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Front Cover: Golconda Hot Springs Hotel, about 1895. (*John M. Gomes)*

The Cole-Malley Scandal
Nevada's Political System Revealed

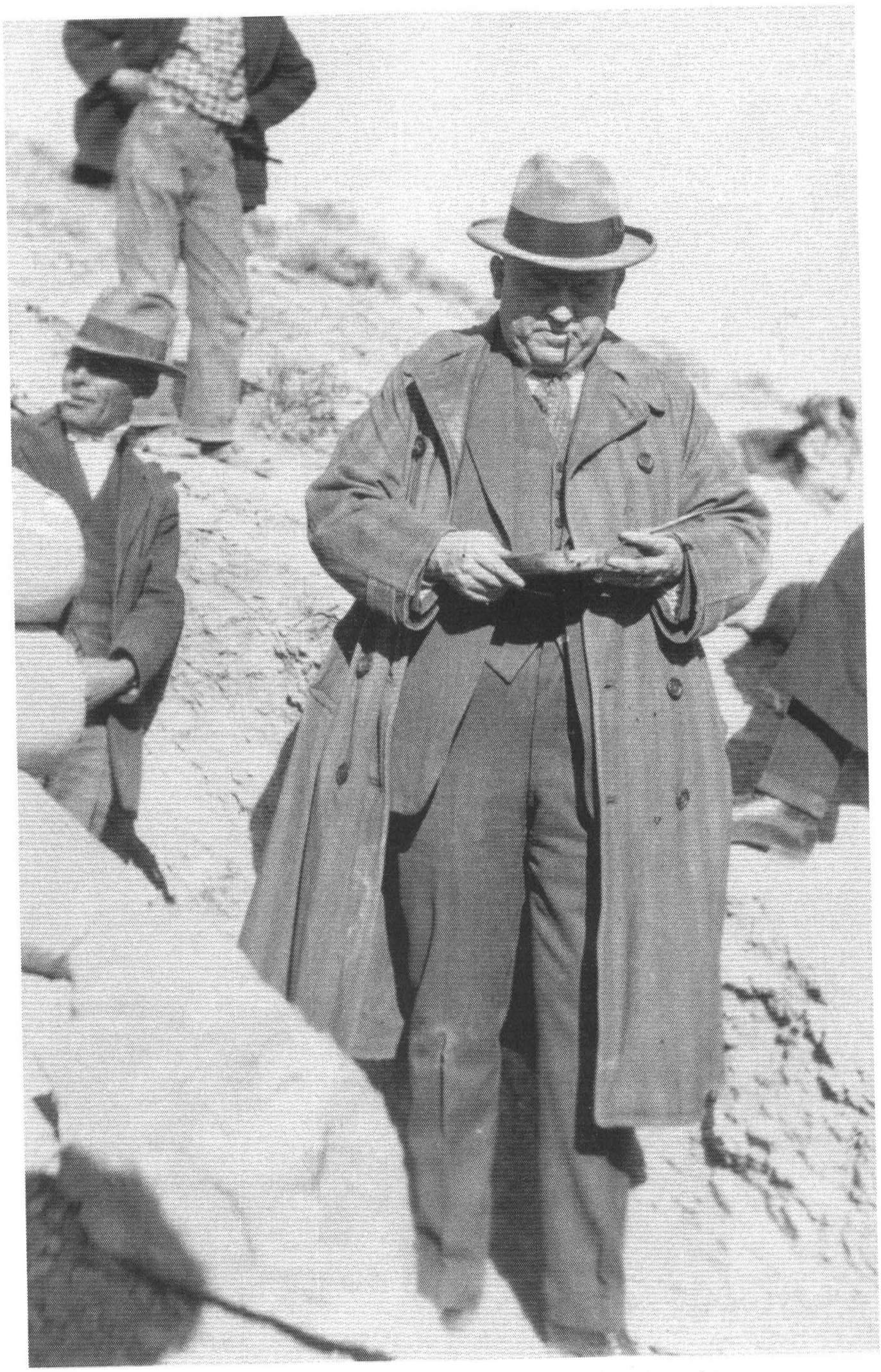
PAUL R. BRUNO

The two men walked solemnly toward the large house at 219 Court Street in Reno on April 27, 1927. They wore their fedora hats to protect them from the late afternoon chill as the hour approached 5:00 P.M. When they reached the door they hesitated before knocking. They did not bring good news for the owner of the house, George Wingfield. Finally one of the men rapped on the door and the housekeeper answered. She immediately recognized the two Democratic party politicians who stood in front of her. George A. Cole was the former state controller, a serious minded man who was considered an efficient elected official. Edward Malley, the current state treasurer, an affable Dapper Dan who was one of Nevada's most popular officials, had just been re-elected to a fourth term in 1926. She took their hats and coats and asked them to wait, as she checked to see whether Mr. Wingfield would see them.[1]

The housekeeper disappeared upstairs and quickly returned. She told Cole and Malley that Wingfield would receive them, and she escorted the pair to his upstairs bedroom. They gently knocked on the open door and strode in to find Nevada's most prominent citizen reclining on his bed and speaking with Jimmy McKay, who owned most of Reno's prostitution and gambling establishments. The two men had a shared interest in thoroughbred racehorses and prizefighting.[2]

Wingfield put down his San Francisco newspaper. Although a leading figure in the Nevada Republican Party, he warmly greeted the two men; he had known them for more than twenty years. He suspected that they had come to

Paul R. Bruno is a graduate student in history at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas specializing in Nevada politics from 1920 to 1933. He wishes to dedicate this article to Professor Hal K. Rothman—teacher, mentor, and inspiration. He also acknowledges the following individuals who assisted in the research for this work: Susan Searcy, Jeff Kintop, and Chris Driggs of the Nevada State Archives; Eric Moody, Michael Maher, Marta Gonzales-Collins, Ann Spencer, and Lee Brumbaugh of the Nevada Historical Society; Robert E. Blesse, Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno. And he thanks Cathy Bruno for her assistance in research and editing.



George Wingfield, the head of Nevada's bipartisan political machine.
(Nevada Historical Society)

ask him for money, as he had heard that Cole, having lost his office the previous November, planned to start a business in Las Vegas.

McKay left. Cole sat down on the bed, and Malley sat in the chair next to it.[3] After the initial pleasantries Malley blurted, "We are in a hell of a fix." He confessed that a shortfall existed in the state of Nevada accounts that they had fraudulently created in collusion with Harold C. Clapp, a nervous, bug-eyed man whose excessive drinking had aged his appearance beyond his fifty-six years. Clapp had recently been fired from his position as cashier with Wingfield's Carson Valley Bank in Carson City. His firing removed the one person covering for Cole and Malley. Their scheme unraveling before their eyes, the two desperate men sought Wingfield as their only possible hope for salvation.[4]

Wingfield immediately sent for his personal attorney, George Thatcher, also a leader in the state's Democratic Party, and had a round of drinks brought upstairs. In the twenty minutes it took Thatcher to arrive, Cole and Malley divulged that between 1919 and 1926 they had defrauded the government and Wingfield's Carson Valley Bank, and had lost the stolen money by speculating in mining stocks and an oil lease. They believed that, given his power and influence in Nevada, Wingfield could help them out of their predicament.[5]

When Thatcher arrived, the two men repeated their story. Malley stated that they had started "gambling in mining stocks and speculating and they had lost a lot of money on it, and they thought they would get even, and then they had loaned the Signal Hill Oil Company $180,000 and Malley said, 'I will assign everything over I have got to you.'" They left only one hour after their arrival.[6]

Cole and Malley had left Wingfield himself in a hell of a fix, both economically and politically. Former miners, neither Cole nor Malley was experienced by skill or profession to hold the positions of state controller and state treasurer. Wingfield was the owner and president of the bank upon which the fraudulent cashier's checks were drawn. The liability for making the fraud whole could personally fall upon him. Wingfield faced two stark choices: cover up the matter and use his own money to replace the stolen funds, thereby limiting the political damage, or make the matter public and work to limit his losses. On the night of April 27, 1927, neither option appeared appealing.

Introverted, almost shy, Wingfield was the undisputed king of Nevada politics from 1920 to 1933. Nevada, a geographically large but sparsely settled state, developed a small-town political culture on the state level. Everyone knew everyone else, and the apparatus of power was controlled by only a few men. The first Nevada bosses, William Sharon and William Stewart, came out of the Comstock boom. These men were to eventually yield power in the early 1900s to a new generation of leaders who matured during the Tonopah-Goldfield mining boom of 1900-1910. Wingfield emerged from this group as the head of Nevada government having, by 1920, developed a highly organized, bipartisan political machine. [7]

George Wingfield's house, the defacto headquarters of Nevada state government from April 27, 1927 - May 6, 1927. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Wingfield decided to determine the extent of the defalcation and learn as much as he could about the crime before making any decisions. The Reno banker undertook this course of action "to protect the banks and the financial situation of the state."[8] Wingfield was above all a businessman. His nature and instincts would direct him to protect his business and not think from a purely political perspective. In his way a man of old-fashioned values, he believed that his friends had wronged him as well as the state, but honor dictated that he do everything in his power to limit the losses to the Carson Valley Bank. Wingfield may have wanted to help his friends, but it soon became clear that if he wanted to limit the bank's liability he would have to go public and prosecute Cole, Malley, and Clapp. Over the next nine days, Wingfield's Court Street home would, for all intent and purposes, act as the seat of Nevada state government.[9]

Cole never returned to Court Street. During Wingfield's investigation it became apparent that Malley was the brains and driving force behind the fraud, aided and abetted by Cole and Clapp. On Sunday, May 1, 1927, Wingfield decided to send Jerry Sheehan, vice president of the Carson Valley Bank, to San Francisco to raise more than $1 million. Wingfield also sent for J. F. Shuman, the San Francisco attorney representing the Crocker National Bank. Wingfield did considerable business with this bank and wanted Shuman to come to Reno to assist him with the fact finding. Sheehan returned from San Francisco on the night of Tuesday, May 3, having secured the funds. Shuman arrived the

next day. Wingfield had the Carson Valley Bank's cashier's books sent to his home. On Wednesday, May 4, Malley, Clapp, Wingfield, Thatcher, Shuman, and Sheehan sat down to reconcile the accounts. The fraud totaled $516,322.16, or more than $5 million in today's dollars. Wingfield deposited $500,000 of his own funds to protect his business.[10]

In keeping with the requirement that the salaries of state officials be guaranteed, the Nevada Surety and Bonding Company held the bond on Malley for $100,000, which it could lose if the treasurer were to be convicted of defrauding the state. The company sent a letter to the secretary of state, dated May 6, 1927, withdrawing as Malley's bondsman. The letter also certified that Malley had received the correspondence personally from L. W. Horton. Governor Fred Balzar acknowledged receipt of the letter and affirmed that as of May 6, 1927, the bonding company "will not be responsible from that date under the terms of said bond."[11] The president of the bonding company was Wingfield.[12] The Reno banker had covered all his bases.

Wingfield's final task was to brief state officials. He invited Governor Balzar, Attorney General M. A. Diskin, Bank Examiner True Vencill, and another of the Carson Valley Bank's vice presidents, J. O. Walthers, to dinner at his Court Street home on the evening of Friday, May 6. That Wingfield kept a lid on a scandal of epic proportions for nine days and had the influence to summon the state's highest officials to his home to tell them the news personally further testifies to the breadth of power and control that he exercised in state government. Wingfield briefed his guests on the situation after dinner because Governor Balzar arrived late.[13] Having done everything he could, Wingfield waited to see how the public would react to the theft of $516,322.16 of their money.

With the Carson Valley Bank protected and the bond withdrawn, Wingfield needed to manage the announcement of Cole and Malley's crime with care. In an early example of spin control, Wingfield drew up a detailed press release that he distributed to all the major press outlets on Saturday, May 7. Announcing the news on a Saturday would "give the people a chance to think this thing over before Monday morning and I also had one day more to notify the insurance company, as we had to notify them inside of 10 days" before the story fully broke on Monday, May 9, 1927.[14]

Alerted by Wingfield on the night of May 6 of their imminent arrest, Cole and Malley turned to an individual not indebted to the current power brokers to orchestrate their defense, the Reno attorney Patrick A. McCarran. McCarran had personally run afoul of Wingfield during their Tonopah days by representing May Baric, who called herself May Wingfield, in her unsuccessful 1906 common-law divorce case against Wingfield.[15] Wingfield once described McCarran as "miserable trash . . . raised about fifteen miles East of Reno on the Truckee River and I think from the time he was weaned he had his snout in the trough with the pigs and has never learned how to get it out."[16]

McCarran had begun seeking public office in his twenties. Maturing during the era of the Tonopah-Goldfield mining boom, McCarran angered Nevada's

early leaders by opposing the use of federal troops in the labor disputes in the area in 1907 as well as the bill to create a state police force that resulted from the confrontation. Although he was making a name for himself as an effective attorney, McCarran's political career was the story of a man who steadily alienated himself from the state's Democratic leadership by refusing to play by the rules of party loyalty and by challenging established incumbents. He won a seat on the Nevada Supreme Court, but failed in bids for the United States Senate in 1914 against Francis Newlands and again in 1916 against Key Pittman. He challenged the party hierarchy in the race to succeed Newlands following the senator's death in 1917. McCarran also meddled in the governor's race in 1918 against Emmet Boyle.[17]

McCarran's never-ending quest for public office while serving as a judge sabotaged his ambition for a Senate nomination and made keeping his judgeship untenable. His ceaseless scheming was ultimately self-destructive and, despite his huge talent, his political career had floundered by 1918. With McCarran's crushing defeat in the Democratic senatorial primary in the spring of 1926 and Tasker Oddie's resounding Republican victory in the general election, the Reno attorney's dream of becoming a member of the United States Senate appeared to be over.[18] One observer commented, "Am hopeful that he will be so decisively defeated in the primary that he cannot possibly do much harm hereafter."[19]

By 1927, McCarran was the consummate outsider of Nevada politics, and what was going on on the inside looked questionable. "Half Million Shortage In Treasury Of Nevada Is Followed By Arrest Of Malley, Cole And Clapp: Fraudulent Checks For $516,000 Listed As Cash Is Charge," blared the *Reno Evening Gazette* headline that May 7. The carefully orchestrated announcement included press releases from Governor Balzar, Wingfield, Attorney General Diskin, and State Bank Examiner Vencill. The statements promised a full investigation. Wingfield's remarks included the fact that he had personally deposited in the Carson Valley Bank the full amount involved in order to meet and liquidate whatever liability the bank might face. Vencill certified his assertion.[20]

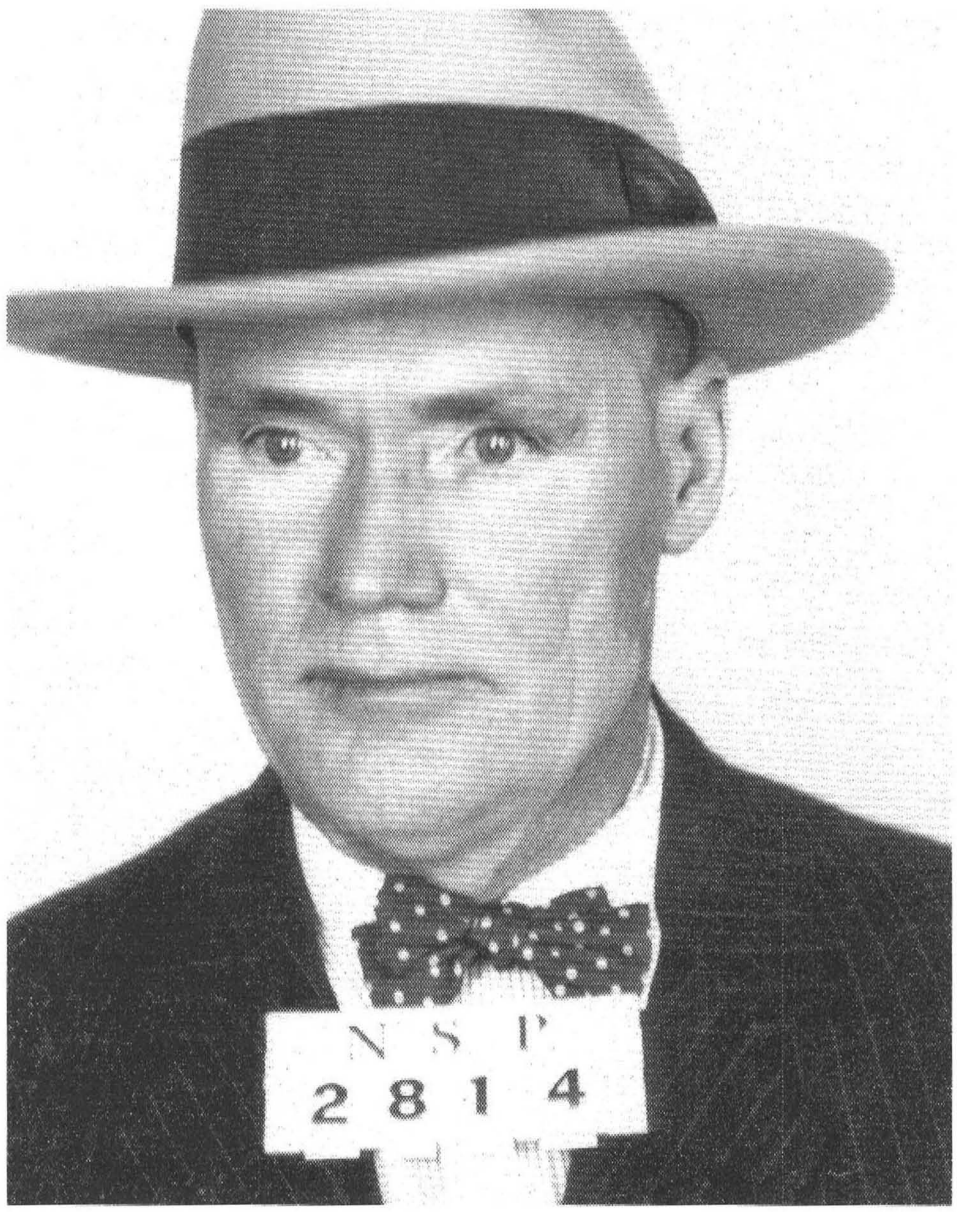
Cole and Malley were arrested on May 7 and released on bond. They hired McCarran as their attorney and he immediately issued a press release declaring their innocence and placing full blame for any embezzlement on the Carson Valley Bank. Attorney General Diskin wrote to Governor Balzar on May 9, requesting the appointment of special counsel to assist with the case. Diskin justified the request by declaring that his "long friendship with the men involved" might invite unjust criticism that the state was not prosecuting the defendants to the full extent of the law.[21] Special prosecutors L. D. Summerfield and Norman Barry were appointed on May 10, the same day Malley refused to resign as state treasurer.[22]

Two days later, Malley, in an act of sheer hubris, attempted to have the Carson Valley Bank honor the three allegedly fraudulent cashier's checks for $516,322.16 to prove that they were redeemable. Wingfield refused to honor the

Edward Malley, ringleader of the three men who defrauded the state of Nevada. Nevada State Prison Records. *(Nevada State Library and Archives)*

checks. Malley and McCarran also called on the bank examiner to seize control of the Carson Valley Bank, which the law allowed under the circumstances, but Vencill declined to act on their demand. Shuman complained to Wingfield, "McCarran's statement that he is going to ask the bank examiner to take over the Carson Valley Bank amuses me. Somebody had better 'kick McCarran in the slats' and wake him up before he goes too far. He ought to be told where to head in."[23] They were to find out that the ambitious defense attorney had only just begun to fight.

That day Governor Balzar directed all banks in the state not to give the treasurer any funds on state checks. The next day, May 13, marked the beginning of a count of the cash and securities on hand at the state treasury, assisted by none other than the accused embezzler, Edward Malley! The embattled official clung to his office until a special proclamation of the governor ousted him, on May 18. He was replaced by George B. Russell—insured, ironically,



George A. Cole, as State Controller, aided and abetted Malley. Nevada State Prison Records. *(Nevada State Library and Archives)*

by Wingfield's bonding company—but Malley would not give up the keys to his office until May 21.[24]

While the count continued, a grand jury convened in Carson City on May 17 and returned a seven-count indictment against Cole, Malley, and Clapp on May 20. The defendants were arraigned on May 21, given until June 8 to enter any objections to the counts, and freed on $100,000 bail.[25] Rumors began circulating on May 23 that Clapp would plead guilty and become a prosecution witness.[26] In a statement issued on May 25, Treasurer Russell requested early payment of taxes owed to the state from all of Nevada's counties.[27] He believed that the payments would negate the need for a loan to shore up the state's finances.[28] With Russell's request the initial actions and reactions in the Cole-Malley scandal came to an end.

The *Reno Evening Gazette*, owned by the Republican Graham Sanford, openly questioned the inner workings of Nevada's government. That Wingfield and Sanford were political rivals who had recently backed opposing slates in the

Reno city elections, held on May 3 as the Cole-Malley scandal unfolded, may have affected the tenor of the *Gazette's* coverage.[29] The *Gazette* ran a series of editorials that commented on Nevada's need to recoup the stolen funds, on how the auditing system had failed the practice of bonding state officials, on a *Salt Lake Tribune* editorial that mistakenly asserted that the state was broke and, on the fact that current laws, if followed, would have prevented the shortage from growing so large.[30]

The majority of Nevada's newspapers, however, advised a tolerant approach of withholding judgment until after the trial of the accused officials.[31] The *Gazette's* morning competitor, the *Nevada State Journal*, exemplified this more tepid criticism of state government and provided favorable coverage of Wingfield. Former Governor James Scrugham, under whose administration the bulk of the money had disappeared, owned the *Journal*, which was mortgaged to Wingfield. These facts may help explain that newspaper's stance.[32] The Reno banker's influence reached far and wide in Nevada.

Conventional wisdom would expect a torrent of accusations, charges, and counter charges between the state's two main political parties. But the bipartisan, cross-pollinated nature of the Wingfield machine upended conventional wisdom, reaching deep into the political processes of both parties. As McCarran's biographer Michael Ybarra writes, "In the meantime a political truce had been declared by leaders of both parties in fairness to the officials charged with the duty of getting back the state's half million dollars and convicting any guilty parties."[33]

McCarran filed his first legal motion on behalf of his clients on June 1, attacking the grand jury's indictments as biased and compromised. This was the first time in Nevada history that a defense attorney had challenged a grand jury indictment, signifying the breadth and depth of actions that McCarran was to pursue for his clients. He began the trial in the media on June 4 by assailing the state treasury department's practices. He also made the first of his many repetitions of the theme that the state's ability to collect the $516,322.16 from the Carson Valley Bank would become less viable with the conviction of his clients.[34]

The first major break in the case came on June 8 when Clapp pleaded guilty to all charges, verifying the May rumors. Declaring "I am sorry for what I have done and I will do all that I can to straighten it out," he was sentenced to a five-to-fifteen-year term in prison and agreed to become a witness for the prosecution.[35] State officials and Wingfield met in Reno between June 9 and June 11 to attempt to settle the Carson Valley Bank's liability.[36] The negotiations failed and were temporarily suspended. The state filed a civil suit on June 29 for the full amount of the fraud.[37] The *Gazette* editorialized that the civil suit could take years to settle and advised the state to wait until a verdict was reached in the criminal trial before proceeding in earnest to recover the missing funds.[38] The initial furor had dissipated completely by the end of June, and the citizens of Nevada settled into the routine of summer to await the opening of the trial.[39]

Harold C. Clapp, the Carson Valley Bank cashier whose firing for excessive drinking led to the exposure of the fraud. Nevada State Prison Records. *(Nevada State Library and Archives)*

The Ormsby County Court House in Carson City was bursting with unusual activity on August 15, 1927, as the trial of Cole and Malley began with jury selection.[40] It would take the entire week and the calling of three panels before five women and seven men passed muster with both the prosecution and defense counsel.[41] The jury-evaluation notes, handwritten by the special prosecutors on the final seventy-five potential jurors, provide insight into the difficulties of seating a jury in a high-profile case in a small city. The notes contain information on age, occupation, religious affiliation, perceived level of intelligence, marital status, and other observations. They were willing to risk "some bad affiliations" with potential juror Number Five. Number Six was a Democrat who worked in the state printing office. The notes indicated he was not wanted as a juror. Candidate Number Nine worked as an auditor in the highway department and was listed as "okay." Potential juror Number

Fifteen was a Democrat close to Cole and Malley. Panelist Seventeen was a Republican Malley had employed who was also married to a stockholder in the Carson Valley Bank, although rated as "probably close to Malley," this was one the prosecutors concluded they could take a chance on if necessary. Potential juror Forty-seven was a friend of Clapp's. One woman's name carried the note "mother of a bootlegger."[42]

The third panel of potential jurors included Miss Minnie Bray, Number Sixty-one, whom the defense would later call as a witness. The succinct notation by her name read "will disqualify" because she had worked in Cole's office from 1921 until 1925, and in 1927 was working for Attorney General Diskin.[43]

Only two jurors were selected from this third group. Rated as "O.K." was Mathew Twomey, a married sixty-five-year-old Republican native of Ireland with no family, who had worked as a road master. Beside the name of John Pacheco, a thirty-two-year-old Republican barber, was a note to "get rid of him if you can." But Pacheco obviously changed their minds during the selection process. Burton Monroe, a thirty-seven-year-old Republican farmer born in New York, about whom the prosecution knew nothing, was chosen as the alternate.[44]

The second week of the trial began on August 22 with the special prosecutors pursuing a unique strategy. They waived opening arguments, used Clapp to testify that the crime had occurred, then linked Cole and Malley to the fraud through their own confessions. With the jury set, the calling of the first witnesses for the prosecution commenced. They read as a veritable who's who of state officials, including the state controller, the governor, and the new state treasurer. Their statements were entered into the record and prosecutor Barry called the first of his two star witnesses, fifty-six-year- old Harold C. Clapp.[45]

The former bank cashier was to spend five tortuous days on the stand, describing in intricate detail the fraud that had started in 1919. The four large boxes containing several thousand checks and bank deposit slips signified the sheer magnitude of the crime and bolstered the information that Clapp provided. He testified over continual interruptions from McCarran, who objected to almost every question and statement. Clapp was initially nervous but gained confidence as his testimony dragged on, only to have McCarran wear him out during a cross-examination that ranged over every conceivable area of Nevada government and banking. The defense's attempt at trial by attrition included reading word for word into the record one hundred nineteen of the false checks. When the prosecution objected to McCarran's tedious tactics, the fiery Irishman snapped, "Do you think we're going to send men to the penitentiary on mere supposition because you get tired?"[46] McCarran finally relented and bundled one thousand checks as one piece of evidence, which was entered into the record with the grateful acquiescence of the prosecution.[47]

McCarran continued to batter the hapless Clapp, looking for any loophole to exploit. The witness stood by his story with few inconsistencies, an astonishing accomplishment given the defense attorney's verbal barrages and courtroom

talent. During one day of cross-examination, Clapp was grilled so intensely by McCarran that McCarran was "tongue tired" at 4:30 P.M. He could not continue to the traditional 5:00 P.M. end of the court day and asked for an early recess. When Clapp finally left the stand, on August 29, observers commented that he had made a good witness for the prosecution.[48]

The next step for the state's attorneys was to link Cole and Malley to the crime through their confessions made in the spring. Thatcher, Shuman, and William Woodburn, another of Wingfield's attorneys, would each take their turns in the witness box. These three key associates of the bank's owner and president described the series of meetings held between April 27 and May 6, with each stressing that no inducements or threats were made to encourage the defendants to confess. McCarran bludgeoned the witnesses during cross-examination in an attempt to have them admit that they had offered inducements for Cole and Malley's confessions, but none stated that he had done so. Thatcher maintained that his first priority was to help Cole and Malley and not the Carson Valley Bank.[49]

Shuman's testimony was contentious as the lawyers tangled in a verbal war. According to Shuman, Malley told him that he kept the good and bad checks separate. Shuman also testified that Malley pleaded with him to keep the fraud secret until at least the end of 1927 because the oil well looked as though it would come in. The gambler in Malley still believed that he could get even. Shuman told the court that he asked Malley on May 4 if a shortage existed at the state treasury, but Malley continued to deny it until Wingfield asked him if he knew the checks were false, to which Malley finally replied, "Yes." This admission was the smoking gun tying the former state official to the crime.[50]

The stakes were high when Wingfield took the stand on September 2, 1927.[51] McCarran's defense was rapidly falling apart. If the Reno banker proved a credible witness, the future would look bleak for the defendants. With twenty years of increasing hatred and bitterness toward the man he believed had denied him his dream of becoming a United States senator, and with the fate of his clients in the balance, the stage was set for McCarran to pull back the veil on the intricate workings of Nevada government; he was possessed with the righteous zeal of a traveling evangelist.

Wingfield appeared nervous as he began his testimony, speaking in such a low voice that both the defense and prosecuting attorneys had to ask him to speak up. The fireworks began immediately. Prosecutor Barry asked the witness, "Previous to that conversation did you make them any promises of immunity or offer any inducement to them to talk to you?" Wingfield answered, "No." McCarran immediately objected, the jury was excused, and an hour-long argument ensued between opposing counsel as to whether Wingfield had offered Cole and Malley immunity on April 27. The judge ruled the testimony admissible. Barry then had Wingfield recount the events between April 27 and May 6. The defense objected vigorously to almost every question, repeating the pattern established during Clapp's testimony. Despite McCarran's efforts,

Wingfield corroborated the testimony of Thatcher, Woodburn, and Shuman, which left the cross-examination as the final opportunity for the defense to find someone other than Cole and Malley to blame for the crime.[52]

McCarran dragged Wingfield through a tortuous cross-examination that alternated between the most intimate details of the events in the spring and the totally irrelevant. He attempted to portray his mortal enemy as a rich man interested only in money, one who had bragged to his clients on the day of their purported confession that "he had made a million dollars that day," a statement that Wingfield denied. McCarran tried to demonstrate that Wingfield had a significant financial interest in Cole and Malley's failed oil speculation; he alleged that Wingfield had had excessive influence on the recent Reno city elections, brought up other nonpertinent business interests, and asked why Wingfield had done nothing about Clapp's drinking. McCarran charged that Wingfield had told Malley that "he would never squawk" and that he had benefited greatly from doing business with the state.[53]

When McCarran wondered why Wingfield had overlooked Clapp's drinking problem, it became clear that the drinking had not aroused any suspicion in Wingfield that something was amiss with his employee. The former saloon owner, who had served a round of drinks the night Cole and Malley had confessed, stated, "Oh, I would get after him once in a while when I was over there. I don't know as I said much to him about drinking, but I told him he would have to wake up. . . . I told him he was getting careless and he would have to attend to business and get on the job or I would not keep him."[54]

McCarran attempted to distract Wingfield and, by confusing him with these tangents, trip the witness into an inconsistency whenever he was questioned about the events of late April and early May. While in the process of helping his clients, defense counsel may have vented his spleen for the perceived injustices heaped upon him by Wingfield over the years, his tactics failed to rattle the former poker player, who was used to the tension of high stakes gambling.[55] Wingfield later told Shuman,

> They had me on three times and if I do say it myself, I think I made that fellow Patrick take to the woods on many occasions . . . the prosecution and the court let us go to it and Pat was the first one to quit several times. He started off in his boisterous manner trying to bulldoze someone but he put his questions in such a manner that it was possible for me to explain my answers so I gave him good and plenty. The audience were in applause several times and the sheriff forgot about it. The jury seemed quite interested on several occasions also.[56]

While Wingfield may have exaggerated his rating of his own performance, the fact remained that when he left the stand on September 3, the case for the defense was indeed weak.

The prosecution rested soon after Wingfield's testimony, and the defense's case began on September 6. McCarran put Malley on the stand, and he presented an alternative reality to the world the prosecution had outlined. Malley claimed that Clapp had orchestrated the whole fraud and had fooled him from 1919 until April 10, 1927. When Malley discovered the crime, he went to Wingfield out of concern for his bank and the state's finances. "There was no shortage at all," he claimed. He testified that Wingfield told him that "he would never squawk," and that Wingfield had double-crossed him.[57]

The next day Wingfield described Malley's story as a "huge joke and we will blast him today as probably several of us will go over for the rebuttal."[58] After Barry briefly cross-examined Malley, McCarran called George Cole to the stand. He asked Cole just two questions. Barry did not cross-examine the former state controller, and McCarran suddenly rested the case for the defense. The abrupt stop so surprised the prosecution that a recess was declared until the following day to allow the state to call rebuttal witnesses who were not present in the courtroom.[59]

The final witnesses testified on September 8, 1927.[60] Wingfield stated that day that he believed the case would go his way, "I don't see any chance for those fellows to be acquitted or even have a hung jury as there are so many holes in their story that it looks like a sure case of conviction and I predict that the jury won't be out over three hours . . . . The look on Cole's and Malley's faces this morning were enough to tell that they were ready to throw up the sponge."[61] Wingfield's prediction on the length of the deliberations proved eerily accurate, but he did err in his assertion that the arguments would not carry over to Saturday. Wingfield was in such a magnanimous mood that he even offered a backhanded compliment to his nemesis McCarran: "I will say that Pat acted like a perfect gentlemen for one time in his career."[62]

The jury instructions were prepared and closing arguments set for Saturday, September 10, 1927.[63] The trial had drawn few spectators during its four-week run, but the courtroom was filled to overflowing for the final sparring between opposing counsel. Prosecutor Summerfield's closing statement was a summation of the state's case. McCarran's assistant defense counsel, a man named Robbins, followed by beginning the defense's final arguments.[64]

McCarran took the floor at 3:00 P.M. with the fate of his clients hanging on the persuasiveness of his words to prove their innocence. The defense attorney's eloquent closing to demonstrate that Cole and Malley could not have conceived and orchestrated the largest public fraud in Nevada history consisted of a three-and-a-half-hour diatribe against George Wingfield. He described his clients as hapless victims of a corrupt government of gold controlled by the Carson Valley Bank president. "Ed Malley can go to prison, George Cole can go to prison and come out just as they went in—but can individuals go into bondage and come out; can this sovereign state go into the bondage of gold and come out? . . . Where do I get the authority for this statement?" he demanded. "I get it from

one statement made by a multi-millionaire—it's the permeating thing of this case, they know what I want." He shouted over and over, "they know what I want," to demonstrate that all things in Nevada were all things Wingfield.[65]

McCarran's rhetoric rose to a crescendo. He declared that "there is but one question in this case, shall Ed Malley and George Cole go to the penitentiary or shall the Carson Valley Bank pay $516,000?" Cole could have fled the country, he roared, but "why do men stand for what they know is right even though they stand under the headman's axe—it's something bigger than gold."[66]

McCarran ratcheted the hyperbole up yet another notch when he claimed, "If they had not gone to Wingfield there would not be a bank in Nevada with its door open." The tension mounted until the failed politician and political outsider lashed out at the system that had excluded him. McCarran declared that Wingfield so dominated state politics that the highest state officials felt obligated to go to his house when summoned, on May 6, 1927: "The mountain would not go to Mahomet so Mahomet went to the mountain."[67]

McCarran's two-week effort to try Wingfield for the crimes of which his clients stood accused had come to an end. Prosecutor Barry closed the trial by reminding the jury that Cole and Malley were the accused, not George Wingfield. He drove a knife through the heart of the former state treasurer's testimony, succinctly stating that "Malley wants you and I to believe that this man Clapp made a boob out of him for eight years."[68] The special prosecutor sat down, and the fate of Cole and Malley passed into the hands of the jury.

The jury deliberated just three hours. They returned to the courtroom appearing agitated, with one juror openly weeping and others red-eyed from tears shed in the deliberation room. The jury foreman handed the verdict to Judge G. A. Ballard, who examined it. His expression confirmed the result. The judge handed the paper to the county clerk, who declared, "We find Ed Malley and George A. Cole guilty as charged in indictment No. 1." Malley's wife collapsed, but he remained as calm as he had throughout the trial, and he comforted his wife. Cole fainted and one jurywoman became so distraught that a physician was called. The judge set sentencing for Saturday, September 17, 1927, and one of the greatest trials in Nevada history came to an end.[69]

The *Gazette* editorialized that the verdict was not a surprise to those closely following the case and the decision had disproved the critics who argued that a small metropolis such as Carson City could not produce an impartial jury. The *Gazette* concluded that, with Cole and Malley convicted, the state must now focus on recouping the stolen funds.[70] Governor Balzar declared on September 14 that "unless absolutely necessary" he would not call a special session of the legislature to deal with settling accounts with the Carson Valley Bank, believing that the state's finances were sufficiently healthy to await the convening of the 1929 meeting.[71]

The sentencing produced some final fireworks. Malley made a statement maintaining his innocence. Cole appeared more subdued, declaring, "I have

made mistakes as has every man, but I am not ashamed of anything I have ever done." McCarran summed up his feelings toward Nevada's leading officials: "I would rather be Malley and Cole in state prison then some of those on the outside." The judge sentenced the felons to prison terms of five to fifteen years.[72]

The convictions of Cole and Malley represented a victory for Wingfield in his quest to limit the loss to the Carson Valley Bank, though it was too early to assess the political damage. The former poker player bided his time before making his play to extract the most "honorable" terms he could achieve to settle accounts with the state of Nevada. The case faded from the headlines to await the denouement.

Wingfield orchestrated an intricately detailed and superbly executed public-relations campaign during late 1927 to secure a special legislative session to settle the bank's liability. This effort clearly demonstrated the breadth and depth of Wingfield's influence in Nevada.

"Special Session Appears Necessary, Governor Declares in Statement Today," read the *Reno Evening Gazette* headline on November 25, 1927, representing a 180-degree shift in Balzar's stance from September. The governor based his reversal on the state's need to pay "exchange" on money received, especially from the federal government, and that had forced his hand on calling the lawmakers to Carson City. While this made for good copy, Wingfield most likely discussed the matter with his friend Governor Balzar during the intervening months. Unsurprisingly, the Governor came around to share the view of his political patron for the need for a special session.[73]

The very next day Wingfield sent a letter to Balzar outlining his position in the matter and released it to the press. This pecking order demonstrated a sensitivity to public opinion that Wingfield may have gained from his lack of control of events following the May 7 bombshell. He allowed the governor to speak first, which would deflect any criticism that Wingfield was manipulating events from behind the scenes, but his quick response to the governor's call and their close relationship suggest some level of coordination. "We have, therefore, two innocent parties the victims of criminal acts of their servants," Wingfield declared. "A protraction of this controversy is detrimental to the State and the business of the State, is not to the best interest of either party, and is one which should be amicably settled."[74]

While he did put forth no terms, Wingfield pointed out that the Carson Valley Bank was only capitalized for $90,000. Wingfield played to the sympathy of Nevadans when he asserted "that except for my voluntary deposit of $500,000 the bank could not pay the amount of the state's claim and the state and all depositors of the Carson Valley Bank would suffer a tremendous loss," implying that $90,000 was all that the state could reasonably expect to extract from his institution.[75]

Wingfield also knew that he could liquidate the bank and receive $45,000 (he was half owner) and be liable for $75,000 on the bonds, leaving the state

to pursue Malley's other bondsmen for the funds, knowing that most of them were dead.[76] The old poker player from Goldfield held all the aces.

Though Wingfield held a winning hand, he worked proactively to influence both the business community and individual legislators. He rallied the leaders of Nevada's industry by writing to each of them to personally share his November letter to Governor Balzar and to ask for their opinions and advice on the matter. He told them that 80 percent of the people approved of his suggestion to end the affair.[77] He also requested, if the businessmen were agreeable to his position, that they write to Balzar to express their support for the special session and a negotiated agreement.[78]

Wingfield received numerous responses and copies of letters sent to the governor's office. A typical example was a letter that M. Reinhart of E. Reinhart and Company sent to Balzar in support of Wingfield's position. Reinhart sent a copy of the letter to Wingfield, with a handwritten note: "George! Hope this covered the ground."[79] Wingfield studiously thanked everyone who wrote on his behalf, and his responses after December 12 included his belief that Balzar would call the legislature into session.[80] He eventually listed more than twenty prominent companies and individuals from around Nevada as supporting a compromise.[81]

The public-relations blitz also included sending operatives to speak with individual legislators and gauging the mood of the average man on the street; he had the findings compiled into at least two different memoranda.[82] E. R. Reinhart was one of these Wingfield supporters, and he reported, "The sentiment seems to be, so far as I have been able to canvass it, strongly in favor of your compromise."[83] He succinctly summed up the entire political situation by stating, "The substantial men I have talked to are for it, while the ordinary run, have not paid much attention to it, many not having read the letter."[84] Wingfield and Shuman monitored press reaction in both Nevada and California by exchanging editorial clippings.[85] Wingfield confidently wrote to Shuman that "everything is moving along in good shape."[86]

Carroll Henderson, the cashier at the Tonopah Banking Corporation, was a Wingfield supporter who kept a close eye on the politicians. He canvassed a number of them and told Wingfield, "Of the Assembly, Mrs. McGuire personally favors a compromise; Ambrose Murphy is and has been living in Las Vegas for almost a year and seldom comes to Tonopah. Fitz will talk to Geo Robb and I will try and see Mr. Boak as soon as he returns to town, and I will try to see Frank Miller tomorrow."[87]

Wingfield's efforts paid off when, on December 15, 1927, Governor Balzar called for a special session to convene on January 16, 1928, to deal exclusively with the Carson Valley Bank situation, with a time limit of twenty days.[88] The lobbying continued right up until the opening of the special session, with Henderson writing Wingfield on January 9, 1928. He wanted to make sure that they saw Mrs. McGuire when she arrived in Reno because "she is inclined to favor a compromise but would like to talk with you or someone who can explain the

matter to her; in other words she would like to have some favorable talking points to use."[89] Wingfield pulled out the heavy artillery, as the handwritten note on the letter suggests: "Thatcher will see her Friday evening."[90]

When the state's lawmakers trudged to a wintry Carson City, the deck was stacked heavily in Wingfield's favor. He judged the special session so important that he made sure that Thatcher and Woodburn attended every day.[91] Wingfield decided from his lobbying of lawmakers and reports from Thatcher and Woodburn that his support was strongest in the upper chamber. Preliminaries occupied the legislators' agenda during the first few days.[92] A compromise bill was not presented to both houses until January 19.

That day, Wingfield sent a lengthy letter to the Senate Finance Committee, laying out his arguments.[93] Desiring a settlement "fair and equitable to both parties," he stated his reasons for pursuing a compromise agreement for less than the full $516,322.16; he pointed out that (a) he had voluntarily deposited his own money in the Carson Valley Bank after Cole and Clapp confessed even though he was not legally obligated to do so, and legally he was liable for only $120,000, (b) the state was ignoring its obligation to him on the false warrant issued by Cole for $392,700, (c) the Carson Valley Bank as an institution and all of its officers were absolutely innocent of any wrongdoing, (d) officials of the Carson Valley Bank were at no time in a position to discover the shortage whereas the state was at all times in a position to discover the shortage, (e) nearly every major taxpayer in the state, as well as a majority of the newspapers, supported a compromise, and (f) if the matter were to be submitted to the courts, it would mean prolonged litigation that would benefit neither party.[94]

The jockeying for position continued, and the legislature demanded on January 20 that Carson Valley Bank officials provide terms for a settlement. The joint assembly and senate committee handling the negotiations met in secret on January 21. Wingfield finally blinked on January 23, making an initial offer of $123,622.16 to settle the matter. This represented the difference between the total amount of the shortage and the state warrant held by the Carson Valley Bank. The joint committee recommended a 30 percent figure, or $154,896.55. Possibly sensing that this was the best he could get, Wingfield may have signaled Thatcher and Woodburn to settle, because the Senate immediately adopted the 30 percent recommendation, with minimal opposition.[95]

The few politicians willing to oppose Wingfield openly sat in the Assembly. They pursued a delaying strategy that produced a great deal of rhetorical smoke, but no policy fire. While their rearguard action held up the steamroller, by January 30, reports indicated that the Assembly would act the next day. The anti-Wingfield forces pursued an amendment for a 50-percent settlement, but their action was voted down. Attorney General Diskin argued in vain that the state could recoup the entire amount through the courts. He even questioned the constitutionality of the special session, but Governor Balzar overruled him. The opposition crumbled late on January 31, and the 30-percent settlement passed the Assembly.[96]

The amended bill went back to the Senate, which rubber-stamped the measure on February 1, 1928. The governor signed it later that day.[97] On February 2, both houses appointed their members to the State Board of Compromise and Adjustments established by the act to implement the law's provisions. The board accepted the 30-percent compromise on February 3, and the funds were deposited in the state treasury that day.

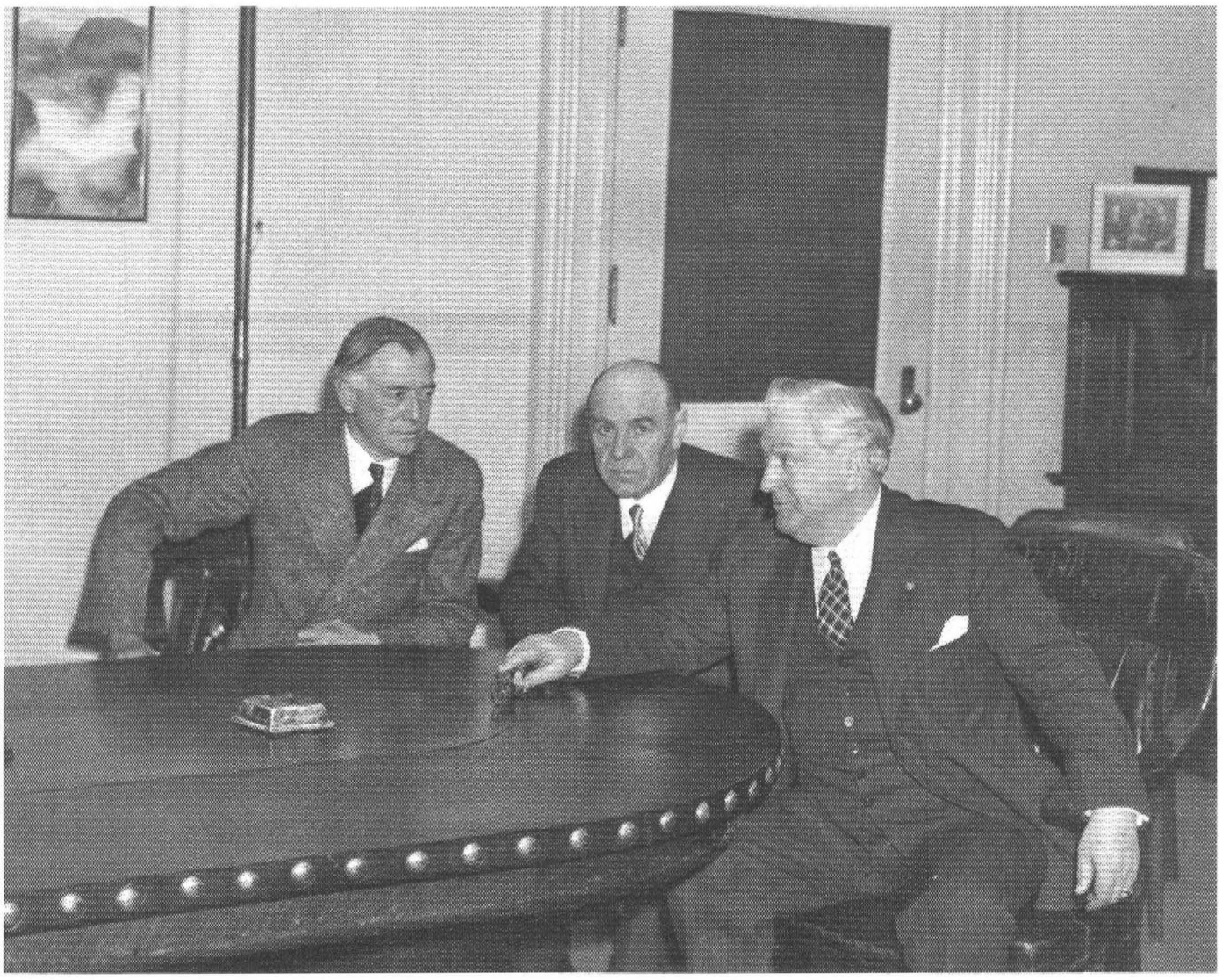
The majority of the press favored the compromise; the exceptions were the *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Sacramento Bee*.[99] The Reno paper lamented that "in effect a majority of the legislature's members seem to have read into the petitions and letters which they received the recommendation that they accept whatever was offered, and they have so acted, or will so act, it appears, when the final vote is taken."[100] The *Gazette* editorialized that the state should have insisted on 50 percent.[101] Sensing a lost cause, Sanford's paper conceded that if lawmakers accepted the lower settlement, they also should pass a tax to make up the difference so that "the whole sorry mess should be cleaned up now."[102]

Wingfield's carefully orchestrated statewide campaign to bring about a special session had produced a settlement favorable to him. The whole process took less than three weeks. At the beginning of February 1928, the curtain came down on the events directly related to the Cole-Malley scandal.

The short-term political impact of the Cole–Malley affair was to come during the election cycle of 1928. Wingfield's influence became an issue in the campaign and he was forced out from his accustomed behind-the-scenes position.[103] The Democratic *Las Vegas Review*, published in a county that did not contain a Wingfield bank, editorialized: "It also indicates, so far as local politics are concerned, that Mr. Wingfield, whose unseen hand was the guiding spirit of the last campaign in communities where he controls the financial institutions, has grown in power to such an extent that he throws off all sham and is out in the open as a dictator of Nevada's politics."[104]

A major issue in the presidential election of 1928 was the tariff; Wingfield printed an open letter to the people of Nevada that explained his position on the subject, urging Nevada's voters to support the Republican ticket.[105] The intrepid Carroll Henderson reported, "Comment here on your letter seems to have been divided, that is, some considered the statement coming from you would start voters to thinking and the result would be favorable; others seemed to take the view that your letter was dictatorial."[106]

The mudslinging intensified as the campaign progressed. Rumors circulated that Wingfield would spend no additional money in Nevada if the Republicans were defeated and that he intended to build a hotel in Las Vegas and turn it into a bootlegging and gambling establishment.[107] Wingfield responded that the rumors were "made by irresponsible persons" and that "while some of the Politicians use 'underground mud slinging' and 'rumors' these rumors are all being circulated by a certain element which you and I give little credence to."[108]



Key Pittman, Richard Kirman, and Patrick McCarran, 1938. *(Nevada State Library and Archives)*

The attacks on Wingfield crested with stories in a few of the Democratic-leaning newspapers. These included an article in the *Santa Clara Journal* in which one observer noted, "It looks to me like this is some of Malley's work."[109] The *Santa Clara Journal* concluded, "It will be a happy day for both the Sagebrush State and Republican Party therein, when they are rid of Wingfield."[110] The *Sacramento Bee* declared that Wingfield had a stranglehold on the political and financial life of Nevada.[111]

Wingfield's supporters felt compelled to defend him in the press. One Archie Trewick responded to the *Santa Clara Journal's* attacks. He declared, "This scurrilous article was no doubt inspired by the Democratic State Central Committee and some of their candidates for high office." Trewick continued, "Wingfield is not running for office. There must be something deeper than politics behind this. . . . This editorial states that Wingfield tried to dictate the vote of this State. I have read his circular letter carefully and I find that no such facts can be substantiated by reading the letter as he simply gives his opinion of what is for the best interest of the State of Nevada and its people." Trewick concluded, "He is the one man who made millions in Nevada that has remained here."[112]

The attacks enraged the usually taciturn Wingfield. "Possibly you have seen some of the contemptible articles that the Democratics [*sic*] have been running concerning me. I am out to defeat every one of them, and I will ask you and your force to work tooth and toe-nail to accomplish this purpose."[113] The battle became violent; as Wingfield wrote, he "had to chastise one of the Democratic henchmen yesterday along side the head with a cane a couple of times as he has been making scurulous [sic] remarks about me in public places and did so while I was sitting in a corner and he did not see me, with the above result. . . . I told him he could not do anything for me but could do something for himself by keeping his mouth shut, otherwise he would be put in the hospital for about thirty days."[114] The resentments engendered by revelations during the trial and the special session were out in the open.

The state legislature paid the political price for the special session compromise. Nine of seventeen state senators and twenty-nine of forty members of the Assembly who were present at the 1928 special session did not return in 1929, having either opted not to run or been defeated for re-election.[115] However, the structure in which political power flowed through one individual remained unchanged, and Wingfield would never again return to his preferred position behind the scenes and above the fray.[116]

Wingfield's political machine was undeveloped compared with Tammany Hall, Richard Daley's Chicago, Huey Long's Louisiana, and Dan O'Connell and Erastus Corning's Albany, New York. "Wingfield's, they were just a hodge-podge of gamblers and all that," said Democrat Joseph McDonald, the long-time *Nevada State Journal* editor and later a key McCarran supporter.[117] While Wingfield's organization may have lacked cohesion, he had put in place the foundation—given the right set of circumstances—for a purer form of political machine to emerge.

McCarran, though badly beaten in the 1926 Democratic senatorial primary, was still consumed with ambition for high office. McDonald said, "That's when I went up to see McCarran afterwards and asked him if he was going to run again. And that's when he told me, he said, 'You never—that ambition never dies.' He says, 'I sure am, sometime.'"[118] When, in the midst of the Depression, Tasker Oddie came up for re-election to the United States Senate in 1932, McCarran again sought the Democratic nomination to run against him. McCarran ran a flawless campaign, using the lessons he had learned about the state's political structure to his advantage. "So he went down there, and in order to get that endorsement, he had to make some deals. And he wasn't averse to making deals when it was to his benefit and they were on the up and up. . . . And so [Robert L. Douglass] worked out a deal with Pat that he'd get the Churchill delegation to go along on it, endorsing McCarran to ward off any opposition if McCarran would appoint him Internal Revenue Collector. And that was the deal that was made, and that's how Douglass got to be Internal Revenue Collector."[119]

The Reno National Bank building. From here, Wingfield orchestrated the special session. *(Special Collections Department: University of Nevada, Reno Library)*

It still took hard work, excellent organization and planning, tremendous luck, and a complete lack of understanding of the gravity of the situation by the Republicans—coupled with Wingfield's inability to provide effective leadership—to allow McCarran to squeak into office.[120] The race was tight as election day approached, but when Wingfield's banks closed the week before the voting, Oddie's fate was sealed.[121] McCarran eked out a victory by just 1,692 votes, 21,398 to 19,706.[122]

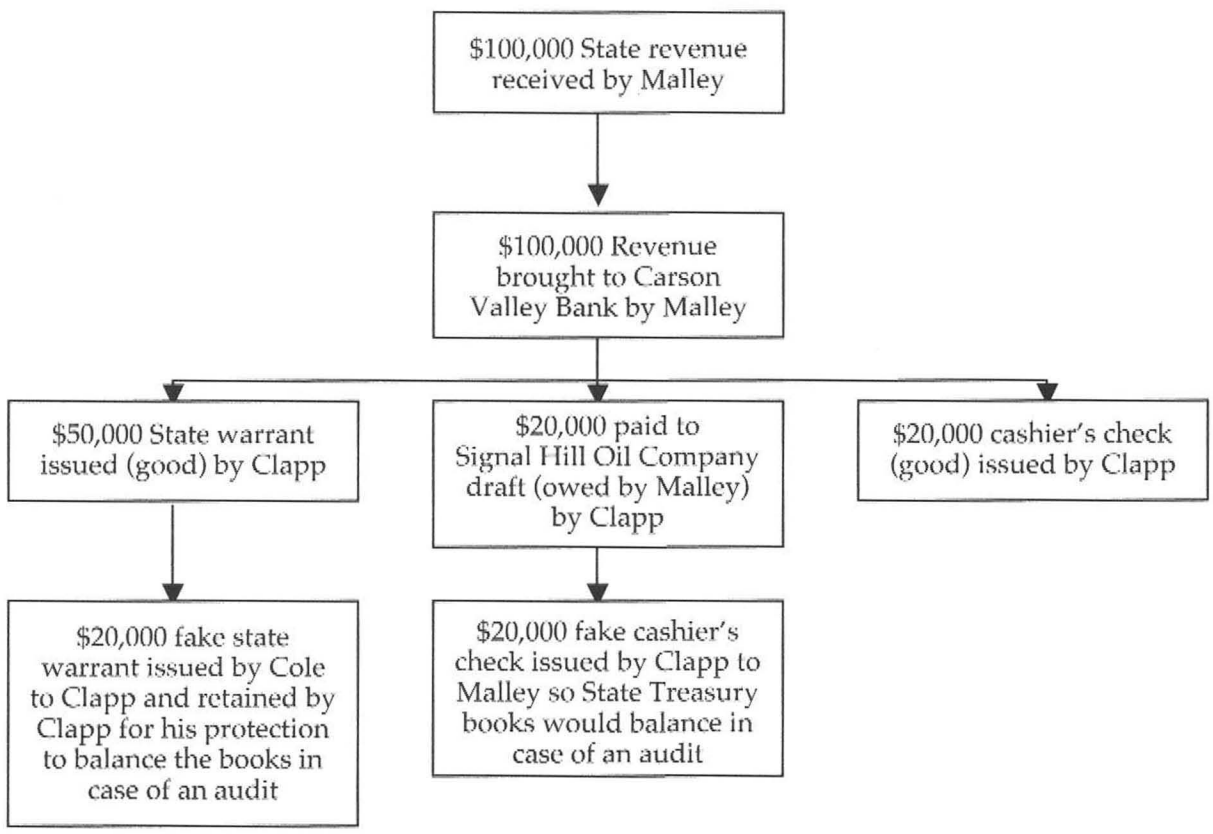
When the Depression forced Wingfield into bankruptcy, McCarran, the man who had railed against the banker's diabolical influence, stepped into the vacuum and created over the next twenty-two years a purer political machine, one based on personal loyalty to him. "Would I say, then, that McCarran had a 'machine?' Oh, he had a machine, believe me! He had a honey! Would I compare it to Wingfield's organization? Wingfield had a machine, but McCarran's was better. McCarran's was loyal to McCarran," Joseph McDonald

observed.[123] McCarran's machine did not outlive his death in 1954. The tradition of concentrated political power, birthed by Wingfield and brought to maturity under McCarran, would eventually devolve to a small group of power brokers affiliated with gaming, which became Nevada's largest industry.[124]

The unveiling of the political system in Nevada was the long-term legacy of the Cole–Malley scandal. The majority of Nevadans had been ignorant of how political power was exercised in the state before the scandal. However, after the summer of 1927, the veil was never again completely closed over the machinations of Nevada's movers and shakers. The use of concentrated political power, first wielded by Wingfield, and perfected by McCarran, dominated Nevada politics throughout the twentieth century. Will the legacy of George Wingfield and Patrick McCarran live on in the twenty-first century, or will a new political system evolve to guide the Silver State into the new millennium?

ANATOMY OF A SCANDAL
How Cole, Malley and Clapp Did It

Sample Illegal Transaction



Source: *Reno Evening Gazette* (5 September 1927), p. 2.

NOTES

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[9]*Ibid.*, 1036-1070.

[10]*Ibid.*, 991-1042.

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[12]*Ibid.*, 1040.

[13]*Ibid.*, 1038-1069.

[14]*Ibid.*, 1039.

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[16]George Wingfield to J. F. Shuman, 12 September 1927, *George Wingfield Papers*, Nevada Historical Society.

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[19]Michael J. Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy: Senator Pat McCarran and the Great American Communist Hunt* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Steerforth Press, 2004), 93.

[20]*Reno Evening Gazette* (21 May 1927), 1.

[21]M. A. Diskin to Fred B. Balzar, 9 May 1927, *State Attorney General Papers* (Nevada State Archives).

[22]*Reno Evening Gazette* (21 May 1927), 1.

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[37]*Ibid.* (29 June 1927), (12 September 1927), 4.

[38]*Ibid.* (30 June 1927), 4.

[39]*Ibid.* (13 July 1927), 4.

[40]*Ibid.* (15 August 1927), 1.

[41]*Ibid.* (19 August 1927), 1.

[42]Jury selection notes, *State Attorney General Papers*.

[43]*Ibid.; Reno Evening Gazette* (6 September 1927), 2.

[44]Jury selection notes.

[45]*Reno Evening Gazette* (22 August 1927), 1-2, (5 September 1927), 1.

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[49]*Ibid.* (30 August 1927, 1-2 (31 August 1927), 1-2.
[50]*Ibid.*
[51]*Ibid.* (2 September 1927), 1.
[52]*Nevada v. Malley, et. al.*, 973–983, *Reno Evening Gazette* (2 September 1927), 1, *Reno Evening Gazette* (3 September 1927), 1.
[53]*State v. Malley et al.*, 992-1106, *Reno Evening Gazette* (3 September 1927), 1-2.
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[55]*Ibid.*, 975-1076.
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[65]*Ibid.*
[66]*Ibid.*
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[69]*Ibid.*, 1-2.
[70]*Ibid.*, 4.
[71]*Ibid.* (14 September 1927), 1.
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[73]*Ibid.* (25 November 1927), 1.
[74]George Wingfield to Fred Balzar, 26 November 1927, *George Wingfield Papers.*
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[76]George Wingfield to Senate Committee on Taxation, 19 January 1928, *George Wingfield Papers.*
[77]George Wingfield to F. B. Mechling, 1 December 1927, *George Wingfield Papers.*
[78]*Ibid.*
[79]M. Reinhart to Fred B. Balzar, 10 December 1927, *George Wingfield Papers.*
[80]George Wingfield to M. Reinhart, 12 December 1927, *George Wingfield Papers.*
[81]George Wingfield to Senate Committee on Taxation, 19 January 1928, *George Wingfield Papers.*
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[83]Memorandum, 30 November 1927, *George Wingfield Papers.*
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[86]George Wingfield to J. F. Shuman, 6 December 1927, George Wingfield Papers.
[87]Memorandum, 1 December 1927.
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[92]*Reno Evening Gazette* (19 January 1928), 1.
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[96]*Ibid.* (25 January 1928), 1, (January 26, 1928), 1, (30 January 1928), 1, (31 January 1928), 1.
[97]*Ibid.* (1 February 1928), 1.
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[100]*Reno Evening Gazette* (30 January 1928), 1.

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[104]*Las Vegas Review* (11 July 1928).

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[107]George Wingfield to Sam R. Jenkins, 19 September 1928, George Wingfield to E. H. Conger, 19 September 1928, *George Wingfield Papers.*

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Golconda's Glory Days, 1898-1910

JOHN M. GOMES

Since my childhood, I have heard stories of early Golconda and the great faith of its citizens in mines and ranches. My grandfather, John A. Gomes, a native of Terceira, one of the islands in the Azores, came to Golconda at age eleven in 1881 to live with his uncle, Manual Gomes, who had left the Azores on a Portuguese whaling ship and eventually worked on the Central Pacific Railroad as a builder and section foreman. In the early 1880s, Manual homesteaded a 240-acre ranch on the Humboldt River, and received title to it in February 1886.[1] He later sold the ranch, which is now part of the Diamond S Ranch.

As a youth, my grandfather worked on local ranches, including that of his uncle. He attended school, usually in the winter, long enough to learn to read and write English. He was working on a Paradise Valley ranch when there was an outbreak of Rocky Mountain spotted fever. Stricken early, he recovered from a light case soon enough to assist the doctor in treating many sick miners from Spring City. He recalled that the hotel in Paradise Valley was full of sick miners and cowboys.

As a young man he worked as a miner and barber in Berlin and Austin. He later became a cook at the Golconda Hot Springs Hotel and at Battle Mountain's American Exchange Hotel, owned by Henry Mattos, a fellow native of the Azores.[2] Gomes served as constable in Battle Mountain before opening a dry-goods store in Golconda in 1898, which he operated until 1920; he also ran a barbershop and the Copper King Saloon next to the store during this period.

In 1892, John A. married Lottie Baylor of Illinois, who had come to Golconda with her widowed mother, Rachel Shallenberger Baylor, in 1889. Lottie's uncle, George Shallenberger, had established the Golconda Mercantile and Banking

John M. Gomes, a member of a pioneer Golconda family, was born in Oakland, California, in 1925. He graduated from Oakland High School in 1943 and served in the Army Air Force during World War II. He holds a B. S. degree in metallurgy from the Mackay School of Mines and is retired from the United States Bureau of Mines. Presently, John and his wife, Gloria, a Pershing County native, live in Reno. Mr. Gomes has been a docent at the Nevada Historical Society since 1994.

Company. Lottie worked in the hotels as a chambermaid and waitress. Lottie and John A. had one child, George, who was born in Battle Mountain in 1894. By 1907, he had completed eight years of grammar school in Golconda and returned there after graduating from high school in Bellingham, Washington, in 1911. George worked at the Getchell Mine and the Adelaide-Crown Mine during the 1930s and 1940s and mined on his claims in the Gold Run Mining District, shipping lead-silver ores to the Utah smelters and gold-silver ore to the Adelaide-Crown Mill. Our family has continuously held mining claims in the Gold Run Mining District since 1903.

My mother, Agnes Curley Gomes, originally from Crandon, Wisconsin, came to Nevada in 1915. Her father, a miner and hoist operator, had moved the family to Cripple Creek, Colorado. She came to Golconda to work at E. Reinhart and Company, a general merchandise store; her brother, Tom Curley, already was a butcher at Reinhart's, and later managed the store.

I was fortunate enough to attend school in Golconda for one year (1941-42) as a junior in the twenty-student high school. Since 1994, I have been a docent at the Nevada Historical Society in Reno and had access to microfilm of the old editions of *The Silver State* and the *Humboldt Star*, Winnemucca's two major newspapers. After reviewing many years of newspaper articles, I decided to concentrate on Golconda's most prosperous and interesting period, the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. It was an eventful period: Glasgow Western Exploration Company was operating the Adelaide Mine, a concentrator and smelter in Golconda, and a railroad between the two. The Kramer Hill gold deposits were discovered and developed. Gold Circle (Midas) became a major gold and silver camp, and the Western Pacific Railroad was being constructed. Golconda was the railroad terminal most accessible to Midas, and, as most goods were shipped by railroad in the early 1900s, Golconda's merchants and teamsters prospered from the development of the Midas mines.

Because Golconda, the Gold Run Mining District, and the ranches in the Gold Run Township were so closely associated, it seemed logical to incorporate the histories of all three in this article. A cautionary note: Local newspaper editors always have been boosters for their communities.[3] Any reader of Allen Bragg's *Humboldt County, 1905* would have noticed his positive approach.[4] Optimistic reporting certainly appeared in the two Winnemucca papers between 1898 and 1910, and also in Golconda's short-lived papers. According to them, every area mine produced high-grade ore, and all deposits were large. Unfortunately, most mines fell far short of expectations. While Mark Twain called a mine "a hole in the ground with a liar on top," fifty years in mining incline me to change the term liar to ultimate optimist; many miners con themselves into believing they can see the values beyond the rock face.

However, the early editors lacked both knowledge of mining and a reporting staff. They relied on local businessmen, amateur reporters, and, sometimes,

saloonkeepers for news. The businessmen also advertised in the papers, so they had the editor's ear and were naturally boosters. This was also the period of the southern Nevada mining booms in Tonopah and Goldfield, and the development of White Pine County's great copper deposits. After the depression of the late nineteenth-century and the decline of the Comstock, Nevadans had a right to again feel optimistic about the state's new mineral resources and its economic recovery.

The Glory Days, 1898-1910

Named after a city in India that was the center of an area famous for producing diamonds and other precious stones, Golconda was founded in the mid 1860s, before the Central Pacific had been completed.[5] Shortly after the Unionville discovery in 1861, prospectors found mineral deposits farther north and established the Gold Run Mining District in 1866. After coming to the area as a contractor on the Humboldt Canal between Golconda and Mill City, Louis Lay located the 160-acre Hot Springs Ranch in 1865, and built the Hot Springs Hotel in the late 1860s.[6]

Located on the north side of the Central Pacific tracks, near the depot, the Golconda Hot Springs Hotel was the center of town for almost one hundred years until it burned in May 1961.[7] After building the hotel, Lay continued to operate it with his nephew Albert until 1890. Then it was deeded to prominent San Francisco real estate owner Louis Dutertre, who had come to Golconda in the 1860s and acquired a large tract of land. Dutertre bought more land and expanded the hotel, although he claimed in one report to have built it.[8] Dutertre and his son Eugene ran the hotel until 1907 when the elder Dutertre, then eighty-two, deeded the property to his son.

The hot springs became well known for their curative effect on rheumatism and other degenerative diseases. People came from all over the country to soak in the springs. Numerous advertisements during 1899 in *The Silver State* referred to the hotel as "The Sanitarium of Nevada," with steam, mud, swimming, tub, and shower baths available. Nor did the Dutertres limit their interests to the hotel. Another ad in a January 1900 issue of *The Silver State* reported that "E. L. Dutertre was selling inside town lots for $75 and corner lots for $150," that "what Anaconda has been to Montana, Golconda will be to Nevada," and that "GOLCONDA PROMISES TO BE THE FUTURE CITY OF NEVADA."

Dutertre's future included trying to sell his holdings. In April 1908, he sold to a group of businessmen from Pennsylvania for $250,000, a large sum at that time. The new owners planned to erect a modern hotel and improve the grounds, and made a substantial down payment.[9] Judge J. A. Langwith was the major motivating force in making the sale. The buyers were directors and major stockholders in the Gold Coin Mining Company, but made no additional

Stanford Street (north of the railroad tracks) about 1910. The buildings from right to left are the Klondike Saloon, Anaconda Saloon, Morning Star Hotel, and Banquet Hotel. Reinhart's store and the Southern Pacific Depot are at the end of the street. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

payments, so Dutertre recovered the property. In 1910, Dutertre sold his ranch west of town to John G. Taylor and James Ellison for $44,000. The ranch was later known as the Stall Ranch or Diamond S. Running fifty thousand sheep in Pershing, Humboldt, and Elko counties, Taylor was reported to be the biggest sheepman in Nevada.[10] He owned several other ranches, including the Hot Springs near Valmy, and the Upper and Lower Clover ranches, with his headquarters ranch in Lovelock.

Meanwhile, Dutertre continued to own the hotel, leasing it to various operators. Poor management and depressed mining conditions led to a heavy mortgage on the property. In 1919, local rancher George Bain, the mortgage holder, obtained the hotel after a public auction. He operated it through the Great Depression and World War II, after which he sold the property to two different Idaho groups. Both had great plans to modernize the hotel and baths to create a major health spa, but both deals failed, and Bain regained the hotel. In 1959, Bain sold to Verna Reborse, a widow who had owned a ranch in Eden Valley with her late husband, Lee.[11] She owned the hotel when it burned down in May 1961.

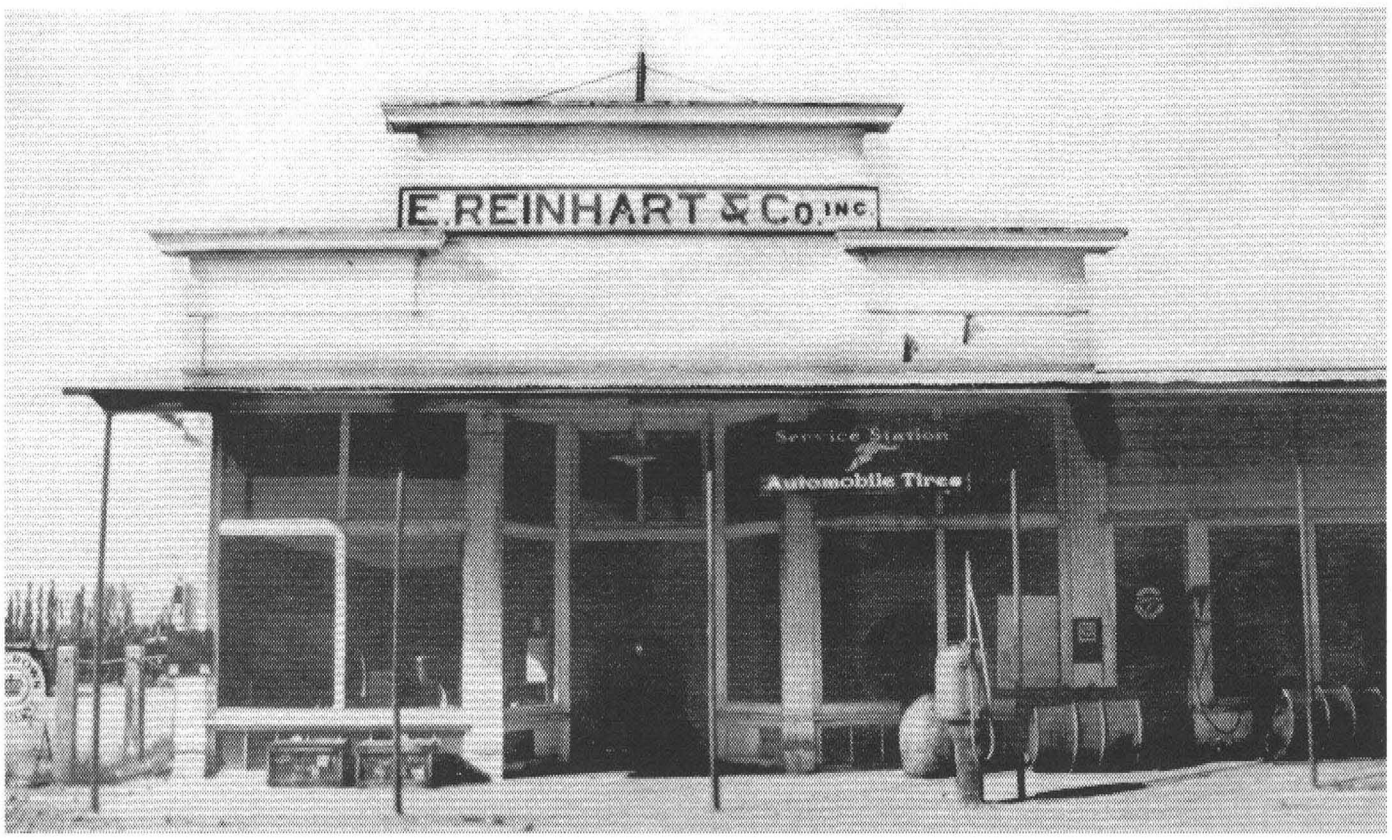
The Boomtown of Golconda

The population of Gold Run Township, which includes Golconda, stood at 423 in 1900.[12] The 1910 census counted 512 in the township, but several of these were railroad construction workers and sheepshearers, who probably resided in another community. The population appears to have been considerably higher in 1907 and 1908, the major boom years. During the Midas boom, many transients passed through Golconda, with Winnemucca newspapers reporting that renting a hotel room in town was almost impossible.

Golconda had several newspapers during this period. George B. Russell, Charles H. Keith, and Clarence D. Van Duzer owned and published *The News*, a semi-weekly and later a weekly, from February 6, 1899, to July 14, 1900, when the paper moved to Winnemucca. While running a successful campaign for the United States Congress two years later, Van Duzer printed the semi-monthly magazine *Nevada Miner*, which promoted the state's main industry, from February 15 to July 1 of 1902, when he moved the plant to Reno.[13]

As the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, Golconda had five hotels and rooming houses—not only Dutertre's Hot Springs, but also John Saval's Saval Opera House, which became the Opera Star after John Etchebarren bought it; the Klondike, Koster and Scramlin proprietors; John Etchart's Morning Star Hotel; and Joe Fayant's Banquet Saloon. The town also boasted four other saloons: John Espinoza and George Bain's Saloon, Joe Blanc's Bon Ton, Lewis Ringle's People's Saloon, and John A. Gomes's Copper King.[14]

Another saloonkeeper already was casting his net beyond Golconda. In the late 1890s, George Wingfield, who later became famous as the "Owner and



Reinhart's Golconda store. The company also operated a larger store in Winnemucca. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

John A. Gomes's store located south of the railroad tracks. The 1912 Cadillac on the right was used as a stage to Midas. *(John M. Gomes)*

Operator of the State of Nevada," operated Golconda's California Saloon and Restaurant, and later took over the Banquet Saloon.[15] He apparently leased these establishments, since county records do not list him as the property owner. Wingfield was listed as owner of two lots and a house in Golconda, and a saloon at the Adelaide Mine. He left Golconda to make a fortune in Goldfield and Tonopah. Dick Vanatta, known as Tamale Dick, Wingfield's partner in the California, later was convicted of murdering Sanfried Johnson in Midas, on August 5, 1931. He was sentenced to ten years at the state prison in Carson City, but he died of cancer before he had served one year.[16]

These Golconda businessmen also promoted other pursuits. Wingfield and Gomes were two of the five board members who formed the Golconda Jockey Club, along with Van Duzer, Dr. M. J. Davis, and B. J. Reilly. In 1899, the club sponsored five days of horse racing, from July 1 to July 5, offering $2,500 in purses. For the Fourth of July celebration, a large crowd turned out to hear Van Duzer and the featured speaker, Congressman Francis Newlands, whom Van Duzer succeeded in the House of Representatives in 1903.[17] Dinner was served at noon followed by athletic events, and by horse racing at 3 P.M.

Golconda had several restaurants and boarding houses. At Joe Fayant's Banquet Saloon, his partner Louie Ah was the chef, and they advertised "meals available at all hours." The Golconda Hot Springs Hotel also operated a restaurant. Saval's Opera House advertised a "social dance every Friday night and roller-skating every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday from 7:30 until 10:30." After Etchebarren bought out Saval, he evidently opened a restaurant. In November 1907, Charles Argal opened a restaurant in the Klondike Hotel. John Etchart at the Morning Star advertised "Headquarters for Sheepmen and sheep and wool bought and sold on commission."

Etchart was not alone in serving the livestock trade. Other Golconda businesses included two livery stables, one operated by Eugene Dutertre, the other by Louis Backus and his son Fred. The four general merchandise stores were Polkinghorne, run by Margaret Polkinghorne and her daughter Margaret Brady; John A. Gomes; E. Reinhart and Company, managed by Henry Elliot; and the Golconda Mercantile and Banking Company, which George Shallenberger opened in March 1886 and sold in early 1907 to Fred W. Noble, who also owned the Clover Valley Ranch north of town.[18]

Typical of a mining and ranching community, Golconda's other businesses catered to a variety of needs associated with the town's main industries. Fred Miller managed the Golconda Cattle Company's butcher shop. J. A. Langwith, a big town booster, had a law office and was the secretary of the Golconda Mercantile and Banking Company. Charles Polkinghorne was the local shoemaker. J. C. Calvert operated a blacksmith shop in the rear of the Morning Star Hotel, while Levi Backus and Peter Joseph ran their own blacksmith shops. Two physicians, John Schaffer and M. McCarver, practiced in Golconda, along with two trained nurses, Ella Pinson and Rosie Fresia. Ben Ritz and James O'Carrol were

the local carpenters. Fung Gee operated a public laundry and two other Chinese operated a laundry, for hotel linens. Alice Langwith was the postmistress, and her sister Eleanor was clerk. John Gallagher was a veterinarian working for the United States government, and Lee Doak was state sheep inspector. Langwith was justice of the peace, and the Gold Run constable was A. W. Johnson, nicknamed Shorty because he was reported to be nearly seven feet tall.

The railroad became one of Golconda's most important institutions when the Central Pacific arrived in 1868. Besides the depot, the railroad had two section houses and residences for the section foreman and signal maintainer. James Buckley was depot agent and George Hinley was signal maintainer, both natives of England, while the Norwegian Lawrence Anderson was foreman. At Stone House, Erskin Mayer was the agent and John Hart the section foreman. Ralph McElroy was the Golconda agent at the newly built Western Pacific depot. In 1910, the Western Pacific Railroad had several construction crews, mostly Japanese, completing work on the bridges and track. The introduction of diesel-electric engines in the 1950s eliminated most local railroad jobs, and the railroad presented its water system and tank to the town.

A sign of a mining camp's development is the building of schools, and both Golconda and Clover Valley had schools until 1908, after which the Clover Valley School was closed. In Clover Valley, Frank Hammond was school board clerk and the teachers were Eliza Pierce and Emma Wilson.[19] The clerks in Golconda were John A. Gomes (1900-1905), Paul Pinson (1905-1907), and James Buckley (1907-1910). The Golconda School had two teachers each year; their pay ranged between $70 and $100 each: Florence Bain and Anne Miller (1899-1901), Fred Long and Dora Sheehan (1902-1903), Sheehan and Ethel McGary (1904-1905), Genevieve Lyng and Norma Warren (1906-1907); Lyng and Norma W. Stevens (Norma presumably having married) (1908-1909); and Kathleen Lyng and Marjorie Wood (1910-1911). The Lyngs were from a local family that produced five schoolteachers; Genevieve later became a top school administrator in San Francisco. In 1908, the student enrollment in Golconda was thirty-nine, and the school taught grades one through eight.

Golconda residents also built a busy social life. Local women formed the Golconda Literary and Social Club. The Episcopal congregation built Golconda's first church. In 1907, the Golconda Athletic Club was formed and the town started a baseball team. The club would periodically hold boxing and wrestling matches between local athletes at Saval's Opera House and some contestants came from as far away as Reno. The club sponsored other athletic events and dances. Golconda also formed a town band to play on holidays and at local events.[20]

While Golconda residents were building a sense of community, they also were building toward the future. In the spring of 1908, Dr. Dare Woodruff started building a sanitarium in the Bain Addition that he would run with his wife, a trained nurse. The telephone line to Gold Circle was completed, and the first

automobile, a Thomas Flyer, arrived in town to be used as a stage to Gold Circle. Ed Dain came in from Fallon driving a Standard Machine, a nine-passenger automobile, with plans to make daily trips to Midas, to which Messrs. Pressy and Sanders were already running a daily service with six or seven passengers in their car. Gray Construction Company started work on the Western Pacific Railroad bridges, with four freight teams loaded with lumber. All the hotel rooms in town were full that spring, and the town was reported to be booming.[21]

In addition to the athletic club and the town band, Golconda's men had two brothels for recreation. The madams were listed as Falina Dupont and Hattie Barker—probably not their real names. Seven girls worked in the two houses, varying in age from twenty-two to thirty-two. Golconda was loaded with single men so the houses probably had a steady clientele. The census taker listed their occupation as "none," although the census taker was a local journalist, John Case, who probably had to cover the world's oldest profession.

Golconda's Citizens

Who were the citizens of Golconda, where did they come from, and what were they doing there? The 1910 census helps answer these questions. The census reported 610 people, but the detailed census forms listed only 512; this number gives an accurate sampling of the total. Of the 512, 332 were born in the United States, and 180 were foreign born. There were 430 adults over age eighteen and 82 children, 47 of whom were born in Nevada. In the adult population were 330 men and 100 women, a three-to-one ratio, attributable partly to large groups of transient male workers in town at the time, including 22 Western Pacific Railroad construction workers and 30 sheepshearers. A large ratio of men to women was not unusual in western towns in this period, nor was a lack of clarity in the census categories: Rather than using the word ranch, census takers reported only farm operators or owners and farm workers, and listed bartenders as retail liquor dealers.

The French represented the largest group of foreign born with forty; most of them came from the Basque provinces. Familiar Humboldt County Basque names were Etchart, Etchegoyhen, Etchebarren, Ydiando, Bengochea, Laca, and Bidart. John Etchart and John Etchebarren were hotel and saloon owners. The early French settlers were mainly ranchers like the Pinsons, Hammonds, Duviviers, Bernards, and Liotards. Descendants of many of these families still live in the county. The French company that attempted to build the Humboldt Canal undoubtedly attracted many Frenchmen to the area.[22] Louie Lay, one of the earliest citizens and the builder and operator of the Golconda Hot Springs Hotel, was a subcontractor on the canal.

The next largest groups of foreigners were the Portuguese and natives of Great Britain, tied at twenty-two each. They worked at a variety of occupa-

tions from mining and ranching to merchandising. The Golconda teacher Violet Sheppard was a native of England, as was James Buckey, the Southern Pacific depot agent. The Portuguese were almost all natives of the Azores Islands. Some of the northern Nevada Portuguese family names with roots in Golconda were Duarte (Winnemucca's longtime chief of police John Duarte was born there in 1909), Gomes, Silveria, Moura, and Mello. Four Portuguese residents were partners in a dairy: Jose Silva, John Nunes, Frank Fagundes, and Mary Azavado, a widow. Several worked on local ranches and mines, and one, John A. Gomes, was a merchant.

Other groups of foreigners were the Japanese, with nineteen; Italians, thirteen; Irish, thirteen; Spanish, eleven; Chinese, ten; Germans, nine; Mexicans, eight; and Canadians, seven, along with a few natives of the Balkan and Scandinavian countries. The nineteen Japanese railroad workers were in Golconda until the Western Pacific Railroad was completed. At Stone House, Southern Pacific's section boss John Hart had a permanent crew of seven Japanese workers. The Chinese population was permanent, as many of them worked in the local hotels and restaurants, and two were ranch cooks. Two Chinese operated laundries. The Mexicans mainly worked at local ranches; several listed their occupations as vaqueros, while others were sheepshearers. The Spanish natives were mainly involved in sheep ranching, and all but one were from the Basque provinces; descendants of the Basque Archabal, Bilboa, Arriola, Laca, Albisu, and Barinaga families still live in Humboldt and other northern Nevada counties. Most of the Spanish Basques were in the sheep business as owners or hired herders, with the exception of hotel owner Julien Archabal and hotel clerk John Bilboa. Many sheepmen owned their own herds but did not have a ranch: In 1910, with the range still open and no allotments, the herders grazed their sheep year-round. Many of the Irish were miners, and some called themselves prospectors. Two Irish women were doing well in business: Margaret Polkinghorne, an Irish native who operated a general store, was the only businesswoman in town, and Ellen Haas, known as Grandma Haas, owned a Clover Valley ranch. Most of the Italians were ranch workers or railroad workers.

The largest group of American-born adult citizens, fifty-one, came from California. Perhaps surprising for a sparsely populated state full of new arrivals, Nevada was second with forty-seven native borns, New York third with thirty-one, and Utah fourth with twenty-five. The native-born Americans were involved in all fields of work. Many were miners and prospectors like the Major brothers, Tom and Robert, from Indiana. Lewis Kramer, discoverer of the gold deposits on Kramer Hill, was a Nebraskan. Engineer and assayer Ed Delano was from New Jersey, Central Mine operator George Blaine from Michigan, and Gregg Canyon mine operator Bob Bass from Kansas. Golconda's citizens represented about two-thirds of the forty-six states at the time.

The census listed twelve Native Americans, six adults and six children, all Paiutes. Johnnie Whiterock was a sheepshearer, and his wife Maggie and her

mother Mary Suzie were washerwomen. Dobie Bill was a casual laborer, and Mamie Manning did sewing and housework. Additional Indians apparently were in the area, but probably not as permanent residents.

Golconda's population in 1910 included four African Americans. Dick Howard was a warehouse clerk who later served many years as constable. Minnie Hazelridge was the common-law wife of Homer Winters, a white sheepman with a homestead in Pumpernickel Valley, later referred to as the Fort Ranch.[23] Two younger black women who lived with them may have been Minnie's daughters from a previous marriage. I remember Homer Winters when he operated a bar and service station on U.S. 40 during the 1940s and 1950s. He was quite a character; he loved to tell wild tales, some of which may have been true. He lived to be more than ninety years old despite consuming a liberal quantity of whiskey and smoking several cigars a day. I remember attending his graveside service at Mountain View Cemetery in Reno about 1960.

Golconda's population included natives from four continents and more than fifteen countries. The flood of southern European immigrants who settled in Tonopah, Goldfield, and Ely during the early-twentieth-century mining boom did not affect Golconda much. Many of the foreign born had lived in the area since the 1870s. The United States natives represented a large cross section of the country, originating in thirty-five different states and territories. Reviewing the background of Golconda's citizens, one might say that Golconda was a fairly cosmopolitan town in 1910.

Golconda's Ranches

Golconda's ranches are very important to the area's history; some of the ranch families have been living there longer than any other residents. The Bain, Hammond, Button, and Pinson families all have roots dating back to the 1860s or 1870s.[24] Frank Hammond came to Kings River in the 1860s driving an eight-horse team from California for the Miller and Lux cattle barons. Born in 1846 in Brest, France, he joined the French navy as a young man and came to Mexico with the fleet that brought Maximilian's army in the 1860s. He later made his way to San Francisco and eventually to Nevada, where he homesteaded a ranch on Jake Creek, north of Golconda. His oldest son, Frank, served as Lander County sheriff from 1942 to 1954.

Paul Pinson, another native of France, came to Golconda in the 1860s. In 1884, he homesteaded a 160-acre ranch on the Humboldt River at Prebbles, six miles east of Golconda. The ranch grew to more than 1,000 acres by 1900, and his descendants still live there. A second ranch they owned, on Osgood Creek, is the site of the Pinson mine, a major gold producer. Pinson and his wife, Mary, a New York native, had seven living children. In the 1900-1910 era the Pinsons' children attended school in Golconda. Paul Pinson also operated a lumberyard in Golconda between 1898 and 1900.[25]

The Bain brothers also were early arrivals. Born in Port Clinton, Ohio, in 1842, George H. Bain reached Golconda in 1866 wearing his Union Army uniform; he came west on horseback accompanying a wagon train.[26] His brother Henry, a fellow Union Army veteran who was five years older than George, arrived in 1870 driving a team of oxen. George homesteaded a ranch on the Humboldt near Iron Point and became a prominent cattle rancher in the area. Henry had a small ranch on Rock Creek below the Rock Creek Ranch, sometimes called the Lower Rock Creek Ranch, and marketed his many vegetables in Golconda. The Golconda and Adelaide Railroad ran next to the ranch, which simplified marketing.

Henry Bain and his wife Kate, a native of London, Ontario, Canada, had nine children between 1870 and 1886. Their son George A. owned and operated the Golconda Hot Springs Hotel for more than forty years and served as Gold Run Township constable for many years. Another son, Leroy (Roy), bought the Upper Rock Creek Ranch, formerly the Golconda Cattle Company's headquarters, during the Depression and ran both ranches until after World War II.

P. V. and Bessie Sanders ranched fifteen miles northeast of town on Twin Canyon Creek. The ranch is still called the Sanders place, although the family has been gone for decades. The original owner, French-born John Silve, continued to run sheep from an 800-acre ranch nearby. Adrian Bernard had a small sheep ranch near what is now the Getchell Mine—and his son Gentil (Johnny) was one of the mine's first employees. Julian and Phillipino Liotard, both natives of France, operated a sheep and cattle ranch, which the Pinsons later bought, on Julian and Osgood creeks, about twenty-five miles from Golconda on the east side of the Osgood Range.

There were several ranches located south of Golconda, in Pumpernickel Valley. The Rock Creek Ranch, eight miles south of town, was actually on the road to the valley. Owned by the Golconda Cattle Company, the ranch was the headquarters for the firm, which owned several other ranches in Humboldt and Elko counties and a butcher shop in Golconda. Congressman William Kent of Marin County, California, owned the company until he sold his interest in 1918. William Savage was vice president, with headquarters in Golconda, and John Sibbald was the general manager.[27]

Representative Kent's son, Albert E. Kent, a 1914 graduate of Yale, ended up owning the Rock Creek Ranch, and two small ranches at China Creek and Sheep Ranch Canyon. My father worked at the ranch during 1919-1920 as the bookkeeper; he admired Albert and considered him very generous, but thought that Albert's overhead was too high because he had cattle bosses, sheep bosses, bookkeepers, blacksmiths, and two cooks year-round. Albert sold the ranch in 1927 to William H. Able and Emery (Shorty) Riffe, both well known in Humboldt County.

The Golconda Cattle Company lost a significant court case to the federal government in 1912, when it was found guilty of fencing off sections of open

range.[28] The court ordered the company to remove the fences and to pay a fine of twenty-five hundred dollars. Until then, the larger companies had fenced off choice sections of grazing lands. The Golconda Cattle Company had fenced areas in Squaw Valley and along Rock Creek in Elko County.

Other ranches had less litigious pasts. John Yribarne and sons Garsion and John also operated a ranch in Eden Valley for many years, and in 1910 John senior operated a hotel in Golconda. Another ranch associated with Golconda, the Pumpernickel Valley Ranch owned by the Polkenhorne and Stewart families in the first half of the twentieth century, is located in Pershing County, just south of the Humboldt County line. On October 14, 1908, William Polkenhorne married Marguerite Liotard on a Southern Pacific train headed to San Francisco, where they spent their honeymoon. They lived on the ranch until 1945, and then Walter Polkenhorne, Bill's younger brother, and his family moved to the ranch.

Frank Button, a well-known rancher and early settler in Elko County, managed the Bliss family holdings from 1900 to 1915.[29] Button and his wife Elizabeth (the daughter of George Shallenberger) lived in Golconda so that their son Victor could attend school. The C-S ranch near Button Point was the headquarters for the company, which also owned the Bullhead, Kelly Creek, O'Farrell, and North Fork ranches. A Vermont native, Button came to Nevada in 1873. He and his uncle, I. V. Button, started the Double Square Ranch north of Midas, where they ran cattle and thousands of horses, used by the United States Cavalry and numerous police departments. After Button retired and moved to Winnemucca, he served two terms as a county commissioner.

These early, dedicated ranchers were a hardy group that built a permanent foundation for the region to grow from. In the nineteenth century, filing a homestead and starting a ranch on barren land was a major challenge. Miners came and went but many of the descendants of the pioneer ranching families still live in the local area.

Golconda's Adversities

On May 28, 1906, a cloudburst washed out the dam at Duetre's Reservoir in Pole Creek Canyon, drowning six sheepshearers and injuring several others. The sheepshearers were camped in the canyon mouth near the shearing corrals, which belonged to the Golconda Cattle Company. A torrent of water—the eighty-acre reservoir was full—came down the canyon in the early morning hours and devastated the camp. The roar of the floodwaters awakened some of the sleeping men. They were able to scramble to higher ground and yelled to warn the other men, but there was not enough time for everyone to escape. The sheepherders and the sheep were on the hillside, so they were out of harm's way. Three men escaped by hanging onto the roof of one of the buildings, riding out the flood for more than a mile. Two other men survived by riding out

on sacks of wool. Three of the drowned men were Portuguese immigrants, one was Mexican, and the other two were the Chinese cook and his helper, an Indian boy. Property damage was minimal—two mules and a horse, two small buildings, and the shearing pens and corral, all belonging to the Golconda Cattle Company. The flood reached Golconda, a distance of two miles, where it washed out a short segment of railroad track. The track damage was serious enough to delay trains for several hours. Some cellars in town were also flooded.

Local rancher Louis Dutertre owned the reservoir, and he soon faced several lawsuits. A Portuguese sheepshearer's widow sued him for $25,000 for contributing to her husband's death. Two Winnemucca attorneys represented her. The court case was finally dismissed in September of 1912, the lawyers for the two sides evidently having reached a settlement, but the amount of the final payment was not revealed.

July 9, 1909, was another bad day for Golconda: A fire destroyed the town's two brothels. The two buildings on the outskirts of town burned during the day, but the fire did not endanger any other buildings. The fire was soon beyond control because only well water was available to fight it. At about 7:00 that evening, a freight train was pulling onto the side track when one of the cars jumped the track, completely destroying the Southern Pacific's water tank, which was also a water source for the Hot Springs Hotel and several nearby homes. Engines could not take on water at Golconda until a new tank was built.

The March 1910 Humboldt River flood was another disaster for Golconda, with floodwaters and deep mud trapping many cattle and horses. The Bain ranch and Golconda Cattle Company ranch near Iron Point were hit especially hard. The river was reported to be two miles wide at the C-S Ranch near Button Point, putting the lower end of Paradise Valley under water, and between four and five miles wide at Battle Mountain, with four railroad bridges reported washed out in Palisade Canyon. Trains could go east only as far as Battle Mountain, and the newly opened Western Pacific Railroad shut down because of large landslides in the Feather River Canyon.

Within days, the *Humboldt Star* reported that the river was dropping and the loss of livestock was less then previously noted. On the Iron Point ranches of the Golconda Cattle Company and Henry Bain, twenty-five men worked all day to save fourteen hundred marooned cattle. The newspaper reported that Winnemucca looked like a modern Venice with so many boats on the river.

Golconda's problems went beyond flooding. It was no Dodge City or Tombstone but some of its arguments were settled with gunplay. On March 20, 1908, local gambler Harry Casey was shot dead in the Hot Springs Hotel. Casey, under the influence of drink, came into the hotel saloon looking to settle an old score with Harry Woodhouse, an ex-partner. Eyewitnesses reported that when Casey confronted Woodhouse in a belligerent manner, Woodhouse, who was younger, walked away, trying to avoid trouble. Casey followed him using abusive language; he drew his revolver, and hit Woodhouse with the gun, but

Woodhouse got up quickly and knocked Casey down. Casey regained his feet and fired a wild shot, that missed its mark. Woodhouse then drew and fired three times. One shot hit Casey in the head, killing him instantly.

Constable Johnson arrested Woodhouse and an inquest was held later that day in Judge Langwith's court. Since all of the witnesses agreed that he acted in self-defense, no charges were filed against Woodhouse. Several months later, the Humboldt County grand jury reviewed the case and upheld the original decision.

Doris Cavanaugh reported another murder in early-day Golconda, on January 2, 1877. Railroad agent William McRavy was found dead in the Central Pacific depot.[30] McRavy had a bullet hole in him, and the money he received that morning was missing. Cap Winn, the local lawman, accompanied by Harmon Eastman, went looking for Harry Huff, whom a witness had seen leaving the depot that morning. When he was found near the river, Huff drew a pistol on Winn and Eastman and said that he did not kill McRavy. Winn pretended to know nothing about the murder and persuaded Huff to come with him to his station, where Huff was arrested. One bullet was missing from Huff's gun, which had been stolen from behind the bar at Meredith Meador's hotel. On February 13, after a seven-hour trial, a jury found Huff guilty of murder, and he was sentenced to death. The Board of Pardons later changed the sentence to life in prison, infuriating many Humboldt County citizens.

Golconda's Mines, 1898-1910

The Adelaide and the Kramer Hill mines were the two major mines operating near Golconda between 1898 and 1910. Both are located in the Gold Run Mining District, which was organized in 1866.[31] Generally, smaller operations of one to five miners dug for lead-silver—there is an eight-mile zone of lead-silver along the Sonoma Range's east side—in the district from the 1860s through 1910. The other major mine in the district, the Adelaide-Crown Mine, a gold-silver producer, also was active from 1939 to 1942.[32, 33]

The old Adelaide Copper Mine in the Gold Run Mining District is eleven miles south of Golconda, at the mouth of Gold Run Canyon. The Adelaide was the largest early-day mine in the district, so it is often called the Adelaide District.[34] The major mine workings were a three-hundred-foot shaft, with more than three thousand feet of lateral workings on the south side of the creek, and the roadside tunnel on the north side of the creek. There were levels in the shaft every one hundred feet; much of the ore was mined from stopes above the one-hundred-foot level. The tunnel was six hundred feet north of the shaft, and ran north for two thousand feet. The ore zone ran from the portal for six hundred feet, beyond which the limestone formation was barren.

The Glasgow Western Exploration Company, Ltd. (GWE), bought the original fifteen Adelaide claims in 1897 from Bates and Rulison, which had a small

smelter on the property.[35] The company also purchased claims at Copper Basin and Copper Canyon, south of Battle Mountain. The company built a smelter and concentrator on the east end of Golconda, north of the Central Pacific tracks, and a dam on the river, using the old Humboldt Canal to bring water to the mill site.[36] The company also built a narrow-gauge railroad, known as the Golconda and Adelaide, from Golconda to the mine.[37] The GWE was a Scottish Company; one of the principal organizers and directors was E. S. Coats of the Coats Thread Company. The resident agents in Nevada were Joseph Farren, a Salt Lake City mining engineer, and Otto Stallman, the superintendent.[38]

Work on the Golconda smelter and concentrating plant started in May 1897 and was completed in November 1898. A Montana company employed seventy men during construction. The smelter contained two Bruckner roasting furnaces and three small reverberatory furnaces. The concentrating plant contained crushing and grinding equipment typical of the time, and jigs and shaking tables to concentrate the copper. To accommodate custom ore, the circuit included a thirty-ton sampler. The mill capacity was ninety tons a day and the original plant cost $200,000, but the mill was ill-suited for the Adelaide's copper, and the mill and smelter closed in June 1900.[39]

The railroad proved more useful. The survey was completed and the necessary equipment ordered in September 1898. The company swiftly accomplished the grading by the end of October, but work stalled because of the lack of ties. The track came from the Denver and Rio Grande Western, which was installing new track. One engine came from the Eureka-Palisade and the other from a California logging operation. The ties arrived in early December, and the line was completed in early January 1899. The narrow-gauge railroad was eleven and three-quarter miles long. Ore shipments began almost immediately at ninety tons per day and soon increased to two hundred fifty tons. The former Central Pacific engineer Charles Smith doubled as the Golconda and Adelaide's engineer and president. After the mill closed in June 1900, the railroad was used to haul supplies to a small crew doing development work at the mine.

In 1907, the mill was remodeled using the new Macquisten Tube Concentrator.[40] A. P. Stanley Macquisten, a director of GWE, invented it. "Concentration Upside Down," a technical paper in the October 26, 1907, issue of *Engineering and Mining Journal*, describes in detail the principle and operation of the tubes. Macquisten developed the process in his Glasgow laboratory, and the Golconda mill was the first industrial application. The mill contained one hundred twenty-five tubes arranged in five series of twenty-five tubes each. The ore pulp from the grinding circuit went to a dewatering tank (thickener), where it was divided into twenty-five streams to feed the tubes. Macquisten stated that each tube had a capacity of five tons a day, resulting in a mill capacity of one hundred twenty-five tons a day.

In June, the *Humboldt Star* reported that the large milling plant at Golconda was working two shifts on ore from the Adelaide Mine. Three months later, the

Star reported that the GWE mill at Golconda was treating about seventy-five tons per day, with forty-five men working in three shifts daily. The concentrates were reported to be high grade containing very little gangue. The 1908 *The Copper Handbook* noted that "it is claimed that the process gives extraction of better than 99.75% of assay values"—a claim that seems too good to be true.[41] The Macquisten tubes were an inefficient concentrating tool, and the contemporary introduction of froth flotation, which proved to be a highly efficient technique, contributed to the demise of the tubes.

The camp around the Adelaide Mine apparently was never called a town. But in 1907, the Adelaide Town Site Company agent Arnold Weibel placed advertisements in the *Humboldt Star*, selling lots for fifty, seventy-five, and one hundred dollars and stating, "A Camp With A Future, an excellent chance for a real estate investment."[42] In the 1940s, two houses stood at the mine site, and the Warren Placer house was a short distance up the canyon. My father remembered a saloon at the mine, where George Wingfield ran a card game sometime in the late 1890s, and J. P. "Joe Peach" Wilson, a well-known Nevada mining man, apparently planned to build a saloon at Adelaide.[43]

The Golconda Mill continued to operate until 1910, when it permanently closed. In 1913, GWE's English managers sent a representative to the United States to settle the company's debts, which at this time were ninety-five thousand dollars.[44] To avoid bankruptcy, the company settled all debts by paying forty cents on the dollar. The GWE had spent more than fifteen million dollars in the previous fifteen years, mostly on the concentrator, smelter, railroad, and underground development. The mine could not produce enough ore to supply the reduction plant. The company reorganized and mining resumed in the fall of 1913, but the death of Sir Peter Coats ended all operations and led to liquidation of GWE's assets—including mining properties at Copper Canyon and Copper Basin in Lander County—in 1915. In 1914, GWE sold the railroad's rails to Sugarman Iron and Steel Company, which in turn sold the rails to A. A. Codd for the Nevada Short Line at Rochester. The Short Line also purchased a locomotive from the Golconda and Adelaide Railroad. (My grandfather provided board for A. A. Codd's crew while they were in Golconda removing the track, but Codd never paid him.) The Adelaide Mine is a good example of the cliché "How to make a small fortune in mining: start with a large fortune."

The last significant production from the Adelaide came during World War I. The Yerington Mountain Copper Company mined an estimated six hundred thousand pounds of copper ore, mainly from the three-hundred-foot level and valued at $175,000, and shipped it to its smelter at Wabuska.[45] Later, George Wingfield bought the five patented claims by paying the delinquent tax bill in 1939; he deeded the claims to the Mackey School of Mines in 1959. In the 1980s, a small mining company with a mill at Austin leased the claims but produced little. Several major mining companies have drilled in the area but without finding a major ore deposit.

Yet there may be more than ore in the mine. Some Golconda residents believed that the Reno banker Roy Frisch could be at the bottom of the main Adelaide shaft, three hundred feet down, and the shaft is full of water. Frisch was to testify against Bill Graham and James McKay, two local casino owners who were friends of Wingfield. Frisch disappeared on the evening of March 22, 1934. Tom Major, a local prospector and miner who lived on his claims above the Adelaide Mine, told my father: "late on that night I saw headlights at the Adelaide shaft. They stayed about fifteen minutes and then left." Graham and McKay were later convicted of mail fraud without Frisch's testimony. They spent several years in prison, and after being released they continued to own and operate the Bank Club. Frisch's disappearance remains one of Nevada's major mysteries.[46]

KRAMER HILL MINE

The gold deposits on Kramer Hill have been reported to be in the Golconda Mining District, but in the 1900-1910 period they were considered part of the Gold Run Mining District. L. K. "Lew" Kramer discovered gold on a lone hill two miles south of Golconda in September 1907, and the hill became known as Kramer Hill.[47] The assays of his original samples showed gold values ranging from forty-five to two hundred dollars per ton. The discovery was a big surprise to the townspeople, because it was so close to town and many Golconda residents had walked or ridden over the area. Kramer reported the quartz outcrop to be ten feet wide and more than one thousand feet long. Within a few days the hill was said to be crawling with prospectors locating claims.

Kramer leased out sections of his three claims to expedite development. C. E. Hart contracted with Kramer to sink a shaft fifty feet deep in return for half of the value of the ore removed. Ore mined at the fourteen-foot depth reportedly assayed at twelve hundred dollars per ton. Kramer also leased a section of his claims to Clifford Welshon and Ed Lyng, who reported excellent ore at the fifty-foot level.[48] Lyng was a Golconda resident who was later successful in the feed and grain business in Modesto, California. His son Richard served as United States secretary of agriculture from 1986 to 1989.

Kramer Hill bustled for much of 1908 and early 1909. The *Humboldt Star* wrote of several lessees finding high-grade ore as they sank their shafts, and many mining engineers and promoters visited Kramer Hill during this period. Butts and Oswald were down seventy-five feet and saying the vein was still ten feet wide with eighteen inches of rich ore. Welshon and Lyng were sacking high-grade ore for shipment. Ed Delano, the local assayer, announced a big strike two miles south of the original find on claims he leased from John A. Gomes and Fred Miller, with ore assaying at ten thousand dollars per ton (this apparently did not amount to much as I cannot remember my grandfather

Kramer Hill high-grade ore sacked for shipment. The ore was mined by two lessees, Ed Lyng and Clifford Welshon. *(John M. Gomes)*

ever mentioning it). At the seventy-five-foot level, the Thompson-Oswald lease boasted a twelve-foot vein averaging forty-four-dollar gold per ton.[49] Delano, the assayer, reported ore containing sixty-one thousand dollars per ton from the Butts-Oswald lease.[50] Optimists were claiming that the rich gold belt ran all the way to Greg's Canyon. The GWE announced that it would mill Kramer Hill ore in its mill in Golconda, and in January 1909 the *Star* noted that the two wagons from the Backus Brothers Livery Stable in Golconda were delivering twelve and a half tons of Kramer Hill ore to the mill daily.[51]

Mining corporations began to materialize at Kramer Hill. A. P. S. Macquisten acquired a major holding for GWE, which planned to drive two low-level tunnels (adits) to intersect the ore zone, and bought a large air compressor to expedite work on the tunnels. The Golconda Gold Ledge Mining Company incorporated in 1908 with M. A. Fike as president, A. C. Sweet as secretary, and W. H. Otto as vice president and mine manager. The Gold Ledge Mine was worked continuously, shipping ore to the smelter. Developed workings included a shaft 220 feet deep and 1280 feet of drifts and crosscuts. The company held eight claims on Kramer Hill and built a twenty-stamp mill in 1916. In 1938, the stamps remained on the property, but the other mill machinery had been removed.[52]

Between 1908 and 1915, the Kramer Hill mines apparently generated only sixty-five thousand dollars or thirty-two hundred fifty ounces.[53] Since those

numbers conflict with what sources report as having come out of the mines—thirteen thousand tons of ore mined with a value of more than ninety thousand dollars—evidently the mills that processed the ore were not very efficient, as 72 percent of the gold was recovered. The quantity of gold reported recovered appears to be small considering all the high-grade ore mined in the early leasing days. There must have been considerable high-grading by the lessees and some of the hired miners—and, indeed, my father had several specimens of ore containing large pieces of native gold. To show that Kramer Hill still had potential, in 1990 and 1991 the Pinson Mining Company recovered seventy-two hundred ounces of gold from ore that was mined from an open pit there and treated by heap leaching at the Prebble Mine.[54] But the mine has been inactive ever since.

EPILOGUE

After driving through Golconda recently, I thought about the contrast a century reveals in the town's layout. Most of old Golconda was within a few blocks of the old Hot Springs Hotel and the railroad. The hotel, Southern Pacific Depot, water tank, and section houses are all gone. Polkinghorne's store building still stands on the north side of Stanford Street; in the 1940s and 1950s, it was Newman Robear's Store. Reinhart's Store, Joe Fayant's Banquet, John Etchart's Morning Star, and the Klondike and Anaconda have disappeared. The town consists only of a few businesses along I-80 and many mobile and modular homes around the old town's outskirts. Its lack of prosperity stands in contrast to the mining operations that earlier thrived in the area.

Some of the optimistic predictions about the great mineral wealth in the Golconda area fell far short of what has actually been produced. The early prospectors were looking mainly to the south when they should have been looking to the north. The Getchell, Twin Creeks, and Pinson, the three major gold mines in the Potosi Mining District, have produced well over ten million ounces of gold. This compares to the four million ounces produced in Goldfield, Nevada's famous early-twentieth-century boomtown. The Getchell Mine was recently sold for one billion dollars to Placer Dome U. S., Inc.—one of the highest prices ever paid for a gold mine. The tungsten mines in the Osgood Mountains have also produced more than twenty million dollars, with a major quantity of by-product silver produced with the gold. The Lone Tree Mine, seventeen miles east of Golconda, and the Marigold Mine have produced more than two million ounces of gold. In fairness to the early-day prospectors, the gold deposits being mined today could not have been detected with the tools they had available, and modern technology is necessary for the profitable extraction of gold from low-grade and refractory ores.

Unfortunately, Golconda itself has not directly prospered from the area's extracted wealth. In the mid 1930s, the Getchell Mine built its own company town, and most of the business went to Winnemucca. Golconda never had the chance to be a modern boomtown, because of the mobility of a modern society, as well as the present-day philosophy of mining companies, that it is not necessary for the mineworkers to live in the vicinity of the mines. Old-timers believed the major mines would produce mainly copper and lead-silver ores, but they would be ecstatic about today's gold production. There may be hope yet for Golconda to develop into the city its old-timers envisioned.

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[21]*Ibid.* (24 February 1908).

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Notes & Documents

Pork Barrel Comes to White Pine County: My Day with the Senator

Casting a bit of doubt on that phrase "It is more blessed to give"

WILLIAM N. THOMPSON

Nevada's Chic Hecht won an upset election to the United States Senate in 1982 by defeating twenty-four-year incumbent Howard Cannon. Hecht, the owner of a retail clothing store in Las Vegas, fashioned himself as a spokesman for small businessmen. Actually, in the campaign he didn't speak at all, as his campaign surrogates hit Cannon hard on a series of negatives that had been brought forth in various federal investigations. Once elected senator, Hecht set about to establish himself as a staunch conservative. He proudly pointed out that his voting record was the second most conservative one in the body. (The most conservative senator was James McClure of Idaho.) Senator Hecht liked to refer to his Republican colleague Senator Helms as "My liberal friend Jesse." (Helms was the third most conservative member of the Senate.)

Senator Hecht prided himself on being close to the people. During each of his years in office, he took his entire Washington staff on a tour of the small cities and towns of remote rural Nevada. Nevertheless, there was one part of the "liberal" Washington scene that affected Hecht as it did other Republicans. The good senator did not at all mind seeing federal dollars being spent—if they

William N. Thompson is a professor of public administration at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. His doctoral research focused on the office of state attorney general, and he produced a study for the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (1983-84) on the Nevada office of attorney general during the nineteenth century. His recent research has concentrated on the gambling industry and public policy, resulting in a number of books on gambling. These include *Legalized Gambling: A Reference Handbook* and *Gambling in America: An Encyclopedia of History, Issues, and Society.*

were being spent in his state. Certainly, Nevada had been receiving its share of federal dollars for various projects, and the senator was happy to present the checks.

I was invited to accompany Senator Hecht on the first leg of his tour as our Center for Business and Economic Research at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, was working with him analyzing policies for small businesses. I was serving as the associate director of the Center. As the tour (three cars) was reaching Ely, birthplace of Pat (Thelma Ryan) Nixon and seat of White Pine County, the senator was delighted that he was carrying a message that "good ole Uncle Sam" was not forgetting White Pine County at the pork-barrel trough.

A special meeting of the county commission had been convened so that Senator Hecht could exchange views one on one with the good commissioners, small business persons, and citizens of White Pine. After he made his most important announcement—about his delivery of pork—he found that matters were not exactly one on one. The conservative was to learn another thing or two about federal spending.

The scene is the White Pine County Courthouse, Ely, Nevada, Wednesday, August 29, 1984. It is 8:50 P.M. The senator has engaged those present with fifty minutes of give-and-take on a variety of questions, mostly involving either very general philosophical matters of politics or very individual personal concerns on matters such as last week's social security check. It has already been a very long day for the senator. But the day is not over.

Bill Farr, the senator's chief staff member from his Reno office, rose up. Farr, who himself had been a county commission chair, addressed the gathering, "This morning, the senator met with Al Stone of the Department of Transportation in Las Vegas. They had a long discussion. After the discussion the senator was happy to tell Stone that he would make this announcement tonight here in Ely. Senator, would you like to make the announcement now?"

Senator Hecht spoke, "Al Stone of the Department of Transportation of the state of Nevada has informed me . . . let me see . . . it is kind of hard to read his writing . . . yes, the federal government has asked the state to release its allocated highway funds, $5,348,000, for the improvements on the Sunnyside cutoff of state route 318. He indicates that most of these funds will be coming into White Pine County."

Murmurs were heard throughout the audience, and the commissioners were ready to speak for the assembled group. The commission chair, Dr. Kendall Jones, led off:

> Sometimes when I hear about these federal highway funds and the state Department of Transportation, I wish we could secede from the state of Nevada, and be annexed to Utah, or become a state by ourselves. It's always $1.2 million or $5.5 million that will benefit White Pine County. Really it's money to improve the transportation for people who go from

> Utah or Idaho to Las Vegas, or Salt Lake City to Reno. It really doesn't do a hell of a lot for the economy of this county. These highway contracts are let out to construction concerns that are not located in White Pine County. Employees, about 80 percent, are from outside White Pine County. Equipment is purchased outside of White Pine County. The materials, the depreciation, everything else is not a factor in this economy. And if we get out of our $1.6 million on this last transportation contract we had, if White Pine County benefits by $200,000 actually into this economy of White Pine County, we are lucky, very lucky. Because those people who are employed, their families stay in Las Vegas where they live, and the money they spend is in Las Vegas, the supplies are purchased in Las Vegas, the depreciation, the taxes, all go to Las Vegas. They don't come to White Pine County.

Staffer Farr sought to rescue the beleaguered Hecht. He spoke,

> I'm not debating that. I'm just trying to bring a message to you, I want to indicate to you, I thought it was very kind of Stone to indicate that those funds are coming to this county. As a spin-off of those dollars that are here, if you want to talk economics. When those people are here we can talk about generating state taxes that do help throughout the state of Nevada. I wouldn't take a total negative attitude. We are not getting into a debate with the state. We are here carrying a message to you.

The ruffled feathers of county commissioner Brent Elderidge were not smoothed:

> In the past the federal highway dollars have gone a long way to building secondary roads of regional significance. I live on one. We were informed two months ago that we will become the proud owners of the worn out highway. And we have to take care of the maintenance of the road. And now we have an announcement that the federal government is going to go into building highways of statewide significance. It doesn't do much for me personally. I feel that White Pine County as the county of the state that is going to receive most of the worn out roads is getting the short end of the stick. Any industry we bring in will be hindered and held back by damn poor roads. And our roads are being built for tourists that pass through. I don't say I'm against tourists.

Farr tried again:

> I don't propose that I represent Al Stone. This morning Al met with the senator. When he heard the senator was coming to Ely, he handwrote

> a little message for you. I would not hesitate to bring that message to you. Even taking the brunt. As a former county commissioner, I know what you're up against. I've had that experience. But nonetheless, I wouldn't be totally negative about it, those dollars have to go someplace. I'm glad they're going to White Pine County, as a citizen.

Elderidge put in the final words. "When federal dollars came in the past, was there any restriction that they had to stay roads forever. Or is it the state's discretion to say, here county, here's your road. Do you know?" There was no response, and Elderidge concluded, "Well, I think you should find out."

Senator Hecht stood up again, and spoke. "Let's go to some other questions where we can help. Problems we can help with, that's what we're here for."

New Acquisitions at the Nevada Historical Society

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY STAFF

LIBRARY

In early 2007, the Nevada Historical Society received three very generous donations. The first was from Aaron McLane in memory of his father, Alvin, who passed away last October. This collection of articles, reports, and books will be a useful resource for our staff, researchers, and patrons. Mr. McLane had lived in Nevada for fifty years and in 2004 Governor Kenny Guinn proclaimed a day in his honor for his "outstanding work as an archeologist, historian, hydrologist, geologist, mountaineer and spelunker." Alvin McLane was a great friend of the Nevada Historical Society, and he will be missed.

We also lost another friend of the Nevada Historical Society, in 2006. Sue Ann Locke Holloway, a fourth-generation Nevadan, was born in 1928 and grew up in Railroad Valley, Nevada. After receiving bachelor's and master's degrees from UNLV she worked as a librarian for the Beatty Library until her retirement in 1991. Her family donated a sum of money to the Nevada Historical Society in her memory. This money went to purchase a number of useful and interesting books on Nevada history, which will be a great resource for staff and researchers alike. The third donation we received was from Cynthia Reed, the librarian at Swope Middle School. We were given four boxes of splendid books related to Nevada and Great Basin history.

Donations such as these are extremely important to the Nevada Historical Society as they help us to purchase new books and to replace those that have worn out over time because of heavy use by the public. We sincerely thank Aaron McLane, the family of Sue Ann Locke Holloway, and Cynthia Reed for their contributions to our library.

Michael Maher
Librarian

Manuscripts

The Nevada Historical Society has recently received a number of significant collections that will be of interest to researchers. First among these are records from several early-twentieth-century mining companies and the papers of prominent mining figures. William Metscher of Reno has given us records from the Desert Power and Mill Company at Millers, records of the Round Mountain Mining Company and Nevada Porphyry Gold Mines, Inc., and personal papers of the Tonopah mining man Mark G. Bradshaw. Records, including many mine maps of the Nevada-Douglas Copper Company in Mason Valley have been received from the University of Wyoming, and purchases have brought us letters (1905-1908) of Charles M. Clark, a United States Deputy Mineral Surveyor for Nevada and mining-company official, as well as a volume of records from the Brougher Divide Mining Company, which operated in the Divide Mining District south of Tonopah. Business records and legal documents of Charles Homer Segerstrom and his son, Charles Homer Segerstrom, Jr., which relate chiefly to tungsten mining and milling in the Mill City, Tungsten, and Toulon areas of Pershing County have been donated by Sharon Marovich of Sonora, California.

Some important groups of non-mining business records have also come into our research library. From Betty Jo Baker we received a substantial group of documents from the landmark J. R. Bradley Company of Reno, including minutes of its directors' meetings (1902-48); volumes of records from the Carson and Colorado Railroad and Virginia and Truckee Railroad were received from Trent Dunphy of San Francisco; and some additional shipping records of the V&T were transferred from the University of Wyoming. A volume containing surveys of Carson City by Butler Ives in 1865 was received from Ernest E. Muller, Sr., of Reno; journals and ledgers (1872-77) of the Carson City stock brokerage of Rice and Peters came from the University of Wyoming; and some records from Reno's recently closed Liberty Belle Restaurant and Saloon were given to us by Marshall and Frank Fey. Records (1925-1947) of Shufelt and Riley's "second hand goods" store in Reno, and of Paul Smith's pioneering Virginia City tourist business, the Museum of Memories, were acquired by purchase; and a purchase brought us additional letters and financial records of John and Edward Piper, which help to document their theatre operations in Virginia City and Reno. Andy Fuller of Sparks has donated a large collection of project files and maps from the civil-engineering firm of his father, Robert L. Fuller. These files document work done by R. L. Fuller Engineering in Nevada and northern California between 1966 and 1990.

Education-related collections of records and papers arrived from several donors. Records of the old B. D. Billinghurst Junior High School in Reno have come to us courtesy of Kenneth Cervantes, principal at B. D. Billinghurst Middle School, and Barbara Whitely. Personal papers of longtime Washoe County teacher and school administrator Rose Bullis, and numerous school records col-

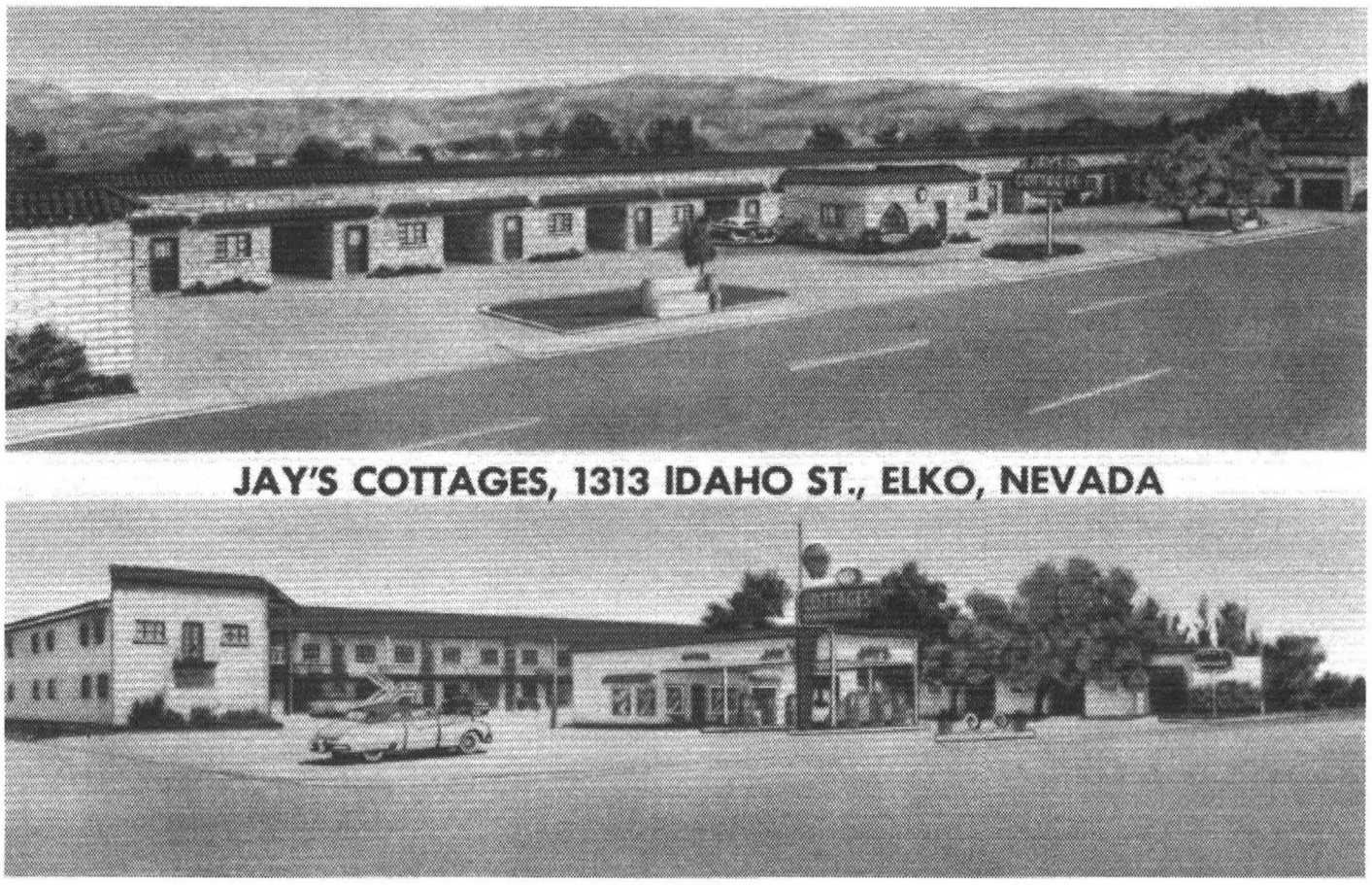
lected and preserved by her, have been given to the Society by Mrs. Bullis, and papers relating to the teaching career of Mamie Elizabeth Hildebrand in Reno and Elko County schools were donated by Dennis McBride of Boulder City.

A group of supply officers' documents from the Reno Army Air Base (later Stead Air Force Base) during World War II have been acquired by the library, and additions have been made to our collection of records from various Nevada posts of the Grand Army of the Republic. Among these latter materials is a "Memorial Record" presented by United States Senator William M. Stewart to Carson City's Custer Post No. 5 in 1879, a volume which contains information on deceased members of the post.

Among collections of personal papers received have been business records, family documents, and photographs of the nineteenth-century Virginia City merchant Joseph Beer (gifts from Sandra Brick and the Churchill County Museum); personal papers and photographs of the Reno pharmacist and pharmacy owner William Pettis and his family (from Alice Pettis Lemons); and job- and private research-related files from Robert E. Stewart, the newspaperman, historian, and government official who served as Governor Mike O'Callaghan's press secretary. Cathy Luchetti, author of acclaimed books on the American West, has donated a large quantity of her research files and photographs; Bud Fujii has provided us with papers and photographs that document aspects of his work with the Washoe County Buildings and Grounds Department and as director of the Washoe County General Services Department (1970s-90s); and Gloria Garaventa has given us a collection of family papers and photographs relating to her parents, August and Ines Pagni Cortesi, who for many years owned the well-known Villa Roma restaurant in Reno. From Carol Dodson Chapin we have received additional personal papers of the Dodson family, including a substantial number of documents and photographs relating to Calvin J. Dodson, a civil engineer who worked for the United States Indian Service in Nevada, served in the army during World War II, and became the city engineer of Sparks, Nevada.

Records from a variety of organizations have been added to our collections. The Geological Society of Nevada has donated a large group of its records and publications; records from the Northern Area Substance Abuse Council have been brought to us by Martha Coon and Bill Wollitz, both of whom were leaders in the council; and substantial additions to our holdings of Independent Order of Odd Fellows records have come from the University of Wyoming. A volume of meeting minutes from the Washoe Club in Virginia City was received from Trent Dunphy, and records of the Nevada Water Pollution Control Association were transferred from the Nevada Division of Archives and Records.

Eric N. Moody
Curator of Manuscripts



1940s postcard of Jay's Cottages in Elko. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Photography

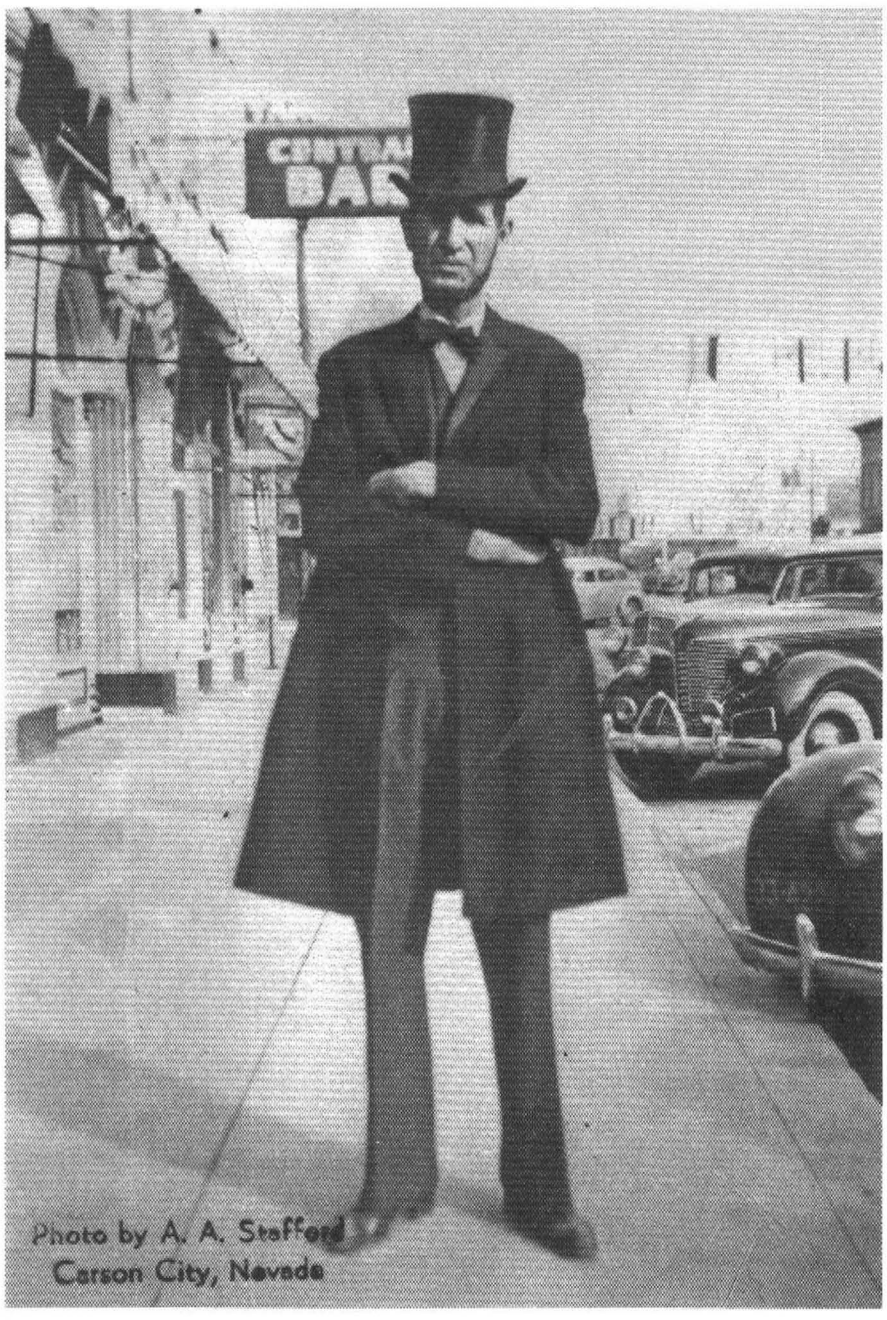
In previous notes on our acquisitions in photography, we have covered a number of our most important new nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century collections. However, materials from the middle of the last century to the present are equally important to understanding Nevada history. An example more typical of the hundreds of donations we receive from around the country is a 1940s ink-printed advertising postcard of Jay's Cottages, a motel located at 1313 Idaho Street, in Elko. For local historians or scholars of the post-war travel boom this is an important document. This postcard was kindly donated by the Gallatin Historical Society and Pioneer Museum in Bozeman, Montana.

The Society rarely receives photography albums unless they show a famous locale such as Tonopah or Goldfield. Guy Clifton, Reno newspaper reporter and historian, has donated an album documenting the creation of the Railroad Valley Wildlife Management Area. The Bureau of Land Management manages the refuge today. The refuge offers birders the opportunity to view up to 147 different species in a secluded setting away from the highway. The album covers the drilling of a well as a game water source and the formation of wetlands for waterfowl. It also shows artificial seeding of wetland reeds for wildlife habitat. This is an important find for anyone interested in the history of land use and game management.

Pat King of Carson City donated another valuable single-subject album, which contains snapshots of Nevada Day Celebrations in Carson City taken by her father, Ralph Priest, around 1939. While we have many shots of the Nevada Day parade, this album shows other activities such as the impersonators of historical figures and the Kangaroo Court's mobile jail. One particularly striking photograph shows real-estate developer, Ed Krinzer, as Abraham Lincoln.

Family snapshot albums and even children's albums also reveal important aspects of the lives of people in community at a given time and place. Since we have received virtually no family albums, it seems likely that most people do not realize that the Historical Society would want them. Contrary to what is generally thought, such albums often contain important historical information even if the individual people are not identified.

Lee P. Brumbaugh
Curator of Photography



Ed Krinzer as Abe Lincoln, ca. 1939. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Tractor making dikes. Railroad Valley Wildlife Management Area.
(Nevada Historical Society)

Nevada Day Celebration, ca. 1939. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

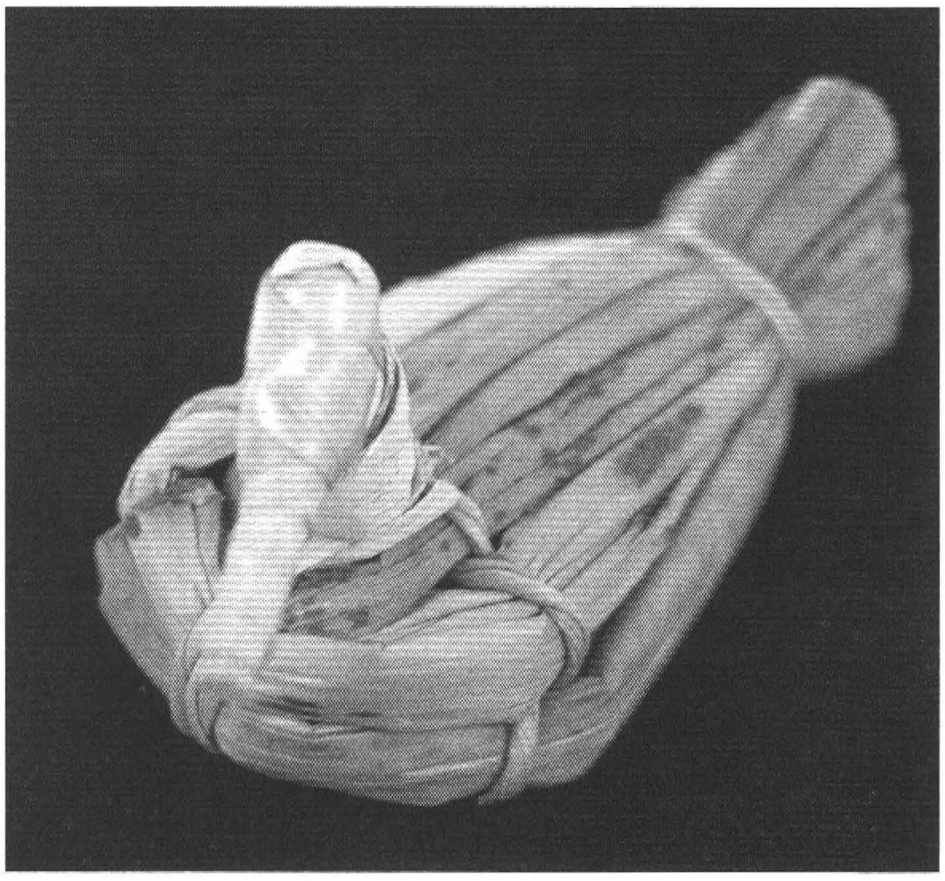
MUSEUM

In recent months, the Nevada Historical Society has acquired a number of important artifacts through generous donations. Without funds to purchase artifacts, the Society must rely on the generosity of the public. Obtaining artifacts from historic Nevada families and businesses is a crucial part of the Society's collecting mission. These items represent important aspects of Nevada's history that might otherwise be lost to future generations.

Peg Fennig donated a miniature duck decoy purchased from the Nevada Historical Society store in 1994. The Paiute craftsman, Martin George, lived at the Stillwater Reservation. Until his untimely death in 1994, he continued his family's tradition of perpetuating the sacred and traditional art of making duck decoys. The donated decoy is in excellent condition and the construction style compares with the Lovelock Cave decoys of Nevada.

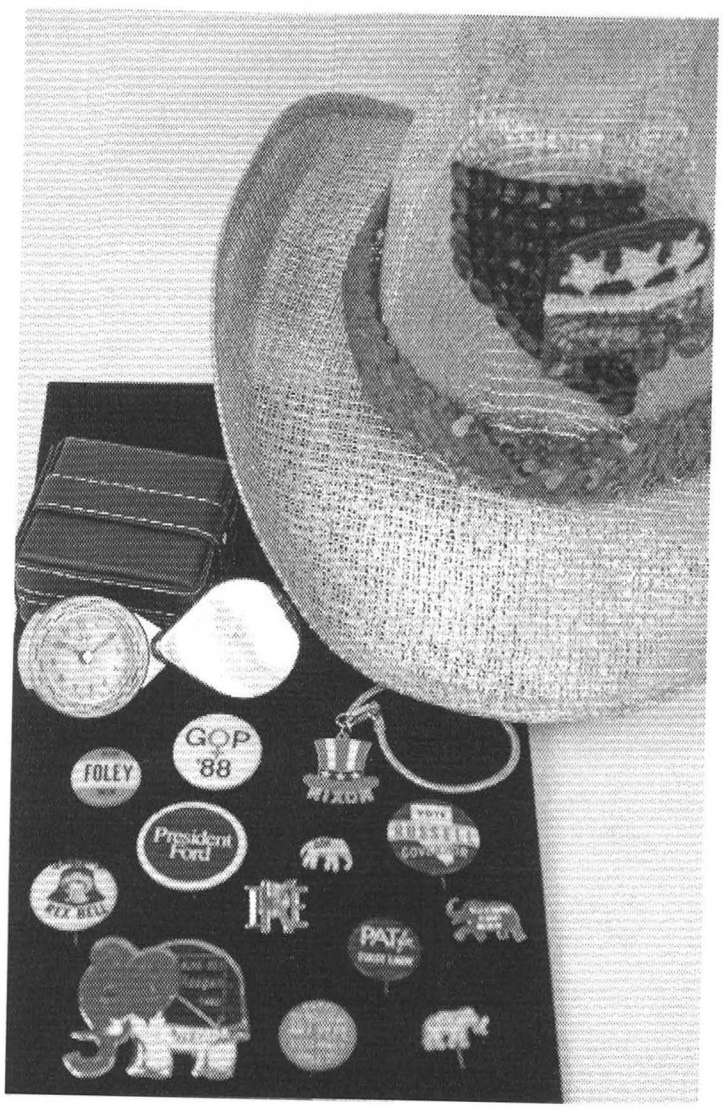
Neal Cobb recently donated a wonderful sampling of Harolds Club memorabilia, including Harolds Club napkins, a rocket-shaped glass, and a stir stick depicting a man standing on the moon. The latter two items commemorate the Apollo 11 moon landing on July 20, 1969. Two advertising stamp blocks for Harolds Club date to 1953 and 1955.

Patty Cafferata made a generous donation of political memorabilia. The political pins and buttons from the 1950s to the present offer an interesting study of Nevada politics. One unique item from this donation is the silver cowboy hat—done in blue and red sequins—that she wore during a Nevada Day parade.



Duck decoy by Martin George. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Harolds Club memorabilia. *(Nevada Historical Society)*



Political memorabilia.
(Nevada Historical Society)

The Society was fortunate to receive a unique donation of two carved molds from the Curnow family. The family owned the Wade Silver Shop in Reno that specialized in gold and silver jewelry and belt buckles. Dick Curnow, owner of the jewelry business, hired a Washoe artesian named Wayne Toby to assist with the silver work and to make molds. Toby worked for the family for almost two decades, until his death. The craftsmanship of the molds is excellent and both depict an older Native American man.

An unexpected donation resulted from a visit to the museum this past summer. Ms. Diane Wayman, a member of the family of the late governor Denver Dickerson, donated three Paiute baskets that have been in the family since the early twentieth century. After the death of Governor John Sparks in 1908, Dickerson filled the remaining term as acting governor until 1910. The baskets are good examples of the bowls and seed jars being made by the Paiutes during this period.

Sheryln Hayes-Zorn
Registrar/Curator

Carved mold. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Paiute baskets. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Book Reviews

Isaac C. Parker: Federal Justice on the Frontier. By Michael J. Brodhead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003)

Isaac C. Parker: Federal Justice on the Frontier is a volume in The Oklahoma Western Biographies series published by the University of Oklahoma Press. The books in this collection seek to appeal to a nonacademic audience by being brief and omitting footnotes. These restrictions, however, have their drawbacks. For one thing, serious readers might wish to see documentation for conclusions reached by authors. Moreover, the subjects might merit more fully developed discussions of their lives than these books provide.

In this particular volume, Michael J. Brodhead has opted primarily to examine—as he should—the cases that Judge Isaac Parker tried in his federal district court. That tribunal, headquartered in Fort Smith, Arkansas, heard cases from Indian Territory as well as from the western part of the Land of Opportunity. A loyal Republican, Parker was appointed to his federal judgeship by President Ulysses S. Grant, in 1875. He remained on the bench until his death in 1896.

Brodhead also discusses briefly Parker's career prior to his appointment as a federal jurist. His political experience included serving as a state circuit judge in Missouri and representing that state in the United States House of Representatives. It is as a federal judge, however, that Parker became well known in American history and folklore. Some previous authors have portrayed him as a hanging judge, and one of Brodhead's reasons for writing this book is to correct misconceptions about Parker. The judge did not, for example, completely ignore the law nor did he enjoy executing those found guilty in his court.

Still, Parker was opinionated, pontificating, and arrogant. He relished lecturing jurors and he often encouraged them to arrive at the same conclusions as he had in the resolution of cases. He was likewise intemperate and stubborn, leading the United States Supreme Court to overturn several of his decisions and Congress to pass laws limiting his authority. His entire demeanor was in contrast to the unbiased, detached manner in which truly independent judges hold court.

As is often the case with biographers, Brodhead is a great admirer of his subject. He finds much in Judge Parker's knowledge and application of the law to applaud. Thus, the author will surely persuade some readers that "Isaac C. Parker was a man of integrity, dedication to duty, and even compassion" (xvii).

Few, however, will agree with the author's conclusion that "In the eyes of many, he is America's greatest trial judge" (xvii). So, while this volume has its positive aspects, it does not accomplish the primary purpose that Brodhead had in mind when he wrote it. That is, it does not completely vindicate Parker nor prove that he deserves primarily "to be remembered as a conscientious and hard-working jurist dedicated to imposing the rule of law" (185).

Roger D. Hardaway
Northwestern Oklahoma State University, Alva

Recalling the Wild: Naturalism and the Closing of the American West.
By Mary Lawlor (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000)

The fields of American studies and western history have a long and intimate connection that began half a century ago with the publication of Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land: The American West as Myth and Symbol* (1950) and Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964). Since those heady days in the myth-and-symbol school of American culture, master's and doctoral degree programs have emerged, and new generations of scholars have gone forth to till the western soil, which is no longer virgin.

Race, class, and gender studies have subdivided the West into smaller and smaller subfields, while big-picture scholarship has receded. Mary Lawlor's book *Recalling the Wild* is a refreshing blend of western history, western literature, and American culture with a strong dash of literary criticism. In these pages the reader revisits old familiar themes, and the central focus remains the historian Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis of 1893, which had profound effects upon the nation, especially in the realm of conservation and setting aside public lands under President Theodore Roosevelt (1901-09).

Concerned primarily with naturalism and romanticism in the early literature of the West, Lawlor concentrates on the writings of Jack London, Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, and Willa Cather. But she begins with a chapter on romantic westernism (her word) and Daniel Boone. From there she compares Lewis and Clark's journals with the Leatherstocking novels, and in a strong chapter discusses "Frederick Jackson Turner, Edward S. Curtis, and the Romance of Disappearing," referring to Curtis's masterwork, the multi-volume North American Indian book premised upon the notion of "vanishing Americans," i.e., Indians.

Major historical themes are all here: regeneration in wilderness, the 1893 financial panic, the evolution of San Francisco and higher education in the West,

the Dawes Act of 1887, Wounded Knee in 1890, as well as the cultural meaning of gold and the frenzy of the 1897 Alaskan Gold Rush. Lawlor explains, "Turner invented the West for the twentieth century by closing it, and he invented the 'Western' by opening the possibility for repeating the loss of the West in fiction" (46). She discussed "the frontier's status as romantic geography" and how artists, writers, novelists, and photographers embraced "the topic of the vanished 'wilderness' [as] an opportunity to memorialize the open-endedness, the sense of possibility of what was now regarded as a storied zone of adventure" (1).

Those of us who live in the West, and have left and returned, understand intuitively this western pull towards promise and opportunity. The West has always been about invention and regeneration and Lawlor returns to those themes and the tension between writers caught in the end-of-the-century or (*fin-de-siecle*) world of literary romanticism and the hard-edged naturalism of Frank Norris's *McTeague*. Unfortunately, Lawlor's complex and interesting ideas often sink into florid prose and alphabetical abominations as she creates her own vocabulary with such words as *facticity, primitivity, narratizing, originary, animality, aggressivity, mentation,* and *westernism*. She does herself and her readers a grave disservice by creating such silly jargon when good old-fashioned real words will do just fine, thank you.

That said, it's a good book. She describes stories that sustain "a more complex view of Western character, landscape and narrative" in which "the hero inhabits an ambiguous temporal zone between past and future" (19). Lawlor discusses Frank Norris's stories such as "The Passing of Cock-Eye Blacklock" and "A Bargain with Peg-Leg." She contextualizes Stephen Crane's short story "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" and looks at Jack London's fiction, especially *The Call of the Wild*. Lawlor correctly notes of London's writing, "The spareness of the northern landscapes ensures the spareness of character and plot and all of these elements work to present the most simple and concentrated forms of late romantic westernism" (118).

One of Lawlor's strongest chapters is on Willa Cather, whose fiction romanticized the West but also created some of its more enduring motifs and left us with a literary legacy born from a pioneer inheritance. Cather became an urban dweller, but of the western plains she wrote, "The country and I had it out together and by the end of the first autumn the shaggy grass country had gripped me with a passion that I have never been able to shake. It has been the happiness and the curse of my life" (166). Lawlor correctly writes of Cather's prose that the Nebraskan was "overtly interested in the needs, desires, and memories that go into the shaping and painting of landscapes" (166), as are all westerners who lived a frontier existence. Both Cather's *The Professor's House* and *Death Comes for the Archbishop* are discussed in detail, and Lawlor explains that unlike nature in Jack London's fiction, for Cather, nature "serves as a record for human subjects of their own histories with it, of their own entanglements with its textures and contours" (167).

Recalling the Wild: Naturalism and the Closing of the American West will earn a place on the bookshelves of American-studies scholars interested in the western experience and its role in America's great origin myth. The book offers important beginnings. But like the Rocky Mountain West itself, caught in the throes of development yet limited by water, the inherent contradictions in how westerners both love and abuse our landscapes have not yielded satisfactory conclusions. A century after Turner's "end of the frontier," the West continues to evolve with urban winners and prairie small-town losers. Mary Lawlor's book helps us to consider late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century themes of regeneration, representation, and reflection. What the twenty-first century will bring, in literature and in land use, remains to be seen.

Andrew Gulliford
Fort Lewis College

Tahoe Place Names: The Origin and History of Names in the Lake Tahoe Basin. rev. ed. By Barbara Lekisch (Lafayette: Great West Books, 1996)

Embracing Scenes about Lakes Tahoe & Donner: Painters, Illustrators, & Sketch Artists, 1855-1915. By Barbara Lekisch (Lafayette: Great West Books, 2003)

The main pass between California and Nevada across the ridge of the Sierra Nevada is both lovely and storied. Lake Tahoe has from the early time of its discovery been recognized as a "marvelous sheet of liquid sapphire"; and Lake Donner (which takes its name from the ill-fated Donner party trapped there by snow in 1846, losing many members before survivors were rescued), has been shadowed by the tragic story, although its natural beauty is a counterweight to its history. Barbara Lekisch, a professional librarian and self-taught historian, has compiled two well-researched books that not only serve as standard reference works but should also be attractive to anyone with a more than casual interest in the area.

The subtitle of *Tahoe Place Names: The Origin and History of Names in the Lake Tahoe Basin* describes the scope of the book, but gives little indication of the delights within. Well over a hundred names are covered in entries ranging from a line or two, for a few whose origins are completely unknown, to a fourteen-page discussion of the name Tahoe, including maps, quotations from nineteenth-century newspapers, extracts from books and letters, and even anecdotes. The thoroughness of the research, accessing both standard and lesser-known sources from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, keeps this book from being a

dry accumulation of short, factual paragraphs with a sprinkling of semifictional accounts, and turns it into something even better than an introduction to the Tahoe area's history. It is abundantly illustrated, and includes a bibliography, an appendix of old names, and an extract from the diary of Charles Preuss, the cartographer who accompanied John C. Frémont on his western expeditions.

Embracing Scenes is a work of biographical information and not a picture book. Only eight paintings and illustrations, but three of them in color, appear in it; its strength and main value consist in compilation of biographical information on approximately 150 artists, together with lists of each one's artwork. Some indication of the time and effort necessary to the painstaking jobs of first identifying all the artists who qualified for inclusion, and then locating their works and biographies, can be inferred from the book's thirteen-page bibliography and the acknowledgment section. Obviously, this is a work of love that required a number of years to complete. Entries on the few well-known artists such as Thomas Hill and Albert Bierstadt were probably easy to write because of the abundance of material on them (although Lekisch enlivens Bierstadt's biography with a wittily acidulous comment by Ambrose Bierce), but the majority of entries must have required extensive digging. Information on artists such as Howard T. S. Campion is extremely hard to locate, and the long entries on Joseph A. Becker and Marianne North are eye-opening in the richness of the information uncovered from the many sources used. Contributing early accounts of the region's art history are three little-known but important sources appended to the main part: J. Lamson's previously unpublished diary of his travels to Tahoe and vicinity in 1861, and two essays from periodicals: Benjamin Parke Avery's "Art Beginnings on the Pacific" (1868), and Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez's "Charles Warren Stoddard and the Artist Colony" (1920).

Research librarians and archivists are, of course, trained to scout out information from obscure or hard-to-find sources, but Lekisch blends these professional talents with a rarer ability to write sparely, informatively, and engagingly. In addition to the intrinsic value of the exemplary research that went into both books, therefore, is the bonus of their being highly readable.

Lawrence I. Berkove
University of Michigan-Dearborn

The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills. Edited by Vine Deloria, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002)

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of the work of Vine Deloria, Jr., (1933-2005) to the study of United States Indian policy. His scores of publications have challenged stereotypical views of Native Americans (views that frequently ill informed policymakers and scholars alike) while offering invaluable insights and frameworks for future research. Ergo, it is appropriate that Deloria edited *The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills*, a collection of remarkable primary documents related to one of the most important and controversial reforms in the history of Indian policy: the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA).

The IRA was the brainchild of John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and head of the federal government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) from 1933 to 1945. Collier's proposal included provisions designed to foster the creation of tribal governments, the expansion of tribal landholdings, greater access to education, and the development of a Court of Indian Affairs. Collier, argues Deloria, wanted to empower tribal communities. Thus, the intent was that, under the IRA, Indian reservations would "have considerably more political and economic power than had ever been accorded to them. The vision within the bill looked forward to a time when Indians developed their own institutions to perform functions that the Bureau of Indian Affairs traditionally provided" (xi).

Deloria explores Collier's vision and Native American reactions to it through an introductory essay and a collection of sixteen primary documents. Some of the initial primary source materials include congressional proposals intended to reform federal Indian policy that foreshadowed the IRA; the text of Collier's original IRA proposal; and the significantly modified version of the IRA passed by Congress in 1934. The heart of the documentary material, however, consists of the minutes of eleven Indian Congresses, meetings between representatives of the BIA and various tribes at which the IRA was presented and discussed. These congresses were held in various places in the West, including South Dakota, Oregon, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma. The minutes offer a fascinating window into ideas and issues of interest to both native peoples and BIA officials in the 1930s. Collier and his fellow bureaucrats tended to emphasize, among other things, that the policy of allotting tribal lands had resulted in significant land loss, that the IRA would abolish that practice, and that the act would provide an opportunity to rebuild the tribal land base. Native representatives often used the meetings to raise specific concerns that were not necessarily related directly to the IRA. For example, several northwestern delegates expressed frustration with the interference by state officials in the treaty-protected tribal fishing rights. Native speakers at other congresses around the West referred to treaty violations

as well and called on the federal representatives to uphold the promises made by the United States.

As for Indian reactions to the IRA itself, they were mixed at best. Nealty Olney of the Yakamas enthusiastically endorsed the act as representing a way to protect tribal lands and gain greater self-government. Rupert Costo of California, on the other hand, strongly condemned the IRA. He argued that it stripped Native Americans of their individual rights by keeping Indians under the thumb of the Department of the Interior and that it promoted racial segregation. The congresses clearly showed that the IRA was (and remains) controversial.

In fact, the minutes indicate that a significant number of tribal representatives opposed the IRA, and Deloria offers several possible explanations. Indians who had received allotments and had adjusted to being individual landowners were reluctant to "pool their resources and lands and try to revive the old tribal ways" (viii). Collier and other BIA officials often had difficulty explaining the IRA and the ideas behind it to the Indian Congresses in a way that made sense to the delegates. Many Indians had accepted their "marginal social status . . . and did not want it disturbed" (xvi). Another possibility was that resistance to Collier's proposal reflected "the failure or refusal of Indians to adopt formal institutional life. Traditions were still very strong in 1934, and many Indians did not believe that social relationships should be controlled by rules and regulations" (xvi).

Some additional comments are in order. Deloria's introductory essay analyzes the IRA and identifies some key themes in the minutes of the Indian Congresses. There is an index containing the names of tribes, individuals, and selected subjects. It would be particularly interesting to read the book in conjunction with Deloria's analysis of the IRA in *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (co-written with Clifford M. Lytle) and the personal reflections on the IRA contained in Kenneth R. Philp's *Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan.*

Again, *The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills* stands out as a richly detailed and invaluable source of information about the history of the IRA. It is reflective of the tremendous contributions made by Vine Deloria, Jr., and should be studied by anyone interested in the history of Indians or the history of federal Indian policy.

Christopher K. Riggs
Lewis-Clark State College

Termination's Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah. By R. Warren Metcalf (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002)

Those interested in the history of American Indians and United States Indian policy after World War II are fortunate to have access to a growing body of high quality literature on the "termination era" of the 1940s and 1950s. (During this period, the federal government sought to assimilate Native Americans by abolishing the unique legal status of the tribes and turning Indian affairs over to the states.) Scholars such as Larry W. Burt, Donald L. Fixico, and Kenneth R. Philp have penned interpretive overviews of the period. Other authors have examined the impact of the termination policy on particular Native peoples, including Susan Hood on the Klamaths and Nicholas C. Peroff on the Menominees. R. Warren Metcalf's *Termination's Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah* stands out as an important addition to the latter category.

Metcalf, a historian at the University of Oklahoma, focuses on the causes and consequences of the termination of the mixed-blood Utes (primarily members of the Uintah band) and Paiutes of Utah. The author has developed a fascinating, multifaceted explanation for the targeting of these particular Indian groups. As with other scholars, Metcalf concludes that a particularly important player in implementing termination was Senator Arthur Watkins, a Utah Republican. What distinguishes *Termination's Legacy* from similar works is the author's argument that the senator pursued the termination of the Utes, Paiutes, and other Indians in large measure because of his religious beliefs. Watkins was a Mormon, a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. According to church doctrine, American Indians belonged to a "fallen race" that needed to be "elevated." Consequently, Watkins and other Mormons involved in Indian affairs—including the Utes' attorneys—tended to see tribal societies and cultures as having little or no value, and generally believed that followers of the Mormon faith had a religious duty to assimilate Native Americans. Given that previous explanations for the policy have usually focused on largely secular factors (such as disillusionment with the Indian New Deal policies of the 1930s), Metcalf's emphasis on a religious motive for termination stands out as a particularly significant contribution. Perhaps this perspective will encourage observers to see greater continuity between termination and religiously inspired assimilation efforts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

While Watkins's beliefs were important, they were not the only reason for the termination of the Utes and Paiutes. The senator wanted the Indians in his state to serve as an example to justify terminating other tribes; using his legislative authority, he threatened to withhold monies awarded to the Utes by the United States Court of Claims unless they "consented" to a termination plan. The senator's threat—combined with an emphasis on defining Indian identity based on race and internal divisions among the Utes—helped to prompt the Ute "full bloods" to vote to sever themselves from the "mixed bloods." The vote

paved the way for the latter's termination. Some Native-American opponents of termination, including leaders in the National Congress of American Indians, even endorsed the mixed bloods' termination as a way to prevent Watkins from terminating the entire Ute tribe.

What was the legacy of the decision to terminate the mixed-blood Utes and Paiutes? The mixed bloods were stripped of the property promised them by an 1865 treaty, leaving many to suffer from poverty and dependency. "Lives have been ruined and families divided," the author notes (236). Ironically, evidence suggests that termination did not foster assimilation but instead bolstered the sense of Indian identity of individual mixed bloods. As Metcalf puts it, termination did not make the Utes less Indian; if anything, it made them more so (241).

Termination's Legacy has much to recommend it. It expands our knowledge and understanding of the termination era by focusing on some of the smaller and less-well-known groups subject to the termination policy. The book is well researched: The author has examined a number of archival collections, consulted government documents and relevant secondary sources, and interviewed tribal members. The author's ability to seamlessly blend social and political history is particularly impressive. This well-written work also includes several helpful maps and tables. In all, Metcalf has made an important contribution to the literature, one that should help guide anyone interested in post-World War II Indian history, United States Indian policy, and Native American identity.

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A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930. By Don D. Fowler (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000)

There can be no statute of limitations governing the review of history, and Don Fowler's *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* justifies this rule through its timeless usefulness both as an engaging historical narrative and as an indispensable desktop reference. Southwestern archaeologists have been looking forward to this book, certainly as early as the first Southwest Symposium, in which I introduced a session on the "History of Southwestern Archaeology," quoted here with contemporary annotations in brackets:

> Southwestern archaeologists are losing the past; not the prehistoric past, but their intellectual history. At the first Southwest Symposium at Arizona State University in January 1988, I scanned the audience to observe that my generation had apparently grown up. Absent were Emil Haury [deceased 1992], Florence Hawley Ellis [deceased 1991], Jesse Jennings [deceased 1997], and many others who had been our teachers and leaders not so long ago. In their place appeared George Gumerman [now retired], William Lipe [now retired], James Judge [now retired], Cynthia Irwin-Williams [deceased 1990], and Don Fowler [now retired], the latter still hiding behind the fiction of eternal youth by claiming continuing status as Jesse Jenning's student. From that vantage Fowler has been among the first, the few, to look deeply into personalities, events, and ideas of our special history (*Perspectives on Southwestern Prehistory*, P.E. Minnis and C. L. Redman, eds., (1990), 317).

Fowler's book exceeds those early expectations. He has indeed looked deeply and broadly into personalities, events, and ideas of our special history. The subtitle—*Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930*—tightly bounds the period and the place and underscores the major intellectual forces that shaped anthropology in this unique cultural and natural laboratory. Fowler begins his history, fittingly, with the establishment in 1846 of the Smithsonian Institution, easily the single most influential scientific force in American anthropology. He concludes his analysis at 1930, a year that has been revealed by others, such as James Snead in *Ruins and Rivals* (2001), to have been a critical tipping point in southwestern archaeology. Why this might be so is not entirely clear, though Fowler gives us some hints for further investigation in his epilogue.

The competing and often complementary themes of science and romanticism that characterize Fowler's study period are best encapsulated in the machinations of Edgar Lee Hewett and the commodification of people and landscape by the Fred Harvey Company through hotels and the Harvey Girls. But there were many other actors, institutions, and events that contributed to this anthropological laboratory, and Fowler has done a masterful job of sketching the role and relationship of each. Thus, it is a big book in a large format (eight inches by ten inches), but with thirty compact, tightly crafted chapters that can be consumed singly or in sequence. For example, I went straightway to read what Fowler had to say about a personal hero of mine—John Gregory Bourke, General George Crook's aide-de-camp, and my model of the ideal research assistant. I was thrilled to discover new facts about the man as well as to have Fowler's confirmation of his significant role in the history of this complicated time. The Introduction provides an essential sketch of the "Origins of American Anthropology," and the Prologue is a concise, classroom-friendly

summary of "The Land and the People" destined to be photocopied wherever the Southwest is studied.

Fowler's considerable library and archival research combines with unencumbered journalistic prose to tell a fascinating story accessible to all who are interested in the American Southwest. For those of us studying the history of anthropology, it is an essential reference for that foundation period in the initial conceptualization of the Southwest as a landscape and as an anthropological laboratory.

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