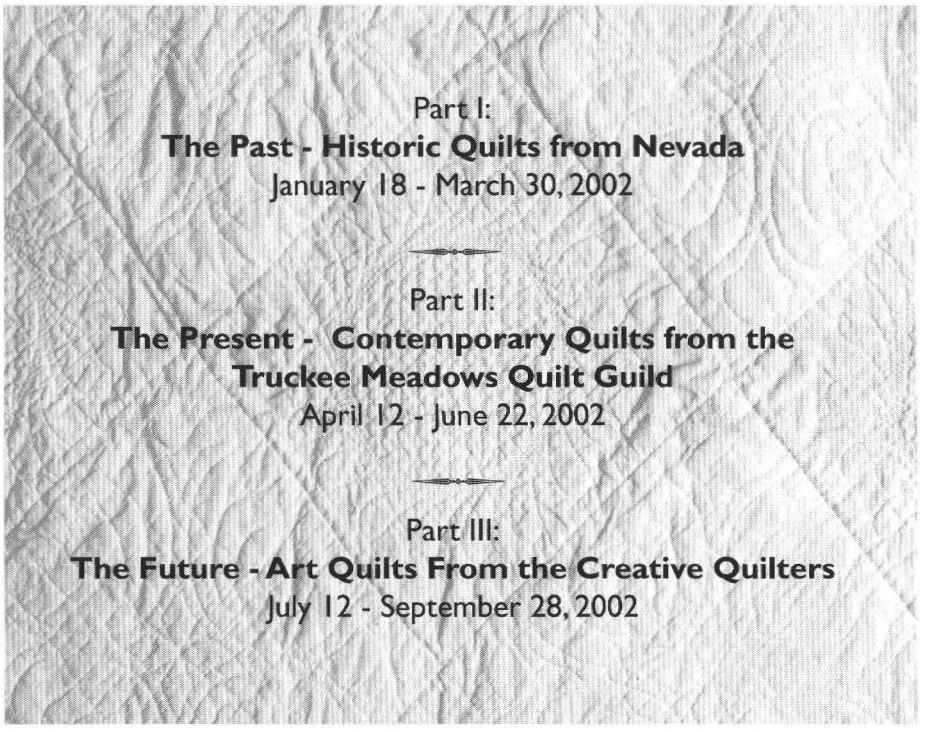

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