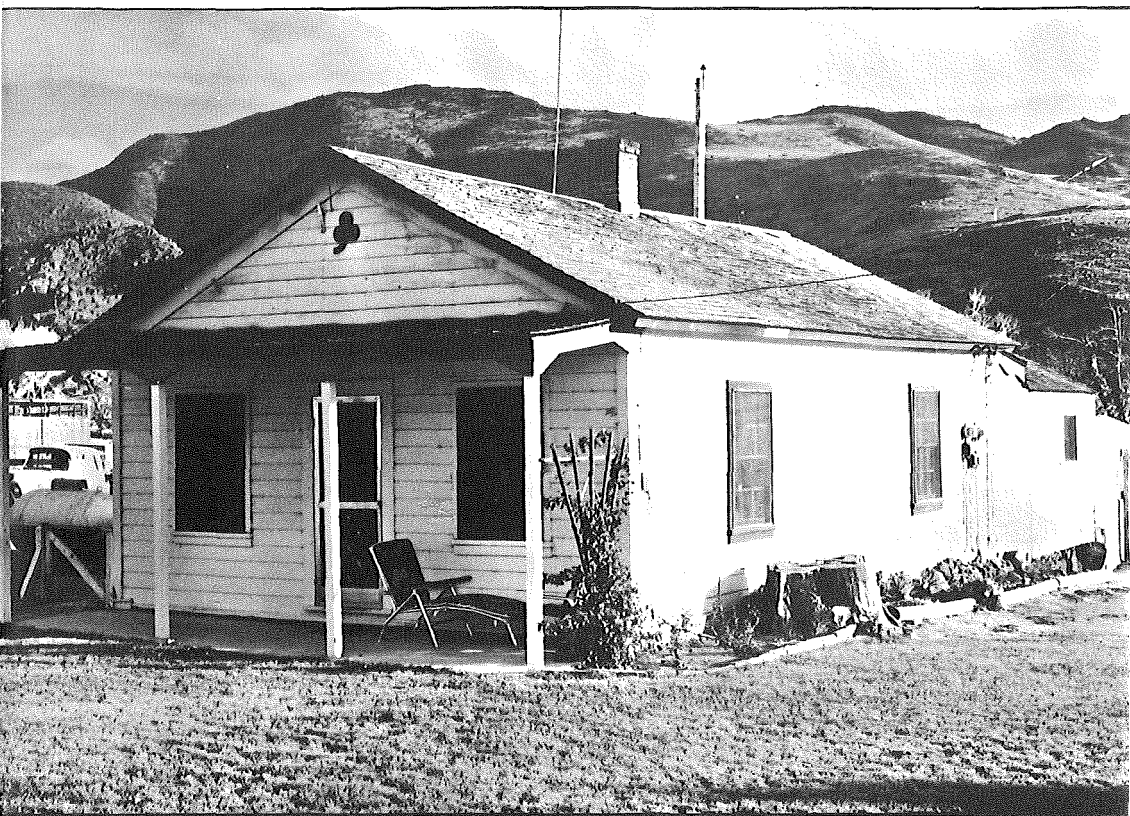




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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Founded in 1904 for the purpose of investigating topics pertaining to the early history of Nevada and of collecting relics for a museum, the **NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY** has dedicated itself to the continuing purpose of preserving the rich heritage of the peoples—past and present—who have inhabited the land of Nevada.

The Society believes that it can best serve the State by arousing in the people an historical consciousness which it hopes will be carried to succeeding generations. Thus, through its director, the Society sponsors an educational program which carries the history of Nevada to the schools and organizations throughout the State.

The Society maintains a library and museum where historical materials of many kinds are on display to the public and are available to students and scholars.

The Society publishes the **NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S QUARTERLY** which publishes articles of interest to readers in the social, cultural, economic, and political history of the Great Basin area: Nevada, eastern California, eastern and southern Oregon, Idaho, and Utah.

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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PATRICK ANTHONY McCARRAN
Part II

SISTER MARGARET PATRICIA McCARRAN

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COVER

Another view of the McCarran Ranch house, twelve miles east of Sparks, Nevada, in Washoe and Storey Counties.

—Walt Mulcahy photo

Patrick Anthony McCarran
1876-1954



Congressional Hall of Fame
National Capitol Rotunda

PART II

BEGINNING THE SECOND TERM

McCarran's second term in the Senate of the United States began in the looming shadow cast by World War II and the opening days of the 80th Congress brought the Nevadan power and numerous responsibilities. The *Las Vegas Age* summed these up:

MCCARRAN GETS IMPORTANT POSTS

Senator Pat McCarran was yesterday named to important subcommittees of the appropriations committee including subcommittees for appropriations for interior department and for agriculture in addition to the following appropriations committees subcommittees on which he served before: Independent offices; legislative establishments; state, justice, commerce, labor, treasury and post office. These new assignments are very important to Nevada since 70 per cent of the entire territory of Nevada is open to public domain and therefore under the department of interior. The interior department subcommittee also includes appropriations for bureau of mines, geology and other divisions having to do with mining. This, together with the senator's position on the agriculture subcommittee gives him a hand in the appropriations of the two industries paramount in Nevada—mining and agriculture. Besides appropriations, Senator McCarran's committee assignments include judiciary, public lands and survey, reclamation and irrigation, and District of Columbia.¹

MCCARRAN HEADS SUBCOMMITTEE IN SENATE

Senator McCarran this week became chairman of the senate subcommittee that passes on appropriations for the department of state, justice, commerce and labor.

He also became a member of the senate appropriations committee subcommittee on deficiency appropriations.

McCarran is chairman of the Senate District of Columbia committee, ranking member of the Senate Judiciary and Reclamation and Irrigation Committees, and a member of the Senate Public Lands and Surveys Committee, as well as the Appropriations Committee.²

Five bills of immediate importance concerning both Nevada's interests and his own drive for a sound aviation law, McCarran introduced on the opening day. *Las Vegas Age* read:

MCCARRAN BILLS ARE INTRODUCED

Senator Pat McCarran today (Jan. 5) introduced five important measures for senate consideration: an anti-cattle rustling act, a bill to provide for senate ratification of foreign trade agreements, an act authorizing the secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to white settlers

in the Pyramid Lake Indian reservation, a bill to provide for postal employees' longevity, and a resolution adding a standing committee on civil aviation and aeronautics.³

By July, 1939, the *Las Vegas Age*, which had been caustic in criticism of McCarran heretofore now made a suggestion that McCarran might be the Democratic nominee for President in 1940. The *Las Vegas Age* in its western innocence doubtless hoped the Republican nominee should win but its suggestion carried deep connotations. McCarran was already working to build America's fortress and keep America out of the European war:

McCARRAN WOULD TAKE NOMINATION PUBLISHER SAYS

Senator McCarran, junior solon from Nevada, would be in a receptive mood to accept the democratic party nomination for president, A. R. Hopkins, Goldfield publisher indicated following the publication of an editorial in the *Goldfield News-Tribune* hinting of the possibility of McCarran being chosen to head the party in the 1940 campaign.

The *News-Tribune* editorial was quoted:

McCarran has established a reputation for sound statesmanship and admirable courage. His senatorial career has also demonstrated that he had an executive mind. . . . It is not unlikely that a great westerner like McCarran, whose record is unsmearred by eastern intrigue might be the man to capture the convention.⁴

He wrote a somewhat cryptic message to Pete Petersen, the Reno Postmaster, the man who represented party organization, election tactics, knowledgeability of state machinery and personal friendship.⁵

I wish you would avail yourself of the first opportunity to see the Governor and tell him that in my judgement a very complete change is going to take place in this country in the not far distant future, and that if we are to hold things in the present status in Nevada we should effect a complete program as quickly as possible.

Recommending the name of Dick Sheehy to the Governor, McCarran said:

Lines are being formed here very quickly; groups are being organized. It looks like a life and death struggle. I am afraid that I will not be able to give much time to the all important matter of State organization.

The meaning becomes clearer in a letter to Sister Margaret Patricia in March, 1940.⁶

I am writing this in the Chair presiding over the Senate; Senator Vandenburg is speaking against the reciprocal tariff bill; I had the floor yesterday on same subject.

We are in a very interesting fight to try to hold our dear old Constitution.

In the previous Fall, the hopeful designer of a decoy submarine bomb wrote to McCarran from Overton, Nevada, (near Las Vegas) "We of your home state have come to regard you as a most sturdy champion of our interests particularly at this time in the cause of peace."⁷

Senator McCarran's telegraphed reply read:

Submit your drawing of said bomb to the chief of the Bureau of Ordnance of the Navy; have requested him to look into the possibilities of your idea carefully.⁸

Embattled against America's entry into Europe's war, the Senator still agreed with the hopes of Reno Superintendent of city schools, Otis Vaughn, that the R.O.T.C. be expanded and training be introduced even in high school classes, gym, and summer camps. McCarran was simplistic enough to act on the principle that a strong man, armed, "keeps his court" and so his possessions are in peace. The *Review Journal* of Las Vegas carried, in March, 1939, the account of McCarran's having introduced a bill to stockpile raw materials needed in wartime industry to be found in Nevada:

The bill provides that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy shall purchase such commodities under the terms of the Buy America Act of 1933, which gives preference to ores and materials of domestic origin for storage. These would then be used in time of war.

PUBLIC DOMAIN

When McCarran was elected in 1932, the background was already laid for success or tragedy in the handling of Public Lands.⁹ The Taylor Grazing Bill was being prepared in the minds of Agriculture Department personnel because the need for equitable regulation had been pointed out in April of 1932 in a scholarly and scientific brochure, *The Public Domain of Nevada and Factors Affecting Its Use*, by E. O. Wooton. At that time, the Department of Agriculture of the United States was headed by Arthur M. Hyde and R. W. Dunlap.¹⁰ This report or bulletin had advocated cession of the lands to the States and at least, subdivision and individual control. The American National Livestock Association and members desirous of improving their business had advocated better management of the ranges. In 1919, Clay Tallman (one time, of Tonopah and Reno) was Commissioner of the General Land Office of the Interior and he pressed for a plan that would obviate overgrazing according to the principle that a single State could best manage according to its peculiar situation—Nevada had a greater acreage of public land than any other State; public domain constituted a greater proportion of the whole land than in any other State and its whole agricultural organization was determined by the use made of the public lands and domain. Methods of control based on control of stock water were impossible in Nevada; yet Ne-

vada needed relief from the struggle between sheep and cattle producers and “nomadism.”¹¹

The Wooten report concluded with the suggestion that if there were any water catchment or forests that were not being used (being unknown) then the national government should take control of these but since the stockmen had taken up all available range, and built the State’s economy on their arrangements over the years, being the State’s large taxpayers, they should not be disturbed and new arrangements should involve regional and not State boundaries only. This last suggestion about “regional arrangements” was perhaps the Achilles heel of State option.

Two years later, Senator Norris of Nebraska introduced S.B. 289 of the 74th Congress calling for a report by the Forest Service and Senate Document No. 199, a resume’ appeared in 1936 from the Government Printing Office, *The Major Range Problems and Their Solution*. This was issued over the signature of Henry Agard Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture. In tones presaging Interior Secretary Stewart Udall’s pronouncement that his department would “phase the cattlemen out in ten years,” it impugned private property—“The commonly accepted theory that private ownership in itself is enough of an incentive to insure the satisfactory handling of range lands has proved to be true only in case of exceptional ranches.” It charged itself with “inter-related problems of human welfare.” It thus charged itself with the following objectives:

Place all range lands under management that will stop depletion . . . maintain the resource in perpetuity . . . permitting its use . . . to involve drastic reductions of stock on overgrazed ranges and . . . various forms of use such as livestock grazing, watershed service, wildlife production . . . correlated to obtain the maximum private and public benefits. . . . Return to public ownership of lands so low in productivity or . . . devastated or requiring such large expenditure to protect high public values that private owners can hold them only at a loss. . . . Adjustments in size of ownership units to make both private and public ownership feasible and effective, is it its proper sphere . . . to put jurisdiction over publicly owned range lands on a sound basis . . . to concentrate responsibility for the administration of Federal lands on a sound basis . . . to concentrate responsibility for the administration of Federal lands in a single department. . . . (For) the rehabilitation of western agriculture . . . grazing districts and the public domain should be transferred to the Department of Agriculture.¹²

Finally, Mr. Wallace thought his department called to make a final and most important contribution to “social and economic security and human welfare.” McCarran sensed the wrongheadedness of Wallace’s ideology. However, when his nun-daughters visited Washington in 1941, he proudly intro-

duced them to Mr. Wallace, then Vice President and President of the Senate—the office more than the man formed the concept of propriety.

This resume' of a *Report* prepared in response to Senator Norris' resolution aroused apprehension in Nevada stockmen who had established systems based on water usage and for whom the State had provided a large measure of legal security. They sensed a coming incursion of Federal carefulness. Then the Taylor Grazing Act was passed and they found they had to organize to form Districts, and later, Advisory Boards. Furthermore, each head of cattle would cost each owner five cents to use the public lands. The Interior Department superceding the Agriculture Department, insisted it could administer the Act with an appropriation of \$150,000 a year.¹³

Into this situation McCarran introduced Senate Resolution 241 (extended by Senate Resolution 39 of the 78th Congress and by every successive Congress at least until McCarran no longer served on the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys after the La Follette-Monroney Reorganization Act, which allowed a Senator to serve on only two major committees).

Under S. 241 introduced by Senator McCarran in 1940, a Senate sub-committee set up hearings on Public Lands; that is, an investigation of the administration and use of all federal lands including the Grazing Service created by the Taylor Grazing Act, Indian lands, Forest Service, National Parks and Bureau of Reclamation. In his *Report* of 1943 he criticized such division in characteristic language. The latter had failed to return to the public domain for customary usages many parcels of land withdrawn to form the Newlands Reclamation Project, and not finally required to complete that project. The need for such an investigation arose from the discontent of users of the public domain, mainly cattlemen and sheepmen, with the overlapping boards and bureaus, the misapplication of ever-rising fees, arbitrariness of the Department of the Interior, the manipulations of the Indian Bureau.¹⁴ (Ramifications into prospecting, mining, and metallurgy were involved but this study proposed to treat mines and mining under another heading.)

The sub-committee's investigation ran for three years and resulted in a gigantic step toward harnessing big government in the Administrative Procedures Act and the Reorganization Act of 1945 whereby McCarran aimed to give legal and constitutional direction to administrative boards and bureaus, and to decentralize and re-orient industry westward after World War II. Without understanding McCarran's propensity for seeing things whole, in fact, for centering principle and law so as to gear the nation under a rule of law and the principle of subsidiarity, readers might conclude that the Public Lands Hearings showed no result.

Impetus was given the investigation in Elko County, Nevada, where Milton Badt, whose family owned the general store and the bank in Wells, Nevada, and who after serving as attorney for many ranchers in Elko, one of

the richest counties in the world, became a Supreme Court Justice, received a wire May 25, 1940, from McCarran:¹⁵

Happy to advise that Senate Committee on control of contingent expenses of senate favorably reported my *Resolution 241* providing for an investigation into administration of public lands. Will move to get this up on floor at earliest opportunity. Confident of success in securing Senate approval. Regards.

William Wright, a leading rancher of Deeth, Nevada, was informed of the Senate's approval May 24, 1940.¹⁶ "*Resolution 241* passed Senate today providing \$10,000 as stipulated in Bill. Regards." The appropriation (\$10,000) seems very small by later standards. F. E. Mollin, Secretary of the American National Livestock Association wired congratulations indicating that the problem was already of nationwide concern.¹⁷ "Congratulations on successful handling of Sen. Res. 241." The mayor of Globe, Arizona, joined Mollin and Elmer Brock, President of the American Livestock Association, to whom the Senator wired:

The Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, through duly authorized subcommittees, under S. Res. 241, approved May 24, 1940, is directed to investigate the purchase, withdrawal, and allocation of lands and the administration and use thereof by or on behalf of the Federal Government or agency thereof, and to report to Senate results together with recommendations, if any, for necessary legislation.

We will hold hearings and would appreciate if you will supply Committee with names, addresses and affiliations of interested individuals, livestock organizations, etc., in order that we may advise them of time and place of hearings.

Would appreciate suggestion as to most convenient place to all concerned to conduct hearings.¹⁸

The problems began to take shape: The Congressman from Wyoming, Frank O. Horton, informed Senator McCarran that at a meeting in Casper, Wyoming, he would be filled in on the "unreasonable rules and regulations laid down by the Secretary of the Interior in carrying out provisions of the amendments to the oil and gas leasing Act of 1920."¹⁹ The "Rehabilitation Program" and Soil Conservation Service and the arbitrary extension of national park boundaries, roused users in Washington state, likewise. A copy of a wire to Colorado Senator Alva B. Adams warned McCarran against the Interior Department, specifically encroachments by Taylor Grazing Act administration.²⁰ Hearings were contemplated for autumn in eastern Nevada. George W. Storck was engaged as investigator for the Senate Public Lands Subcommittee. He was "borrowed" from the Treasury Department and proved most efficient. McCarran rejected suggestions that extensions of oil and gas permits be in-

cluded on the agenda of Resolution 241 because separate bills had been prepared to deal with these.

The future State Senator, Carl F. Dodge, an attorney of Fallon, Nevada, where the Newlands Project of 1903-1912 was a going concern, the water of the Truckee River being brought from Derby Dam by canal to Fallon farms,²¹ alleged in a letter to McCarran that fees charged by federal officers to users of the public domain lands were used for reservoirs and irrigation systems and levied against water users by the government. Meantime, Western Olympic Peninsula settlers, learning of the Hearings to commence in Wyoming begged for Hearings to be held in Olympia, Washington, August 29, 1940. People who had located placer mining claims on public domain found that land once open for claim-staking was being absorbed into park systems. An indignant Pat McCarran replied to the complaints of Mrs. Louise King Graham, whose parents had located near Overton, Nevada, "I assure you the matter will be looked into by the Sub-Committee . . . when they came into Nevada to hold hearings."²² Sometimes the mere threat to investigate or to "hold hearings" was enough to straighten out the thinking of administrators. For instance, in an earlier incident, McCarran was about to launch an investigation of N.R.A. and much support was rallying when the famous Schlecter sick chicken brought NRA before the Supreme Court and NRA was declared unconstitutional.

"IMPACTION" WITH INDIAN BUREAU

In September, 1940, R. F. Camalier of the District of Columbia, having been named Clerk of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, received through Miss Eva Adams, McCarran's administrative Assistant, suggestions on three interesting points: procure for the Senator information from the Department of Interior as to how, by what legal authorization, many acres around Boulder Dam had been established as a "government reserve," and as to what were the present governing regulations over these parcels of land. Camalier was also, rather unobtrusively, as if asking for the general Committee, to ask the Bureau of Indian Affairs to inform him as to the amount of land provided by the government for Indians in Nevada, how much land was under option, how much contemplated for purchase, where located. Camalier was asked to procure the reports of field investigators of the Interior Department, wherein they made recommendations for federal activities in Nevada for the benefit of various Indian reservations.²³ This convenience in favor of Nevada was occasioned by information coming from Wyoming about the machination of the Indian Bureau in regard to a famous Padlock Ranch²⁴ which was bought, ostensibly, for an Indian Council by the Indian Bureau, thereby upsetting the established grazing patterns both of the tribes and of the ranchers. The action was unknown to a number of members of the Tribal Council and not approved by many Indians.^{24a} The

project was the work, it was alleged, of John Collier,²⁵ a well-known Indian Agent. The tale is sad and the import is tyrannous. It is told in detail in the *Partial Report of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys pursuant to S. Resolution 241 (76th Congress)* July, 1943, a United States Printing Office document, page 62. As Advisory Boards were ignored and overridden, Indian Tribal Councils were disregarded and the Indians who desired individual ownership were forced into tribal deals and their funds manipulated to suit the whim of the Indian Bureau and white manipulators who defrauded white ranchers. The Casper (Wyoming) *Tribune-Herald* read:

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS DEFENDS FEDERAL DEAL
FOR PADLOCK RANCH—DENIES PRICE WAS TOO HIGH AND
DECLARES INVESTMENT WILL SHOW PROFIT

White settlers on the Wind River Reservation in central Wyoming told a senate public lands subcommittee today that they had been virtually forced to sell their lands to the government for the Indians.

They declared that in every case Indian Service appraisers had threatened them with the loss of Indian grazing permits if they refused to sell.²⁶

There were indications that Padlock Ranch was politically problematic for Senator O'Mahoney. Here for the first time mention is made of the impact of Senator McCarran's Cattle Theft Bill. Certain influences had opposed the latter Bill up to its final enactment. The topic will be treated later in this chapter.²⁷ In August, 1941, Storck sent to Camalier official minutes of the Shoshone and Arapahoe business conference, along with three petitions bearing three hundred signatures protesting the Government's buying of the Padlock Ranch.²⁸ Storck also wired as follows:²⁹

Padlock Ranch matter handled entirely by Indian Office in Washington. Deal was consummated before either Superintendent of Reservation or Indians knew anything about it.

Original owner of ranch was heavily involved Livestock National Bank of Chicago; property purchased by Frederick H. Prince, prominent stock brokerage house of Boston, Chicago and New York. Prince is also President, or connected with Armour & Co., and a director in Livestock National Bank, and influential politically and socially.

McCarran organized the investigation effectively with Camalier in Washington and George W. Storck traveling the Hearings circuit and writing reports.³⁰ A typical directive to Storck from the Senator would approve of his meetings with cattlemen's executives in Cheyenne, suggest he interview graziers, "try to determine if any threats or promises are being offered to them. Would like full information on grazing Division of Interior Department activity concerning the investigation by this committee."³¹ Storck, kept the Public

Lands problem in constant view despite the Senator's multitudinous other activities and his now more frequent illnesses, wrote to Camalier:

Several days ago I sent a telegram to Senator McCarran requesting authority to employ a stenographer for the purpose of typing statements and making stenographic notes of witnesses that I have been interviewing . . . up to the present I have received no reply, and am told that Senator McCarran is ill . . . one important matter which I wish to direct to your attention is that of the activity on the part of the Department of the Interior. At present they are holding sessions at Salt Lake, having called in grazing officials from the nine states that we have proposed to investigate, evidently to forestall any investigation that may be made by the committee³²

It was becoming known to the subcommittee that agents of the various branches of the Interior Department were circulating in the areas where hearings were anticipated. Camalier wrote to Storck:

Thank you for your telegram which has been shown to Senator McCarran . . . your suggestion that hearings commence in Elko on the 16th is a good one. . . . It is of the utmost importance that you cover all trails of investigators from departments and agencies of the government in order that the committee may have a full report of all activities so far as you are able to determine. Especially, should you confer with leading ranchers who might be called as witnesses and you will be able to know who they are from the list of people you are gathering together for the committee³³

McCarran wanted to learn what was being said, threatened or promised, and he foresaw the complications that could be caused by ubiquitous Federal agents. However, he also knew the remedial effect of the stirring caused by anticipated investigation and the legislative measures to be expected. So, he was calm about the proceedings and, it almost seemed, indifferent. He was hospitalized for several weeks and from his room in Bethesda Naval Hospital he wrote to Mollin:

Senators who have primary elections in their respective states have requested no investigation until after the primary.

But I have not been idle. I propose to make this a real investigation. . . . I propose to go into every public land question and go to the bottom of it.

I don't think we will be able to conclude these hearings this year. The Resolution is of such nature that it is continuous.³⁴

Mollin replied that: "You have more real friends among the stockmen of the west than does any other man in public life today."³⁵

Disheartening postponement resulted not only from the Senator's illness but from the long session of a Congress deeply concerned with the war in

Europe and Roosevelt's measures to aid the "Allies" despite the Neutrality Act. A friend, Ray Richter, wrote Senator McCarran from Boulder City (Hoover Dam) on September 23, 1940, complaining that:

Under present form of management, between the City Manager and the Ranger force, this is a little Russia. The people don't dare express an opinion or they will be persecuted or run out of town.

and McCarran answered in a cheerful vein:

It is scarcely likely that any investigations can be made at the present time of conditions in and around Boulder City, but eventually, under my Resolution, I believe the Committee will take up matters pertaining to government-controlled areas in the West.³⁶

However, by November 4, 1940, he candidly told Camalier and Mollin that hearings must be postponed:

Am improving, but I realize it's difficult for me to go into a hearing at any time during November.

Immediately on being able to leave hospital I shall try to go somewhere—probably Nevada—to get some sun and change.

Reluctantly recommend you arrange that no hearings be held in West by Sub-Committee.³⁷

Meetings must be deferred. Will try to hold meetings as early as possible. Cannot state definite time. Am improving rapidly.³⁸

The same day Camalier announced that unless something could be done about it, George Storck's term with the Committee must end because the Treasury Department Accounting Division required his services.³⁹ McCarran and Storck had continued to plan resumption of subcommittee activities once the elections were over, and Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau continued Storck's leave for three months.⁴⁰ McCarran was very critical of Morgenthau but he worked with him. On election day Senator Pittman, re-elected, died. McCarran made the trip to the funeral but he, himself, was not fully recovered. Storck joined McCarran in Reno and worked continuously keeping in touch with the Washington office and McCarran in his suite at the Riverside Hotel. They went together to southern California to visit Margaret and Mary, then stationed at Pasadena and Ramona in Alhambra respectively. Storck had pleaded that Utah⁴¹ called for investigation as the largest stock-raising state and cries for help from the state of Washington⁴² came loud and clear as the commendations from Montana and Wyoming.⁴³ The year 1940 ended with McCarran holding a towering position in the West and a lowering attitude toward the Interior Department.⁴⁴ Roosevelt, on December 23, 1940, transferred the Forest Service from the Agriculture Department to Interior, doubtless as a means of centralizing a vast organization which had hitherto been

responsive to local needs. McCarran wired his protest.⁴⁵ The move was consistent with the Wallace report only in that it recommended centralization although it had hoped to acquire for Agriculture the powers now shifting into Interior.

A full study of the problems of administration of public lands should be valuable and lengthy. The McCarran investigations were voluminous and opened innumerable questions, 1941 to 1944. To 1954 the effect of S. Res. 241 was to estoppe, or at least retard encroachments by Federal power not only against States' rights but against private property generally. The Senator knew that the war being fought so bitterly in Europe would cause even greater threat of Executive control and centralization. It was also beginning to be hinted that a subversive element was at work within the country bent on its overthrow by the force of eroding propaganda and the hidden violence of denial of constitutional principles. In fact, the Senator noted one person by name and tried to trace his activities; Eshirif Shevky appeared among the agents of the Interior Department instrumental in such manipulation as the purchase of Padlock Ranch, ostensibly for the Indians,⁴⁶ using Arapahoe funds for benefit of Shoshones, but actually for Indian Bureau action against white ranchers. Shevky could not be traced a year later and the investigator suggested he⁴⁷ was operating under an alias in other fields. Through his second term McCarran was motivated mainly by the demands for decentralization, fair play, and fair practices. He tried to maintain or reestablish a rule of law governing the relations of Public Lands, States and the Federal government. Actually, he was pitted against Harold Ickes and his minions in the Department of Interior who were bent on asserting Federal hegemony if not the elimination of free entrepreneurs. He discovered Ickes acting as "owner" rather than custodian.

The pressure built up not only from the executive department but from opportunists seeking advantage from high prices in war time: McCarran advised his investigator to use National Park Service facilities to eliminate "ground for comment" and to hold investigations in a "neutral place" rather than in Albuquerque, in February, 1941.⁴⁸ Mr. Storck was sometimes caught in crossfire:

. . . on one of Mr. Rutledge's visits to Albuquerque, he accused the Forest Service representatives of influencing me by bringing in cattlemen and others and telling me what questions the Forest Service wanted me to ask. . . .

Camalier had hinted that Storck should "ascertain what these people (government agents) were doing." Storck refused to "mix with them."

McCarran conducted investigations as he would conduct a courtroom—no summation or conclusion until all the evidence should be in.

The Senator is greatly pleased at the tenor of the resolutions passed by the Nevada State Cattle Association endorsing and approving the efforts

of the Senator to conduct a fair and impartial yet extensive and vigorous investigation into the use and administration of public lands. Please be assured that the Senator and members of the subcommittee intend to carry this investigation through in this spirit and it is expected that unless conditions in Washington are such as to preclude the Committee leaving the city, hearings will be started in the West this coming summer. . . .⁴⁹

An immediate effect of the European War, however, was the frustration of hope deferred for the stockmen. Congress stayed in Washington and hearings hoped for were postponed.⁵⁰ McCarran told his daughters that Congress must stay in session, mistrustful as it was on the President's maneuvering toward war. Cases in point occurred March 27 and October 22, 1941, when messages such as the following were sent:

The Committee has completed investigation in New Mexico. The Committee plans to continue its study in Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington and hopefully in the State of Montana this summer.

Situation in Washington unable for members of the Subcommittee to make plans to be away. Hopefully to hold hearings in Montana at some future date.⁵¹

Not only stockmen and miners were affected but businessmen also, where the Federal Government imposed a local building code, for instance. Boulder City was an example of Federally created anomaly. McCarran answered Archie Grant's complaint about Federal specifications for the town that had necessarily grown up on Federally administered ground near Boulder Dam.⁵²

The matter of the administration and so forth of Boulder City has been gone into already by the investigator under my resolution S. 241.
Am going to do everything I can to improve the situation.

Sometimes pressures from government officials and differences among sheep and cattle interests called for the secrecy of executive sessions:⁵³

Several key men of livestock industry in this district feel that better results would be obtained if executive hearings were held.

Such situations would later result in McCarran's bill to make the Federal government responsible for the expense to local communities caused by its "Impaction" at military bases and the like.

"Impaction" determined the locus of Nevada Public Lands Hearings through 1941. In May, as herds wandered onto the deserts of Southern Nevada finding the forage and grazing likely to be overlooked by a viewer giving but a sweeping glance at sage, mesquite, and yucca, the Senator notified the secretary of the Lincoln County Livestock Association at Caliente, a railroad

shop town linking the mines of Pioche and the mill two hundred miles away, that he was sending George Storck to study the feasibility of creating a separate "grazing district" for Lincoln County:⁵⁴

As chairman special committee investigating administration of public lands under Taylor Grazing Act, I am directing investigator for the Committee Mr. George W. Storck, to go at once into Lincoln County to investigate, preliminary to holding hearings by my committee on request of stock-raisers of that section for creation of separate grazing district comprising Lincoln County only. Will appreciate your cooperation with him.

Senator McCarran wrote to George Storck:⁵⁵

I request that you go into Lincoln and White Pine Counties. . . . Plan to hold first hearing at Ely (White Pine) but having devil of a time trying to arrange for a date.

As soon as appropriation bills out of way, I'll be on way to West. . . .

We are trying to arrange for extension of your time with the Committee. Immediately the problem of Federal impaction appeared in the form of the proposed creation of a bombing range in Nye County (Tonopah). Of course McCarran pushed for military installations to utilize the deserts and reanimate towns;⁵⁶ so the impaction problem pressed on his own vital interest in grazing and mining. The *Caliente Herald* announced:

STOCKMEN CALL SPECIAL MEETING

(An Advisory Board was to be formed. Such a Board would have some control of fees because by an amendment in the 78th Congress Ickes could not change fees without Advisory Board approval.)

Matters Pertaining to Formation of District Will Be Discussed. Special Investigation of Stockmen's Request Ordered by McCarran.

Officers of the Lincoln County Livestock Association have called a meeting for Saturday afternoon, May 31, for the discussion of matters pertaining to their recent request for formation of a new Taylor grazing district comprising Lincoln county lands only and to adopt the by-laws of the association.⁵⁷

The Lincoln County organization set up some protection for the livestock industry when the gunnery project was created. The hearings often had immediate effects as well as long range objectives. The *Ely Record* notified its readers:

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETS EASTERN NEVADA STOCKMEN

The proposed 75 day ruling (a bureaucratic and unrealistic rule impossible of compliance) of the Taylor Grazing administration will in all probability not be put into effect, it was announced following the con-

clusion of the 2-day hearing held here by the subcommittee on the grazing administration. The general outcome of the meeting will probably be amendments to the Taylor Grazing Act.⁵⁸

The hope that fees would be lowered was voiced by the *Reno Evening Gazette*:

GRAZING FEE CUT PROPOSED

Senate Sub-Committee Will Conclude Hearings in Reno Today
Fees now being charged for grazing privileges under the Taylor grazing act may even be cut from their present level instead of being raised to a higher figure, stockmen attending a land hearing here yesterday were told.

Any attempt to raise grazing fees will certainly meet with most strenuous opposition in the Congress, declared Sen. McCarran, chairman of the senate public lands sub-committee conducting the hearings here.⁵⁹

Even the liaison officer of the "Grazing Service, Department of the Interior" had some suggestions responsive to the enlightenment provided his department by the hearings. He reported that he had dissuaded the "representative (of grazers) of Nevada" from arbitrarily setting up grazing districts "because of public land hearings and the general sentiment in Nevada." A conference with a representative of the General Land Office on its soil and moisture program had resulted in the conclusion that Grazing Service must "make up its mind in the very near future what could be done in Nevada." So the liaison officer concluded that, hopefully, once this was done, "we at least should be willing to go along with the Land Office in *lifting the withdrawal* on the balance of the area."⁶⁰ Italics mark the appearance of another endemic problem: Withdrawal from public use of thousands of acres have been made to commence the Newlands Project with the proviso that lands not used in the Project would be restored to the users of the public domain. Carson Valley stockmen urged compliance with the proviso. The liaison man between Federal Grazing Service and Federal Land Office suggested eventual compliance and "one head." McCarran asked Storck to arrange for Carson Valley Hearings in July, 1941,⁶¹ but only in October was a hearing held in Reno and then the main question was fees. Committee members, especially the chairman, had to return to Washington for a controversial Tax Bill vote; the scheduled September meeting had been cancelled.⁶² However, the *Reno Evening Gazette* could announce hopefully:

POSSIBLE INCREASE IN GRAZING FEE IS DEBATED AT HEARING

The discussion of possible increases in grazing fees took up the morning of the second day of the public land hearings before a senate sub-committee, being conducted by Senators McCarran, Murray, Holman and Wallgren.

It was announced that there is no intent on the part of the grazing service to raise the fees and that studies for the possible increase were based on a decision given by Federal Judge Frank Norcross that was overruled by the United States supreme court.⁶³

Letting the bureau find for itself an excuse for “backing down” was an effective McCarran technique.

TYRANNY OF “FEES” AND “WITHDRAWN LANDS”

In October, 1941, preparations were made for extensive hearings in Las Vegas. McCarran had asked Vernon Metcalf, Secretary-Treasurer of the Nevada Livestock Production Credit Association, to send to him in time for the Las Vegas hearings the testimony of Verdi witnesses, concerned with their inability to secure Forest Grazing privileges in the Dog Valley area, west of Reno, ⁶⁴ so as not to overlook “the little fellow,” for whom McCarran expressed concern to William B. Wright, President of the Nevada State Cattle-men’s Association, as he prepared for the Las Vegas meetings.⁶⁵ Wires went out to all whom Storck had previously been instructed to notify and the *Las Vegas Age* of November 14, 1941, announced the hearings and the persons involved.⁶⁶

McCarran wired Gray Mashburn, Attorney General of Nevada, his former law partner and a characteristic exchange ensued:⁶⁷

Subcommittee of U. S. Senate Committee on Public Lands will hold hearings under Res. 241 in federal building Las Vegas, Nov. 25th. Will be pleased to have your presence or that your office may be represented.

Mashburn, a little piqued, answered by telegram on Nov. 15:

Am wondering what good you contemplate I could do at public hearing in view of fact you have held such hearings in Reno, Elko, and other places more accessible to me and did not notify me.

McCarran answered by telegram of same date with characteristic finesse, hoping not to offend his former partner and trusted friend:

As these hearings continue, new and more important problems arise which could not have been contemplated at the outset. . . . Your splendid knowledge of the law has always been respected by the Chairman of Subcommittee of Committee on Public Lands.

Mashburn answered by telegram on Nov. 18: “Will be there.”

November, 1941, moved tortuously toward the collapse of negotiations with Japan and the ultimatum of November 27 given by the United States to the Japanese envoys. McCarran knew nothing then of the machinations of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Sorge Spy operations aimed at

deflecting the Japanese thrust away from Russia and toward America. Disclosure would come a decade later in McCarran's famous Institute of Pacific Relations Hearings. In November, 1941, his energies were focussed on the scheduled hearings in Las Vegas, Nevada, (November 25th and 26th) and Phoenix, Arizona (November 28th and 29th). The main question concerned fees, ever-rising fees, for the use of the public domain. The *Las Vegas Age* listed other questions: profiteering by taking advantage of government enterprises through locating on public lands, regulation of boats on Lake Mead and other restrictions like charging fees for the use of motion picture cameras, and other grievances arising from Federal impaction.⁶⁸ Besides the chairman, Senator McCarran, the subcommittee included Senators Abe Murdock of Utah, G. McFarland of Arizona, Rufus H. Holman of Oregon, James E. Murray of Montana, Mom C. Walgren of Washington, and Joe O'Mahoney of Wyoming.⁶⁹ Mr. Storck was plagued with details such as arrangements for a banquet for the subcommittee.⁷⁰

On the 24th, Miss Eva Adams, the Senator's Administrative Assistant, was informed at the Apache Hotel in Las Vegas that five or six different agencies of the Interior Department would be present at the Las Vegas and Phoenix Hearings.⁷¹ Rising fees, withdrawals, especially of lands remote from irrigation or reclamation projects, and withdrawals of grazing rights which rendered ranch properties all but worthless, formed the burden of stockmen's discontent. McCarran was in Phoenix on December 3, Miss Adams notified Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden.⁷²

On December 6, 1941, the subcommittee met in Reno. At this time the Carson Valley cattlemen, chiefly the Dangberg interests and the Pinenut Stock Growers' Association⁷³ made vocal their perennial dissatisfaction with fees and their experienced concern with the promised restoration of the withdrawn public domain. The Dangberg enterprises lay within the Truckee-Carson Irrigation District, successor to the Newlands Project. Some progress had been noted in October as the following letter indicated:⁷⁴

On October 6 the Grazing Service was formally requested to assume administration of the lands under reclamation withdrawal in western Nevada which are remote from the Newlands Project. The funds derived from leasing these lands will be deposited in reclamation fund.

The following Resolution from the Associated Livestock Growers of the Carson Valley was forthcoming on December 6:⁷⁵

That the lands so withdrawn under the terms of the Reclamation Act should be restored to the public domain and to the administration of the Taylor Grazing Service or the United States Forest Service.

That we ask the Honorable Pat McCarran, the Honorable Berkeley Bunker and the Honorable J. G. Scrugham to use all their influence to

see that the law is carried out and that the said land is restored to the public domain.

On the next day, to the glee of Winston Churchill, the frustration of Adolph Hitler, the mock shock and profound complacency of Roosevelt, out of the Pacific the east wind blew red. Infamously, the battleships in Pearl Harbor burned.

McCarran had been planning to visit his daughters in Southern California before Christmas, but now he 'phoned them to say, "I fought to prevent our entry into Europe's war but now we have been attacked. I must go back to Washington. I will vote for war." The corrective regulations he had hoped to evoke,⁷⁶ the restoration now more important for those who must feed armies and the world,⁷⁷ the battle against rising fees seemed doomed as America mobilized.⁷⁸ "Impaction" took on new meaning and "mines and metallurgy" new importance. Nevertheless, by January, 1942, the investigation was again in full swing.

Much has been said here about Nevada problems. Other western states received even more attention. A "newsletter" evidently prepared before the fatal December 7, summarized opinion about the Public Lands Hearings in Arizona:⁷⁹

When the Public Lands Hearing opened in Phoenix December 1st, President Horrell whispered to those sitting beside him. 'Well this is something I never expected to see happen'. Believe we all felt that way for, although we sent you word through newsletters that the hearings would be held, we kept our fingers crossed for it didn't seem possible that busy United States Senators would find the time to come and listen to our land problems . . . Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Public Lands and Surveys conducted the hearing, and we feel sure that those who were present will always consider the opportunity to see a man like Senator McCarran in action as one of their special privileges. His sincerity of purpose, and his fight for the people's rights won for him complete admiration and confidence and by the time the hearing was ended everybody was ready to elect him President.

Meantime, Storck revealed to Camalier that some federal agents were taking advantage of public domain regulations to benefit themselves:

Complaint made that certain members of the Forest Service were given a Forest permit to graze livestock to the detriment of stockmen who were unable to secure a permit.⁸⁰ Am thoroughly investigating matters.

Storck's satisfaction with the Arizona Hearings stemmed from the success he had had in getting "the little fellows" to air their grievances as the Senator had urged in a letter to Elmer Brock of the National Livestock Association who had pressed for haste in formulating legislation.⁸¹

Utah, the largest “grazing” state, presented a problem which displayed many of the complications of the situation—those which indicate that Forest Grazing as well as Public Domain privileges should be defined or recognized as base property and that an omnibus law directing the work of all administrative boards and bureaus was clearly called for:⁸²

There is quite a large group of sheep and cattlemen residing in Sanpete and Emery counties of Utah, who, for the past forty years, have used both the National Forests and the Public Domain for the grazing of their livestock, using the forests during the summer season and the Public Domain during the winter season . . . the forest privileges have never yet been acknowledged as commensurate property, which we consider should be considered by the Committee, and some value placed upon it for grazing privileges together with other base property. . . . Therefore, this group of stockmen most earnestly ask that the Forest grazing privileges be recognized as base property to our holdings and the petition made a part of the records of the hearings by the Committee held in Salt Lake City, Utah.

National Forests, Public Domain, seasons, commensurate property, grazing privileges (Taylor Act), lease property, not to speak of sheepmen’s and cattlemen’s differences which federal agents might either comprehend or exploit, not to mention fee-setting—originally intended to cover costs, only—these subjects and their definitions and interrelationship called for comprehensive legislation.

UTAH ATTORNEY RAPS GRAZING SERVICE RULINGS AT HEARING
Administration of Act Injures Men It Should Protect, Says Patterson:
Senator McCarran Stresses Hike in Fees.⁸³

The President of the Nevada State Cattle Association, William B. Wright, had been afraid that the Wyoming Senator might take the chair in Lander and he wired McCarran, and receiving reassurances:⁸⁴

Not long ago, Senator O’Mahoney remarked that the Senate hearings under S. 241 would not amount to much,

Can recall hearings in Idaho several years ago, when, as a matter of courtesy, the Senator of his own state acted as Chairman of hearings in his own state. Hope this doesn’t happen.

Hope that you can convince doubting Thomases like Senator O’Mahoney that when McCarran starts an investigation, it means just that and not the placating of a few constituents nor the white-washing of an administrative agency.

McCarran answered:

Grateful for advice and will conduct myself accordingly when we go

into the other states. Am in earnest about these investigations and will do everything in my power to see no white-washing ever pops up in connection with our activity.

“Existing uncertainties, misunderstandings, and difficulties arising out of the administration of the forest,” caused permittees in the Rio Grande Forest to organize and memorialize Congress seeking their right to organize, and to negotiate with forest officials.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, by the policy committee of the permittees of the Rio Grande Forest with the approval and consent of such permittees, that we urgently request the favorable consideration of the Johnson Bill S. 1030, or some modification thereof which will in effect permit the permittees on the Rio Grande Forest and other forests desiring to avail themselves of such relief, the privilege to, without restraint and freely, select an administration and advisory committee with such powers as to make it possible for them to carry on negotiations with the forest officials in charge to the end that existing uncertainties, misunderstandings and difficulties arising out of the *administration of the forest without the participation of the permittees may be eliminated.*⁸⁵

Administrative agents sought advice from administrative agents on how to “contest”—meaning confront—the McCarran committee:

What should be the right policy or procedure to contact with the Congressional delegation in connection with the establishment of grazing districts in Nevada?

A meeting has been called at Pioche, Nevada, on February 28, at which time the formation of a new district in Lincoln County will be discussed. This includes a portion of the present Ely and Searchlight Districts (Nevada 4 and 5) and possibly the addition of some outside areas.⁸⁶

Soon the creation of Advisory Boards of forest permittees and grazing land users became the object of a Bill introduced by McCarran:

S. 31: to amend the Taylor Grazing Act for the purpose of providing for greater participation by district advisory boards in administration of the Act.⁸⁷

In spite of the disaster of 1941 and the constant attention required of Congressmen in the regaining of the initiative against Germany and Japan, England and France being prostrate, (McCarran’s advice to let Germany and Russia “fight it out” by themselves was scorned of course by the Administration) one achievement rewarded the Public Lands Subcommittee’s efforts, i.e., certain withdrawn lands not needed for Reclamation projects were restored to the public domain. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, wired a reply to Senator McCarran:

The Bureau of Reclamation engaged in making surveys in the several valleys in this section of the State to determine accurately the prospects for future irrigation. (Obviously outside the Newlands Projects.)

The entire matter has been turned over to its Denver office for investigation and an early report.

It is expected that the land not required by the Bureau for the construction of storage works for irrigation will be restored to the Grazing Service for administration.⁸⁸

“Future irrigation” was not the purpose of the withdrawal—only the Newlands Project and “expected” restoration was still doubtful—yet there seemed some hope.

John B. Dangberg, representing the immense Dangberg stock operation in Minden, Nevada, native born of pioneer immigrant families, who had never heard of “factory farming” nor countenanced speculation in the form of cattle grazing by non-residents nor dreamed of “phasing out” the meat industry in favor of “recreation,” received the following notification from McCarran:⁸⁹

From enclosed letter from Secretary Ickes, you will see now that the Bureau of Reclamation has finally made a segregation of the lands it desires to retain and all of this land, together with that not within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Truckee Irrigation District, will be released from reclamation withdrawal.

Of course, there would be many administrative delays before finalization. In a letter to Loren Bamert, President of the California Cattlemen’s Association, John B. Dangberg noted: “You will see that the Bureau of Reclamation is still busy and *not* on making restoration.”⁹⁰ John Curry, secretary of the California Cattlemen’s Association, in a letter to John Dangberg, said regarding the reclamation withdrawal lands in the basin of the Upper Carson River:

No doubt you have furnished full information to Senator McCarran as he is certainly a good friend to the livestock industry.

We are writing to Congressman Harry L. Englebright of California and asking that he assist.⁹¹

McCarran wrote to Dangberg concerning the withdrawal of reclamation lands:

Have enclosed letter to Bureau of Reclamation by Truckee-Carson Irrigation District.

Retaining lands in Townships 11 and 12 North, Range 29 East.

Am sending this to you so that you may consult your attorney and draft a statement to Commissioner of Reclamation.⁹²

Meanwhile, E. S. Haskell had replaced the estimable George Storck as investigator for the Sub-Committee and he in April, 1942, notified concerned persons in the Denver and Glenwood Springs, Colorado, areas of proposed Hearings set for May, depending on the legislative situation in Washington.⁹³

Success in one area of the Sub-Committee's concern seemed near at last:⁹⁴

Land Withdrawal Order Is Vacated: Tracts Restored to Grazing Service. C. F. Dierking, regional grazier, announced an order by Secretary Ickes vacating the withdrawal for reclamation purposes of certain lands in California and Nevada which were included in the Newlands project.

The lands restored to grazing districts total 550,820 acres.

Dangberg wrote the Senator on June 16, 1942:⁹⁵

Sanford just finished drafting a reply to the Haight letter when your second letter with the enclosure from Director Rutledge came.

This is the real thing and covers the entire area affected by the withdrawals.

I am taking the liberty of making your continued effort and cooperation in solving this problem known to the stockmen and officials concerned.

One part of the policy on restoring withdrawn lands was to allow owners of private lands to exchange given parcels for parcels of the public domain. It was already becoming evident that the users of grazing lands would soon be confined by reason of exorbitant fees, to feeding only what they could feed fenced. They were having trouble with the foot-dragging of the Public Land Office of the Department of Interior, as evidenced in correspondence from E. S. Haskell to the Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington, D. C.:

Some time ago, Senator Pat McCarran, Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, forwarded to me a letter of May 11, 1942, from Mr. Wayne McLeod, Surveyor General for the State of Nevada, in which he outlined seemingly long delays which occurred in action upon an application for the exchange of private land for an equal acreage of vacant Government land. . . . I am forwarding herewith a copy of Mr. McLeod's letter and would appreciate such comments as you may think would be of interest to Senator McCarran.⁹⁶

With the ranchers and cattlemen who came before the sub-committee McCarran was "sweet as summer"; he urged them to talk informally in their own language, to imagine the recorders' machines were made of asbestos if their speech should become lurid. With members of the Department of the Interior he was sour and dour. Senate Report No. 404, Part 2, 78th Congress, *The Administration and Use of Public Lands: The Grazing Service, Depart-*

ment of the Interior: Its Growth in 10 Fiscal Years, 1936-1945, shows the Senator at his dourest. Under "Early estimates of cost of administration" dialogue like the following is quoted to show that Ickes had declared he could administer the Taylor Grazing Act on \$150,00—in 1934: "Senator McCarran: 'Have you any definite policy in your mind, or any policy at all, Mr. Secretary, as to the cost of administering of these matters?' (Earlier, heated Hearings of 1934 had been referred to.)

"Secretary Ickes: Our estimate is that it will cost \$150,000 a year."

Congressman Taylor is quoted as of 1934: "Secretary Ickes says he has necessary force and he fully believes that he can administer 173,000,000 acres for \$150,000 a year in conjunction with the Forest Service—and the old Land Office."

Rufus G. Poole, Assistant Solicitor for the Department was principal spokesman for the Interior during all the hearings on the Taylor Grazing Act. On page two of this same Report, Ickes is quoted: "We have no intention of making this a revenue producer at all."

The Secretary and Poole insisted that they had staff and information and bureau enough to administer the Act, if it were passed. Almost immediately after passage of the Act, Farrington R. Carpenter had been given special status as Director of Grazing. At an anniversary banquet in Denver 1944, Carpenter told his story of being hired, fired, and reinstated by Ickes who said of the stockmen, "They are a bunch of brigands and we are not going to let them take it over." (Carpenter had been organizing "Districts" wherein stockmen had a right to say what should be done but no right to enforce their views, "no determinative power," when Ickes made this remark. His speech was printed in the *Denver Westerners Monthly Roundup* October 1967 XXIII:10.)

Except for Ickes' insistence, the General Land Office would have continued its work of surveys, records, title and adjudication along with the Geological Survey. Secretary Ickes, while professing reliance on their usefulness, subjugated these valuable agencies within his "Grazing Service"—formerly "Division of Grazing."

The *Report* concluded:

Probably the most striking growth disclosed by table 13 (printed) is the increase in the number and variety of the higher administrative positions and titles, year by year in the departmental staff. . . . The tables disclosed a shift, since 1940, of higher position and salaries from the field to the departmental staff.

Thus wrote Senator McCarran, who had also complained that Secretary Ickes seemed to have the attitude that the lands in question were "owned" by the government, rather than held in trust for the public good.

McCarran found that "net collections from grazing fees for the 10 years 1936 to 1945, match almost exactly the 'salaries and expenses appropriations.'"

Not only increased costs of administration but denial of democratic process was a practiced policy. For instance, in spite of a 42 to 9 vote against extension of a Grazing District by members,

The files of the Grazing Service disclose a predetermined intention to proceed with the extension regardless of the expressions evoked at the hearings. The whole matter is to be the subject of a hearing of this subcommittee at an early date.

This, in spite of the fact that:

Spokesmen for the Department of the Interior assured the Committee of the Congress that it was, and in the future would be, the policy of the Department to place only such public lands in districts as the stockmen in the communities desire.

It had been the intent of Congress that the total number of acres placed under the Taylor Grazing Act was to be 80,000,000. This report shows efforts made by the Service to put millions more acres under the system and despite the fact that only in 1969 does the general public become aware of the fact that homesteading is a thing of the past; the Taylor Grazing Act in 1936, put an end to all homesteading, in actuality.

The Subcommittee found glaring wrongs to be righted: For example, Grazing Service personnel were found to have provided themselves with grazing permits on public and on Indian lands. The Report of 1943 shows:

At the hearings in Phoenix, Arizona, it was disclosed that an employee of the Forest Service, a CCC camp foreman, was the holder of a permit to graze a substantial number of livestock on the Apache National Forest. A detailed investigation, following the disclosure, showed that a considerable number of the employees of both the Forest Service and the Grazing Service had been grazing permittees during the periods of their employment. The bulk of these were temporary or part-time employees, and their permits were for small numbers of stock, in most cases, only sufficient for their immediate family living needs. But, in both services, there were a number of cases that hardly fall within a permissible category. Both services have since taken steps to clear their records of all improper or doubtful cases. This matter will be pursued further when the hearings are reopened in Phoenix, Arizona, at an early date.

There were numerous attempts recorded "to secure by indirection what the Congress had refused to grant." The case of District 7 in New Mexico is illustrative: Situated near the Navajo Indian Reservation, it was administered by Grazing Service and Indian Service. The grazier was from the Grazing Service, answering to a director in Salt Lake, Utah. District graziers were

Indian Service employees. The Advisory Board was made up of four Navajo Indians and four white stockmen, but the effective authority lay entirely with the Indian Service, given to overruling "nearly every act of the advisory board." The Indian Service had once attempted to obtain legislation to include the whole area in the Reservation. Hence the resort to "indirection." The Indian Service had for years "used every device in its power to compel the white stockmen to vacate the area," going so far as to compel Navajos to move into the area to crowd out white men who had not moved. The lands involved were three and a half million acres, about 25 per cent of it Indian owned and controlled; i.e., about two hundred thousand tribally purchased, more than seventy thousand transferred from Resettlement Administration and over five hundred thousand acres Indian allotments. Indian Service claimed the number of white men was small; Grazing Service listed over six hundred still holding on. There were numerous complaints of wasteful use of funds by the Indian Service in this State.

GROWTH OF MONSTROSITIES

The subject of Public Lands and McCarran's work therewith would make a large single volume. The foregoing has merely outlined the story and sampled the data. The struggle with the Interior went on to the end of McCarran's life.⁹⁷ He was not averse to all federal action such as reserving lands at Tahoe for the public use and though he spoke of the Federal acquisition of Jackson Hole in Wyoming as an outrage he introduced bills to procure use of public domain outside of the grazing usage and under the proper agencies. In January, 1938, his bill for which he appealed to White House aides to obtain presidential support, authorized the Forest Service to acquire 65,000 acres of land on the Nevada side of Lake Tahoe for \$373,000. (The Bureau of the Budget had withheld approval as inconsistent with the President's fiscal policy.)⁹⁸ He would not have approved the extension of this project to allow the State of Nevada to seize private property for parks as was done in the case of the Whittell properties at Tahoe. (This latter case was one of the incidences wherein his delicately balanced ideas were rough hewn to produce a tyranny he would have fought to the death. Also, the "Federal Bulldozer" resulted from his advocacy of a nicely balanced use of eminent domain to procure city renovation.) On January 20, McCarran wired the Reno press and it was copied in the *Elko Free Press* and *Humboldt Star*, that President Roosevelt had approved his bill to authorize the purchase of Tahoe forest lands and the House then passed the Senate Bill.⁹⁹

Another instance of monstrous agencies growing from early small, and controllable ones, was the Bureau of Land Management growing out of the Taylor Grazing Act. Although it was out of McCarran hands after the mid-forties, he continued his work for the livestock industry. He procured passage of his Cattle Theft Bill and laughingly told his daughters about the struggle

to keep riders dealing with chickens or horses off the bill so it might evade a fifth veto.¹⁰⁰ J. Edgar Hoover wrote to congratulate McCarran when the Act finally became effective.¹⁰¹ Forest Service, Indian Service, National Parks and Railroad land—there was a complaint that the Grazing Service collected the fees for the Railroad lands' leases—and the forest service was denying use to cattlemen who had prescriptive rights and demanding that they must graze seventy-five days on their own land before using the forests. Sheepmen believing that the war would create a demand for wool had to be told that the War Department would not take the entire domestic wool clip despite a shortage.

When, on January 8, 1942, McCarran made a speech in Salt Lake to the Livestock Convention he urged the opening of the public domain "for the welfare of the nation," he was not envisioning nor approving the garnering of all the domain into the federal centralized bureaucracy but the management of properly designated lands by agencies having specific expertise and a code of legal procedures, geared to the specific purpose. He was concerned with mining and prospecting, especially the search and prospecting of strategic metals, and Silver.¹⁰²

He set up an office in Denver to receive by mail the complaints of stockmen who could not be heard when his subcommittee visited the area.¹⁰³

Ten years later, from May to September, 1953, McCarran was still seeking pledges for administration officers, Richard McCardle for one, as reported in the *Reese River Reveille*, that a grazing policy fair to stockmen "will replace the past practice of arbitrarily reducing grazing rights on forest lands." At the time a drought prevailed in eastern Nevada. In January, 1938, McCarran used a common sense tactic to bring up "the report in order to explode it, if it was untrue." He told the Public Lands Committee that "Interior Department investigators had entered his office at night and ransacked his files a year and a half ago." He confronted a former head of the investigative division who had since resigned, who declared "he had never ordered an investigation of members of Congress," but did read a statement saying that his investigators had tapped a number of telephones in various departments. Indeed there had been some wiretapping which had resulted in ten employees being dismissed and \$70,000,000 saved for the government. Here again was a case where abuse and use of a technique were demonstrated. McCarran wrote a wire-tap bill for the Justice Department, hedged by rule of law and due process, during the administration of Herbert Brownell in the Justice Department.¹⁰⁴

In the year following McCarran's second election his prowess in obtaining aid for various Nevada projects proved that not only the Supreme Court but the Executive agencies followed the election returns. Dewey was to carry the State in 1944 and McCarran was to top Dewey's majority. From 1939 until America was deep into the war he had striven to keep her out of, McCarran procured countless improvements for Nevada towns and cities. Sister Margaret

had one of her clerical assistants work out the list from the McCarran scrap-books. The young student had no information on the Nevada Senator, the history texts being either silent or contemptuous of the McCarran anti-communist legislation, which nearly obliterated him from history. She was moved to tears one day in the Sister's Office of Research—the record of devotion to his native Nevada, the care for people, the success of his solicitude touched her as did no other part of his record—University of Nevada, Elko streets, Mackay School of Mines, Storey County High School, White Pine forest, streets in Tonopah, Carson High School, help in storing relief commodities for the State board of relief, even assistance in housework, free lunches for school children, sewage disposal works for Deer Park, Douglas County High School, street and school in Hawthorne and Winnemucca, aid in handling poisoned bran for pest extermination in Nye, Lander, Washoe counties. Then came a renewed and more successful attempt to restore the policy of the “prevailing rate of wage.” This occasioned recall of his being the author of the first legislation in Nevada limiting the hours of work. (Nevada's law was upheld by the Supreme Court as coming properly under the police power of the State.) In 1939, WPA projects took on an even more serious trend: McCarran obtained funds for organization of the State, County, and City archives of the State, improving the Court House in Minden and the Post Office in Tonopah, roads from Duck Creek to Steptoe, an amphitheater in Ormsby County, free nursery schools for needy families, sewing rooms for indigents, rip-rap for the drainage channel out of Reno, allotments for the repair of toys and their distribution to children and supervision of recreational activities. July 27, 1939, McCarran, pleased with a grant for archives and the Historical Society, said:

I am grateful that the historical documents of Nevada will be preserved in fitting fashion so that our children . . . may have proof in the form of historical relics, of the greatness and glory that has marked the pages of the annals of our state since its war-time birth.¹⁰⁵

All of the above-mentioned gains were recorded in newspapers throughout the State, 1938-41.

On February 23, 1940, McCarran addressed the American Road Builders Association and prophesied that private industry would soon absorb all the unemployment in the country, while he deplored the wage rate under WPA of \$55 monthly. Not only sewer systems but library facilities were developed in small Nevada towns, which had long been deprived. Vital information from Church files and guides to manuscript collection under the Historical Society, improvement of facilities—corrals, bleachers, chutes for rodeo grounds—brought money into the State. The obtaining and cataloguing of wild life information to establish ecological and economic relations with the University of Nevada brought a grant to Fallon. Lovelock got a water supply and swimming pool,

lighting system, and home assistance in housework; and Las Vegas obtained money for parks, trees, sidewalks, and rifle ranges. School lunches brought a mounting pile of correspondence with Mildred Bray, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and every gain, no matter how small, for the Hawthorne Naval Station (ammunition dump) brought an appreciative letter from Admiral Ben Moreel. One who knew and loved the places in Nevada, which the Senator visited often in his habitual "swing around the State," would find enjoyment in reading the bare list of WPA projects for the State for 1941. Sometimes the Senator was assisted by young Senator Bunker as sometimes before, by Representative Scrugham. A grant to draft topographical land use maps covering grazing districts, again the State Historical Society, again, sewing rooms (this may have had its roots in the Mormon habit of sewing in temple rooms for the poor specially designed for this) a tennis court in Mina, a Las Vegas airport, a rifle range in Ely, park in Eureka, courthouse in Lander County, public library services for the whole state, State Board of Education to coordinate public recreational activities, a sewer system in Hawthorne, replacement of unsanitary facilities by modern ones all over the State, medical laboratory and clerical assistance for public medical clinics, kindergarten-nursery schools for the needy.¹⁰⁶

In August, 1941, the Nevada Administrator of WPA, Gilbert Ross, was dismissed. McCarran protested but set about the business of getting an administrator-engineer so that the State would continue its progress. Nevada had been terribly depressed but very plucky during the depression, and the Roosevelt Depression of 1937 had set it back still more.

"MAYOR" OF D. C.

Meantime, the creation of the Civil Aeronautics Authority weighed on McCarran's mind and he was obliged to become the "mayor" of Washington. The newspapers reported that he refused the chairmanship of the District of Columbia Committee because he wished to have the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee. It was quite true but the story never did reach the press as it really happened. Senator Van Nuys was in line for the latter chairmanship, having been sworn in on the same day that McCarran was, and of course by the protocol of alphabetical order, McCarran should have had the Judiciary Chairmanship. However, Senator Van Nuys, having agreed to let the matter be settled by a flip of a coin, averred that he expected McCarran to be around a long time and he knew his own time would be short. McCarran deferred to the stricken man's desires and followed Van Nuys some months later in the chairmanship. So McCarran became the "mayor of Washington." The war came on and people were asked to plant "Victory Gardens." McCarran borrowed some of Harriet's "Kentucky Wonder" string beans one early morning as he left for the capitol, and that night she found his picture in the paper featuring her fine beans to boost "Victory Gardens."

It might as well be noted here that there is a very tired-looking picture of the Senator standing with a very healthy picture of "Smokey" Bear taken late one weary afternoon when he got through the Act to patent the picture of Smokey as the symbol of Fire Prevention activities. He let it be known that the Chairmanship of the District was undesirable because of the small staff and general inadequacy; so the people of the District began to organize to meet his demands.¹⁰⁷ He began holding hearings on a bill to extend the suffrage of the District,¹⁰⁸ and he asked the Police Department for an inventory of itself, believing the people of the District lacked protection; he moved to raise police salaries, the promotion of Negro police officers, and to encourage stepwise advancement of public servants.¹⁰⁹ His work in the District would make a small book.

In the later forties his daughter was approached by a violinist who played in the National Symphony Orchestra and taught in early morning hours in the school for Congressional pages, which assembled in the Library of Congress building. She employed Sister Margaret Patricia to intervene with the Senator to obtain Congressional support for the National Symphony. His response was, "I'd like to have a symphony in Reno, too. These merchants have many tax breaks in the District that others in State jurisdiction do not have. The business community of the District of Columbia can support a symphony." Although her intercession was unsuccessful in this instance, on many other occasions the mention of his name in a crowd would bring help from all sides for the Sister trying to make her way against odds. Guards, ushers, aides, help, storekeepers, the ordinary people revered him.¹¹⁰

Since the "symphony for Reno" has been mentioned here, another anecdote may be allowed at this point: Many suggestions flowed into his office at the close of World War II for creating "World Government." Among his papers was one advocating such and in the margin he wrote, "I agree, provided they put the capitol in Reno."

Although so much space has been given here to the Public Lands business, there were several equally important phases of the forties such as McCarran's work for Silver, his struggle to maintain Neutrality, and his creation of the Civil Aeronautics Act, the whole culminating in the Administrative Procedures Act and the Decentralization of Industry study. The trip to Europe in 1948 brought his Report of 1949 dealing with the Economic Co-operation Commission which "watch-dog" committee he headed, his conclusion being that "foreign aid" should end in two years because Europe had recovered sufficiently to be independent, provided notice was given and help withdrawn gradually. On this trip Harriet accompanied him (not at government expense) and two members of counsel for the Appropriations Committee, Cal Cory and Hal Lackey with their wives. Knowing his commitment to the well-being of the Spanish people (like his commitment to the national government of our oldest ally, China) he and Harriet made a side trip to Spain and after a visit

Patrick Anthony McCarran, 1876–1954

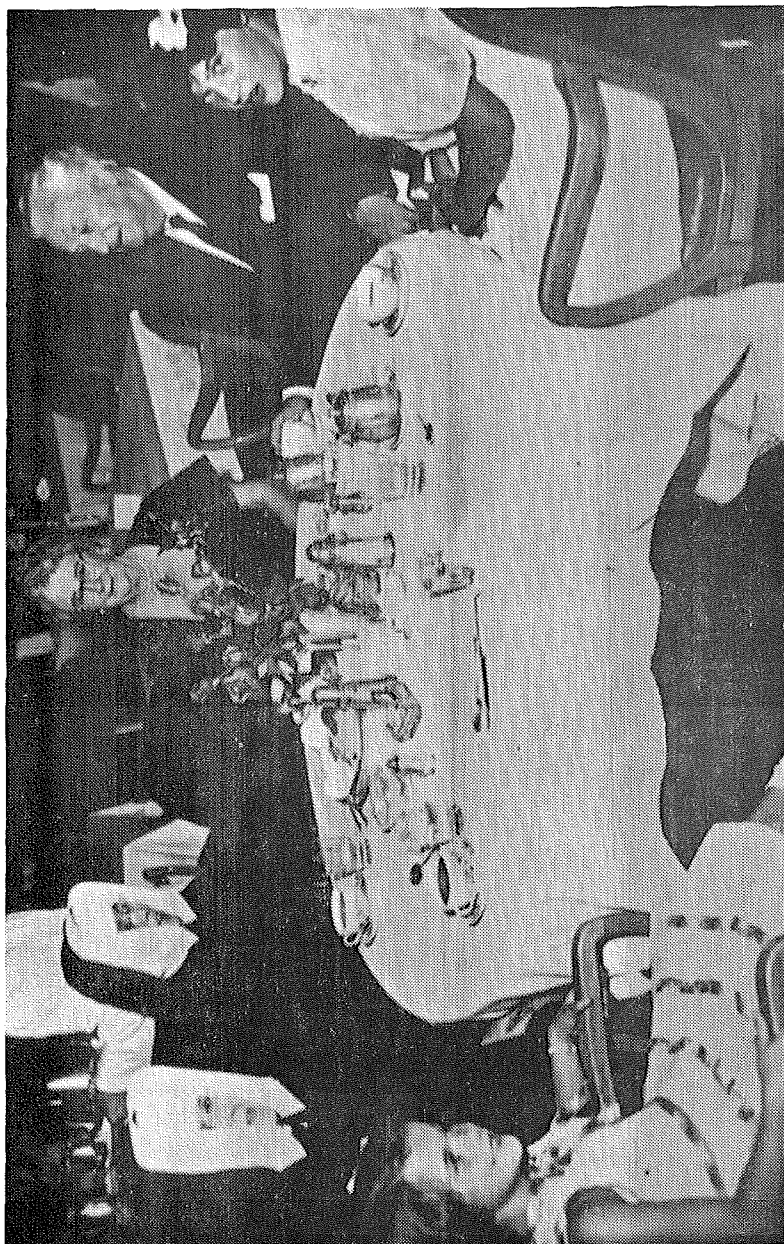


McCarran receiving cross of Isabella la Catholica from Ambassador and Mrs. Felix de Lequerica.

Patrick Anthony McCarran, 1876–1954



Patrick Anthony McCarran, 1876–1954



Golden Wedding dinner in Bermuda: Peggy, Sister Mercy, Sister Margaret, Mrs. McCarran, Senator McCarran and Harriet Lee Hay.

with Franco the Senator visited the monastery where the eminent American priest-psychologist Verner Moore was a Carthusian monk. The Spanish government represented by the Cardinal Merry Del Val's relative, the future Ambassador of Spain to the United States, arranged a private interview with Pius XII for the McCarrans. The Sisters never learned what transpired at that audience but several months later Pius XII called to an audience with himself, the Mothers General of all teaching communities and gave some definite directions about preparation for their profession for their Sisters, saying that any Sister should be able to say that her Superior provided her with the best and latest training, adding, "Never be afraid of books." McCarran, when he procured a trip for his daughters in 1941 to points East and University courses with special lessons in voice for Sister Mercy, was heard saying that "they had outgrown their environment."¹¹

THE BOYLE APPOINTMENT

McCarran's use of "power," especially for the benefit of Nevada called for some reaction from the Administration which must make him more amenable to its direction. When McCarran left Washington for the West and the campaign for his reelection he obtained assurances from the Justice Department that the United States Attorney for Nevada, E. P. "Ted" Carville, was sure of renomination, having done a very creditable job in breaking up the Graham and McKay racket. It was a surprise therefore when the White House announced that it was appointing William Boyle to the office. While Senator Pittman remained neutral thereafter, he must have known of the White House move before publication. James Farley very faithful to Roosevelt, but who to this day retains a fond admiration for Pat McCarran, declared that the nomination was made to "take a slap at Pat." "Slap" it was. Here was a Knight of Columbus and staunch Democrat, a brilliant lawyer and one of Irish descent, hitherto friendly. He was unfortunately lending himself to the President's attempt to bring Pat McCarran to heel. The plan could not succeed if the Senator was to retain his power—something Nevada and the American public needed as time would tell.

The hearings on the Boyle appointment were long delayed, McCarran postponed using the formula "personally obnoxious" as long as he could. The Senate customary formula for upholding the constitutional corollary that "advise and consent" on such appointments means that the Senators from a particular area may expect respect for their wishes in appointments affecting their respective areas. The precedent McCarran relied on was the case of a Senator from Virginia and a judgeship: the Administration had appointed a much respected person to a judgeship; at the hearing the elderly Senator whom the Administration wished to rebuke said in effect that he acknowledged that the appointee was estimable in all respects but that he had "lent himself to a conspiracy to defeat the meaning of the constitution where it says that such ap-

pointments will be made with the advice and consent of the Senate.” The Judiciary Committee upheld him. McCarran was likewise upheld. He had advised Carville to go ahead and run for Governor and Carville had been elected. (Later he was to make a political mistake by appointing himself, in effect, to the Senate when Senator Scrugham died, leaving Vail Pittman to be governor of Nevada which caused a sad break between McCarran and Carville.) The papers reported, guessing largely, “arguments between McCarran and Pittman.”¹¹² Thomas O. Craven, the future Circuit Judge, was named acting United States Attorney although W. Howard Gray had been an earlier choice. John E. Robbins had declined although both Pittman and McCarran had agreed on his name—an Elko lawyer.¹¹³ Finally, August 5, 1939, William Boyle “asked permission” to quit the post he had held without confirmation, the full Senate as well as the committee having refused to confirm. Miles N. Pike then, having both Pittman and McCarran endorsements, was sworn on August 7, 1939.¹¹⁴

The apogee of McCarran’s career came in the post-war forties, yet tests of his interior greatness lay in the future. The four years of the fifties still remaining of his life were to test his metal. The history of the creation of the Immigration Law of 1952 and the Communist Control Act of 1950 demands another section of this sketch, which must conclude with the story of McCarran’s work for Silver and his Civil Aeronautic Authority.

THE CAA

The imminence of war urged his pressing for the Civil Aeronautics Act. Aviation appeared as the main support of the American citadel to McCarran. He worked for the training of many civilian pilots so that there would be a national resource of flying manpower in emergency. He had begun speaking of the defense of “this republic” while he wrote aviation law and air safety rules, but he fought the pseudo-neutrality measures which in reality were partisan *vis a vis* the belligerents in Europe. He placed himself among those forming a “battalion of death” to “keep Congress in session all summer if necessary” to prevent passage of the so-called Administration Aviation Bill. He opposed sale of munitions and their shipment unless title to such was taken prior to shipment.¹¹⁵

By such exploitation (sale of munitions) we would bring this republic to the brink of war carrying contraband. . . . I think America may with a prayerful word, revive the belief and faith of the Founders . . . steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.¹¹⁶

Nevada papers reported his position favorably but, the *New York Sun* pinned “labels”: “McCarran represents the isolationist bloc” adding “led by the Committee to Keep America Out of War.”

However, in the presence of the entire family, he was implored by John

Patrick Anthony McCarran, 1876–1954



Dedication of McCarran Field (the "switch" from Pony Express).

T. Flynn to join “America First”, a noble group devoted to ideals like his own. (This group was later infiltrated by pseudo-fascists as Elizabeth Bentley revealed, i.e., by communists disguised as “fascists” in order to destroy the movement.)¹¹⁷

In an effort to force the President to act according to his spoken words, McCarran offered an amendment to the Neutrality Bill to allow the president to declare an embargo if the shipment of arms might involve the United States in war. Although he strove to keep America out of the maelstrom while he bent every effort to provide the law by which Aviation might place America first among the nations. While he actually aimed at developing an “All American Flag Line” to cope with the postwar expansion of national lines competing with America while American lines compete with themselves, he was called “an isolationist” when he opposed an Argentine Treaty which would reduce tariff on Argentine beef.¹¹⁸ He opposed new reciprocal trade treaties, for instance with Brazil because Brazilian manganese was destroying Nevada mining, with Chile because its copper was a threat to Nevada copper mining, and with Canada because its cattle depressed the western market. *The Journal* stated that these treaties were designed to capture the German markets in Latin America. McCarran understood this as well as he understood the Administration’s use of “neutrality.” He inveighed against the sale of arms to belligerents.¹¹⁹ It was clear by this time that only an overt attack would persuade McCarran and Wheeler followers to vote for the declaration of war.

After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, McCarran stated that “No country with impunity can attack the United States and get away with it!” As noted earlier, he then affirmed, “I am the first to vote for anything that will defend the United States against an unwarranted attack!” He immediately left Nevada for Washington to vote for the declaration of war.¹²⁰

On February 13, 1942, McCarran was said by the *Goldfield News* to be “doing all in his power to develop airports throughout Nevada as a defense network.” The airport system for Nevada remained somewhat rudimentary until the industrial development of recent years.¹²¹ However, McCarran International Airport in Las Vegas was embryonic and Nellis Air Force Base and Stead were in the making.

The Civil Aeronautics Law took shape after some trial and error and some sparring with the Administration.¹²² The Post Office Department and the Commerce Department claimed the prerogatives of jurisdiction and at first McCarran believed the Commerce Department should handle his Civil Aeronautics agency. Later he proclaimed his withdrawal of his own proposed legislation and then he proceeded to create something which was unique although patterned on constructs found in old Spanish and International Law. The “*Audiencia*” was never mentioned at the time nor since, but its pattern is clearly visible. The “Authority” had its own legislative, judicial and

executive bodies and, in addition, an Independent Safety Board. The authority boasted and celebrated over a year of accident free operation—this followed a long period of ungoverned and disastrous flying. Soon thereafter, Roosevelt asked for a reorganization bill for the governmental agencies. McCarran sought to exempt the Civil Aeronautics Authority from the reordering; twenty-five “independent agencies” were exempted but McCarran lost in the Senate. (Sister Margaret Patricia used her privilege to wire him collect to try to assuage what she thought must be inconsolable grief at this defeat. She learned later that he had wondered what she was talking about; he yielded to no chagrin—just “live to fight another day!”)

The decade that ended with the “Haylift” included the visit of President Harry S. Truman to Nevada and witnessed McCarran’s establishing his position throughout the years since the War began in 1939 that Communist Russia was “the enemy” because Communism was imperialism and Communist doctrine was unconstitutional. This decade saw McCarran’s massive work for American preeminence in Aviation¹²³ while he warned the United States must be vigilant against destructive forces within the country even more than threats from outside.

“Why don’t you go along with the President?” Harriet, among others, often asked, “Can’t you get along with anybody?” It would have been comfortable to be popular once in a while. In February, 1938, McCarran introduced a bill creating a national aviation authority patterned on Roosevelt’s suggestions. He offered it as a substitute for his own measure, then pending; it would place control under the Interstate Commerce Commission and the five man board appointed by the President would be named the Bureau of Air Commerce and be removed from the Commerce Department.¹²⁴

It would determine mail routes and fix ratings.¹²⁵ McCarran then completed his eighth draft. He was earning his sobriquet “Father of air legislation”; his office was the “heart” of civil aviation. From the *New York Times* to the *Wells Progress* the newspapers noted that McCarran was constantly conferring with aviation officials. Few knew that Charles Lindberg and Howard Hughes worked with him and the Pilots Union headed by Bencke, most emphatically.

At one time this union sent nine representatives to Capitol Hill to “lobby for their lives and the lives of their passengers.”¹²⁶ They called for a unified, non-political, experienced board and enlarged airports.¹²⁷

The *Air Line Pilots Magazine* of April, 1938, reported:

McCarran, good friend of the pilots, got his Irish up the other day and remarked: ‘Well, I don’t know what this is all about, but I can tell you this: there are a lot of people around here who had better start fishing or cut bait.’

All the pilots chanted “Amen.”

McCarran and the pilots were disgusted with the finagling on the part of the Administration which was causing delay in getting legislation passed. His efforts to go along with the President came to naught and he repudiated his own bill. The Black-McKellar Law of 1934 withdrawing federal (mail) support in 1938 was bringing the system to bankruptcy.¹²⁸

The Air Line Pilot analyzed the pending bills in its March issue of 1938 and concluded that between McCarran's and the faulty Lea measure introduced in the House, the issue was whether or not the I.C.C. would control "all under one roof" but keep aviation in politics or still be spread out and disunified. McCarran had an interview with the President on April 5, and told the newspapers that forty-five minutes after he left the White House he had his new bill drafted but that inter-departmental jealousies were slowing down the bill's development.¹²⁹ Lea's bill was one written by "an employee of the Treasury Department" one of the "New Deal Brain Storm Troopers" according to *Aero Digest*.¹³⁰ One of McCarran's best friends in the Senate, Copeland of New York, had introduced a bill which according to the *Washington Post*¹³¹ "emasculated the labor provisions' of McCarran's bill. The *Post's* article was titled: "Flying Blind Toward Dictatorship."

The same defect was noted in the Lea Bill. Copeland's respect for Senator McCarran led him to announce to the congressional committee holding hearings on appropriations for the Commerce Department, that this was the last time he would appear to request funds for aviation for the department, because undoubtedly the McCarran measure would be—and he approved—the law by next year. At the same time, Richard Aldwoth, representing the American Municipal Association and the Catholic War Veterans, like the Veterans of Foreign Wars, expressed support for the McCarran measure.¹³²

Mayor LaGuardia wired McCarran:

On behalf of the United States conference of mayors, and personally for each mayor, I extend to you our thanks for your splendid co-operation in making the aviation bill sufficiently broad to protect cities and care for future needs in the development of aviation. You rendered a distinct service to aerial transportation, to the aviation industry and to the entire country.

This was after he had beaten a Truman amendment which McCarran said: "destroyed the entire theory of the bill and the principle of freedom," because the Truman measure would have given the President alone power to appoint all the members of the Board. McCarran voted for the Truman¹³³ amendment in order to have the right to ask for reconsideration, then he asked to have his name removed from the frontpiece of the bill.

He had introduce a bill for Civil Aeronautics every year for four years and now he asked to have his name erased. His strategy worked. There are

papers to show that Lea later substituted all the McCarran bill for his own, in cooperation with the Senator.¹³⁴

While struggling for his measure,¹³⁵ he hinted that a contest on the subject might prepare future flyers among high school students and so an essay contest was begun and won by Mary Davis of Las Vegas, and Wilberta Merriam of Winnemucca, also a freshman from Lincoln High School won a trip to Washington. McCarran gave the trophies to the winners and entertained those who won a trip to Washington.¹³⁶

McCarran came out to Nevada for the funeral of his father-in-law (the latter had died as he had foretold, "before Memorial Day" following the death in the preceding February of Martha Wood Weeks, for whose sake Samuel Tyler Weeks had said he must "stay around!"). And so McCarran had been in Nevada when another plane crashed, killing all aboard. Two hours after he was informed of the crash he was enroute back to Washington saying that the sooner the House and Senate got together to establish a unified bureau the sooner there would be safety in the air.¹³⁷

Finally, June 24, 1938, the President signed the McCarran-Lea bill¹³⁸ and the *Elko Independent*, the *Tonopah Times* and *Wells Progress*, among many others, carried McCarran's expression of satisfaction. In July, 1938, McCarran was in Nevada and speaking before numerous service clubs. He reviewed the history of the C.A.A. and said that his own interest in forming the Authority came from his experience on the Black Committee—Joe Robinson had appointed him to Hugo Black's committee on oceanic mail and air-mail subsidies. Four agencies controlled these services. First, he said, he drafted a bill for an independent I.C.C., then the president changed his mind again seeing the opportunity (Truman's Bill) for greater Executive dictation; then he, McCarran, started the fight for the independent agency again. Before the passage of the Act, money appropriated by Congress could not be used for aviation because neither Post Office nor Agriculture, nor Department of Commerce was enabled to use it. Now, with the Safety Board, the end of air mail contracts, and one Authority, Aviation could draw on private moneys, not to be subject to Federal subsidy and the welfare of pilots, passengers and communities was the work of the board.¹³⁹ McCarran seemed very prophetic to his hearers when he said he foresaw the day when a person could leave Washington on Friday, shoot big game in Africa on Saturday and be back in Washington Monday in the Senate.

The *Humboldt Star* reported that 15,000 civilian pilots would be trained this year and 20,000 the next. It remained for McCarran to push for pilot training in Nevada¹⁴⁰ and for his new dream, a separate department of aviation for the military.¹⁴¹ Out of this dream was to grow an airport program for Nevada's cities¹⁴² and the large Air Force Bases of Stead¹⁴³ in Reno, and Nellis Air Force Base in Las Vegas, and a Naval Air Training Station in Fallon.¹⁴⁴

In spite of the coming of the war, or perhaps because of it, an exciting list of Nevada projects took shape: Nevada National Guard became an Air Guard receiving a separate identity now, from other States' Guards.¹⁴⁵

On January 5, 1941, McCarran announced he was introducing a bill to re-establish the Civil Aeronautics Authority (because it has been reduced to subservience in the Commerce Department and its Safety Board abolished). His new bill was analyzed in *American Aviation*, January 15, 1941.¹⁴⁶ On February 27 a plane crash occurred and McCarran was quoted in *Hollywood Citizens News*, *Elko Free Press* and *Las Vegas Review Journal*, having said the crash represented "legalized murder."¹⁴⁷ (He himself never flew again after Roosevelt abolished the Independent Safety Board.) On March 10, 1941, a picture of the wreck was shown by McCarran as he pointed the finger of blame on Vice President Barkeley who was justifying Roosevelt's "reorganization."¹⁴⁸ So, until the day he died, McCarran kept introducing bills, usually on the first day of a session, to re-establish his Civil Aeronautic Authority. After his death some Senators talked of carrying on his fight. Nothing has been done save for internal re-ordering to bring about the Federal Aviation thing called the FAA. The slogan he put into circulation (like "Reno the Biggest Little City in the World," which he used to say to his small children) "Better prevent accidents than investigate them" has remained a challenge.

McCarran's dream of an All American Flag line to compete with foreign governments' subsidized or wholly owned lines never became a reality although he was joined by Senator Brewster of Maine in the effort to create such a line. He backed the proposal of Pan American to the Civil Aeronautics Board (Roosevelt's Board) but so far—perhaps for the best—American internally competing air lines have established excellent overseas routes.¹⁴⁹

SILVER HAired SENATOR FROM THE SILVER STATE

McCarran had been elected on a platform which endorsed the remonetization of Silver. Every metal or mineral Nevada could produce was dearly important to him but silver was his primary devotion. He believed in the remonetization of silver at about 16 to one of gold, as Bryant had preached. It should not weaken the dignity of his position to recall that among the first few phonograph records the family owned was one of William Jennings Bryan speaking impassionedlly for silver.

In McCarran's second term and throughout the rest of his career, he insisted on \$1.29 a fine ounce for silver. He often had to settle for less but always aimed to push the price of silver toward that ratio-to-gold price and he never yielded the principle that it should be monetary metal and not treated as a commodity. Early in 1938, he warned that the mines would be forced to close if silver prices continued to drop as they had from \$.7756 to \$.6464 an ounce. Some New Deal measures had pushed up the price to \$.7756.¹⁵⁰ At the same time he fought tariff reductions on metals and minerals, especially

those to be found in Nevada: tungsten,¹⁵¹ manganese,¹⁵² gypsum,¹⁵³ lead and zinc,¹⁵⁴ fluorspar,¹⁵⁵ potash, magnesium,¹⁵⁶ and vanadium,¹⁵⁷ copper,¹⁵⁸ and of course, gold.

Major George Racey Jordan wrote in his *Diaries* and *The Gold Swindle* of his experiences at first hand with the hidden hand of government and its destruction of the gold producing industries of this country. McCarran, as a member of Congress, was close to finding the whole bitter truth by the difficult methods congressmen must use to learn governmental truths. February 7, 1953, he announced¹⁵⁹ that he would hold meetings before the court of claims to determine liability for damages incurred by the government as a result of the closing of all gold mines during World War II. The first claim, he said, was Homestake Mining Company's, the largest gold producing mine in the world.

Executive Order L-208 had done this dastardly thing under the guise of "diverting labor, machinery, and mining supplies from gold mines to those mines producing mineral for the defense effort." McCarran said:

Exports of gold mining equipment to Russia showed a marked increase following this executive action and continued at a high rate for the duration of the war, and Russia's gold mines operated at full capacity the entire period.

Silver and gold production dropped in the United States 3 per cent in 1952.^{159a} He introduced a bill to permit sale of gold within the United States (McCarran Engle bill) to allow gold to be traded anywhere for any purpose within and without the United States tax and duty free.¹⁶⁰

January 1, 1938, was the final date of the London silver agreement which resulted from the famous London Monetary Conference of 1933, which Senator Pittman attended and concerning which Raymond Moley differed with Roosevelt and abandoned the Brain Trust. Now the major protest against the executive order setting the price at \$.6464 even though this was above the world market price, was based on the argument that "After silver enters the treasury, it must be valued, under the law, at \$1.29 per fine ounce. If the treasury spends the profit this could have inflationary effects."¹⁶¹ Senator Pittman joined in the affray saying the president would find that his reductions would cost the government more in WPA expenditures—saving 17.5 per cent on the twelve million cost of the silver program meant that instead of thirty dollars per miner, the cost would be nine hundred when the miner was on relief. Pittman, like McCarran, saw the eastern propaganda against silver failed to take into consideration the fact that a subsidy for the West was still nothing like the subsidy or bonus the government provided for eastern commodities by New Deal practices.¹⁶² The argument from principle, for balance in government outlays, seems naive today in the light of governmental spending practices.

McCarran said the principle of the 1934 silver purchase act (Pittman's) had been violated. The Treasury had been empowered to buy silver until the metal reached \$1.29 on the world market and the Treasury had stopped buying when the metal reached \$.81.¹⁶³ Now the talk turned on seignorage. Silver was still worth \$1.29 a fine ounce but the Treasury had been claiming 40 per cent as seignorage (the charge made by kings or lords to turn the metal into money). After January, 1938, the charge was 50 per cent. McCarran kept this emphasis on Nevada progress, however, and reminded his mining friends that although Nevada's output of money metals had been nearly fourteen million in 1936, her non-precious metals had amounted to over fifteen million.¹⁶⁴

In February, 1938, McCarran having gone West to address mining and woolgrowing people in Utah, remarked in Tonopah that there were

Many subversive elements which have and are continuing to block legislation favorable to silver mining states. The easterners who think our legitimate mining fame a racket, are going to be rugged opponents.

. . . Western silver interests, with southern supporters know that they make more money off their cotton and agricultural products when the price of silver is high.

He predicted that the support of silver would soon be doubled and then a bill resembling the Wheeler monetization bill of 1934 would pass the senate and

if we get it through there, I'm sure we can get it through the house.¹⁶⁵

In June, McCarran said:

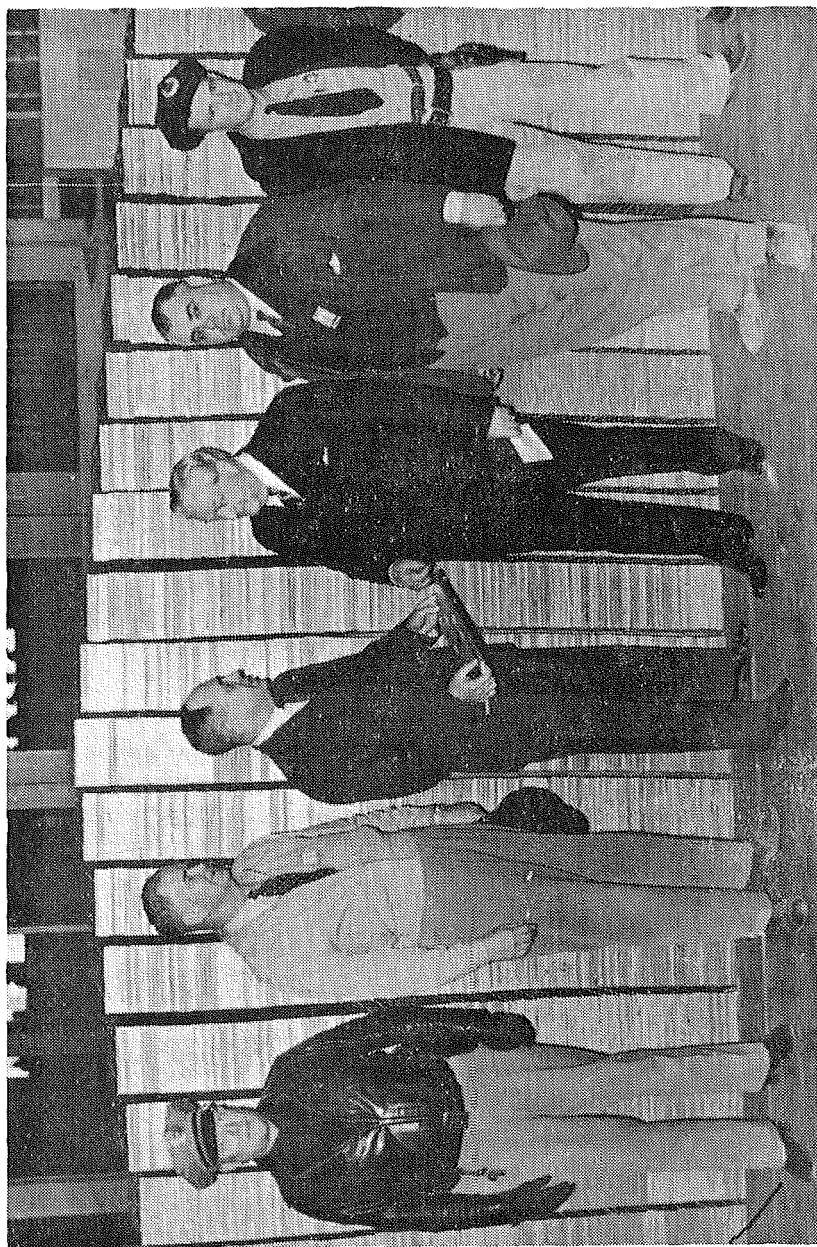
It is because of the silver purchase act that the Treasury made a profit of \$1,750,000,000 by buying silver at \$.65 an ounce and issuing silver certificates at \$1.29. If that \$1,750,000,000 had been used in the lending-spending program, tax payers would have been saved bond interest.

(Another naive thought about governmental spending and "balance.")¹⁶⁶

Pittman and McCarran differed in June, 1938, when the latter filibustered for \$1.25. A McCarran filibuster was an interesting procedure. Sometimes all he had to do was enter the Senate chamber followed by aides and pages carrying innumerable books and documents and take his stand behind the pile.

However, in June, 1939, McCarran filibustered when a New Deal Monetary Bill was pending. He stood at \$.77 and a maximum of \$1.27. Barkley threatened to break up the "silver bloc" because the monetary bill was being held up and he offered a compromise but the Senate voted \$.77 for newly mined domestic silver (thus reducing the seignorage on \$1.29 legal value of monetary metal) and at the same time it removed from the president the power to control the value of the dollar. The bill went to conference under

Patrick Anthony McCarran, 1876–1954



Silver bullion loaned to Basic Magnesium.

threat of continued filibuster, but the final price came out \$.711—until June 30, 1941.¹⁶⁷ Pittman and McCarran debated on July 6, 1939, on the floor of the Senate over the grant of power to the President to control the value of the dollar. The Pittman position prevailed when a bill to renew the grant of power to the President was passed.

“All my life I have been determined to bring about the remonetization of silver and to get silver out of the category of being a commodity, the price of which would be subject to anyone’s direction or dictate,” the *Goldfield News* quoted McCarran, July 14, 1939. He was still arguing for \$1.27 price when he talked to the Western Governors’ meeting, September 1, 1939, but he soon went back to \$1.29 when the *Pioche Record* was advocating formation of a bloc to boost silver to where the price paid to the miners would equal the value of the silver in a dollar.¹⁶⁸ Then the Administration began a movement to reduce silver content of currency. The *Reno Evening Gazette* of January 26, 1942, reported that McCarran had upheld an amendment providing that the five-cent coin have half silver and half copper. Morgenthau opposed this provision, maintaining that it would contribute to inflation (the bug-a-boo used by eastern interests against silver). McCarran declared that this revealed that Morgenthau did not know the facts, “the Secretary discloses an utter lack of knowledge of the subject. The government does not pay the subsidy. It pays \$.71 for the \$1.29 silver dollar. Thus, the miner is subsidizing the government,” quoted the *Elko Free Press*, February 6, 1942.¹⁶⁹

MINERS, MINES AND MINING

At the same time he was confronting Harold Ickes about the priorities orders of the WPB rousing the Western Senators early enough to obtain modification in their favor, McCarran was pressing also for the construction of small ore sampling plants costing about \$30,000 each and located where their use would encourage exploration. (The distance to smelters and sampling plants had always been a drawback for Nevada miners.) On March 12, 1942, he could announce at a meeting of miners and governors of Idaho, Arizona, and Colorado, held in Reno, that the Assistant Secretary of the Interior had conceded that there would be funds for exploration and engineering of smaller mines. McCarran had two bills pending to ensure such activity. He got through an amendment to provide \$2,275,000 appropriation for the Bureau of Mines for the discovery of deposits of critical materials.¹⁷⁰

The war drew to a close and McCarran viewed a United Nations monetary conference with a suspicious eye. He testified at a Hearing on the Bricker Amendment (or Reservation) designed to insert the words “as determined by the United States” into American agreement to a treaty to submit international cases to the International Court of Justice that he would regret to his dying day his vote to agree to the treaty creating the United Nations.¹⁷¹

Then on September 21, 1944, he discovered a “sleeper” in a Senate bill to dispose of surplus material (indeed the convenience exhibited here would have done credit to Congress, before getting into the war in the fall of 1944.) Already “war surplus” was readied for sale. A land withdrawal proposition was included in an administration measure and McCarran took note of the need for resumption of the hearings on the management of the public domain.¹⁷²

The measure adopted by the War Production Board (WPB) were criticized severely by both Nevada senators, Berkeley Bunker and Pat McCarran, in March of 1942. The latter estimated that forty-two mines would close down because, under the guise of “priorities,” machinery, supplies and equipment for gold mining were withheld from western miners. Western Congressmen led by McCarran fought the WPB order and McCarran expostulated at the time: “If the capitalistic system is to be torn down, let those who are planning that destruction come forward and say so!” He said that the United States had been exporting mining equipment for the past three months of 1942, so there could be no warrant for mining machinery shortages; to remove the basis of the American economy, gold and silver, was to undermine capitalism. It was at this point that a proposal was made also by the WPB to use silver, i.e., government owned silver, in place of copper in electrical and industrial equipment. The western Senators approved and McCarran was pictured standing in a room full of silver bullion which had been lent to Basic Magnesium, a plant finally built in Nevada at a cost of \$60,000,000 to produce titanium.¹⁷³

Later, after the war, McCarran procured the sale of this plant to the State of Nevada, which sold it to the processors of industrial poisons and the like so that it produces at a small percentage of capacity although Henderson still thrives as a town, named for a long-time friend of McCarran, Charles B. Henderson. The hospital built with wartime priority was sold for a dollar and is now operated by Sisters of St. Dominic of Adrian, Michigan, as Rose de Lima (O.P.) Hospital.

WPB relaxed some of its stringencies and at least ten western mines received high priority rating thanks to the forthright stand taken by Western Congressmen and their “dean.”¹⁷⁴ Meantime, McCarran procured priorities for the building of twenty-five homes for miners at Nevada Consolidated Copper and Consolidated Mines Corporation.¹⁷⁵ However, late in May of the same year, W. Nelson of the WPB announced the board would support production of copper, lead and zinc, not gold or silver. In Nevada, silver was often a by-product of lead and zinc, but in California gold mines in the Mother Lode country were flooded and their machinery pulled out and shipped to Russia.¹⁷⁶

The WPB, true to governmental form demonstrated by Taylor Grazing agencies of the Interior Department, like the Nevada jaguar, retreated only to return to its quarry. Furthermore, the pattern set by the practice of lending

government-owned silver to processors eventuated in the Kennedy practice—silver lent and returned was by executive order declared industrial, not a monetary metal, so the federal government could sell it as a commodity.

This leads us back to a resume' of McCarran's fight for silver. Of course McCarran had supported the Thomas (of Oklahoma) amendment to the Agriculture Adjustment Act which demanded the price of silver be raised but still treated it as a commodity, however tied to cotton, it made a bit of sense to McCarran, who tied it in with base metals and agriculture products himself. The AAA was declared unconstitutional by the "horse and buggy" Supreme Court (McCarran said this, like other New Deal Measures, could have been written constitutionally if the President and the authors had not been careless of constitutionalism.) Then, in 1939, "It might have been worse," was his reaction when the president pegged the price of newly mined domestic silver at \$.6464 an ounce, for another six months. McCarran was disappointed that his recommendation for \$.77 was not followed. He said he had urged remonetization at \$1.29 to the President when the latter made the trip across Nevada.¹⁷⁷ So, McCarran went about setting up a meeting with Roosevelt to urge stabilization, at least, and modification of the executive order, of December 31, 1938. He likewise agitated against the policy of the government's purchasing foreign silver.¹⁷⁸

The last two years of McCarran's life were marked by large events and stringent activities. His anti-communism came to a head when he took over the allegations of communist influence in the State Department after the "white-wash" and "shut-out" (of Senator McCarthy and his Counsel, Robert Morris) by the Tydings Committee. McCarran created a subcommittee within his Judiciary Committee and made it part of the Internal Security Act of 1950—set up by law, it could not be simply abolished by a future chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He then held hearings on the McCarthy allegations and subpoenaed the persons involved in the misguidance of the State Department, mainly through the influence of the savants in the Institute of Pacific Relations. The thirteen volumes of Hearings and Reports are now collectors' items. It is safe to say no one is entitled to an opinion of McCarran as "red-baiter" until he has read them. He demanded that court procedures be followed although the Senate committee was not bound to follow court procedures and he repeatedly warned that a conspiracy having been established, hearsay evidence could have been admitted. (This writer attended the Hearings of Latimore, Fairbanks, Carter, Bentley, Budenz, Willoughby.) He went into the question of teachers in the schools being communist indoctrinated,¹⁷⁹ of officers and clerical assistants in the United Nations being members or under the guidance of the communist party or communist agents.¹⁸⁰

He remarked, when Eisenhower was sworn in that "this change brought about by the vote of the American people is a signal to the Democratic party

to look into its own affairs and clean house." (He was openly opposed to the candidacy of Adlai Stevenson.)¹⁸¹ He was working meanwhile on the culmination of five or six years' study, the Immigration and Nationalities Act of 1952. This brought more abuse than any other bill had roused and harassment until his home 'phone had to be unlisted.¹⁸² He lost his fight to prevent the nomination of Charles Bohlen as emissary to Russia,¹⁸³ but he won his fight to keep the Bureau of Land Management out of the Agriculture Department. He praised the Atomic Energy Commission for its precision and care in making its tests, although he spoke with mixed feelings: "The lead in development of this science is in the best interest of the United States, and we must maintain it. We have an avowed enemy who is developing atomic energy and we must keep ahead."¹⁸⁴

A transformer for Henderson "to assist in expanding defense installations and BMI," relief for drought suffering farmers, for children whose parents were in the armed services, protection for royalties for musicians, new judges for Nevada and support for a four-lane highway through the Sierras as well as improving relations with Spain¹⁸⁵ were among the happy accomplishments; but Thomas Mechling got enough support to beat Alan Bible and nearly to defeat George Malone by way of countering McCarran. And Hank Greenspun nearly killed him with a worrisome lawsuit which distracted him and drained his energies.¹⁸⁶ Then the press echoed, perhaps unwittingly, the subversive reaction to his exposures. The *Reno Evening Gazette*, for instance, remarked in 1953:¹⁸⁷ "Another quarrelsome ancient, 77 year old Pat McCarran became the autocrat of the Judiciary Committee on the basis of service dating back to 1933." Meantime, the CPUSA set up a "Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act," following the "Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born," while *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *New Yorker*, the *Progressive*, and groups like "Californians for Democratic Action" re-echoed the anti-McCarran anti-McCarthy shiboleths.

The year 1953 marked the fiftieth anniversary of McCarran's service in the Nevada Legislative Assembly in 1903. It simultaneously marked twenty years in the Senate of the United States, and fifty years of marriage with "Birdie"—Harriet Weeks, the mother of his five children.¹⁸⁸ The State of Nevada, County by County, and the City of Reno¹⁸⁹ saw reason for celebrating "McCarran Day." Pat and Harriet sat without their children or grandchildren, alone, in the grandstand of the fairgrounds packed with their friends as world-renowned persons expressed their congratulations by means of the huge screen erected for the purpose, and as each county presented a bronze model of itself one by one until the whole state was represented, and each had expressed its appreciation of work done, benefits procured, and progress stimulated within it. This beautiful map is a main attraction in the McCarran Room of the Nevada State Museum in Carson in the Mint Building which he helped procure for the purpose. In the same room stands under glass the clay

model of the statue of McCarran made by Yolanda Jacobsen, wife of the head of the Art Department of the University of Nevada, Craig Shepherd, whose oil painting of the McCarran Ranch was presented to McCarran in a wide silver frame on which the names of the donors were etched—a piece of Nevada history by itself, for to identify each of these names would be to discover that very large segment of Nevada society which contributed most to Nevada's recovery and prosperity by their enterprise. The statue, cast in bronze, was presented to the Congress of the United States, and thus McCarran became the first native son of Nevada to be accorded a place in the Congressional Hall of Fame.¹⁹⁰ He stands in judicial robes, holding a little book which resembles his saddlebag Blackstone, with that monitory finger raised forever in reasoning and warning. Yet little children have been seen, hands on the pediment and faces uplifted to the benign countenance, saying: "Hello, Pat!"



McCarran wrote on the back of this picture "Given to me by Pop Squires," Arcada Banquet 1944.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Las Vegas Age*, January 13, 1939. After passage of the La Follette-Monroney Reorganization of the Senate in 1946 McCarran served only on Judiciary and Appropriations. However, many of the abovenamed committees became subcommittee of the Judiciary or Appropriations, *e. g.*, State and Justice Department. On a day when appropriations were being voted McCarran would stand at his desk all day explaining items to be voted. Often his opinion of a measure was enough to determine a doubtful or enquiring Senator's vote. One day after a huge appropriation bill had been passed, Sister Margaret Patricia asked him if he knew "all that was in that bill." He replied, "It is my business to know what is in that bill."

2. *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 6, 1942.

3. *Las Vegas Age*, January 13, 1939. "White Settlers," the Depaoli family surrendered two ranches to the Paiutes which are now ruined, as ranches.

4. *Las Vegas Age*, July 28, 1939.

5. Correspondence with Pete Petersen, Postmaster, Reno, from Sen. McCarran, Sept. 22, 1939.

6. Correspondence of Senator McCarran with Sister Margaret Patricia.

7. Correspondence with Sen. P. A. McCarran from Timerline Riggs, Merchandise & Hardware, Overton, Oct. 5, 1939. Navy Dept.'s reply to Sen. McCarran from W. R. Furlong, Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy, Oct. 9, 1939." The idea has been investigated—no novelty; returned enclosures."

8. Correspondence to Otis Vaughn, Superintendent, Reno City Schools, October 2, 1940.

9. A good distinction between the terms "public lands" and "public domain" appears in Technical Bulletin No. 31, April, 1932, *The Public Domain of Nevada and Factors Affecting Its Use*, written by E. O. Wooton of the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., 1932. "Public domain" means only those lands which are not allotted, reserved or appropriated, whereas, "public lands" are all lands over which Congress has jurisdiction.

10. Among 28 names in the organization of the Department there occurred the name M. S. Eisenhower.

11. Director Cecil Creel of the Nevada Agricultural Extension Service, S. B. Doten and C. E. Fleming of the Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Nevada worked with George W. Malone, then State Engineer, to produce this report in record time. Other Nevadans involved were George Watt, commissioner of lands, Vernon Metcalf of the Nevada Land and Livestock Association, C. R. Townsend of Ely, and J. W. Wilson of Elko, among others.

12. This reminded one of G. B. Shaw's advocacy of state competition with private industry in order to provide a "yardstick."

13. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, Senate Res. 241, Part 7 Revised, Washington, D. C., June 15, 16, and 21, 1913, U. S. Printing Office, 1943. Learning of the problems of white ranchers and Indian Service, McCarran said, "to put them under three jurisdictions; that is, if they use the forest, that is one; and if they use the open public domain, that will be your (Grazing) Service; and then, if they go with this (agreement) they will be under a third jurisdiction That is not a happy situation." The following dialogue took place:

"Mr. Forsling: It doubtless was not the intent of Congress to request sufficient funds of Congress that the administration of grazing should become a burden on the Public Treasury, and I believe that in the long run a reasonable

fee will substantially equal the cost of administration of the range in the interest of the range user.

Senator McCarran: I would like to stop you right at that point. Have you read the record that was made on the attempt to have the Taylor Grazing Act passed?

Mr. Forsling: Yes, sir.

Senator McCarran: Have you read the statement made by the Secretary, Mr. Ickes, wherein he said that \$150,000 would be sufficient to administer it, and that no additional personnel would be necessary and that it could be administered by the existing personnel in the Department? Have you read the record where that was made as a promise to the Congress of the United States and also to those who were utilizing the open public domain?

Mr. Forsling: Yes, I have read the record.

Senator McCarran: Do you realize that that bill would never have been passed if those conditions which you now present had been known?

Mr. Forsling: I don't know about the latter.

Senator McCarran: I can tell you about it very emphatically. To be very frank with you, Mr. Forsling, you are pursuing a course of action that will put the Taylor grazing bill out of business, because of your determination not to keep the word of the Secretary. There has been no change of Secretaries. We have had the same Secretary since the Taylor Grazing Act was passed, and have him now, and we expect the promises made to be fulfilled. I am wondering whether or not you have any regard for the promises made as to expense. The Department said it could get along on \$150,000, and it is now costing over a million dollars, and the threat is presented that it will be much more.

You are now contemplating an increase in salaries, are you not?

Mr. Forsling: Yes, sir.

Senator McCarran: So, we have much more with which to be confronted.

Mr. Forsling: I think we are going to have to increase the salaries of our men to make them comparable with the general civil-service level if we are going to be able to keep the kind of men that are needed to do this job.

Senator McCarran: You have increased your personnel some eight or tenfold over what was promised before we passed the Taylor Grazing Act."

14. Indian Tribal Council attorneys attempted to create animus regarding McCarran but individual Indians understood him rather affectionately.

15. Telegram from Senator McCarran to Milton B. Badt, May 23, 1940. Turner and Rebol, *Nevada Reports*, LXXIII, State Printing Office, Carson City, Nevada, 1957, p. 93-108, *John Asolabehere, Appelant vs. St. John Laborde, Respondent*, No. 3955, April 25, 1957, 310 P. 2d 842. This decision by Chief Justice Milton Badt reversed judgment from Third Judicial District Court of Lander County, Hon. Gordon W. Rice, Presiding Judge. Judge Rice had based his decision on the briefs of Milton Badt when attorney for ranchers. Badt, C. J., now found that in spite of the provisions in the Taylor Grazing Act that "nothing in this Act shall be construed in any way to diminish, restrict or impair any right which has been heretofore or may be hereafter initiated under existing law validly affecting the public lands" the regulations and rules and permits issued by the Bureau of Land Management (agency created July 16, 1946: (*ibid.*, p. 98) supercede the State's in this area, by reason of the Taylor Grazing Act. The BLM had given St. John Laborde's water to Asolabehere by giving the later grazing rights where insufficient feed existed although there was surplus water. Laborde won the decision in the lower court and lost in the supreme court of Nevada. Chief Justice Badt cited Congressman Scrugham only to refute him:

Scrugham had warned at hearings on the Taylor Grazing bill that the stockmen would find themselves each "having his ranch owned by himself; the water used for grazing his stock controlled by the state and the grazing lands themselves controlled by two or more government bureaus."

16. Telegram from Senator McCarran to William Wright, Deeth, Nevada, May 24, 1940.

17. Correspondence from F. E. Mollin to Senator McCarran, May 31, 1940.

18. Correspondence from Sen. McCarran to Elmer Brock, President, American National Livestock Association, July 13, 1940. McCarran worked closely with individuals, local authorities, elected personnel.

19. Correspondence from Frank O. Horton to Senator McCarran, August 9, 1940.

20. Letter from D. D. Potter to Senator Adams (CC to Senator McCarran), August 13, 1940.

21. Correspondence from Carl F. Dodge to McCarran, there "is definitely a Departmental move to further control the public lands. The Grazing Administration has been perniciously active, lobbying for this legislation, and this seeming interest which the cattlemen have in this matter is brought about by their fear of discrimination and retaliation."

22. Correspondence to Mrs. Louise King Graham from Sen. McCarran, August 29, 1940. Correspondence to Mrs. Feriland White, Las Vegas, from Sen. McCarran, August 29, 1940.

23. Correspondence to R. F. Camalier, from Eva Adams, Secretary to Sen. McCarran, September 2, 1940.

24. Mr. F. E. Horton, Representative from Wyoming, had excellent reasons for introducing his own measure, especially when McCarran was obliged to tell him that Congress was prolonging the session of 1940 through the Fall and hearings under S. 241 had to be postponed. Horton wired the Senator September 25, 1940: "The Division of Investigation of Department of Interior has promised to send two agents out to reservation immediately to look into land purchase program with particular reference to purchase of Padlock Ranch holdings. Am not certain it will be unbiased investigation. Hoping you will make this land purchase a part of your investigation as authorized by S. Res. 241."

Arizona presented a like problem. A letter from unhappy Arizonans went astray and was forwarded from the Attorney General's office to Senator Alva B. Adams, who gave it to McCarran. From C. E. Miller, Yarnell, Arizona (Sept. 6, 1940) "Request is made for an investigation relative to the fraudulent acquisition of certain lands definitely set aside by the Federal Government as mineral lands. Since the letter is addressed to the Congressional Committee on Land Frauds Investigations, and apparently was inadvertently delivered to this Department, the communication is forwarded to your office for appropriate attention and reply."

The *Wyoming State Journal* said: Herrick Discloses to Indians Details of Money Spending, Gets Consent Through Sustenance Bait. New Deal spending for the purchase of the Padlock Ranch for the Arapahoe Indians will actually reach \$350,000, John Herrick, assistant Indian commissioner, told the tribal council at Arapahoe Friday afternoon attended by about 150 adult Indians." (September 12, 1940.)

Correspondence from J. Elmer Brock to Congressman Frank O. Horton concerning Padlock Ranch situation: "Both Arapahoes and Shoshones oppose purchase of Padlock Ranch. They think movement to remove stock from Reservation is unwise and unwarranted." (September 29, 1940.)

24a. *Hearings, S. Res. 241, loc. cit.*, p. 2422.

"Senator McCarran: I would not like a situation to arise such as was presented to us in Wyoming, in the Padlock ranch incident. That is where the whites had been invited and urged, to come into the territory and settle; and after having done so, and after having set up their homes, and established themselves—and it is only a stockraiser's territory, and nothing more—they were told that they could have no more rights on the open public domain, which simply meant that their deed holdings had to go on the market, as it was at that time; which, to my mind, is one of the most damnable outrages that any bureau ever worked on the white group, or any other group.

I think that it is a crime that will go down with the Indian Service until the Indian Service has been forgotten. I think it is something that never can be forgiven, by any man who has any sense of justice in his make-up."

McCarran, correspondence with C. H. Grayson, District Attorney, Sonora, Calif.: "The matter of government acquisition of private lands for use of Indians and for other uses has been a subject of much discussion. Speaking as a member of the committee of the Senate appointed to look into the administration and use of lands, I shall welcome a full and free discussion of the subject which your organization has in mind." (October 22, 1940.)

The reason why McCarran did not immediately pursue the Padlock Ranch question was that a Wyoming member of Congress did so: "H. Res. 606—Authorizing an investigation of the land-purchase and consolidation program conducted on behalf of the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indian Tribes of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. (By Mr. Horton; referred to Committee on Rules), September 19, 1940.

25. *Wyoming State Journal*, "Indians Draft Petition Asking Investigation of Indian Service In Handling Judgment Funds Purchase of Padlock Ranch for Arapahoes Believed Vagary of John Collier." (October 22, 1940.)

26. *The Casper Tribune-Herald*, October 1, 1941.

27. Telegram from R. F. Camalier to George W. Storck, "Announce to press and notify interested parties that Senator McCarran's Sub-Committee will commence hearings in Casper, Wyoming, September 25 and proceed from there to Lander, Wyoming, for hearings 29 and 30; Salt Lake City, Utah, October 2, 3, 4 and Reno, Nevada, October 8." (September 18, 1941.)

28. In a letter the same day to Storck by Camalier: "Please study the Padlock Ranch situation carefully, as it will probably be a 'Hot Potato.' Carefully watch also the provisions of Senator McCarran's Cattle Theft Bill, but give no publicity about this particular one. Senator McCarran is leaving for Reno tonight."

29. Correspondence to R. F. Camalier from George W. Storck, Special Investigator, August 11, 1941.

In correspondence from Storck to Camalier on July 15, 1941, Storck said: "At Riverton, Wyoming, I expected to get to bottom of sale of Padlock Ranch to the Shoshone Indians to which they object and which Senator McCarran desires that I look into."

30. Correspondence from George W. Storck to R. F. Camalier, August 11, 1941.

31. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to George W. Storck, Forest Service, Elko, Nevada, September 4, 1940.

32. Correspondence from George W. Storck, Special Investigator, to R. F. Camalier, September 11, 1940.

33. Correspondence from R. F. Camalier to George W. Storek, September 4, 1940.

34. Correspondence from Sen. McCarran to F. E. Mollin, Secretary, American National Livestock Assn., September 4, 1940.

35. Correspondence from F. E. Mollin, to Senator McCarran, September 6, 1940.

36. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to Roy Richter, September 26, 1940. In correspondence to Elmer Brock, President of American National Livestock Association, Senator McCarran said, "We can do nothing else, in the face of existing situation here in Congress and affairs of members of the Committee, than to defer the hearings until a later date."

37. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to R. F. Camalier, November 4, 1940.

38. Telegram from McCarran to F. E. Mollin, November 7, 1940.

39. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to R. F. Camalier, November 4, 1940.

40. Telegram from Senator McCarran, December 4, 1940.

41. Correspondence from Senator McCarran, December 4, 1940.

42. Correspondence from John R. Fletcher, Western Olympic settlers, to Clarence D. Martin, urging him to persuade Senator Pat McCarran to hold a hearing in Olympia, saying: "It would be much to the advantage of everyone in the state." (August 29, 1940.) James G. McCurdy, of Port Townsend Chamber of Commerce, wrote to Senator McCarran: ". . . We here on the Olympic Peninsula are much opposed to the manner in which our public lands are being administered. Much opposition has been voiced and hearings have been asked, but no attention has been paid to these appeals." (November 20, 1940.) C. Lehman wrote to Senator McCarran in reference to S. 241 asking him to hold a meeting of the sub-committee in the state of Washington on November 22nd. Edgar S. Hadley asked Senator McCarran to hold hearings: "In order that the citizens of this state may give evidence concerning the lands which the state now owns and the purposes for which they were created, and be able to protect themselves from further encroachments of the federal government." (November 29.) E. K. Bishop, member of National Defense and Aviation Committee, said: "Your Committee in studying national policy in administering public lands should, I think, investigate immediately the situation with which we are confronted in the Olympic Peninsula." (December 2, 1940.) Senator McCarran wrote to Charles E. Cone, Chairman, Lake Chelan Chamber of Commerce, explaining why the hearings under R. 241 had not been possible to schedule for the state of Washington, due to continuation of the Congressional session and McCarran's ill health. (December 2, 1940.)

43. Correspondence from Kenneth Cox, Secretary of Wyoming-Montana Livestock Protective Association to Senator McCarran endorsing and approving S. Res. 241 and commending Senator McCarran on his work. (October 10, 1940.)

44. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to the President. (December 23, 1940.)

45. McCarran disapproved of multiplied jurisdictions but believed agencies should have definite objectives and be controlled budget-wise.

46. Correspondence from George W. Storek, to R. F. Camalier, March 27, 1941: "Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of March 22, 1941, enclosing copy of telegram received from J. Elmer Brock regarding the purchase of the Padlock Ranch. . . . I am led to believe that there is some cause for complaint on the part of the Indians on the Shoshone Reservation."

47. Correspondence to H. W. Naylor, Regional Grazier, Gallup, New Mexico, September 1, 1942: "I am very sorry that thus far you have not been able to trace the present employment of Eshirif Shefky. I suppose that one with Shefsky's record would probably be now masquerading under an alias, which would make it very difficult to trace his employment unless he was seen by someone who previously knew him. I hope that his present employment may be disclosed prior to the opening of the hearings in Albuquerque."

48. Correspondence from George W. Storck, Special Investigator, to R. F. Camalier, Attorney, Washington, D. C., February 24, 1941.

49. Correspondence from R. F. Camalier to C. A. Sewell, Secretary, Nevada State Cattle Association, Elko. (March 25, 1941.)

10. Correspondence from McCarran to his daughters.

51. Correspondence to Joseph Raggs, Winnett, Montana, from Sen. McCarran, March 27, 1941. Correspondence to G. H. Craig, Assistant Professor, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bozeman, Montana, October 22, 1941.

52. Correspondence to Sen. McCarran from D. A. Hughes, Secretary, Eastern Nevada Sheep Growers' Assn., June 7, 1941.

53. Correspondence to Archie Grant, Las Vegas, from Senator McCarran, May 7, 1941.

54. Day Letter from Senator McCarran to Thomas J. Duffin, Secretary, Lincoln Co. Livestock Association, Caliente, Nevada, May 26, 1941.

55. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to George W. Storck, May 28, 1941.

56. Correspondence from V. E. Greenwald, Beatty, Nevada, to the Regional Director of the Taylor Grazing District in Las Vegas, Nevada (June 3, 1941), requesting extension of the Grazing District No. 5 to and above Springdale, taking in territory from boundary of bombing range, that is taking his grazing land, to the Nevada-California line.

57. *Caliente Herald*, May 29, 1941.

58. *Ely Record*, June 27, 1941.

59. *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 10, 1941.

In the spring of 1969 fees are being raised exorbitantly and the effectiveness of McCarran Hearings is missed except for Walter Baring's skilled efforts.

60. Memorandum for the Director of Grazing, from Liason Officer, Grazing Service, Dept. of Interior, August 28, 1941. "The entire administration of the Taylor Grazing Act should be under one centralized head. The improvement of the public grazing lands of the Department of the Interior should be under one general plan."

61. Telegram from R. F. Camalier to George W. Storck, July 5, 1941. The partial *Report* cited above noted the propensity of the Federal Government's agencies to seize thousands more acres than a project needed.

62. The tax measure settled the question of filing of separate income tax returns in community property states. The western Civil Law principle finally prevailed, thanks to McCarran's strenuous leadership.

63. *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 9, 1941.

64. Correspondence from Vernon Metcalf to Senator McCarran, October 18, 1941.

65. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to William B. Wright, October 31, 1941. "Trying to devise plan which will enable the little fellows to come to our hearings and be represented."

66. *Las Vegas Age*, November 14, 1941. Telegram sent to Karl C. Stewart, Chairman, Pahrnagat Valley Soil Conservation District; U. V. Perkins, Overton; C. R. Townsend, District Extension Agent, Ely; William Harper, Mesquite; Paul Thurston, Pres., Moapa Valley Chamber of Commerce, Overton; said McCarran, "to attend hearings in Las Vegas on Nov. 25th and 26th."

67. Telegram from Pat McCarran to Gray Mashburn, Attorney General, Nevada, November 14, 1941.

68. *Las Vegas Age*, November 21, 1941.

69. *Las Vegas Review Journal*, November 20, 1941.

70. Telegram from Pat McCarran to George Storck, November 15, 1941. Miss Adams had reported Storck had set a banquet for Thanksgiving Day. Storck retorted: "Miss Adams is again mistaken. Too many cooks spoil the broth. Will get in touch with her and have her change date to 25th."

71. Telegram from Cal Corey to Eva Adams indicated that the Bureau of Reclamation, National Park Service, General Land Office, Grazing Service, and Office of Indian Affairs of the Interior Department would be represented, November 24, 1941.

72. Letter from Eva Adams to Grace Dangberg, December 3, 1941.

73. Letter from Bryant S. Martineau, Associate Range Manager, to J. B. Dangberg, December 2, 1941.

74. Letter to Senator McCarran from John C. Page, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, December, 1941. Confer:

Administration and Use of Public Lands, Second Partial Report of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, pursuant to S. Res. 241, The Grazing Service, Department of Interior, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1941, p. 42. From article in *Reese River Reveille*, Nov. 18, 1939:

. . . "At the first meeting the livestock growers of this region, suspicious from the first as to the whole matter, decided that it was better for them to continue as they had been in the past, as they had been originally assured was their privilege, and declined to accept the provisions of the new act.

A second meeting was held at Austin and strenuous efforts were made to induce the range users to change their opinions and accept the act and organize under it. . . . The general consensus of the livestock growers of the proposed district was that the disadvantages far outweighed any possible advantages and the sentiment was even more pronounced against accepting its provisions than before.

. . . The administration of the Taylor Act appears to be causing dissatisfaction in many parts of the State from what one reads in the State papers. We have always shared the opinion of the livestock growers of this region that whatever its advantages in some parts of the country, the act is not adapted to this region and if generally applied will eventually destroy the livestock industry. . . .

It may be that Secretary Ickes is powerful enough to force it upon them in the end but if this is done it will be a scandalous violation of the assurances originally given to them."

The reply to a letter from the chairman of this subcommittee discloses what would appear to be a departure from the earlier declared policy of the Department with respect to the formation of grazing districts. In part it stated:

"As I view the Taylor Grazing Act, it is a mandate to the Department of the Interior to administer all federally owned lands in the interest of conser-

vation and stabilization of the livestock industry. It is the desire of the Department, in carrying out this mandate, to adhere to the wishes of the local livestock operators concerning the establishment of grazing districts to the extent that they may be consistent with proper land administration. However, the Department could not agree if their wishes would result in defeating the principles and purposes of the Taylor Act." Letter of January 7, 1940, from A. J. Wirtz, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to Senator Patrick A. McCarran.

75. Correspondence from Senator McCarran to Ted McCuiston, Montello, Nevada, said: "I hope to find time to correlate much of the information adduced on the various hearings in Nevada, Utah, and Arizona so we can know just what corrective regulations should be applied."

76. Letter from B. H. Rutledge to Senator McCarran, December 23, 1941.

77. Correspondence to Vernon Metcalf, Nevada Livestock Production Credit Association, from Senator McCarran said: "I am confident that the Grazing Department is looking to an increase. I think something should be done to stop it."

78. *Administration and Use of Public Lands: Second Partial Report of the Committee on Public Lands: The Grazing Service 1936-1945*, p. 2, for the demonstration of Ickes' attitude on "ownership" by his department and the Senator's insistence that rising fees should not be warranted if Ickes were true to his word on costs.

79. Newsletter, December 9, 1941.

80. Correspondence from George W. Storck, Special Investigator, to R. F. Camalier, December 6, 1941.

81. Correspondence from J. Elmer Brock, President, American National Livestock Association, to Senator McCarran, October 20, 1941. McCarran answered on November 3, 1941: "I don't intend to allow the activity of my committee to lose momentum. Am now contemplating hearings either in Arizona or Colorado. I wish something could be done to have more attendance of the fellows who do the actual stock raising, more the little fellows, fellows who are apparently unable or unwilling to attend these meetings."

82. Correspondence from Henry Blain and Hyrum Jensen to Senator Pat McCarran, October 6, 1941.

83. *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 4, 1941.

84. Correspondence from William S. Wright, President, Nevada State Cattle Association, to Senator McCarran, July 8, 1941.

85. Resolution of the Policy Committee of the Rio Grande Forest, by A. E. Headless, President. Italics inserted.

86. Correspondence from C. F. Dierking, Regional Grazier, Reno, Nevada, to the Director of Grazing, Department of the Interior, Salt Lake City, Utah. (February 14, 1942.)

87. Senate Bill 31, amendment to Grazing Act, Jan. 7, 1943. Senator O'Mahoney complained to Senator McCarran that: "At the hearings at Lander, nothing was brought out by witnesses concerning Forest Service," to which the latter replied that the main object was the position of the settlers on the ceded and diminished portions of the Reservation who were about to be removed, in correspondence Jan. 2, 1942.

At one juncture McCarran contested with the Interior Department for the right of cattlemen to choose not to form a district. Reference is made to letter of A. J. Wirtz, Acting Secretary of the Interior to McCarran, practically denying his position. *Second Partial Report. loc. cit.*, p. 42.

88. Letter of January 6, 1942. A letter from John Curry, Sacramento, Calif., Cattlemen's Association, to Fred Dangberg told of the Resolution of the Association at annual convention that withdrawal of lands in the Truckee and Carson River drainage in California, Nevada and other states, be recalled and that the administration of them be turned over to one of the federal agencies now administering grazing lands. (February 6, 1952.)

89. Letter from Pat McCarran to John B. Dangberg, Minden, Nevada, March 31, 1942.

90. Letter to Loren Bamert, President of the California Cattlemen's Association from John B. Dangberg, May 4, 1942.

91. Letter from John Curry, Secretary, California Cattlemen's Association, to John B. Dangberg, Minden, Nev., May 8, 1942.

92. Letter to John B. Dangberg from Senator McCarran, June 4, 1942. The Public Land Commission was apologetic. A letter from Joel D. Wolfsohn, Acting Commissioner, General Land Office, to Senator McCarran explained: "Senator Bunker (Nevada's Junior Senator) has forwarded to me, with a request for a report thereon, a copy of a letter addressed to you by Mr. Wayne McLeod . . . in which the Surveyor General reverted to his testimony before the subcommittee of the committee on public lands and surveys at Las Vegas, making complaint against the manner in which the General Land Office administers the Public Lands. . . . I assure you that classification of all lands embraced in applications now pending before this office is being made rapidly as the character of the lands and their proper use can be determined and final action on any application will not be delayed beyond the time required to exercise prudent administration of the public domain." (June 10, 1942.) Familiarity with governmental language provides a picture of bureaucratic omniscience and impossibilism.

A letter to J. B. Dangberg, June 24, 1942, from Chet Wing, Secretary of California Wool Growers Association read: "Happy to hear of restoration; Senator McCarran has been a tower of strength in matters of this sort." Success at last seemed possible, if not imminent.

93. In correspondence to R. H. Rutledge from E. S. Haskell, Special Investigator (April 14, 1942) Haskell wrote: "I understand that Mr. Ryan has informed you that I have taken over the work formerly done by Mr. George W. Storck for the Sub-Committee on Public Lands and Survey." Even Haskell's assignment took half a year to be recorded as evidenced in correspondence from Senator McCarran to Haskell: "Thank you very much for your letter of June 17th, with regard to the letter from Wayne McLeod. I hope you get information on this matter, and I will look forward to hearing from you. I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture from the Comptroller General, dated June 15th, which authorized your detail to the subcommittee. I thought perhaps you would like to have a copy for your files."

94. *Reno Evening Gazette*, June 15, 1942.

95. Letter from J. B. Dangberg to Senator McCarran, June 16, 1942.

96. Correspondence from E. S. Haskell, Special Investigator to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Washington, D. C., June 17, 1942.

97. In 1939, from June 10 to September 22, McCarran worked to get his Amendment to the Taylor Grazing Act amended to "give legal assurance" to stockraisers "that they will have a voice in the control of the public domain they use—control of that which means their industry and their life," as he, himself, said. He accused the Interior Department, Grazing Division, of "using high handed and bludgeoning tactics to force Elko County, Nevada, stockmen

to pay temporary license fees for use of public domain pasture lands." *Elko Free Press*, October 23, 1939, and *Humboldt Star*, October 26; also *Fallon Eagle* of June 10, 1939, *Ely Record* of June 16, 1939, and *Pioche Record* of July 3, 1939. One year after the "Purge" McCarran was getting about everything he wished, legislatively. Events would prove later, of course, that the power given the Advisory Boards was fairly ignored in and by the Grazing Service. Oddly enough—yet understandably—the National Woolgrowers Association voted against McCarran's Advisory Board amendment, *i.e.*, six hundred, represented by a vote of 159-52, said the *Eureka Sentinel* Feb. 5, 1938. They were afraid the cattlemen would overrule them in Advisory Boards. On October 3, 1941, stockmen and sheepmen argued heatedly before McCarran in Salt Lake. The sheepmen disapproved of the Taylor Grazing Act. McCarran quieted the quarrel by stating a bill was before Congress to raise fees—again.

Nevada State Journal, *Elko Independent*, *Humboldt Star*, October 28, 1943, "McCarran will hold public land meetings in Reno on November 4. This is to amend the Taylor Grazing Act. To discuss the following bills:

S. 978—relating to lands released to the U. S. by the railroads, to Sec. 321 of the Transportation Act.

S. 1139—relating to unpatented placer mining claims for deposits of oil, shale, other minerals on public property.

S. 1152—the conservation of wild life on public lands and reservations of the U. S. (The Government let wild life eat up the range. Elk herds deprived beef.)

S. R. 2197—provision for the acquisition of lands for grazing purposes. The meeting is opened to the public, and everyone present will be heard."

Elko Free Press, November 5, 1943: "McCarran stated that executive orders to reduce the use of public domain are a threat to the western states."

Elko Free Press said also, "McCarran endorsed wild life control by the government so as to leave a balance of feed for the ranchers." However, later, there were reports of Ickes phasing out cattle.

Denver Post, November 15, 1943, said McCarran chaired a meeting in which cattlemen and federal bureaucrat agents tangled. McCarran heard from the ranchers complaints of being forced to participate in government program that they did not believe in. McCarran stated that his sub-committee had found in the past three years that there are several offices or departments which should be discontinued. This meeting was in Denver, Colorado.

Humboldt Star, April 10, 1944, said: "McCarran is going to present amendments to the Taylor Grazing Act."

Nevada State Journal, April 12, 1944: "McCarran is discussing the making of an amendment to the Taylor Grazing Act which will allow an exchange of federal and state grazing lands."

Wells Progress, May 26, 1944, said: "McCarran has won his battle for an interpretation of the Taylor Act. This will permit the state and federal governments to exchange land for public use."

98. *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 12, 1938.

99. In May of 1939, McCarran persuaded the Treasury Department to sell to Ormsby County the Carson City Mint building in order to create therein the Nevada State Museum. McCarran had rewritten his bill S. 1049, to comply with the policy established for such transactions by a previous Congress thus overcoming the objections of the Treasury. Cf *Carson City Daily Appeal*, May 16, 19, 23, 27, 1939.

The *New York Times* of June 19, 1939, said: "The silver bloc led by McCarran is interfering with the passage of a tax bill which reconstructs and continues the 'nuisance' taxes."

111. On the ECA trip, Harriet had to "do Europe" on her own, largely. The Senator was everlastingly at work. However, they visited Ireland and found his mother's relatives and the record of her baptism which proved that he had guessed her age fairly closely. There were two elderly ladies living in the house of the tenant farm Maggie Shea had fled, Maggie's distant relatives. In Coachforth, County Cork, there was Sheila Dwyer and her large and professionally successful family with whom Harriet fell in love and with whom the family continued correspondence. The Weeks family of Harriet's father has still to be discovered, in England.

112. *Reno Evening Gazette*, June 29, 1939.

113. *Elko Free Press*, July 12, 1939.

114. *Nevada State Journal, Tonopah Times, Humboldt Star*, August 5, 1939.

115. *Washington Post*, June, 1939.

116. *Ely Times*, June 19, 1939.

117. One of the best pieces of Americanism ever written was a speech before America First by Joseph Kennedy, shortly after he resigned as Ambassador to England.

118. *Nevada State Journal*, October 16, 1939, and *Ely Times*, October 7, 1939.

119. *Humboldt Star*, December 4, 1939.

120. *The Times Herald*, August 15, 1941: "McCarran, an isolationist, rejects the proposition of America becoming an ally of Britain in encountering the Germans, Italians and Japanese."

Humboldt Star: McCarran condemns Roosevelt's withdrawal of the Neutrality Act. McCarran further states that "the time has come to stop this thing by legislative enactment forbidding convoys, so as to avoid an attack and the possibility of war." (September 19, 1941.)

The *Las Vegas Review Journal*, September 1, 1941, said: "McCarran said the attack on the U.S.S. Greer is the result of the U. S. 'sticking its neck out too far'."

Tonopah Times, October 24, 1941, McCarran, speaking at the 20-30 Club in Tonopah, stated that the U. S. is the economic leader of the world and thus must not go into war. War would cause world-wide chaos.

Nevada State Journal, March 5, 1942, "McCarran gave his support to the rules governing the materials used by civilians as stated by the war production board" (in cooperation with the U. S. Chamber of Commerce).

Wilmington Morning News Journal, March 27, 1942: "McCarran asserts that the United States will earn victory and establish a world peace. This was stated in a speech that he gave at the Wooderest Stone laying ceremonies."

121. *Pittsburgh Press*, October 5, 1943, McCarran admonished that the War Planning Board will be a "major adversary" in any program to develop programs of industry in new areas, charging that agency officials have "a cramped and prejudiced viewpoint." He said: "Their views are colored by their own experiences, by their previous interests before they came into the government."

California Mining Journal, November 15, 1943, said: "McCarran is leading a fight for more industries in the west. He is a chairman of unofficial meetings without the administrative sponsorship, attended by more than 150 members of both houses. They feel that if American business is to be maintained "Ameri-

can," then they must begin to reach out to the untapped resources of the west. They would like to develop steel industries. They are setting up a special board of 12 men (six men from each house) with subcommittees to investigate possibilities.

Caliente Herald, January 6, 1944, McCarran procured passage of a resolution to form a committee for the decentralization of industry.

Sparks Tribune, February 6, 1944: "McCarran has requested the construction of an oil shale plant in Elko."

Nevada State Journal, February 11, 1944, McCarran will hold a five state meeting concerning industry and the post-war western states. They will discuss the feasibility of distributing branches of Geneva steel plant from Provo, Utah. (He fought and won a battle to keep Geneva from being disassembled and shipped out of the country.)

Las Vegas Age, February 13, 1944, McCarran's meeting endorses the maintenance of the BMI.

Fallon Standard, February 16, 1944, stated: McCarran says "Nevada has produced millions of tons of copper and shipped it to the East for fabrication. Our silver mines have been closed. Iron mines have remained undeveloped. Our reservoirs of raw products have been going and nothing has been coming back. This is true of Idaho and of the other Western states." He wants to give work to the men returning from the war in the new industry.

Pioche Record, March 2, 1944, said: "McCarran forestalled the WPB's move to cut the BMI's production by 40 percent." (Basic Magnesium Industry.)

Nevada State Journal, April 2, 1944, "Wilson, head of the WPB, stated that curtailment would not affect the magnesium plant. He stated that there is an overproduction of certain metals."

Las Vegas Review Journal, April 5, 1944, said: "WPB has cut down four units of the ten at the BMI, McCarran stated. He claims that some competitors of BMI are on the WPB."

Review Miner, April 6, 1944, "McCarran is fighting to maintain the plant, BMI."

122. The *Humboldt Star*, August 23, 1938, said: "The five man civil aeronautics board authority created by the McCarran bill began regulation of the air industry."

123. *Humboldt Star*, June 7, 1940.

124. From *New York Times*, *Reno Evening Gazette*, *New York Tribune*, *Capitol Daily*, January 5, 1938, said: "Senator McCarran with President Roosevelt's approval, plans to redraft a measure which would create a separate commission which would have all authority of commercial aviation. McCarran is the sponsor of the legislation to put air transportation under the rule of the I.C.C. A special inter-departmental committee of the Navy, Commerce, State, War, and Post Office Departments requested by the President and formed under Secretary Roper, studied existing and proposed aviation legislation and recommended measures as the basis for a national policy which led to this result (the President's approval). Four years ago a Howell committee had made the recommendation of an independent commission but had been opposed by the President.

This new commission would control both domestic and foreign air lines, rates, certificates of convenience and necessity, and safety measures. The committee of three or five members would be appointed by the President and confirmed by Congress. McCarran has two bills he is sponsoring: one for control of air transport and the other is for safety measures, both to be under the I.C.C. These will conflict with plans to amend the Merchant Marine Act

by which foreign air transportation would be under the jurisdiction of the Marine Commission. The administration also favors this federal independent commission which would embrace both of McCarran's bills in one.

125. *Nevada State Journal*, February 27, 1938.

126. McCarran stated: "Major casualties to be the result of the lack of absolute control between all the major controlling departments. We need a non-political agency. Strong public opinion that Congress hasn't gone far enough in enforcing laws to insure safety in the skies for these commercial airlines." *Pioche Record*, also *Review Miner* and *Review Journal* of January 7, 1938.

"The crash of the Northwest Airlines plane in Montana, says McCarran, is a demonstration that something must be done about an independent agency." *Ely Times*, *Topopah Times*, *Elko Free Press* of January 12, 1938.

"McCarran's bill has the support of the President's Committee on Civil Aviation Legislation, it was announced by the chairman of the group, J. Monroe Johnson, Assistant Secretary. McCarran's bill for a three man federal board is being introduced in the House by Representative Lea, Democrat, of California. McCarran added that there is also need for a standing committee of the Senate to handle all aviation legislation. Chairman Mead in the House stresses early passage of the Lea Bill. He said that in 1934 and 1935 the Federal Aviation Commission advised that civil aviation jurisdiction shouldn't be given to the I.C.C. because the most vital things needed in aviation were development and promotional activities and a board that would emphasize this. McCarran's bill specifies I.C.C. procedures, greater independence from other federal branches, and after this bill is passed greater detail will be given in the matter of safety devices." From *Washington Star*, January 13, 1938.

127. *Washington Herald*, June 1, 1938.

128. *Las Vegas Review Journal*, March 28, 1938, informed its readers that because of the Black-McKeller bill, which the President was persuaded into accepting in 1934, the airlines have been under the control of the Post Office department and while the Post Office and the government are profiting from the work of the airlines, the airlines are losing approximately \$500,000 quarterly because of the low rates paid to them for carrying the mail. This article cites a definite example: Transcontinental and Western Air, Inc. (TWA), probably the best and strongest financed airline in the business. It has been the opinion that the government should subsidize the airlines until they are strong enough. In the first quarter of 1938, the TWA operating revenues were \$1,171,822 which shows an increase over the same period in 1937, it reported a net loss of \$590,069, compared to \$359,933 in this period of 1937. However, TWA carried 14,548,308 revenue passengers and less express and mail than in 1937. The Post Office paid TWA \$1,716,948.14 for carrying 2,227,970 pounds of mail, but the Post Office profited \$960,000 over what they paid TWA. Since 1934, Senator McCarran has been fighting for a separate commission to control aviation by regulating air mail rates, licenses, etc. This would pull aviation out of politics which is what the industry needs. The paper speaks of America's airline industry as the best in the world. This more permanent policy, even with the strong opposition from the Post Office, should be approved by Congress before it adjourns this year. Cf. also, *Las Vegas Review Journal* editorial, May 11, 1938.

129. *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 5, 1938.

"The McCarran air mail bill moved toward a vote in the Senate today, when Senator McCarran, sponsor of the measure, agreed to amend the act to prohibit mergers tending toward an aviation monopoly. The amendment was the result of Senator Borah's insistence on absolute protection against any provision

which might permit restraint of competition." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, May 12, 1938.

130. *Aero Digest*, April, 1938.

131. *Washington Post*, April 19, 1938.

132. *Humboldt Star*, April 22, 1938

133. "The Truman amendment to the McCarran bill, which was passed, is a 'dictatorship amendment,' which creates a 'political, subservient board.' As the bills go to conference, either the Truman amendment to the McCarran bill should be stricken out, or the Lea bill accepted. One quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative subservient board will lead to others." From *Chicago American*, May 24, 1938.

134. As matters stood, May, 1938, both the McCarran and Lea bills having been passed by the House and Senate, the bills must withstand a conference. Both bills have the blessing of the Roosevelt administration but the Lea bill is given the advantage. McCarran's bill leads indirectly to the possibility of a strong bureaucracy with such a strong control by the President. Both bills will eliminate the powers of four "warring government bureaus," one of them being Dan Roper's inept Department of Commerce with its 2,600 employees. It is believed that many of the crashes could be traced, with their causes, to this "inefficient and stupid" board. Failure of Roper's radio beams and then the secrecy with which the accidents were followed up has led to a \$3,000,000 aggregate loss in 1937, so the airline companies begged for a non-political agency and to back up their plea, promised to spend \$20,000,000 in new planes and to back up their plea, promised to spend \$20,000,000 in new planes and improvements but now they are expected to expand this sum. The new air safety board will operate on the theory that "it is better to prevent a crash than to investigate one." They will have power over schedules, rates, maintenance of airways, express and passengers, permitting airlines to merge with other airlines or railroads, licences, etc. The fault of the Lea bill is that it "does very little to improve the human equation in accidents. It has been stated that many causes of accidents is due to human fatigue from long hours of flying in bad weather. The McCarran bill does not have an exemption clause dealing with the wages of a pilot, hours of flying, etc." This, according to the *Philadelphia Record*, May 22, 1938.

McCarran and Truman agreed to amend the civil aeronautics bill. McCarran proclaimed that he had stood by a bill for an independent agency and if it was not going to be just that, he didn't want his name on it. Truman is expected to attempt "to substitute a similar bill delegating greater power of appointment to the President to dismiss members of the Authority without cause." Contrary to the Lea and the Truman bill, the McCarran bill contains a limitation, stating: "Any member of the Authority may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office."

McCarran stated that the only difference between his desires for the aviation agency and those of the senator from Missouri is that McCarran wants an agency that is really independent—that cannot be destroyed by the White House under a Republican or Democrat administration; an agency that will have the same position as the Supreme Court or any other court—"it will control, regulate and deal with one of the greatest avenues of commerce the country will have ten years from now." *Washington Star*, *New York Herald*, *Telegraph*, *Nevada State Journal* and *New York Times*, May 13, 1938.

135. "Senator Pittman stood up for McCarran's rights in the Senate on Monday when Senator Truman tried to substitute the bill which has passed the House (Lea Bill) for the one which has passed the Senate (McCarran Bill). This would have resulted in the McCarran bill being shelved. McCarran made

a quick dash across the country from Nevada where he had been due to a death in the family. Taken by surprise, opponents to the bill were forced to accede to McCarran's demand that both bills go into conference and that legislation looking toward the future welfare of American aviation, might emerge. His speech was very stirring and swayed a few men to his side, among them Senator Norris. Vice-President Garner appointed the following Senators as conferees: McCarran, Copeland, White, Donahey, Johnson of California, and Truman." From *Las Vegas Review Journal*, May 27, 1938.

136. "Wilberta Merriam of Winnemucca won second place in the 'Wings Across America' contest for the state of Nevada. She received a trophy from Senator McCarran." *Humboldt Star*, May 10, 1938.

"A freshman at Lincoln High School won the first place award of a free air trip to Washington, D. C., in the state's essay contest for National Air Week. The second place trophy was donated by Senator Pat McCarran." *Pioche Record*, May 12, 1938.

137. *Washington Herald*, May 25, 1938: "A shocked Senator McCarran was awakened last night at midnight and told that an airliner with 10 aboard had crashed near Cleveland, and that all were dead. McCarran left two hours later for Washington to start on his air safety bill."

138. *Las Vegas Review Journal*.

139. *Las Vegas Review Journal*, July 8, 1938.

140. McCarran announced that the President "favored the construction of an air base in western Nevada." *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 5, 1941.

"In a meeting in Reno with the Chamber of Commerce and Senator Rufus Holman (Oregon) McCarran stated his hopes that the Army construct the air base. He further stated that this would create a triangle of airports, Ely, and Las Vegas being the other two. He felt that the largest problem was unavailability of the materials in the interior of the state to construct the air base." *Nevada State Journal*, October 8, 1941.

"McCarran introduced the bill as the 'Civilian Pilot Training Act,' for the instruction of airplane mechanics. Private A & E Schools, who are unheard of due to the government's training programs, could be signed up to train the mechanics." *National Aeronautics*, November, 1941.

"McCarran is being asked to give an 'ok' to a cross-country training school located at the Yelland Air Field." *Ely Record*, December 30, 1941.

"Pilot training is now beginning in Ely. McCarran gave the signal to begin the program." *Ely Record*, January 23, 1942.

"McCarran is still pushing for his bill that enables the C.A.A. to train airplane mechanics. He is pressing for hearings before the Clark Aviation Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee." *National Aeronautics*, February, 1942.

"The Chamber of Commerce asked McCarran to transfer the CCC barracks into fliers' training school living quarters." *Ely Times*, February 12, 1942.

McCarran is praised for his foresight with his bill concerning glider training. The article proclaims the senator to be the leader of aviation in the Senate. He foreshadowed the flying fortress military complex. *Carson City Appeal*, June 25, 1942.

"Due to the efforts of McCarran Lovelock's high school began courses in flying for the young men." *Lovelock Review Miner*, July 2, 1942.

141. McCarran has again asked that there be a separate Air Force in the Armed Services. McCarran states the war can be brought to conclusion with

the advent of a strong air force. *Nevada State Journal/Reno Evening Gazette*, December 27, 1941.

"The war department stated that to create an Air Force now would weaken the present command. This is in response to McCarran's demands for a separate branch." *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 27, 1941

"McCarran is still pushing for the Air Force plan. He states that Pearl Harbor should be conclusive evidence of the need for an Air Force." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, January 5, 1942.

"McCarran's bill to create an independent American Air Force, like Britain's Royal Air Force and Germany's Luftwaffe, was killed by the Senate Military Affairs Committee." *New York Herald Tribune*, January 14 1942.

142. "The House appropriations committee reduced the amount requested by the CAA for airports by \$7,865,300. McCarran states that this will seriously jeopardize the fields in Nevada." *Fallon Eagle*, December 13, 1941.

"The funds that were cut from the amount requested by the CAA were restored due to the activities of McCarran. The total appropriation for the bill is now \$59,115,300, which may mean airfields in Carson Valley, Churchill County, and Austin." *Record Courier*, December 19, 1941.

"The Tonopah airport is officially in the control of the Army, The CAA and other such agencies will not be a part of the field," by a Presidential order. *Tonopah Times*, January 23, 1942.

"A governmental team is now surveying the land in Austin for its air field so it may begin construction." *Reese River Reveille*, January 31, 1942.

"McCarran has informed that Yelland Field (Ely) will have paved fields. The costs will be met by the CAA." *Ely Times*, January 31, 1942.

"McCarran states that he is able to obtain federal funds for the upkeep of the field in Churchill County. This is so the citizens will not have to shoulder the bulk of the costs." *Humboldt Star*, February 12, 1942.

"McCarran confers with the Army about building an air field near Minden." *Review Journal*, February 6, 1942.

"The airfield in Las Vegas is completed, it is named the McCarran Field." *Lincoln Independent, Goldfield News, Record Courier*, March 6, 1941.

"McCarran, who has been instrumental in securing airport programs in all parts of the state, has been requested by General Arnold to work out a proposed airport project at Ely with army engineers and officers who are making a special flight into that area for this purpose." *Carson Appeal*, March 7, 1941. "General Arnold is conferring with McCarran to create a string of airports extending from Tonopah to Wendover." *Fallon Eagle*, March 8, 1941.

"Work on the Tonopah airport is getting under way under the stimulus of McCarran." *Nevada State Journal*, April 7, 1941.

"McCarran says survey of Ely area is ordered by Army with view to school establishment." *Ely Times*, April 11, 1941.

"McCarran said that the Senate has approved the appropriations for the Yelland Field improvements." *Ely Times*, April 11, 1941.

"A report on the Fallon airport site, five miles southeast near the E. S. Berney ranch is being made this week following an inspection Monday by R. W. F. Schmidt, airport engineer for the Civil Aeronautics Administration, who declared the location good." *Fallon Standard*, May 21, 1941.

"One of the present drawbacks to building large airports to handle heavy transport planes is that present acts limit the areas of sites for public landing fields under lease by the government to 640 acres. Senator Pat McCarran has offered an amendment which would increase such lease terms to 2,650 acres.

. . . It is believed that McCarran's amendment might facilitate preliminaries here (Fallon) in case a program is decided upon." *Fallon Standard*, June 11, 1941.

"McCarran advised the Humboldt County Chamber of Commerce president, Roy Persson, that funds had been obtained for the construction of a radio and weather tower in Winnemucca. Funds were provided through the Federal Airport Act which McCarran presented to Congress where it was passed in 1946." *Winnemucca Star*, September 3, 1948.

"A group of army officers and McCarran met in Ely to discuss problems of the Wendover airfield." *Ely Times*, November 9, 1948.

"McCarran's office announced reactivation of the Las Vegas air base by the U. S. Army." *Goldfield News*, November 26, 1948. "Also, the field will be used as an aerial training school and will bring 2,000 personnel into Nevada in the first year." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, November 23, 1948. "McCarran was recognized as being the one person most highly responsible for the reactivation of the Las Vegas base." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, December 16, 1948.

"New Las Vegas airport shows what can be accomplished through the cooperation of all government levels. McCarran, (Vail) Pittman and state officials, and county, city and individual citizens were all responsible in completing the airport project." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, December 21, 1948.

"About 11,000 turned out for the dedication of McCarran Field. Throughout all the speeches of the program, the air force and navy put on a display of the latest in planes and bombers. McCarran, 'father of commercial aviation in America,' was highly commended for his work by the various speakers." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, December 20, 1948.

"The Congress has almost completely refused McCarran's proposal to gain funds for the airfields. The CAA has limited budget of \$12,500,000." *Nevada State Journal*, July 19, 1953.

"McCarran criticizes the elimination of funds for the federal airport program for the current fiscal year. So federal aid for the purchase of the Reno airport will have to wait until 1954." McCarran stated: "This abandonment of the federal airport program is shortsighted and is the very worst kind of false economy. . . . I do not believe the people of the country will stand for this kind of bureaucratic usurpation of the powers of Congress, and I do not believe the people will stand for elimination of this program which has meant so much for the development of aviation and the promotion of safety in air travel." *Nevada State Journal*, August 7, 1953.

"McCarran has sent out engineers to inspect a site for the Lovelock air field." *Lovelock Review Miner*, February 19, 1942. "The CAA has approved the site in Lovelock and will begin surveying the property." *Lovelock Review Miner*, February 26, 1942.

"McCarran confirmed reports that the Winnemucca Air Field will be under the Federal program. McCarran is seeking \$340,000 to meet the costs." *Humboldt Star*, March 11, 1942.

"McCarran has introduced an appropriations bill for the air field in Lovelock which has been approved." *Lovelock Review Miner*, March 19, 1942.

"McCarran is pushing for the Austin airport." *Reese River Reveille*, April 1, 1942. "Bids are being taken for the construction of the Austin airport." *Nevada State Journal*, May 2, 1942.

"McCarran informs us that the war department has approved the 'hanger project' for the air field near Carson City." *Carson City Appeal*, June 5, 1942.

"Work has begun on the Fallon airport." *Fallon Eagle*, July 25, 1942.

143. The Army Department is seriously considering an air base near Reno, according to McCarran." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, October 22, 1941.

"Reno is granted \$12,000,000 for the construction of an Army Air Base. The site is Lemmon Valley and construction will start very shortly. Facilities will be constructed to house the 4,000 men sent to occupy the base. The base may have as many as 8,000 personnel." *Reno Evening Gazette/Nevada State Journal*, November 26, 1941.

"The Reno Air Base is beginning construction. It states that the base will contain planes for bomber squads." *Nevada Labor News*, January 9, 1942.

144. "The war may hasten the construction of the new airport near Fallon. The government will train thousands to become air pilots here." *Fallon Standard*, December 10, 1941.

"Three air fields, in Austin, Fallon and Carson City, have been allotted funds by McCarran's efforts for construction." *Nevada State Journal*, January 7, 1942.

"The Fallon air field is now assured and the site is being surveyed." *Fallon Eagle*, January 10, 1942.

"McCarran came to Fallon to speed up the construction of the air field and finish the specifications of the CAA." *Fallon Eagle*, January 31, 1942.

145. *Review Miner*, January 2, 1942.

147. A plane crash is called "legalized murder" by McCarran. He uses this incident as a support in his battle for the NACA Bill. *Hollywood Citizen News, Elko Free Press, Review Journal*. "The capitol is certainly affected by this crash, being the fifth in five months, and appears to be swaying to McCarran's argument for his CAA bill." *Reno Evening Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1941.

148. Shows a picture of the wreck and then tells of Barkley's defending Roosevelt's reorganization of the CAA, and McCarran's retaliation with the evidence of the accidents, *Time Magazine*, March 10, 1941. (Roosevelt removed the safety inspectors of the Agency.)

"Because of his deep interest in aviation, McCarran was named to the Senate subcommittee on appropriations for military affairs and aviation." *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 18, 1949.

Pan American proposed its buying over some small foreign airlines in an effort to monopolize international travel of U. S. citizens. With the small foreign government-subsidized airlines going, these other governments are receiving all the benefit. This proposal to the CAB was fully endorsed by McCarran. From *Humboldt Star*, January 5, 1949.

"McCarran and Brewster again presented a bill for single international air service for the U. S. Would give U. S. a solid front against foreign airline monopolies." *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 11, 1949.

150. *Washington Sunday Star*, January 1, 1938.

151. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, all 49 volumes!

152. *Mineral County Independent*, March 23, 1938.

153. "McCarran wrote to Admiral Charles Conrad, Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Washington, D. C., protesting the Navy's calling for bids for manganese to stockpile up to 14,000 tons and \$2,000,000. He urged buying from American [Nevada] producers," *Nevada State Journal*, and *Humboldt Star*, March 24, 1938. "He introduced a stockpiling bill February 15, 1939." *Humboldt Star*, February 15, 1939.

153. *Humboldt Star*, February 1, 1938.

154. *Ely Times*, March 27, 1938. A letter from McCarran, published in the

Pioche Record, stated that producers of lead and zinc had had to curtail production and many had had to close. The Pioche Mining community had recently negotiated a loan with Public Works Administration to bring electrical power from Boulder Dam into the district. Reduction in tariff on these metals would nearly kill Pioche with its 3,000 inhabitants and about 100 mining and treatment workers. His letter read: "Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada, the largest in the world, and practically the only lead and zinc in Canada is eagerly awaiting the possibility of trading with America with the reduction of tariffs." Then would come other "most favored nations." Also see *Ely Times* and *Mineral County Independent*.

155. *Review Miner*, July 20, 1944.

156. "At the request of McCarran, reports on tests for magnesium and brucite in Nye County were made available to the public." *Nevada State Journal*, December 5, 1941.

157. *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 21, 1941.

158. *Pioche Record*, April 2, 1953, *Nevada State News*, March 9, 1953. "The 4-cent copper tariff was waived when Navy bought copper," from *Pioche Record*, June 2, 1941. McCarran suppressed "scandal."

159a. *Reese River Reveille*, February 7, 1953.

159. *Reno Evening Gazette*, and *Nevada State Journal*, February 17, 1953.

160. *Humboldt Star*, February 18, 1953. Economist Milton Friedman holds exactly the same position on gold, March 16, 1969. (Cf. "Family Weekly," *Nevada State Journal*.)

"Monday, September 13, Reno: McCarran and Engle Addressed the Western Chapter of the Western Mining Council, Inc., concerning the free gold market bill. The council was planning to move in their support." *Tonopah Times*, September 11, 1948, *Nevada State Journal*, September 17, 1948. "McCarran went on to say that gold and silver needed to be circulated for the welfare of the national economy." *Nevada State Journal*, September 14, 1948.

"Comstock residents were urged to know and support the Free Gold Bill." *Virginia City Enterprise*, September 17, 1948.

"McCarran Bill would prevent foreign gold and domestically mined gold from entering into the new (money) supply." October 15, 1948. "The Western Mining Council in Auburn, California, held a meeting to plan for a campaign supporting McCarran-Engle free gold bill." *Goldfield News*, October 29, 1948.

"In an address to the American Mining Congress McCarran stated that there was no hope to save the national economy unless a change was made. The inflationary trend of the U. S. can only be curbed with the opening of the gold market." *Goldfield News*, November 5, 1948.

Frank Lilly of the Mines Research Bureau says that the newly elected Democratic administration should be favorable to the free gold movement, especially McCarran and Johnson of Colorado. At present the U. S. does not have enough gold to back up foreign claims on the dollar, said McCarran. *Goldfield News*, November 26, 1948.

"In speaking to the American Institute of Mining Engineers, McCarran stated that the Congressional attitude toward mining 'is not good.' The free gold market and a controlled fair price for silver were basic to the mining industry." *Humboldt Star*, December 22, 1948.

Later U. S. policy regarding gold:

McCarran insisted that present government practice of holding gold to the lowest price in the world is "not only wrecking our foreign trade but causing a raid on our gold reserve." *Pioche Record* (taken from *California Mining Journal*), May 8, 1952.

McCarran announced the procedure for claiming gold mines, and that any company that has a loss from the 1942 Order L208, must file a claim with the Supreme Court before July 14, 1953. The order closed all the gold mines, ostensibly to encourage the production of metals needed in the war. *Reno Evening Gazette, Humboldt Star, Pioche Record*, May 26, 1953.

"McCarran is urging the redemption of U. S. currency in gold or silver as a means to stop inflation. McCarran has introduced a bill that would do this, Bill S. 2514." *Nevada State Journal*, September 25, 1953.

"McCarran's speech 'wound up' the American Miners convention in Seattle. McCarran urged a return to silver and gold money, to revive the young man's ambition to do prospecting in Alaska." *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 24, 1953.

161. According to *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Washington Sunday Star* of January 1, 1939.

162. *Elko Free Press*, January 4, 1938.

163. *Caliente Herald*, January 6, 1938.

164. *Nevada State Journal*, January 24, 1938.

165. *Tonopah Times*, February 15, 1938.

166. *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 7, 1939.

167. *Humboldt Star*, June 23, 1939, *Las Vegas Review Journal*, June 26, 1939, *Carson City Appeal*, July 5, 1939.

168. "The *Fallon Eagle*, expressing the general dissatisfaction throughout the state with the silver situation, said in part that 'Only complete remonetization of the metal can bring that (\$1.29 an ounce) about, and it is for such a program that Senator McCarran of Nevada has come out flat-footed.'" *Caliente Herald*, January 19, 1939.

169. McCarran stated that if the secretary could eliminate the Silver Act, America would be left to the control of foreign producers. And so if they desired to charge more for raw materials they could very readily do so because the American subsidies would be diminished. Cf. *Goldfield News*, February 6, 1942.

170. "The Senator stated (re Silver Bill) it would fix a minimum price for domestically mined silver, thus to promote the production of war essential materials." *Pioche Record*, January 26, 1939.

171. *Review Miner*, July 27, 1944.

172. *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 21, 1944. He procured for the duration a moratorium on filing of proofs of labor on mining claims so that veterans could resume their mining when they returned from military service.

173. "The magnesium plant to be erected near Las Vegas appears to be favorable to the Office of Production in Washington. Several companies have expressed an interest in building the plant." *Review Journal*, July 8, 1941. "Roosevelt announced to McCarran that Nevada will definitely have three magnesium plants built in the near future. He stated that the plants would be located at Gabbs, Mead, and Las Vegas." *Ely Times*, July 14, 1941.

"The plant at Las Vegas will be the largest plant and will employ between 3,000-4,000 men. It will cost \$64,000,000 to construct. Located ores near Fallon to be used." *Fallon Standard*, July 30, 1941. "A new city will be built to house the workers and their families. The city will be operated by the government owned business, Basic Magnesium Company. McCarran predicts a population of about 7,000." *Lincoln County Independent*, July 31, 1941.

"The large magnesium plant has the government signed contract. This plant will double the population of Las Vegas and will bring approximately

2,500 houses for the workers. McCarran is responsible for the construction and the governmental contract through his hard work in Congress." *Las Vegas Age*, August 15, 1941.

"McCarran is attempting to obtain funds for a road that will lead to the factory from the city." *Fallon Eagle*, August 16, 1941.

McCarran approved a supplemental plan to the war program that will investigate the resources in the western states." *Reno Evening Gazette*, August 20, 1941.

"McCarran will be unable to attend the ceremonies for the formal sale of the BMI." *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 21, 1952.

"Gold, silver, lead and zinc production has increased 17 percent, McCarran announced, for the month of March." *Nevada State Journal*, May 21, 1952.

174. *Elko Free Press*, March 27, 1942.

175. *Ely Times*, April 22, 1942.

176. *Reese River Reveille*, February 7, 1953. Cf. also Mayor George Racey Jordan, *The Gold Swindle*, and *From Mayor Jordan's Diaries*. (N. Y., Devin-Adair, 1957).

177. *Pioche Record*, January 5, 1939, and *Ely Times*, January 11, 1939.

178. ". . . Senator McCarran introduced a bill to require purchase of domestic silver at \$1.00 per ounce and to prohibit further purchases of foreign silver." *Goldfield News*, January 29, 1939. See also *Pioche Record*, January 26, 1939.

The Knights of Columbus had pressed Roosevelt for some effort to stop the persecution of Catholics in Mexico when first he took office. Although it has never been told, there is some hint that the silver purchase program persuaded the Mexican government to abate its fury.

179. "The Internal Security Subcommittee claimed that 'many hundreds' of America's teachers are Communists." *The Daily Times*, January 12, 1913. There are lengthy hearings on this topic.

180. "McCarran offers a bill that will bar Americans of questionable loyalty from working in the U. N." *Daily Times*, January 8, 1953. Hearings (extant) on this subject of course caused an uproar in U. N. circles and the press.

"McCarran's Loyalty Bill passed the Senate. The bill will require a thorough investigation of every American that is an employee in the U. N." *Pioche Record*, June 11, 1953.

"The Senate passed a bill that would strip witnesses of the power to refuse to tell congressional subcommittees whether they are Communists on the grounds of self-incrimination. McCarran is the sponsor of the bill." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, July 10, 1953.

181. *Las Vegas Review Journal*, March 3, 1953.

182. "Eisenhower gives McCarran an inscribed pen which signed the bill to naturalize aliens who have served in the armed forces in the Korean War." Pictures. *Humboldt Star*, July 15, 1953. The parents of Nisei were likewise naturalized by the Immigration Act and the wives of resident alien Filipinos admitted and naturalized. This writer witnessed their expressions of appreciation.

"The House Judiciary Committee okayed Ike's bill." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, July 24, 1953.

"The Senate passes Ike's bill. They also adopted a few amendments proposed by McCarran to tighten the security control of the bill." *Nevada State Journal*, July 30, 1953.

183. *Nevada State Journal*, March 25, 1953.

184. *Ibid.*

"McCarran stated that war between the U. S. and Russia was inevitable. He drew a parallel between the nations Sparta and Athens and Russia and the U.S.A. He was fearful that this war would or could leave the planet lifeless." *Reese River Reveille*, May 15, 1953.

185. "McCarran led a movement that enabled Spain to have a 6½ billion dollar foreign aid bill. This was secured as part of a 20 million dollar foreign aid fund recently proposed." *Reno Evening Gazette*, August 3, 1953.

"McCarran is praised for his ability to bring about strong relations with Spain, and has influenced the pact which allows the U. S. to build naval stations in the country. McCarran was decorated by the Spaniards with the Grand Cross of Isabel for his work, and achievements." *Nevada State Journal*, August 26, 1953.

Little has been said of his work with Spain and less for his efforts to prevent the surrender of China to Communism. This sketch has mainly dwelt on Nevada interests.

186. Greenspun references: *Las Vegas Review Journal*, December 31, 1952. *Pioche Record*, January 1, 1953. *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 2, 1953. *Eureka Sentinel*, February 20, 1953. *Nevada State News*, February 25, 1913. *Daily Times*, *Las Vegas Review Journal*, *Elko Daily Free Press*, February 13, 1953. *Nevada State Journal*, February 14, 15, 1953. Where Mr. Greenspun writes in his book *Where I Stand*, that McCarran's last words at Hawthorne were: "Greenspunism must go!" he indulges himself with blatant fiction. This book seems to have for its sole purpose a renewed promulgation of tired anti-McCarranism, anti-McCarthyism. These men, McCarran and the less skilled McCarthy, said "No!" to Communism. Hence they were accounted "violent men."

187. July 9, 1953.

188. "McCarran and Mrs. McCarran shall take an ocean cruise to Bermuda with S. M. Margaret Patricia, S. M. Mercy, Miss Norine McCarran, Edwin Hay, Mrs. Patricia McCarran Hay and their two oldest children, Harriet and Anthony, Dr. and Mrs. Samuel McCarran and their two eldest, Margaret Ann and Patrick Anthony McCarran, II. They will leave New York on the Furness liner, Queen of Bermuda. They will stay at the Castle Harbor Hotel for five days and return to New York." *Ely Daily Times*, *Las Vegas Review Journal*, August 6, 1953. This trip solved many problems for the family about how the Golden Wedding should be celebrated.

"McCarran is back at the capitol doing his work." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, August 25, 1953.

"McCarran receives the Grand Cross of *Isabella la Católica* by Spanish Ambassador Felix de Lequerica. He was accompanied by his wife and two daughters, Sisters Mercy and Margaret." *Humboldt Star* and *Reno Evening Gazette*, August 25, 1953.

189. "Roy A. Hardy announced that the new \$750,000 Bureau of Mines Building will be named in honor of McCarran. It will be located on the Nevada U.'s campus." *Nevada State Journal*, April 4, 1953. McCarran spoke at the dedication of this building in April, 1954, the springtime before his death on September 28, 1954.

190. McCarran "introduced four times as much legislation as the average Senator, had ten times as much legislation reported out of committee—and got nearly 14 times as much passed. In the Senate, of the 2,601 bills introduced 107, or 41 percent, were by McCarran. Forty-two of the 406 reported from committee were McCarran's, 10.3 percent. The Senate eventually passed 243 bills—and 34, or 13.9 percent, bore McCarran's name." *Goldfield News*, *Eureka Sentinel* (editorial) August 14, 1953.

