Fall 2007

Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly

Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

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

Prospective authors should send their work to The Editor, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503. Papers should be typed double-spaced and sent in duplicate, along with a copy on disk (in MAC© or IBM© compatible form-WordPerfect© 5.1, 6.0, or Microsoft Word©). All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform to the most recent edition of the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and numbered consecutively. Submission guidelines are available on request. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor.

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The Golden Anniversary of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*

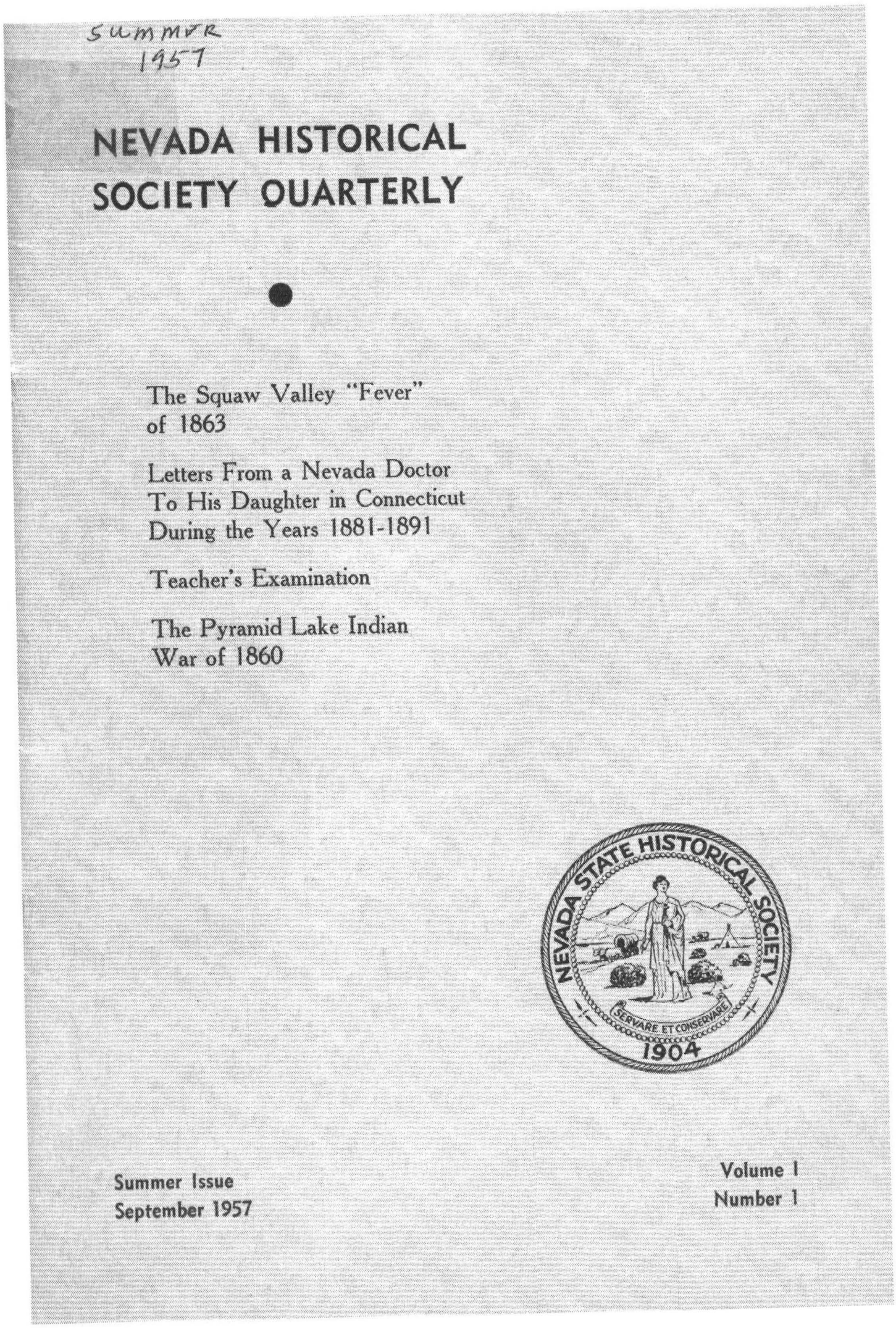
PETER L. BANDURRAGA

Volume I, Number 1 of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* is dated September 1957, the Summer Issue. In many ways, the *Quarterly's* first appearance marked a return to a grand tradition of publication that the Nevada Historical Society's first director, Jeanne Elizabeth Wier, had begun in 1905 and carried on until 1927, largely through her own efforts as editor, publisher, and frequent contributor. This was in addition to her duties as executive secretary of the Society and professor of history at the University of Nevada. Every other year, more or less, a volume of *Papers* appeared, containing biographical sketches of pioneers, obituaries of people of importance to Nevada, and articles and sketches on a wide variety of subjects. Publication ceased when, for political reasons, Miss Wier lost control of the Society.

By 1957, Miss Wier had been gone for seven years, and her former student, Mrs. Clara S. Beatty, was now director of the Society. Headquarters remained in the State Building in Powning Park, the scene of so much of Miss Wier's frustration thirty years before. The Board of Directors, headed by A. J. Maestretti of Reno, formed an editorial advisory board and asked Professor William Miller of the University of Nevada to serve as editor for the new publication. The other members of the advisory board were Mrs. Beatty, Mrs. John Patterson of Lamoille, Milan J. Webster of Reno, David Myrick of San Francisco, and James Hulse of Reno. Happily, three of those members are still with us.

The contents of the first issue set the pace for a number of years to come, containing a short historical essay on a topic of contemporary interest and two primary documents from the Silver State's pioneering days. Over time and es-

Peter Bandurraga is the current director of the Nevada Historical Society. He first encountered Professor Bolton's speech more than twenty-five years ago. He finds the obligations of Nevada toward the "Writing of Her Own History" as relevant today as he did then, and as relevant as it was in 1912.



Volume 1, number 1 of the Nevada Historical Society Quarterly.
(Nevada Historical Society)

pecially by the 1970s, the editorial board would come to look for more scholarly content and seek out the state's leading historians for articles. Nevertheless, Professor Miller's introduction set the tenor of the journal for all time:

> We find some universalities in *Squaw Valley "Fever"* and *Letters from a Nevada Doctor,* the first two articles in this issue. We, however, will undoubtedly be accused of selecting the *Squaw Valley* item because it is so much in the news—crass opportunism! And in a publication so young, too. But to the universalities we find in the articles: The discovery of a lode—gold, silver, uranium—heralds the birth of a camp, and people eagerly watch the growth of the bawling infant. Through to maturity the camp commands their attention; then, with evidence of decline, attention wanders and is caught up again only when the camp has become a ghost. Peggy Trego's *Squaw Valley* reveals the universality of interest in the "birth"; Russell R. Elliott's *Letters from a Nevada Doctor* reveals other universalities: The faith of those who lingered on with the camp—their knowing that its greatest riches had yet to be struck, and then obscurity. Had Squaw Valley developed into a rich camp like Hamilton, Nevada, it, too, would have declined. Professor Elliott brings us that facet in the story of a camp which has the least glister: The decline, the faith, the obscurity—unpleasant words, those; but moments in history frequently overlooked—people so like the happy ending.

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the *Quarterly*, we present a speech given at an annual meeting of the Nevada Historical Society back in the spring of 1912, "The Obligation of Nevada Toward the Writing of Her Own History," by Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. Bolton was then just at the beginning of what became an extremely distinguished career. Today he is still regarded as the dean of the historical field known as the Spanish Borderlands Frontier. In 1912, however, he had been at Berkeley only a short time, having just moved across the Bay from his first position at the then very young Stanford University, where Miss Wier had completed her bachelor's degree in 1901. The student of the legendary Frederick Jackson Turner of the University of Wisconsin and Harvard University, Bolton was an ardent proponent, as was Miss Wier, of the lessons learned from Wisconsin.

The discipline of history, as practiced in those days a century ago, was largely focused on the original thirteen British colonies that became the first United States. The major universities made no acknowledgement of the "wild" West. In most course curricula and libraries, it simply did not exist. Early on, the citizens of Wisconsin understood that if they were to have a formal history, they would have to collect and preserve their own records and write their own story. Thus, the founding of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin followed very soon after statehood. The fact that it was located on the campus of the University of Wisconsin was also important.

Turner made his fame in 1893 when he addressed the meeting of the American Historical Association on the topic "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." It was his thesis that the continually moving frontier, which he defined as "the meeting point between savagery and civilization," was the key factor in developing the distinctly American national character. He had been led to this conclusion by reflecting on the pronouncement by the United States Census Bureau that the 1890 counting showed the disappearance of a continuous frontier line. To follow his line of reasoning leads to the further conclusion that the study of the frontier, i.e., the West, is essential to the study of American history. But if the old-line universities continued to ignore this crucial study, then it was up to the people of the West themselves to make those studies.

Jeanne Wier had first come under Turner's influence at Stanford, where she studied with a number of his students. Later she corresponded with Bolton, as she sought admission to the graduate program and hoped that he would direct her studies. Unfortunately, she wanted to work on Native American subjects, and no one at Stanford, or Berkeley, felt himself capable of directing such work. Nevertheless, Miss Wier took the opportunity to invite Bolton to Reno to address the still new Nevada Historical Society on a topic that was dear to both their hearts. Nevada was just then beginning preparations to celebrate its own fiftieth anniversary of statehood. Readers will not be surprised to learn that much of what Bolton had to say so long ago still has relevance today.

The Obligation of Nevada Toward the Writing of Her Own History

DR. HERBERT E. BOLTON

The Obligation of Nevada Toward the Writing of Her Own History

Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Nevada Historical Society by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, Professor of American History in the University of California

Patriotism, like charity, should begin at home. No doubt the ultimate civic ideal should be a great and exemplary nation; but nearer home should lie that of making our community and our state worthy members of a great and exemplary nation. Progress toward this ideal depends upon the arousing of the civic consciousness. Underlying civic consciousness is local pride, for pride—self-pride—self-respect—is the basis of all social as well as of all individual progress, and without which there is no spring to action, no motive to self-improvement. One of the strongest props to individual self-respect is family pride, pride in the worth and works of our ancestors. In the same way an essential element of civic pride is pride and interest in our community's past. This is historic consciousness.

The Importance of Arousing Historic Consciousness

It is no provincial, narrow, blind, or jealous vanity that I would invoke, but pride in what has been wrought in the past by our community, of real and genuine worth. It is pride in the stupendous journeys and the heroic toils of our pioneers; in their mastery of titanic nature; in their struggles for economic independence and well being; in their mastery of self under conditions that welcomed dissolution and loss of self-control in a way that has not been paralleled in the history of the world; in their struggles for public decency, good government, good schools, and the means of culture. It is interest in the history of the workings of these forces that constitutes the true historic consciousness.

The Responsibility of Each Region for the Writing of its Own History

Historic consciousness once awakened, it is of importance next to learn that on each community rests the obligation of writing its own history. It is principally of this obligation that I shall speak.

When the historic consciousness has been fully aroused we resent misrepresentation or even misunderstanding of our community's past conduct and achievements. But resentment alone will not suffice; misrepresentation is more likely to be the offspring of ignorance, indifference, or want of sympathy than of malice. We must provide the remedy, therefore, by making known the truth and forcing it upon the attention of the indifferent and unsympathetic. If we desire that our

history shall be correctly portrayed, we must do it ourselves, or at least provide for having it done. If the West has been misrepresented, underestimated, or misunderstood, the remedy lies chiefly with the West itself. If history has dealt unfairly, unsympathetically, or slightingly with Nevada, with Nevada lies the remedy, through providing the means, the materials, the incentive and the scholarship necessary for having her history fairly and adequately written. If outsiders are unable, through lack of sympathy for and understanding of Nevada's peculiar development, Nevada can, and must, provide for doing the work properly herself.

The History of the United States Written by New Englanders

The force of these statements can be demonstrated, positively and negatively, by a number of striking instances in American historiography. One of these was the overlooking, down to a short time ago, of the development of that small fringe of territory bordering New England and lying between the Appalachian mountains and the Pacific ocean. Down to two or three decades ago the history of the United States has been written almost exclusively by New Englanders, steeped in New England learning and impregnable within the walls of New England virtues. This is plain from the list of prominent American historians who wrote before that time. George Bancroft was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, and was educated at Exeter and Harvard; his father, Aaron Bancroft, was born at Reading, Massachusetts, and was a minute man in the revolution.

Richard Hildreth was born on the out-of-the-way frontier of Deerfield, Massachusetts; but was able to go east and graduate from Harvard. Thomas Wentworth Higginson was born at Cambridge and graduated from Harvard. Justin Winsor, like Higginson, took Harvard straight from start to finish, for he was born at Boston, studied at Harvard and lived and died the Harvard librarian. Parkman, like his father, was born at Boston, and he studied at Harvard. Schouler, though born in Scotland, spent his adult life at Lowell, Roxbury, and Boston, and served in the Massachusetts legislature. Channing's grandfather was William Ellery Channing, the noted New England divine; his father was born at Newport, R. I.; Channing himself was born at Dorchester, but good fortune annexed him to Boston, when that city took in her suburbs; he has spent most of his days as student and teacher at Harvard. John Fiske was born at Hartford, Connecticut, which was "the far west" in 1635, but, like Channing, he studied and taught at Harvard.

Neglect of the West in American Histories

This list reflects great credit on Harvard and on New England; but it also explains their neglect of the West in telling the story of the nation.

These men, born in New England, bred in New England, educated at Harvard and viewing the history of the country from the standpoint of the American Revolution, Federalism and the Slavery Question, greatly distorted and misunderstood our national development in many important particulars. To them the United States was New England and the old South, the opposing camps of the Federalists and the Republicans, of slaveholders and abolitionists. To them the West, new and crude, was interesting perhaps as the home of desperadoes and queer people, but otherwise unimportant and negligible, except to illustrate the sins of one party and the righteous deeds of the other.

The Work of Wisconsin for the Middle West

This was the general view up to the two or three decades ago. Then the Middle West began to awaken to its own importance and to an interest in its own past. Its historic

consciousness was aroused. It made provision for the writing of its own history, and a revolution in the telling of our national story has been the result. A large share of the credit for bringing this revolution about is due to one state, Wisconsin, to whose historical society and historical scholars a debt of gratitude is owed by every resident of the Middle West. At the present capital of Wisconsin the state began the work of building up a great collection of material for western history. To the Draper collection as a nucleus systematically gathered additions have been made year by year, until now the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin stands unrivalled in the world among collections on the history of the Mississippi Valley. The collection numbers 300,000 volumes and includes a rare file of early newspapers, a superb collection of local histories, travels, pamphlets and other fleeting literature of that nature, besides a rich store of manuscript materials gathered from the ends of the earth. This magnificent body of material has been housed by the state in a library building worthy of the collection, built by the state at a cost of somewhere near a million of dollars.

Alongside of the work of collecting and caring for the materials, has gone that of publishing. The publications of the Society now reach over fifty volumes of indispensable materials. In addition the secretary, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, to whom great credit is due for the work of gathering and administration, has published from the collection some seventy-five volumes of Jesuit Relations, dealing with the early history of the Mississippi valley, and perhaps fifty volumes on later western travel and exploration.

This is not all. The state has built up, also at the capital, and on the same ground as the library, a magnificent university, and established there a great school of history, whose primary aim has been to study the history of the Middle West, and its part in the making of the nation. At the head of this historical group has been till recent years Frederick J. Turner, who gathered round him a large and enthusiastic coterie of investigators, all engaged in the same large problem, the history of the West, and particularly of the Middle West. One striking thing about this group is that nearly all the men of that group who have vitally affected the story of the West, were born and bred in the region whose history they have been investigating. This is not exclusively the case, but the predominance in the group of men of middle western origin is noticeable, and illustrated the greater aptness of native sons than of foreigners for developing the history of a given region.

The other states in the Middle West followed the lead of Wisconsin, and have built up important collections for the history of their respective localities, and are doing extensive work in publishing the raw material of history as well as the matured results of investigation. Notable among these states are Illinois and Iowa, which have flourishing historical societies. But in this kind of activity Wisconsin still stands the premier.

New Views of Our National History

The result of this great work has justified and is still justifying the means. For the work of Turner and his followers, supplemented by that of lesser groups, has given to pioneer and later days of the older and Middle West a significance and a dignity which was never before dreamed of, and has put under special obligation to these scholars every citizen who cares to know the rich contribution to national life resulting from the process by which the Old and the Middle West were established and moulded into form.

Now, following the lead of Turner and his school, it is generally recognized and taught that the West has been a place where institutions most characteristically American have developed. The colonists who settled the Atlantic coast were Europeans in thought and habit and their institutions were by European

institutions transplanted but gradually under the stress of the new conditions in America they and their institutions have been modified into new projects differing widely from the old. The place where these conditions have been newest and most constant has been on the ever receding frontier in the ever advancing West. It is there that what is mostly distinctively American has been made.

The frontier became the melting pot where the newcomers from numerous and diverse countries of Europe were fused and assimilated to the American type. On the frontier, through habitual struggle with nature and the savage, there was trained a fighting class, who played a leading part in our early national wars. On the frontier were most rapidly developed the principles of liberty for which the American revolution was fought. The rise of the West first gave us economic independence from Europe, a quarter of a century after political independence had been achieved.

It is now recognized that the West has been the real bulwark of democracy in our nation's development. In the West experiments in democratic government have had their freest development. The constant return of man on the frontier to primitive conditions, where a man was valued for the power of his strong right arm, where one man was as good as another if he so proved himself to be, could but engender a race of individualists. This is why in early days the frontier districts, even in the Atlantic states, led the fight for the separation of church from state, and for the abolition of entails and primogeniture, and other forms of special privilege. This explains why the frontier states took the lead in the formation of democratic constitutions, and, by reaction, forced democratic principles back upon the older states, and through them even upon Europe.

Every one recognizes that one of the great political triumphs of American development has been the making of a nation out of what at the close of the revolution was a conglomeration of petty quarreling states, and what even at the outbreak of the civil war was an unpleasant union of two hostile sections. But it has only recently been realized that in the performance of this great political task—the welding of the nation—the West has played the principal role. From the outset the West stood for national legislation and for the exercise of national powers. It demanded turnpikes, toll bridges, and canals at government expense, or built under government patronage. It resisted secession, and if necessary would have fought the civil war unaided by the East. Later when the Far West grew up in the Rocky Mountains and on the Pacific Slope, this region naturally, and consistently, demanded exercise of federal powers and the use of national funds for building trunk line railroads, in order that the West might thrive. And the nation responded, as a means of binding the union more firmly together. And so it has been with irrigation and reclamation in more recent days. In the region east of the great bend of the Missouri, nature was not so forbidding but that the individual man could make his way alone into the forest and single-handed hew out a home for himself and family. But in the great and arid region west of the 95th meridian, where rainfall is scarce and uncertain, the task is too great for the unaided individual. The Mormons solved the difficulty for one valley by co-operation. But the West generally turned again, as when the means of transportation were needed, to the national government, and asked for the establishment of a reclamation service, and for aid in great irrigation projects. This again led to the exercise of central authority and the development of nationalism. And when the railroads, called into existence the clamor of the West, and built by national aid, threatened to become masters instead of servants, the West was the first to turn to the federal government for help in curbing their power. Thus, the West, by habitually calling for and

supporting national legislation and the exercise of nationalistic powers, has been one of the primary factors in overpowering the old doctrine of state rights and making a nation out of many and widely separated parts.

My aim has not been to tell these few general facts regarding the history of the West, and the part of the West in making a nation, but to use them as an illustration.

The discovery of these and other significant truths, which until recently no book contained, has been the most important result of the last quarter century's study of American history. And it has come largely from the work of one great school of history, built upon the work of one great Historical Society. The Middle West has come into its own as the result of the development of its own self consciousness, and of the establishment in the Middle West of a great center for the study of the history of the Middle West.

The Work of Texas for the Southwest

Another instance, almost as patent as the work of Wisconsin for the Middle West, is that of Texas for the Southwest. Texas has been the butt of the jokes of the funny man ever since the days of Davy Crockett. Even yet, to the popular mind, it is the haunt of the cowboy, the six-shooter, the long-horn steer, the rattle snake, the tarantula, and all that is wild and woolly.

But the importance of Texas to the history of the nation and even the nations, is no longer disregarded. The explanation of the change is the work which Texas and Texans have done toward the writing of their own history. Texans have always been intensely patriotic to their own state, and proud of their own history; and in recent years they have turned to the task of making it correctly known to themselves and to the nation at large. At the state capital they have built up a large collection of materials gathered from Spain, Mexico and every conceivable source in the country. The state has organized an historical commission and gives it from $15,000 to $20,000 to spend each year. A flourishing state historical society, just now completing its 15th year, has published fifteen large volumes of rare materials and valuable studies on the history of Texas and the Southwest.

Finally, adjacent to the state library, the State University has developed a vigorous school of history, at whose head was Dr. George P. Garrison until the time of his lamented death two years ago. With him, and largely inspired by him, have been associated such students as Bugbee, William Roy Smith, McCaleb, Barker, Clark, Cox, Ethel Rather, Ramsdell and numerous other younger workers. Several of these investigators have devoted themselves to the study of the Spanish and French periods of the Southwest; others to the period of first contact on the frontier between the weakening Spanish and the advancing Anglo-American civilizations; Barker has made himself master of the history of the Texan revolution, which led the way for the acquisition of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah and Nevada. Garrison wrote his scholarly books on "Texas," "Westward Extension," and the diplomatic relations of the Republic of Texas.

And what has been the result? Historically, Texas has come into its own, and the rest of the Southwest is sharing in the triumph. It is now clearly established that Texas has played the keystone part in the Southwest from the end of the 17th to the middle of the 19th century; and the recognition of these facts has percolated down from scholarly works even into the school books, so that no text book on the history of the United States is considered sound that does not make them known.

More than this. The work of these societies and this group of students has turned the light on what has been regarded as a blot on our nation's history, and shown that the spot is not nearly so dark as it appeared to the imperfect vision of the New England histo-

rians. Those writers, possessed of imperfect knowledge, and squinting at our national history through Whig spectacles covered by anti-slavery goggles, regarded the southwestward movement, the settlement of Texas, and the revolt of Texas from Mexico, as a conspiracy of the slave power deliberately planned as a means of getting bigger pens to hold more slaves. But it has now been fully demonstrated that the American settlement of Texas was a movement just as natural and no more of a conspiracy than the settlement of Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin by new Englanders, of Tennessee and Kentucky by people from the south and middle region, or of Minnesota by Scandinavians, and that it was prompted by the same simple, homely cause, the desire of the common people for homes.

This raising of Texas to its true historical importance and the erasure of a blot from our national history, is due chiefly to the efforts of the Texas State Historical Association, the University of Texas, and a group of students whose work they have promoted and encouraged. It is another shining example of what native sons can do for their own state, and how in turn this service reacts upon the nation at large.

(At this point Dr. Bolton gave ex tempore an account of the work being done by the University of California for the history of California, the Pacific Slope and the Southwest.)

Neglect of the South in History

A negative example of the importance of each region looking out for itself in the writing of its history may be taken from the South. The part played by the South in the building of the nation has been greatly distorted and minimized, largely for the reason already stated, namely, that until recently our histories have been written by New Englanders, who with all their learning, are no less provincial in their viewpoint than the rest of us; and until the South develops great historical societies, like those of the East and the Middle West, and until the rising school of southern historians, like Fleming and Riley, Dodd and Phillips, shall counteract that provincialism by correcting the point of view and giving more perfect knowledge of the facts the South will not receive full historic justice.

A score of illustrations could be cited, but time will permit only two, which are of especial interest to us in the West:

In the development of the West before 1830, the South played a leading part. This fact seems to have been overlooked, and some have even assumed that the contrary was the case. But a glance at the population maps of 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820 and 1830 show with startling clearness that during that period the South, and the South almost alone, made the Trans-Allegheny West. These maps show the area of settlement broadening out in the South, decade after decade, to a width of a thousand miles, while the northern area remained until 1825, when the Erie canal was built, a mere band bordering the Atlantic coast. Beyond the mountains the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, and even Illinois and Indiana, came into the union as states largely made by southerners. In 1820 the south could claim beyond the mountains a dominating influence in eight states and one territory, to one for the north—Ohio. But to how many is this known? What historian has made it known?

The South continued to take a prominent part in the winning of the West, clear down to the Civil War. It won the New Southwest, between 1820 and 1845, just as it had won the old Southwest in the later portion of the eighteenth century. When Texas came to be settled and made into an Anglo-American commonwealth, it was done almost wholly by southerners, and when in the forties and the fifties the great California and Oregon migration took place, the South continued

to furnish its quota. But writers have told the story of the migration in such a way as to leave the impression that all the settlers must have come from the North or middle region. Their distorted vision in viewing this movement is illustrated by the way in which they depict the overland trails to the Far West. They show on the map the Oregon Trail, a California Trail, and a Santa Fe Trail, all leading out from Independence, Missouri, and no others. There is not a suggestion in these trail maps that settlers may have come from the South. But the United States census tells us that in 1850 there were 24,000 Americans in California, nearly 40 per cent of the whole American-born population had come from the southern states, most of whom had come within the preceding year. But from the maps of the trails, one might suppose that all overland immigrants had come from the North, or the Middle Region, since all the trails lead out of Kansas City. Or, if there were any southerners here, that they must have come by the same trails, without a suggestion as to how they reached them. It is quite clear that the maps of the trails were made by students looking at the migration from the standpoint of the Northeast. For, as a matter of fact, by 1859, there had been opened no less than five trails leading from the South to California, all of them south of the Santa Fe trail, the southernmost route shown on the ordinary maps. Some of these were well beaten roads, and over them passed thousands of immigrants to California. Furthermore, the census of 1860 shows that 40 per cent of the Americans in Oregon, not born on the Pacific Slope, were from the South; and a little study shows that there was a well beaten branch of the Oregon trail leading up from Natchez and Fort Smith to join the Oregon trail on the Platte. Why has this fact not been shown? Simply because our history has been written chiefly by northerners, whom what was done by the South in the opening of the West has not interested. It has not been a matter of malice or wrong intent, but merely a fault due to the point of view.

Perhaps a sufficient number of illustrations has been given to show that no state or section can afford to leave the writing of its history to others; and to show, on the other hand that any state or section has power to rectify its own historiography in case that has been improperly done.

The application to Nevada and her sister states of the Rocky Mountain district is obvious. Thus far there has been no adequate appreciation of the tremendous importance and deep significance of this great area, embodying in its making, as it does, social, economic, and political conditions comparable to those of no other region. We have indicated briefly what the Far West has meant in the welding of the nation, and in the development of American nationality as opposed to particularism. But this is only a single instance of the significance which historians some day will find in the history of the mining states, if the mining states do their share in making the facts known. This region presents a development peculiar to itself. The Old West and the Middle West, when they constituted the frontier, were chiefly farming frontiers. But the making of the Mountain region has been the formation and development of a mining and ranching frontier, with all its peculiar social and industrial features. Between 1859 and 1870 there were gathered in a thousand mining camps in the canyons and gulches of the Rockies such groups of men and under such conditions as the world had never known before; and subsequent developments in this region have been as unlike those of the Middle West as were those of the pioneering period. It needs no deep thinking to realize that these developments, under these peculiar conditions must have resulted in social consequences unlike those produced by any other region of our country. By who can say as yet what they are? Who has studied them seriously and on the basis

of adequate materials? And who has gathered adequate materials? So far the region has seemed to the historian mainly a history of boom towns, the reign of the bad man, the institution of vigilance committees and Lynch Law, the erection of territorial governments, the building of trunk line railroads, and struggles for statehood under conditions determined largely by partisan politics. But this we may be sure, is but a superficial view, for no one has tried with a knowledge of the facts to estimate the social significance of this new phase of American development.

Nevada's History Not Understood

What is true of the mountain states in general is true of Nevada. Thus far, historians have seemed to find Nevada a somewhat negligible quantity in the history of the nation. I notice that in the latest school history, which prides itself on its emphasis upon the West, the name of Nevada does not appear, although a chapter of twenty pages is headed "Texas." Nevada seems to be largely unknown to historians except as the seat of the Comstock Lode and a state whose admission to the union was due to the need of a republican vote. To the general public it has been known all too commonly, perhaps, for its divorce courts, and as the long desert and mountain region through which the tourist has to pass on going to and from California. Even one of your own scholars has declared Nevada to be at the bottom of the scale in ideals, and has complained that its development has been almost wholly and solely materialistic. This, I believe, is too pessimistic a view, but it represents, perhaps, the righteous and permissible impatience of the zealous reformer.

I have not the least doubt that when history's full and true verdict has been given, Nevada's past will not be found less interesting or instructive, or of less significance in the progress of the world than that of any other commonwealth of equal population and strength. It will be found that the state has passed through social, economic and political experiences, fought battles and won victories, not only peculiar to itself, but also of rich significance both for her own citizens and for the nation at large. The supercilious disregard of the historian today, the superficial caricature of the newspaper, the snap judgment of the tourist, the pessimistic view of the reformer, are all, no doubt, based upon imperfect knowledge of the facts of their meaning.

Good Beginnings of Historical Work

This being the case, the important thing for Nevada to realize is that the promotion of a study of her own history is an obligation that rests primarily on Nevada itself. It is gratifying to know that goodly beginnings have already been made. Patriotic citizens and energetic worker have organized an historical society, and kept it alive under adverse and even disheartening circumstances. They have hammered away at the legislature until they have secured state recognition, made the society a state institution and secured from the state some small financial support. The society has made the beginnings toward a library and a museum. And many objects and items of human interest and significance do they contain; some of them constituting objects that can be nowhere duplicated, and which, in the British museum or the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, would be regarded as among the rare treasures of the earth! The energy which your secretary has displayed in bringing these things to pass, in the midst of a busy life as a college professor, is to the outsider no less than a marvel.

Moreover, some of your Nevada students have made the beginnings toward serious writing of your state's history. Professor Wier has explained the peculiar conditions under which the region has developed. She has shown these to be the forbidding aspect of the state's surface, its lack of waterways,

its lack of early highways, the absence of an agricultural development at what she calls "the proper time and place"; its sudden and abnormal development into economic importance and statehood upon the discovery of the Comstock Lode and absenteeism or lack of homebuilding instincts. The writer referred to regarded these peculiarities primarily as cause for backwardness; but I should choose rather to regard them as peculiar conditions which will help understand and explain Nevada's positive contribution to the forces of the nation when these shall have been ascertained.

Another member of your society has recently made a scholarly investigation, as yet unpublished, regarding the influence of Nevada on a matter of national importance, that is on national mining legislation. I refer to Miss Beulah Hershiser, a graduate of your state university, who began her work on this important subject here and has continued it with distinction in the University of California. She has shown that because of the peculiar mining conditions in Nevada at that time, when the great mining laws of 1866 were enacted, Nevada, through her congressmen and her importance in the mining world, really directed and controlled the law makers of the nation. Her investigation is so interesting, and so apt an illustration for my purpose that I beg leave to quote from her conclusions.

She has shown that when the federal government seriously took up the task of mining legislation in 1864, the chief interest of solons at Washington was to raise revenue to pay the public debt. It was assumed that the riches of the West were fabulous and that they might bear the financial burdens of the nation. But the Nevada congressmen, with Nevada conditions primarily in mind, not only forced Congress to give up a revenue policy for one designed to promote mining and the mining region, but also secured the passage of laws especially adapted, in the matter of title and other important particulars, to the quartz district, of which Nevada was then the best known type. Miss Hershiser writes:

"A combination of circumstances brought Nevada into close connection with federal mining legislation. They were the wealth of her quartz mines, requiring laws not adapted to the placers; the desire for title, which grew out of quartz mining; and the good fortune of having as secretary a miner and lawyer, Mr. Wm. Stewart. Glowing accounts of mineral wealth at the close of the Civil War, with its great public debt, combined to attract widespread interest in the mines. Some scheme of revenue seemed sure to be enacted, but it was averted by the Pacific Coast delegation. Secondly, quartz mines require large expenditures of capital, as they last for years, thus demanding perfect title. While California miners wished no title but possessory, the Nevada miners, on account of the quartz, desired a fee title. This the authors of the bill realized, and aimed to satisfy. In the third place, Nevada's congressmen were important factors. Henry G. Worthington was an efficient representative during the sessions of '64 and '65 and Delos R. Ashley, during the later sessions. Senator Stewart's services have been mentioned in the body of this article. It is mainly through the impress of his personality that the influence of Nevada, in connection with its rich quartz mines, was brought to bear upon the national mining laws of 1866. He may be rightly considered 'the father of the mining laws of the United States.'"

This is but a single study, showing the influence of Nevada on a phase of life affecting fundamentally the whole mining region and indirectly the entire nation. This information has already spread. You see it is now being proclaimed by California. In the class of advanced students, in which Miss Hershiser did her work, there were students from California, Utah, Oregon, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and even Rhode Island. Some of them will go back to those states

and in their teaching they will not completely overlook Nevada, as they otherwise might and probably would have done, and when the paper is published it will be read by still others. Suppose, now, that instead of one such study, your students should be enabled and encouraged to make a score, fifty, a hundred, five hundred, special studies in the history of your state. Then world historians everywhere be forced to recognize, and have at hand the materials for recording in due proportion Nevada's significance in the making of the nation.

The Need of Gathering Materials

Must more be said regarding the need of historical work in Nevada, if Nevada's history is to be properly written?

The first task, obviously, is the gathering of an infinitely more complete body of historical materials than now exists anywhere. The size of the task of gathering the sources, and the need of help by historian is greatly increased by reason of the broadening of our notion of what history is. Says Mr. Buck in a recent paper, "The growth of democracy—political, industrial, and intellectual—during the last half century, has been reflected in the field of historiography by a broadening sense of the meaning of history. We are no longer content with the annals of government or the activities of public men; we insist on knowing something about the lives and the thoughts and ideals of the people, as distinguished from those of the rulers and the soldiers. In Germany the historians are attempting to write *Culturgeschichte*. In America we are as much concerned to know how the continent was settled and developed, as about the doings of the presidents, congress, or the national armies.

"If the scope of history is to be thus broadened, a corresponding broadening of the sources from which history is to be written is necessary. No longer will the records of government and papers of public men be sufficient—we must search for the records of the people, and devise means by which these records may be studied and presented in such a way as to bring out their significance."

Another writer has said in the same connection:

"In order to make it possible to write the history of the growth of this great new country of the West, with its strong individuality and its high level of education and morals, it is necessary to collect an enormous mass of materials. The main interest in the West has not been in its historical episodes, but in the development of society. This fact makes the writing of the history more difficult. It is none the less striking and romantic, however, to a historian who has the eye to see things in the large way; but this capacity to see the large outlines must be supported by the exact knowledge of an enormous mass of small facts, and the gathering of many scholars to work on the material."

Danger That the Material May be Destroyed

Much of the task of material gathering has a time limitation, for many of the materials must be gathered soon or it will be too late. Your history is connected with the limitless past by your waning Washoe tribe. This is a people unique in the world, with linguistic connection with no other known tribe on the face of the globe. In the centuries to come one of the priceless treasures of universal literature will be the mythology of the aboriginal dwellers of our land, no less to be prized than that recorded by the bards of Greece and Rome. Have you preserved the mythology of the Washoe? Their history may have had little perceptible influence upon the development of modern Nevada; but their tradition is a part of the tradition of the state, they have played their part in the history of aboriginal America, and the world cannot afford to lose one least item which their history will add to the sum total of our knowledge of the progress of universal

man. But your Washoes will soon pass away. Since 1859 they have dwindled by two-thirds, and have long since become parasites and ceased to live their primitive life. Whatever is to be preserved of their culture must be gathered now.

Much of the early history of the state must come from the tongues or the pens of early pioneers, who are fast crossing the divide; and unless it is recorded now it will perish with them. Many of the pioneers have already gone to their last earthly sleep, and have taken beyond the ken of man important parts of your early history. But they may have left letters, documents, or other mementoes of those early days, which will help supply the loss. Have you gathered these mementoes, and put them in a place of safety, where they can be used by future historians? Or, are they lying unheeded, inch deep in the attic's dust, to be torn to shreds to make pillows for the heads of tender young mice; to decay from the rain that comes through the leaky roof; to be destroyed when the house burns, or to be consigned to the fire as rubbish by thoughtless or unappreciative heirs?

The Need of State Legislation for the Preservation of Archives

It is not only the materials still in Nevada in private hands that need to be protected from the danger of destruction. Experience has shown that public records are none too safe. Much of the activity of one of the prominent historians of the Middle West grew out of the discovery, among the refuse at the court house of Old Vincennes, Indiana, of a barrel of old papers relating to the days of French occupation. Are there any barrels or bundles of old papers in the refuse of your courthouses, just as precious as those of Old Vincennes, and in danger of the application of the match tomorrow, to make room for tomorrow's business? Is there any danger of a repetition here of the crime, due to criminal ignorance, committed in New Mexico a few years ago by an American governor, when he burned the major portion of the Spanish archives at Santa Fe to make room for current papers? These precious records of the oldest city in the Southwest, of the city most filled with old world associations of any in the United States, had survived the ravages of nearly three centuries of time, under the care of an "unenlightened" government, only to be destroyed by the official representative of an "enlightened and progressive" nation. In this case it is certainly easier to admit the progressiveness than the enlightenment.

There is only one way to avert such calamities, and this is to provide by State legislation for State supervision of all county and other local records. Such laws have been passed by a number of States, and Nevada will do well to secure the passage of one at no distant date. With it there is no guarantee that the most precious documents will not at any moment be destroyed as useless by some ignorant official who has no interest in history and no conception of what constitutes a historical source.

Need for Publication of Materials

Materials once gathered, and provision made for their safe keeping, cataloguing, and administration, adequate provision should be made for their publication under proper editorial supervision. The Nevada Historical Society now publishes a small volume of papers once in two years—two such volumes only have appeared. At this rate little progress will be made toward making the valuable documents already gathered by the Society available to students outside of Reno. Instead of one small volume in two years, the Society should be able to publish at least one good sized volume each year. This would mean the multiplication of the publishing activities of the Society by four. And this would be the minimum.

Need for Incentive and Support for Investigators

Finally, not that the list is exhausted, but that my time has passed, provision must be made for the training and direction of young students in the proper study and utilization of these historical materials. The time was when any person who had made a failure of everything else, or who needed to get a "start in the world" before going into business or the professions, was regarded as a suitable sort of person for a school teacher; and when history could be written by any gentleman of leisure and taught as a sort of fag end of the curriculum by any one who had an hour's spare time. But, as I said, that time was. It is no more. Historians now have to be trained, and training requires time and money.

In this direction Nevada would do well to provide for two things. First, time and equipment for those in the department of history of the State University not only to teach the courses in European and American history necessary for the general culture of the students of the various departments, but also, and especially to direct advanced students in the investigation of subjects connected with your local history and the history of the general Western region of which Nevada forms a part. Of the fifteen volumes of monographs and papers published by the Texas State Historical Association, perhaps one-third consist of studies made at the University of Texas by advanced students in the University.

But the student of local history needs outlook; and it is not probable that for some time to come the University of Nevada will be able to provide for all the training requisite for giving full equipment for the best historical writing. Provision should be made, then, for sending promising students to some larger university where Western History and World History is taught in the large way. The State could not do better than to establish annual fellowships for graduates of the State University who have shown special aptitude for historical work, enabling them to study in one of the larger universities where the requisite training in general and Western History can be secured. The example of California might be mentioned in this connection. In that state, the Native Sons of the Golden West have shown their appreciation of the importance of the State's history to the extent of providing an annual sum of three thousand dollars for the maintenance of three students each year, two at home and one abroad, engaged in the study of California history. This money could not be better spent by the Native Sons, and a similar investment would be profitable for the State of Nevada.

Money Needed

It is plain from what I have said that if all this work is to be done by the Historical Society and affiliated agencies, they must have the support of the public. The people must show their interest and appreciation; and especially must they provide money. I will not temporize and deceive by saying that a little money will do. Five thousand dollars will not erect a building which will suffice for any length of time. The work of preserving your records and writing your history is yours. Your Society is a State institution and its functions are public functions. If you think they are worth while, there is only one thing to do, and that is to enable it to perform its patriotic task.

Nevada cannot afford to do anything small and mean. The West was made by nature and developed by man on a gigantic scale; it is the home of big ideas, where people do not speak or deal in terms of copper cents, or picayunes, or of hundreds of dollars, but of thousands or millions. Nevada has not been niggardly in giving great fortunes to her citizens. Why should not some portion of this wealth be devoted in liberal measure by legislative appropriation and private gift to making possible the writing of the State's

history? In California the giving of fortunes to State Educational Institutions has become a habit, and in Nevada the State University has prospered through help of this kind. Let some other wealthy citizen serve his State by erecting a suitable and safe building for the State Historical Society. Let another establish one, or two, or three, annual fellowships to enable advanced Nevada students to study history here and in some of the larger universities.

If you want this work well done, do it yourself. When you have done it, then will Nevada, like Texas, and the Middle West, historically come into its own.

Herbert E. Bolton
(University of California, Berkeley)

World War I and the Nevada Homefront
Pre-war Rhetoric vs. War-time Reality

KAREN LOEFFLER

From the early 1860s, first as a territory then as a state, Nevada has been identified as a part of the western frontier mythology. The harsh environment invited an even harsher incursion of outlaws, bandits, and outcasts from the East. Other arrivals included diverse immigrant groups, entrepreneurs, and religious sects ready to embrace the freedom promised by westward migration. Having achieved statehood in the midst of the Civil War, the Battle Born state has not only encouraged but also prospered from its errant image. Equally evident is the unconventional, rebellious, and anti-government reputation associated with Nevadans who, regardless of their location, have proven themselves proud and fiercely loyal to their state. Indeed, from 1937 to 1950, the state legislature approved of a state slogan designed to appear on all official stationery and advertising publications: "Nevada, one state without an income tax, a corporation tax, an inheritance tax, a gift tax, a sales tax. With cheap power, and liberal mining, corporation, taxation, and other laws. Welcome to Nevada."[1] Yet despite the self-imposed isolation and intra-state devotion, as the United States entered World War I, Nevada was among the first states in the country to demonstrate a thorough allegiance to President Woodrow Wilson's campaign for 100 percent Americanism, whole-heartedly implementing his policies that called for the repression of civil liberties in support of the war effort.

No sooner did Wilson publicly ask Congress to declare war on Germany, on April 6, 1917 than his battle to win the hearts and minds of the United States citizenry began. Having just been re-elected on the platform "He kept

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us out of the war," the president had to explain his about-face to the nation amid serious concerns about the number of immigrants in the country and the federal government's ability to achieve some degree of national unity. David Kennedy explains the demographic realities of the situation, "According to the 1910 census one out of every three Americans was either foreign born or had at least one parent born outside the United States. Of those 32 million persons, more than ten million held ties to the Central Powers."[2] While America was not unified when it entered the war, Wilson was convinced that he could use the masses to his advantage if they could be united under a common framework of ideals. With this goal in mind, Wilson implemented a series of repressive acts allowing the federal government control over the flow of information, the formation of public opinion, the enforcement of immigrant loyalty, and the regulation of labor.

Shortly after the United States entered World War I, Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI). Originally intended to organize the distribution of war-related information to the American public and abroad, the CPI increasingly became a propaganda machine that specifically targeted immigrants, radical labor elements, and socialists. The CPI engaged in deliberate and calculated efforts to regulate, repress, or remove any and all seditious, disloyal, or unpatriotic actions (physical, verbal, or written), using any means necessary. To assure success, the Espionage Act, passed in June 1917, imposed prison terms for acts of sabotage, aiding the enemy, or inciting a riot. It also empowered the postmaster general, Albert Burleson, to censor all publications according to his own definitions of treason, insurrection, or opposition to the war effort.[3] Moving quickly, in the fall of 1917, the federal government imposed further restraints on the press with the passage of the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act, which required all foreign-language newspapers and journals to present an advance copy of their proposed publication to the Post Office Department for approval, thus forcing many newspapers and periodicals to close either temporarily or permanently. The Sedition Act of May 16, 1918, which expanded the repressive measures of the Espionage Act, prohibited any negative declarations regarding the government, constitution, or flag of the United States. As Kennedy maintains, "Here was an inventiveness in the art of subverting free speech."[4]

These four federal measures became the official authorities for hundreds of community activist groups, each enforcing its own brand of vigilance and repression. In slightly more than thirteen months, Wilson actively sought out and endorsed measures that effectively silenced significant portions of the Bill of Rights. Lacking the political and military structure to coerce mobilization as the European nations had done, the president relied on psychological and later economic motivations to rally the country together.[5]

Rallying Nevada together would require different means. Historically, Nevada has been known for the diversity of its inhabitants; indeed, this is as true today as it was in the years leading up to World War I. The 1910 census

established Nevada's population at 81,875 persons, of whom only 35,326, or 43.1 percent were American-born whites of American parentage. The remaining 56.9 percent were either foreign born or of foreign parentage. Italians made up the largest segment (15.7 percent), followed by Germans (10.6 percent), Canadians (10.2 percent), English (10.0 percent), and Irish (9.5 percent). Other countries represented were Greece, Austria, Spain, Mexico, Denmark, Sweden, and France. Encompassing a total land area of 110,540 square miles, Nevada had a population density in 1910 of 0.7 persons per square mile, about one third of the minimum level required to meet Frederick Jackson Turner's famous 1893 definition of frontier. Nationally, the average number of persons per square mile was 30.9, giving Nevada a decidedly lower population density than any other state, at approximately 1/45 of the national average.[6] Primarily a rural state, Nevada contained only seven cities in 1910, with a combined population of 19,698, or 24.1 percent of the state's total. With the greater part of Nevada uninhabited, the cities, towns, and rural communities were isolated, encouraging their residents to form bonds of trust and friendship whose roots grew strong and deep. The majority of Nevadans was concentrated in the northern and central counties, where mining, agriculture, and railroads existed as the principal employers.

While the population of Nevada had nearly doubled since 1900, the economic outlook was strained on the eve of World War I. The typical boom-and-bust cycles for mining persisted, with a bust then playing out. A declining demand for silver added to the state's poor financial outlook, and Nevada's distinct climate and soil composition meant both ranching and farming required more land and water than the then current technology could supply to make them profitable. Nevada was on the verge of a mass exodus (of what little mass there was) if change did not come quickly.

In Churchill County, however, the population was growing. Between 1906 and 1914, the Socialist Party had captured votes from the Democrats. In his second edition of the *History of Nevada*, Russell Elliott suggests, "Had World War I not occurred the two parties would most likely have merged."[7] State election results for 1914 reveal that the Socialist Party made a significant mark on Nevada politics, with A. Grant Miller winning 25 percent in a Senate race that incumbent Francis Newlands barely won, while the Socialist candidate for the House, Martin J. Scanlon, received 20 percent and gubernatorial hopeful W. A. Morgan, garnered 15 percent. In contrast to the high totals in Nevada, when the Socialist Party reached its peak nationally in 1912, presidential candidate Eugene Debs received only 6 percent of the vote. The popularity of socialism in Nevada did not go unnoticed by the party's leaders.

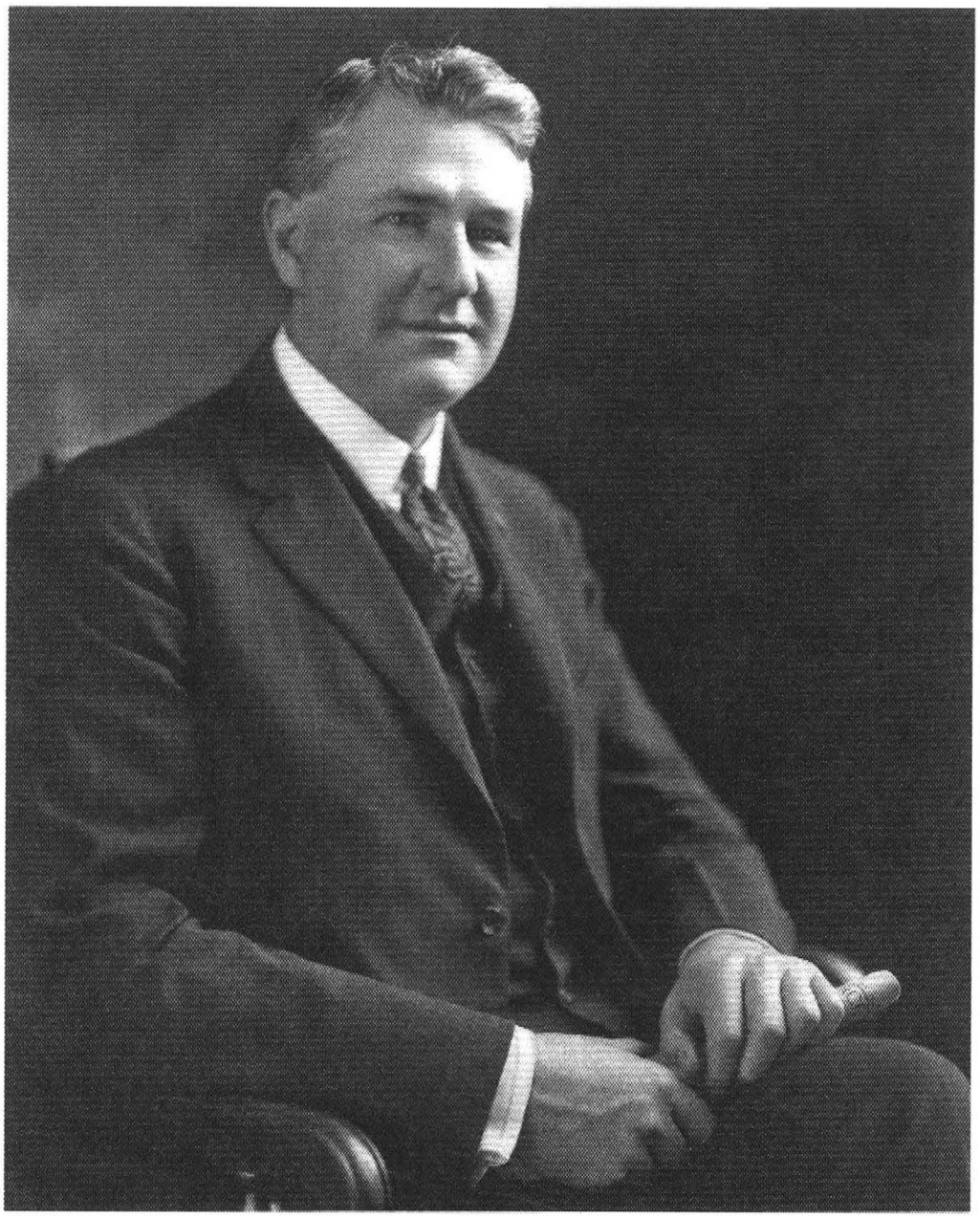
Four miles east of Fallon, a socialist colony was taking shape on land recently reclaimed through the 1902 Newlands Act. Defenders of socialism established Nevada City as a retreat with the hope that it would become the center for the party first in Nevada and eventually for the entire West Coast. Its isolated

position and the state's relaxed controls enabled socialists to retain their party ideals. Fred D. Warren, a resident of the colony and former editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, a socialist newspaper distributed in both the United States and Canada, said, "Nevada alone seems immune, because of the barrier of the western mountains and the alkali desert on the south and the wide reaches of desert lands on the east. So those who don't want war to visit their fireside had better prepare a place for the wife and kiddies out in the mountains of Nevada."[8] Firm believers in pacifism, many colonists rejected organized religion, traditional political parties, and capitalism. Throughout 1917, Nevada City remained quiet, as socialists denounced United States involvement in the war. In the spring of 1918, however, a resident of the socialist community, Paul Walters, was drafted. When Walters refused to enlist, Churchill County Sheriff Mark Wildes, after waiting several days, entered Nevada City on May 19, intending to arrest the young man. The sheriff was shot in the back and eventually died, with Walters named as his killer. Joining the initial band of seventy-five men, bounty hunters invaded Nevada City searching for Walters, but on May 24 four Indians killed the draft dodger and claimed the $2,000 bounty. The Walters incident brought an end to the peaceful coexistence between the colony and nearby Fallon. Wilbur S. Shepperson illustrates how the utopian dream of a rural cooperative remained elusive:

> Instead of converting the state to socialism, the Nevada colony was converted to capitalism; instead of remaining an island untouched by war and violence, the colony stood condemned for the murder of Sheriff Mark Wildes; instead of growing prosperous on the land, the economic plight of the colony steadily deteriorated; instead of expanding the area of cooperative enterprise, the colony leaders became less socialistic when compelled by the war to consider how socialistic they were.[9]

By 1919, the majority of the socialists had left Nevada City, and the property was sold off to investors. Socialist party candidates in Nevada never again achieved the electoral victories of the pre-war years.

As those pre-war years came to a close, analysts in Washington, D.C. saw the beginnings of an economic depression developing across the country and feared the war would only exacerbate the problem. But in Nevada, immediate economic prospects inspired conflicting perspectives. George Wingfield, one of the state's most powerful economic figures, saw the war as a godsend for Nevada. He predicted that ranching and mining would flourish, thanks to the needs of both American troops and their allies. Wingfield maintained that the entire country would benefit from war-time demands.[10] Nevadans stood ready and waiting for an opportunity. Consequently, when Congress declared war, Nevada quickly took action. Nevada City proved to be the great anomaly of the state.



Henry A. Lemmon of Reno was director of the Nevada State Council of Defense. The SCD, among other things, sponsored Registration Days for young men registering for the draft. Photographer unknown. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

On April 30, 1917, little more than three weeks after the United States entered the war, Nevada had already supplied its entire quota of men for the draft. In a statement released to local journalists, Henry A. Lemmon, Reno's former superintendent of public utilities and newly appointed director of the Nevada State Council of Defense (SCD), elaborated, "Nevada's patriotism, as reflected by volunteer enlistments for the regular army, is the highest of any State in the Union." Draft totals from April 1917 to February 1918 numbered 1,447, exceeding the quota of 162 men by 900 percent.[11] Whether a draftee or an enlistee, each soldier received overwhelming support from his hometown. Parades, speeches, dances, dinners, and band escorts to the train were among the special send-offs provided to Nevada's men-at-arms. Nevada took the draft

Lt. Governor Maurice Sullivan served on the Nevada State Council for Defense with Governor Boyle, Secretary of State George Brodigan, State Controller George Cole, and Attorney General George Thatcher. Photographer unknown.
(Nevada Historical Society)

seriously and aided the government in its search for skilled, specialty personnel. Several local newspapers advertised for road workers, lumbermen, enginemen, cooks, and aviators, as well as those with medical training. One general call for enlistees in Tonopah in January 1918 requested "All able bodied white men" to serve their country. The racism in the statement also may have reflected the small number of non-whites living in Nevada: According to the 1910 census, only 513 African Americans lived in the state, approximately 0.6 percent of the total population. Similarly, Japanese and Chinese accounted for a combined 2.2 percent of the population, with 927 and 864 residents, respectively.[12]

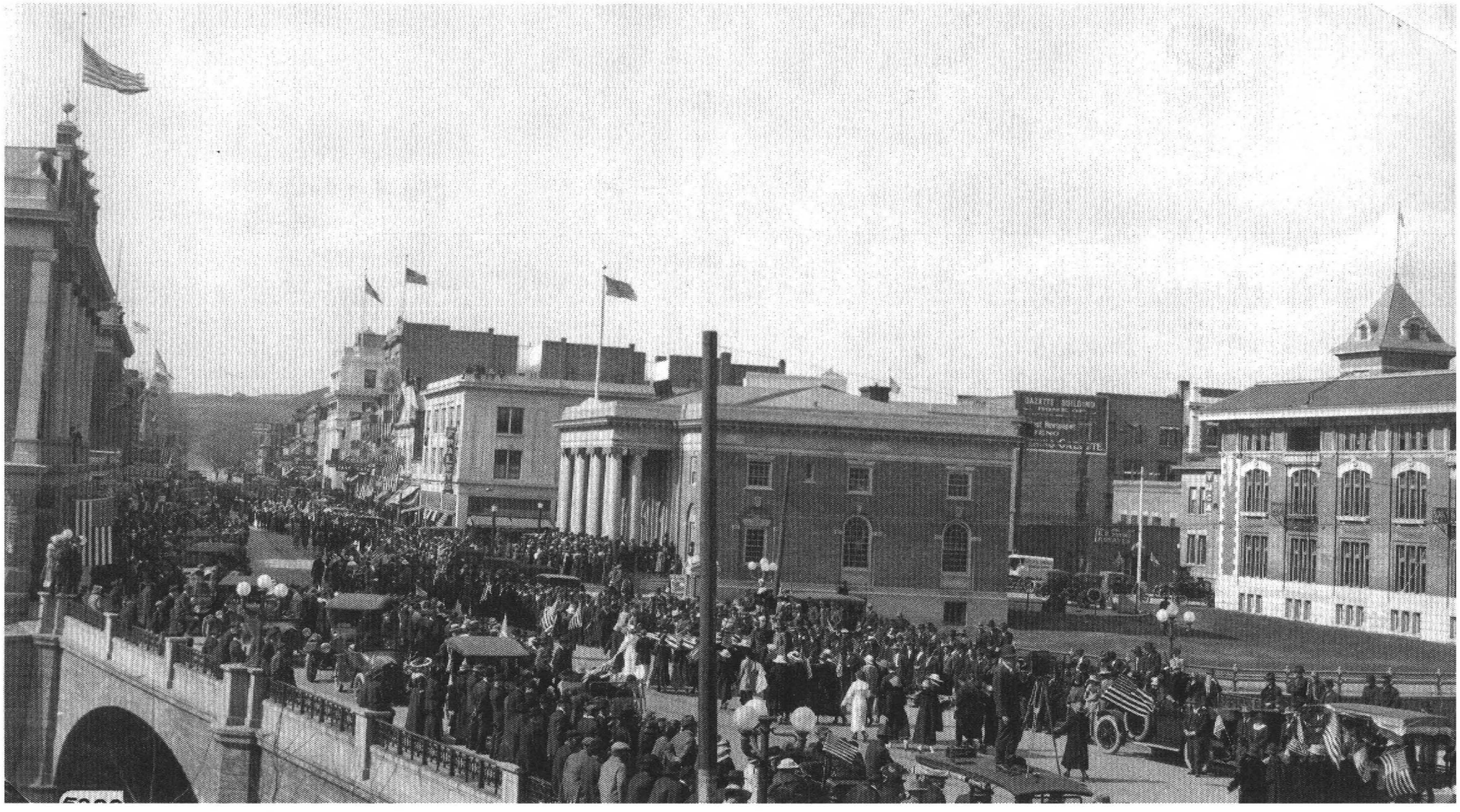
Registration Days were held throughout the country, and Nevada joined in when the first event took place on June 5, 1917, and the second exactly one year

later.[13] In Nevada, Governor Emmet D. Boyle declared each one a holiday, and in most Nevada communities businesses were closed, except the banks, which stayed open to sell Liberty Bonds. When the Selective Service Act was amended, on May 18, 1918, to expand the age bracket for service, Nevada participated in a third Registration Day that September 12. In response to the age amendment, the SCD directed Nevada employers to inspect the registration cards of all applicants whose ages might make them eligible for the draft.[14] The age limits were initially 21-31 years of age, later extended to 18-45; those outside the limits were recruited for farm work or to serve on the various boards, leagues, and committees, or in other patriotic efforts. The SCD made clear that it would tolerate no idleness relating to the war effort; participation in the draft and all patriotic leagues, committees, and programs was not only expected but monitored.

Organization for the war effort began with the SCD, a division of the National Council of Defense. Its primary purpose was "the production and dissemination as widely as possible of the truth about America's participation in the war."[15] Members of the state council included Governor Boyle, Lieutenant Governor Maurice J. Sullivan, Secretary of State George Brodigan, State Controller George Cole, and Attorney General George Thatcher. The committees under the control of the Council of Defense and their directors included Finance (war bonds), H. A. Lemmon; Red Cross, Thatcher; Public Speaking (Four Minute Men), Supreme Court Justice Pat McCarran; Food Conservation and Production, Dean C. S. Knight; Women's Section, Mrs. P. B. Ellis; Medical Section, Dr. George McKenzie; and the Federal Food Administration, H. M. Hoyt.[16] Boyle appointed the directors, each of whom, once notified, replied with a note of thanks and a pledge to serve their country. Whether for reasons of efficiency or because of the scattered population across a vast area, in early 1918 Boyle pioneered the concept of county Councils of Defense as support units for the State Council. The federal government took notice and forwarded the information to newspapers across the country. State Council Chairman Lemmon congratulated the governor for his foresight with the slogan "Nevada leads, Washington follows."[17]

The county councils came on board gradually from early summer to the autumn of 1918. In selecting his county chairmen, Boyle had a tendency to choose community leaders, bankers, lawyers, and judges. As did the directors, these men pledged their loyal support to Boyle and America. Their efforts were validated as Nevada exceeded her Third Liberty Loan quota on May 8, 1918 and by the end of the drive had secured subscriptions totaling $2,582,000 (84 percent over quota). In the initial drive, the Liberty Loan of 1917, Nevada was the first state to exceed her obligation (on June 15, 1917) and eventually procured $1,870,000. The state came close to repeating this feat during the second loan effort by meeting quota expectations on October 28, 1917, with total contributions of $2,868,000.

The county chairmen attributed their success to good organization as well as to having a well-coordinated plan for canvassing their communities. In



The Loyalty Day Parade made its way down Virginia Street in Reno in May 1917. Photographer unknown. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Humboldt, Washoe, and Nye counties, whose combined populations totaled 39 percent of all Nevadans, the chairmen used a system that kept records on all adult residents. They and their committees distributed loyalty cards throughout their communities with explicit instructions to fill them out and return them to the local Council of Defense office. In addition to the general questions (name, address, birthplace), there were more specific and personal inquiries: If foreign born, when did you come to the United States? How much did you pledge for Liberty Loans (and War Saving Stamps) and where did you purchase them? Are you a member of the Red Cross? Is your wife a member? What does she do for them? Contribution amounts made to the YMCA or Knights of Columbus?[18] T. J .D. Salter of Humboldt County espoused the potential psychological effects of the "spot-light system." Scrutiny of the information quickly confirmed that if most people were giving a fair share, the would-be slackers, afraid of being discovered, would be inclined to buy additional bonds and become active in local war activities.

Other counties used various divide-and-conquer strategies to survey and solicit their districts. At the meeting of the State and County Council of Defense held in Reno on Saturday, May 17, 1918, each county chairman explained the methods used for exceeding his Liberty Loan quota and how dissent or indifference was handled.[19] Lyon County relied on Four Minute Men, so named because their talks were not to exceed four minutes, and other public speakers to unite as well as to educate residents regarding Liberty Loans, War Saving Stamps, and other war-related programs. Any "slow-moving" citizens were subjected to public ridicule and condemnation. In Elko, the barnstorming effort, led by Governor Boyle, was singled out as a useful tool for rallying public support. The county council director, Judge E. J. L.Taber, explained their system,

> In some instances it has been necessary to write to the district chairman and request him to give the Director of the Council information as to who could afford to buy bonds and do not do so, and to give information as to the finances of such people; that the parents of sons in the army and navy were entitled to know who were their friends and the friends of their boys.

Council members in White Pine County made a personal canvass of the area and spoke with every male resident. They kept records and a committee visited all non-subscribers, who, more often than not, then made a contribution. Additional support came from the Four Minute Men who spoke frequently at local theaters. Ormsby County relied on its nine council members to conduct a house-by-house survey. They checked names with the assistance of the Ladies' Auxiliary and the Boy Scouts.[20]

In Nye County, Judge Mark Averill admitted it was difficult to obtain contributions from corporations for the Third Liberty Loan. Both the railroads and

The turret of a tank can be seen above the heads of the group in Tonopah. The tank was on display for a Liberty Loan drive in 1918. Photographer unknown. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

the Nevada-California Power Company, then under government management, abstained. The banks, dealing with certificates from the past loan drives, also declined to subscribe. Only the mining companies and local citizens came through in the end, and, while he was not proud of their total, Averill assured the council that the county had been card-indexed for use in future bond-raising efforts. He was, however, concerned about communicating current war information to Nye County's nine thousand residents and requested franking privileges (i.e., free postage, letterhead, and envelopes) for the local councils. As a final point, Averill expressed concern over the lack of authority afforded to councils by the federal government. Although not an advocate of mob law, Averill felt it was inevitable, stating that "our duty is to prevent mob law, except in those cases where it might do some good. The Third Liberty Loan is over, the future is the important thing with us and we want to be able to do things that are necessary." Esmeralda County's council devised another method to ensure a thorough canvass: separating the city into three or four city block sections and appointing captains who visited every household in their division. The county director said of the matter of power that "we simply assume whatever authority we feel we should have. Any authority we do not have we are going to take in order to reach and solve these problems as they come up and we will continue to assume this authority."[21]

Organizations like the Boy Scouts lent their support to patriotic endeavors. *(The Story of the Liberty Loans.* Labert St. Clair. James William Bryan Press, Washingon D. C., 1919)

Public speakers, the Four Minute Men and Soldier Orators, made numerous appearances throughout the state to educate the public on the war. In a truly patriotic, non-partisan campaign, three speakers—current Governor Boyle, former Governor Tasker Oddie, and the 1914 Socialist candidate for United States senator, A. Grant Miller—barnstormed through Nevada. In two ten-day trips spanning late February and early March 1918, the trio, accompanied by the Council of Defense state chairman, Henry Lemmon, traveled the northern and southern portions of the state, organizing county councils in areas where none existed and promoting Liberty Loans and the national war effort. After each spokesman presented on a different topic, including nationalism, patriotism, and Americanism, audiences responded with enthusiastic cheering and applause. A review by the *Reno Evening Gazette* acknowledged Lemmon's successful strategy: "The psychological effect produced by three men who have been political opponents in Nevada for years going upon one platform and speaking before the people of Nevada on one issue, the war, has done more to cement the patriotism and cooperation of the people of Nevada than almost any one thing that has been done in this state."[22]

Besides the main presentation to local residents, the men were willing to fulfill any request for their time, including those from the Red Cross, high schools, loyalty leagues, and other patriotic groups within each community they visited. For instance, during their scheduled stop in Ely, the local railroad operators had planned a strike vote for the next morning in response to low wages and other disputes between the operators and owners. Boyle and Miller immediately set up meetings with the union representatives while Oddie and Lemmon gathered with the operators. The governor, using the trump card of patriotism, reminded both sides of their duty to keep the railroads moving so as to enable war production to continue without interruption. Both sides made small concessions, and the strike was averted with an agreement to postpone further negotiations until the war ended. As a result, plans were initiated to organize a state arbitration board.[23]

While Nevadans sought ways to mediate agreements, in other parts of the country striking workers and labor unions were not held in high favor. In Bisbee, Arizona, for example, more than two thousand copper miners went on strike with hopes of unionizing for better wages. As copper was vital for the production of bullets, the townspeople viewed the strike as unpatriotic. The strikers were herded at gunpoint into busses and deported to Mexico. Legionnaires in Centralia, Washington, raided the headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), where a gun battle ensued. The leader of the IWW was then castrated, killed, wrapped in an American flag, and dragged through the streets of town.[24] In Tulsa, Oklahoma, sixteen men were arrested for being members of the local IWW. After spending the night in jail they were transported to a secluded area of town where they were stripped, whipped with ropes, then tarred and feathered. The men were told to leave Tulsa and never return; their

clothing was burned and shots were fired at them as they fled. Whether or not laborers were successful in Nevada, they and management avoided such overt acts of violence and vigilantism.[25]

The call for nationalism was heard loud and clear throughout Nevada. Branches of federal patriotic associations sprang up in all counties as Nevadans demonstrated their support for the war. Foreign-born members of the community, eager to show their loyalty and dedication to the United States, often volunteered to head these groups. Units of the Home Guard (a pseudo military organization) were established in Elko, Lovelock, and Tonopah, as well as in Nye (two units) and White Pine counties. Intended to encourage young men to enlist and designed to combat trouble within the state, they consisted of both eligible and exempted men. While similar in structure, some groups were more regimented in their performance, as the Elko division illustrated. As the first Home Guard in Nevada, established in November 1917, it operated in conjunction with the local high-school course in military training and tactics. Directed by Principal George C. Jensen, the curriculum included daily calisthenics, infantry drills, sighting and gallery fire, signaling with flags, first aid, map reading, military lectures, and combat exercises.[26]

In Lovelock, the Home Guard focused its energy on the IWW. Alarmed by a sudden increase in the foreign membership of the IWW, residents of Lovelock and the neighboring towns of Rochester and Packard began to monitor the group. Writing to Governor Boyle, the mayor of Lovelock, L. A. Friedman, admitted that the local townspeople had maintained a close scrutiny of the labor organization and reported any activity to Home Guard leaders.[27] The fear of both domestic riots and seditious disturbances prompted most states to establish some type of home-defense force. More than thirty states organized Home Guard units or similar semi-military groups.[28]

Many Nevada Home Guard units contacted the governor requesting rifles and ammunition for their members. While he personally endorsed the project, both federal and state statutes strictly regulated state police and armed militia organizations, which tempered his enthusiasm. Always a diplomat and politician, Governor Boyle praised the vigor displayed by the Home Guards and agreed to present their case to the national government, but was non-committal on the rifle issue.[29] These actions were a far cry from what happened in some other states: In Connecticut, the legislature authorized its Home Guard to be another armed force within the state, with duties ranging from benign participation in parades and overseeing registration days to vigilant protection of the state's railroads, bridges, and power plants, as well as making weekly raids on socialist meetings.[30]

To show that legislative authorization need not matter, local citizens established their own divisions of national organizations. In Tonopah, for example, the Vigilance League, a branch of the Secret Service, was made up of volunteers who pledged their assistance to the federal government's war effort. Whereas

membership was open to all resident males within the immediate area, the following restrictions were imposed; only loyal citizens or those who could be vouched for were accepted, and all members had to sign an oath and were bound to secrecy. The League presented a description of its goals to Henry Lemmon, assuring him that "by investigating all cases involving disloyal, seditious or hostile acts against the U. S. government, and using measures within their power (not detailed here) to bring about the punishment of the offender, we hope to promote the order and welfare not only of this community, but of the state and country at large." The letter included an offer of aid to the state if an emergency should arise and requested an endorsement from the State Council of Defense. In closing it noted: "There has been no public statement made here of the organization, as we believe that our work of being the eyes and ears of the government will be better accomplished if our existence and intentions are not heralded to the public, for the time at least."[31] Fearing that some local officials were not in agreement with League objectives or those of the federal government, the group asked Lemmon to be discreet. To this end, all future correspondence was to be sent directly to the Executive Committee members listed and marked "personal." Additional correspondence included a letter to Lemmon detailing the visit of Captain Arthur Allen of the United States Bureau of Investigation to the local defense headquarters in Tonopah. Its purpose was to assure Lemmon that the federal government was "fully aware of the situation" in Tonopah and to recommend that "the State Council may post itself on this point by conversation with Captain Allen if opportunity offers."[32] Despite its desire for anonymity, the League did become public one month later when a newspaper article detailed its objectives. The *Tonopah Daily Bonanza* described the members as a "group of men who felt that the time had come when organized action should be taken to eliminate the few disloyal and seditious spots which appear as blemishes on our fair name as a loyal, patriotic community."[33]

Because the male population of Nevada contained more thirty-year-olds than eighteen-year-olds, the draft took a heavy toll on the state's teaching profession. President Wilson urged the country to preserve the efficiency of public schools during the war and the United States Commissioner of Education agreed. State Superintendent of Public Schools John Edwards Bray declared the task could be accomplished only if teaching were to be considered an essential industry and teachers exempted from the draft. At the state Educational Conference, a nationwide program directed by the Department of Interior and the Bureau of Education, Governor Boyle endorsed the president's plan but failed to address the issue of draft exemption. In September, Bray directed his concerns to the State Council of Defense, requesting Lemmon's help in presenting the issue to national authorities. Since the war ended two months later, the idea was never debated.[34]

Attempts to influence the hearts, minds, and homes of Nevada's youth were evident in the efforts of the Department of Educational Propaganda (DEP). A subcommittee of the Women's Division of the State Council of Defense, it focused

on Nevada's students. Eugenia Stone, co-chair of the Nevada DEP, designed a pamphlet that was submitted to the governor on September 5, 1918, for possible distribution to all Nevada high-school students. In detailing young men's responsibilities, Stone emphasized the importance of college and directed those under the age of eighteen to enroll for military work. She encouraged girls to study food conservation and production, and suggested home nursing, the Red Cross, and teaching as ways in which women could aid their country. In her message to all students, Stone stressed the critical role the students would play in the nation's future, "In this time of war and need prepare yourself by going to school for the time when, BY YOUR TRAINING YOU ARE FITTED TO SERVE YOUR COUNTRY BEST."[35] Governor Boyle expressed his approval and promised to forward the request to the SCD and its director, Henry Lemmon, but the war ended before the circular could be considered.

As a means of reinforcing the patriotic commitment established through the local Defense Councils and various other vigilance groups, both educators and students were encouraged to join the Loyal Service Legion of Nevada. Another subcommittee of the State Council of Defense, the Legion was open to all public and private institutions and had the purpose of promoting the nation's welfare through participation in patriotic activities in the schools. The local education authorities were responsible for compliance within their districts. Members pledged their love of the United States and dedication to the League, and they promised to serve their country as directed by the president, governor, or a school-district authority.[36] Nationally, Wilson's Committee on Public Information was aware of the large and captive audience the public-school system provided. In his book, *How We Advertised America*, the CPI director, George Creel, immediately recognized the potential for influencing the masses, stating, "For this purpose there was no other agency so effective, so sure, as the public schools with their twenty millions of pupils."[37] Working with the National Education Association and government departments, the CPI produced *The National School Service*, a semi-monthly magazine distributed to every one of the estimated six hundred thousand public-school teachers in the United States. Along the same lines, the CPI used the Boy Scouts to disseminate war-effort information to the public. The CPI supplied them with millions of copies of Wilson's Flag Day speech and instructed the scouts to distribute them door-to-door with the request that after reading the pamphlet, the recipients pass it on.

In some cases, the desire to form a state version of a national program was not optional. The League to Enforce Peace was established June 17, 1915, at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, with former President William Howard Taft at the helm. Looking beyond the present, its purpose was not to end the war, but to prevent future wars through the creation of a League of Nations. At the bottom of its letterhead could be found the words: "By the entrance of our country into the war on the basis declared by President Wilson on April 6, such a League of Nations to maintain the peace of the world as the League to

Hugh Henry Brown, of Tonopah, was Co-Chairman of Nevada's League to Enforce Peace. Photographer unknown.
(Nevada Historical Society)

Enforce Peace advocates has become a reality. It remains now to insure its successful continuance by committing the people and the Congress of the United States to this high purpose of the war."[38] On May 5, 1917, the League to Enforce Peace forwarded a list of conventions for the state of Nevada to Governor Boyle, requesting that he personally approach the groups involved and arrange for a League speaker to participate. Another letter, dated May 23, 1917, called for all speeches and essays for upcoming commencement exercises to include the topic of the League to Enforce Peace. To further this cause, the League included a prepared statement titled "Commencement War Theme" for distribution to all local newspapers. Nevada, however, was unable to participate, since all graduation ceremonies for the school year had been completed.

On October 15, 1917, the League requested a current list of Nevada's county League chairmen. In response Governor Boyle admitted that Nevada had not organized a League to Enforce Peace, citing the numerous requirements of his time for state matters. Fortunately, Tonopah attorney Hugh H. Brown and his wife, Marjorie, had been trying since December 1916 to establish the League

in Nevada; Boyle finally created a state branch, and in November 1917 Brown became co-chairman (with Boyle) and promptly set out to organize a membership drive. To expedite the process, Brown asked SCD director Lemmon for a list of "patriotic and public-spirited" Nevadans to whom he could appeal for support. At the same time, Governor Boyle called upon Chief Justice McCarran, chairman of the state CPI, to assemble a speakers bureau to carry the League's message to the people.

The State Speakers Committee of Nevada consisted of nine appointees all chosen from the northern portion of the state. As did other Boyle appointees, they heartily accepted their new positions—except one, Samuel W. Belford. An attorney in Reno, Belford expressed his "grave doubts as to the utility of its [Council of Defense] services." Belford went on to add, "My own personal opinion is that the press must handle the publicity end of our war activities and that very little would be accomplished by making speeches."[39] Despite his reservations about the program, Belford offered to help the governor in any way he saw fit.

As prominent members of their communities, the State Speakers Committee chairmen were responsible for assembling a group of local businessmen, clergy, and attorneys willing to address public gatherings with short talks designed to arouse patriotism. Moreover, each branch was expected to form a local sector of the Four Minute Men, a division of the Committee on Public Information. The motivational but non-professional speakers were supposed to enlighten the public on the war and related topics as a means of stirring the masses to action. As a tool of the government's propaganda factory, the local Four Minute Men branches, as described by Governor Boyle, "are state committees organized to aid the National Government in its war work here." He added that "the value of this service has been made clear in the Liberty Loan Bond Campaign, the Red Cross Campaign and in other war activities in Nevada where informal and hastily organized speaker's committees in certain towns rendered service of the very highest patriotic order."[40] At community movie theaters the speakers used the intervals between films to present their message. The CPI selected topics in advance, required strict adherence to the four-minute rule and discouraged any addition of personal feelings or biases. Throughout Nevada, the Four Minute Men rallied audiences behind such themes as Liberty Bonds, Food Conservation, the Red Cross, the Selective Service Draft, and the broad theme of "Why Are We Fighting."[41] In the summer of 1918, the Speakers Bureau and the Four Minute Men were consolidated into one division.

On both the state and national level, the campaign to sell the war paid particular attention to the large immigrant population. Nevada worried about the high number of non-assimilated immigrants, especially the Austro-Hungarian populations in the Ruth-McGill area and in Tonopah. While the media inaccurately portrayed them as one monolithic group, the resident Serbs and Greeks sought to separate themselves from other central and southern European immigrants by

conducting loyalty parades, establishing patriotic societies, and contributing speakers to local events. The situation in Douglas County was similar. Although it contained the largest German population in the state, the foreign-born residents had already forged their place in the community and there was little anxiety about their dedication. But in the Carson Valley, the Lutheran Church voluntarily gave up its German language services and the local high school discontinued its German class until the war ended. In smaller, more isolated areas where their numbers were less significant, German immigrants experienced scorn, ridicule, and distrust. The CPI telegraphed Boyle, and other governors across the nation, about Loyalty Celebrations for foreign-born citizens during Fourth of July festivities; it included a directive to make sure that the immigrants controlled and managed "their part" of the gala, with others only "cordially assisting."[42]

Nevada also took steps to reassure Austrians, as immigrants from one of the empires fighting the United States. According to 1910 census information, only 969 Austrians lived in Nevada, 1.2 percent of the state population. Though their number was small, Lemmon prepared a statement intended to reassure the immigrants that if war should be declared their jobs were not in danger. He maintained that "Austrians 'who keep their mouths shut and obey the laws of the United States and of the State of Nevada have nothing to fear."[43] In another, less abrasive, memo, Lemmon warned all mining operations to resist any public denunciations that might negatively affect treatment of those Austrians who wished to comply with the law.

Most immigrants—and the native born—clearly wished to comply with the law. Although the composition of Nevada's population was highly mixed, there were few reported incidents of sedition. The case garnering the most attention occurred on April 1, 1918, and involved J. B. Sauer of Manhattan. The Daylight Saving Bill, signed by President Wilson, took effect the day before. Sauer, a businessman of German descent, publicly denounced the president and was arrested at once. Charged as an enemy alien and with disturbing the peace, he pled guilty, paid the $50 fine, and was immediately "railroaded out of town."[44] The Nye County Council director, Judge Mark Averill, inquired as to whether his bakery could be confiscated under the Trading with the Enemy Act. In reply, United States Attorney William Woodburn explained the definition of an enemy as "any person within the military or naval lines of Germany or her allies Austria-Hungary."[45] Consequently, Sauer's property could not be taken.

After the war, the federal government took steps to avoid situations like the one involving Sauer. Beginning in February 1919, the Justice Department required all enemy aliens to register with local authorities. Detailing the registration process, *The Tonopah Daily Bonanza* justified the measure, explaining, "Persons required to register should understand that in so doing they are giving proof of their peaceful dispositions and of their intention to conform to the laws of the United States."[46] In addition to three copies of the registration form and four photographs, applicants also had to submit thumbprints, signatures,

and oaths before a registration officer. Ten to fifteen days later, when the registrant returned for his identification card, another thumbprint and signature were necessary. As was required of all men of draft age, loyalty cards were to be presented upon demand.

Elko made its contribution to avoiding sedition. The Elko County papers published an article supplied to them by the County Council of Defense. The headline read, "Elko County Council of Defense Says, Seditious and Disloyal Utterances Must Stop. Director Requests Citizens to Inform Council of Objectionable Language."[47] Examples of seditious or disloyal language included phrases such as "This is nothing but a rich man's war," or that "the United States had no business getting into this war," or "we have no business sending our troops across the Atlantic."[48] Reminding readers of their duty to report such words or actions, the Council announced its intention to deal with those who persisted along these unpatriotic lines in a swift and stern manner.

In another effort to control seditious publications, Nevadans initiated a statewide ban on all newspapers and magazines owned by the William Randolph Hearst Company. This order was in response to a *New York American* article describing President Wilson as "a vacillating incompetent." On September 11, 1918, Secretary of the Treasury William McAdoo and CPI director George Creel publicly condemned Hearst. Three days later, the county Councils of Defense showed their support with a unanimous vote to suspend circulation specifically citing Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner* and the *San Francisco Call and Post*. Governor Boyle was not present at the meeting and was therefore unable to respond to the numerous telegrams he received requesting details about the media ban. Posters titled "Hearst's Newspapers Not Sold Here" denounced twelve Hearst publications, quoting the derogatory reference to Wilson and declaring, "Nevada is American All of the Time."[49] *San Francisco Examiner* circulation manager A. E. Crawford reminded Nevadans of the forthcoming Liberty Loan and the immense amount of publicity generated by the Hearst papers. He argued, "When you figure the wonderful circulation of the Hearst papers which runs into the millions, you can imagine what this assistance means to the Government, and how little they will appreciate the action of any person or persons that interfere with it."[50] While the county councils might have had a unanimous opinion of Hearst, editors and distributors offered more mixed reactions. Although the *New Mexico War News* supported Nevada's claim, describing Hearst as "the Kaiser's personal representative in America," other such endorsements of the anti-Hearst sentiment were hard to find.[51] Hearst requested and received an injunction against the statewide ban from Edward S. Farrington, United States District Judge for Nevada:

> Acting together, [Lemmon and the State Council of Defense], they sought to prevent disloyal propaganda in Nevada, a purpose not in itself criminal or unlawful. It was to be accomplished by preventing the sale

> of the San Francisco Examiner in Nevada, and this in turn, was to be effected by inducing newsdealers, whether willing or unwilling, under pain of being disloyal, to refrain from buying or selling that paper. This is concerted action. It will materially interfere with interstate commerce, which is unlawful.[52]

Since Hearst made the statement before the United States entered the war, the majority of newspapers felt no need to pursue the matter. The ban was short-lived and it appears that most Nevadans went along with it only to keep from being labeled disloyal or unpatriotic. In a state whose populations were generally isolated and contained a variety of ethnic cultures, one would expect to find more cases of disloyalty, sedition, or anti-war demonstrations. On the contrary, documentation shows the numerous and varied ways Nevadans declared their commitment to the war effort. The girls of Sparks High School formed the state's first Patriotic League in September 1917. The young women collected magazines for military hospitals overseas and assisted the Red Cross. Later that year, the League was recognized for its efforts, which included knitting garments, assembling Christmas packages, and raising funds for the Red Cross campaign.[53] Also in Sparks, Dr. Henry Warren Poor presented photographs of the war compiled from his two trips to France. In an effort to boost support on the home front, Dr. Poor's exhibit included views from the front lines, as well as of submarines and battleships in action. Throughout the state, Nevada's women volunteered their time and energy for the war effort. Joining women across the country, they formed their own branches of such organizations as the state and national Councils of Defense, Liberty Loan Committees, Department of Educational Propaganda and Patriotic Education, and state chapters of the Federation of Women's Clubs. World War I changed traditional gender roles by allowing women to take part in activities other than women's groups. Under the auspices of self-defense or war vigilance, some formed their own gun clubs or Home Guard units while others joined men's organizations such as the American Protective League. Women also played a primary role in the deportations of the striking Bisbee copper miners.[54]

Informative speeches proved to be another effective tool to attain and preserve the patriotic spirit in Nevada. In Reno, for example, the New Baptist Church hosted a series of six Sunday-evening talks in the spring of 1918. Topics included "The Shadow of Prussianism," "What I Learned in Washington," presented by Governor Boyle, and "What I Learned in Russia."[55] Lectures on patriotism were presented at Tonopah High School every Tuesday and Friday morning, beginning with the causes of the war, then moving on to such topics as the "Secret Service," "Financing the War," "The Espionage Act," and "Mobilizing the Army."

An unexpected boost to the war effort occurred in the spring of 1918 when Tonopah played host to representatives from Montenegro, which was allied

Working for the Red Cross was one way American women could show their patriotism. These women represented Sparks, Nevada. Photograph by Roy Curtis. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

with the United States, England, and France, despite being within the borders of Austria-Hungary. The group, whose country was completely under enemy control at this time, was traveling throughout southern and western Europe as well as North and South America, seeking input on Montenegro's future from former countrymen who had immigrated before the war. When asked what a native Montenegrin could do for his homeland, one representative replied, "Whatever contribution you desire to make or do for your native country in this war, do it for the United States and you have served your native country as your adopted land."[56]

After the war ended, on November 11, 1918, Nevada, and the rest of the nation, attempted to adjust to post-war life. The war-related wealth and prosperity that Wingfield had predicted materialized only briefly, joining many transitory mining booms before it. Agricultural production and farm prices were waning. Also troubling were the 1920 census statistics, which revealed 4,468 fewer Nevadans than in 1910.[57] The end of the war also meant a decline in mineral demands, resulting in surplus stock. Production decreased to half its war-time levels while the cost of living remained high. Likewise, laborers were ready for promises made during the war to be fulfilled.[58] Beginning in January 1919, a series of strikes started in the copper mines of Ruth. Strikes would also break out in McGill (July 1919) and Tonopah (August 1919). Increased tensions between workers and employers and a declining economy plagued Nevada's once unified counties. To make matters even worse, the very industries that had experienced a short-lived prosperity as America entered the war were the first to feel the crunch once peace arrived. In 1919, mineral revenues were less than one half of the 1918 total.

The rebellious façade that Nevada presents to the rest of the country and the world belies its history as a nationalistic, patriotic, and conformist state ready to serve the federal government when called upon. Likewise, the ideals of individualism, resistance to regulation, respect for freedom, and liberalism associated with Nevada have been quickly shelved in the name of country. World War I proved how quickly Nevada could withdraw the rights of its people, becoming just as authoritarian, oppressive, and militant as any state in the Union. Yet, as the state of emergency subsided, Nevada could not return to its pre-war status of isolationism. Automobiles, the Great Depression, World War II, the Cold War, and the interstate highway system would further intensify the state's integration with the nation.

The rebellious, anti-government pretense is just as discernable today as it was immediately prior to World War I. Yet, although this independent sentiment dissipated very quickly once the war began, and with little protest or opposition from residents, its post-war return was marked by both fervor and endurance. Nevada may project the image of self-sufficiency and aloofness, but when duty calls, the state has proven itself ready to give its all for the country.

Notes

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[3]Neil A. Wynn, *From Progressivism to Prosperity: World War I and American Society* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1986), 50.

[4]Kennedy, *Over Here*, 81.

[5]John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Pivotal Decades: The United States, 1900-1920* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990), 287.

[6]The United States Census (1910), 73-93.

[7]Russell Elliott and William D. Rowley, *History of Nevada* , 2d ed. Rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 237.

[6]Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 67-68.

[9]*Ibid.*, 175.

[10]Elliott and Rowley, *History of Nevada*, 251-252.

[11]Hal Lemmon to the Press of Nevada, 14 March 1918, Council of Defense Papers, Nevada State Library and Archives, Carson City.

[12]The United States Census (1910), 81.

[13]Alfred Cornebise, *War as Advertised: The Four Minute Men and America's Crusade, 1917-1918* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 64.

[14]State Council of Defense of Nevada, Meeting of 20 September 1918, Minutes, Governor Boyle Papers, Nevada State Library and Archives, Carson City.

[15]George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1920), xiv.

[16]State Council of Defense Meeting of 17 May 1918, Minutes, Boyle Papers.

[17]*Ibid.*, 9 March 1918.

[18]State Council of Defense, Meeting of 17 May 1918, Minutes.

[19]*Ibid.*

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]*Ibid.*

[22]*Reno Evening Gazette* (13 March 1918).

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]Christopher Capozzola, "The Only Badge Needed Is Your Patriotic Fervor: Vigilance, Coercion, and the Law in World War I America," *Journal of American History*, 88:4 (March 2002).

[25]"A Wobbly Testifies to Vigilante Attack, 1917," in Leon Fink, ed. *Major Problems in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era*, 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 535-37.

[26]G. C. Jensen to Governor Emmett Boyle, 30 September 1917, Boyle Papers.

[27]L.A. Friedman to Emmet D. Boyle, August 23, 1917, Boyle Papers.

[28]William J. Breen, *Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984) 82-83.

[29]Governor Boyle to J. C. Doughty, 18 August 1917, Boyle Papers.

[30]Capozzola, "Only Badge Needed," 27.

[31]E. Elkner to H. A. Lemmon, 24 January 1918, Council of Defense Papers.

[32]*Ibid.*

[33]*Tonopah Daily Bonanza*. (14 February 1918).

[34]John E. Bray to Hal Lemmon, 9 September 1918, Council of Defense Papers.

[35]Eugenia Stone to Governor Boyle, 5 September 1918, Boyle Papers.

[36]Loyal Service Legion of Nevada Constitution, undated, Council of Defense Papers.

[37]Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 111.

[38]League to Enforce Peace to Governor Emmett Boyle, 5 May 1917, Boyle Papers.

[39]Samuel W. Belford to Governor Emmett Boyle, 16 July 1917, Boyle Papers.

[40]Governor Emmett Boyle to Judge G. A. Ballard, 12 July 1917, Boyle Papers.

[41]Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 86.

[42]Arthur Fleming to State Council of Defense, Reno, Nevada, 6 June 1918, Council of Defense Papers

[43]H.A. Lemmon to all Nevada newspapers, 5 December 1917, Council of Defense Papers.

[44]Mark R. Averill to H. A. Lemmon, 1 April 1918, Council of Defense Papers

[45]William Woodburn to Judge Mark R. Averill, 16 April 1918, Council of Defense Papers.

[46]*Tonopah Daily Bonanza* (4 February 1919).

[47]E. J. L. Taber, Letter to Elko County Newspapers, undated, Council of Defense Papers.

[48]*Ibid.*

[49]Poster, 14 September 1918, Council of Defense Papers.

[50]A. E. Crawford to R. A. Carroll, 16 September 1918, Council of Defense Papers.

[51]Guthrie Smith to Nevada State Council of Defense, 24 September 1918, Council of Defense Papers.

[52]"Injunction Granted Examiner against State Council, Judge Farrington Hands Down Decision with Complete Review," undated, unidentified newspaper article, Boyle Papers.

[53]*Sparks Tribune* (24 December 1917).

[54]Capozzola, "Only Badge Needed," 51-53.

[55]Brewster Adams to Governor Boyle, 25 March 1918, Boyle Papers.

[56]*Tonopah Daily Bonanza* (6 February 1918).

[57]Elliott and Rowley, *History of Nevada*, 263.

[58]*Ibid.*, 259.

Dead Roses and Blooming Deserts
The Medical History of a New Deal Icon

MICHELLE FOLLETTE TURK

They died to make the desert bloom.[1] *The United States of America will continue to remember that many who toiled here found their final rest while engaged in the building of this dam. The United States of America will continue to remember the services of all who labored to clothe with substance the plans of those who first visioned the building of this dam.*[2]

——Memorial plaque, Hoover Dam

Although a memorial plaque at Hoover Dam sets the number of workers killed during its construction at ninety-six, the real figure was nearly double that.[3] In fact, the figure would have been much higher had it not been for the precedent-setting effort by the federal government, contractors, and workers to save as many lives as possible on the project. Aside from its value as a jobs program, a much needed stimulus to the fledging Las Vegas economy, and its status as one of the man-made wonders of the world, Hoover Dam represented a major step forward for the American occupational health movement. Even though construction began during the last years of Republican rule, a time generally considered devoid of government intervention in behalf of labor, a variety of factors combined to make the project a crucial turning point in the history of occupational health care. Joseph Stevens, Dennis McBride, and other historians of the dam have briefly described health conditions and the efforts undertaken to promote health, but none has emphasized this watershed effect and how the project's considerable health risks forced the federal government to prod the contractor, Six Companies Inc., to undertake major initiatives to

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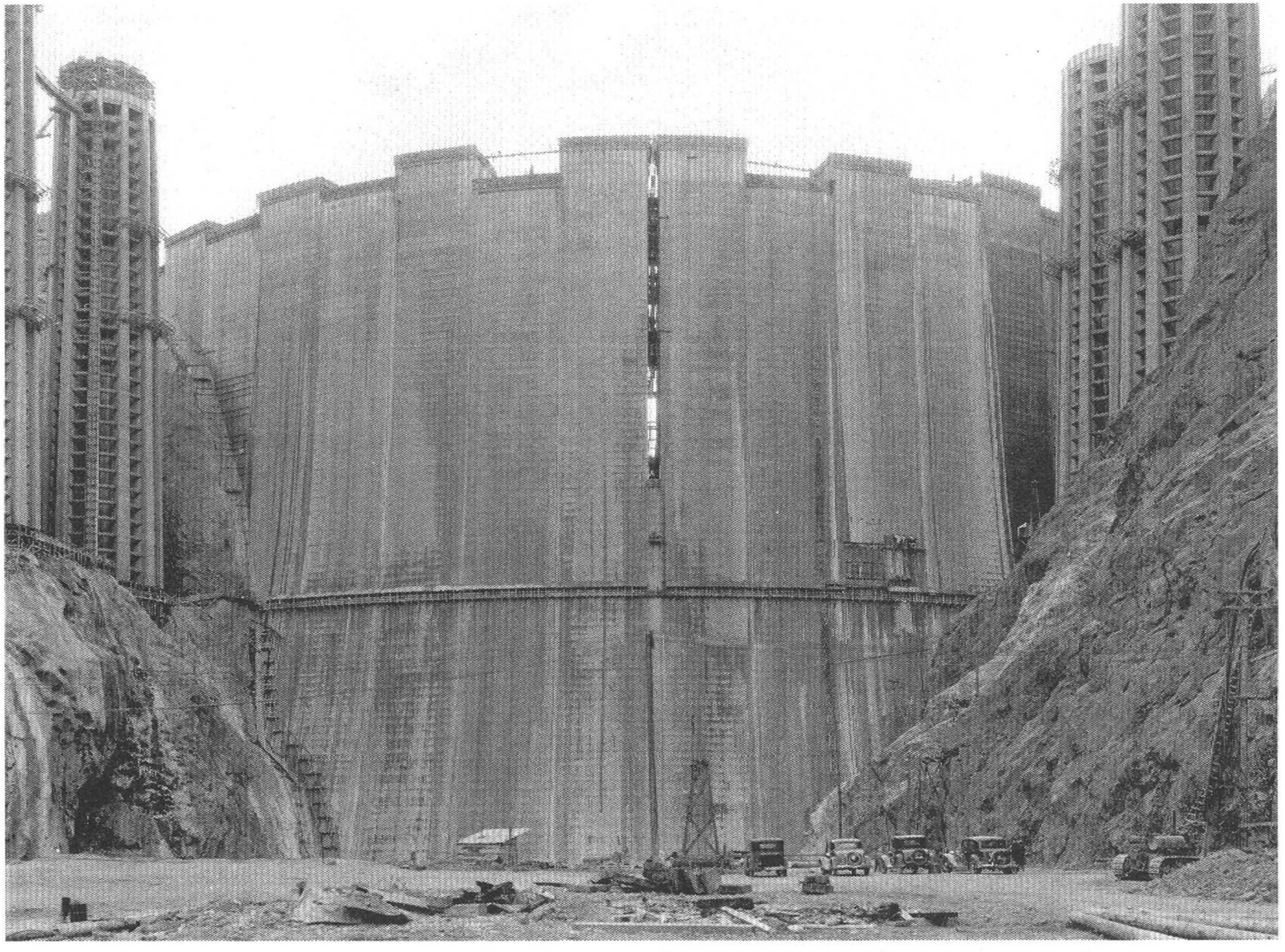


Boulder Dam under construction. Managing safety and health matters on the dam boosted the American occupational health movement. Photographer unkwown. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

protect workers on the job.[4] Eventually, the contractor developed a system to provide job-related health care on the dam site and in Boulder City *before* the New Deal, actions that boosted the entire occupational health movement.

In 1928, when a Republican-led Congress passed the Swing-Johnson bill authorizing construction of a dam at Black Canyon, America's occupational health movement was at a crossroads. As past scholarship has demonstrated, most American industries consistently ignored demands for occupational health reforms and job safety until the Progressives, in the process of advocating social justice, public safety, and equality, raised the specter of urban epidemics in order to force progress on the issue.[5] As the twentieth century began, physicians and other health advocates worked with insurance companies, eager to hold down the cost of claims, to pressure lawmakers into creating municipal and state public health boards as well as the United States Public Health Service (PHS), which became the chief federal health agency by 1913.[6] While the PHS enjoyed broad power to oversee occupational health in defense industries during World War I, its powers shifted to state and local agencies during the conservative 1920s.

In 1908, states began passing workers' compensation laws, but enforcement proved difficult.[7] After 1910, a body of legal precedent gradually made it easier to hold negligent employers liable for job-related accidents and even force payment of compensation to injured workers—a dramatic shift from nineteenth-century practices. As a result, insurance companies did a brisk business selling workers' compensation policies to employers during and after the war. In the pro-business climate of the 1920s, employers held off reformers on a variety of fronts by lobbying sympathetic lawmakers, actively contesting suits in court, and hiring physicians who questioned whether workers' diseases could be traced to the workplace rather than to the neighborhood and home. In many cases, conservative judges ruled in favor of management, a trend that discouraged future employee suits. Still, legal pressures forced many big employers to spend more money on job safety and even fund academic research into occupational issues.

Thanks to these and other factors, the Boulder Canyon Project represented a major shift in American occupational health history. The project's considerable health risks forced the federal government to mandate major health-care and safety programs to protect the workers. The sheer number of employees working at the site tested the contractors' commitments to occupational health.[8] From 1931 to 1932, the number of employees increased from 800 to 3,000 men, and at the height of dam construction in June 1934 the project employed 5,128.[9] Although many private companies struggling for profits often overlooked industrial hygiene issues, the employees of Six Companies benefited from being part of a project subject to federal oversight. The federal government had to intervene because the dam was an isolated project undertaken in a harsh desert environment. Early concerns about the construction site prompted the

preventive measures and created a new type of occupational health program in the American workplace. President Herbert Hoover, a former civil engineer trained to improve efficiency in the production process, personally enlarged the federal government's role in Black Canyon by eliminating the wasteful practice of employing and maintaining unhealthy dam workers. His policies included requiring workers to receive regular physicals and medical care, and giving them access to first-aid stations and a hospital. To oversee these initiatives, Hoover authorized the Bureau of Reclamation to play an active role in supervising occupational health at the dam site and in Boulder City.[10] Consequently, the project's chief occupational health program was the health-care system and hospital built and managed by Six Companies. In addition, the project served as a venue for academic research on heat and fatigue, and the contractors' physicians used these findings in treating their patients. Finally, the legislative and legal systems also exerted an influence. Worker compensation laws required Arizona and Nevada to compensate injured workers and, with employer liability becoming easier to prove in all jurisdictions, employees gained increased help from the legal system.

Despite some minor setbacks, the Boulder Canyon Project fostered a cooperative environment in which insurance companies, physicians, academic researchers, the legal system, and the government worked together more than in previous decades.[11] This relationship succeeded because it benefited all parties. Although early conditions at the town and dam site were less than satisfactory, this article will reveal that advances were occurring during 1931-32, long before New Deal legislation mandated them. The occupational health improvements on the Boulder Canyon Project did not immediately affect the occupational health movement nationally, but they represented a significant federal effort to reform occupational health-care practices on the job, paving the way for later New Deal policy.

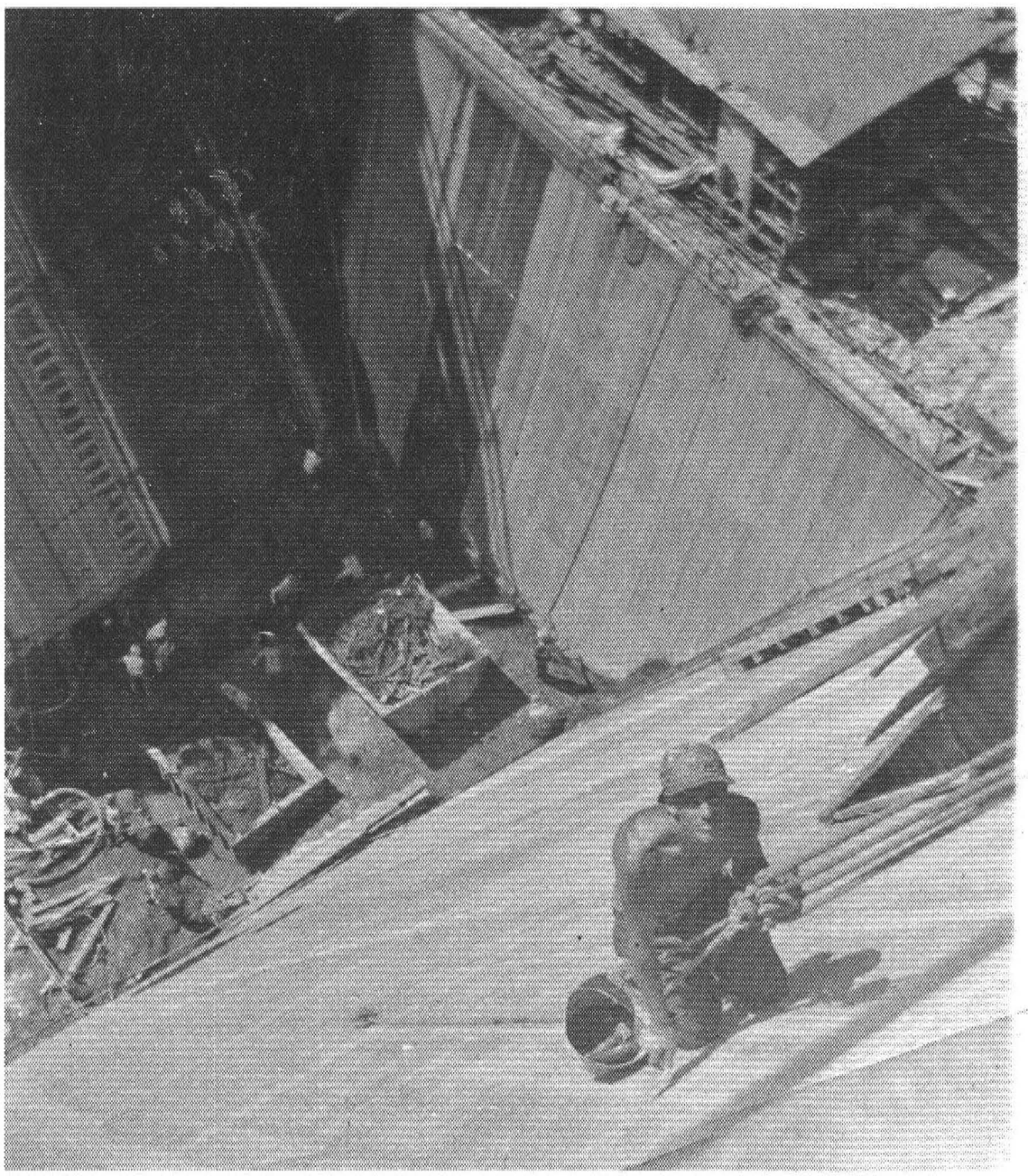
Clearly, when Six Companies began its initial work at Black Canyon in 1931, the balance of power in the realm of occupational health still lay mostly with the employers. The project employed miners, muckers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, engineers, railroad employees, clerical force, commissary attendants, truck drivers, riggers, mechanics, chemists, steelworkers, cement workers, and all forms of general labor. The men who lived in the makeshift, rag-tag community along the riverbank were in no position to insist on their rights. The contractor paid little attention to appropriate sanitary, health care, and housing needs.[12] The only housing available was at Williamsville, also referred to as Ragtown.[13] The workers and their families lived in tents, shacks, cars, and trailers, and endured extreme heat, strong winds, thunderstorms, and flooding. Although Six Companies built temporary housing for tunnel workers on the canyon wall at "Cape Horn," the river bend just above the dam site, both settlements offered little comfort.[14] Workers bathed and drew drinking water from the Colorado River, which coliform bacteria, pathogens, and disease-producing

bacteria and viruses had contaminated. While no epidemics occurred at this time, there are reports that waterborne pathogens associated with diseases such as viral and bacterial gastroenteritis and typhoid fever contaminated the river and the drinking-water tanks. Such diseases affected many workers and their family members.[15]

Although the Bureau of Reclamation director, Dr. Elwood Mead, was aware of these brutal conditions, he did little to help. Mead thought the workers could survive the first summer without "great losses" and then move to Boulder City in the fall.[16] But he was wrong. On June 24, 1931, the *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* reported that the dam site was 140 degrees Fahrenheit in the sun and 120 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade. The average temperature during the summer of 1931 was 119.9 degrees.[17] Intense sweating subjected the workers to heat dehydration, also referred to as heat prostration or exhaustion, which resulted from a combination of thermal and cardiovascular strain. They experienced fatigue, dizziness, confusion, and increased pulse and respiration rates, and developed dry skin, mucous membranes, and mouths. Many workers suffered heatstroke; they experienced high body temperature, convulsion, swelling of the brain, coma, and even death.[18] In their reports, Las Vegas physicians explained that their patients' "regulating center" rose above normal, resulting in a "swelling of the brain and a resultant pressure."[19] Over the next five years, many workers and their family members passed out or died of heatstroke.[20] Although exactly how many suffered from the heat is unknown, the contractor's records show that seventeen workers died from "heat prostration" in the summer of 1931.[21] To their credit, the Six Companies recognized the problem and revised employees' schedules to limit exposure to the sun.[22] Nevertheless, the workers and their families experienced terrible burns from the sun and wind, leading many to believe they had caught a waterborne disease from the river.[23] No epidemics occurred in 1931, but at least four died during an outbreak of spinal meningitis, and five more died of pneumonia.[24] During the first year of construction, forty-six workers and family members died on or near the dam site. Since Six Companies and the Bureau of Reclamation documented most of the deaths as "accidents sustained on and off duty," as well as "heat prostration" and "natural causes," determining the actual cause of death is difficult.[25]

Of course, the men and women who toiled on the Boulder Canyon Project contended with a variety of other hazards besides heat. According to a 1932 Six Companies physical exam report, one hundred patients per day out of approximately three thousand employees received medical attention at either the Boulder City Hospital or the two first-aid stations. More than fifty-two hundred injuries occurred during this period of construction, with a daily average of four to sixteen accidents that required a physician's help. The report also calculated that a fatal industrial injury occurred every 13,620 hours worked.[26]

Initially, the contractors went through the motions of promoting safety; they posted Safety First signs and held weekly first-aid classes that provided



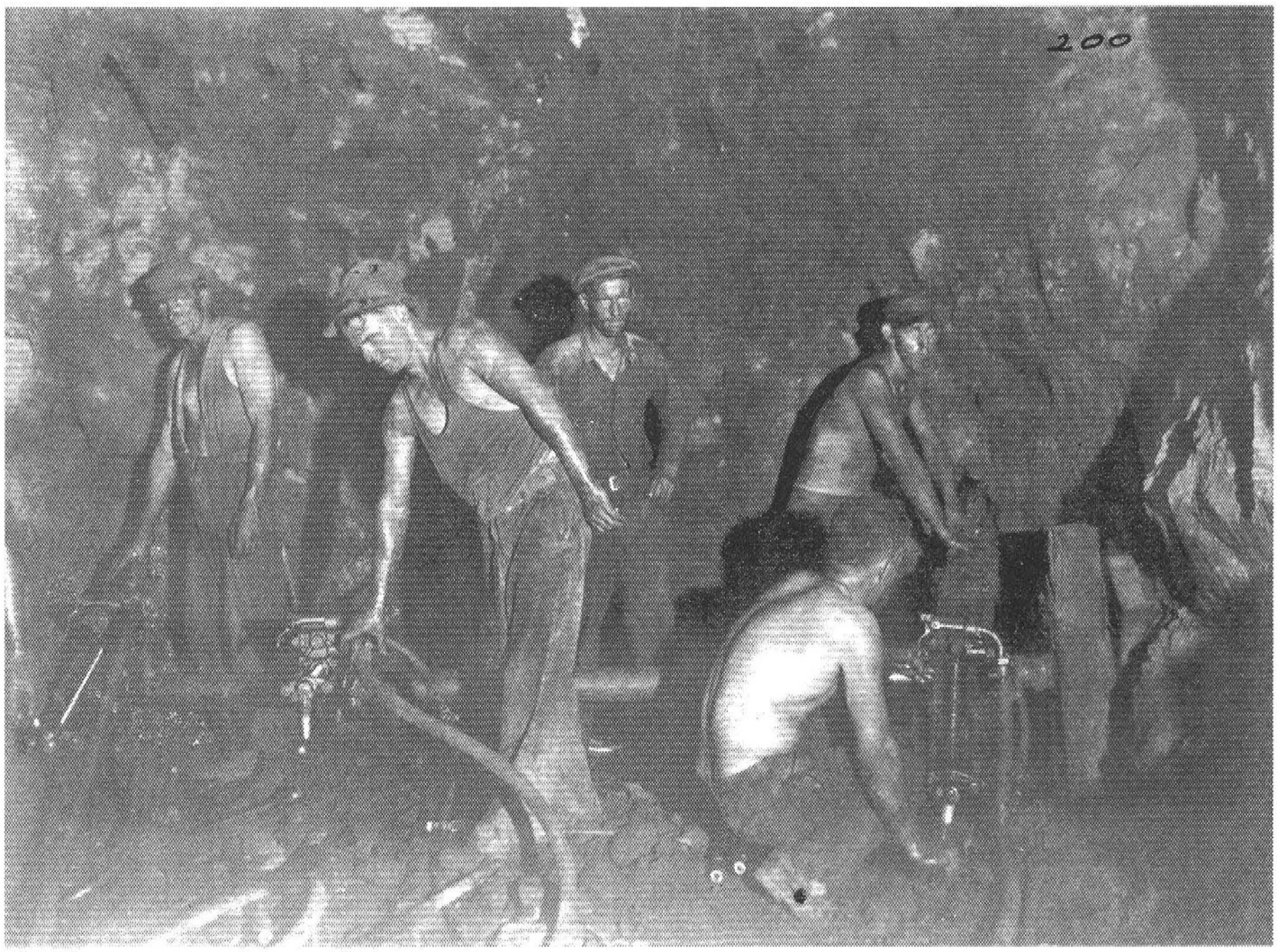
Marion Allen, cement finisher, suspended inside the Arizona Spillway, 1935. Photographer unknown. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection*)*

instruction, as well as distributing safety helmets, belts, goggles, and protective mechanical devices to workers. But the Six Companies were principally concerned with the rhetoric of safety.[27] For example, although the contractors distributed helmets, they did little to enforce or require their use. Consequently, error was the leading cause of death. Human failures in operating machinery and equipment, the occasional falling rock or cave-in, as well as fatigue, lack of sleep, poor communication, lack of experience, or inadequate risk perception caused most of the injuries and deaths.

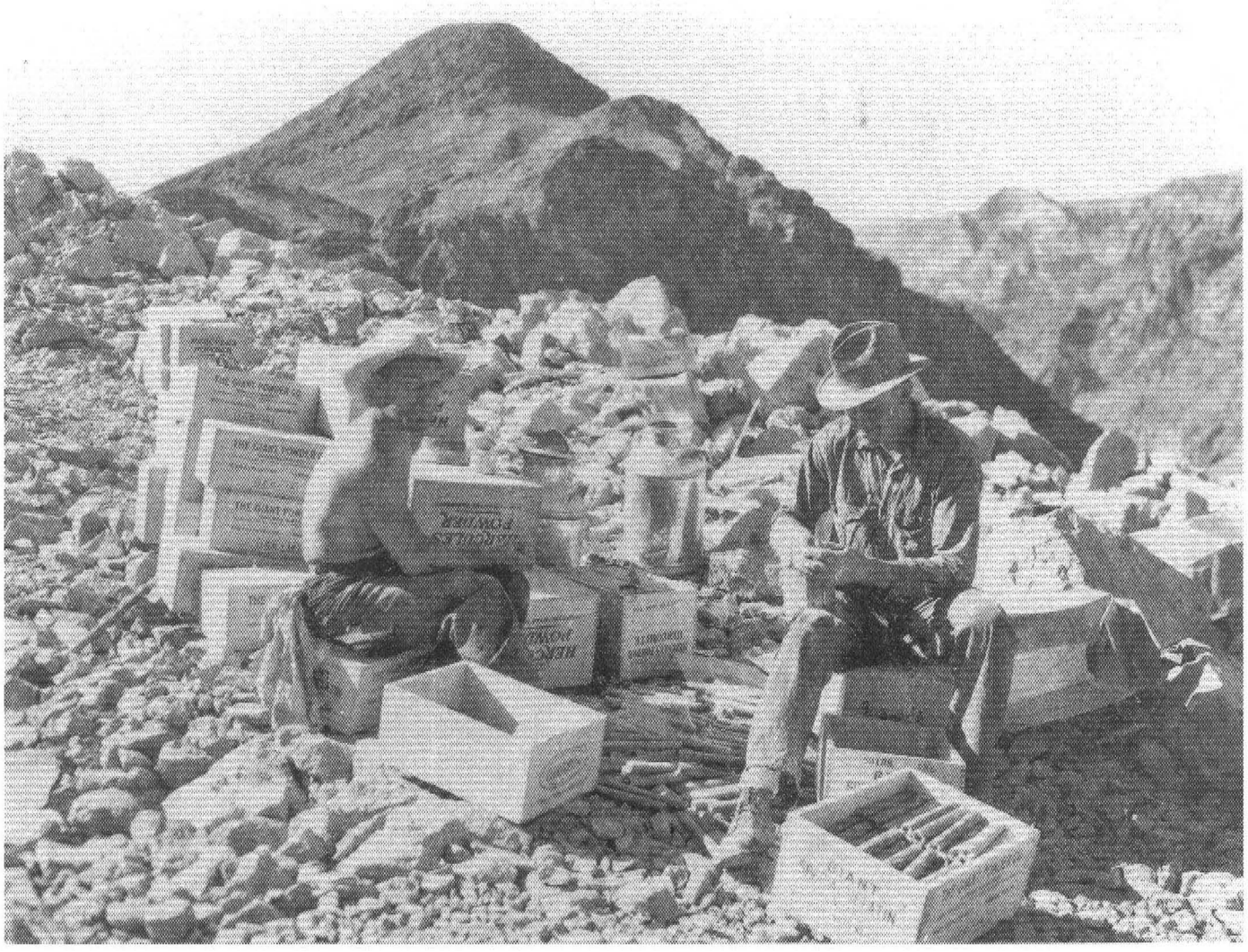
Besides these factors, workers also confronted physical threats, pollution, and disease outbreaks. As noted, the extreme desert climate, most notably the heat, was the primary cause of serious ailments. In addition, constructing the

diversion tunnels exposed workers to indoor threats. Before dam construction began, workers diverted the Colorado River around the construction site. While carving the diversion tunnels out of the mountainside, the workers were threatened by the blasting and falling rocks. In addition, they were exposed to indoor air pollutants, most notably carbon monoxide.[28] While there were few illnesses resulting from lead poisoning and silicosis, carbon monoxide posed a lethal threat.[29] As gasoline-fueled trucks transported rocks and gravel from the tunnels, their exhausts emitted dangerous levels of carbon monoxide. Ultimately, high concentrations accumulated in the tunnels because of poor ventilation. Since carbon monoxide is clear, odorless, and tasteless, the workers were unable to detect its existence. Although long-term exposure produced only mild symptoms for some workers, it had lasting neurological effects for others.

At the same time, minor episodes of disease also afflicted the project. From September 1931 to February 1932, for instance, Boulder City and Las Vegas experienced a spinal meningitis outbreak. Although the Las Vegas Board of Education and Boulder City closed their schools for ten days of quarantine,



Construction in the tunnels at Hoover Dam, 1931. Heat prostration was a major health concern. Photographer unknown. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection*)*



"Powder monkeys" loading dynamite sticks with electric primers, August 15, 1932. Photographer unknown. (*Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection)

Las Vegas city health officers referred to the disease outbreak as "not of the epidemic type."[30] At least one worker and three children died of complications from spinal meningitis during the period.[31] In the fall of 1933, a flu outbreak affected more than a thousand Boulder City residents; in the next year, scarlet fever and measles debilitated the community.[32] Numerous cases of typhoid fever, scarlet fever, polio, tuberculosis, measles, mumps, gonorrhea, diphtheria, influenza, whooping cough, chicken pox, bronchitis, and syphilis also threatened the population intermittently over the next few years. Airborne disease certainly contributed to these epidemics, as did contaminants in the municipal water supply and pollutants spawned by the project's generally unsanitary conditions.[33] A small percentage of workers also contracted venereal diseases from their relationships with prostitutes on Block 16 in Las Vegas, forcing the city's health officers to administer shots of arspehamine to workers and prostitutes alike to prevent syphilis.[34]

Occupational health problems on the dam site were inevitable, especially in the first year. Starting the project six months early meant that the Six Com-

panies were not equipped at that time to provide adequate housing, sanitary facilities, and proper medical care. To rectify this, the contractor announced plans to build a hospital for Boulder City on May 21, 1931.[35] The concept of industry-funded medical care was not a new one. Several companies had offered informal assistance to their employees prior to the twentieth century, developing health-care plans that placed physicians on the company payrolls.[36] As the occupational health movement had gained momentum in the Progressive Era, corporations began hiring teams of doctors because they realized that a healthier workforce boosted production and that occupational health care protected firms from workers' compensation and liability lawsuits. Big firms started the trend and smaller employers followed. Increasingly, company physicians screened employees to determine appropriate jobs for their body types, and they excluded applicants with physical impairments. The physicals also documented pre-existing ailments and the state of an employee's over-all health, a practice that proved useful in compensation hearings. Six Companies required their workers to sign a disclaimer relinquishing the right to sue their employer for compensation of expenses relating to pre-existing conditions. The disclaimer was directed at the Nevada Industrial Commission in Carson City, and the Industrial Commission of Arizona in Phoenix; it stated:

> The undersigned in accepting with Six Companies Inc. admits that he is suffering from [blank] which defect was not caused during the course of employment with Six Companies. In consideration of employment by Six Companies Inc. not withstanding physical condition, the undersigned hereby releases and forever discharges the Six Companies Inc. from any and all liability for payment for compensation and/or medical and hospital expenses that may be incurred as the result of [blank].[37]

Although these exams could have helped in the diagnosis of occupational diseases, physicians were loyal to their employers and rarely reported their findings to their colleagues or medical journals. Even though companies hired physicians to safeguard the health of their employees, the physicians also played other roles, serving as consultants on increasing production, concealing potentially harmful industrial-hygiene issues, and reducing workman's compensation obligations. As a result, employees began to distrust company physicians.[38]

The medical care offered by Six Companies reflected the pre-existing form of occupational health care; the difference was that the contractor provided not only company physicians, limited care, physical exams, and first-aid stations, but eventually a hospital, on November 15, 1931. Doctors administered physicals and staffed first-aid stations, but on-site medical care was unavailable to workers and their families in the summer of 1931. However, the contractor did establish a rudimentary medical facility in Boulder City on May 22, 1931, in a building formerly occupied by Superintendent Frank Crowe: Dr. Charles

The first Six Companies hospital at Boulder City, mid 1930s. Photographer unknown. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection)

Christal, formerly the medical director for the California State Compensation Insurance fund, was in charge. Although Dr. Christal referred to the exam room as a "first class aid station," his assistants routinely told those who were seeking treatment that their only assignment was to examine the patients to "see if they can do a day's work before we give them a job." [39] The physicians never saw women or children. Six Companies also bought two ambulances to transport seriously injured workers to Las Vegas.[40] The ambulance ride was not complimentary; the contractor covered insurance for treatment at the Las Vegas Hospital Association by deducting from workers' paychecks to cover the ambulance ride and all medical costs.[41] The ambulance transported patients to Las Vegas Hospital, a well-equipped facility with about forty beds. Dr. Roy Martin and Dr. John McDaniel performed surgeries such as hysterectomies, gall-bladder operations, and removal of thyroid glands. Dr. McDaniel also conducted pre-employment health examinations for Six Companies, for $250 per month. Although the facility was adequate, the doctors often sent the most serious cases to Los Angeles.[42] As an added inconvenience, patients also had to

travel to Las Vegas to fill their prescriptions at White Cross Drug.[43] However, Six Companies did run first-aid stations at the dam site to treat injured workers, especially the "tunnel men" who worked near Compressor No. 3. In fact, Rosario Levesque, the attendant in charge of the first-aid station for tunnel men, worked for the Six Companies' insurance department. [44]

Williamsville temporarily closed in August 1931 because of strike agitation, and Bureau of Reclamation officials then saw that the temporary housing and medical care provided were inadequate. The first sign that occupational health was becoming a priority came when Williamsville's unhealthy environment prompted the agency to order the area closed permanently, in 1932.[45] Although federal regulation of industrial hygiene was largely spasmodic before the New Deal, that was not true of the Boulder Canyon Project. The Bureau of Reclamation required Six Companies not only to build a hospital, but also to construct a sanitary community by drafting and executing a city plan that implemented federal recommendations pertaining to the water supply, waste disposal, and public health.[46]

The workforce grew larger, as previously unemployed men built not only Hoover Dam, but also Boulder City's sewers, sewage treatment facilities, and water purification plants. The Bureau of Reclamation ordered the construction of a pumping, filtration, and distribution system to divert and purify the muddy waters of the Colorado River for use in Boulder City.[47] Completed in 1932, the sanitation system pumped two million gallons of water a day to Boulder City. Water analysts rigidly monitored the bacterial and chemical levels to maintain drinking-water standards. At the same time, Six Companies also erected a sludge digestion sewage plant to chemically treat the disposal of a half million gallons of waste daily, which Las Vegans used as fertilizer for their lawns.[48]

Federal officials were also concerned about safeguarding food supplies. By 1932, the Bureau of Reclamation conducted regular inspections at all establishments on the Boulder City reservation that sold, handled, or served food and drinks. The government also inspected bathrooms and toilets in houses and public facilities. Finally, the Anderson Brothers Supply Company developed a state-of-the-art system for transporting milk through the desert from Logandale in refrigerated trucks and even equipped its ranch with a water and sewage system, refrigeration plant, and steam plant.[49] No cases of milk-borne infections occurred in Boulder City, with the exception of one case of typhoid that authorities traced to homemade butter brought in by an Idaho family.[50] Clearly, the sanitary practices pushed by Bureau of Reclamation officials in Boulder City greatly improved conditions on the project and symbolized the growing federal role in safeguarding occupational health in the early 1930s.

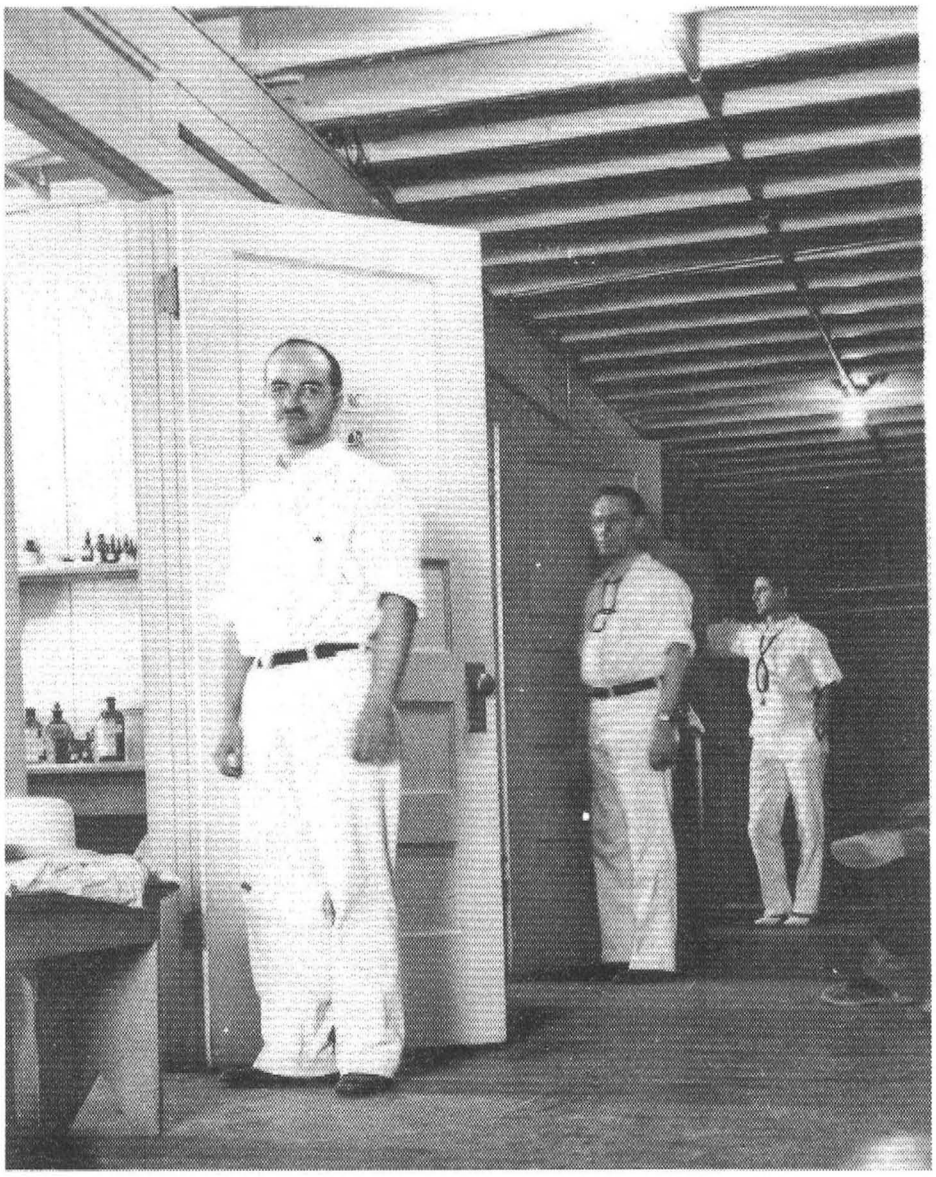
Besides the sanitary standards, the Bureau of Reclamation also required the contractor to erect a hospital. Six Companies had to build a hospital because the PHS, struck by budget cuts, could not afford the expenditure. The modern facility opened on November 15, 1931, equipped with portable x-ray and fluo-

Six Companies Hospital with the home of the chief surgeon in the foreground, May 4, 1932. Photographer unknown. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

roscopic units, diathermy, infrared and mercury quartz lamps, a laboratory to process blood and urine tests, and a pharmacy.[51] According to the *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal,* it was "as well equipped as hospitals in a large city," with twenty beds, a special orthopedic ward, and an eight-bed isolation hospital for contagious diseases called the Pest House, located on the city's edge.[52] Dr. Christal was the head, assisted by two other doctors, J. B. Williams and Herbert L. Hercher.[53] Dr. Wales Haas of Elko replaced Christal as head physician in 1932, and Dr. Richard Schofield became head following Haas's death in 1933. By 1936, the hospital had grown into a sixty-bed facility with a chief surgeon, four assistant surgeons, ten nurses, four orderlies, a radiographer who also worked as a pharmacist, and a hospital management staff, including a full-time auditor, office secretary, and one chef. [54] The Boulder City Hospital and the project's health-care system served as a prototype for future industrial health-care programs. Henry J. Kaiser, a contractor in Six Companies, so admired the project's medical facilities and coverage that he modeled similar establishments after it under Kaiser Permanente, the health-care system he founded.[55] The Kaiser system differed in an important aspect: Much of the program at Boulder City was limited to dam employees. Families and government officials could not use the hospital facilities, although in several instances the hospital broke company rules and treated outside patients.[56] Kaiser's later programs were to include families, too.

By 1931, Six Companies provided not only a hospital for its workers but also health insurance, deducting a $1.50 monthly premium from paychecks. [57] To be sure, the coverage was hardly comprehensive and did not cover health care at other hospitals. Moreover, like many employee insurance policies of the time, it did not cover mental or venereal diseases, "disorders arisen from pregnancy," female "disorders," injury and sicknesses from alcohol, drug addictions, attempted suicide, fights, pyorrhea, chronic conditions, tuberculosis, pre-existing conditions, or sickness arising from infections or contagious diseases contracted within the first seventy-two hours of employment.[58] The policy covered only the workplace. While this coverage helped to maintain the workers' health, it also proved beneficial to the employer in workers' compensation and employer liability suits. In short, the health insurance provided by Six Companies demonstrated their commitment to offering employees just enough coverage to keep federal regulators off the contractors' backs.

Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, the effects of the contractors' health efforts were significant and even helped advance medical research. Boulder City's hospital, sanitary, and housing conditions stimulated academic interest in the project. Since heat had felled so many dam workers in the summer of 1931, a research team from Harvard's Fatigue Laboratory traveled to Boulder City to study the "qualitative relationship between physical performance, heart rate, and external temperature."[59] The researchers, including David W. Dill, later of the Desert Research Institute (DRI) in Nevada, conducted experiments



Six Companies doctors outside of their offices in the hospital basement, ca. 1932-33. Photograph by Frank "Doc" Jensen. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection*)*

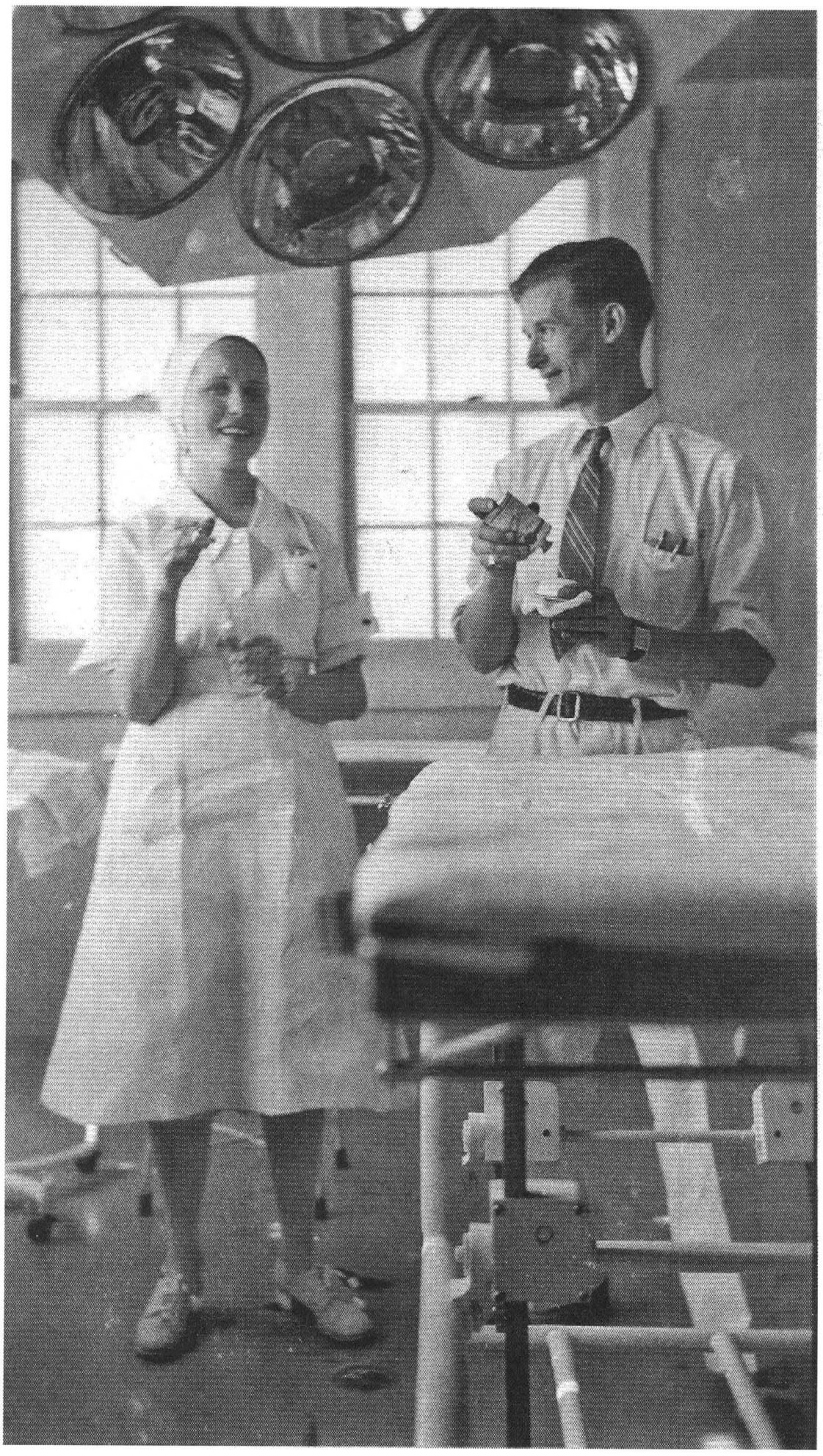
on employees and dogs with the aid of the Bureau of Reclamation and Six Companies. They observed the workers' "process of selection and adaptation" to the desert climate, concluding that an "industrial hazard is created by the association of hard work, high external temperatures, and profuse sweating." The first three days of work were a crucial period for workers; those with physical deficiencies and poor mental stamina usually quit, and the ones who survived usually continued indefinitely. Their cardiovascular systems were able to withstand the effects of working at high temperatures. [60] After the researchers arrived, Dr. Cornelius Van Zwalenburg, a medic at the dam site, discovered that administering salt supplements to workers prevented heat exhaustion.[61] The researchers ultimately found that heat exhaustion and heat stroke occurred not because of lost body fluids, but because of the loss of salt excreted in sweat. They concluded that an imbalance of sodium and potassium in the blood stream

and body tissues caused the heat exhaustion that triggered approximately one hundred fifty hospitalizations and seventeen deaths in 1931.

Over the next decade, these findings would go far toward protecting Hoover Dam workers as well as their counterparts toiling on outdoor projects across the nation. Even though the idea of administering salt supplements may not have been unique to the project, the transmission of the Harvard research team's findings to the medical and industrial hygiene community was. The researchers published their findings in medical and scientific journals, including the *American Journal of Tropical Study* and the *Journal of Clinical Investigation,* which disseminated health-care protocol to other industrial projects.

Six Companies immediately enacted policy changes after learning the findings. Workers were advised to be partially acclimated into the heat and to consume a half tablespoon of salt daily in addition to their usual food intake. The Anderson Brothers Supply Company added extra salt to the food, and Six Companies placed salt dispensers around the dam site. Physicians also urged employees to drink the cool, sanitized water from the contractor's water system

Six Companies Hospital staff, July 10, 1933. Dr. R. O. Schofield, top row, center. Photograph by W. F. West, U. S. Bureau of Reclamation. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection*)*



Six Companies Hospital operating room, ca. 1932-33. Photograph by Frank "Doc" Jensen. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection*)*

throughout the day.[62] As a result, fewer deaths and hospitalizations occurred from June to October 1932. Although the greatly improved living conditions, sanitized drinking water, and acclimation to the desert climate were crucial to reducing heat-related illnesses, the primary reason for fewer deaths was that the summer temperatures were milder that year.[63] A reduced turnover rate also made for a workforce of retained workers who were in good cardiovascular shape and acclimated to the environment. Despite the initial apathy of Six Companies to occupational-health issues, the Boulder Canyon Project managed—through scientific research, medical expertise, and federal government and private support—to improve industrial hygiene conditions within a year.

After Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in early 1933, the New Deal brought other advances in occupational health to the project.[64] Under the direction of Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's newly appointed secretary of labor, officials evaluated safety at Hoover Dam.[65] Their findings reflected what was generally known about conditions at the dam site: Little use had been made of organized accident prevention, investigation, and analysis as well as of effective safety programs that enlisted the foremen and laborers. The report recommended that the contractor keep detailed reports and investigate all major disabling accidents, appoint a full-time "safety engineer," use standard educational methods in safety to improve cooperation among the workforce, and enforce the eight-hour working-day law to avoid dangerous overtime. Although the report found death and accident rates considerably higher than the nature of the work justified, it noted that, because of the safety measures that Six Companies undertook prior to 1935, no major catastrophes or serious failures occurred. Ultimately, New Deal regulations fixed the project's remaining safety issues and created a legal environment that favored the employee, not the employer, in workers' compensation and employee liability suits.

Although the labor force benefited from state workers' compensation and the employee liability suits, most lawsuits against Six Companies met with limited success until 1935-36. Both Nevada and Arizona provided workers' compensation to Six Companies employees. The Arizona Industrial Commission employed a full-time inspector to make safety inspections as well as to represent the state in compensation matters.[66] Nevada had no state investigator until the Department of Labor recommended that the state provide one, in 1935. By 1934, Nevada and Arizona had settled numerous minor compensation cases; typically Arizona was compensating at a higher rate than Nevada. Nevada paid seven days after the accident, depending on the seriousness of the injury, and Arizona, fifteen.[67] Six Companies, which contributed to the Nevada State Fund and the self-insured Arizona fund, was concerned about the difference in figures, and its lawyers tried to reduce the amount paid to Arizona casualties and their dependents. The contractor's board of directors first discussed this issue at a San Francisco meeting in 1931 and concluded that "only single men shall be employed in Arizona."[68] Moreover, Six Companies failed to pressure

Injured dam worker at Six Companies Hospital, ca. 1932-33. Photograph by Frank "Doc" Jensen. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection*)*

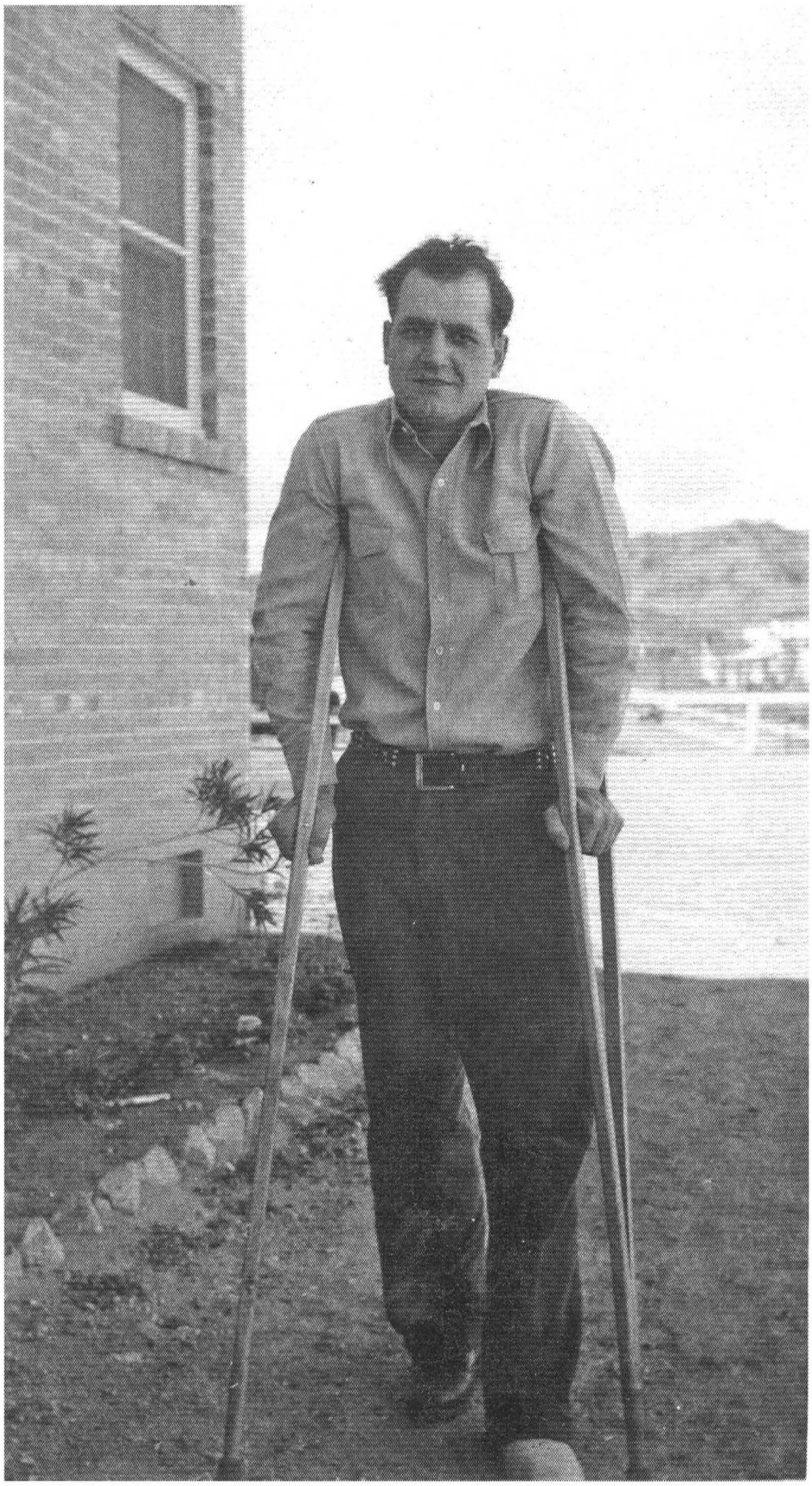
their workers into accurately reporting that an injury had been sustained on the Nevada side of Black Canyon; most men conveniently experienced their injuries on the Arizona side. Many of the workers committed insurance fraud. The contractor's Arizona compensation costs soared because most men manipulated their accidents to be "officially" in Arizona. Collusion was rampant as workers frequently dragged their colleagues' injured bodies from Nevada to Arizona.[69] Eventually, state officials recognized the ploy and sometimes refused to approve payments, forcing workers to contest these decisions in court.

On a related front, dam workers began to extend the range of employer liability in the once hostile courts, using carbon monoxide cases to establish a beachhead. As early as 1916, the PHS had warned American industries about

the dangers of carbon monoxide in the workplace and published guidelines for limiting emissions. Several studies also confirmed that the cumulative effect of small doses of carbon monoxide killed or seriously injured humans. In 1921, Yale University's Yendell Henderson even carried out scientific experiments in which human volunteers were gassed to study the effects.[70] By 1931, carbon monoxide was an easily identifiable cause of death, a fact that immediately put Six Companies on the defensive. Even though a Nevada mining law prohibited operating gasoline-powered motor vehicles underground, Six Companies used large trucks to haul rock out of the diversion tunnels. These trucks emitted a dangerous amount of carbon monoxide that accumulated in the tunnels because of the poor ventilation. The contractors contended that the operation was neither prohibited by Nevada law nor detrimental to workers' health.[71] When the Nevada state inspector of mines threatened a law suit, Six Companies avoided court for several months until the state officially filed charges. Attorneys for Six Companies countered that the state lacked jurisdiction to enforce its mining law because the dam site was subject to federal regulation.[72] A federal panel eventually ruled in favor of Six Companies, which had appealed from a ruling that Nevada law barred gasoline trucks from operating at depths greater than two hundred fifty feet.[73] The results were disastrous. By November 1932, many workers were dead, sick, or dying from acute carbon monoxide poisoning.

Because of labor militancy on the issue, laissez faire eventually yielded to government regulation. But the process took time. Most workers were convinced that carbon monoxide caused the respiratory problems that their physicians were diagnosing as "pneumonia."[74] Moreover, they suspected the physicians were concealing the liability of Six Companies, which created an incredible amount of bitterness between the workers and their employers. Boulder City Hospital was a hot topic of discussion among the workers because the workers there were "only dying of pneumonia" and "nothing else." It became a standard joke among the workers: "Don't go to the Boulder City Hospital, you'll die of pneumonia!" The IWW's *Industrial Worker* publicly accused Dr. Haas of purposely diagnosing gas cases as "influenza" and listing "pneumonia" as the cause of death.[75]

Since employer liability was fairly easy to prove, especially with a well-established disease like acute carbon monoxide poisoning, several exposed workers sued Six Companies for damages. At the same time, tighter government regulations led to more successful employer liability lawsuits. By the 1930s, cases like these inspired the emergence of a new breed of lawyer who specialized in personal injury cases. These lawyers forced courts to determine employer liability for the ailments excluded from workers' compensation. The Six Companies were not immune from this process. In 1933, for example, attorney Harry Austin filed six personal injury lawsuits against Six Companies, alleging the contractors had been negligent in protecting their workers from the carbon monoxide. The alleged victims sought $77,186 in damages for permanent ailments.[76]



Injured worker on crutches outside Six Companies Hospital, ca. 1932-33. Photograph by Frank "Doc" Jensen. *(Boulder City Museum and Historical Association,* McBride Collection*)*

Instead of settling out of court, Six Companies fought the allegations. The first two cases, *Ed F. Kraus v. Six Companies Inc.* and *Jack F. Norman v. Six Companies Inc.*, resulted in hung juries after Six Companies employed unethical and illegal techniques in attempting to win.[77] Austin filed several more carbon monoxide-related civil suits after these losses. By August 1935, forty-eight plaintiffs sought a total of $4.6 million in damages, and by January 1936, Six Companies accepted defeat and settled out of court, distributing an undisclosed amount.[78] The workers had won a watershed victory in the occupational health movement: An employer finally compensated its employees for its negligence in industrial hygiene. The carbon monoxide-related cases set a crucial precedent for future employer liability civil suits, and sent a convincing message to American industry that it would be cheaper in the end for employers to embrace occupational health programs.

Thus far, the occupational health advances that came at Hoover Dam have not been fully celebrated; they are excluded from the triumphalist film shown as part of the official on-site dam tour, as well as from the numerous documentaries on the dam construction and works on American occupational heath. This history is significant because both the Boulder Canyon Project and many of the occupational health initiatives pushed by the Bureau of Reclamation antedated the New Deal. In the short run, the unique factors that coalesced at the dam site during 1930-31 forced the Hoover administration and Six Companies to undertake health and safety reforms that would have been rejected in earlier decades and in less torrid locations. In the long run, these actions provided vital momentum and support for advocates who sought to persuade Congress, the states, the judiciary, and a growing number of employers to prioritize health and safety in the workplace. In the rapidly changing environment of the Great Depression, Six Companies gradually endorsed occupational health in order to enhance their corporate image, save money, appease the courts, and satisfy the federal government. In doing so, these contractors set an example for other employers and provided a valuable precedent for labor attorneys. In later years, the New Deal would not only duplicate Hoover Dam in other western states, but also extend the health care, sanitary codes, and other occupational health practices forged on the project to thousands of workplaces across the nation. This significant part of American medical history should not be absent from public memory.

NOTES

[1]Publicity for New Deal water projects evoked the image of making the desert "bloom as a rose." Although the Boulder Canyon Project was not originally a New Deal initiative, Franklin D. Roosevelt and others used the project as a symbol of New Deal successes.

[2]The memorial plaque bearing this inscription was designed by Oscar J.W. Hansen, and commemorates the men who died working on the Boulder Canyon Project. It is located next to the "Winged Figures of the Republic" on the Nevada side of Black Canyon.

[3]According to the records of the Bureau of Reclamation and Six Companies Inc., the figure ranged from approximately 114 to 187 individuals. The number varies because some reports overlook the numerous "pneumonia" victims poisoned by carbon monoxide as well as the "accidental" fatalities that occurred while the victims were "not officially" working on the project. The reports also omit disease outbreaks and members of the workers' families who died from heatstroke or project-related accidents. See the Six Companies records at "Summary of Fatalities by Employers – Boulder Canyon Project – To and Including July 31, 1935," Frank "Doc" Jensen Papers, Box 1 of 5, Special Collections, Boulder City Historical Society and Museum; Bureau of Reclamation, "Fatalities during the Construction of Hoover Dam," http://www.usbr.gov/dataweb/dams/hoover_fatalities_table.htm

[4]For scholarship on this subject, see Joseph E. Stevens, *Hoover Dam: An American Adventure* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 60-69, 103-7, 132-41, 157-58, 164-69, 200, 205-14; Dennis McBride, *In the Beginning: A History of Boulder City, Nevada*, 2d ed. (Boulder City: Boulder City/Hoover Dam Museum, 1992), 36-39; Andrew J. Dunar and Dennis McBride, *Building Hoover Dam: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), 37, 129-34, 242-44, 261-64, 321; Guy Louis Rocha, "The I.W.W. and the Boulder Canyon Project: The Death Throes of American Syndicalism," in *At The Point of Production: The Local History of the I.W.W.*, (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1981), 214-17, 221-22; R. T. King, ed., "Hoover Dam and Boulder City, 1931-1936: A Discussion Among Some Who Were There,"(Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1987).

[5]Most American industries overlooked occupational health until health awareness developed during the Progressive Era, which lasted from the late 1890s to the 1920s. Progressives attempted to fix the problems in American society that had developed during nineteenth-century industrialization. Environmental and public health concerns evolved out of necessity because industrialization and urbanization created new health problems, which prompted public health advocates such as Alice Hamilton to speak out about disease epidemics and occupational health risks. For scholarship on the origins of the occupational health movement, see Christopher C. Sellars, *Hazards on the Job* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Charles B. Lowman, "A Brief History of the Origins of Occupational Health in the United States," in *Origins of Occupational Health Associations in the World* (New York: Elsevier Press, 2003); Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring* (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1993); John Duffy, "Social Impact of Disease in the Later Nineteenth Century," in *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); David Rosner and G. Markowitz, "Research or Advocacy: Federal Occupational Safety and Health Policies during the New Deal," *Journal of Social History*, 18:3 (Spring 1985).

[6]The United States government established the Public Health Service in 1798 to provide medical care for American seamen. The PHS's involvement expanded to address national public health needs in 1913 and gained authority during World War I after studying the unknown effects of new toxic chemicals like TNT and picric acid. During this time, congressional support also directed the PHS to center its studies on occupational health in mining and steel industries. See Rosner and Markowitz, "Research or Advocacy," 336-37.

[7]Courts typically sided with employers because of the "freedom of contract" constitutional guarantee, which claimed that occupational dangers were negotiable only before the worker assumed the job. See William Shonick, *Government and Health Services: Government Role in the Development of U.S. Health Services 1930-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Lowman, "Brief History of the Origins of Occupational Health;" Sellars, *Hazards on the Job*, for more on workers' compensation, formerly referred to as workmen's compensation.

[8]The contractors hired for the Boulder Canyon Project were the Six Companies Inc. (actually it comprised seven companies: Morrison-Knudsen of Boise, Idaho; Utah Construction of Ogden, Utah; Pacific Bridge Company of Portland, Oregon; Bechtel Corporation of San Francisco, California; Henry J. Kaiser of Oakland, California; MacDonald and Kahn of Los Angeles, California; and J. F. Shea of Portland, Oregon), as well as Lewis Construction Co., Anderson Brothers Supply Co., Boulder City Co., Newberry Electric Corp., The Babcock and Wilcox Co., and the Eichleay Engineering Corporation. Since Six Companies Inc. had the majority of workers and obligations, all contractors will be referred to as Six Companies in this article. However, it is important to note that Six Companies was *not* the only contracting firm hired for the project.

[9]Boulder City Museum and Historical Association, "Old Vintage Photograph Collection," http://bcmha.org/photos/workers.html.

[10]William J. Barber, *From New Era to New Deal: Herbert Hoover, the Economists, and American Economic Policy, 1921-1933* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 13.

[11]Sellars, *Hazards on the Job*, 187-89.

[12]The Great Depression expedited the start of the Boulder Canyon Project. President Hoover and Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur pressed Elwood Mead, director of the Bureau of Reclamation, to begin early because of nationwide unemployment. The Bureau of Reclamation rushed engineers to complete the project plans, and construction began in the spring of 1931. Consequently, the construction of the dam began before adequate housing was built for the workers and their families in Boulder City.

[13]Williamsville was located on the floor of Black Canyon. Lake Mead currently covers it. Estimates of Williamsville's population in June 1931 range from six hundred to fourteen hundred.

[14]Rocha, "I.W.W. and Boulder Canyon Project," 216.

[15]Paul L. Kleinsorge, *The Boulder Canyon Project: Historical and Economic Aspects* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1941), 206, 222.

[16]Rocha, "I.W.W. and Boulder Canyon Project," 217.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]See "Second Death of Heat Here Last Eve," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (29 June 1931), 1:4; Ron McCaig, "Physical Agents," in *ABC of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* (London: BMJ Publishing Group, 2003), 58-59.

[19]"Second Death of Heat," 1:4.

[20]The first death attributable to heat was that of Raymond R. Hopeland, who died in Las Vegas on June 25, 1931.

[21]Six Companies Inc., "Summary of Fatalities by Employers – Boulder Canyon Project – To and Including July 31, 1935."

[22]The schedules shifted to 4 A.M. until noon and 4 P.M. until midnight (working with searchlights) because the project could not afford to lose any more workers to the afternoon heat. See King, *Hoover Dam and Boulder City*, 4.

[23]King, *Hoover Dam and Boulder City*, 4

[24] "Meningitis Rumor at Dam Denied," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (28 September 1931), 3:3; "Dam Worker Has Spinal Meningitis," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (7 October 1931) "Dam Worker Dies at Local Hospital," *Las Vegas Evening Review- Journal* (8 October 1931), 2:1; "Mahoney meningitis," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (27 January 1932), 2:4.

[25]Six Companies Inc., "Summary of Fatalities by Employers – Boulder Canyon Project – To and Including July 31, 1935."

[26]Six Companies Inc., "Boulder Canyon Project Employee Physical Exams, 1932," Garnett, Box 66, ff.1, Special Collections, Boulder City Museum and Historical Society.

[27]See King, *Hoover Dam and Boulder City*, 30.

[28]Carbon monoxide is harmful when breathed because it displaces oxygen within the blood, depriving the heart, brain, and other vital organs. Its symptoms resemble those of pneumonia and the flu, and exposure can cause impaired vision, reduced brain activity, and even death.

[29]Silicosis and lead poisoning are common industrial diseases associated with mining. Silicosis is a fatal lung disease caused by an overexposure to crystalline silica, a major component in sand, mineral ores, and rock. Exposure to silica dust causes scar tissue to form in the lungs and reduces the patient's ability to breathe. Lead poisoning is caused by lead dust, a highly toxic substance common in most industries. Effects of exposure to lead include increased blood pressure, nerve disorders, muscle and joint pain, infertility, and death.

[30]"Vegas, Boulder Schools Close" and "Boulder Schools Close for While," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (20 January 1932), 1:3, 2:3.

[31]"Dam Worker Has Spinal Meningitis," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (7 October 1931), 2:4; "Dam Worker Dies in Local Hospital," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (8 November 1931), 2:1: "Mahoney Child Contracts Meningitis," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (26 January 1932), 2:8; "Vegas Schools will Reopen Next Monday," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (4 February 1932), 1:6.

[32]McBride, *In the Beginning*, 36-39.

[33]Ray Wilbur, Jr., "Boulder City: A Survey of Its Legal Background, Its City Plan and Its Administration" (Master's thesis, Harvard University, 1935), Special Collections, Boulder City Museum and Historical Society. (See especially chap. 20, "Health and Sanitation.")

[34]In an oral history, Thomas Wilson stated that Las Vegas health officials administered shots of distilled water instead of the arspehamine. This affirms the fact that although prostitution was legal in Nevada and popular among the men, the prostitutes were exploited and considered social outcasts. See Dunar and McBride, *Building Hoover Dam*, 242.

[35]"50-Bed Hospital Planned," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (21 May 1931), 1:1.

[36]These occupational health-care initiatives remained confined to larger iron, steel, and lumber firms, as well as to mining companies with employees working in remote locations without private hospitals and physicians. See Sellars, *Hazards on the Job*, 29.

[37]For an original copy of the disclaimer, please refer to Special Collections, Boulder City Museum and Historical Society.

[38]See Sellars, *Hazards on the Job,* for a detailed account of the evolution of occupational health care from the 1880s to the 1930s.

[39]King, *Hoover Dam and Boulder City*, 5.

[40]"50-Bed Hospital Planned," 1:1.

[41]"Here Are the Conditions under Which Boulder City Hospital Aid Available," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (17 November 1931), 4:3.

[42]See Dunar and McBride, *Building Hoover Dam*, 129.

[43]Erma Godbey, the wife of a worker living in Williamsville, filled many prescriptions in Las Vegas and gave them away to the many badly burnt workers and family members at the dam site. Dunar and McBride, *Building Hoover Dam*, 5.

[44]"First-aid Station for Tunnel Men," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (23 May 1931), 1:1.

[45]The Bureau of Reclamation and Six Companies wanted dam workers to move to Boulder City for several reasons. One was that the city served as a form of social control helping to avert the potential for radicalism that breeds in unsupervised camps, as seen in the IWW strike in 1931. See King, *Hoover Dam and Boulder*, 4-5.

[46]Eventually, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal brought changes to the PHS, allocating money to state and local departments to improve health conditions, sanitary engineering, tuberculosis control, laboratory research, and mental hygiene. However, in 1931, the PHS lacked the funds to build a hospital for Boulder City and could not be as active in the project.

[47]Richard O. Schofield, M.D., "Industrial Medicine in Nevada: As Practiced in the Construction of Boulder Dam," in *A Life's Review and Notes on the Development of Medicine in Nevada*, by M. R. Walker, M.D. (Reno: n.p., 1944), 87.

[48]Wilbur, "Boulder City: A Survey."

[49]"Peeling Spuds for Three Thousand Hungry Men: The Job of Feeding a Peace Time Army at Hoover Dam," *Los Angeles Times* (13 March 1932), J3.

[50]Schofield, "Industrial Medicine in Nevada," 87.

[51]*Ibid.*, 91.

[52]A wing was added to the hospital in 1933 to serve as an isolation and the Pest House was torn down. See McBride, *In the Beginning*, 36-39; Wilbur, "Boulder City: A Survey."

[53]Dr. Christal was a graduate of the Royal College of Surgery and the Royal College of Physicians, Dublin, Ireland. He did post-graduate work in several large industrial clinics in Europe. Drs. Williams and Hercher were both physicians in southern California. See "Equipment Put in for Opening of New $50,000.00 Plant on Sunday," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (14 November 1931), 5:1-2.

[54]Wilbur, "Boulder City: A Survey."

[55]Dunar and McBride, *Building Hoover Dam*, 132-133; Ricky Hendricks, *A Model for National Healthcare: The History of Kaiser Permanente* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 1-40.

[56]Six Companies medical insurance did not cover the families, and Boulder City Hospital did not see them for medical care. They were supposed to go to Las Vegas to be treated. See "Hospital Permit Pleas for Dam City Are Asked," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (5 June 1931), 1:5, and "Suicide Attempt Hinted in Plunge of Boulder Woman," *Las Vegas Age* (19 August 1932, 3:1-2.

[57]A copy of an original pay stub with the insurance deduction is digitally available at Special Collections, Boulder City Museum and Historical Society. Six Companies matched the $1.50 sum with $1.00, totaling $2.50 per month paid by Six Companies to the hospital fund. Six Companies continued this insurance policy after employees started treatment at Boulder City Hospital. See Schofield, "Industrial Medicine in Nevada," 91.

[58]Out of the $1.50 charged to the employee each month, $.50 went to industrial medical; this covered all industrial medical in accordance with the terms and condition of statutes in Nevada and Arizona. The remaining $1.00 went to non-industrial medical, which covered the medical attention to employees but not their families. See "Here Are the Conditions," 4:3.

[59]Previous studies by the research team included an investigation of tropical heat in the Panama Canal Zone and Leadville, Colorado, which found a reduction of efficiency at 10,000 feet. The studies tested working conditions, working in heat and humidity, and working at high altitudes. After the Boulder Canyon Project study, the researchers looked at Arctic or Antarctic cold in order to complete their study of extreme conditions. See "Boulder Chosen for Science Work," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (4 February 1932), 2:1-3.

[60]See J. H. Talbott, H. T. Edways, D. B. Dill, and L. D. Rastich, "Physiological Responses to High Environmental Temperature," *American Journal of Tropical Medicine*, 13:4 (July 1933).

[61]"Medic Who Aided Dam Workers Dies," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (25 July 1935), 1:1.

[62]Schofield, "Industrial Medicine in Nevada," 89.

[63]Talbott, Edways, Dill, and Rastich, "Physiological Responses,"

[64]Established by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the New Deal refers to the legislative agenda that created the federally backed social programs, social reform, and policies designed to pull the United States out of the Great Depression.

[65]Sidney J. Williams, "Safety at the Boulder Dam" (Special Representative to the Division of Labor Standards, the United States Department of Labor), January 29, 1935, MS 78, Morgan J. Sweeney Papers, Special Collections, Boulder City Museum and Historical Society, 1-2.

[66]*Ibid.*, 12.

[67]Dunar and McBride, *Building Hoover Dam*, 262.

[68]Six Companies Corporate Records, "Minutes of Board of Directors," August 15, 1931.

[69]Some accidents didn't even happened on the job. Dam worker Leroy Burt indicated that a peer, Denny Greenwood, broke his leg in a fight with his brother, but went to the Arizona side to collect compensation. See Dunar and McBride, *Building Hoover Dam*, 262-64.

[70]The results of these tests revealed what scientists already assumed about the effects of carbon monoxide: Exposure to the gas made their human subjects seriously ill. Sellars, *Hazards on the Job*, 168.

[71]In truth, Six Companies had a $300,000 investment in the trucks. They knew that carbon monoxide was lethal, but chose to honor their investment over the health of their workers. "Higher Bond To Be Demanded in Big Six Dam Suit," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, (18 November 1931), 2:5-6.

[72]"Higher Bond To Be Demanded," 2:5-6.

[73]"Mashburn Hurls Monkey Wrench in Big 6 Plans," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (4 November 1931), 1:3.

[74]"Eugene F. McCarthy Tunnel Man Passes," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (11 December 1931), 7:4.

[75] The Industrial Workers of the World—the IWW or the Wobblies—is a radical labor union that had its beginnings in Chicago in 1905. The organization grew out of the Western Federation of Mines, and its members were all workers, skilled or unskilled, with no restrictions as to race, occupation, ethnic background, or sex. The IWW advocated and organized many strikes and slowdowns. From 1906 to 1929, the Wobblies were responsible for 150 strikes, including a miners' strike in Goldfield, Nevada, from 1906 to 1907. The IWW lost its strength in the 1920s after federal and state repression and planned to organize two strikes at the Boulder Canyon Project to prove itself as a viable union. Both attempts failed. See "Iron Heel Is Used to Stifle All Squawks," *Industrial Worker* (26 January 1932); Rocha, "The I.W.W. and the Boulder Canyon Project," 213-34.

[76]"Workmen on Dam Job File Suit," *Los Angeles Times* (11 February 1934), 22.

[77]*E. F. Kraus v. Six Companies, Inc., Frank Bryant, and John Tacke,* Petitioner filed in Eighth Judicial District Court of Nevada, No. 4499, April 13, 1933. *Jack F. Norman v. Six Companies, Inc.,* Petitioner filed in Eighth Judicial District Court of Nevada, No. 5256, May 24, 1934. Records are available at the Clark County Courthouse. The McNamee Papers, manuscripts from lawyers involved in the cases, also are located at the Nevada State Museum in Las Vegas. Six Companies hired Jim Moretti to uncover evidence to incriminate Ed Kraus, with whom he spent three months. Kraus drank, gambled, and regularly had sex with a woman named Merle; this last ultimately discredited his case because he claimed that carbon monoxide compromised his ability to perform sexually. In addition, Moretti's testimony to the jury did not paint the picture of an ailing man. In the second case, brought by Jack Norman, Six Companies bribed at least three men on the jury to reach a verdict in their favor. See Stevens, *Hoover Dam,* 207-13, for a lengthy description of the trials.

[78]Stevens, *Hoover Dam,* 213.

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Book Reviews

A Decent, Orderly Lynching: The Montana Vigilantes. By Frederick Allen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004)

The topic of American mob violence was largely absent from the realm of historical inquiry until after the Watts and other riots of the sixties. Since that time a number of significant studies have been published. One of the most recent, *A Decent, Orderly Lynching: The Montana Vigilantes* by Frederick Allen, examines the band of men, oft regarded as heroes, who dispensed rogue justice in early western Montana mining towns. The result is a well-crafted study that will prove beneficial to scholars and general readers alike.

Allen begins his narrative in December 1863 with the murder of a young errand boy near the small mining town of Nevada City. Concern over the incident and the lack of nearby law enforcement prompted a dozen or so men to join together in an effort to find and punish the murderers. Thus, the Montana Vigilante Committee, whose membership eventually exceeded a thousand men, was born. The Committee remained overtly active for the next six years, with its efforts resulting in the executions of more than fifty suspected criminals. One of its most infamous victims was the supposedly corrupt Sheriff Henry Plummer. Allen places Plummer's story at the center of most of his narrative, weaving in background information on other key players and the events leading up to the formation of the movement. He also details the Committee's activities and eventual dissolution, and even includes an epilogue in which he explores "what became of [the] cast of characters" (361).

Although it is obvious that Allen does not condone the actions of the Vigilante Committee, his presentation of its individual members is respectful. Most are portrayed as men "torn between the good and evil sides of [their] character" (xxiii). Sidney Edgerton, who became Montana's first territorial governor, is perhaps the only character who comes across as shallow and one-sided. Besides placing a significant portion of blame on Edgerton, who was serving as chief justice during the beginnings of the vigilante movement, for failing to bring some sort of order to the lawless territory and thereby keep the vigilantes in check, Allen portrays him as interested only in political advancement.

The story of the Montana Vigilante Committee quite naturally centers on men. Allen does not, however, make the mistake of painting a portrait of a mining town that exists without women. Neither does he leave Native Americans

out of his story or fail to place his narrative within the larger context of American history. Instead, he portrays a region populated by diverse and complex people who were trying to survive the effects of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and territorial politics. In fact, demonstrating how these larger national events affected the residents of Montana is one of the most significant contributions *A Decent, Orderly Lynching* makes.

A Decent, Orderly Lynching also makes an important contribution to the understanding of mob violence. As in the case of other nineteenth-century mobs, the Montana Vigilante Committee was largely made up of upstanding citizens who felt that "circumstances may arise when for the benefit of the community at large good men may be compelled to disregard the laws and rights of the citizens for the time being and deal out swift and certain punishments" (300). And like other mob groups, members of the Montana Vigilantes were often educated and professional men who ran the organization in an orderly fashion according to a formal statement of purpose and, ironically, adhered strictly to democratic principles such as voting to determine the fate of captured criminals.

A Decent, Orderly Lynching is clearly well researched. Allen consulted a large number of secondary and primary sources, including journals, newspaper accounts and court records. That Allen's narrative makes clear when he is speculating rather than presenting provable facts also inspires confidence in his ability to interpret these various sources accurately. Over-all, scholars and general readers interested in western, Montana, or mob history will find *A Decent, Orderly Lynching* well worth their time.

Debra Marsh
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Kit Carson and His Three Wives: A Family History. By Marc Simmons (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003)

Marc Simmons continues his numerous contributions to the region's history with *Kit Carson and His Three Wives*, a well-written, meticulously documented, treatise on Kit Carson's "struggle to become a settled family man." After more than forty books on the history of the Southwest, ranging from children's books to scholarly works such as the Spanish history of New Mexico, Simmons has been the recipient of numerous awards for his writing ability and his contributions—including knighthood by order of the King of Spain for his contributions to the Spanish colonial history of the Southwest. This work continues in the same vein and is a "Volume in the Calvin P. Horn Lectures in Western History and Culture."

For the academic, there is a twelve-page bibliography of materials spanning the life of Kit Carson, several sections of photographs, thirty pages of notes, and an

index to allow quick reference. Also interspersed with the dialogue over Carson's marriages are discussions of what is actually known, where mistakes stem from, and what is the probability of an incident having really occurred. Simmons gives the reader all of the available evidence concerning an author's interpretation of a facet of Kit Carson's life.

After a brief introduction in which Simmons refers to the debate over Carson's character and how he has been cursed as a villain in recent years, as well as Simmons's customary compliments to persons who aided him, he breaks the book into three major sections to cover Kit Carson's three wives. Through that process, Simmons counters the criticisms of Carson and places his actions into historical context.

The first wife, Waa-nibe, bore him two daughters, and Simmons discusses the discovery of this wife and the second girl child as he places the marriage into a mountain-man context. He describes what a life of marriage would have meant to a "squaw man." The second section addresses his second wife, "Making Out Road," a Plains Indian who divorced him after a relatively short time; Simmons places this marriage into a trapper/trader context. Many individuals are not aware of these two Indian wives and the nature of their relationships. Simmons addresses the customs of Plains Indians with respect to gender relationships and the nature of divorce. The third section is devoted to Carson's third wife, Josefa Jaramillo, who was with him for twenty-five years. She was fifteen when she married the thirty-three-year-old Carson, and she had his eighth child just days before she died, only a short time before his death.

The numerous stories within the marriages provide a look not only at the life of Kit Carson, but at the lives of the peoples who lived during his lifetime. The tale of the Moache Ute who was wearing a pair of store-bought white woman's shoes and said that he had killed the woman to get the shoes is one insight into the character of both Kit and his wife Josefa, as well as their daughter, Teresina. When the Indian struck Teresina with a rawhide whip because of her refusal to serve him, Kit would have killed him, but "Mother begged him to let it go."

Simmons is at his best when he is addressing the multicultural nature of the Southwest. And he does this throughout as he outlines Carson's life. Carson's lifespan included the opening of northern Mexico to Americans during the Mexican period, the Mexican-American War, the Civil War, the Indian wars, and the reservation era. He was a public servant who became impoverished because of his public service, and even though he often sought to be relieved of responsibility, he always served when asked. He entered the military service to defend New Mexico for the Union during the Civil War against the Confederacy, and, while that threat ended by 1862, he remained in military service until 1867, when the Civil War had long been over.

Marc Simmons has made a significant contribution for those persons who simply enjoy a well-told story as well as for historians of the region.

David A. Sandoval
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Spreading the Word: A History of Information in the California Gold Rush. By Richard T. Stillson (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006)

Richard T. Stillson's *Spreading the Word: A History of Information in the California Gold Rush* tells an otherwise well-known story but employs media, including newspapers, maps, and government-issued guidebooks not ordinarily featured in standard accounts to examine the ways in which travelers obtained, assessed, and used information during the California gold rush of 1849-51. Although many of the primary sources cited in the book may be familiar to media scholars, Stillson, who holds doctorates in both economics and history and is a George Mason University history professor, interprets the gold rush in terms of the value that consumers placed on information to produce desired economic results, a compelling angle not previously explored in histories of the era.

According to Stillson, when news of the gold rush first appeared in eastern newspapers, the scarcity of information about travels in the West posed serious problems for potential gold seekers—few had any practical knowledge of how to navigate the West's vast deserts and mountains, or even how to mine gold. Responding to the demand for information and hastening to profit from gold fever, newspaper editors, publishers, and businessmen quickly produced news stories, surveys, and travel guides; however, much of the material was unreliable, contradictory, and changed frequently.

Stillson's thesis suggests that for "goldrushers," as he calls them, both success and failure in their endeavors was based on their ability to discern the credibility of information. He features three forms of assessment tools for interpreting the primary sources of the gold rush era: the content and limits of contemporary communications, the mechanisms used to disperse information, and the perceived credibility of the information's content. In this assessment schema, the credibility of information in particular plays a noticeably recurring role in the text. One of the themes of the study, Stillson writes, is how credibility criteria such as trusted sources and markers—for example, official government markings and military titles—changed relative to the location, time, and the experience of the goldrushers using them. "Credibility criteria that were crucial in 1849 carried less weight in 1850, and a new source of credibility, the personal experience of ordinary people, became important" (181).

The book's narrative follows several gold rush companies across the country, gleaning from their letters and diaries a sense of how they initially obtained information, evaluated its constantly changing sources, and attempted to learn the location of gold, thus providing information to the next wave of gold seekers. As the companies gained experience, they reassessed knowledge and developed new modes of determining the credibility of new information, leading Stillson to conclude that the information associated with the gold rush, as well as with other episodes in American history, can be assessed according to the particularities of time, place, and institutional constraints. Absent criteria for establishing cred-

ibility, he writes, people of different eras will invent, accurately or erroneously, their own methods for assessing information (185).

Maps and illustrations accompanying the text provide not only a sense of the sources used by the goldrushers, but also the credibility markers, such as stamps from various government agencies, military titles, and indicators of authority. Among the book's appendices is included a section of various government-issued guidebooks to illustrate the featured credibility markers, which in previous histories no doubt have been overlooked.

By providing a historical context for assessing information and by viewing communication strategies as a core element of the gold rush itself, Stillson reveals a connection among media, myth, and reality in the formative years of the nation's most volatile region. The book's most perceptive interpretations include attention to the pursuit of wealth and how it contributed directly to the production and consumption of the printed word. As part of Stillson's conclusion, he suggests the gold rush experience "illustrates the historical contingency of information analysis and indicates that the approach used herein is an appropriate methodology for this subject" (184).

While the book indeed provides a new perspective on a particular episode in American history, it also opens an opportunity for future study of events related to the gold rush. Stillson addresses, on a cursory level, partisan issues associated with westward expansion, and his introduction provides an overview of the divisive role the Mexican-American War played in antebellum politics; but subsequent studies may benefit from additional attention to the way in which information related to the gold rush influenced the decisions of Democratic and Whig partisans in Congress regarding their debates over statehood for western territories and, ultimately, the related movement of the nation toward civil war.

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Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century. By Gregory E. Smoak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006)

While Gregory E. Smoak's *Ghost Dances and Identity* is truly a well-written, enjoyable book, it leaves the reader wondering whether the current trend of historical revisionism has gone too far. In Native American studies, the current trend initiated by the 1990s has been to take Indians out of the passive role of victim to give them an active voice in their own history and demise. For example, Elliott West did this marvelously in his 1995 book, *The Way to the West,* where

he argued that Native Americans themselves played an important role in the destruction of the buffalo on the Central Plains. Smoak's manuscript follows in West's footsteps: In place of the longstanding view of the late nineteenth-century Ghost Dances as "heartbreaking delusions" constructed by desperate Indians, his new view regards the Ghost Dances as a vehicle for meaningful racial and ethnic empowerment (2). The longstanding view holds that Native American religion, culture, and economy gradually disintegrated until the Indians finally launched a hopeless counterassault, spurred on by religious ideas in Ghost Dances that were in fact more white than Indian, and that ultimately proved delusional with the final massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. By contrast, Smoak's new view asserts that there was nothing hopeless about the Indian counterassault and that the religious ideas of the Ghost Dance were inherently Indian in origin.

For Smoak, the Ghost Dances were "functional, not delusional" (2). Although this view clearly places Native Americans in a role as active participants in the conscious construction of their own Indian identity, it also makes history more difficult than it needs to be. Smoak argues that instead of the simple, straightforward, longstanding view that Indians launched a desperate last-ditch effort using pseudo-Indian ideas, a "more reasonable approach" is to "seek to understand the interplay between culture and history, pre-existing belief and deprivation, and internal order and external motivation" (201). In truth, there is nothing more reasonable about this approach. It is needlessly complex and obfuscates the very clear notion that Indians themselves held at the time: that they were dying out as a race of people. Native Americans saw themselves being supplanted in every way by the dominant American religion, culture, and economy.

In laying the groundwork for the idea that conflict leads to the strengthening of racial and ethnic identity, Smoak begins with an examination of the Western Shoshone, or Newe people, as they were threatened by other tribes. Newe conflict with Blackfeet led to divisions in Newe society and culture while binding other Indian groups into a shared identity with the Newe people. For example, the "Blackfoot war and the restrictions it imposed on Newe subsistence created a major impetus for the development of larger social formations among the buffalo hunters" (26). Even conflicts with other Indian tribes reinforced racial and ethnic identity among tribes; the process would simply repeat itself as Native Americans came into conflict with whites. By 1862, Shoshone and Bannock Indians, based in Idaho and stretching south into Nevada and Utah, and west and east into Oregon and Wyoming, were at war with the whites. During war, conflict shaped Indian identity. As Native Americans lost and were placed onto reservations, conflict continued to shape their identity. Ethnic tensions developed where Bannocks saw the reservations as theirs. Shoshones developed even more ethnic cohesion on the reservations. Rather than exterminating a sense of Indianness by forcing Indians to farm and adopt white customs, white policies were actually reconfiguring Indian allegiances and strengthening Indian identity.

In the 1870s, the Indian prophet Wodziwob introduced a Ghost Dance inspired by old rituals and religious ideals that suggested Native Americans would re-unite on earth after a resurrection of the dead to regain control of their land and culture. The origins of this Ghost Dance began in western Nevada and traveled east. Ultimately, the Bannocks, animated by this pro-Indian, anti-white message, broke from reservation life and attempted to unite fragmented tribes under one banner. The Bannocks used a "racial sense of Indianness in their appeal for allies" and they "designated the whites" as their "common enemy" (142). Like so many earlier attempts at Indian unity, this appeal also failed. American soldiers put down the rebellion, ending militant resistance to the reservation system.

By 1890, the visions of Wovoka, a Northern Paiute shaman, reinvigorated the Native American dream for a united Indianness. Despite years of forced assimilation, Indians were a distinct people with an origin distinct from whites. In fact, "wearing white man's clothing, cutting one's hair, and learning how to farm did not kill the Indian" but created a "new sense of Indianness" (153). While the 1890 Ghost Dance did include more Christian influence than the 1870s version, it still primarily drew upon earlier Indian views of redemption and resurrection. And, like the 1870s version, this Ghost Dance came to an unfortunate end. The massacre at Wounded Knee in the winter of 1890 symbolized the end of Indian independence across the country.

Ultimately, Gregory Smoak's *Ghost Dances and Identity* provides a fascinating read that reveals an array of nuances that reframe our perspective on Native American identity in the late nineteenth century, but it goes too far in trying to undermine the traditional conclusion that Ghost Dances were the result of Native American deprivation on and off the reservation. After all, Charles Eastman, or *Ohiyesa* in his native Sioux language, had scanned the plains of the massacre at Wounded Knee and been compelled to write *The Soul of the Indian* in an effort to capture Native American religion before it died out entirely as a result of such Indian deprivation. Yes, he certainly may have felt a sense of pride in his Indianness, but it was the result of hopeless defeat. The fact that Native American culture did not die as expected but instead has seen a resurgence since the 1960s does not mean that success in re-establishing an Indian identity in the twentieth century can be translated back a hundred years. A hundred years ago the Native Americans were desperate and lost. Today, they have, to a certain extent, found themselves. That dichotomy was definitively captured in Patricia Limerick's 1987 classic, *The Legacy of Conquest*, where she demonstrated that the nineteenth century was about the conquest of minority groups, but the twentieth century was about their resurgence.

Don F. Shepherd
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The Overland Journey from Utah to California: Wagon Travel from the City of Saints to the City of Angels. By Edward Leo Lyman (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2004)

Between 1849 and 1869, approximately twenty thousand overland emigrants journeyed to California by way of the so-called Southern Route that tied Salt Lake City to Los Angeles. Branching off from the more famous and heavily traveled California Trail, the Southern Route ran due south from the recently settled Mormon capital and then essentially retraced the western half of the Old Spanish Trail, the pack-mule caravan road opened in 1829 to connect Santa Fe and Los Angeles. Spanning some eight hundred fifty miles of forbidding desert terrain, the trail precariously linked a series of freshwater springs and oases to form what the historian Edward Leo Lyman claims was "the nation's most difficult wagon road" (1).

Despite its many obstacles, the Southern Route described in *The Overland Journey* provided a viable, albeit circuitous, alternative for fall and winter travelers bound for the gold fields of northern California. Although open year-round, the Southern Route received its heaviest use as an emigrant road between October and April of each year, when heavy snows blocked the trans-Sierra passes traversed by the California Trail. While summer travel over the route remained quite possible and surprisingly frequent, soaring temperatures, shrinking water holes, and shriveling forage meant that "those who ventured over it between July and September were risking more than just extreme discomfort" (173). Still, the desert road proved remarkably safe for human travelers, and only fifteen people are known to have died (almost all from illness and disease) during the peak years of emigrant traffic between 1849 and 1856.

Meanwhile, in addition to serving as an emigrant trail, the Southern Route also figured prominently as a supply road that provided a vital lifeline for Mormon Utah (178). As Brigham Young's outlet to the sea, the desert highway linked Salt Lake City to the Pacific port of San Pedro and, along the way, to the short-lived Mormon outposts that flourished during the 1850s at Las Vegas and San Bernardino. Until the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, sturdy wagons, each loaded with several tons of freight pulled by eight-to-twelve-mule "jerk line" teams, kept the new Mormon Zion well supplied with manufactured goods from the outside world.

The driving of the Golden Spike at Promontory, Utah, brought the heyday of the Southern Route to an abrupt end but, for many years afterward, portions of the road continued to carry considerable local traffic. This was particularly true not only within Utah itself, but also at the southern end of the road, which connected Los Angeles to the booming gold and silver mining camps that sprang up throughout the Mojave Desert during the 1870s and 1880s.

The colorful saga of the Southern Route is told in painstaking detail by Edward Leo Lyman, whose interest here is as much personal as it is scholarly. A

"veteran of some 270 automobile trips over this road" (xiii), Lyman's passion for the Southern Route stems from the fact that his great-great-grandfather, Amasa M. Lyman, was a frequent voyager on the wagon trail. The elder Lyman, one of Brigham Young's twelve apostles, first traveled the road in 1851 when the Mormon patriarch dispatched him to help found the San Bernardino colony.

Apostle Lyman would no doubt be pleased by the historian Lyman's thoroughly researched book, which draws heavily from nearly one hundred twenty diaries, memoirs, and other first-hand travel accounts. Copiously illustrated with four maps and more than fifty drawings, paintings, and photographs, Lyman's richly detailed narrative not only traces every mile of the road but also catalogues each of the Southern Paiute bands that resided along the way. Lyman's assessment of the complex relations among Paiutes, Mormons, and white American "gentiles" includes a provocative chapter on the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, in which Mormon militiamen and their Paiute allies besieged, disarmed, and then slaughtered approximately one hundred twenty emigrants from Arkansas led by the ill-fated Alexander Fancher.

Lyman's careful reconstruction of the events leading up to Mountain Meadows adds greatly to the value of his book. This is no mere trail history. Despite its flat prose and its almost antiquarian obsession with trail trivia, Lyman's diligent survey of the relatively obscure Southern Route makes an important and welcome contribution to the history of overland wagon travel in America.

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Imagining the Big Open: Nature, Identity and Play in the New West. Edited by Lisa Nicholas, Elaine M. Bapis, Thomas J. Harvey (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003)

The Old West extractive industries of mining, lumbering, and grazing have given way to leisure, recreation, and consumption in the same landscape. In their search for authentic experiences, tourists and new residents have helped create the Tourist West based on Western scenery and amenities such as proximity to public lands. Bernard de Voto defined the American West as a colony of the East, and indeed Exxon Corporation in the early 1980s had the gall to label its massive oil-shale development the Colony Oil Shale Project (whose vice president was William T. Slick). That Colorado project went bust.

As in western Colorado, "a landscape of production was gradually transformed into a landscape of leisure" (123), state Meredith Wiltsie and William Wycoff in describing Red Lodge, Montana. Welcome to the New West where

gated communities are for condos, not cows, and instead of saddling up Old Paint, modern modem cowboys telecommute from their mountain retreats.

In *Imagining the Big Open*, Lisa Nicholas, Elaine M. Bapis, and Thomas J. Harvey have done an excellent job of compiling a snapshot look at recreation and leisure in the twenty-first century West, using a variety of case studies on everything from the Buffalo Commons idea on the Great Plains to cowboy-and-Indian iconography in Robert Redford's Sundance catalog. This excellent volume functions as a New West reader with chapters on the interest in reintroduction of the wolf, competition between climbers and eighteen different Native American tribes for Devils Tower in Wyoming, and analyses of how small towns have evolved and survived.

In Red Lodge, Montana, once a company-owned coal town, "day spas and microbreweries have replaced brothels and union halls" (125). Michael Amundson's chapter titled "Yellowcake to Singletrack: Culture, Community, and Identity in Moab, Utah" traces the change in Moab from its place as "uranium capital of the world" to "mountain bike capital of the world," a change induced by babyboomers seeking "an active lifestyle to gratify ideas of self-presentation and to overcome inadequate satisfaction in work, consumption, and personal relationships" (155).

With five sections and fifteen chapters, *Imagining the Big Open* literally and figuratively covers the ground and addresses themes of mountaineering, fly fishing, western popular culture, and the enigmatic, environmental cowboy actor Robert Redford, who, by virtue of his breathtaking Western films "places himself in the somewhat peculiar role of helping destroy the very thing for which he pines . . . yet in his films, Redford nonetheless resolutely laments the replacement of the 'true' westerners by their inauthentic urban substitutes" (266).

Robert Dykstra and Jo Ann Marfra discuss the ever-popular Dodge City, Kansas, and the power of its Boot Hill metaphor. The transitory yet legendary violence of Dodge City during its rough-and-tumble cattle shipping days has moved from western history to modern media myth. Even former president George H. W. Bush, having lost the 1992 election to Bill Clinton, "refused to debate critics of his White House legacy. 'They of course are free to do their thing,' he said. 'Mine is to stay the hell out of Dodge'" (230).

Amanda Rees discusses the future of the Great Plains in "Buffalo Chips or Computer Chips?" and Alicia Barber explains Nevada's mining history in "Reno's Silver Legacy: Gambling on the Past in the Urban New West," analyzing why a major Reno casino emulates the Old West by "essentially invoking a historic economic bonanza in the hopes of securing a contemporary one" (206).

Despite its ambiguous title, *Imagining the Big Open* succeeds as a primer to the New West world of lifestyle identities. The editors have accurately chosen essays which "discuss how the New Western space gets constructed and the repercussions of how we make meaning of this space" (xiii). Their rationale avoids guilt and angst about conquest and historiographic tragedy. They state,

"We are also departing from the New Western history, which focuses on presumptions of loss and seems in the end only to invert the positivist spin of the 'Old Western' history" (xiii). But a deeper analysis would have been helpful.

Babyboomer retirees, after all, are aging. Instead of marijuana, the drug of choice for many now is Ibuprofen. What happens when all the second homes hit the real-estate market at the same time? And what about the workers? Where is the research on the oil-and-gas-worker West, the casino-worker West, the Wal-Mart West, and locals trying to make a living in an increasingly competitive housing market?

It's okay to take a long lens and look at transformation and leisure for incoming equity émigrés, selling out and moving west, but what about local families? In the days of extractive industries there were economic disparity and housing segregation, but at least there were housing and union wages. Now, service workers get tips but no retirement.

Imagining the Big Open is an important book about social change and landscape use in the twenty-first century. It is hoped that it will inspire other anthologies about The Working West. Robert Redford may bemoan the loss of traditional western values and family ranches and celebrate the Old West in his Sundance catalog, but he's not living in a trailer at the edge of town working double shifts to make ends meet.

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