

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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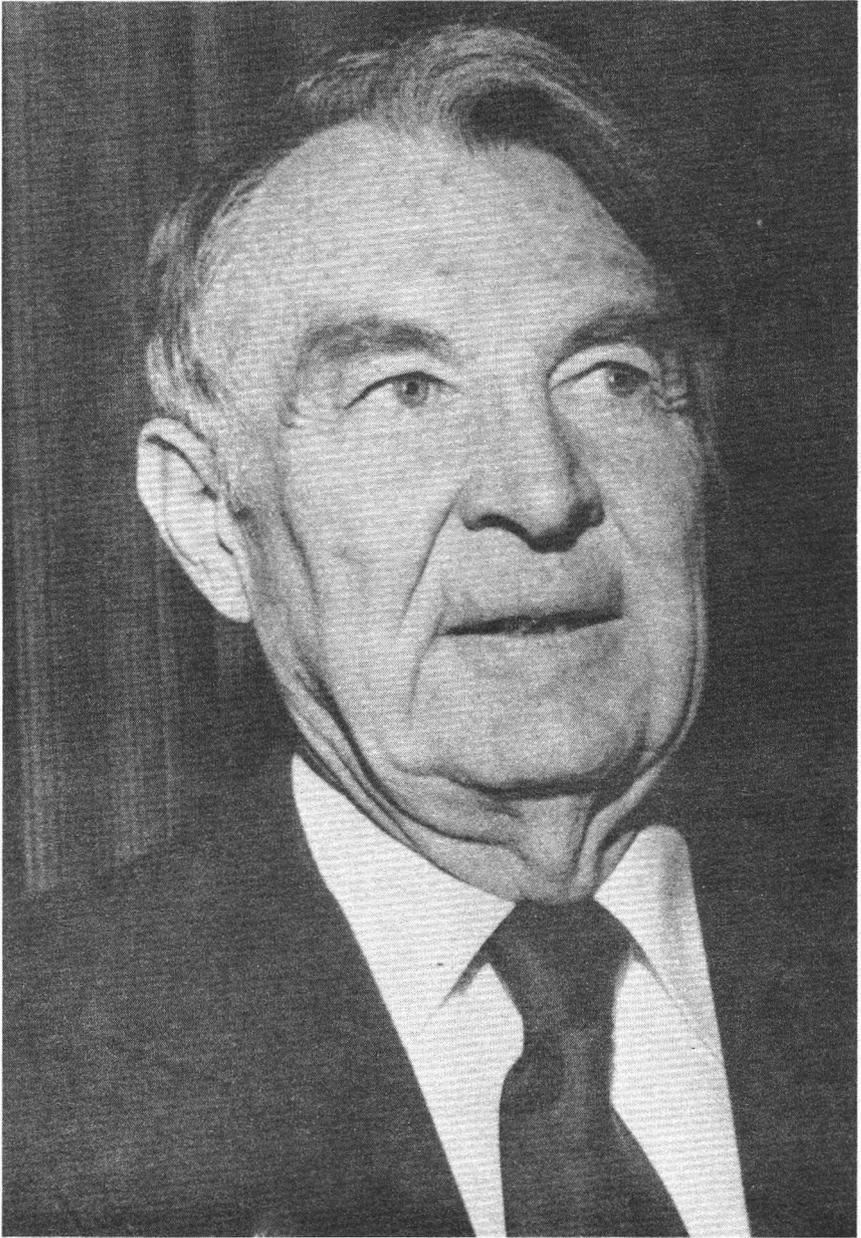
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Thomas Cave Wilson, 1907-1984. (Courtesy of Reno Gazette-Journal.)

In Memoriam
Thomas C. Wilson

ON MARCH 29, 1984, Nevada lost one of her most valued public citizens, Thomas C. Wilson. Born in Phoenix, Arizona, he grew up in Reno, graduating from the University of Nevada with the Class of 1930. After a stint as a reporter for the *Las Vegas Age*, Tom pursued a journalism career in California before returning to Reno to establish the city's first advertising agency in 1939. Among the notable campaigns he handled was the "Harold's Club or Bust" promotion which placed Harold's Club and the city of Reno on the national map. Wilson was also a co-founder of the first Nevada Day Celebration in 1938, and served as chairman of the Nevada Centennial Commission, 1962-1964. He was named to the Board of Trustees of the Nevada State Museum in April, 1960, and was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Nevada Department of Museums and History at the time of his death. As a Trustee, he was instrumental in getting a legislative appropriation for the purchase of Virginia & Truckee Railroad equipment which became available in the early 1970s.

Tom Wilson is fondly remembered as the originator of the *Pioneer Nevada* historical series sponsored by Harold's Club in the late 1940s and early 1950s. He was the man who suggested that Raymond I. "Pappy" Smith initiate the famed Harold's Club Scholarship Program which put dozens of deserving young Nevadans through the University of Nevada. Tom was also the founder of the Reno Advertising Club, a director of both the Reno Chamber of Commerce and the Nevada State Press Association and a Governor-at-Large for the Western Region of the American Association of Advertising Agencies. During World War II, Tom was the Executive Officer of the Nevada Civil Air Patrol. He was also the organizer of the Washoe Jeep Squadron, an official of the local unit of the Boy Scouts of America and a promoter of the 1960 Winter Olympics at Squaw Valley which brought international attention to the winter sports facilities of the Sierra Nevada. Tom was an outdoorsman, a student of the immigrant trails and an advisor to the U.S. Board on Geographical Names. In this last capacity, he named some fifty mountains, canyons and valleys in Nevada. He is missed by all those who love this state and its history.

Yugoslavs in Nevada After 1900: The White Pine Community

LENORE M. KOSSO

The following is the second part of a two part series on the Yugoslavs in Nevada after 1900. Part one discussed the Tonopah community from 1900 to 1920.

THE LARGEST AND MOST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT of Yugoslavs in Nevada was located in White Pine County. They began to arrive after the discovery of low grade copper ore near Ely, Nevada, in 1900. Nevada historian Russell R. Elliott wrote, "The Ely boom was not the riotous, undisciplined type which had characterized development in the southern camps, but it was a boom nevertheless."¹ Actually, it was several years before the mining operations started and not until 1908, when open pit mining began, that unskilled laborers from southern and eastern Europe poured into the area. The "new" immigrants who came to fill the jobs in White Pine County were mainly Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs. They settled in areas close to the copper pit and the smelter, where a number of small towns developed. An examination of the U.S. Census figures for 1910 shows that there were 259 immigrants from Austria in White Pine County. In 1920, twenty-two Austrians were recorded and 344 Yugoslavs, which strongly suggests that most of the "Austrians" listed in the earlier census were indeed South Slavs. Prior to 1918, when Yugoslavia became a nation, the section of the Balkan Peninsula from which the majority of White Pine Slavs came belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. One study estimated that between 1899 and 1908 immigration from Austria-Hungary was about six-tenths Slavic.² The 1930 U.S. Census recorded 289 Yugoslavs in White Pine County. In 1940 there were 188 making it consistently the area of heaviest South Slavic population in the state.

Few of the South Slavs in White Pine County were Montenegrins, in contrast to the large group of them in the Tonopah-Goldfield area. Also, relatively few were from the Dalmatian Coast. In fact, the majority of Slavic people who came to White Pine County originated from an entirely different

¹ Russell R. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Boom: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), p. 206.

² Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York: William F. Fell Co., 1910), p. 245.

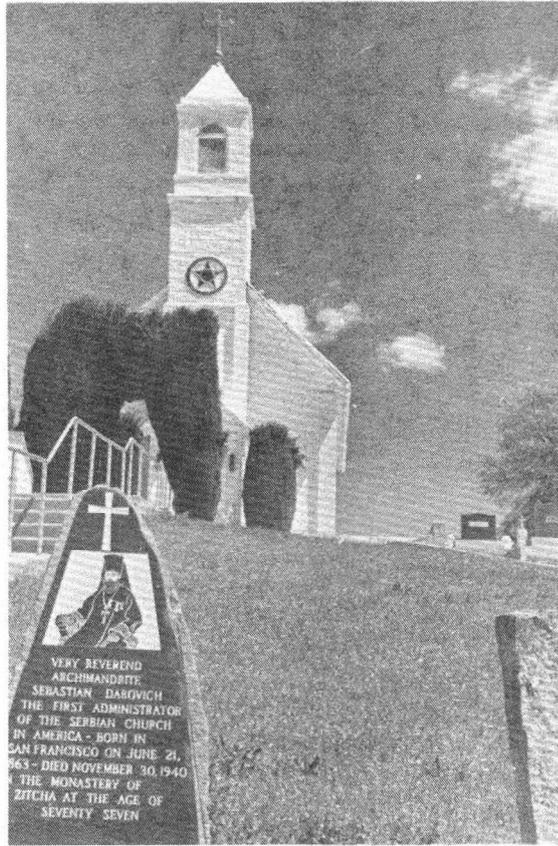


Mara Grubic and Simo (Sam) Elija Grubic, parents of Robert Grubic, c. 1907. (Courtesy of Robert Grubic, Reno, Nevada.)

area in the Balkans than those who settled in Tonopah. Most White Pine Slavs were from a region in western Croatia near the Bosnian border, known as the Lika District. Naturalization records of White Pine County, showing sizable numbers of Slavic immigrants from the towns of Korenica, Udbina and Gospic in the Lika District, suggest a familiar pattern of immigrants joining friends and relatives in the New World.

Lika in Croatia is located in what was formerly known as the Military Frontier, maintained by the Austrian Empire from 1564 to 1881. Catholic Croatians, as well as Serbian Orthodox people whose ancestors had found refuge from the Turks, inhabited the area. Although in each small village one or the other usually predominated, the two cultures existed in close proximity. Udbina, for example, had a majority of Croatians, while Korenica was mainly a Serbian town. For centuries the Lika District on the border of the Austrian and Ottoman Empires witnessed some of the bitterest fighting against the Turks. The entire population lived in a constant state of war, and every able-bodied man from eighteen to sixty was subject to military service.³ Later this included participation not only in border skirmishes with the Turks, but in all wars of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. With the rise of

³ Ivan Babic, "Military History," *Croatia: Land, People, Culture*, ed. Francis H. Eterovich, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 1:142-143.



A Serbian Orthodox Church in Jackson, California. Photo by Eugene Kosso. (*Photo courtesy of author.*)

Croatian and Serbian nationalism in the nineteenth century, compulsory military service for the Hapsburgs was increasingly resented by the people in the Lika District, and it became a major impetus for emigration. In addition, the replacement of a centuries-old system of communal farming, which had allowed individuals to leave for military service when called, by a huge number of small and barren farms contributed to the exceptionally heavy emigration from the Lika area. Those who came to White Pine County found their new environment not much different than the one they had left behind, for the Lika District looks much like eastern Nevada: a mountainous, rugged and dry land that was difficult to cultivate. The Yugoslavs who came to Nevada, however, did not expect to farm; they came to work in the mines.

Many of the South Slavs who came to White Pine County belonged to the Serbian Orthodox Church, although there was also a large number of Croatian Catholics in the town of McGill. The centuries-old antipathy between

Serbs and Croats thus has a religious basis that was not diminished by emigration to the United States. Typically, the first notice the White Pine newspapers gave to Yugoslavs was to record their heated brawls. Things were more peaceful in Tonopah, where almost all of the South Slavs were Serbs. Croat met Serb in White Pine, however, and there was bound to be trouble.

One of the most sensational confrontations occurred in January, 1910, when the "Austrians" of McGill had been celebrating their Christmas season for several days. The *Ely Mining Expositor* reported that the, "celebration took on a tumultuous turn, and the two religious factions among the Austrians started a general fight." Andrew Klaich stabbed Mike Dukovich during the melee and the paper stated, "for several days he (Klaich) was concealed by his compatriots."⁴ Usually the fights started when all parties had been drinking heavily, which was often the case on religious holidays. Of course, there were periodic accounts of feuds involving all national groups, but when two Slavs tangled, it was generally aggravated by religious differences.

Even when the confrontations were not violent, feelings between Orthodox and Catholic were bitter. Most Serbs would attend any church except the Roman Catholic, and Serbian mothers grieved when their American children married someone of the Catholic faith. There were no Serbian Orthodox churches in the state of Nevada, and although there was a Greek Orthodox church in McGill, few Serbs attended. Even though they identified religiously with the non-Slavic Greeks, the Serbs did not share their culture or understand their language.⁵ The Serbs in Nevada who sought a church felt most comfortable among Protestants, particularly in the Episcopal Church whose doctrine and liturgy were closest to their own.

The absence of a church was not unusual for the Serbian people, however. Ever since Turkish times, when the Moslem invaders converted Orthodox churches into mosques, Serbs have concentrated their religious activities in the home. Local priests made the rounds of dwellings during holiday times, a custom which is still practiced in religious Serbian households in Yugoslavia. In White Pine County, an Orthodox priest was called from Salt Lake City on special occasions to baptize children or to perform weddings and funerals. Sometimes, a respected member of the Serbian community served in this capacity. Robert Grubic, the son of a Slavic immigrant, recalled that it was a custom for his father to officiate at the burials of his Serbian countrymen.⁶ For most Serbs in Nevada, the home remained the center of religious activity. Some Serbian mothers insisted that young children attend Sunday School, but this was most likely an effort to conform to American tradition. Orthodox children were still baptized and married at home.

⁴ *Ely Weekly Mining Expositor*, April 21, 1910.

⁵ The Greeks were the largest foreign group in the White Pine area, and the South Slavs were probably second. The 1910 U.S. Census recorded 702 Greeks, 259 Austrians and 203 Italians.

⁶ Robert Grubic, private interview, Reno, Nevada, May, 1973.



McGill Labor Strike called by the Western Federation of Miners, Oct. 12, 1912.
(*Nevada Historical Society.*)

The Croatians of White Pine County, of course, attended the Catholic Church. Most of them lived in McGill where the men were employed at the smelter. Although they were clustered in "Austrian town," they had no feeling of loyalty to Austria, in fact, quite the reverse. Croatian national feeling has remained surprisingly strong, even though these people have been ruled by foreigners since the twelfth century. There is, however, a certain reluctance among some Croatians to be classified as "Slavs." In fact, scholars differ in their opinion about who the original Croats were and if indeed they were Slavs at all.⁷

Attending the Catholic Church provided an opportunity for Croatians to mingle with other nationalities, including Americans. They learned English quickly and, because of this, many Croats received better jobs than Serbs. Some Croatians tended to look down on the Serbs in McGill who lived in "Greek town," but in Ruth, Nevada, where Serbs and Croats lived side by side, relations were often warm and friendly. Mrs. Evasovich, a Serbian Orthodox and Mrs. Krmptic, a Croatian Catholic, were close friends. On December 25th, everyone in the two families celebrated Christmas at the Krmptic's, then, on January 7th, the gathering was at the Evasovich home for Orthodox Christmas.⁸ Since the White Pine Serbs and Croats were from the same area in the Balkans, they shared similar customs, ate the same

⁷ Stanko Guldescu, "Political History to 1528," *Croatia: Land, People, Culture*, pp. 76-130.

⁸ Steve Krmptic, private interview, Reno, Nevada, November, 1973.

foods, and spoke the same language. Indeed, many of them had known one another in the old country. The animosity was a tradition, and although it did flare up from time to time, mainly among the older men, the heritage of their homeland often brought Croatian and Serbian families together.

Ethnic feelings were particularly strong in White Pine County because, unlike anywhere else in Nevada, the foreign-born lived in ghetto-like situations. As the production of copper developed in the White Pine region, the operations came under the control of a few large companies. In contrast to the Tonopah mining companies, which remained aloof from town life, those in White Pine dominated the surrounding communities. Company towns soon grew up around the dwellings the companies built for its workers. The major towns of Ruth and McGill, where most of the South Slavs lived, were controlled by the largest company in the area, Nevada Consolidated Copper.⁹ In the 1970s, rows of simple, wooden company built houses of unvarying style could still be found in both towns. Originally the quality of housing varied, with sturdier, larger structures for skilled workers and company officials, and cruder, smaller houses for the mine workers. Dormitories were provided for the single men. This housing policy, "was implemented continuously by the company until McGill came to be divided into several townsites, delineated by economic and racial lines."¹⁰

The "new" immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were referred to as "foreigners" in the copper towns of White Pine County, while people from northern and western Europe were included with Americans in the category of "whites." "Foreigners" were assigned to specific residential areas for unskilled workers, and mobility to the more prestigious section of town was next to impossible in the early years. In McGill the "foreigners" were further subdivided into ethnic neighborhoods known as, "Greek town," and "Austrian town," and "Jap town." This too was a company policy, a means of controlling antagonism among the various ethnic groups.¹¹ Catholic Croatians made up the majority of the population in "Austrian town," while the Orthodox Serbs lived in the Greek neighborhood. Evidence of close ties between Orthodox Serbs and Greeks is confirmed by conversations with Slavic people in White Pine County, and they were in fact often grouped together and referred to collectively as "Greeks" by the non-Slavic population. The separation of the foreign-born into national communities created a favorable climate for the preservation of old world customs and traditions. For the Slavic people, a familiar way of life was preserved and duplicated in Nevada.

⁹ Two smaller towns, Veteran and Kimberly, were controlled by other mining companies. South Slavic people inhabited both and lived under similar conditions as the Slavs in Ruth and McGill, but these towns never developed into sizable communities.

¹⁰ Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Boom*, p. 230.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

While it contributed to an easier transition, this manner of living denied the new immigrants full participation in the community at large and prevented their early acceptance as equal citizens.

For most Slavic people, the homes provided for them by the company were finer than the ones they had known in Europe. Helen Evasovich, a Slovenian woman whose husband was one of the Slavic pioneers in Ruth, remembers their company house at Copper Flat as a good one.¹² Another resident of the Slavic community called Ruth, "a most beautiful mining town."¹³ Rent was about three dollars a month for a company house. The company supplied paint for each family, took care of necessary repairs, and also provided for garbage disposal and fire protection. Later some Slavic families were able to save enough money to build their own homes on company ground, which they rented for two dollars a month. This was a proud day for the Slavic immigrant who possessed a strong desire to own property. Basically a rural people, Nevada Slavs enthusiastically cultivated small gardens around their homes, and farm animals were kept by most families as they had been in Europe. The Slavic families smoked their own meat, made their own bread and wine, and lived their familiar rural way of life, even though they were miners. An entire life-style was transported from Balkan village to western American mining town.

The young women who immigrated several years after the men had settled found adjustment easy in the company town. Slavic men married and established families at a higher rate than the Greek immigrants and thus became a more stable group in the White Pine area. While the South Slavic population rose from 259 "Austrians" in 1910 to 344 Yugoslavs in 1920, the Greek population declined from 702 to 448.

As they had in Tonopah, South Slavs in White Pine County looked forward to the holidays which fellow countrymen celebrated together. Wood was gathered, and the traditional lamb and pig were roasted all day over an open fire, even in winter for the Christmas feast. Slavic children remember standing by the roasting meat with slices of homemade bread to catch the drippings. Then came the traditional feasting, drinking and visiting. All the familiar foods were prepared: *sarma* (stuffed cabbage), walnut bread, *Bakalar* (cod fish), *polenta*, *strudel*, and homemade sausage. No Slav would ever be accused of stinginess at holiday time. The special holidays were Christmas and Easter, which for the Serbian Orthodox fell a week or two after the Catholic celebration. No work was done on these days and, as in Tonopah, the mines were often forced to close. In addition to the two important religious holidays, each Orthodox family celebrated a *Slava* or Saint's Day, when close friends and relatives were invited and special food was served. A

¹² Helen Evasovich, private interview, Reno, Nevada, March, 1973.

¹³ Mary Delich Parrish, private interview, Carson City, Nevada, April, 1973.



Main Street in Riepetown, Nevada. (Courtesy Special Collections Dept. University of Nevada, Reno Library.)

baptism or a wedding always called for a celebration, and some occasions lasted quite a while. Helen Evasovich remembered week-long wedding parties, “same as old country, drinking and talking for seven days.”¹⁴

Another White Pine woman, the daughter of Slavic immigrants, recalled rituals she did not fully understand, but which were indeed modifications of those practiced in the native country of her parents. At the time of her marriage in Ruth, in 1936, Mildred Grubic Swetic remembered being hidden by her father in the shed until the groom paid a small amount of money to her family.¹⁵ “Bride purchase” was one old Balkan tradition translated to the American West.¹⁶ Mrs. Swetic also remembered the bride’s shoes being stolen during local weddings. This too, may have been a symbolic version of “bride stealing,” which was acted out in some parts of Serbia, although it had originated as a Bosnian tradition.¹⁷

Children of the South Slav immigrants still residing in White Pine County often look back to the early days with nostalgia, although they admit there were periods of hard times, especially during the Depression. All of them

¹⁴ Helen Evasovich, private interview, Reno, Nevada, March, 1973.

¹⁵ Mildred Grubic Swetic, private interview, Ruth, Nevada, May, 1973.

¹⁶ Vera St. Erlich, *Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 194-197.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

carry a deep respect and warm affection for their parents, and a pride in their Slavic heritage. Many recall mothers and fathers who tried to keep the culture alive. As children, they were encouraged to learn and speak Serbo-Croatian, although some refer to the language as "Slav." A few even mastered the Cyrillic alphabet. Prayers were recited in the Slavic tongue, and everyone participated in the native songs and dances. One woman remembered a young people's Tamboura Club in Ruth.¹⁸ The teenage youngsters learned all the "Slav songs" and often went from house to house in Tonopah Canyon to perform for their Slavic neighbors.¹⁹

Many first-generation Slavs recall special contributions of their parents to the Slavic community. Those who could read and write helped others with letters from home, and those who learned English quickly assisted in other ways, such as aiding fellow countrymen in applying for citizenship papers. Cooperation and community feeling was strong among the South Slavic people of White Pine County, which may have been an outgrowth of the *zadruga* environment of the old country.²⁰ Active Serbian and Croatian lodges served as mutual benefit societies and social gathering places. The small, closed community life of the Slavic people within the company towns of eastern Nevada was responsible, more than anything else, for their dependence upon one another, their extreme group loyalty, and also their sometimes violent behavior toward fellow Slavs.

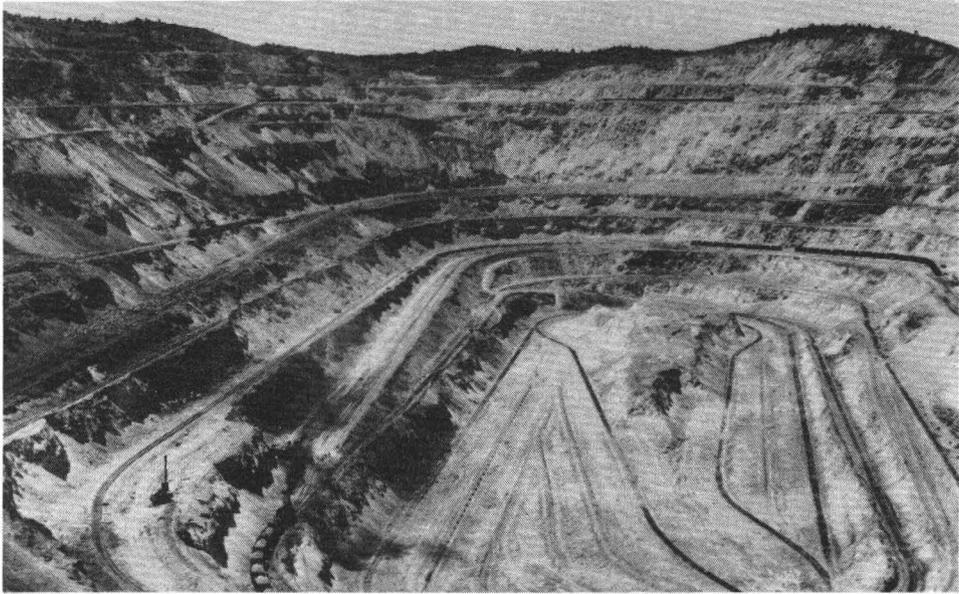
The early White Pine newspapers reported, frequently and vividly, accounts of Slavic brawls and violence. Differing little from the ones in Tonopah, these stories and reports of mining accidents were the only occasions a Slavic name could be found in the local papers. An absence of Slavic businessmen, except for the saloon keepers in the foreign sections, and the nonrecognition of "prominent" Slavic citizens, restricted inclusion of the general Slavic population in daily news stories. An exception was Anthony Jurich, a lawyer from Dalmatia, who was one of White Pine County's well-known citizens. He eventually served as District Attorney for the County in 1914, and throughout his career performed many services for his fellow Slavs, often interpreting for them and representing them when they had legal problems.

More commonly, the Slavic population made the news about once a month when a bizarre account of feuding appeared in the local press. A headline proclaiming that a Slav had been slashed with a knife during a card game in one of the Austrian boarding houses was typical. The story described the

¹⁸ A tamboura is a small stringed instrument similar to a mandolin and very popular among the Serbian people.

¹⁹ Mildred Grubic Swetic, private interview, Ruth, Nevada, May, 1973.

²⁰ The *zadruga* was the basic family unit among the South Slavs. It was made up of father, brothers and sons, together with their wives and children. They held land in common and made group decisions, although the oldest among them, either male or female, held a position of authority.



Copper Pit at Ruth, Nevada, c. 1910. (*Nevada Historical Society.*)

“drunken debauch in which fifty Austrians participated.”²¹ Another time the White Pine community saw, “Austrian Shoots Up a Boarding House. Drunken Foreigner Causes Much Fear Among Countrymen.”²² Later they read, “Two Austrians in Fatal Cutting Affray,” which involved a fatal stabbing after a six-month feud.²³

One Slavic-American author commented in his study of Americans from Yugoslavia, “The Yugoslavs do not believe there is any reason to feel ashamed of their drinking.”²⁴ He added that saloons played an important part in the life of a Yugoslav immigrant. An earlier student of Slavic people observed, “When sober, Slavs are generally exceptionally peaceable and gentle, but when drunk are quite the reverse.”²⁵ Company control in White Pine mining towns extended to the social opportunities for the workers. Restrictions on gambling, sale of hard liquor, and dance hall establishments forced the mine workers into company-authorized saloons and pool halls, where they squandered much of their earnings.²⁶ Saloons established outside town limits soon became popular gathering places for the men, since these areas also included

²¹ *Ely Weekly Mining Expositor*, December 8, 1910.

²² *Ibid.*, May 26, 1910.

²³ *Ibid.*, August 1, 1912.

²⁴ Gerald Gilbert Govorchin, *Americans from Yugoslavia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), pp. 190-191.

²⁵ Balch, p. 367.

²⁶ Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Boom*, p. 221.

“red light” districts which were prohibited by the companies. Riepetown, a few miles from Ruth, was probably the most famous. Several Slavs operated saloons there, and it was also the dwelling place of some of the Slavic miners and their families. Stanley Drakulich, who spent his childhood in Riepetown, recalled it as a rough place to grow up. “The kids watched all the crime and prostitution and they always saw a shooting.” He remembered the single men in his mother’s boarding house getting drunk each Friday after receiving their wages. He, too, observed, “The Slavs are strong drinkers.”²⁷ The company did provide some recreation in the form of reading rooms, dances and athletic contests; but for the hard working miner, the saloon offered the best form of relaxation. The tedious, monotonous labor in the mines took its toll on the young Slavic men, and release came in the form of drinking and violence. When they were not fighting one another, the Slavs were sometimes beating their wives.

Wife beating was, apparently, an old Slavic custom. Vera St. Erlich found, in her study of three hundred Yugoslav villages, that it was a common practice, especially among the Serbs in the Military Frontier. South Slavic men beat their wives most often when they were drunk, but also to show superiority.²⁸ Slavic homes in Europe were strongly patriarchal and, although women were valued highly, they were often mistreated. The women themselves accepted an inferior position, often standing while men ate their meals and walking a few steps behind their husbands. Mildred Grubic Swetic remembered that her mother and father never walked side by side.²⁹ Others agreed that the woman’s position in a Slavic home was one of subservience. A few incidents of wife beating appeared in the local newspapers, and the practice was recalled by those who grew up in the White Pine Slavic community. Of course, not every South Slav beat his wife, but intimacy and companionship between husband and wife were rare. The Slavic miner shared little of his free time with his wife, but preferred instead the company of his male friends in the atmosphere of the local saloon.

Leisure time was precious to the Slavic miner because he had so little. In spite of passage of an eight-hour day for mine workers in 1911, many put in longer hours, some as much as twelve hours a day. A number of Slavic immigrants worked extra time just to prove their willingness and ability. Emil Evasovich from Ruth recalled that his father reported for work two hours early, every day.³⁰ There is no doubt that the “new” immigrants were anxious to prove themselves hard workers. “No work is too onerous, too exhausting, or too dangerous for them,” one writer said.³¹ The companies realized it; and

²⁷ Stanley Drakulich, private interview, Sparks, Nevada, September, 1973.

²⁸ St. Erlich, pp. 264-265.

²⁹ Mildred Grubic Swetic, private interview, Ruth, Nevada, May, 1973.

³⁰ Emil Evasovich, private interview, Reno, Nevada, March, 1973.



Company Houses, Ruth, Nevada, c. 1950. (*Nevada Historical Society.*)

although they were eager to hire the foreign born, they paid them minimum wages. An examination of the report of the Inspector of Mines for 1911 reveals that in areas where foreigners were employed, wages tended to be lower. The lowest daily wage, from \$1.60 to \$2.00, was given to "laborers," and these may have included American and Anglo workers. In districts which employed Americans only, however, wages were uniformly high, from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per day.³² It would be difficult to prove that the copper companies deliberately held wages down for the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, but the Slavic miners believed they were indeed the subjects of unfair discrimination. Mitch Zakula, a veteran mine worker from McGill, was convinced that South Slavs were put to work in the smelter during the hot summer months, then moved outside in winter as a discriminatory measure. Americans, Irish and English were brought in to replace the Slavs, and were paid two dollars a day more, he believed.³³

Accidents were all too frequent in the early days of mining in Nevada. Some were due to the recklessness of the miners, but others occurred because of poor working conditions in the mines and the absence of safety measures. There was no mine inspector in Nevada until 1909 and few

³¹ Balch, p. 282.

³² "Report of Inspector of Mines," *Appendix to Journals of the Senate and Assembly 1911, 25th Session, Vol. II* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1911), p. 64.

³³ Mitch Zakula, private interview, Ely, Nevada, May, 1973.

³⁴ *Ely Weekly Mining Expositor*, July 18, 1912.

regulations. Not until 1913 were water sprays required to reduce the dust hazard which contributed to miner's lung disease. The immigrants, who made up much of the unskilled labor force in Nevada mines, were often accident victims. One particularly tragic accident in the White Pine Robinson District involved eight South Slavs. Headlines in the *Ely Mining Expositor* on July 11, 1912, told of one American, eight Austrians and one Greek, "Mangled Beyond Recognition by Explosion in Copper Flat." The dead Austrians were all young men from the Croatian town of Udbina, where the majority of them still had wives. A jury was unable to decide the cause of the accident, and there was no indictment of the mining company.³⁴ Many of the foreign-born mine workers did not understand English and could not read instructions or heed danger warnings. Some took foolish chances to prove their capability. In January, 1914, a law was passed by the Nevada Legislature making it mandatory for underground miners to speak English. Although it might have been passed as a safety measure, it might also have been planned to encourage the employment of more non-foreign workers. Nevertheless, it was declared unconstitutional and revoked by the Supreme Court the following year, when suit was brought by an official of the Tonopah Mining Company.³⁵ The mining companies were obviously anxious to keep their cheap labor. Eventually, classes in English were offered in the towns of Ely, Ruth and McGill for the benefit of their foreign-born residents.³⁶

Medical aid was a benefit provided by the mining companies, but there was no workman's compensation for injured victims of a mining accident until 1911. Even this legislation allowed employers the option of rejecting the terms of the Act and substituting their own methods of compensation. In his report to the Nevada State Legislature for 1917-1918, Robert F. Cole, the State Commissioner of Labor, expressed the opinion that workman's compensation was still ineffective. "Less than one third of the workers in Nevada come under the present law, due to certain exclusions and to the provisions of the act which enable the disinterested employer to reject its terms."³⁷ Also, procedures for filing claims were complicated and probably incomprehensible to the foreign worker.

When a Slavic miner died, the Serbian or Croatia societies took care of burial costs, but widows and children were often left penniless. Women with large families to care for were forced to take in washing or keep extra boarders, and it was not unusual for an ambitious Slavic widow to bootleg liquor on the side. During these times, when organized labor might have helped the worker, unions were ineffectual. Furthermore, the labor groups that did exist were initially less than cordial to the foreign worker.

³⁵ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, March 8, 1915.

³⁶ *White Pine News*, (East Ely), January 4, 1920.

³⁷ "Report of the Commissioner of Labor," 2nd Biennial Report 1917-1918, *Appendix to Journals of the Senate and Assembly 1919, 29th Session, Vol. II* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1919), pp. 122-123.

It could hardly be expected that those who organized for improved working conditions and higher wages would welcome the new immigrants. In the early days of labor unions, however, their power was overshadowed by the large companies who benefited from the cheap labor of the foreigner. When Greeks and Slavs poured into the White Pine region, many believed they had been hired for building the railroad and the smelter and would soon leave. In 1907, the *Ely Mining Expositor* reported that a letter had been sent to the businessmen and prominent citizens of the community by the unions connected with the building trades advocating the employment of, "white labor, meaning thereby an American citizen." The unions wanted, "A white man's camp for white working men. Not the kind that sends 60 to 70 percent of their earnings across the sea, the majority of whom are unclean morally and mentally."³⁸ By the following spring, it was clear that the immigrants were in the area to stay, and some people blamed the mining companies. An editorial in the *Ely Mining Record* charged the companies with giving them preference and hoped the miner's union would be strong enough to, "keep this cheap and incompetent labor out of the mines."³⁹ Apparently the companies did not find the new immigrants incompetent, and before long the unions came to realize that the foreign workers could be an asset to their cause.

Early organizing efforts in White Pine's Robinson Mining District included Greek and Slavic participants. In July, 1909, many of them joined the Lane City Miner's Union, No. 251, and they were well-organized when they went out on strike against the Cumberland-Ely Mining Company.⁴⁰ The strikers demanded \$3.50 a day for underground workers and union recognition by the company. The *Ely Record* reported, "The strikers are practically all foreigners and it is considered doubtful if they will stand the strain of the long continued strike. The officers of the union say, however, that the men are well instructed in union principles and are in a fight to the finish."⁴¹ The workers won only a slight pay increase, but Slavic and Greek willingness to join the labor movement was significant.

A more serious strike occurred in October of 1912. All the mining operations were halted by a walkout called by the Western Federation of Miners and several other organizations. Although only a small group of workers actively promoted the strike, everyone was affected. Violence erupted when men who reported for work were trapped inside the company gates, and the situation became serious when strike breakers appeared on the scene. According to various newspaper accounts, there were foreigners on both sides. Some were loyal to the company, but a large group joined the strikers.

³⁸ *Ely Weekly Mining Expositor*, December 26, 1907.

³⁹ *Ely Mining Record*, April 18, 1908.

⁴⁰ Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Boom*, pp. 258-259.

⁴¹ *Ely Record*, July 2, 1909.

Anthony Jurich, the Dalmatian attorney, represented the Western Federation of Miners. The strike affected the entire Slavic community. One woman remembers it as a frightening time since many of the workers carried weapons. For a while saloons were closed and eventually the strikers disarmed. When the strike was settled late in the month, workers received only a small wage increase. The union failed to gain recognition by the companies, and many believed that the Nevada Consolidated Copper Company discriminated against the strikers in rehiring men back to work. Anthony Jurich could not even get an indictment against company guards who had shot and killed two foreign-born workers.

New labor troubles developed after the First World War when the demand for copper decreased and production declined. Rising living costs brought fresh demands from labor for wage increases, but it was announced in February, 1919, that the low price of copper would force a reduction in the wage scale.⁴² The following summer, the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's Union called a general strike demanding a raise of \$1.25 a day. The strike was quickly settled with a seventy-five cent raise in pay and a promise of company commissaries where "necessities of life" would be sold at cost.⁴³ By this time the new immigrants had been well integrated into the union. It was estimated that two-thirds of the unskilled labor in the mines were members of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's Union, which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.⁴⁴ The unions entered a period of inactivity in the twenties, however. Eras of depression, when jobs were scarce, tended to discourage union membership, and a cautious peace existed between worker and employer.

Up to the 1930s, the unions had been only partially successful in achieving their goals, but New Deal legislation in 1935 gave labor new legal bargaining power. The mine workers in the White Pine area succeeded in establishing a local of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in 1938, which was certified by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining agent between labor and industry. Robert Grubic, the son of a Slavic immigrant, was instrumental in organizing the White Pine Local of the I. M. M. S. W., and served as one of its first presidents.⁴⁵ The Slavic workers of White Pine County were enthusiastic members of the union, and for the first time it played a significant role in helping them get better jobs. According to the Slavs, the copper companies had done little to train foreign-born workers for higher paying jobs. Indeed, many believed they had been held to their unskilled positions because they were "new" immigrants. The new, more

⁴² *White Pine News* (East Ely), February 9, 1919.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1919.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, October 26, 1919.

⁴⁵ Robert Grubic, private interview, Reno, Nevada, November, 1973.

powerful unions pushed for a seniority system which benefitted long-term employees like the Slavs and afforded them a chance for advancement. It was a major step toward economic and social mobility, leading to ultimate integration into the community at large.

The First World War helped unite ethnic groups with the entire community in White Pine County, much as it did in Tonopah. Ely newspapers did not give Serbia and Montenegro the front page coverage these countries received in the Tonopah press, but it was undoubtedly because White Pine Serbs from Croatia had few ties to the kingdom of Serbia. Some of them enlisted in the Serbian army, nevertheless, when a Serbian Army officer came to Ely recruiting in 1918. Others joined the United States Army when this country entered the war, and foreign volunteers were awarded certificates of citizenship when they were honorably discharged.⁴⁶

Although participation in community affairs evolved slower for the Slavs in White Pine County than in Tonopah, there was a growing acceptance of the foreign born, many of whom were Slavs, by the local citizenry and the press. At a large patriotic rally held in Ruth soon after the United States entry into the war, the *White Pine News* reported, "one of the notable features was the patriotic spirit expressed by the large number of foreign born men who are employed here. There is no doubt that these men are not only willing but anxious for the opportunity to defend the flag of the country of their adoption."⁴⁷

Because of their closed life-style in company towns, many Slavic immigrants never fully assimilated into the American environment, but their children did. When they entered the high school in Ely, an important contact was made with the outside community. Not only did the Slavic children encounter a new culture, but a high school education opened the door to better jobs and for some a chance to advance beyond the company mining town. Sam Basta, who grew up in Ruth, recalled that as a child he and other "foreigners" were the subjects of much discrimination, but in high school conditions were better. The "foreign kids" turned to athletics to achieve social status and they "dominated" the athletic teams.⁴⁸

After the 1920s, Slavic names appeared often in the newspapers in high school graduation lists and on the school ball teams. Older Slavs also won a certain respect from the community through athletics. Company sponsored sporting events, as well as mucking and drilling contests were usually won by foreigners. Janko Djukic, a South Slav, was the champion jack driller in the district for a number of years. The large gatherings on Memorial Day, July Fourth, and Labor Day, featuring picnics, parades, and athletic contests,

⁴⁶ *White Pine News* (East Ely), March 7, 1920.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1917.

⁴⁸ Sam Basta, private interview, Reno, Nevada, February, 1973.

brought Americans and foreigners together. The Slavs always welcomed an excuse for a celebration and took part in the American holidays as well as their own. Historian Russell Elliott, a native of McGill, observed that even the ethnic holidays celebrated by the Greeks and Slavs, "soon incorporated features of traditional American holidays."⁴⁹

By the 1920s and 1930s, many of the foreign-born single men had drifted away from the White Pine community. A number of them returned to Europe. An article in the local newspaper in 1920 pointed out that for the first time since 1907 emigration from the United States exceeded immigration.⁵⁰ The new American immigration laws in the early 1920s, with quotas designed to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe, virtually halted any new influx of Slavs into the White Pine area. Thus, Slavic communities in the copper towns of eastern Nevada evolved into stable groups of families. Increasingly, the Slavs who remained in the state petitioned for naturalization. Between 1913 and 1946, about one hundred fifteen South Slavs became American citizens in White Pine County.⁵¹

In spite of the gradual move toward Americanization, the White Pine Slavs remained in strongly ethnic Slavic neighborhoods. The original policy of the copper companies to house the foreign-born in segregated areas and at the outset to keep them economically immobile led to a static community environment. The interests of the Slavic immigrants lay within their own group, where old customs and traditions continued up until the Second World War. It remained for the children of the White Pine Yugoslavs to break away from their "foreign" environment and join the Nevada community. It remained for the grandchildren, however, to rediscover and perpetuate their Slavic heritage.

⁴⁹ Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Boom*, p. 241.

⁵⁰ *White Pine News* (East Ely), July, 1920.

⁵¹ Sixty-five Greeks and twenty Italians became naturalized during this same period.

Veiling the Tiger: *The Crusade Against Gambling, 1859-1910*

PHILLIP I. EARL

ON MARCH 24, 1909, Governor Denver Dickerson signed into law a legislative act bringing an end to legalized gambling in Nevada. The final stroke of his pen that day was the culminating act of a crusade against gambling that had lasted almost fifty years.¹

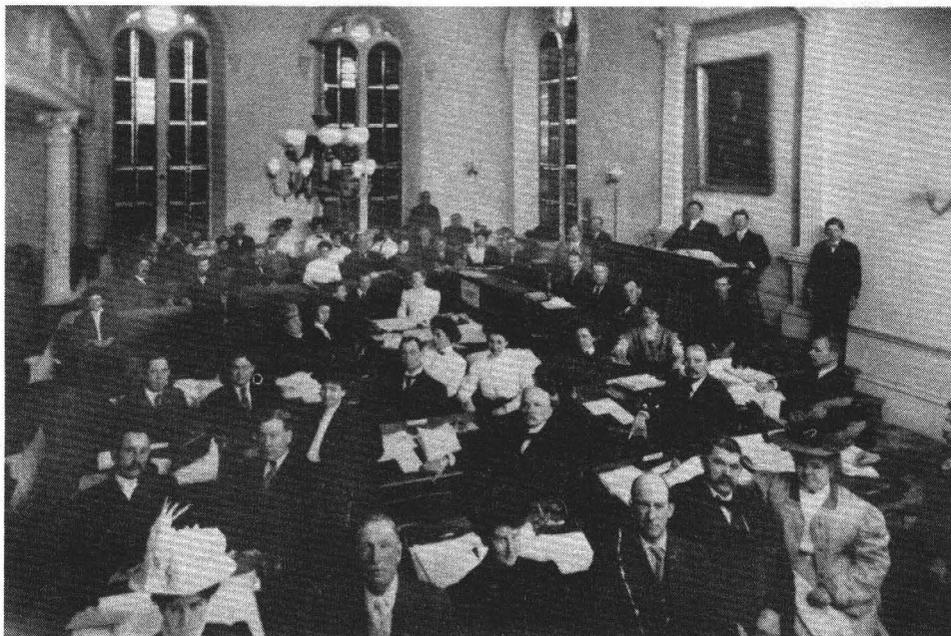
Gambling first became a public issue in the mining camps of California during the Gold Rush, and most communities in the Golden State adopted statutes legalizing and licensing games of chance in the early 1850s. This pattern eventually prevailed in other regions of the Inter-Mountain West as the mining frontiers expanded, but considerable amounts of popular opposition occurred in all western states.²

In June of 1859, a stricture against "banking games" was included in the rules and regulations drawn up by the members of the Gold Hill Mining District on Nevada's Comstock Lode. The men who organized the nearby Flowery District adopted a similar provision later in the year; but there was no legally constituted authority to carry out the regulations, as gambling remained a feature of life in the new region. With the creation of Nevada Territory in March of 1861, gambling became a political issue for the first time. Territorial Governor James Warren Nye recommended the enactment of a law outlawing gambling in his first message to the Territorial Legislature on October 2, 1861. He was successful in getting an act passed, but enforcement devolved upon county officials who lacked the inclination to follow up with prosecutions.³

¹ Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), pp. 248, 278-79.

² Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. 6, 1848-1859, (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), pp. 238-41, 785-86; Rodman W. Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp. 161-68; Ronald C. Brown, *Hard-Rock Miners: The Intermountain West, 1860-1920* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1979), pp. 44-46.

³ *Territorial Enterprise*, June 25, 1859; November 10, 1859; March 10, 1860; Austin E. Hutcheson, ed., "Before the Comstock, 1857-58: Memoirs of William Hickman Dolman," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 22 (July, 1947), 205-46; Effie Mona Mack, "James W. Nye, A Biography," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, IV (July-December, 1961), 8-59; Kent D. Richards, "The American Colonial System in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 13 (Spring, 1907), 29; *Laws of the Territory of Nevada Passed at the First Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly*, Chap. 25, p. 53; see Andrew J. Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory, 1861-62*, ed. William C. Miller et al. (Carson City: Legislative Council Bureau, 1972), pp. 251, 262, 313-14, 323, 329.



Nevada State Senate, Carson City, 1909. (*Nevada Historical Society.*)

Fulminations against gambling at times reverberated in the 1863 Nevada Constitutional Convention. One of the delegates even proposed that gamblers be classified as “common vagrants” and disenfranchised. Nothing came of this suggestion, but W.W. Ross of the *Carson Daily Independent* was moved to express a contrary attitude toward gambling and gamblers, one that was becoming increasingly common. “The gambler is a good institution in the country,” he wrote on December 5, “and no disabilities should be placed upon such an honorable institution.”⁴ Carrying his reasoning to its logical conclusion, he called upon the lawmakers to revise the Territorial Criminal Code to eliminate any restrictions upon gambling.

In point of fact, the men of the mining camps were exercising what amounted to a popular nullification of the 1861 law, but some of their political leaders continued to pursue the chimera of prohibition. Another law outlawing gambling was passed on February 23, 1865, to replace the 1861 act, but a movement was soon underway to replace it with a measure providing for licensing and control. In a debate in the Senate of the new State of Nevada on February 28, 1866, some rather widespread dissatisfactions with the 1865 act came to the fore, and proponents of a new law claimed that a license bill would not only raise revenue, but also would put “small caper establish-

⁴ *Carson Daily Independent*, December 5, 1863; *Gold Hill News*, December 7, 1863.

ments" out of business and boost operators of gambling halls who had a stake in their community and an interest in keeping their games honest. Several editors rallied to the support of the bill and it passed both houses of the legislature by narrow margins, but "the Godly," as one editor termed opponents of gambling, had their way and Governor Henry G. Blasdel vetoed the bill.⁵

The 1865 law remained unenforced and unenforceable, and Blasdel went before the lawmakers in January of 1867 with a request that they either pass another anti-gambling law or make provisions for better enforcement of the existing law. "Gambling is an inexcusable vice," he told them. "It saps the very foundations of morality, breeds contempt for honest industry and totally disqualifies its victims for the discharge of the ordinary duties of life." The legislators saw the matter in another light, however, and passed a second license bill, which he again vetoed.⁶

Blasdel renewed his fight in the 1869 legislative session, but by that time popular support for a license law had intensified and many lawmakers arrived in Carson City intent upon making some fundamental changes in the state's gambling laws. Another license law thus came out of the legislative mill, but Blasdel once again exercised his veto. A move to override succeeded, however, and the bill became law.⁷

The license law began to pick up additional editorial support over the next two years, and many taxpayers welcomed the relief that the revenue feature of the law provided; but Blasdel took a parting shot in his final legislative message on January 3, 1871. Terming the 1869 law "a blot and a stain upon the state," he called for its repeal. The incoming chief executive, Lewis Rice Bradley, endorsed his predecessor's proposal in his own inaugural address three weeks later, but no repeal bill was forthcoming that session.⁸

Meanwhile, California enacted a stiff anti-gambling law and all manner of drifters, vagrants and itinerant gamblers were soon making their way over the Sierra Nevada. The number of gambling establishments increased proportionately; gambling soon became a predominant feature of the downtown business section of every community and mining camp in the state, but those citizens opposed to gambling were determined to have another say in the

⁵ *Washoe Weekly Times*, January 28, 1865; *Gold Hill News*, January 31, 1865; March 1, 1866; March 3, 1866; March 10, 1866; March 22, 1866; *Virginia Daily Union*, January 31, 1865; February 16, 1865; *Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the First Legislative Session, 1864-65*, Chap. 53, pp. 169-70.

⁶ *Journal of the Senate*, Third Session, 1867, First Biennial Message of Governor H. G. Blasdel, p. 14; *Territorial Enterprise*, March 8, 1867; *Eastern Slope*, March 2, 1867; March 9, 1867.

⁷ *Territorial Enterprise*, January 6, 1869; *Reno Crescent*, January 9, 1869; January 23, 1869; March 6, 1869; March 27, 1869; *Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Fourth Session of the Legislature, 1869*, Chap. 81, pp. 119-20.

⁸ H. G. Blasdel "Biennial Message of Governor," *Journal of the Senate*, Fifth Session, 1871, pp. 15-16; *Nevada State Journal*, January 21, 1871, *Territorial Enterprise*, December 14, 1872; January 23, 1875.

but other citizens claimed that the youngsters might be more willing to take a chance if they could do so unobserved on the upper floors.¹⁰

With the onset of a prolonged mining depression in the early 1880s, city and county officials came to depend more heavily upon license fees, and questions of the "moral correctness" of gambling gave way to controversies over which level of government would issue licenses. There was renewed interest, too, in a state lottery. A lottery bill promoted by officials of the Nevada Benevolent Association passed during the 1881 legislative session and was signed into law by Governor John Kinkead, but it did not survive a challenge before the Nevada Supreme Court in May of the same year. A second lottery effort mounted in 1887 as a means of financing irrigation projects was vetoed by Governor C.C. Stevenson on constitutional grounds, and the voters of the state turned down another bid to legalize lotteries in February of 1889. Still, the issue remained before the public throughout the next decade.¹¹

Reno was the dominant community which escaped Nevada's general economic ruin in the final years of the nineteenth century. Then, shortly after the turn of the century, the community became a principal beneficiary of a mining boom in central Nevada, and the focus of a renewed anti-gambling movement. The community had also assumed a leading role in the cultural and educational life of the state by 1900. The faculty of the Nevada State College (now the University of Nevada, Reno) had never been reconciled to the notion of legalized gambling, nor had many clergymen, clubwomen and newspaper editors. Other opponents included some businessmen and other citizens whose livelihoods did not depend directly upon gambling, the saloon trade, or prostitution. Latent moral opposition increased in power and influence early in the twentieth century as new population elements less supportive of gambling were attracted to the enterprises and industry fostered by the mining boom.¹²

¹⁰ *Territorial Enterprise*, January 23, 1875; February 3, 1875; February 26, 1875; *Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Eighth Session of the Legislature, 1877*, Chap. 103, pp. 173-74; *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 14, 1881.

¹¹ James G. Scrugham, *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land* (Chicago: The American Historical Society Inc., 1935), pp. 353-54; *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 2, 1881; May 15, 1881; February 19, 1887; March 16, 1887; March 17, 1887; March 18, 1887; *Nevada State Journal*, January 5, 1887; February 18, 1887; March 12, 1887; March 16, 1887; March 18, 1887; August 22, 1894; April 22, 1905; *White Pine News*, March 8, 1890; April 26, 1890; *Reno Weekly Gazette & Stockman*, February 13, 1889; February 21, 1889; *Carson Appeal*, March 6, 1890; *Tonopah Bonanza*, January 24, 1903; see John M. Townley, *Alfalfa Country: Nevada Land, Water and Politics in the Nineteenth Century*, Helen Mayre Thomas Memorial Series No. 3 (Reno: Max C. Fleischmann College of Agriculture, University of Nevada, 1973), p. 80.

¹² Elliott, *Nevada*, Chaps. 10, 11; John M. Townley, *Tough Little Town on the Truckee*, History of Reno Series, Vol. I (Reno: Great Basin Studies Center, 1983), Chap. 8; see Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973), pp. 1-3, 11-43.

TO-NIGHT

Great Mass Meeting

Friday, Oct. 23

7:30 P. M.

AT WHEELMEN THEATRE

Gambling Must Go!

Eloquent Speakers Will Address the People
on Anti-Gambling. Orations by

JUDGE CHENEY ED HOOPER

HON. GUY V. SHOUP

The theatre will be comfortably heated. Come early and
get a good seat.

Everybody Welcome

FORUM  SPARKS

A broadside advertising an anti-gambling meeting to be held in Reno on October 23, 1908, the day before an election was to be held to consider an anti-gambling initiative measure. (*Nevada Historical Society.*)

Nevadans in 1900 once again found themselves faced with the lottery issue. A constitutional amendment had passed during the 1899 legislative session and would be up again in 1901, but a number of Renoites made their opposition known in the 1900 legislative campaigns, and they were successful in sending an anti-lottery delegation to Carson City. Shortly after the election, they organized the Reno Anti-Lottery League. Although the lottery proposition was defeated in 1901, promoters formed the Carson Lottery Syndicate that summer and hired pioneer newsman Alf Doten to promote another legislative act. Doten was able to generate some publicity, but his death in November of 1903 brought an end to the campaign and laid the issue to rest for the remainder of the decade.¹³

By this time, other states were beginning to enact laws restricting or outlawing gambling, and it appeared to many Nevadans that their state would soon be the last remaining haven in the country. The increasing number of gamblers arriving in Reno confirmed these suspicions, and Washoe County's legislative delegation supported an anti-gambling bill in the 1905 session. The only gambling-related legislation which became law that year was a bill repealing all restrictive statutes and placing the burden of regulation upon city and county officials. Reno's license laws thus became a subject of intense debate as municipal elections approached in April and May of 1905. Opponents of gambling organized the Reno Citizens' League to support several ballot measures which would have placed an absolute ban on table games, but those Renoites favoring a continuation of licensing and regulation prevailed.¹⁴

By 1906, Reno was taking in about \$28,000 a year from license fees. Within a year, the figure stood at \$50,000. In addition, hundreds of Renoites either worked for saloons and gambling establishments or for businesses which provided beer, wine, liquor, food, or services of some kind to the establishments. Still, a move was soon underway to mount another challenge to legalized gambling.¹⁵

In January of 1908, two itinerate Methodist clergymen, E.J. Bulgin and P.O. Gates, arrived in Reno to organize a series of revival meetings. A mass meeting to discuss the gambling issue attracted over 1,000 spectators on February 2. Robert L. Fulton, a civic leader and former editor of the *Reno Evening Gazette*, presided and a resolution was adopted to form an organiza-

¹³ *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 9, 1900; January 15, 1900; April 23, 1900; September 12, 1900; September 22, 1900; November 20, 1900; November 23, 1900; November 24, 1900; November 27, 1900; *Nevada State Journal*, January 11, 1901; January 19, 1901; January 24, 1901; April 22, 1905; *Tonopah Bonanza*, January 24, 1903; Walter Van Tilburg Clark, ed., *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903*, 3, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), pp. 2149, 2151.

¹⁴ Barton Wood Currie, "The Transformation of the Southwest Through the Legal Abolition of Gambling," *Century*, 75, April, 1908, pp. 905-10; *Nevada State Journal*, August 27, 1904; February 25, 1905; March 11, 1905; March 18, 1905; April 26, 1905; April 28, 1905; April 29, 1905; April 30, 1905; May 3, 1905.

¹⁵ *Nevada State Journal*, January 26, 1907; February 8, 1908.



Scene at a faro bank at The Casino in Reno, September 30, 1910, the last night of legalized gambling in Nevada. From his note on the photo, the photographer obviously felt that he was seeing history in the making. (*Nevada Historical Society.*)

tion to be known as the “Anti-Gambling League of Reno.” An executive committee of fifty prominent citizens was appointed to organize a petition drive to put an anti-gambling initiative on the ballot in the fall election, but several Reno clergymen, the foremost of whom was Reverend Samuel Unsworth of Trinity Episcopal Church, later emerged as major leaders of the movement. All church services in the city were suspended and the revival concluded at Wheelmen’s Hall on February 9.

The first petition calling for either the enactment of a law banning gambling or a city election to deal with the issue was submitted to the Reno City Council in late March, but it was 150 names short of the required number. A second petition was then circulated, but City Attorney Frank D. King ruled on April 1 that a large number of those signing were either not registered voters, had signed a name different than that on the registration form, or had otherwise done something to invalidate their signatures on the petition.¹⁶

The matter of the defective nature of the second petition was raised by attorneys E. R. Dodge and Thomas O. Berry, whose services were engaged

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1908; February 4, 1908; February 10, 1908; February 23, 1908; March 31, 1908; April 2, 1908; April 4, 1908; April 5, 1908; April 14, 1908; *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 4, 1908; April 7, 1908; April 9, 1908.

by Charles J. Sadleir, a spokesman for the Knights of the Royal Arch, an organization of saloonkeepers and liquor dealers. Sadleir and his supporters took a narrow, legalistic approach to the gambling question, but Reverend Unsworth and Professor Henry Thurtell took a lofty moralistic position. In a letter to the editor of the *Reno Evening Gazette* published on April 25, they accused City Attorney King and the members of the Reno City Council of raising "specious and unworthy" objections to the initiative petition. The "wrongness" of gambling was "the civilized judgement of mankind," they asserted, and it presented a constant temptation to youths, filled the streets with "harlots and criminals," increased the expenses of businessmen, and made Reno "deservedly a disgrace at home and the subject of scorn abroad." Reno should set an example for other communities, they maintained, and show others "that the people are self-respecting and self-governing and will no longer support the unmitigated evil."¹⁷

Reverend Unsworth submitted another petition to the City Council on May 11; City Attorney King, one of the signers, reported back on May 25, that the document was in proper legal form with respect to the legality of the initiative ordinance. King informed the city fathers that they had no power to question the law and must either pass the proposed anti-gambling law or call a special election. Attorney Dodge went before the council on June 1 to question again the validity of certain signatures, but to no avail, and October 24 was set as the date for the election. Attorney Guy V. Shoupe, appearing for the Anti-Gambling League, argued for an earlier fall date since Reverend Unsworth felt that a date so near to that of the general election scheduled for November 3 would bring out a larger number of voters and aid the gambling forces, but council members held to their decision.¹⁸

On September 2, Reverend Unsworth left for England where his son was entering Oxford University, but the anti-gambling movement did not lack leadership as the election approached. The Reverend C. Elmer Jameson, his replacement at Trinity Church, supported the movement and attorney Guy Shoupe was elected to take his place as President of the Anti-Gambling League. Since neither of Reno's daily newspapers took an editorial stand on gambling, the editors were accused of giving into threats of an advertising boycott by saloonmen and liquor dealers. Soon, however, the anti-gambling movement picked up the support of Louis Purcell, a Socialist and editor of the *Nevada Forum* of nearby Sparks, who became the most strident public advocate of the initiative. On September 20, Purcell reprinted a letter to Professor Gordon H. True from L.W. Coggins, a Phoenix businessman, who had answered a communication from the Nevada educator regarding the

¹⁷ *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 4, 1908; April 14, 1908; April 25, 1908.

¹⁸ *Nevada State Journal*, May 12, 1908; June 2, 1908; *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 12, 1908; May 26, 1908; June 1, 1908; June 2, 1908.



W. W. Booth, editor of the *Tonopah Bonanza*, who became a spokesman for those Nevadans who desired the continuance of legalized gambling in the state. (*Nevada Historical Society.*)

effects of banning gambling in Arizona. Coggins wrote that the predicted business depression had not developed, nor had it been necessary to raise taxes. Merchants were reporting an increase in trade, and even the saloons were doing better. Coggins also informed True that real estate operators had experienced an increase in sales and that many new homes were being constructed. Purcell also reprinted a letter from President Joseph Edward

Stubbs of the Nevada State College. Stubbs claimed that he had been receiving letters from parents who were hesitant about sending their children to the school because of Reno's "moral climate." The university was one of Reno's "best businesses," he pointed out, with \$350,000 expended by administrators in the past year alone.¹⁹

On Sunday, September 27, attorney Shoupe took over the pulpit at Reno's Baptist church to expound upon the evils of gambling, and attorney William A. Seeds addressed the congregation of the First Methodist Church. Seeds had been involved in a movement against gambling in Colorado some years earlier, and he was able to speak with some authority on the campaign there and the positive economic and social consequences. Judge Benjamin S. Curler spoke at the Congregational church that morning, Professor Thurtell carried the message to the Presbyterians, and Reverend Jameson made gambling the subject of his sermon at Trinity Episcopal. The substance of the sermons and addresses was ignored by both the *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Nevada State Journal*, but editor Purcell of the *Forum* reprinted Thurtell's remarks in full in his edition of October 3. Like Dr. Stubbs, Thurtell mentioned the effects of open gambling upon student enrollments, but he concentrated upon money matters to the exclusion of moral questions. According to his calculations, Reno was taking in about \$17,000 a year from license fees, but was expending at least \$20,000 on law enforcement and court costs in dealing with gambling-related criminal activity. The social costs in broken homes and ruined lives could not be measured in monetary terms, he said, but should be taken into account by those considering the question of continuing legalized gambling.²⁰

Seeds also spoke at a special assembly at the university gym on October 2, although there was a question concerning the status of students as residents of Reno for voting purposes. Reno's voteless women were busy organizing the Women's Civic Reform Club to work for the anti-gambling initiative. Each member pledged herself to get at least two voters to cast ballots in the affirmative. Perhaps the most effective line of anti-gambling reasoning was the economic argument first emphasized by Professor Thurtell in his address to Reno's Presbyterians. In an open letter published in the *Forum* of October 7, Dr. Stubbs claimed that gambling had inhibited economic development in Reno. With gambling outlawed, he asserted, legitimate businesses would be more likely to come to town and family men would buy homes and settle. Money which had previously gone into the pockets of the operators of gambling parlors would be spent with local merchants, bank deposits would

¹⁹ *Nevada State Journal*, July 27, 1908; September 3, 1908; *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 19, 1908; *Nevada Forum*, September 16, 1908; September 23, 1908; September 30, 1908.

²⁰ *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 28, 1908; October 2, 1908; October 3, 1908; *Nevada Forum*, October 3, 1908; October 7, 1908; October 12, 1908.

increase, and debts would be fewer in number and easier to collect. Reverend Leslie M. Burwell took the same tack in a speech at Reno's Methodist Church. Gambling produced no real wealth, he told his parishioners, only profits for the members of Reno's "gambling aristocracy" who lived in luxury. In the course of his address, he cited the many families deprived of the most rudimentary comforts of life because of the addiction of breadwinners to the wiles of the tables, or because of their incarceration for embezzlement or forgery. He also asserted that gambling was bringing "vicious types" to Reno, alluding to a number of recent murders, assaults, and appalling crimes. According to his analysis, in 1907 Reno collected \$56,260 in saloon license fees, licenses for table games, and taxes on beer, wine and liquor, but spent \$82,112.90 for the office of District Attorney, the Washoe County Sheriff's Department, Reno's Police Department and Washoe County's share of the expenses of the Nevada State Prison and the Nevada Insane Asylum. Burwell cited Judge Curler as the source for a statement that three-quarters of the city's crime was due to the presence of gambling. He also claimed that the average number of prisoners in the United States as a whole was 1,315 per 1,000,000 inhabitants, while that for Nevada, figured on a per capita basis, was 3,332. He declared that the same was the case for insanity rates: 1,700 per million in the nation and 3,999 for Nevada.²¹

On October 12, an anti-gambling rally was held at the Grand Theatre. Hundreds of people had to be turned away at the door, and Reno's old-timers declared the gathering to be the largest and most enthusiastic they had ever seen. Judge Sylvester S. Downer described the negative influence of gambling on business and the improvements to come if the anti-gambling initiative were to pass. Bishop Henry D. Robinson of the Episcopal Diocese of Nevada followed with a review of "the progressive development of mankind" down through the ages and the struggle against gambling. Another large rally took place at Wheelmen's Hall on October 18. Under a banner hanging across the center of the stage reading "Gambling Will Catch Some Of Our Boys. Will It Be Mine Or Yours," attorney H.H. Howard declared that Reno's gambling dens were attracting "innocent rural youths" from areas of the state where there was no gambling. He also warned the city's saloonmen and liquor dealers to cease their support of the gamblers "lest they be next on the block." University Regent Charles Lewers brought the evening to a close

²¹ *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 2, 1908; October 3, 1908; *Nevada Forum*, October 3, 1908; October 7, 1908; October 12, 1908. These figures must have sounded impressive to an audience of simple churchgoers unschooled in the complexities of statistical analysis, but figured on the basis of Nevada's small population, just approaching 80,000 at that time, the number of prisoners and inmates of the state asylum was rather small in terms of absolute numbers. The state prison at Carson City held a total of 217 convicts in 1908 and 209 persons were being housed at the asylum on the outskirts of Reno. See *Biennial Report of the Warden of the State Prison, 1907-1908*, p. 3, and *Report of the Superintendent of the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases, 1907-1908*, p. 7.

with a peroration on the effects of gambling on the operation of the university and the financial impact of the loss of students.²²

Only the *Nevada Forum* reported these gatherings in any detail, but editor Purcell had begun to distribute the paper in Reno. Some businessmen would not allow it on their premises, however, so Purcell had larger runs printed and hired carriers to take it door to door free of charge. Some Renoites resented Purcell's intrusion into the affairs of their city (one woman pointedly tore a copy into shreds on her porch), but many others welcomed the boys with hot chocolate. One Reno reader, R. W. Nelson, perhaps spoke for many of his fellow citizens in a letter to the editor published on October 16. He congratulated Purcell for having the grit to stand up to the gamblers and the liquor interests and invited him to move to the riverside city "to give us a respectable paper."²³

Saloonkeepers and other supporters of legalized gambling were meanwhile working to defeat the initiative. On October 16, they sponsored a rally at a local union hall. A number of union members showed up, as did transients who had learned of the free beer and sandwiches to be served. Attorney James Boyd spoke to them of the importance of keeping legalized gambling in the community. The organizers soon found themselves in hot water with labor officials who denied that the gathering was held under the auspices of any Reno labor organization, and officials of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Washoe County Building Trades Council passed resolutions to that effect. They did not, however, necessarily speak for individual workingmen, some of whom very likely viewed gambling as an aspect of life in Reno which not only provided jobs, but social diversion as well.²⁴

On October 22, saloonkeepers, gambling hall operators and hotelmen along Commercial Row counterattacked again by shutting off all their outside lights to demonstrate what the city would look like without gambling. Some Renoites were reminded of a former time when gambling was restricted to the second floors, and several commented that they would like to see the lights stay out. Merchants who usually remained open evenings joined in the blackout the next night; Reno's downtown section took on a decidedly tomb-like appearance as the habitués of the saloons and gambling halls went elsewhere. The traditional Friday night shoppers either stayed home or went to the anti-gambling rally at Wheelmen's Hall.²⁵

Although the anti-gambling advocates appeared to be better organized as the election approached, their opponents were quietly making arrangements to rent carriages and automobiles to take their supporters to the polls.

²² *Nevada Forum*, October 14, 1908; October 19, 1908; *Nevada State Journal*, October 19, 1908.

²³ *Nevada Forum*, October 16, 1908; October 19, 1908; October 21, 1908.

²⁴ *Nevada Forum*, October 19, 1908; October 21, 1908.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1908; October 26, 1908.



Cartoonist Arthur Buel's prediction on the future of gambling which appeared in the *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 1, 1910, the day that the anti-gambling law passed by the 1909 Legislature came into effect. (*Nevada Historical Society.*)

Supporters of the initiative managed to find a few vehicles at the last minute, but the supporters of gambling were much more in evidence on the streets on election day. Shortly after the polls closed at 6:00 p.m., the lights went on all up and down Commercial Row and the saloons reopened. Free beer was served, and the owners and operators of table games toasted each other with champagne and sparkling wine. The vote count proceeded and the announcement came at 9:00 p.m. that the initiative had lost by a margin of 583

votes, with 1,779 against, 1,196 in favor, and 156 ballots being rejected as defective.²⁶

Supporters of the initiative reacted bitterly. Attorney Shoupe told a reporter that many Renoites could not make up their minds and thus did not vote, whereas the gamblers rushed all their people to the polls. Editor Purcell had a different view. He asserted that the voters had "voted the dollar, what there was in it for them financially." There was no difference between them and the "hobos" who sold their votes for \$5.00, he claimed. "As citizens they are more despicable and ten times more dangerous in their debauchery of the city's welfare than the open criminal who holds up a man at a point of a gun." He quoted gamblers who openly admitted buying votes, and voters who accepted money, but the main thrust of his, barbed editorial was against Reno's "better element," particularly those merchants who had turned off their lights in support of the saloonkeepers and the gamblers. Their former customers would remember, he predicted, and they would lose patronage in the future. As to "honest workingmen," they had supported the initiative overwhelmingly, but could not overcome the "floating element" who sold their votes.²⁷

There is every reason to believe that there was a certain amount of fraud in this election, but there was another factor in the defeat of the initiative anti-gambling law which was not so apparent at the time. At least fifty to seventy-five percent of those who turned out at the anti-gambling rallies were women, but they were not enfranchised and thus could not translate their enthusiasm into political power. To some extent, they might have influenced the men of the community, but a man might well agree to vote a certain way simply to keep peace at home, intending all the while to vote for gambling in the isolation of the voting booth.

During the initiative campaign, there were discussions about carrying the crusade statewide, and editors in outlying areas sometimes carried occasional brief news items on the Reno campaign. However, the anti-gambling movement struck fire only in Elko. On October 2, W.C. Dutton spoke on gambling at a student assembly at Elko High School, and he gave a public lecture on the subject at Leonard Hill that evening. The following Sunday, Reverend George H. Greenfield read from the *Forum* at Elko's Baptist church and a large number of his parishioners were reported to be interested in organizing an anti-gambling group in their own community.²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1908; October 26, 1908; *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 24, 1908; October 26, 1908; *Nevada State Journal*, October 24, 1908; October 25, 1908.

²⁷ *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 26, 1908; *Nevada Forum*, October 26, 1908.

²⁸ *Nevada Forum*, October 21, 1908; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, October 22, 1908; October 23, 1908; *White Pine News*, October 24, 1908; *Ely Record*, October 17, 1908; *Elko Daily Independent*, October 2, 1908; October 23, 1908.

Renoites opposed to gambling considered their next step. At a meeting held in Reno's Methodist church on October 26, Shoupe outlined plans for another initiative campaign and appointed a committee to plan a statewide campaign. Several attorneys drew up a proposed anti-gambling law to be introduced in the upcoming legislature and copies were sent out with petition blanks during the first week in November. The petitions were in circulation within six weeks in Elko, Ely, Tonopah, Goldfield and other communities, but many legislators ducked a public stand on the issue since it had not come up during their recent political campaigns. The second initiative campaign was proceeding in Reno. A proposed ordinance was ready for submission to the Reno City Council by the first week in December, but it was held in abeyance pending legislative action.²⁹

In an interview with a *Gazette* newsman on January 12, 1909, Edward C. Hooper, Secretary of the Reno Anti-Gambling League, said that the proposed legislative bill would not prohibit the selling of pools on horseracing, nor would it prohibit card games played for entertainment or small sums of money in the home, but would apply to percentage games—blackjack, roulette, craps, faro and all others. He also told the reporter that lobbyists had been hired and contacts made with legislators. The final draft of the bill was submitted to officials of the Anti-Gambling League by attorney Robert M. Price at a meeting in late January. A provision prohibiting slot machines played for money or redeemable tokens had been added, as well as a ban on horserace pools. The bill also stipulated fines of \$100 to \$500 and jail sentences of one to six months upon conviction. Police were to have the power to break into buildings if they had reason to believe that gambling games were being conducted on the premises.³⁰

A fight over the speakership of the Assembly developed shortly after the legislature convened on January 18. Frank Folsom of Reno, Speaker Pro Tempore of the 1907 session, was the favored candidate of the gamblers, but he lost out to James B. Giffin of Manhattan. The latter was considered to be a "moderate" on the gambling question, although the issue did not directly figure in the debate. Giffin's appointments on the Public Morals Committee, the body which would first consider the anti-gambling measure, heartened the representatives of the Anti-Gambling League, but the fight over the bill actually began before its introduction. Interested parties on both sides of the issue were already engaged in lobbying activities, and editors around the

²⁹ *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 27, 1908; November 13, 1908; November 27, 1908; December 4, 1908; December 16, 1908; January 12, 1909; *Elko Daily Independent*, November 3, 1908; December 4, 1908; December 28, 1908; *White Pine News*, November 25, 1908; *Ely Record*, December 12, 1908; *Goldfield News*, November 28, 1908; *Nevada Forum*, October 26, 1908; October 28, 1908; November 6, 1908; November 11, 1908; November 16, 1908; November 18, 1908; November 25, 1908; November 30, 1908; December 2, 1908.

³⁰ *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 12, 1909; January 25, 1909.

state were beginning to take sides. On January 21, John C. Martin of the *Goldfield Tribune* extended an editorial welcome to those who "seek the allurements of a bout with Fortune," and W.W. Booth of the *Tonopah Bonanza* followed on January 28 with a long editorial in favor of gambling. Booth maintained that saloonmen and gamblers shouldered an inordinately large share of local tax burdens which would otherwise fall upon homeowners, ranchers, farmers, and developers of mines. He also maintained that opponents of gambling were not giving due consideration to the heavy investments in buildings, furnishings, and equipment which had been made by operators of gambling establishments. He also spoke up for the dealers, barkeeps, and others who would be thrown out of work if gambling were banned. Legalization was preferable to the situation in "prohibition towns" where those wanting a drink had to "sneak behind the prescription case at the drugstore" and gamblers were forced to repair to "the hay-mow and the corn crib." In conclusion, he suggested that those who did not like gambling could leave the state. "Their presence would not be missed."³¹

There were other editors who assumed an opposite posture. W.W. Booher of the *Elko Independent* cited a decline in urban crime; he maintained this was due to attack on gambling in some cities. Bank deposits were also up in those communities, he wrote, and there had been an influx of "a better class of citizen." Editor Oscar J. Morgan of the *Reno Evening Gazette* reversed his previously neutral stand on February 4, and other editors around the state took stances critical of gambling, but the legislators in Carson City were reported to be unenthusiastic about the prospect of having to face the issue. Several said that they would support the measure only if the property interests of the gamblers could be protected; others told reporters that a local or county option bill would be the most they could accept. Some observers thought this might be a reasonable proposition, but they declined predictions on the ultimate fate of any anti-gambling legislation since the issue had not come up during the campaigns and lawmakers were thus not publicly committed to any particular position.³²

During the morning session on February 8, Assemblyman George McIntosh, Democrat of Carlin, introduced the anti-gambling bill as Assembly Bill No. 74. Assemblyman E.R. Dodge of Reno, an attorney who had represented the gambling interests during the initiative campaign, tried to have the

³¹ *Journal of the Assembly*, Twenty-Fourth Session, p. 1: *Carson City Appeal*, January 19, 1909; January 20, 1909; January 21, 1909; *Goldfield Tribune*, January 21, 1909; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, January 28, 1909.

³² *Elko Daily Independent*, January 30, 1909; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 2, 1909; February 3, 1909; February 4, 1909; *Reese River Reveille*, January 9, 1909; *Silver State News*, January 12, 1909; *Nevada Forum*, January 26, 1909; *White Pine News*, January 12, 1909; January 14, 1909; January 15, 1909; January 26, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, February 6, 1909; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, February 11, 1909.



Playing roulette on the last night of legalized gambling, Reno, September 30, 1910.
(Nevada Historical Society.)

measure sent to the Committee on Claims rather than the Public Morals Committee, but his colleagues voted to send it to the proper deliberative body after amending it to provide for the granting of immunity from prosecution for those persons who might be called as witnesses in gambling cases. In an interview with a *Gazette* reporter later in the afternoon, McIntosh said that he believed that gambling was a "blight" on honest men who lacked the "moral strength" to resist temptation. He said he had received several hundred letters supporting his position, including one from a prominent jurist who told him license revenues did not equal the financial losses to individuals, businesses, and communities. Even those who ran the establishments would accept the law, the judge wrote, and would eventually realize that they were better men because of the law once they entered upon new lines of business.³³

Morgan of the *Gazette* was in full agreement, but his sentiments were more forcefully put by his talented political cartoonist, Arthur Buel. With Morgan's blessing, Buel published his first effort on the front page of the February 10 edition. Entitled "Nevada Will Be A Joke And A Sneer Until Gambling Is Abolished," the cartoon depicted citizens of other states watching to see what "Miss Nevada" was going to do. Greasy, unshaven gamblers were shown bunched up around a dice table, oblivious to all about them, and a poem graced the center section of the panel:

O'Nevada, wicked state,
Cut the gambling, ere too late;
Lift yourself out of
The mire,
Throw the crap game
In the fire.³⁴

The anti-gambling bill continued to pick up editorial support. In mid February, P.L. Bryant of the *Nevada State Journal* asserted that gambling, like "intemperance and kindred vices," had not "a moral leg to stand on." He expressed a particular opposition to an option bill, which he claimed would merely shift the games from one part of the state to another. James T. Shaw of the *Carson City News* gave his editorial assent, and Lester W. Haworth of the *Reese River Reveille* followed on February 20. The editor of the *White Pine News* also became a supporter of the bill. In January, he had taken offense at some remarks about gamblers made by a local clergyman, but he became a firm backer once a bill to outlaw gambling had been introduced. "Nevada may shortly take another advance step in time with the tread of civilization,"

³³ *Journal of the Assembly*, p. 62; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 8, 1909; February 9, 1909; February 10, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, February 9, 1909.

³⁴ *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 8, 1909; February 10, 1909.

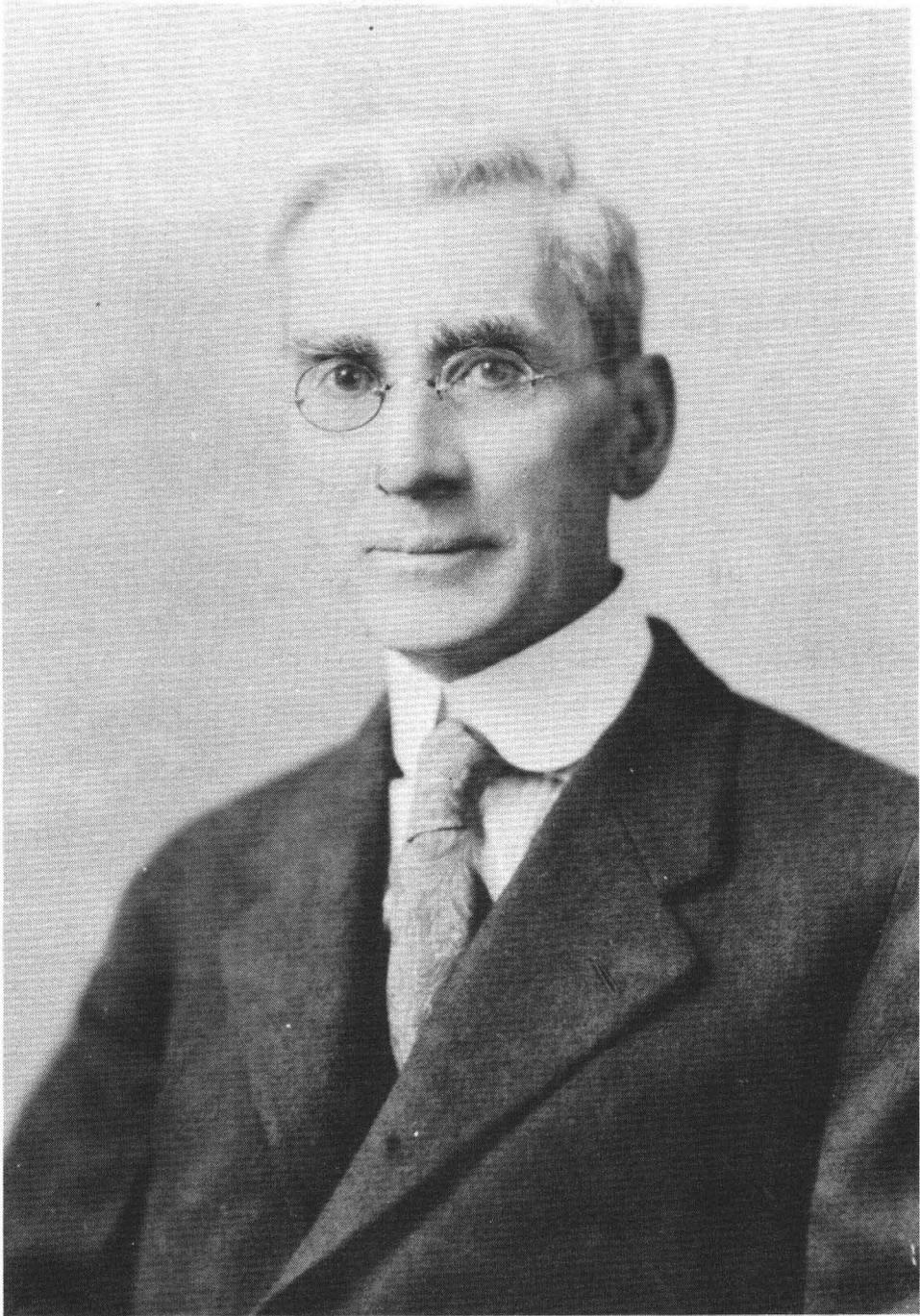
he was moved to comment on February 11. Later, replying to a report that White Pine County Assemblyman Robert Neill had said that foreign workers of the district would send all their pay abroad if it were not for gambling halls, the editor contended that this was only "a dodge." Table games were not permitted at McGill, he observed, and the few foreigners who gambled did so only with others of their own nationality.³⁵

Rumors of a "bribery fund" raised by gamblers and saloonmen circulated in the press, but the principal effect of such allegations was to intensify public and press scrutiny. Reno and Sparks clergymen told members of the Washoe County delegation that those who voted for the gamblers would be held accountable in the future, but several legislators complained that they had received no instructions whatsoever and were thus planning to "vote their consciences" and let the people judge them at the next election. The dangers of public indecision were revealed when editor Morgan of the *Reno Evening Gazette* set up a front page column on February 16 to keep daily track of those who were reported to be leaning one way or the other. Assemblyman H.A.N. Todd of Gardnerville was close enough to take a day on February 13 to go down and talk with voters, but those from remote areas could rely only on their political instincts and what little they were hearing from home.³⁶

An erosion of support for gambling began to occur as certain legislators who had been considered "firm" by the gamblers began to change their minds. Among them was Lem Allen of Fallon, who had earlier been pushed for the Speakership by opponents of the anti-gambling bill. On February 15, he rose to a question of personal privilege on the Assembly floor and admitted that he had been an advocate of legalized gambling in the past, but felt that he must now change course if he "expected to get to heaven." The remark created a bit of a stir on the floor and Assemblyman Dodge of Washoe County rose to say that his colleague had no right to take such a position unless he intended to ask St. Peter to suspend the rules to allow all the other members of the lower house to enter also. Allen replied that he was having enough trouble getting himself in without making a plea for other "abandoned sinners." Assemblyman Fred Folsom of Reno was disgusted rather than amused, commenting that if either Dodge or Allen somehow made it through the Pearly Gates, he would prefer to go elsewhere. When the members of the Assembly sat down at their desks the next morning, each found a neat blue envelope containing a message from the ladies of the Women's Civic League of Reno. "Will you please help to save our boys? Then stand with Lem Allen

³⁵ *Nevada State Journal*, February 13, 1909; *Carson City News*, February 16, 1909; *Reese River Reveille*, February 20, 1909; *Goldfield News*, February 27, 1909; *White Pine News*, January 14, 1909; *Goldfield News*, January 26, 1909; February 11, 1909; February 13, 1909.

³⁶ *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 15, 1909; February 16, 1909; *White Pine News*, February 17, 1909; *Nevada Forum*, February 15, 1909; February 19, 1909.



Robert L. Fulton, civic leader and editor of *Reno Evening Gazette*. (Nevada Historical Society.)

and go to Heaven," they requested. Assemblyman Dodge then stood to a point of order and said that he was "overjoyed that Allen was going to Heaven, surprised that he was going so soon and sorrowful that he was going at all." In response, the Fallon legislator said that he was only sorry that his friend was too old to change and follow in his footsteps.³⁷

During the first public hearings Secretary Hooper of the Anti-Gambling League submitted several petitions in favor of the passage of the bill without amendment, but only Assemblyman William J. O'Brien of Austin and J.J. Schoer of Ely testified. O'Brien told the committee members that it had been his observation that gambling occurred during a mining boom, but added nothing to the prosperity of the camps which were established. Schoer spoke out against the local option proposal; asserting that other states had placed a flat ban on gambling, he said he could see no reason why certain Nevada communities should be free of gambling, while others were left to "the tender mercies of the green cloth gentry." In conclusion, he stated that Nevadans should "let the world know that there will be no compromises or half-way business about it."³⁸

Charles J. Sadleir and O.E. Bilbee of the Knights of the Royal Arch stated their position on February 17. They submitted a petition from Reno businessmen remonstrating against the proposed bill, and they testified on the impact it would have on those gambling house operators who had invested all they had in their enterprises. They also called for a referendum provision in the bill, contending that spokesmen for the Reno Anti-Gambling League did not reflect the sentiments of the citizens of the state. Justice James G. Sweeney of the Nevada Supreme Court also testified. Citing his seven years of service on the Board of Pardons and Paroles, he said that he had considered 560 applications, 200 of them for crimes directly or indirectly associated with gambling. Sweeney had also served as Attorney General from 1903 to 1906, and he was able to call upon his experiences in working with district attorneys all across the state. According to his calculations, the State of Nevada was expending some \$50,000 a year to prosecute gambling-related criminal activities, principally forgery and embezzlement, but not excluding many murders, burglaries and assaults. The justice was also able to attest to the financial distress and family suffering brought about by open gambling since he had served as a director of six state banks before assuming his law enforcement and judicial positions. Sweeney also commented upon the economic argument of the gamblers. He admitted that the trade provided some employment and did keep money in circulation, but he maintained that most of the profits were spent on "prostitutes, bulldog pups, wine and flashy

³⁷ *Carson Daily Appeal*, February 15, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, February 16, 1909.

³⁸ *Nevada State Journal*, February 17, 1909; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 16, 1909; February 17, 1909; *Reese River Reveille*, February 20, 1909.

diamonds," rather than groceries, butcher bills, clothing, decent housing, or other necessities of life. To him, the assessed valuation from mining and agricultural activities was high enough so that license revenues were no longer needed. He emphasized that Nevada was the last state to tolerate gambling, and he urged the lawmakers to "save the state's honor," remove the temptation to youth, and save those citizens whose "frailties of character" were such that they could not resist temptation. In reply to a question about extending the effective date of an anti-gambling bill for two more years in order to allow the gamblers time to liquidate their investments, he said that any such provision in the law would be tantamount to licensing burglars, embezzlers or "any other sort of public menace."³⁹

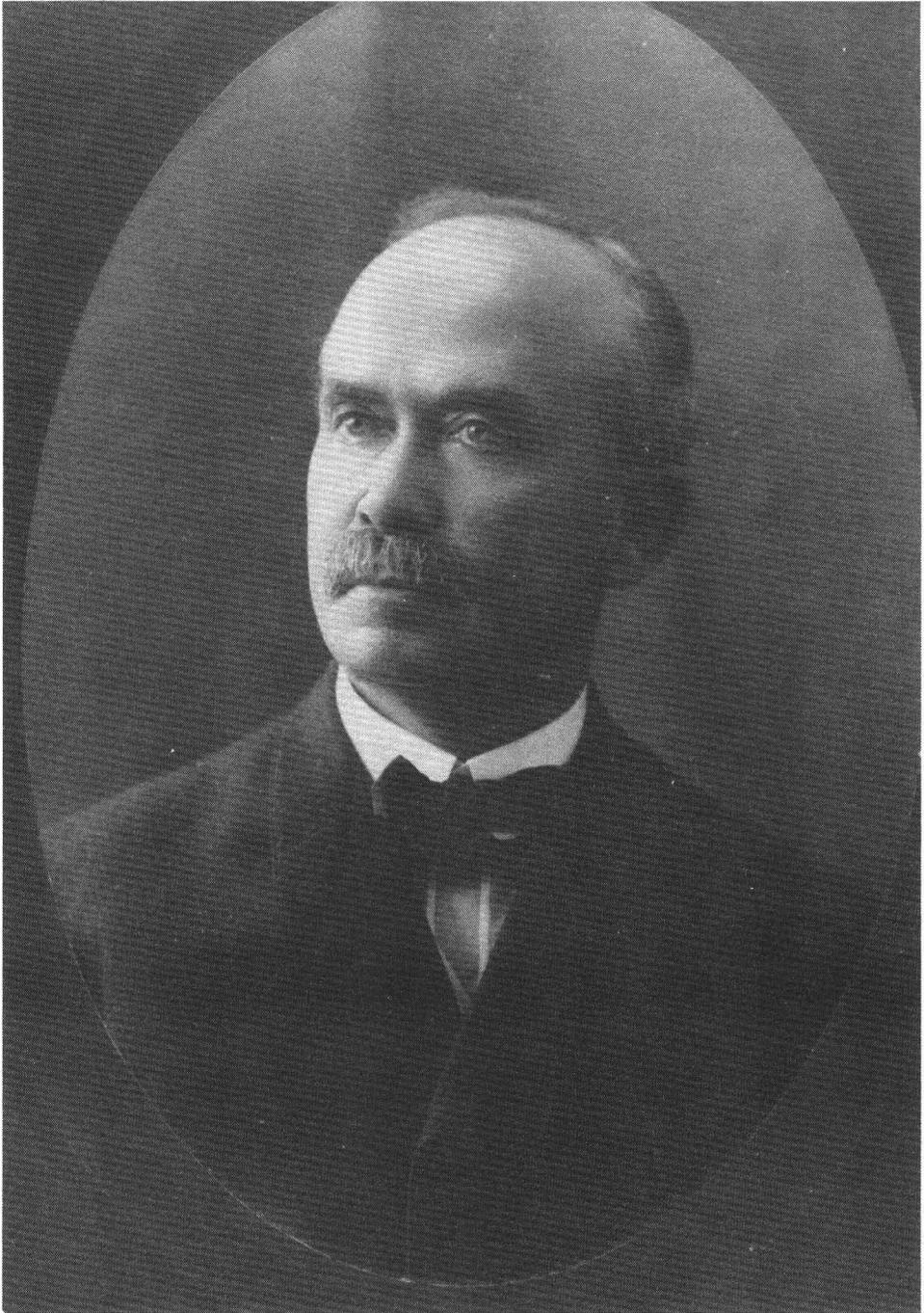
The Public Morals Committee reported the anti-gambling measure out with a "do pass" recommendation on February 18, but with an extension to January 1, 1910, as the effective beginning date of the law. A minority report submitted by Assemblymen William Merton of Nye County and E. D. Blake of Storey called for a referendum on the issue in November, 1909.

When full-scale debate opened in the Assembly, supporters of the law quickly took the initiative. District Judge Benjamin Curler spoke on behalf of the majority report for two hours. He informed the Assembly that not a single public improvement in Reno could be attributed to gambling. According to his figures, which he laid out in detail, all proceeds from licenses were used to pay the salaries of judges, bailiffs, and other court personnel, and to maintain the jail and deal with the social problems stemming from the existence of legalized gambling. Judge William Seeds followed and stressed the beneficial effects the banning of gambling had brought to Cripple Creek, Colorado, where he had practiced law. Assemblyman William S. Lunsford of Reno favored immediate consideration of the bill, and George McIntosh, who had introduced it, expressed his pleasure over the the strong presentation of the case against gambling. He said that the "property argument" was the only one left for the gamblers, but the extension of the effective date of the law would give them ample time to "clean up their investments and buy a good prospecting outfit." The bill was made a special order for February 24, by a vote of 26 to 18.⁴⁰

On the day of the crucial vote, the galleries in the Assembly chamber began to fill early, and lobbyists jammed the halls. Clergymen, gamblers, editors, reporters, and many other observers thronged the streets. As expected, Assemblyman Dodge moved for reconsideration, but his motion failed for want of a second. Assemblyman Frank Folsom then stood to

³⁹ *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 17, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, February 18, 1909; *Carson City News*, February 18, 1909.

⁴⁰ *Journal of the Assembly*, pp. 97-98; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 18, 1909; February 19, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, February 19, 1909; *Carson City News*, February 19, 1909; *Carson Daily Appeal*, February 18, 1909; February 19, 1909.



Joseph Edward Stubbs, President of Nevada State College, opposed gambling.
(*Nevada Historical Society.*)

introduce a motion to include bridge, whist, and poker to the list of prohibited games. He said that he only "wanted to give all the games the same treatment," but legislative observers saw his amendment as a transparent effort to make the bill so strict that it would encounter additional opposition in the Senate. Assemblyman Robert Neill of Ely spoke for Folsom's motion, however, and issued a scathing denouncement of women who played cards for money. Such games were "the curse of the age," he said, and caused women to neglect their "household duties." Snickers came from the galleries during his short speech, but he said that it was no laughing matter. A large number of his colleagues took him at his word and the amendment failed by only five votes. Among the editors who supported Folsom's motion was P.L. Bryant of the *Nevada State Journal*. "Why not?," he asked in his editorial column the next day. "If it is wrong for the poor man to lose money on the wheel, why is it not as reprehensible for the society woman to rake in the dimes of her opponents at bridge with jeweled fingers that somehow have a claw effect when seen from the proper perspective?" As to poker, he maintained that it was not just "a friendly game" since there was the same "desire for gain" regardless of whether it was played in the living room or in a public cardroom.⁴¹

Folsom then introduced a motion to extend the effective date to December 31, 1910, but those supporting the majority report argued that this would delay the matter until the next election and thus would make gambling an issue in the fall campaigns in 1910. Assemblyman Dodge spoke for the motion, as did several central and southern representatives. Fred Berry of Tonopah contended, however, that the average gambler "lives in his trunk," and had only a minimal financial stake in his business; giving them nine months to "sell and depart" was fair. Lem Allen saw that the matter of the date was threatening to deadlock the proceedings, so he introduced his own motion to set the date at January 1, 1910, and this carried 38 to 9. Assemblyman McIntosh took the floor a final time to urge passage of the amended bill. He again recited the whole litany of anti-gambling arguments which had been adduced during the session, and he concluded with a ringing plea to his colleagues to abolish "this odious partnership of the state with crime and the making of criminals."⁴² The bill passed by a margin of seven votes, twenty-seven to twenty. A great cheer went up when the clerk announced the final tally; near pandemonium broke out in the galleries and on the floor. A motion

⁴¹ *Journal of the Assembly*, pp. 111, 112; *Nevada State Journal*, February 25, 1909; *Carson Daily Appeal*, February 24, 1909.

⁴² *Journal of the Assembly*, pp. 112-113; *Carson City News*, February 25, 1909; February 26, 1909; *Carson Daily Appeal*, February 24, 1909; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 24, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, February 25, 1909.

to reconsider the vote was defeated and legislators shook hands and consoled the losers.⁴³

Levi Syphus of Lincoln County introduced the bill in the Senate and moved to send it to the Committee on Ways and Means. Senator James T. Boyd of Washoe County, one of the spokesmen for the Knights of the Royal Arch during the 1908 initiative campaign, countered and took advantage of the absence of two of his colleagues known to favor the bill, J.W. Locklin of Storey and Robert L. Douglas of Churchill; he called for a vote to send the measure to the Judiciary Committee. Three of the four members of that group were thought to be opponents of the bill, and Boyd's tactics gave credence to rumors that certain members of the upper house intended to hold the measure in committee for the full fifteen days allowed, and then filibuster it for the remaining five days of the constitutional length of the session. Those Assemblymen who had worked for the bill in the lower house threatened to hold up action on any Senate measure which might come up, but observers believed that there was so much support for the bill that it was doubtful that it could be defeated by any procedural subterfuge.⁴⁴

Governor Denver Dickerson so far had established no public position on the matter of gambling, but an interview he granted to a *Carson City News* reporter on March 2, revealed that he was not going to remain neutral until a bill appeared on his desk. He told the newsman he considered gambling "a curse" and that he intended to sign any bill the legislature passed. He emphasized that the time and energy expended on gambling legislation could have been devoted to matters of more consequence. Dickerson stated he considered the Assembly bill as a "sop" to the reformers to stave off "more radical legislation." When asked for a clarification of the remark, he said that the bill should have included games played at home. "The homes and parlors of the rich should not be made more sacred than the common gambling brothels when it comes to punishing those who would carry on this great evil," he was quoted as saying. He also urged that violations of the law be made a felony rather than a misdemeanor, and contended in its present form the bill would drive the games "underground" and deprive the cities and counties of needed revenue. He also expressed a preference for an effective date of November 1, 1910, so the voters would have a chance to consider the issue in the context of a legislative campaign, an opportunity denied them in 1908.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Journal of the Assembly*, p. 113; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 24, 1909; February 26, 1909; February 27, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, February 25, 1909; *Carson City News*, February 25, 1909; February 26, 1909.

⁴⁴ *Journal of the Senate*, Twenty-Fourth Session, p. 126; *Nevada Forum*, February 26, 1909; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 26, 1909; February 27, 1909.

⁴⁵ *Carson City News*, March 3, 1909; March 4, 1909; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, March 4, 1909.

Dickerson's remarks won him few friends in the anti-gambling camp. Editor Purcell of the *Forum* believed that he was taking the gamblers' side of the question and laying the philosophical groundwork for vetoing any law which did not place an absolute clamp on all forms of gambling. Among those who took the Governor's side were Irwin Lewis of the *Appeal* and W.A. Leonard of the *Ely Mining Record*, both supporters of legalized gambling. However, the editor of the *White Pine News* saw the interview as so equivocal that both sides could charge that he was playing into the hands of the other.⁴⁶

The first Judiciary Committee hearing in the Senate chambers drew a large crowd, but Senator Pyne announced that he would allow no cheering or applauding and would limit each speaker to fifteen minutes. District Judge William A. Massey of Reno led off with several cogent arguments for the bill. He admitted that his community, Reno, took in \$30,000 in license fees in 1908, but said that the business boom which would follow a ban on gambling would more than make up for the revenue shortfall. District Attorney George Noel of Virginia City followed with an analysis of his county's revenue sources which indicated that taxes would have to be raised if license fees were eliminated. District Judge George S. Brown of Elko spoke on his experiences with gambling and crime and like many other opposed to gambling, felt that license fees did not cover the social costs. To illustrate his point, he cited Lander County's recent experience with the Patsy Dwyer murder case, which had cost taxpayers nearly \$30,000 to prosecute. Andy Fessler of Ely, a spokesman for the gamblers and saloonkeepers of his section, finished up with a short appeal for consideration of the property interests involved.⁴⁷

Speculation was intense concerning the positions of the members of the Judiciary Committee. It seemed apparent some members of the upper house were divided in their own minds. One unidentified senator hinted at this in an interview with a *Carson City News* reporter on March 5. He said that if he voted against the bill, or voted for it with a time extension, he would feel responsible for ruining the life of a young man who might gamble away his employer's money and then commit suicide over it. Never again, he said, if such a thing happened, could he look at his hand without seeing "the crimson stain." On the other hand, he told the newsman he had been getting letters from taxpayers worrying about increases in assessments and rates if license fees were lost and valuable businesses had to be abandoned and taken off the tax rolls. He concluded that he would probably vote for some kind of anti-gambling bill since he preferred his own peace of mind and the welfare of the state to "simple dollars." Other lawmakers said that they would support only

⁴⁶ *Nevada Forum*, March 6, 1909; *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 2, 1909; March 3, 1909; *Ely Mining Record*, March 5, 1909; *White Pine News*, March 9, 1909.

⁴⁷ *Journal of the Senate*. p. 137; *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 3, 1909; *Carson City News*, March 3, 1909.

a bill which included all forms of gambling, an attitude some observers claimed was held by the majority of lawmakers in both houses. Democratic leaders were quite concerned, since their party had majorities in both houses and would be held responsible for whatever bill was passed. Most had decided that the future of the party hinged on getting the bill passed, but a few believed that a defeat would be the only means of holding party regulars.⁴⁸

On March 11, the members of the Judiciary Committee met a final time, smoothed over their differences and came to a compromise. As amended, the effective date was to be October 1, 1910. Bridge, whist, slough, and poker were banned along with table games. The punishment for each conviction was stipulated as a \$100 to \$500 fine, a jail sentence of one to six months, or both a fine and a term behind bars. Writing the next day in the *Forum*, editor Purcell warned the Democrats that their party was "writing its epitaph" by amending the Assembly bill in such a drastic manner, but Thomas Nelson of the *Silver State News* of Winnemucca felt that the supporters of continued legalized gambling had handled the bill very skillfully, making it so unpopular that it could never be passed in the form in which it came from the committee.⁴⁹

In actuality, however, the anti-gambling measure easily passed the Senate. Senator Boyd fulminated against it, and Senator Henry Coryell of Elko followed with an angry tirade over the amendments. Others expressed dissatisfaction with one or more aspects of the bill. Then, somewhat surprisingly, it passed unanimously by a vote of 19 to 0, but there is evidence some senators wanted a reconsideration. The vote, however, was final.⁵⁰

Several editors around the state, such as Bryant of the *Nevada State Journal*, Purcell of the *Forum*, Shaw of the *Carson City News*, and Booher of the *Elko Independent* had all recommended passage of the severely-amended bill, but some were quite critical of the Senate version—Shaw, for example, referred to the changes as "blood sucking amendments."⁵¹ In the Assembly, there was overwhelming sentiment to pass the measure, and on March 16 its members did so by a vote of 41 to 5. George McIntosh of Elko, who had introduced the original bill, voted against the final version. Previously, Governor Dickerson had committed himself to signing a bill that extended

⁴⁸ *Carson City News*, March 6, 1909; *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 3, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, March 6, 1909; *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 11, 1909.

⁴⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, pp. 218-219; *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 11, 1909; March 12, 1909; *Carson City News*, March 12, 1909; March 16, 1909; *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 11, 1909; March 13, 1909; March 15, 1909; *Nevada Forum*, March 12, 1909; *Silver State News*, March 13, 1909.

⁵⁰ *Journal of the Senate*, pp. 243-44; *Carson City News*, March 16, 1909; *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 15, 1909; *Nevada State Journal*, March 16, 1909.

⁵¹ *Nevada State Journal*, March 16, 1909; *Nevada Forum*, March, 17, 1909; *Carson City News*, March 16, 1909; *Elko Daily Independent*, March 16, 1909.

the effective date, and that included games played for amusement. Without fanfare, he signed the measure on March 24.⁵²

The final days of legalized gambling in Nevada were at hand during the early fall. Some Renoites expressed regret for the family men who would be losing their positions, while a few merchants lamented the possible loss of trade. Others felt there were prospects of better times. Whatever the sentiments the fact was that quarterly licenses would expire at midnight on September 30, 1910.

In Reno, a few minutes before midnight, dealers in one club began to wrap black crepe around the gleaming nickle spindles of the roulette wheels while others whistled lugubrious funeral dirges as they kept one eye on the clock. A photographer was working the gambling halls that night to record history in the making and the members of the Subway Quartette, a men's choral group, had taken up a stand on Commercial Row. At seventeen minutes before midnight, city detective John Hillhouse mounted a faro bank at The Casino and announced that the management had asked him to close the place down. Not another card was to be dealt, he said, another die rolled or another roulette ball twirled. He also informed the crowd that the bar was closed and asked them to leave quickly and quietly. The manager of the Louve made the same announcement five minutes later and Frank Simmons, shift manager at the Palace, ordered the barmen to break out several gallons of wine and the club's best champagne glasses. At 11:55, he climbed up on the bar and proposed a toast: "The games are closed. Here's hoping they'll never open." He was answered by a cheer, "To the games," as everyone drank up and began to move toward the doors. Down the street, the Barrel House closed without ceremony, as did other Commercial Row establishments. When the hour struck, the Subway Quartette broke into a rendition of "Keep Your Foot on the Soft, Soft Pedal." The old favorite was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers and applause, but the street began to clear a few minutes later and was entirely deserted within the hour.⁵³

Early the next morning, workmen began crating up slot machines, faro banks and other equipment for storage or to be shipped to a purchaser in New York City who had also offered jobs to any dealers who wanted to move east. A few who had decided to take him up on the offer left by train that afternoon, but a larger contingent bound for San Francisco departed in the early evening. As their train pulled out of the Reno yard, a few leaned from the windows for a long last look at Commercial Row, once the scene of lights, gayety and good fellowship, but now abandoned and almost deserted. Most of the dealers maintained the gambler's calm, but many were perhaps having some long thoughts about a way of life which was no more. "Veiling of the

⁵² *Nevada State Journal*, October 1, 1910; *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 1, 1910.

⁵³ *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 1, 1910; *Nevada State Journal*, October 1, 1910.

Tiger by the Due Process of Law," the *Gazette* headlined its account of the last night of legalized gambling, and editor Bingham urged his readers to be "on the alert" for opportunities to better their community and attract business and industry, but cartoonist Arthur Buel had the last word. In his offering that day, he showed the gamblers trooping out of town and depicted an elderly gentleman showing his granddaughter an old roulette wheel on exhibit at the Nevada Historical Society some fifty years in the future. The old man was explaining that the wheel was a "relic of Nevada's wild and wooly days." The girl was looking on in a somewhat wide-eyed and disbelieving manner.⁵⁴ A few days later, most of the casinos had closed down. There were rumors that a painting and decorating company had leased the Oberon and the Palace had begun negotiations for a sale. The Louve, the Sagebrush and the Bank Club reopened solely as saloons while the Casino did not open at all. The dealers had departed and all the denizens of Commercial Row had simply disappeared.⁵⁵

As many Nevadans predicted, the law outlawing gambling led to the establishment of games in backrooms, basements, and private homes. Raids on some of these games began in 1911 in various parts of the state, and the first conviction was obtained in Elko in early 1912. Gambling-related issues arose in legislative forums for the next twenty years; laws and exceptions to laws multiplied to the point that not even some experienced Nevada lawyers could quite understand which games were legal and which remained under a ban. In some towns and cities, the laws remained unenforced and perhaps even unenforceable. In March, 1927, the Nevada Senate defeated by a single vote a bill reestablishing legalized gambling. Four years later, during the midst of the Great Depression, the effort to return Nevada to a status as a haven for gambling easily succeeded.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ *Nevada State Journal*, October 2, 1910; *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 1, 1910.

⁵⁵ *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 3, 1910.

⁵⁶ Elliott, Nevada, pp. 248, 278-79; *Elko Weekly Independent*, August 4, 1911; December 15, 1911; *Nevada State Journal*, March 8, 1912; February 26, 1927; March 4, 1927; March 5, 1927; March 9, 1927; March 10, 1927; March 17, 1927; Raymond Sawyer, *Reno! Where the Gamblers Go!* (Reno: Sawston Publishing Co., 1976); see Phillip I. Earl, "The Legalization of Gambling in Nevada, 1931," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 24, No. 1, Spring, 1981, 39-50.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Photographs of Charles D. Gallagher

THE LOCAL PROFESSIONAL photographer is often an excellent source of information about a community. His negative files contain images of individuals, events, streets and buildings, shops and factories and practically everything that went on.

Ely, Nevada, and the Nevada Historical Society are both particularly fortunate that Charles D. Gallagher plied his trade in White Pine County. A native son, "Charlie" Gallagher confessed to being fascinated by photography from childhood.¹ In 1903 he left to attend the Illinois College of Photography, south of Chicago, which had an excellent reputation. There he stayed as student and teacher until 1907, when he returned to Ely to establish a studio of his own. With the entry of the United States into World War I, Gallagher volunteered for the Aviation Section of the Army Signal Corps. Although his eyesight prevented him from becoming a pilot, he was trained in the techniques of aerial photography at Cornell University and the Eastman Kodak Plant.

After the war Gallagher worked with a chain of photo studios; however, the hard times of the Depression brought him back to Ely to open his studio again and resume recording life in his hometown. Gallagher's photos show the famous and the not-so-famous, the familiar places, the technological wonders of the White Pine copper mines, the beauty of the surrounding mountains—the life of the community in all of its phases.

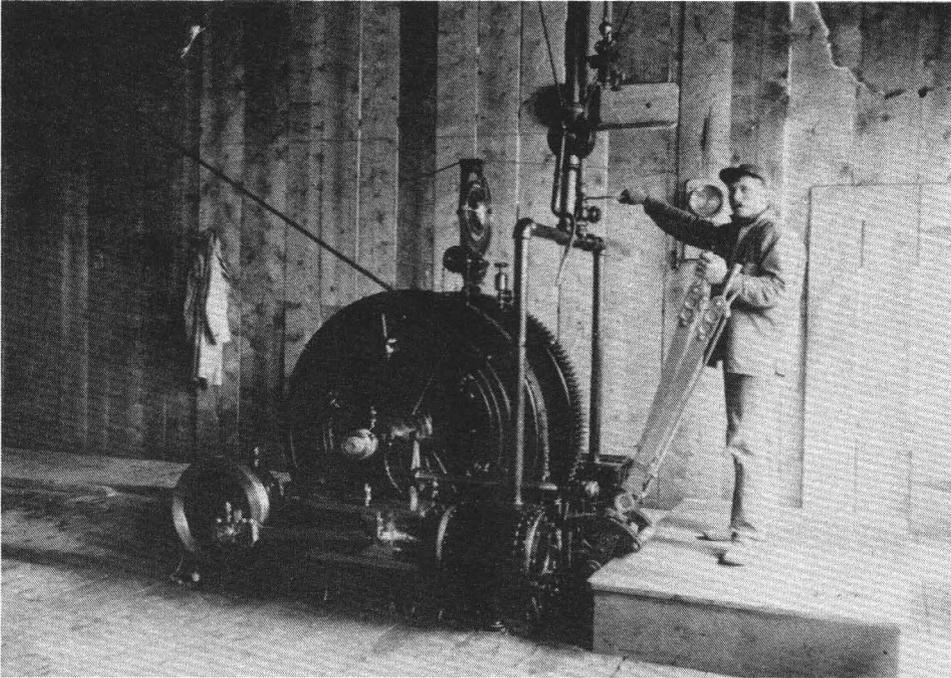
Gallagher served in the Nevada State Assembly before World War I. When he retired from photography after the Second World War, he turned again to politics and won election to the State Senate, where he had a successful career for ten years.

After Gallagher died in 1978, his longtime friend William B. Kohlmoos was instrumental in donating the photo collection to the Nevada Historical Society. The photos on these pages are just a few examples from the collection to illustrate the remarkable achievement of Charles D. Gallagher.

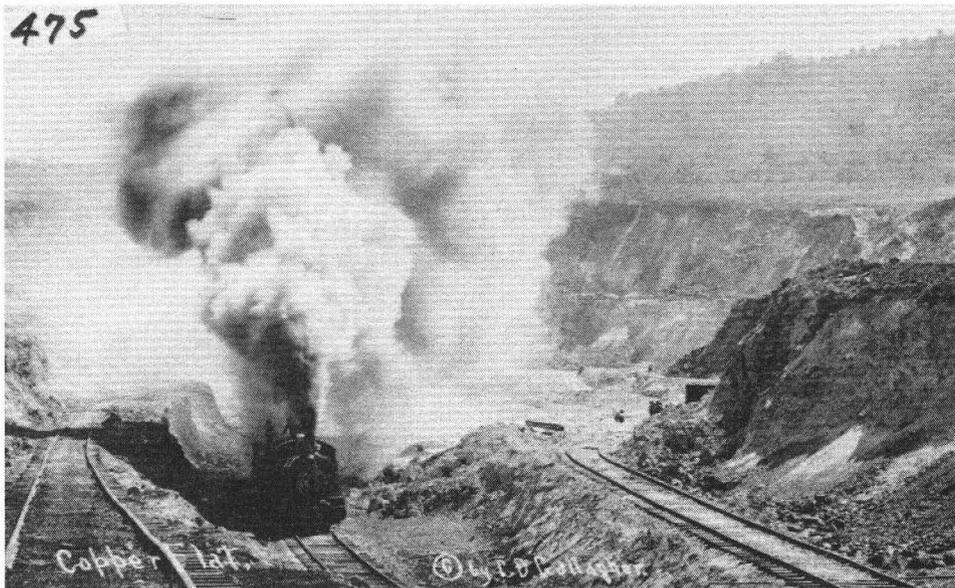
¹ Biographical information on Charles D. Gallagher was taken from the oral history he recorded for Mary Ellen Glass of the University of Nevada, Reno Oral History Program: Charles D. Gallagher, *Memoir and Autobiography* (Reno: Center for Western North American Studies, Desert Research Institute, 1965). Mr. John Evasovich, another long-time friend of Gallagher's, very kindly provided additional information.



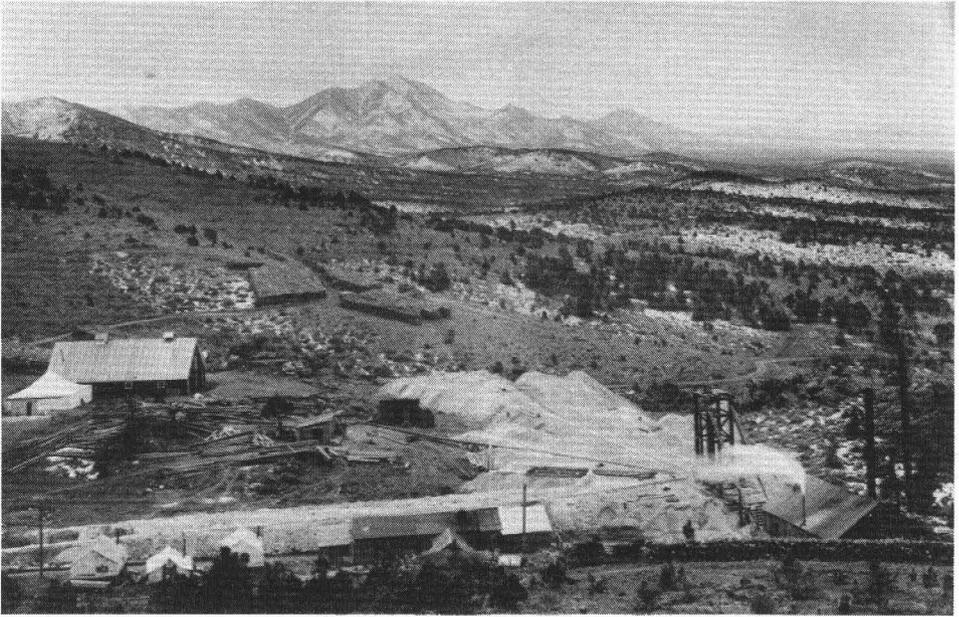
Copper mines, White Pine County, looking west toward the Snake Range. In the far distance is the Liberty Pit. The middle pit is derived from the Emma Mine workings, and the pit in the foreground began as the Veteran Mine. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



Winching machinery, c. 1910. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



Copper Flat, 1910. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



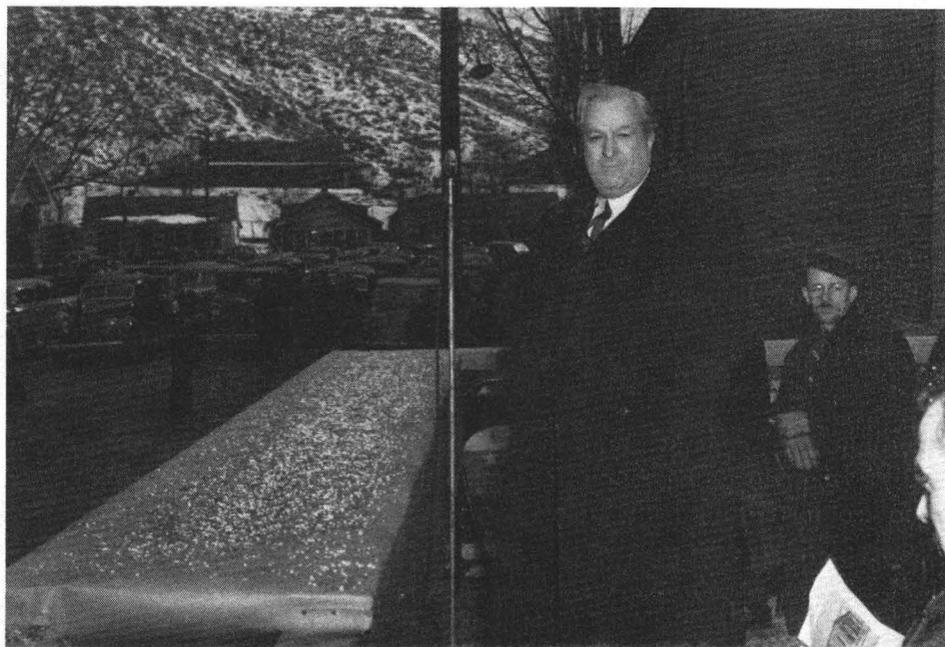
The Veteran Mine, White Pine County. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



Fourth of July Parade, Ely, 1937. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



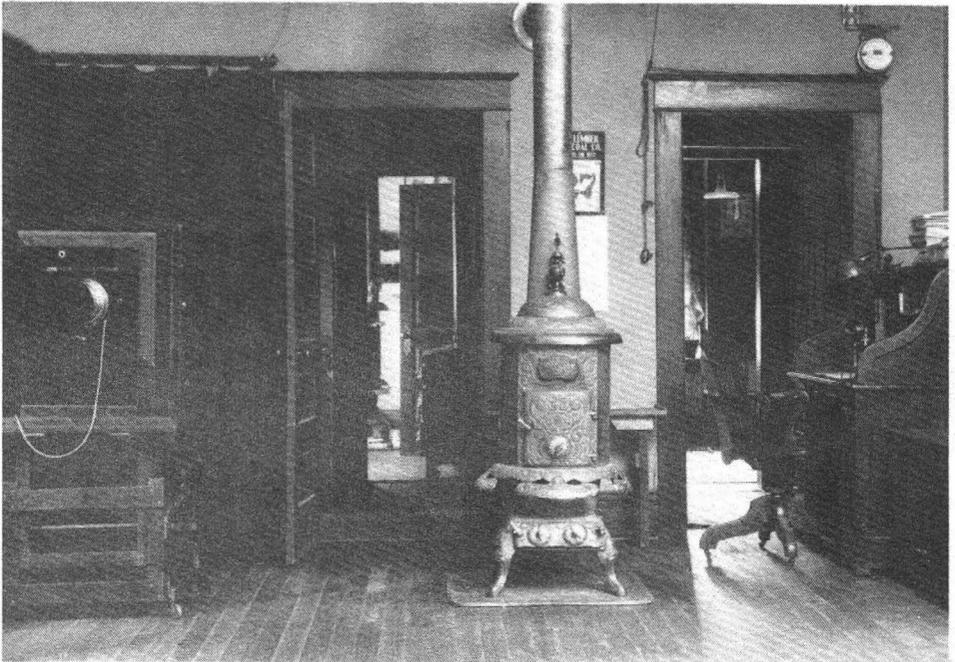
A baseball game at Ely, c. 1910. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



Senator Pat McCarran dedicates the Ely Post Office, January 29, 1938. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



Charles Gallagher's first photo studio in Ely, exterior. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



The interior of Charles Gallagher's first photo studio. (Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.)



The Postmistress of Ely, Nevada, Ida Gallagher. (*Charles D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society.*)

Book Reviews

Lying on the Eastern Slope: James Townsend's Comic Journalism on the Mining Frontier. By Richard A. Dwyer and Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Miami: University Presses of Florida/Florida International University Press, 1984. 167 pp., glossary, sources, notes, and index. \$15.00)

JAMES WILLIAM EMERY TOWNSEND (1835-1900), better known as "Lying Jim" Townsend, has a place in American cultural history as the frontier printer who told Samuel Clemens the jumping frog story which he turned into his first nationally acclaimed humorous sketch under the name of Mark Twain, as the master tall tale teller of the Nevada and eastern California mining camps who inspired Bret Harte's comic ballad character Truthful James, and as the editor who participated in an effort to swindle British investors by publishing a paper with false news about a supposedly industrious mining town. He has been, then, at best but a footnote to literary history.

On the assumption that Townsend deserves better than this, that his humorous writings preserved only in the deteriorating pages of newspapers published in such frontier towns as Antioch, Reno, Lundy, and Bodie, should be rescued for posterity, two scholars have collaborated to bring a selection of his work into hard covers: Richard A. Dwyer, a professor of English at Florida International University, and Richard E. Lingenfelter, a research physicist at the Center for Astrophysics and Space Sciences at the University of California, San Diego.

A simple anthology, however, would not do. As his editors note, Townsend practiced all the skills of his fellow literary humorists on the frontier including "exaggeration, incongruous diction, *non sequiturs*, and anticlimax," and he used forms ranging from "the one-liner through caricature and set piece description to tall tales and semidramatic narrative." His sketches, however, are so thoroughly localized in setting, character, and theme that they could not stand alone very easily without excessive documentation. Townsend did not create a continuing character or a vivid persona for himself. His pieces were responses to an immediate circumstance and seldom seemed addressed to readers nationally.

Therefore, Dwyer and Lingenfelter have wisely determined to couch the sketches in a thoroughly researched and carefully detailed history of the man, his times, and the region where he lived and worked. Drawing on sketches written by others about him, researching the history of the region, and poring through files of early Nevada and California newspapers (the most tedious

kind of research possible, as those who have done it know), they have produced an engaging book which will interest scholars of American humor and literature, folklore, life on the frontier, mining and natural resources, journalism, and popular culture. You can't touch many more bases than that at one go.

Dwyer and Lingenfelter make no great claims for Townsend as a neglected literary master. They focus instead on bringing into perspective the personality and character of this typically American wit and con man, a brother to P. T. Barnum and Davy Crockett, whose best service was to encourage the development of a reputation for the amusement of frontier society. In a typical anecdote, Townsend once reported:

I had a dog that used to go out every morning after the carrier had passed and bring in the San Francisco *Examiner*. One morning he took it in his teeth and then spat it out and refused to bring it in. I suspected something unusual and went out myself and saw at once what was the matter. That paper had an article on the front page denouncing me as the biggest liar in America and the dog, being rather fond of me, resented it.

I think Lying Jim's dog would gladly bring this book to his feet with a grin on his face. He has been well served.

M. Thomas Inge
Randolph-Macon College

Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846-1861. By Robert W. Frazer. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983. x + 253 pp., map, illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, and index.)

"BETWEEN THE AMERICAN occupation of New Mexico in the summer of 1846 and the disruption precipitated by the coming of the Civil War—a span of fifteen years—the army was the single most significant factor in the economic development of the Southwest," writes Robert Frazer in his preface to *Forts and Supplies*. He continues that "the army encouraged the expansion of settlement, agriculture, ranching, and mining." When the words of the author's preface are combined with the book's subtitle, the reader anticipates a full-scale treatment of the impact of the army on the region's economy. Such a study would stand as a milestone in regional economic history as well as military history. With raised hopes, readers will be disappointed to learn that *Forts and Supplies* does not live up to its dustjacket billing. This book is strictly a general history of military contracting during the years before the Civil War. Still, this book has real value, if for no other reason than it is the

first such book-length effort. Frazer is to be praised for his path-breaking work. Let's hope that *Forts and Supplies* spurs additional scholarship in this often over-looked aspect of frontier military history.

The subject of the army's role in the Southwest's economy is one that would lend itself to a topical treatment. This reviewer anticipated chapters on contracting procedures, the growth of the livestock industry, the army's impact on agriculture, a chapter on mining and the military, another on the military and local politics, etc. Instead, the author provides a chronological history of contracts. Although this information is valuable, it needs a fuller context; contracts are only one part of the economic story.

It does appear that Robert W. Frazer has examined most, if not all, of the contracts issued by the Department of New Mexico (and other military jurisdictions) for the Far Southwest in the years between 1846 and 1861. He presents some interesting biographical information on the holders of these lucrative contracts for grain, beef, flour, etc., but little analysis. Many important questions are left unasked. What precisely was the contractual system used by the military? Did the lowest bidder always obtain government contracts? When was the open market system used? Was there a connection (as has been repeatedly charged) between military contracts and politics? I searched Frazer's work for answers to these questions, but they were not addressed in a direct fashion. The information is available, but it would take years of research (extending far beyond the actual contracts) to ferret out the details. Such in-depth research simply was not performed. The military history of the Southwest is replete with stories of various contractors' rings (such as the Santa Fe Ring of the 1860s, or the Tucson Ring of the 1870s) but Frazer does not address this unsavory aspect of government contracting. What about the question of quality? It has often been charged that the government paid exorbitant prices for inferior products. On this important point, the author fails to deal with the issue—perhaps due to a weakness in research methodology.

Frazer writes his history of contracting from the top down. He does not follow up on the fulfillment of contracts, which to the individuals on the delivery end of the arrangement was of primary importance. It would have been useful to both author and reader if *Forts and Supplies* had provided the history of a single contract from beginning to end. The author would have discovered, for instance, that in post records, there frequently appear documents from "Boards of Survey." Commissary and Quartermaster officers were required to certify the accuracy of a freighter's bill of lading in written reports. The officers sitting as a board would check off the number of items (or barrels, pounds, etc.); the cost of product; the condition of the product, etc., and note any discrepancies or problems. These boards reveal the nature of military frontier contracting, and give vivid testimony as to the true nature of Southwestern business practices during these years. These records should have been consulted and fully utilized.

This history is a good starting place for military economic history in the Southwest, but much is overlooked. Where is the detailed treatment of those army officers, Samuel P. Heintzelman and Sylvester Mowry, who did so much to promote mining in the region? Their longterm economic impact provided the region with an economy founded on mining, and may well have been greater than all the corn contracts let at Fort Union. In a similar vein, one wants to know if most military officers viewed their frontier role as that of an advance agent for economic development. Their personal beliefs seem especially germane to this story.

A reader of this review should not be misled by the questions I have raised. *Forts and Supplies* is an important book, and raises far more questions than it answers. We will see many additional studies on this topic in the years ahead, and Frazer can take pride in having broken trail for a new area of study in Southwestern military history.

Gerald Thompson
University of Toledo

Audubon's Western Journal, 1849-1850, with a biographical memoir by Maria R. Audubon. By John Woodhouse Audubon. Introduction by Frank Heywood Hodder. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1984, being a photographic reproduction of the first edition, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906, Cleveland, Ohio. 249 pp., appendix, index, maps.)

IN EARLY 1849, John Woodhouse Audubon, son of the famous naturalist, was caught up in the excitement of the California gold discovery and joined an emigrant party of which he was named second in command. Audubon never intended actually going to the mines. An accomplished naturalist and painter himself, with some frontier experience gained during a specimen-collecting expedition to Texas in 1845, he saw the journey as an excellent opportunity to observe fauna and collect skins of birds and mammals. He would be no more successful in his quest than the eighty to one hundred argonauts in the party were in theirs.

Audubon and his companions traveled from New York by ship to Philadelphia, thence by rail and stage to Pittsburgh. From there, they proceeded by boat down the Ohio River and the Mississippi to New Orleans, and finally down the Texas coast to the mouth of the Rio Grande. The party had hardly left the coast when twin disasters struck. Encamped in the Rio Grande valley, part of their funds were stolen, and the scourge of the overland trek, cholera, caught up with them. Then the leader of the company deserted. Debilitated

and discouraged, many men turned back. Those who stayed persuaded Audubon to assume leadership.

Audubon's narrative of the journey across northern Mexico to the Gila River, down to the junction with the Colorado and across the dreaded deserts to the California coast, is a familiar story of suffering from hunger, thirst and exposure. He saw little to admire in the Mexican towns or their inhabitants, his impressions invariably reflecting the traditional American view of the indolent Mexican. Worn down by fatigue and want, Audubon lamented that he had neither the means nor the time, nor eventually the energy, to collect and sketch. Nevertheless he did record in his journal sightings of familiar and strange species and often commented on the nature of the country.

In California, Audubon was loath to go to the mines, but as leader of the company, thought it his duty. They were unsuccessful, and the company was soon dissolved. Audubon stayed on to travel up and down the Mother Lode, sketching and writing. Alas, most of the one hundred or so sketches have been lost. In 1850, Audubon sailed for home via the Panama route.

The book includes an interesting, informative "Biographical Memoir" written by Maria R. Audubon, the daughter of John Woodhouse. She fills in details of her father's life before and after the California journey and comments on those who accompanied him. There are also anecdotes about her famous grandfather, John James Audubon.

The book's introduction by Frank Heywood Hodder will confuse some readers who neglect to notice that it was written in 1905. Hodder's observation that historical literature neglects the story of western exploration and expansion is certainly dated. His suggestion that the California gold discovery indirectly triggered the Civil War also is a bit hard to digest. The reproduction of outmoded editorial comment is always risky unless preceded by a later introduction. A short comment by a current historian of the overland trail would have been appropriate here.

The University of Arizona Press does us all a service by making this important overland journal available in paperback, and an attractively-bound one it is.

Harlan Hague
San Joaquin Delta College

Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes. By Thelma S. Guild & Harvey L. Carter. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. xii + pp., preface, maps, photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.)

FEW INDIVIDUALS have become more closely associated with the American frontier than Christopher Houston (Kit) Carson (1809-1868). This modest, yet

adventuresome, fur trapper and guide became one of the most noted Americans in the Rocky Mountain West during the stirring times of the Mexican War era. Thelma S. Guild and Harvey L. Carter recount these adventures in *Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes*. Carter is a well-known scholar of the fur trade and an emeritus professor of history at Colorado College, in Colorado Springs. Readers are familiar with his edition of the mountain man's memoirs, *'Dear Old Kit': The Historical Christopher Carson* (1968). Guild is a former Virginia school teacher, who possesses a deep devotion to this frontier hero.

Carter and Guild regard this present volume as a sequel to *'Dear Old Kit'* and present a detailed narrative of the mountain man's life: from his birth in Kentucky, to his youth in Missouri, and to his adult years in the Rocky Mountains. When, at age sixteen, Carson joined a Santa Fe-bound caravan, he could not have known the fame that lay in store. Within a few years, the narratives of western travelers began to describe his exploits. As a guide for John C. Frémont's first three expeditions (1842-46), Carson became nationally known and won a permanent place in American history. This recognition led to preferment as an Indian agent in New Mexico and to command in the Union forces during the Civil War. His campaigns against the Navajo and, later, the Kiowa and Comanches were examples of persistence and level-headedness.

Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes is a well researched biography. Guild and Carter have searched every conceivable source, to include such obscure pieces as the record of purchases of Carson's Arapahoe wife at Fort Hall. While this work is a labor of love, the authors sometimes take a critical position. Carson must assume some blame for starting an Indian war in California in 1846 and for the needless execution of several Mexicans a few weeks later. General James H. Carleton, Carson's military patron during the Civil War, perhaps pushed this humble man beyond his capabilities in army command. Yet, Carson's accomplishments appear all the more remarkable when his life-long illiteracy is taken into account. Although fast-paced, this book suffers from excessive, and sometimes irrelevant, details that obscure the larger picture in which Kit Carson flourished. The desire to weigh Carson's achievements against other mountain men is also sometimes distracting and is reminiscent of the buffs who compare gunfighters' dexterity with weapons. These remarks should not obscure the fact that this biography provides readers with the latest research into Kit Carson's life, the product of decades of devoted study.

Larry D. Ball
Arkansas State University

A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920. By Frederick E. Hoxie. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. xvi + 350 pp., preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.95)

ASSIMILATION, FORCED IMMERSION in the Melting Pot, that was America's final promise to its Indians. Examining assimilationism's policies and goals is the task assumed by Frederick E. Hoxie, Director of the Newberry Library's Center for the History of the American Indian, in *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*.

What have the deceptions, threats, posturing, and conceit attending assimilation accomplished? Not much, according to this chronicle of failed policies, some fueled by good intentions, others wretched in conception, all geared toward obliterating from the Indians' psyche whatever made them so . . . well, *Indian*.

The common denominator associated with these policies resides in a notable lack of success; the basic problem being what was taken from Indians and what they received in exchange. Assimilationists sheared away the fundamental elements of Indians' cultures and consigned them to a role as colonials occupying inhospitable regions on society's periphery. Not surprisingly, Hoxie sees in "the dependence and powerlessness cultivated by the assimilation campaign" a "major theme in the life of Native American communities." Even today, he argues, "federal actions . . . betray an ambivalence toward Indian equality."

Policy studies seldom radiate enthusiasm but flashes do emerge here. Hoxie's interest in the assimilationism promoted by John Wesley Powell—longtime head of the Bureau of (American) Ethnology—and other pioneering anthropologists provides some of this book's best passages.

Hoxie's omission of the 1890 Ghost Dance—which capitalized on anti-assimilation feelings, provoking harsh reactions from the government—seems curious. The only mention of that development here occurs in noting Powell's criticism of James Mooney, one of his BAE subordinates, "for comparing the ghost dance [*sic*] to Christian revivalism." The Ghost Dance is immensely significant, not least because its Plains Indian apostles exploited the bankruptcy of assimilation in spreading the doctrine of anti-assimilationism.

Passing over the Ghost Dance is at one with Hoxie's failure to expound at length on the effects assimilation wrought upon Indians and their reactions to it. But this flaw blights many works on Indian policy and while Hoxie may be faulted he can hardly be condemned for following the established line of march.

Hoxie detects a glow at the end of the long, dark passage bored through this nation's heart by the heavy-handed forces of assimilation. Today's Indians, he writes, can "take advantage of their peripheral status, replenish

their supplies of belief and value, and carry on their war with homogeneity." This he terms "a conflict the Indians are winning."

Anyone who has lived on a reservation might dispute that point since life on the periphery seldom provides a group with much leverage for insuring its continued well-being. Still, Hoxie's views merit consideration and *A Final Promise* aids in showing how America's Indians were laid low on the abysmal plateau where they have languished for so long.

Ronald McCoy
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Western American Literary Criticism. By Martin Bucco. (Boise, ID: Boise State University Western Writers Series #62, 1984. 55 pp. \$2.00)

A MOST USEFUL introductory tool for readers of western American literature is the Boise State University Western Writers Series. Each pamphlet provides a brief but authoritative overview of the life and work of a significant western American author or else summarizes the accomplishments of a group of related regional authors. The subjects range from such prominent figures as John Muir, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Owen Wister and Zane Grey, to lesser-known names like Ruth Suckow, Preston Jones and Horace McCoy. For anyone wanting a brief (approximately fifty pages each) and inexpensive (two dollars apiece) survey, this series answers that need.

Among the 1984 issues is Martin Bucco's survey of western American literary criticism. Beginning with the very first seeds of criticism in the West, then tracing a twentieth-century germination, Bucco describes the healthy fruition of literary appreciations and assessments. His pamphlet summarizes the opinions and tastes of those critics who lived in and wrote about the western literary scene.

Bucco explains, for example, that early newspapers like the *Kentucke Gazette* (1787) spread morsels of conventional commentary but said nothing innovative. Then pioneer writers like Hamlin Garland and Bret Harte tested the western literary potential and begged for further creativity. More modern critics like the poet John Neihardt and novelist-essayists Bernard DeVoto and Wallace Stegner continued predicating a bright future for creative endeavor, even as they judged past accomplishments and failures. None of these authors, however, espoused any particular critical school.

Today, Bucco suggests, the business sounds more professional than it did a hundred or even twenty-five years ago, its opinions no less sensitive but its commentary less egocentric. He points out the solid analytic accomplishments of contemporaries such as James K. Folsom (*The American Western Novel*), John G. Cawelti (*Six-Gun Mystique*), Don D. Walker and Max

Westbrook, and he looks to future publications like the forthcoming *Literary History of the American West*.

While all this may sound like a mere listing of names and notions, Bucco's imaginative diction adds spirit and life. His pamphlet is not only informative, but interesting too. For the generalist, *Western American Literary Criticism* introduces a lively catalogue of critics, a shrewd synthesis of observations about literature in the West. So even though this reviewer might have preferred less description and more analysis, fewer names and more theoretical generalizations, Bucco's fifty-five pages treat his subject as the Western Writers Series format dictates. His modest undertaking gives us a wide-ranging historical introduction to a critical part of our western American literary tradition.

Ann Ronald
University of Nevada, Reno

New Resource Materials

Nevada Historical Society

DESERT GLOW SERVICE CLUB RECORDS

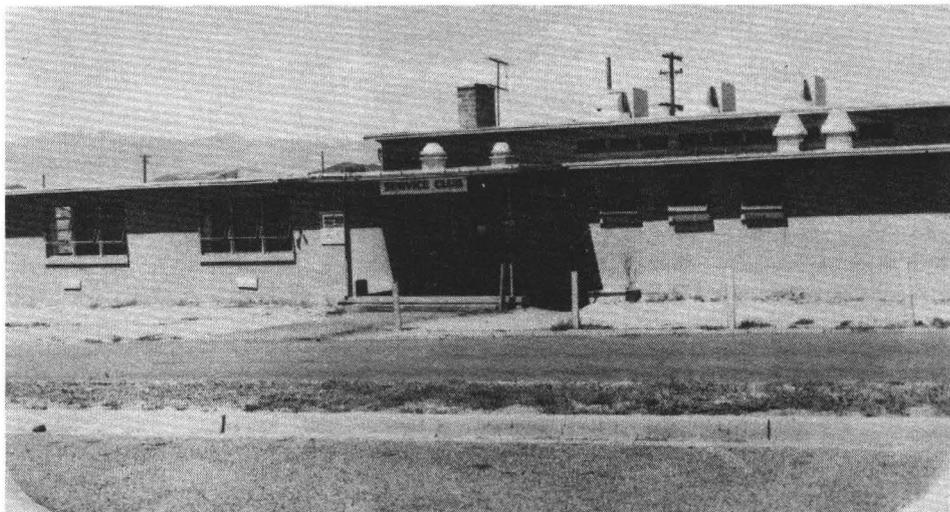
From World War II, when it was established as the Reno Army Air Base, until its closure in 1966, Stead Air Force Base was one of the largest military installations in Nevada. During its near quarter century of life, thousands of Air Force personnel served at the installation, which was best known for providing survival training to pilots and flight crews. The Society has recently acquired four large scrapbooks from the Desert Glow Service Club which reveal one aspect of the base's operation which never received as much public attention as the survival training: social services for base personnel and their dependents. Compiled by Rose Terzian, director of the club, the volumes cover the period 1959-1964, and contain photographs, newspaper clippings, publicity announcements, service club council minutes and other materials describing activities sponsored by or taking place at the club. Chief among these activities were tours and outings, holiday programs, dances, shows by professional entertainers, talent contests, meetings of various social clubs, and performances of ceremonial dances by the Pyramid Lake Indian Tribe.

The scrapbooks constitute an informal record of the service club's work and provide us with views of military life in Nevada that are generally absent from more official records. The volumes were donated by Ray E. Arnold on behalf of the Terzian family of Dunuba, California; the Society thanks them for their unique gift.

PINE GROVE LYCEUM PAPERS

The lyceum of Pine Grove, a modest mining camp in Lyon County, never rivaled the cultural organizations of nineteenth-century Virginia City or Reno; however, it did leave behind perhaps the most unusual newspaper Nevada has ever seen.

In 1872 members of the lyceum, who lived in either Pine Grove or neighboring Rockland, produced a manuscript newspaper containing literary items and local news. The irregularly issued editions bore different titles (*Pine Grove Burlesque*, *Esmeralda Sun*, *Pine Grove and Rockland Star*, *Pine*



Desert Glow Service Club, Stead Air Force Base, c. 1960. (Nevada Historical Society.)

Grove Chronicle, Pick and Shovel) and were written in a single bound journal. This journal reportedly was kept on the counter of a general store owned by the Wilson family (William Wilson made the initial gold discovery at Pine Grove), where the local citizenry could read it.

The Pine Grove Lyceum journal, which was recently donated to the Society is doubly valuable to historians because it is one of the few productions of early Nevada literary associations that have survived, and because it records news of the Pine Grove-Rockland area at a time when neither of the communities had a conventional newspaper. The journal is now available to the public as the result of a gift by Edwin Colquhoun, in memory of his mother, Ada Colquhoun, who was a member of the Wilson family. We wish to express our thanks to Mr. Colquhoun for the volume, as well as for a number of photographs, a silk quilt, a leather trunk and other items which had been in the pioneering Wilson family's possession.

NEVADA OUTDOOR RECREATION ASSOCIATION RECORDS

The Nevada Outdoor Recreation Association, which describes itself as the "nation's oldest BLM Public Lands environmental organization," recently donated fifteen feet of records to the Society. Covering the years from 1958, when NORA was founded as the Nevada Public Domain Survey, to 1985, the material includes correspondence, financial documents, topical files on geographic areas and political/environmental issues (such as the "Sagebrush Rebellion," federal land sales and exchanges, military weapons testing on the public domain), publications, maps and photographs. Most of the records

relate to Nevada and the preservation of U.S. Bureau of Land Management properties within the state, although there is considerable material dealing with the activities of the association's National Public Lands Task Force in protecting BLM lands in other states. Accompanying the records, on indefinite loan, is an extraordinary collection of color slides, dating to the 1950s depicting wilderness and environmentally sensitive areas in Nevada and elsewhere.

Headquartered in Carson City, where it is administered by director and co-founder Charles S. Watson, Jr., NORA, with the National Public Lands Task Force, is the only national environmental organization based in Nevada. The association's records contain material on its relations with such other conservationist groups as the Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, Nature Conservancy and Wilderness Society, and include correspondence of, or material relating to Charles S. Watson, Jr., George Kell, Sonia DeHart, George Lund, Burrell Bybee, James G. Hulse, Richard Sill, Virgil Fischer, Thomas H. Watkins, Velma "Wild Horse Annie" Johnston, Huey D. Johnson and other locally and nationally prominent environmentalists.

The Nevada Historical Society is pleased to accept these highly significant records, which contain information on much of the environmental activism that has occurred in Nevada during the past several decades, and expresses its appreciation to Charles Watson and the governing board of NORA for making them available. While the records have had temporary use restrictions placed on them, they are generally open to researchers with permission from the association's director.

Eric Moody
Curator of Manuscripts

Special Collections
University of Nevada, Reno, Library

VINCENT PAUL GIANELLA PAPERS

Manuscript material and photographs from the Vincent Paul Gianella collection have been transferred to the Special Collections Department in the UNR Library from the Mackay School of Mines. Gianella (1886-1984) was a nationally known geologist and professor of geology at the University of Nevada from 1923 to 1952. He also served as geologist for the Nevada Bureau of Mines and curator of the Mackay School of Mines Museum. Experienced in seismology and mineralogy, he published and served as consultant in those fields as well. His great interest was Nevada and the Great Basin and his

contribution to the geology of the area is significant. The collection includes correspondence, field notes, geologic reports, class notes, photographs and annotated maps of mining locations in Nevada.

CHARLES CARROLL GOODWIN PAPERS

The Special Collections Department at UNR recently acquired a collection of C.C. Goodwin papers with gift funds from several donors. Charles Carroll Goodwin (1832-1917) was a journalist, poet, essayist and politician. He came to Nevada in 1861 and was involved in mining and politics in the state before accepting an invitation from Rollin Daggett in 1875 to join him in editing the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*. Reminiscences from his days on the Comstock led to several books, *The Comstock Club* (1891) and *The Wedge of Gold* (1893), then a later book, *As I Remember Them* (1913) which was a series of "pen sketches" of well known colleagues. Goodwin left Nevada in 1880 to settle in Utah where he edited the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* and a magazine called *Goodwin's Weekly*.

The collection includes family papers; Nevada documents; correspondence; manuscripts; early Nevada newspapers and magazines; first editions of his books and a large collection of photographs showing scenes of Goldfield, Nevada, Lake Tahoe and Salt Lake City.

HENRY F. BENNETT PAPERS

Henry F. Bennett was a realtor/developer in Reno, Nevada, active in the 1940s and 1950s in the development of agricultural and ranch lands in Nevada and California. The collection, donated by his family, includes land descriptions, legal documents, and correspondence relating to Bennett's business activities.

SAGEBRUSH REBELLION PAPERS

Material relating to the "Sagebrush Rebellion" from 1979 to 1984 was given to the UNR Special Collections Department by Norman Glaser from Elko. Glaser, a Nevada State Senator from 1977 to 1984, was active in the "Sagebrush Rebellion" movement which advocates the return of federally owned land in the western states to individual state jurisdiction. The papers include material from Nevada as well as other western states.

FRED M. ANDERSON PAPERS

Papers donated to the University of Nevada, Reno by Dr. Fred Anderson have been arranged and are ready for public use. A guide to the collection is

in process. The papers have been organized into several series reflecting Dr. Anderson's career, his role in the community and his interests. One series is devoted to his medical practice spanning a period from 1938 to 1983. Other series contain papers relating to his term as a member and chairman of the University of Nevada Board of Regents, his political activities and his personal and family life. An important part of the collection is the series relating to the University of Nevada School of Medical Science. Material here documents the history and development of the Medical School on the Reno campus which was established in 1969 and named for Dr. Anderson. A unique and valuable feature of the collection is Dr. Anderson's personal comments and annotations on many of the documents. This was done in preparation for the oral history which he completed in 1984 for Dr. R.T. King and Oral History Program at the University of Nevada which will also soon be available.

Lenore M. Kosso
Manuscript Curator

Government Publications
University of Nevada, Reno, Library

The Government Publications Department has recently acquired some new microfilm publications from the National Archives and Records Service. The *Interior Department Appointment Papers for Nevada, 1860-1907*, contains records from the Surveyor General, Land Offices, and Indian Agencies. Early property tax records are available in the *Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for the Territory of Nevada, 1863-1866*. The *Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-September 30, 1971*, contains information for counties in Nevada and Utah.

The department has also recently received a new publication, *Selected Documents Pertaining to Black Workers Among Records of the Department of Labor and Its Component Bureaus, 1902-1969*. This guide provides access for records in the Division of Negro Economics, the Negro Division of the United States Employment Service, and the Division of Negro Labor. It also includes more recent information about Department activities concerning fair employment practices and related issues.

Teri W. Conrad
Library Assistant III

Division of Archives and Records

DEATH RECORDS FOR CARSON CITY

The Division of Archives and Records of the Nevada State Library and Archives recently received one volume of death records for Carson City, July 1893-December 1896, from the Nevada State Museum. What makes this transfer so significant is the discovery that beginning in 1879 undertakers were required by state law to obtain burial permits for individuals who died in incorporated towns and cities in Nevada. The permits were issued only after a physician's certificate of death was filed with the County Coroner, who maintained a record of all such certificates. The 1879 burial law required the attending physician to include on the death certificate the person's name, nativity, sex, age, time, place and cause of death. This law, Nevada's first vital statistics statute other than those related to marriage, predates by eight years the county vital statistics law passed in 1887, operative through 1911.

As late as 1896, the Ormsby County Coroner was still keeping death records for Carson City (incorporated in 1875 and the longest continuously incorporated city of Nevada). The Storey County Coroner kept certificates of death for Virginia City and Gold Hill from 1879 to 1887 despite the fact these cities were disincorporated in 1881. The Ormsby and Storey County Coroners' records mentioned are the only known death records that resulted from the 1879 law. Transcripts of the Storey County Coroner's death records are available at the State Library and the Nevada Historical Society. The original record is maintained by the Storey County Recorder.

Guy Louis Rocha
State Archivist

Contributors

Lenore M. Kosso is the Curator of Manuscripts in the Department of Special Collections in the University of Nevada, Reno, Library. In September, 1983, she published an article in *UNR Frontiers* on the Lorenzo D. Creel Collection. Currently she is working on a guide to the major manuscript collections in the Department of Special Collections.

Phillip I. Earl has been the Curator of Exhibits of the Nevada Historical Society since 1973. Currently in press is a volume of the short articles he writes for "This Was Nevada," the Historical Society's weekly newspaper column.

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FOUNDED IN 1904, the Nevada Historical Society seeks to advance the study of the heritage of Nevada. The Society publishes scholarly studies, indexes, guidebooks, bibliographies, and the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*; it collects manuscripts, rare books, artifacts, and historical photographs and maps, and makes its collections available for research; it maintains a museum at its Reno facility; and it is engaged in the development and publication of educational materials for use in the public schools.