NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

FALL 1988

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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FRONT COVER: This photograph of Las Vegas was taken during the early 1950s. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

BACK COVER: Al Cahlan, editor of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* and Hank Greenspun, editor of the *Las Vegas Sun*, engaged in lively commentary in their two newspaper columns during the 1950s.

Eugene S. Faust, 1924-1988.

In Memoriam
Eugene S. Faust

ERIC N. MOODY

WHEN GENE FAUST DIED SUDDENLY on February 1, 1988, Nevada lost an individual whose life work had a very significant, although too little recognized, impact on current as well as future geographical and historical study of the state. As a surveyor and supervising cartographer with the United States Geological Survey, and later as Nevada's State Resident Cartographer and executive secretary of the Nevada State Board on Geographic Names, which he was instrumental in establishing, Gene worked conscientiously to see that definitive federal mapping of the state was accurate and complete, not only in the description of geographic features, but also where place names, contemporary and historic, were concerned.

Gene became a permanent resident of Nevada just eight years ago, but this followed a long association with the state. His route here was a circuitous one, beginning in Baker, Montana, where he was born on August 30, 1924. After graduation from high school in Washington state and service in the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II, he attended Central Washington University, from which he graduated with degrees in chemistry and mathematics in 1951. Subsequently, he was employed by the U.S. Geological Survey as a surveying and cartographic engineer, spending the next twenty-five years mapping in various states, from California to Massachusetts. About a decade of this time was spent in Nevada; in 1969 he established in Elko a U.S.G.S. Topographic Division field office which, over the next seven years, directed the mapping of almost 25,000 square miles in Nevada, Utah and Idaho. In 1976, Gene was promoted to the position of chief of the U.S.G.S. Field Surveys Inspection Station in Menlo Park, California, and two years later became District Cartographer for the Western Mapping Center, with responsibility for field projects in seven western and Pacific states, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific (Micronesia). Upon his retirement from the U.S.G.S. in 1980, he moved to Reno and was appointed State Resident Cartographer for Nevada. The primary purpose of this part-time position, funded by the U.S.G.S. and with office space provided by the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology on the University of Nevada-Reno campus, was to

provide a liaison between the Geological Survey and state and local government agencies, as well as other federal agencies operating in Nevada.

In the early 1980s, Nevada was the only western state without a state geographic names board, an official agency through which local recommendations on new geographic names and name changes were submitted to the U.S. Board on Geographic Names. Because the lack of local participation in the process of determining names had led to numerous errors, discrepancies and omissions on new maps being prepared for Nevada (much of which still had never been field surveyed), Gene and the State Geologist, John Schilling, began to explore the possibility of establishing a state place names board. A preliminary meeting of interested parties in 1982 was followed by the introduction, in the 1983 Nevada legislature, of a bill to create a state board. The bill did not make it out of committee, but was reintroduced in the 1985 legislature. With the influential support of Senator Lawrence Jacobsen, who sponsored both the 1983 and 1985 bills, the measure was enacted into law. At the first meeting of the Nevada State Board on Geographic Names, August 29, 1985, its members, representing nine state and federal agencies (the Nevada Historical Society among them), elected Gene executive secretary. During the next three years, Gene was the guiding force on the board, outlining and organizing its activities, serving as liaison between it and the federal names board, and establishing procedures that have allowed it to function smoothly and effectively. The secretaryship of the board proved to be a most fortuitous position, both for Gene and the state of Nevada, for it permitted the full utilization of his wide knowledge of federal geographic name board operations, of surveying and map making, and of the landscape, present and past, of his adopted state.

Those who knew Gene will certainly miss him; those who had the opportunity to work with him on the state geographic names board are well aware of the ways in which his work benefitted the state, and know, too, that he will be irreplaceable. His professional accomplishments in improving the quality of federal cartography, and the Nevada State Board on Geographic Names, which will carry on his work, are his legacies. He accomplished much in his lifetime—it is unfortunate only that he did not have the opportunity to do more, that so many projects were left unfinished on his desk.

The Las Vegas Newspaper War of the 1950s

MICHAEL S. GREEN

AFTER DECADES OF COMPARATIVE CALM, a storm struck Las Vegas journalism in 1950. Hank Greenspun, a lawyer from New York turned publicist for Las Vegas hotels, took over a struggling tri-weekly and converted it into the daily *Morning Sun*. His competition was the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, an entrenched afternoon daily whose roots could be traced to the city's origins. The ensuing struggle has become part of the rich lore of Nevada journalism. According to one history of Nevada newspapers, Greenspun "immediately engaged Al Cahlan of the *Review Journal* in ". . . the liveliest and most vitriolic editorial duel witnessed in Nevada in some eighty years." That duel included the forums particular to the two editors: Cahlan's longtime daily column, "From Where I Sit," and Greenspun's newly-created "Where I Stand," the bases for "a popular war of the columns" in which the two men jousted over a variety of critical national and local issues ranging from Senators Pat McCarran and Joe McCarthy to organized crime. Yet to describe their rivalry as a war, while accurate, is also to make it something more than it was, and something less. Where Cahlan sat and where Greenspun stood were indicative of the changes in their newspapers, their city, their state, their nation, and their world. The growing and vibrant city of Las Vegas and its residents were fortunate—and at times unfortunate—to have their opinions shaped and their lives affected by two widely varying points of view.[1]

The Cahlan-Greenspun battle was not the first between Las Vegas editors. Three papers were competing for patronage even before the May 15, 1905, auction that created the town; the eventual winner, the *Age*, passed in 1908 to Charles P. "Pop" Squires, a staunch Republican who edited the paper for nearly forty years. He quickly met competition from former *Age* editor Charles "Corky" Corkhill, who started the *Clark County Review* on Sep-

Michael S. Green received his Masters degree in history from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. He is currently enrolled in the PhD program at Columbia University. He has several articles on the Civil War era and Nevada about to be published or in preparation. This is his second appearance in the *Quarterly;* his first article, "Diehard or Swing Man: Senator James W. Nye and the Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," appeared in the Fall 1986 issue. He is a former reporter and news editor for the *Valley Times*.

tember 18, 1909, with the admonition that it would be Democratic, "providing the Democrats behave themselves and 'come across' occasionally." Corkhill and his successors competed with Squires for nearly two decades, but neither paper proved profitable: coming to Las Vegas in 1926 to buy the *Review* from Corkhill's ex-wife, May, longtime Nevada newspaperman Frank Garside found one "three weeks behind, and the other two weeks late."[2]

A month after buying the *Review*, Garside hired Albert Edmunds Cahlan as editor, beginning a Las Vegas journalistic, political, and business career spanning five decades. Born on April 8, 1899, and raised in Reno and Carson City, Cahlan graduated from the University of Nevada, where he worked on the school newspaper, with a degree in electrical engineering. He taught math and coached at Las Vegas' high school before becoming editor and business manager for *Elko Free Press* owner E.M. Steninger, whose son Cahlan had known in college. When a libel suit apparently forced his departure, Cahlan wrote to Garside, who also owned a daily in Tonopah, about editing the *Review*. Armed with a favorable reply, Cahlan and his family arrived to find "a four-page weekly . . . of approximately 300 circulation, mostly unpaid—an old broken-down press and an equally antique linotype machine, and not much else." Cahlan recalled "the sinking feeling I had as we stood there together. I almost wished I hadn't come . . . . A cheerful and smiling 'Doesn't look like much, does it?' represented the optimism of the new owner and at the same time presented a challenge to me."[3]

Cahlan met the challenge. Within three years, the *Review* became the town's first daily. Garside, Cahlan, and a staff that eventually included news editor John Cahlan (Al's younger brother) and reporter Florence Lee Jones, absorbed James Scrugham's new weekly *Journal* in 1929, and overwhelmed Squires when the *Age* went daily early in the 1930s. The *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* prospered because it was staunchly Democratic in a predominantly Democratic city; Garside and Cahlan had the newspaper business acumen that Squires himself conceded he lacked; and the Cahlans actively promoted the paper and the city. They also added an editorial page. According to John Cahlan, his brother's editorials "usually were on local subjects and were real hard-hitting without being biased." Their policy proved simple, yet effective:

> My brother took the attitude of "Don't ever sell Las Vegas short," and it was optimistic. The newspaper's attitude was optimistic all the way along. We didn't—in our news columns or our editorial columns . . . pick fights with anybody. We had the broad view that what was good for the community was good for the people.[4]

The *Evening Review-Journal* became powerful in the city and state. The Cahlans joined Squires to promote the Boulder Canyon Project. Their paper heavily influenced the passage or creation of such public works measures as a park, a golf course, an airport, and better sewers. Al Cahlan played a large

(l to r) Ben Goffstein, Bob Considine, and John Cahlan pictured at the First Atom Bomb Watchers Society, c. 1950s. *(Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas)*

personal role, setting up a central area for vote-tabulating, planning a paved highway, and joining civic groups; as a Colorado River Commissioner, Cahlan helped get Basic Magnesium for the state and water, power, and industry for Las Vegas. The Democratic daily's editors also wielded political clout: both Cahlans were active behind the scenes and Al served as an assemblyman for a term, state party chairman, and national committeeman. They also formed a personal, ideological, and political bond with Senator Pat McCarran, frequently visiting his office, getting inside information, and helping him write bills, reward friends, and punish enemies.[5]

As the 1950s neared, the *Evening Review-Journal* remained powerful, but the power was about to pass into slightly different hands. On April 1, 1949, Garside and Cahlan sold the paper to Donald W. Reynolds, then owner or part-owner of five newspapers and five radio stations. Garside retired from newspapers. Cahlan became managing director and a part-owner; his contract

with Reynolds included a provision allowing either partner to buy out the other. Aware that changes were forthcoming, Cahlan informed readers, "An era of journalism in southern Nevada has closed. A new one is just dawning. As part of the old I bridge into the new. I know we are destined for even greater things during the years just ahead . . . ."[6]

What Cahlan expected and what lay ahead greatly differed. According to John Cahlan, his brother had sought Reynolds as a buyer because "Garside was very, very reluctant to put any more money into the paper," and their daily needed new equipment. Modernizing the renamed *Review-Journal*, Reynolds installed typesetting machines, speeding production and reducing the need for linotypists. When the typesetters joined the International Typographical Union, Reynolds refused to negotiate with the organization and the printers and typists comprising the "back shop" walked out. They responded on May 3, 1950, by starting the tri-weekly *Las Vegas Free Press*. Despite the involvement of such veteran newsmen as Garside's son "Scoop" and son-in-law Ray Germain, both former *Review-Journal* reporters, the upstart paper seemed unlikely to survive. Its only resort advertiser was the new Desert Inn, whose publicist considered the afternoon daily racially and religiously biased and disliked executives at other hotels who allegedly had agreed not to advertise for fear of offending the established paper. A "gesture of defiance against the paper's arrogant policies," the advertisements proved to be one of many such gestures Hank Greenspun directed toward the *Review-Journal*.[7]

Born in Brooklyn on August 27, 1909, to refugees from Poland's Jewish pogroms, Herman Milton Greenspun grew up in Flatbush and New Haven and earned a law degree at St. John's. By the mid-1940s, he had practiced law, worked in Congressman Vito Marcantonio's law office, owned a short-lived steel business, and served in Patton's Third Army. Arriving in Las Vegas in September 1946, just as its post-war population and economic boom began, Greenspun published a short-lived entertainment weekly whose editor nicknamed him "Hank" because he resembled baseball player Hank Greenberg, was publicist for Bugsy Siegel's Flamingo, and bought interests in both a local radio station and Wilbur Clark's Desert Inn. Described by Pat McCarran's biographer Jerome Edwards as "Jewish and proud of it," Greenspun also pleaded guilty to violating the Neutrality Act by running guns to Israel and protested to the Anti-Defamation League that the *Review-Journal* was prejudiced.[8]

Greenspun's decision to advertise in the tri-weekly and his obvious disdain for the *Review-Journal* caught the attention of the *Free Press* printers and their union. Recalling his publishing experience, they urged him to buy their dying paper. Although the *Review-Journal* had printed his magazine, Al Cahlan had begun his hotel career by introducing him to Siegel, and success would demand "a lot of hard work—and a lot of luck." Greenspun went to

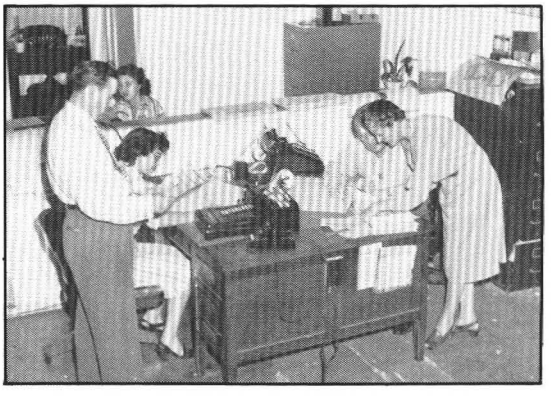
ITU headquarters in Indianapolis and paid $1,000 down toward the $104,000 asking price, beating Jack McCloskey of the *Mineral County Independent*, Jack Carpenter of the *Mason Valley News*, and former congressman and Ely editor Charles Russell in the race to buy the *Free Press*. On June 21, 1950, Greenspun announced in his paper that Las Vegas now had "a truly free press." Longtime Nevada advertising executive Thomas C. Wilson recalled one Las Vegas woman who "got down on her knees and thanked God that God had sent Hank Greenspun to have a newspaper in Las Vegas, so that she didn't face that 'monopoly Al Cahlan was running.' "[9]

Neither journalistic competition nor editorial vituperation was new to Nevada or Las Vegas. But Cahlan and Greenspun may have surpassed their forbears. According to contemporary authors Katharine Best and Katharine Hillyer, "If there is any area of agreement" between the two, "it is confined to the Goodness of Motherhood and the Goodness of Gambling, topics that both sides permit each other to smile upon without taking violent exception. All else is subject to printed nose-pasting of singular blood-thirstiness."[10]

Cahlan's personal forum, "From Where I Sit," appeared each day on the editorial page. Named for "a catchphrase around the old college fraternity house," the column was born on January 28, 1930, the *Review-Journal*'s first anniversary as a daily. Cahlan's first writings set the varying tone to which Las Vegas readers grew accustomed over the ensuing four decades: his first topic was state and local politics, his second moving into a new home. Both in subject matter and in opinion, Cahlan consciously emulated longtime Hearst editor and syndicated columnist Arthur Brisbane, whose credo his Las Vegas counterpart was fond of quoting: "If I make people think on the subjects I discuss, I have accomplished my purpose."[11]

Greenspun's goal was similar, but he tried to achieve it differently. Analyzing a plan to limit the Chamber of Commerce's role in tourism promotion, Cahlan concluded, "I'm not suggesting the adoption of the proposal—merely offering information for discussion." By contrast, Greenspun offered not only facts but strong opinions. His efforts, often written on deadline, showed freshness that his competitor understandably lacked after writing almost daily for two decades, and they benefitted from appearing near the top of the *Sun*'s front page, where newer Las Vegans noticed it more quickly than Cahlan's spot on the inside corner of the editorial page. Part of the difference also was due to style: while Cahlan tried to remember the "difference between the written and spoken word," Greenspun realized that "Where I Stand" carried more punch when written with "primitive, pungent, and unpredictable prose," and he admonished his editors not to change his words to fit a journalistic style. As a result, his columns were readable, but "any resemblance his writing bore to syntax was purely accidental."[12]

Even his column's birth was pungent and accidental. The day before Greenspun took over the paper, Cahlan devoted his column to the stupidity



A crew counting votes at the *Review-Journal* office after a 1945 election. Top: (l to r) U.S. Senator Berkeley Bunker, Neola Noell, girl at desk unknown, A.E. Cahlan, Ruth Cahlan. Bottom: (l to r) Senator Bunker, Carl Woodbury, Florence Lee Jones Cahlan, Officer Jack Palance, Unidentified, Raymond Germain, Al Cahlan, *Review-Journal* publisher Frank F. Garside. Archie Grant, former Regent and southern Nevada businessman in left foreground. *(Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas)*

of strikes. Believing this effort and others to have been directed at him, the *Morning Sun* publisher decided to "spoof" Cahlan by writing a rebuttal called "From Where I Stand," but his compositors neglected to include the "From." Thus, it became "Where I Stand," a pulpit from which Greenspun attacked Cahlan, his newspaper, his ideas, and his supporters.[13]

One of Greenspun's favorite targets quickly turned out to be McCarran. Cahlan praised the senator's ties to Spanish dictator Francisco Franco and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, a Cold War law that discriminated against Southern and Eastern Europeans, as "cause for much rejoicing over the land," and dismissed his critics as "reds and pinkos." The *Review-Journal* also aided the senator when he backed Republican Charles Russell's successful effort to unseat McCarran's longtime Democratic rival, Governor Vail Pittman, in 1950. Unenamored with the opposition party, the Cahlans ac-

ceded to what apparently was Reynolds's desire at least to give the GOP "equal coverage." Compared with the controversy to come, Greenspun proved quiescent during the campaign, referring darkly to machine politics and the need "to preserve a strong, healthy state and national government by maintaining the two-party system." But he also reported that Republicans made a "deal with a ranking member of the democratic party—and I do not mean the State Chairman" to "scuttle" Pittman, whose "honesty is unquestioned, his fairness, an outstanding virtue." Three years later, "I remember telling Pittman at that time that the McCarran Democrats were getting ready to give him the knife in the back and that Al Cahlan was sharpening it," Greenspun wrote. "Vail replied, 'Al wouldn't do that to me.' But Al did."[14]

Greenspun sharpened his criticism of McCarran's machine. He attacked the senator's two leading operatives, Norman Biltz and John Mueller, when they sought to sell the Basic Magnesium plant's components for a large profit, "a deal that will make our grandchildren wonder where we were when the lights went out," adding that "one man . . . controls the actions of John Mueller. That man is Sen. Pat McCarran . . . ." He disdained McCarran's support for Georgia Senator Richard B. Russell for the 1952 Democratic presidential nomination, claiming McCarran objected to Estes Kefauver because "he hears too well": the Tennessee senator's committee on organized crime had taken unfavorable testimony on corruption that McCarran and his friends had allowed or condoned. When Denver Dickerson, then one of Nevada's leading political reporters, attacked the machine in his column, Greenspun mused,

> I have a decision to make. Shall I reprint this very excellent editorial, which the public should have the benefit of reading, and by doing so take a change that I, too, will have to sit and watch ads go by, or shall I utter a few silent huzzahs to a great writer and continue to reap the advertising dollar?
>
> Move over, Denver, Hank's coming with you.[15]

Indeed he was. On the morning of March 24, 1952, virtually every major resort in Las Vegas cancelled its *Sun* advertising. Greenspun retaliated by suing McCarran, administrative aide Eva Adams, and more than three dozen hotel executives, accusing them of conspiracy in restraint of trade. The *Sun* publisher not only won a settlement, but also exchanged attacks with Al Cahlan, whom John Cahlan later remembered as having been one of the local leaders who encouraged the hotels to boycott Greenspun. Although the lawsuit prompted a front-page story, the *Review-Journal* refused to print longtime McCarran opponent Drew Pearson's column on the matter. "I lost a bet on Al Cahlan yesterday. I was ready to give odds that Al would run . . . Pearson's column, especially after Pearson announced on the air Sunday that no newspaper in Nevada would dare to run his story on Sen. McCarran," Greenspun wrote as he printed the column, which detailed how McCarran

withheld printing contracts and advertisements from critical newspapers. This elicited a rare response from Cahlan, who wrote not in his column but in an editorial that Pearson's story had not appeared because "[i]t contained many statements, purporting to be facts, which the editor of this newspaper knew to be false." The *Review-Journal* also charged the *Sun* with deleting a sentence revealing "the tie-up between Pearson and Greenspun" to defeat an anti-McCarran candidate for the Senate that year.[16]

That candidate, Democrat Thomas Mechling, prompted bitter divisions between Cahlan and Greenspun. The *Review-Journal* endorsed Alan Bible, a former state attorney general considered McCarran's protegé, and violently opposed Mechling in its "Boiling Pot" political column because, according to John Cahlan, "[W]e weren't going to turn our backs on Bible for an unknown carpetbagger who came to the state of Nevada . . . to sell his snake oil." When Mechling's indefatigable campaigning and Bible's confessed complacency combined to cause a shocking upset, McCarran instead endorsed his incumbent junior colleague, Republican George "Molly" Malone, "who he just hated to beat all get out." This act received fulsome praise in Cahlan's column:

> McCarran knew . . . that if the democrats lost control of the senate, he would lose the chairmanship of the powerful judiciary committee which he cherished next to his membership in the senate itself . . . .
>
> It took courage to take such a stand. A weaker man would have sat back and hoped for the election of a party man, which would insure his continuance in his position of eminence. And the ironic part of it is that had Nevada elected a democrat to the senate, Senator McCarran's party would have organized the upper house and he would have been secure for at least another two years. I cite this as an example of patriotic principle that has few equals in the nation's history and which should definitely serve to answer all those who have wondered just what kind of an individual the Nevada senator really is![17]

Greenspun had no doubts about McCarran or his machinations in the 1952 election. "Get Mechling is the cry and the heat is on," the publisher wrote of the "Unholy Alliance" out to defeat the Democratic upstart. Greenspun proved unfailingly loyal to Mechling, defending him in his column when McCarran opposed him in a statewide radio address and Biltz and Mueller released a tape recording of a meeting in which the anti-machine candidate appeared to try to make a deal with them. After the election, Mechling wrote an article for *The Reporter* in which he described Nevada's editors as "political propagandists" who "peddle a political point of view carefully designed to protect the machine." The *Review-Journal* reprinted a Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise* editorial attacking Mechling and the liberal magazine, and "From Where I Sit" bemoaned "a lead article vilifying Senator Pat McCarran and glorifying a local publisher for his attacks on the veteran Nevada solon"—the closest Cahlan came in his column to mentioning Greenspun by

Senator Pat McCarran figured prominently in the battle of the columns between the *Review-Journal* and the *Sun* during the 1950s. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

name. "I still believe—in fact I am positive—he would have made a far better United States Senator than Molly Malone," Greenspun said in Mechling's behalf. "I might not be fair to Tom by making such a comparison, because a two-headed cow with half a brain could do a better job . . . ."[18]

Neither Greenspun's attacks nor Cahlan's defense ended with the 1952 election. Greenspun continued to accuse the "old buzzard" of "dirty politics" and urged him to resign while Cahlan lauded his friend's patriotism and foresight; thus, when the Turkish president visited Las Vegas and Mayor C.D. Baker (a McCarran opponent) received the seat of honor, the *Review-Journal* described the angry senator as "steeped in protocol" and the *Sun* said, "When McCarran speaks, knowledge takes a holiday." The differences between the two papers were even more evident when McCarran died on September 28, 1954. "Pat McCarran, Patriot" was the title of the *Review-Journal*'s front-page farewell, signed by Al Cahlan. "I cannot be false to my principles and, because of death, do the man honor. I can less afford to write frankly and bring dishonor to myself," Greenspun wrote, claiming McCar-

ran's death left Cahlan so distraught that he attended a football game during the burial.[19]

Why Greenspun tried to bury McCarran beneath a mound of criticism is attributable to several factors. The publisher shared with his "mentor," Fiorello LaGuardia, a revulsion toward machine politics, which McCarran certainly practiced. Greenspun considered the Nevada senator anti-semitic, a view that remains debatable: Biltz denied it and longtime *Nevada State Journal* editor and McCarran ally Joseph McDonald claimed Greenspun "just started out to get him" when McCarran refused to help him obtain a pardon; but according to Chet Sobsey, who wrote the *Review-Journal*'s "The Boiling Pot" political column, McCarran "never referred to Hank Greenspun by name, but only as 'the Israelite.' He was intolerant of a variance from his faith." McCarran also reciprocated the publisher's wrath, precipitating an FBI probe and sending copies of the report to influential Nevadans; he also sought proof that Greenspun and his staff were communists—although two of the *Sun*'s three managing editors during McCarran's lifetime once had worked for the Cahlans, and the other once had been Richard Nixon's press secretary. Finally, as Greenspun himself stated, circulation figures loomed in the back of his mind: if he wanted to succeed, he had to be different, and the Cahlans had long since established the *Review-Journal* as McCarran's advocate in Clark County—to attack one was to attack both.[20]

The other Cahlan favorites Greenspun attacked revealed the differences between the two men and their papers. Both columnists fretted about the Cold War between politicians and diplomats and backed the hot war in Korea. But when General Douglas MacArthur tried to make the war hotter, advocating dropping an atomic bomb on China, and Harry Truman removed him from command, Greenspun and Cahlan diverged. The *Sun* publisher complained,

> I could never live with my conscience if I failed to raise my feeble voice, even though it might be a lone voice, against the deification of a man who should have been ordered home to face trial at the bar of public opinion instead of being accorded a hero's welcome . . . .
>
> Relieving MacArthur of his command is one of the few noteworthy acts of President Truman . . . .

Two days later, "From Where I Sit" presented a stark contrast:

> I thrilled to the San Francisco reception. Every time a horn blew or a band played or somebody hollered "Hi Mac" along the triumphal line of march in from the airport, and when he turned into that great avenue of western heroes, Market Street, tears came into my eyes and I gave thanks to God that here at least, was ONE American who had the courage to speak the truth regardless of the personal consequences to himself.[21]

Highly critical of Truman, whose policies he viewed as remnants of New

Deal "squandermania," Democrat Cahlan first joined McCarran in supporting Richard Russell for president in 1952 and later suggested MacArthur. But eventually he reconciled himself to Eisenhower, whom Greenspun endorsed long before the Republicans looked to him. The *Sun* publisher was correspondingly critical of Nevada's convention delegates for backing Senator Robert Taft of Ohio and delirious when Ike won the nomination. Yet, just before the election, Greenspun endorsed Adlai Stevenson, despite a long argument with his editor. "The Sun was one of the first newspapers to climb aboard the Eisenhower bandwagon . . . ." Greenspun explained. "But when the bandwagon rolled into Nevada with Joe McCarthy in the driver's seat, we must reluctantly come to the conclusion that it is high time we got off."[22]

McCarthy visited Las Vegas on October 13, 1952, to campaign for Malone. Greenspun wrote a blistering column:

> McCarthy has contributed absolutely nothing to checking the communist conspiracy in this country. He has, however, furthered this conspiracy by establishing a new pattern of recklessness and irresponsibility in American public life. He has spread suspicion and fear among the people and by these very acts has weakened our defenses against the dangers of communism . . . .
>
> Any Republican candidate who sits upon the same platform with Joe McCarthy endorses his vicious demagoguery. They condone his lies and deceit, and glory in his evil . . . .

The next morning, the *Sun* reported that McCarthy had accused Greenspun of being a confessed "ex-communist." The publisher rushed to the stage as the Wisconsin senator departed, answered the charges, and won over the crowd. From then on, Greenspun relentlessly attacked McCarthy, describing him as corrupt and writing several columns that asked, "Is Senator McCarthy a Secret Communist?" He proved capable of more vitriolic comments:

> It is common talk among homosexuals in Milwaukee . . . that Senator Joe McCarthy has often engaged in homosexual activities.
>
> The persons in Nevada who listened to McCarthy's radio talk thought he had the queerest laugh. He has. He is.
>
> This is the man who evoked cheers when he spoke here . . . . The most immoral, indecent and unprincipled scoundrel ever to sit in the United States Senate.

"Where I Stand" referred to McCarthy as "the scabrous, slimy, loathsome thing," a "scheming swashbuckler," a "sadistic pervert," and "the queer that made Milwaukee famous."[23]

Eventually, Greenspun went even further. On January 8, 1954, he wrote:

> I've never been one to make predictions but when a thing is inevitable, even I can foresee the future.
>
> Sen. Joe McCarthy has to come to a violent end. Huey Long's death will be serene and peaceful compared with the demise of the sadistic bum from Wisconsin.
>
> Live by the sword and you die by the sword! Destroy people and they in turn must

destroy you! The chances are that McCarthy will eventually be laid to rest at the hands of some poor innocent slob whose reputation and life he has destroyed through his well-established smear technique.

The poor victim will feel he has little left to live for, so he'll get a gun and blast Joe to Hades. It might be a bit messy but Joe is used to messiness. He has created enough of it.

Really, I'm against Joe getting his head blown off, not because I do not believe in capital punishment or because he does not have it coming, but I would hate to see some simpleton get the chair for such a public service as getting rid of McCarthy . . . .

With McCarthy's approval and encouragement, Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield responded by revoking the newspaper's mailing privileges and the federal government prosecuted Greenspun for "tending to incite murder or assassination." A federal jury acquitted the publisher of the charges.[24]

While Greenspun earned widespread attention and liberal acclaim for practicing "McCarthyism on the master," his competitor was not silent. The *Review-Journal* covered McCarthy's visit, but its conclusions differed from the *Sun*'s. According to the afternoon daily, half the throng departed with McCarthy, who left as scheduled, and never heard Greenspun. The next day, a front-page box reported that several callers had complimented the *Review-Journal* on its superb coverage of McCarthy's speech and identified the reporter, who had not received a byline, as Chet Sobsey. With obvious glee, the paper also devoted a great deal of space to Greenspun's indictment.[25]

Al Cahlan devoted considerable space in his column to McCarthy, but he viewed the senator far more favorably than his competitor. Cahlan shared McCarthy's distaste for Secretary of State Dean Acheson and General George Marshall and echoed his claim that a communist conspiracy existed within the federal government. Cahlan's views mirrored those of many Americans:

Washington is in the worst state of chaos and confusion in history, and the tragic part of it all is, it's being PLANNED that way. The purpose? It isn't difficult to figure out. Whether you like Senator Joe McCarthy or not, he has provided the answer many, many times. It's quite apparent to many substantial, patriotic and trustworthy Americans that we're being sold down the river with our eyes open. And we're all just TOO busy with our own little affairs to do anything at all about it!

They also mirrored the views of Pat McCarran, McCarthy's more responsible ideological soulmate, who once described the Wisconsin senator to John Cahlan as "a blowhard [who has] got his facts twisted in a lot of cases." The two senators "will be national heroes as history records their activities in these perilous times," Cahlan predicted. "At the moment you can judge the import of their achievements by the character and volume of the vindictive and vitriolic campaigns against them."[26]

Perhaps not coincidentally, Greenspun was their most "vindictive and vitriolic" critic. The dispute between the two writers was not surprising. Both Cahlan and Greenspun opposed communism but differed over methods. If

Hank Greenspun, editor of the *Las Vegas Sun,* engaged in lively journalistic prose from his column "Where I Stand" during the 1950s. *(Las Vegas News Bureau)*

Cahlan supported McCarran's communist-hunting tactics in his committees, he was bound to agree with McCarthy, and his views coincided with many other editors. Few publications attacked McCarthy, but Greenspun's probably was the most violent of them. Greenspun saw the Wisconsin senator for the irresponsible bully that he was, but did the unusual by expressing his

views forcefully, buoyed by the realization that McCarthy had slandered him without the immunity of the Senate floor.

Whatever power Greenspun's anti-McCarthy writings earned for him nationally, it paled in comparison with the power he wielded locally. Newspapers and their editors invariably carry great weight in smaller areas in which most of the same people are heavily involved in government. Just as "Pop" Squires played a major role in Las Vegas's early years, the Cahlans and Greenspun contributed greatly to the city's growth from a railroad town to a resort mecca. Their columns often promoted charitable causes and service clubs. Both editors defended the city against outside attacks yet reserved the right to be critical themselves. They urged such civic projects as better parks and streets and envisioned great growth for Las Vegas, while Cahlan often recalled earlier days—perhaps consciously, realizing he had spent more than a quarter of a century in the area while Greenspun was a relative newcomer. They were civic boosters in the true sense of the phrase.[27]

But the two writers divided over issues affecting the state and city they were trying to build up, and their clashes frequently illustrated the younger Greenspun's liberalism and the older Cahlan's conservatism. A onetime school board member and a teacher's son, Cahlan far more frequently and vocally advocated better education and better-paid teachers. But Greenspun supported the instructors in the greatest controversy to affect Nevada's higher educational system during the 1950s: University of Nevada President Minard Stout's firing of five professors critical of his administration, which historian Mary Ellen Glass has described as a "tragic" outgrowth of a nationwide controversy over the functions of universities. "I may be wrong but I do not believe that a university professor should be dismissed from his post because of a disagreement with the head of the university . . . ," Greenspun wrote with somewhat uncharacteristic caution. "Professor Richardson [one of the five] has as much right as President Stout had to his beliefs." But from where Cahlan sat, the fault lay elsewhere:

> I find it difficult to understand why five university professors want to hang onto their jobs when they are quite evidently at odds with the president and other members of the faculty. Certainly you can't run a university with a faculty split wide-open with dissension with a few attempting to usurp the functions of the executive officer.
>
> The rumpus at the state university appears to be just that and can turn out only one way if harmony is to be restored. Either the regents and the president are going to operate the institution or they may as well close up the place . . . .[28]

If this dispute proved gentlemanly, the differences between Greenspun and Cahlan over state and local politics—even excluding McCarran and Mechling—were violent affairs. But their tactics fundamentally differed. Greenspun roared and raged in his column, while Cahlan tried to work

behind the scenes or through the *Review-Journal* itself, not his personal forum.

The 1954 gubernatorial race was an instructive example. As in 1950, the Republicans chose Charles Russell, whom the *Review-Journal* backed in his first campaign, to face Vail Pittman, who finally enjoyed support from a united party, including McCarran and Cahlan. When a July 25 front-page editorial endorsed Pittman, Russell requested that Cahlan resign from the Colorado River Commission (to which he later claimed to have named the editor after McCarran and Reynolds originally sought his appointment to the Nevada Tax Commission, despite Cahlan's interest in the Golden Nugget). Cahlan complied in an understandably bitter letter. Claiming his decision was difficult due to "numerous calls and letters urging that I ignore your request . . . [which] is so obviously politically inspired," Cahlan accused the governor of "thrusting the Colorado River Commission into politics and beclouding the real issues . . . ." Thereafter, the *Review-Journal*'s stories, headlines, and "The Boiling Pot" political column violently opposed Russell. As for Cahlan's claim that many asked him not to resign, Greenspun wrote, "All Al's friends and well-wishers, if placed in a two-seater car, wouldn't fill the front seat."[29]

While Russell and Cahlan fought, Greenspun faced a battle of his own. On April 29, after the FBI arrested the operators of Roxie's, a brothel outside Las Vegas, Clark County Sheriff Glen Jones conducted a raid, prompting the *Sun* to charge Jones with allowing Roxie's to operate in return for payoffs. Jones, who was seeking re-election, filed a million-dollar libel suit against Greenspun, who stepped up his attacks. When Jones lost, the *Review-Journal* blamed his defeat on a "long and vicious campaign which found him mainly on the defensive against the bitter criticism of a morning publication."[30]

That publication would have much more to say about Jones. The sheriff seemed likely to lose his lawsuit until Greenspun's key witness went before the grand jury and, Greenspun recalled, "developed wide lapses of memory and almost no powers of speech." Then *Sun* reporter Ed Reid, once with the *Brooklyn Eagle* and later co-author of *The Green Felt Jungle,* called upon New York private detective Pierre LaFitte to pose as Louis Tabet, a hoodlum who wanted to buy Roxie's. Reid and a deputy district attorney hid in a Strip hotel suite closet and recorded Tabet's meetings with local politicians. Apprised by the brothel's owner that the sheriff could be bought, "Tabet" gave gifts and promised payoffs to Glen Jones and County Commissioner Rodney Colton; hired Louis Weiner as his attorney; and received assurances from Weiner and his law partner, outgoing Lieutenant Governor and new Democratic National Committeeman Cliff Jones (who was not related to the sheriff), that he would be able to obtain a gaming license because they would control the Tax Commission under Pittman's administration.[31]

Tabet also expressed interest in the Las Vegas press. According to Glen Jones, who had received favorable news coverage, Cliff Jones had "a fix" at the *Review-Journal*. "I hear you're going to buy the *Sun*. What a relief!" the lieutenant governor exclaimed to Tabet. "I heard that your mouthpiece from New York is in Los Angeles dickering with that son of a bitch Greenspun . . . ." When Tabet worried about how the afternoon paper would treat him, Jones replied, "What? Louis Weiner didn't tell you about the *Review* here? My sister [Florence Lee Jones] is married to Johnny Cahlan, brother of the owner, and what I say over there goes . . . ."[32]

On October 11, 1954, the *Sun* began a series of a dozen articles based on the tapes. The results were staggering: Glen Jones dropped his libel suit; he and Colton were indicted; Cliff Jones resigned as national committeeman; and the Tax Commission investigated Weiner's claim that reputed mobsters Meyer and Jake Lansky held hidden interests in the Thunderbird Hotel, which Cliff Jones co-owned. The indictments later were dropped, but the effects were far-reaching—the lieutenant governor was finished politically, the state became more deeply involved in gaming regulation, and the governor's race changed completely. Pittman had appeared headed for victory when the Associated Press quoted him as defending Cliff Jones and attacking the *Sun* and the Tax Commission. Citing his newspaper's probe and Jones's appointment as committeeman, Greenspun switched from being "slightly inclined" toward Pittman to endorsing Russell, who won a second term for which Greenspun and his staff unquestionably were largely responsible.[33]

Whether Greenspun and his staff behaved responsibly is more questionable. They deserved credit for exposing corruption. They prompted several attacks from the *Review-Journal*, which described Greenspun as Russell's "major political backer for re-election" and indulging in "apparent frantic attempts . . . to re-elect the incumbent at all costs." But while the publisher professed to have been neutral until making the probe public, his claim that the investigation was "as thorough, factual and non-political as any probe ever undertaken by a newspaper for the purpose of unearthing corruption in government" was, consciously or unconsciously, incorrect. Considering his support from McCarran's machine, including the *Review-Journal*, Pittman seemed an unlikely candidate for an endorsement from Hank Greenspun, a Republican until his conviction cost him his right to vote. The exposé's results also tended to obscure its original goal of catching Glen Jones in a crooked act—it ruined Cliff Jones politically, and while the Democrat's actions hardly deserved admiration, Greenspun's distaste for Jones and the machine and newspaper with which he was connected was surely evident. Worse, allowed by Russell to testify before the Tax Commission without being under oath, Greenspun declared, "I want this commission to know that neither myself nor any of my staff participated in any wire tapping or conversation recording, nor was it made under our directions," which, as the *Review-Journal* happily pointed out, was untrue.[34]

Lieutenant Governor Cliff Jones was ruined politically when the *Sun* exposed his supposed involvement with mobsters while he owned the Thunderbird Hotel. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

But the affair revealed that Greenspun had become a political force. His newspaper performed the public service of exposing corruption in pursuit of a personal goal—evidence to counter the sheriff's libel suit. It also kept Russell in the governor's chair and removed Cliff Jones from a position of power. Greenspun had changed Nevada politics and scored a direct hit against the *Review-Journal* and the Cahlans.

Nor was this the only time Cahlan or Greenspun scored a direct hit on each other, for they wrote about far more than politics or state and local issues. Both men generally wrote six days a week, although Cahlan followed this schedule more religiously than did his counterpart. As a result, they consumed and discussed a great deal of material and developed favorite topics. Cahlan's favorite topics were his family and morality. Greenspun's favorite devices were his family and Cahlan.

Both columnists often discussed their families and their personal habits. Cahlan took "From Where I Sit" on vacation with him, particularly to his daughter's home in Mt. Ayr, Iowa, and wrote about his grandchildren and issues affecting that town and others he visited. He also recalled his own childhood and his younger days in Las Vegas and, when the *Review-Journal* printed a series of diet tips and friends asked whether he intended to heed them, he wondered, "Couldn't be my 220 pounds, now could it?" Greenspun's family made frequent appearances in "Where I Stand," usually as the subject of light-hearted complaints. Finally, he turned the column over to his wife, declaring, "I know that each column she writes will definitely require the maximum amount of verbiage if she writes just half as well as she talks." Two days later, "From Behind Hank's Desk" disappeared because too many female readers were calling to give "advice to the little woman on how to 'nail that no-account husband of hers.' "[35]

Obviously, both columnists enjoyed poking fun at themselves. But while Cahlan practiced self-deprecation, Greenspun included his staff, often in editor's notes that Greenspun sometimes wrote. When "Where I Stand" listed endless facts about earthquakes, an editor's note explained, "Hank

really isn't this loaded with factual knowledge. He just forgot to give credit to the World Almanac." When Greenspun returned from a vacation and raved about the location and the service, as Cahlan sometimes did, the editor's note observed, "Maybe Hank should have stayed away another day."[36]

The *Review-Journal* and its operators provided a far more inviting topic for the *Sun* publisher. Shortly after Greenspun bought and renamed the *Sun*, "From Where I Sit" complained about the "spite" papers the International Typographical Union had set up in many cities "as a weapon designed to enforce acceptance of their demands." Greenspun responded to "the Sage of First Street" by describing the *Sun* as "a good wholesome newspaper such as this town has needed for these many years and never had." Henceforth, in Greenspun's column, the *Review-Journal*, located at "South First Street and Sobsister Lane," was run by "the pompous, sanctimonious Sage."[37]

As far as Greenspun was concerned, no holds were barred. He charged that Bugsy Siegel "bought the silence" of Al and John Cahlan. He alleged that Glen Jones received similarly preferential treatment:

> Al Cahlan once decided that Glen Jones had outlived his usefulness as sheriff and printed an unfavorable story about this sterling law enforcement officer. Glen read this story and said: "I'll shut this fat so and so up. All I have to do is show him a picture and he'll back off," and you know something, Cahlan did back off.

Greenspun attacked Cahlan's Colorado River Commission service, claiming his counterpart aided McCarran, Biltz, and Mueller in connection with Basic Magnesium. Critical of Russell for being too close to McCarran and Cahlan, Greenspun rejoiced when the governor forced the editor off the commission. But Greenspun's attacks probably hit a peak of vitriol during the Thunderbird controversy, when he lambasted "the false, deceitful, mealy-mouthed writings of the Cahlan brothers" and added,

> I can't recall in all my experience any newspaper which is so devoid of decency, integrity and morality as the afternoon paper. Its editorial practices are shameful and an affront to all decent-thinking people of the community.
>
> The old order must go despite the frantic efforts of the Cahlans to keep the status quo.[38]

Nevertheless, the Cahlans did not bear the brunt of Greenspun's criticism alone, for the *Sun* publisher occasionally singled out Reynolds in his attacks. When the *Review-Journal* began a morning edition to compete with the *Sun*, Greenspun disdained the "Trail-Blazer edition which is yesterday's Review-Journal with tomorrow's date printed the night before." Observing that Reynolds had bought newspapers in Carson City and Ely, attempted to buy the two Reno papers, owned a Reno television station and sought another for Las Vegas, Greenspun accused "the absentee landlord" of trying to control the state. Worse, "Dashing Don" and "his two stooges . . . Lover-Boy Al and

Smiling John" tried to shift to Las Vegas a television station the Federal Communications Commission approved for Henderson; thus, Greenspun and a group of investors started the area's first station, KLAS-TV.[39]

Obviously, Greenspun's attacks were frequent, violent, and personal. Also, whenever he faulted such political figures as McCarthy, McCarran, or Cliff Jones, he indirectly criticized his competitor and the Cahlans, their supporters. Yet the Cahlans were far from silent, responding to Greenspun with editorial ammunition of their own. They occasionally employed the art of indirection: "From Where I Sit" avoided acknowledging Greenspun or his paper. But when Al Cahlan moralized, as he often did, about gossip, hatred, defamation, and jealousy, his target was apparent:

> There IS a distinction, of course, between truth, offered for a good and justifiable purpose, and slander—malicious slander designed for the purpose of reducing the individual concerned to such a shameful wretch in the minds of his fellow men they will have no further intercourse with him . . . .[40]

The *Review-Journal* reciprocated Greenspun's disdain in more obvious ways. Headlines and stories about the *Sun* and its publisher invariably demonstrated bias, delightedly discussing their problems—Greenspun's indictments for gun-running and inciting McCarthy's assassination and libel suits. Editorials accused Greenspun of censoring columnists Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell. Perhaps the strangest *Review-Journal* reply followed a *Sun* item that John Cahlan had obtained a percentage of the Thunderbird through his brother-in-law, Cliff Jones. The following appeared at the bottom of the front page:

> TO THE PUBLIC
>
> On Dec. 9, 1954, Hank Greenspun published the unequivocal statement that I am a part owner in the Thunderbird Hotel.
>
> For the information of all concerned I wish to state that Greenspun does not tell the truth.
>
> I have not now, nor have I at any time in the past owned any part or had any interest in the Thunderbird Hotel or any of its associated companies or operations.
>
> I repeat, Greenspun does not tell the truth.
>
> John F. Cahlan

Greenspun stood by the story.[41]

Perhaps the classic example of the rivalry between the two papers concerned Ed Reid, who first started writing for the *Sun* when Greenspun took several weeks off due to a family illness. When he began reporting on Strip hoodlums, Reid became involved in a fight at the Desert Inn. The *Sun* fumed that its reporter, whom it proudly referred to as a Pulitzer Prize-winner, had been assaulted for daring to write honestly and accused Sheriff Jones of a "frame-up" when his report blamed Reid for the incident. Quoting

that document, the *Review-Journal* reported that Reid had been drunk and called his assailant "a Jew bastard." Cahlan lamented the incident, criticizing Reid in a column and declaring in an editorial,

> Most citizens of this area are agreed that the handling of the Ed Reid case by all agencies involved did little to erase the nationwide blot on the area tossed by a visiting newspaperman who came here, got himself intoxicated and involved in a brawl with a minor hoodlum from Philadelphia and then spread the word over the nation that he had been "beaten by hoodlums" . . . .

Livid, Greenspun responded in the form of a memo to Reid:

> I think it's high time the *Review-Journal* was taught a lesson on ethics and morals of good journalism. Through their vile methods of printing questionable stories, they have destroyed the reputations of many innocent people. Al and Johnny Cahlan are far from moral purists, so a brief glimpse into their private lives might be very illuminating to the good people of Las Vegas . . . .
>
> If there is anything more annoying than a sanctimonious old hypocrite who is always moralizing on the evils of fallen womanhood and who in many cases speaks from experience, I would like to know it . . . .[42]

Even this seemed tame compared with the battles between Greenspun and Westbrook Pegler, a sportswriter turned right-wing and sometimes libelous columnist who admired both McCarthy and McCarran. Referring to Pegler as "Old Poison Pen" and "the unprincipled, whiskey-sodden tramp with a typewriter," Greenspun aimed at Cahlan when his newspaper published Pegler's allegations that the *Sun* publisher had been paid for his gun-running efforts:

> You know the story, Al. You sent a reporter to cover the trial in hopes that the judge would throw the book at me. You remember what the Judge said: "Knowing the motives which impelled you, I cannot find it in my heart to send you to prison." And he didn't, Al; and do you know why? He knew that God was on our side.
>
> Al Cahlan, I know that high principles are beyond your understanding, but there are men who would gladly face imprisonment, even death, in the cause of freedom.[43]

Yet Greenspun proved capable of kinder words to describe Al Cahlan. On December 11, 1960, the *Review-Journal* reported the startling news that the sixty-one-year-old Cahlan was resigning after thirty-five years at the paper to devote more time to business interests in Nevada and Hawaii. An editorial, doubtless written by John Cahlan, who remained at the *Review-Journal*, paid tribute to the longtime managing director. The next day, "From Where I Sit" disappeared from the pages it had adorned for three decades. Already having predicted Cahlan's firing several times, Greenspun charged that his counterpart lost to Reynolds in a stock deal after failing to get the *Sun* publisher to agree to combine the two papers' mechanical operations:

Involuntary retirement.

It is with mixed feelings, not quite bordering on regret, that I sit watching the passing of an era in Nevada newspaperdom.

I think the supposed voluntary retirement of Al Cahlan from the Review-Journal has many overtones of an involuntary nature for no man in his right mind can believe that this old firehorse of the newspaper field would relinquish his position if the slides hadn't been greased to where he couldn't hold on any longer . . . .

So sorry, Al Cahlan. If we were the cause of your departure from the Las Vegas newspaper scene, we are truly sorry not because we love you more but only because we like your successor less.

You may not have been a top favorite around the SUN but you were always a worthy adversary.[44]

Greenspun's opinion of Reynolds differed somewhat. Indeed, his distaste for Reynolds has been so evident for so long that it casts doubt upon his earlier comments about the Cahlans. Upon Al Cahlan's departure, Greenspun informed his readers and Reynolds that nothing had changed:

Don Reynolds is assuming personal charge forsaking all his other newspapers and television interests all over the south, east, west and north, only because he is angry.

To him, Las Vegas is just another spot upon which to prey. It is no different than Fort Smith, Ark., Oklahoma, Reno or Juneau, Alaska—a few other areas blighted with Reynolds' properties.

His credo is the buck and his methods are destructive.

He absorbs competition or liquidates it. And he approaches all battles with the ferocity of a bellowing bull and the morals of the head skull crusher in a Chicago slaughterhouse.

There is no common meeting ground or area for peaceful coexistence with Don Reynolds. He will either absorb or destroy us and this he sincerely believes . . . .

I prefer the sweet smell of independence a trifle more than the odor of a buck.

Reynolds can operate the dollar making machines. I'll run a newspaper.

And Greenspun's attacks against Reynolds and his paper have continued to the present; the Cahlans were not his only targets.[45]

Indeed, the Cahlans became his employees. John Cahlan left the *Review-Journal* about three months after his brother and worked briefly on a special assignment for Greenspun. In 1964, after a journalistic absence of nearly four years, Al Cahlan began writing "From Where I Sit" five days a week on the *Sun*'s editorial page. "About five years ago you could have wagered your life against such a happening," wrote Greenspun, who effusively praised his onetime antagonist as "the dean of journalists in this area, if not the state." Among those surprised by Cahlan's move to the *Sun* was his younger brother, who "thought that Al never would do anything for Hank Greenspun because of the vicious arguments . . . ." Cahlan's first *Sun* column explained why it had happened and shed considerable light on his feud with Greenspun:

If anyone had told me, three or four years ago, that my column might be appearing in the Las Vegas *SUN*, the idea would have chilled me to the bone. For you see Hank

Greenspun and I weren't seeing eye to eye in those days. We disagreed about many things. Much of this resulted from the competitive situation. Hank was trying to break in against the old established order and he had to dynamite his way in. This he did. This I understand.

Some of his shots were personal. Certainly they were NOT relished. He got pretty rough at times. But all that was yesterday . . . .

When Hank showed up on the scene, he announced his challenge and defiance of his basic competition by titling his column "Where I Stand" and boldly putting it on the front page where it was the first thing read. He liked to needle me and did so. I never answered him because I recognized that if a controversy was launched it would benefit him, circulationwise, because people would buy his paper to see what I was talking about. It's a newspaper trick as old as the business itself . . . .

It was not the first time a journalistic competitor in Nevada—or elsewhere—had joined his onetime antagonist; indeed, two of Cahlan's successors at the *Review-Journal* later teamed with Greenspun, who had attacked them in the *Sun*. With obvious pleasure, Cahlan wrote for the *Sun* for four years, frequently on local history and personalities. "From Where I Sit" made its final appearance on June 26, 1968. The next morning, after three weeks in the hospital, Cahlan died at the age of sixty-nine.[46]

The obituary Greenspun wrote in his column paid fulsome tribute to Cahlan. But the *Sun* publisher had written similarly of his old opponent at other times, and his farewell fondly and analytically recalled their feud:

Of all the affections and passions which attend human life, the love of competition is the most ardent and Cahlan and I went at each other with a minimum of the kindlier instincts of man. But I never underestimated his ability as a newspaper editor or a man . . . .

The bulk of the columns were devoted to needling this real good man to trap him into some show of weakness but he never gave me the opportunity. He was too able, knowledgeable and powerful [a] newspaperman to build up a rival and he made me sweat for every little gain we achieved . . . . But we did form an unwritten alliance for the betterment of the community.

Whenever anything developed that could be hurtful in the town, my phone would ring and it would be Al Cahlan suggesting that we both withhold the story. And it went the other way if we stumbled on something that could have serious repercussions . . . .

Greenspun later conceded that Cahlan did indeed answer him, particularly in editorials and news stories, thereby helping the *Sun*. Yet "I was always at a disadvantage . . . for while I fought in the open with everyone fully aware of my battle plans, Cahlan's benign, cherubic countenance always hid the spinning wheels in his brain," according to Greenspun, "and it was only when the floor would collapse and the walls fall upon me did I realize that Cahlan wasn't napping as I believed."[47]

Greenspun recalled that Cahlan was well aware of the attacks. When they would be on the phone discussing a news story, Cahlan would remonstrate,

"Now, Hank, you know that what you wrote was not true." Greenspun would reply, "Truth has many complexions, Al." Indeed it did, for the rivalry between the *Review-Journal* and the *Sun* sometimes produced regrettably and obviously biased journalism that left Las Vegans uncertain of the truth. Yet the two papers also forced each other to improve their news coverage, and they gave Las Vegas what every city needs: at least two voices.[48]

Yet the battle between Al Cahlan of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* and Hank Greenspun of the *Las Vegas Sun* was both more and less than it seemed. Hank Greenspun had to attack his competitor to survive, and the results within the two dailies and behind the scenes often proved informative, entertaining, and bordering on libelous and reprehensible. In turn, both men and their publications sought to build a better city, and they did so, benefitting themselves and their community. As a result, they also worked together, even as they fought a newspaper war that, it is important to remember, was not only personal but also institutional and has continued long after Cahlan's death and Greenspun's less active involvement in the *Sun*. Where Cahlan sat and where Greenspun stood were important for an understanding of city and state politics and journalism during the height of their competition, but their personalities and their columns were far from the extent of their rivalry.[49]

NOTES

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[1] Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen Rix Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1854-1979* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984), 131; *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, "75 Years in Las Vegas," 31 August 1980, 10AA.

The best source for information on Greenspun is his autobiography: Hank Greenspun and Alex Pelle, *Where I Stand: The Record of a Reckless Man* (New York: David McKay, 1966). There is no complete history of either paper, but the best accounts for the *Review-Journal* are John F. Cahlan, "Reminiscences of a Reno and Las Vegas, Nevada, Newspaperman, University Regent, and Public-Spirited Citizen" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1969), which understandably deals more with the speaker's relationship to the paper, and the above-mentioned seventy-fifth anniversary tabloid, which is neither well-prepared nor entirely accurate. An overwritten yet useful account of the two editors' rivalry is Katherine Best and Katherine Hillyer, *Las Vegas: Playtown U.S.A.* (New York: David McKay, 1955), 125-35.

A recent, welcome addition to the historiography that was issued after research for this article was completed is an update of John F. Cahlan's oral history, "John F. Cahlan: Fifty Years in Journalism and Community Development" (Oral history, University of Nevada, 1987), superbly compiled and edited by Jamie Coughtry. Some of Cahlan's comments contradict or expand on observations from his previous oral history. Cahlan died at age 85 in October 1987.

The *Las Vegas Morning Sun* became the *Las Vegas Sun* in 1952. For the sake of simplicity, it shall be footnoted throughout with the latter name.

[2] Lingenfelter and Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada*, 16, 25-26, 58, 62, 94, 125-26, 148-49, 240-44; "75

Years in Las Vegas," 6AA; Charles P. Squires and Delphine A. Squires, "Las Vegas: Its Romance and History" (2 volumes, unpublished manuscript, Department of Special Collections, James R. Dickinson Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1955), 11:309-11; Florence Boyer, "Las Vegas, Nevada: My Home for Sixty Years" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1966); Vail Pittman to Key Pittman, 10 July 1925, cited in Eric N. Moody, *Southern Gentleman of Nevada Politics: Vail M. Pittman* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1974), 10; *Clark County Review*, 18 September 1909; *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 5 January 1954. For background on Las Vegas, see especially Ralph J. Roske, *Las Vegas: A Desert Paradise* (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1986), 51-70, 144. Also helpful is John M. Findlay, *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 110-208. For background on Garside, see *Las Vegas Sun*, 1 October 1962.

[3] *Las Vegas Review*, 4 June 1926; *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 3 April 1949; 4 January 1951; 5 January 1954. For background on Cahlan and his family, see Cahlan, "Reminiscences," particularly 1-18; Florence Lee Jones Cahlan, "Cahlan-Edmunds Family History" (unpublished manuscript, Department of Special Collections, James R. Dickinson Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas). Al Cahlan frequently recalled his youth in his columns, which are collected in scrapbooks in nine boxes housed in the UNLV Library's Department of Special Collections.

The libel suit apparently involved Cahlan's description of Rene Lemaire's refereeing in an Elko-Battle Mountain basketball game. The jury assessed a one-dollar penalty, but Steninger reportedly fired Cahlan out of embarrassment. This account obviously is heavily truncated. See Rene Lemaire, "Recollections of Life in Lander County, Nevada, Battle Mountain Business, and the Nevada State Senate" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1970), 70-73; John R. McCloskey, "Seventy Years of Griping: Newspapers, Politics and Government" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1982), 239; John Sanford, "Printer's Ink in My Blood" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1972), 239. See also Coughtry, "Cahlan," 84.

[4] Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 94, 96, 286-91; Lingenfelter and Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada*, 21-22, 126-28; "75 Years in Las Vegas," 10AA, 13AA; Boyer, "Sixty Years," 30; Thomas C. Wilson, "Reminiscences of a Nevada Advertising Man, 1930-1980, Or Half A Century of Very Hot Air, Or I Wouldn't Believe It If I Hadn't Been There" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1981), 116, 431; Joseph F. McDonald, "The Life of a Newsboy in Nevada" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1971), 138-39; *Las Vegas Evening Review*, 28 January 1929; 20 July 1929. See also the author's "A Partisan Press: The Las Vegas Newspapers and the Election of 1932" (student paper for Dr. Eugene P. Moehring, in author's possession) and Michael S. Agosta, "The 1936 Election: The Nevada Editorial Response" (student paper for Dr. Eugene P. Moehring, in author's possession); Coughtry, "Cahlan," 86-93. According to Cahlan, he took over some of the editorial-writing duties from his brother in the 1940s, but Al Cahlan wrote those editorials which dealt with more important issues.

[5] On the dam and public works, see Eugene P. Moehring, "Public Works and the New Deal in Las Vegas, 1933 to 1940," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 24 (Summer 1981), 107-29; Harold T. Smith, "New Deal Relief Programs in Nevada, 1933 to 1935" (doctoral dissertation, University of Nevada, Reno, 1972), 130; Perry Bruce Kaufman, "The Best City of Them All: A History of Las Vegas, 1930-1960" (doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974); Squires and Squires, "Las Vegas," 11:342-55; Roske, *Las Vegas*, 71-96.

On McCarran and the Cahlans' political activities, see Jerome E. Edwards, *Pat McCarran: Political Boss of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982); Cahlan, "Reminiscences," especially 240-43; Coughtry, "Cahlan," 412-24; Eva B. Adams, "Windows of Washington: Nevada Education, The United States Senate, The United States Mint" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1982), especially 123, 168; Moody, *Southern Gentleman*, 43-46; *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 5 February 1952; *Las Vegas Sun*, 28 June 1968.

[6] Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 57-58; "75 Years in Las Vegas," *passim; Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 1 April 1949; *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 4 January 1951; 28 January 1951.

There has been some uncertainty about the paper's ownership. Cahlan sold to Reynolds in 1961, but sources disagree about whether he owned one-third or one-fourth of the paper. See also Coughtry, "Cahlan," 361; *Las Vegas Sun*, 17 October 1987.

[7] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand*, 181-83; "75 Years in Las Vegas," 11AA; Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 293-94; Lingenfelter and Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada*, 131; Jerome E. Edwards, "The *Sun* and the Senator," *Nevada Historical Society* 24 (Spring 1981), 5; Coughtry, "Cahlan," 362, 368-75. Telephone conversation with Jack McCloskey, Hawthorne, Nevada, 2 August 1987.

[8] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand*, 1-183; Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 76-77; Richard Donovan and

Douglas Cater, "Of Gamblers, a Senator, and a Sun that Wouldn't Set," *The Reporter* 8 (June 9, 1953), 26; Ed Reid, *City Without Clocks* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1961), 108; Ed Reid and Ovid DeMaris, *The Green Felt Jungle* (New York: Trident Press, 1964), 61-73; Ralph Pearl, *Las Vegas Is My Beat* (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1973), 193-201.

[9] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 180-86; Lingenfelter and Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada,* 71-72, 116-17, 289; McCloskey, "Seventy Years of Griping," especially 228; McCloskey Conversation; Wilson, "Reminiscences," 430.

[10] Best and Hillyer, *Playtown U.S.A.,* 125.

[11] *Las Vegas Evening Review and Journal,* 28 January 1930; 29 January 1930; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 17 August 1950; 23 May 1952; 8 January 1953; 28 January 1954; A.E. Cahlan, MSS, Box 6, 1952 Scrapbook, 18 January 1952.

[12] Best and Hillyer, *Playtown U.S.A.,* 126-27; Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 187; Kaufman, "The Best City Of Them All," 492-93; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 17 August 1950; 8 January 1953; Oral Interview of Hank Greenspun, 27 March 1986; Oral Interview of Adam Yacenda, 1 May 1985. Mr. Yacenda was the editor and later managing editor of the *Sun* during the 1950s, later founding the *Valley Times* in 1959 and publishing it until 1973.

[13] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 180-85; *Las Vegas Sun,* 24 June 1954; 10 July 1968.

[14] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 22 August 1950; 24 August 1950; 25 September 1950; 16 October 1950; 7 December 1951; 30 June 1952; 4 August 1952; 1 October 1952; 13 January 1954; 16 April 1954; 13 May 1954; 5 August 1954; *Las Vegas Sun,* 18 July 1950; 5 September 1950; 6 October 1950; 23 November 1953. Several issues of the *Sun* from 1950 were unavailable or mutilated.

For background on the campaign, see Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* especially 134-36, 141-43, but throughout for accounts of what McCarran did to his potential enemies; Moody, *Southern Gentleman,* 88-92; Mary Ellen Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s: Decade of Political and Economic Change* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982), 7-11.

John Cahlan's recent memoir presents a somewhat different account. He recalled that his brother and Pittman were "very close personal friends," and Al Cahlan was "very much surprised" when Pittman lost to Russell. See Coughtry, "Cahlan," 425.

[15] *Las Vegas Sun,* 13 July 1951; 28 July 1951; 4 August 1951; 14 August 1951; 15 August 1951; 17 August 1951; 18 August 1951; 25 August 1951; 4 September 1951; 7 September 1951; 17 September 1951; 18 March 1952; 19 March 1952. See also Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 157-65, 184-88; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s,* 103-04. Later, the *Review-Journal* hired Dickerson as a columnist, and he and Greenspun exchanged pointed barbs.

[16] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 9 April 1952; 10 April 1952; 17 April 1952; 20 April 1952; *Las Vegas Sun,* 17 April 1952. The lawsuit was the topic of many stories in both papers in ensuing weeks. See also Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 158-60; Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 199-203; Reid, *City Without Clocks,* 109; Kaufman, "The Best City Of Them All," 494; Benny Binion, "Some Recollections of a Texas and Las Vegas Gaming Operator" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1976), 84-85; Coughtry, "Cahlan," 378-80.

According to John Cahlan's updated oral history, U.S. District Judge Roger Foley (father of the current federal judge) called him to his office and told him not to print columns by Drew Pearson and Westbrook Pegler on the case until after the trial was over. The Cahlans at first balked, but decided to go along with the judge's wishes. Pearson was extremely pro-Greenspun and anti-McCarran; Pegler was his ideological opposite. See Coughtry, "Cahlan," 378-79.

[17] Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 256-58; Sanford, "Printer's Ink," 339-43; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 10 November 1952; 30 October 1953. Every *Review-Journal* and its "Boiling Pot" column for this period was consulted; see particularly 18 May 1952; 19 August 1952; 31 August 1952; 31 October 1952. See also Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 170-80; Reid and DeMaris, *The Green Felt Jungle,* 149-52; A.J. Liebling, "Our Far-Flung Correspondents," *The New Yorker* 30 (March 27, 1954), 68; Tom Mechling, "I Battled McCarran's Machine," *The Reporter* 8 (June 9, 1953), 21-25. On Al Cahlan's role in McCarran's endorsement, see Coughtry, "Cahlan," 429.

[18] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 16 June 1953; 1 September 1954; *Las Vegas Sun,* August-September 1952; 4 November 1952; 4 April 1953; 26 June 1953; 14 September 1953; 31 May 1954; Mechling, "I Battled McCarran's Machine," 21-25; Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 170-80; Donovan and Cater, "A *Sun* that Wouldn't Set," 26-30; Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 207-08, 219.

[19] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 196, 254; *Las Vegas Sun,* 16 January 1953; 30 May 1953; 30

July 1953; 13 February 1954; 19 June 1954; 24 July 1954; 30 September 1954; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 12 February 1954; 29 September 1954.

[20] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 196-97; Norman Biltz, "Memoirs of the 'Duke of Nevada': Developments of Lake Tahoe, California, and Nevada; Reminiscences of Nevada Political Life" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1969), 168, 173; McDonald, "Life of a Newsboy," 186; Kaufman, "The Best City of Them All," 495; Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 157, 163-67; *Las Vegas Sun,* 12 April 1952; 13 February 1954; Interview of Greenspun; Interview of Yacenda; McCarran to Pete Petersen, Washington, D.C., 29 July 1954, in McCarran MSS, Nevada Historical Society, Reno.

The two editors who once had been with the *Review-Journal* were Ray Germain and Ed Oncken. According to John Cahlan, "I fired [Oncken] because of some of the material that he wrote and the way he wrote it. He would slant leftism in there—not communism. It was just general over a period of years; just the way he wrote made me believe this. I can't remember any specific incident." (Coughtry, "Cahlan," 382) The other editor was Adam Yacenda, who had worked for Nixon and turned down an offer from him to work for him in Washington, D.C. (Interview of Yacenda).

[21] *Las Vegas Sun,* 18 April 1951; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 20 April 1951. Their columns during the war reveal their commitment and concerns.

[22] *Las Vegas Sun,* 30 October 1952. As in the previous citation, the number of columns devoted to the presidential election throughout the year makes it nearly impossible and largely superfluous to cite them.

[23] *Las Vegas Sun,* 13 October 1952; 14 October 1952; 25 October 1952; 4 December 1953; 9 December 1953; 12 January 1954; 11 June 1954; 12 July 1954. The *Sun* issued a pamphlet of the columns in which Greenspun accused McCarthy of being a communist. See also Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 163; Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 196, 209-18; Liebling, "Our Far-Flung Correspondents," 69-70; Kaufman, "The Best City Of Them All," 504-05; Edward Olsen, "My Careers as a Journalist in Oregon, Idaho, and Nevada; in Nevada Gaming Control; and at the University of Nevada" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1970), 203-09; Interview of Greenspun; Interview of Yacenda. See also Richard Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), 68-69n. A fine forthcoming study of Greenspun and McCarthy that the author has seen in draft form is Gary E. Elliott and Candace C. Kant, "Hank Greenspun, Joe McCarthy, and Southern Nevada."

[24] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 238-44, 256-64; *Las Vegas Sun,* 8 January 1954; 10 April 1954.

[25] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 14-15 October 1952; 9-10 April 1954; Best and Hillyer, *Playtown U.S.A.,* 129; Coughtry, "Cahlan," 381. Greenspun saved a tape of the speech that supports his account. Adam Yacenda recalled listening to the speech that night while working at the *Sun,* and laid out the front page detailing that evening's events. Interview of Greenspun; Interview of Yacenda.

[26] Cahlan wrote so often on the communist threat that it is impossible to cite all pertinent columns. Instructive examples are *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 26 July 1950; 7 February 1951; 5 April 1951; 2 May 1951; 13 August 1951; 7 December 1951; 2 March 1952; 9 December 1952; 23 August 1953. See also Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 147-48; Biltz, "Memoirs," 176-77; Coughtry, "Cahlan," 421.

[27] Listing the columns in which the editors urged traffic safety, civic improvements, tougher laws, etc., would be impossile. On public works, newspapers, and boosterism, see Moehring, "Public Works and the New Deal," 107-29; Kaufman, "The Best City Of Them All." A fine study of a particular example is A. Costandina Titus, "A-Bombs in the Backyard: Southern Nevada Adapts to the Nuclear Age, 1951-1963," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 26 (Winter 1983), 235-54. An analysis of the Cahlan-Greenspun feud that complements the one in this article is Findlay, *People of Chance,* 215. For a sense of the role of papers and editors in civic affairs, see Cahlan, "Reminiscences"; Sanford, "Printer's Ink"; McCloskey, "Seventy Years of Griping"; McDonald, "Life of a Newsboy"; Paul A. Leonard, "Tales of Northern Nevada—and Other Lies, as Recalled by Native Son, Journalist, and Civic Leader" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1978); Interview of Greenspun; Interview of Yacenda. The author's experience as reporter and news editor for the *Valley Times* and talks with Bob Brown, the late publisher, and Bruce Hasley, the paper's longtime managing editor, contributed heavily to his understanding of editors' role in the community.

[28] *Las Vegas Sun,* 20 June 1953; 22 June 1953; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 6 December 1950; 14 April 1953; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s,* 61-72. See also Everette W. Harris, "My Years in Nevada: Life in Reno, a Career at the University of Nevada, Exploring the West" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1967), 66.

[29] *Las Vegas Sun,* 5 August 1954; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 25 July 1954; 29 July 1954; 12 August 1954; see also October 26-31; Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 188-92; Moody, *Southern Gentleman,* 112, n. 30.

[30] *Las Vegas Sun,* 12 April 1954; 30 April 1954.

[31] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 247; Reid and DeMaris, *The Green Felt Jungle,* 118-48; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s,* 25-39; Kaufman, "The Best City Of Them All," 272-92, 509-17; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 2 June 1954; Robbins E. Cahill, "Recollections of Work in State Politics, Government, Taxation, Gaming Control, Clark County Administration, and the Nevada Resort Association" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1976), 991-1073.

[32] Reid and DeMaris, *The Green Felt Jungle,* 131, 137. On Cliff Jones, Glen Jones, and their relationship to the *Review-Journal,* see *Las Vegas Sun,* 27 April 1951; 1 May 1951; July to October, 1952, especially 31 July 1952; 9 May 1954; Kaufman, "The Best City Of Them All," 188, 269; Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 260; Adams, "Windows of Washington," 232; Charles H. Russell, "Reminiscences of a Nevada Congressman, Governor, and Legislator" (Oral history, University of Nevada, Reno, 1967), 209.

[33] See the *Las Vegas Sun* (from October 11 until the election for the stories and reaction to them. See also Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s,* 25-39; Moody, *Southern Gentleman,* 101-09; Russell, "Reminiscences," 235.

[34] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 27-28 October 1954; *Las Vegas Sun,* 8 October 1954; 14 October 1954; Moody, *Southern Gentleman,* 101-09; Kaufman, "The Best City Of Them All," 509-17; "Gadfly in Las Vegas," *Newsweek,* XLV (May 2, 1955), 55; Interview of Yacenda. The *Sun* editor left to work on Russell's campaign, but he did so on his own. He was to have run the governor's Southern Nevada office, but Yacenda recalled Russell telling him he was perceived as too close to Greenspun. He returned to the *Sun.*

[35] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 1 November 1950; 12 June 1951; *Las Vegas Sun,* 6 September 1950; 4 June 1953; 5 June 1953; 6 June 1953; 8 June 1953, for a few examples from reading five years of each column. A helpful analysis of column-writing by a master of the art is "The Good Humor Man: Columnist Russell Baker," *Time,* CXIII:23 (June 4, 1979), 51.

[36] *Las Vegas Sun,* 22 March 1952; 24 May 1952; 7 March 1953; Interview of Yacenda.

[37] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 20 June 1950; 10 July 1950; *Las Vegas Sun,* 12 July 1950; 25 July 1950.

[38] *Las Vegas Sun,* 13 July 1950; 25 July 1950; 23 September 1950; 5 January 1951; 19 May 1951; 29 August 1951; 12 December 1952; 20 June 1953; 17 August 1953; 4 January 1954; 24 May 1954; 24 June 1954; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 24 September 1950; 7 December 1950; 30 December 1951; 5 December 1954.

[39] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 15 January 1951; 28 September 1953; *Las Vegas Sun,* 4 October 1951; 22 January 1953; 1 June 1953; 11 February 1954; 27 September 1954; 4 October 1954; Lingenfelter and Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada,* 35-36, 71-74. On Reynolds as "absentee landlord," see Coughtry, "Cahlan," 362-68.

[40] See, for example, *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 1 September 1954.

[41] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 30 December 1951; 25 March 1954; 10 December 1954; *Las Vegas Sun,* 11 December 1954, for a few examples.

[42] Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 237-38; *Las Vegas Sun,* 7 March 1954; 21 March 1954; 25 March 1954; 30 March 1954; 4 May 1954; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 22 March 1954; 21 April 1954.

[43] Edwards, *Pat McCarran,* 163; Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 276-79; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 15 December 1953, for one example of Pegler at his best or worst; *Las Vegas Sun,* 18 July 1952; 21 August 1952; 23 August 1952; 9 October 1952; 12 March 1953, for Greenspun on Pegler.

[44] *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 11 December 1960; *Las Vegas Sun,* 17 July 1951; 6 November 1952; 1 June 1953; 11 February 1954; 13 December 1960.

[45] *Las Vegas Sun,* 13 December 1960. By Reno Greenspun meant Carson City, though Reynolds desperately wanted the Reno papers owned by Speidel and made an enormous offer for them. See Sanford, "Printer's Ink," 420-28.

[46] *Las Vegas Sun,* 16 May 1964; 18 May 1964; 26 June 1968; 28 June 1968. See also *Ibid.,* 17 October 1987, for Greenspun's recollections in his farewell to John Cahlan. See Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 80-81; Coughtry, "Cahlan," 364.

The editors were Don Digilio, who left the *Sun* for the *Review-Journal,* rose to editor, and later wrote columns for the *Valley Times* and *Review-Journal* before rejoining the *Sun*; and Bob Brown, who agreed to work for Greenspun after quitting as *Review-Journal* editor, but changed his mind. According to Greenspun, when a 1963 fire destroyed the *Sun*'s plant, Brown was willing to let the *Review-Journal* print its competitor, but other executives imposed prohibitive conditions (Greenspun and Pelle, *Where I Stand,* 292, 296-97). When a fire struck the *Sun* in 1981, Brown, as *Times* publisher, aided the *Sun,* and the *Sun* defended the *Times* when it later had trouble with the IRS.

[47] *Las Vegas Sun,* 15 December 1960; 10 July 1968; 17 October 1987.

[48] Interview of Greenspun. See also Best and Hillyer, *Playtown U.S.A.*, 131; Biltz, "Memoirs," 112; Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 80-81; Olsen, "My Careers," 198-209.

[49] At this writing, Greenspun remains editor and co-publisher, but the *Sun* now has more high-level executives in a decision-making capacity. His wife Barbara is co-publisher. His son Brian, ex-Governor Mike O'Callaghan, and longtime aide Ruthe Deskin occupy important positions at the paper. At the *Review-Journal*, Reynolds remains in overall command, but longtime Donrey Media executive Fred Smith has been promoted to assume more of the day-to-day control.

The *Review-Journal* is by far the dominant paper in Southern Nevada, outpacing the *Sun* in circulation by approximately a 2-1 margin, although Greenspun long has believed that his competitor falsifies its figures. Many reasons are cited for the *R-J*'s lead. The 1963 fire and the editorship of Bob Brown (1961-64) are credited with giving the *R-J* an unassailable lead. Also, while Donald W. Reynolds has been criticized for putting the bottom line above good journalism, he has continued to expand and modernize the *R-J*'s facilities and equipment. Whatever profits Greenspun has made from the *Sun* have been used more for other investments, mostly in land (Green Valley) and other media (a cable television service). Finally, any bias the *R-J* has is for the status quo and its own financial interests. Greenspun's paper, in the tradition of personal journalism, reflects its publisher's bias within its news columns; it is intensely interested in the federal government's role in Nevada (particularly in the impeachment and conviction of former U.S. District Judge Harry Clairborne and the activities of the Internal Revenue Service), and, in connection with the federal government, the storage of nuclear waste in Nevada. These conclusions are based upon the interviews of Greenspun and Yacenda, as well as conversations with several local media figures. It is also based on several years the author has spent closely reading the two newspapers.

A Legacy of Support: Senator Alan Bible and the Nevada Mining Industry

GARY E. ELLIOTT

MINING WAS THE LIFEBLOOD OF NEVADA and its politicians for nearly one hundred years. From the silver discoveries in the 1850s to the boom in copper and tungsten in the 1950s, political office-holders and aspirants were inevitably tied to the only economic activity that promised prosperity for the state. Nevada consequently produced a long and continuous string of United States Senators dedicated to aiding the state's mining industry with federal dollars and regulatory support. Alan Bible was an important part of that tradition. From 1954 through 1974, he constantly and effectively championed Nevada's mining interests.

During the territorial period, William M. Stewart emerged as the leading spokesman on the Comstock for the powerful silver producers. Because of his popularity, as well as his close ties to the silver and railroad interests controlling the state legislature, he had little trouble being elected to the United States Senate, launching a career dedicated to improving his own interests and those of silver mining.[1] Stewart was the first among a legacy of Silver Senators comprising men no less dedicated to themselves or to silver mining. John P. Jones, Francis Newlands, Key Pittman, James Scrugham, and Patrick McCarran all followed Stewart's lead in carrying Nevada's economic interests to Washington. Moreover, the state that sent these stalwarts forward to protect the mining industry was itself riddled with politics that had one objective: the promotion of silver.

Throughout the 1890s the Silver Party controlled Nevada politics. Republicans and Democrats alike flocked to the silver banner in an impressive display of loyalty to this holy cause. The emergence of William Jennings Bryan and his crusade on behalf of silver allowed the state's leading political party to fuse with national Democrats, a move which signaled the downfall of Nevada's silverites. By 1902 the noble cause had been lost as a national campaign issue, and the Silver Party died with it. Regardless, the intensity and passion

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on behalf of the precious metal remained, channeled through the Republican and Democratic politicians in the state.[2]

The decline in silver production and the demise of the Silver Party forced political leaders to look to other areas for economic development. As a result, silver shared the spotlight with a new issue, that of reclamation. Senator Francis Newlands, a staunch supporter of mineral interests, believed Nevada had to diversify its economic base in order to expand and prosper. He launched a campaign to obtain federal aid in reclaiming semi-arid western lands. The campaign successfully produced the Newlands Act of 1902, upon which formed the foundation for further reclamation projects for the entire western United States. Meanwhile, Tasker Oddie emerged from the crazed mining districts of Goldfield and Tonopah to ride the reform impulse of the Progressive Movement to the governor's mansion and later the United States Senate; however, he spent most of his time supporting Nevada's political and financial boss, George Wingfield, rather than championing progressive causes. In 1932 Oddie was defeated by maverick Democratic politician Pat McCarran. Along with the state's five term Silver Senator Key Pittman, a Democrat whose seniority as Foreign Relations Committee Chairman gave him leverage with Franklin Roosevelt's administration, McCarran formed part of a strong twosome for Nevada and silver.[3]

This was the political tradition Alan Harvey Bible inherited. Born in Lovelock on November 20, 1909, Bible's family lived there for a short time before moving to Fallon after his father accepted a job managing a local grocery store. In Fallon, Bible learned firsthand the blessing of reclamation, a lesson that formed the foundation for his passionate belief that water was the key to Nevada's future growth and prosperity. Mining had always fascinated the young man, and it was during these early years that he hoped one day to own a mine of his own.[4]

Bible attended the University of Nevada in Reno where he excelled in academics, public speaking and diverse social activities from fraternities to debating clubs.[5] He was popular, easy going and friendly, traits that would later be used to describe his political style. His world was considerably broadened by the university experience, but he was nevertheless stirred by the monuments dedicated to the glory days of great mining exploits in Nevada. After graduating from the university, Bible entered Georgetown Law School and found a part-time job as an elevator operator in the United States Senate. It was here that Bible fell under the influence of Nevada's powerful Senator Pat McCarran and became one of the many eventually influential Nevadans whom the Senator helped through school.[6]

Returning to Nevada in 1934, Bible joined McCarran's declining law firm, where he remained for about a year. With McCarran's influence, he was appointed District Attorney of Storey County. From Storey County Bible moved rapidly to State Assistant Attorney General and in 1942 was elected

Senator Alan Bible (right) was persuaded by then Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (left) to run for reelection to the U.S. Senate in 1958. *(Photo courtesy of author)*

Nevada's Attorney General, a post he held until 1950, when he declined reelection to launch a bid for the United States Senate in 1952. The upswings and downturns of Nevada's mining industry mirrored the fortunes and misfortunes of Alan Bible.[7]

The decade of the 1950s witnessed a mining boom in Nevada that virtually went unnoticed, although it rivaled profits of the legendary Comstock Lode of the nineteenth century and the spectacular finds of Tonopah and Goldfield in the first decade of the twentieth century.[8] There were two primary differences from the earlier boom. First, the flamboyant personalities who dominated the Comstock era were not apparent and, second, silver production was almost non-existent. Such metals as uranium, mercury, manganese, copper, and tungsten led the way with the modern boom. By 1957 the boom was over and the mining fortunes of Nevada were again in decline.[9]

Alan Bible did not hold the same optimism that characterized the state's expectations of renewed mineral production, federal projects and the emerging tourist industry. He entered the Democratic primary in 1952, seeking his party's nomination to challenge the incumbent Republican Senator George Malone. Of course, he enjoyed the blessing of Pat McCarran and the support

of his political machine. Moreover, Bible was confident because he believed Malone, whom he liked personally, was vulnerable politically.[10] To his surprise, political newcomer Thomas Mechling challenged him in the primary with a vigorous door-to-door campaign against the McCarran machine candidate. On election day Bible suffered the only political defeat of his entire career. A mere 475 votes separated the two contestants, but the disappointment ran so deep that Bible considered leaving Nevada. New options presented themselves when Pat McCarran unexpectedly died in September 1954. As McCarran's protégé, Bible was the logical successor, and qualified for the November election after a favorable court ruling allowed the Democrats to select a candidate to replace McCarran. He easily defeated Republican Ernest Brown and entered the United States Senate at the very time Nevada's mining industry most needed help from the federal government.[11]

The Korean War was the key to Nevada's mining comeback with tungsten production leading the way. Prior to the war there had been little development of Nevada's massive tungsten deposits because of depressed prices. But with government support and subsidies, the industry suddenly became very profitable. When Bible entered the Senate in 1954, Nevada ranked second among the states in production of tungsten and from 1953 to 1955 total production reached a whopping 77.4 million dollars.[12] Sadly, the need for wartime metals had created an artificial market supported only by national defense considerations. Once the war ended, Nevada's tungsten was no longer required in the manufacturing of armor-piercing shells, and the ensuing decline in the state's economy was entirely predictable.

Nevada's slump coincided with a dip in the political aspirations of its newly-elected senator. Shortly after arriving in the capital, Bible decided he was not cut out for Washington society. His family was overjoyed because they too missed the Nevada landscape. Bible announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection in 1956, a pronouncement that did not please Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, who thereafter applied considerable pressure and arm-twisting to the freshman senator. Patriotism, party loyalty, and friendship were all employed, along with promises of choice committee assignments if Bible would reconsider. From Johnson's perspective, what was at stake was the leadership of the Senate, which he believed would pass to the Republicans if Eisenhower swept the country, including Nevada, in 1956, as he had done four years earlier. Bible, like so many others, succumbed to Johnson's powers of persuasion and reversed his decision, but not before gaining assignment to the Interior and Appropriations Committees.[13]

For Bible and for Nevada's tungsten industry, 1956 was a difficult year. Bible was forced to explain a rather embarrassing change of mind to the Nevada electorate, which he did by declaring that, if elected, he would stay in the United States Senate as long as the voters approved and his health permitted, a promise he faithfully kept. Tungsten producers and workers had

far more serious concerns than Bible's commitment to political life. In July the House of Representatives narrowly defeated a bill which proposed to cut from the budget all appropriations under the Tungsten Purchase Act. The Senate, under Johnson's leadership and with considerable support from Bible and Republican George Malone, was successful in restoring twenty-one million dollars for mineral purchases. President Eisenhower signed the new proposal into law, a narrow escape for Nevada's tungsten producers.

Bible campaigned furiously in 1956, stressing that he could rally for Nevada's miners as he had in the summer when it looked as if the industry would lose government support. Advertisements were purchased in state newspapers emphasizing that Bible was a tireless worker for tungsten interests. He won the support of Nevada's mining association, which helped his campaign by printing editorials in their newsletter describing the budget fights over tungsten.[14] All the while, Bible's opponent, Republican Representative Cliff Young, toured the state telling voters that, unlike Bible, he was a man of his word and President Eisenhower needed him in the Senate. On election day Bible boasted a comfortable margin of five thousand votes, but there was little time for rejoicing because of a renewed fight in Congress over metals.[15]

The new year had barely begun when a host of senators from tungsten-producing states, including Alan Bible, testified before the Interior Committee on the need for the continued stockpiling of vital metals. They requested a supplemental appropriation of thirty million dollars, which was approved by the Interior Committee and hurriedly rushed to the Senate floor on February 19. The measure passed easily, 64 to 17. In a statement released the same day, Bible emphasized that the thirty million dollar supplement appropriation bill was only a first step in a long-range program. In criticizing the Eisenhower Administration, which Nevadans had overwhelmingly supported in the 1952 and 1956 elections, Bible said, "We were promised a long-range minerals program by the Administration over two years ago. The action taken today is a stop-gap measure to keep western mines and mills open until a better program is devised."[16]

Bible constantly argued that the federal government should stockpile tungsten because of its use in jet engines, and, more important, because defense priorities in the post-war era had by no means become fixed. Until the nation's strategic plans were certain, he reasoned, it should continue to store whatever metals might be needed. Given his past record support on national defense appropriations, Bible was no doubt sincere. But his line of argument could not have been better tailored to boost Nevada's mining interests than by linking their welfare to the national defense. By the senator's own estimates, some 7,500 jobs were at risk in Nevada alone, a significant number in itself, magnified by the state's small population.[17]

In March and April Nevada's junior senator continued to press the Congress on behalf of tungsten. In March he forwarded a joint resolution from the

Senator Bible and President John F. Kennedy, pictured here during the early 1960s, both began their careers in the U.S. Senate in 1954. *(Photo courtesy of author)*

Nevada Legislature to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Arguments by Nevada lawmakers were essentially the same as those he had made in February, namely that tungsten mining was essential not only to the economy of Nevada but also for the nation's defense needs. Exactly one month later, the irrepressible Bible appeared before the Appropriations Committee with a five-page statement which outlined his cause, the patriotism of Nevada tungsten miners, and a general history of tungsten mining in the United States.[18]

Shortly thereafter Bible collared the Senate Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson, on the floor of the Senate and again pressed the issue. After hearing the Nevadan speak, Johnson asked that his ideas be put forth in a letter. Wasting no time, Bible returned to his office and dictated a two-page letter, which outlined his concerns. First, he wrote that Congress had broken faith with western miners by failing to appropriate the necessary funds to carry out the intent of Public Law 733, authorizing the stockpiling of strategic minerals such as tungsten. Second, he emphasized that he had recently

campaigned in Nevada on the Tungsten Purchase Act and had given his word that Congress would fulfill the intent of Public Law 733. Miners relied on his promises and he must come to their aid. Third, and most frustrating, the United States doubled the appropriated funds needed to purchase foreign minerals that would be expended under Public Law 733. In conclusion the letter pointed out that unless Congress reversed its position on western mining, the Democratic Party might face disaster in 1958. Thus, he appealed to Johnson's sense of party loyalty, which was the same tactic Johnson used on Bible two years earlier to induce him to seek reelection.[19]

Meanwhile, as Nevada miners lost their jobs, Bible continued to bristle over the sums being spent to aid the mining industries of foreign countries. In the second week of April, the Riley Mine in Winnemucca closed, bringing the total to nine hundred people who had lost their jobs since the 1956 election in which Bible had promised to protect the interest of the tungsten industry.[20] No wonder Bible felt vulnerable and helpless to aid those who had relied on his word and given him their vote in 1956. Thereafter, throughout his twenty years in the Senate, Bible refused to support foreign aid programs, in part because he felt that American interests, such as mining, suffered. But in 1957 the Democrats did not have the votes to force the House Appropriations Committee to adopt a more generous funding policy for Public Law 733 and western mining interests.

Although Bible had struggled for two years to reverse the Eisenhower policy of reducing the stockpile of strategic metals, the outcome was never really in doubt given the fiscal outlook of the administration and the end of the Korean War. After all, the war created the necessity in the first instance, and post-war cutbacks were inevitable as the country looked to a balanced budget and continued prosperity. Still, the Nevada senator, reared in a mining tradition, would be heard from again, principally in the funding for research facilities in Boulder City and later as a member of the Public Land Law Review Commission.

The decade of the 1960s began on a high note for Bible. Democrat Howard Cannon had defeated George Malone in 1958, thus making Bible the state's senior senator, and a friend and fellow Democrat now occupied the White House. President John F. Kennedy and Bible entered the Senate together in 1954 and, because of seniority, found themselves seated next to each other on the Democratic side of the aisle. Although Bible saw little of Kennedy because the latter was continually off campaigning for the presidency, they nevertheless enjoyed a warm and friendly relationship that had survived Bible's support for Johnson during the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles. Once the intra-party battles were over, Bible enthusiastically supported the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in the general election.

Lyndon Johnson was gone from the Senate, but Bible had little difficulty in enlisting the support of other powerful Democrats in Nevada's cause. One

was Carl Hayden, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and a fellow westerner from Arizona. In March 1960, Bible pointed out to Hayden that the titanium research facility in Boulder City was phasing out its program, which had been funded by a contract with the General Services Administration. More important, the Bureau of Mines had failed to include funding for Boulder City in its 1961 budget request, an omission which would eliminate forty jobs in that small community. Bible suggested that the Bureau of Mines keep the operation open and initiate research in new areas to aid western mining which had for so long been in a depressed condition, a fact well known to the appropriations chairman. He reminded Hayden that research on the uses of titanium sponge was crucial since the Soviet Union was making progress in that direction while the United States did not even have a viable research facility. Finally, Bible asked Hayden for an additional $200,000 appropriation to keep the facility functioning.[21]

Acting as a member of the Senate-House Conference Committee on the Interior Department money bill, Bible in May 1960 secured approval for a $200,000 appropriation to keep the Boulder City operation in business. Afterward he suggested to the Bureau of Mines that the plant should conduct research on high temperature metals and again noted that forty jobs would be lost in the event the facility closed its doors.[22] For its part, the Bureau of Mines had no desire to see reductions in its budget, but wanted to consolidate the operations in Boulder City and Reno. Although the actual number of employees would probably not be reduced, most, if not all, of the Boulder City workers would refuse to relocate in Reno. More important, the Bureau of Mines did not fully appreciate the impact the closing would have on the community, a factor uppermost in the senator's mind when he requested funding for the operation.

In early 1962, Bible took vigorous exception to President Kennedy's plans to barter surplus agricultural products for beryllium produced in foreign countries, particularly at a time when research funding in the United States was being cut back. To Bible this was yet another example of Nevada mining interests being overlooked in deference to foreign competitors. He pointed out that Nevada had significant beryl ore deposits in White Pine and Lincoln Counties and that these should be developed for use as heat shields and fuel containers before any foreign markets stepped into the field. Finally, he asked the Bureau of Mines to expand its research capabilities and seek new domestic sources for mineral production.[23] Apparently, the senator's words were heeded at least by the Bureau of Mines, which made no further attempts to curtail its Nevada operations until 1965.

However, even if the Bureau of Mines was suddenly quiet, it had not forgotten its plans. The Bureau proved its persistence when in early 1965 it again announced plans to close the Boulder City facility for economic reasons. News of the proposed action infuriated Bible, who was not about to let the

facility close without a fight. Again he used his influence and power in both the Interior and Appropriations Committees to block the Bureau's efforts. On April 29, 1965, the full Senate Appropriations Committee met, and Bible secured language in the appropriation bill directing the Bureau of Mines not to close its Boulder City research facility in fiscal year 1966 until an investigation could be completed. The Bureau of Mines was hardly in a position to complain with a generous appropriation for Nevada of 1.9 million dollars, which was $250,000 more than would be appropriated over each of the next three years.[24] Even so, Bible was neither satisfied nor convinced that the Bureau of Mines had gotten his message and took steps to make sure that there was no misunderstanding.

Only four days after he had secured the appropriation for the Boulder City facility, Bible obtained approval from Chairman Hayden for a staff investigation of the Boulder City laboratory which was completed in November. Not surprisingly, the team, consisting of Bible's legislative assistant Joseph T. McDonnell, concluded that the operation was indeed productive and should not be closed. The investigation received the widest possible news coverage in Boulder City.[25] Thus, the 1966 appropriation was secured and Bible had moved to keep the facility in operation on a permanent basis.

But the senator was not yet satisfied. In May 1966 Bible, acting as a member of the Senate Interior Committee, placed 1.6 million dollars in the Interior Department money bill to operate the Bureau of Mines in Nevada, including the Boulder City plant. In the same month, the Interior bill reached the Senate Appropriations Committee, of which Bible was also a member. The committee moved into executive session, chaired by Senator Bible, and reported favorably on the Interior money bill, which cleared the way for a floor vote. While in executive session, Bible had the following language inserted into the Interior appropriation bill:

> "It is the desire of the committee that operation of the Bureau's Boulder City, Nevada, metallurgical laboratory be continued indefinitely. Should closure again be proposed, the committee is to be notified at least one year in advance. This will afford the committee ample opportunity again to examine the advisability of such action."[26]

Clearly, Bible intended the Boulder City operation to continue as a viable research facility as long as he represented Nevada in Congress.

The Bureau of Mines made no further attempts to close the operation until 1971. This time, however, Bible and the Bureau worked together in converting the installation to a testing center for metal recovery and research on new uses for sulfur. The Bureau of Mines was not successful in closing down its Southern Nevada research center until 1984 when most of its thirty employees were reassigned to the Reno facility. Bible's work had been so effective that the Boulder City plant had remained in operation a full ten years after his retirement.

During the 1960s Bible also promoted western mining interests through the Public Land Review Commission. In 1961 he was made chairman of the Public Lands Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. It was a natural and desirable committee placement for a senator representing a state with over 86% of its land held by the federal government. In practical terms, Bible, through the Public Lands Subcommittee, was in a position to influence how public lands in the west would be used. More important, work on this committee brought him into direct contact with Representative Wayne Aspinall, the powerful chairman of the House Public Lands Subcommittee and an ardent protector of mining interests in his home state of Colorado.

By mid-1963, it was clear that Aspinall had the votes to block passage of a wilderness bill sponsored by Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico. The act enjoyed the support not only of Bible, but also of most members of the Senate Interior Committee. However, Aspinall was not uncompromising and he agreed to withdraw his resistence to the Wilderness Act if the Senate agreed to a Public Land Law Review Commission. Aspinall had become extremely dissatisfied with executive agencies making policy on the use of public lands, and he was determined to end the practice. Aspinall envisioned the commission as the vehicle for blocking further executive decisions to remove federal lands from private exploitation. Naturally, Aspinall would be appointed the Commission's chairman and consequently would exercise great influence over its actions. Initially, Bible was cool to the prospect because he viewed another commission as a waste of money, but he went along when Anderson seized on the compromise as a way of securing passage of the legislation which he had fought five years to obtain.[27] As a result, Anderson gained his wilderness bill, which was signed into law by President Johnson on September 3, 1964, at a White House Rose Garden ceremony attended by Aspinall, Anderson, and Bible.

Two weeks later Congress established the Public Land Law Review Commission, and Alan Bible was appointed as one of the twelve members of Congress to serve on the commission.[28] The commission's charter required three actions: a study of the current land statutes; a review of federal policies and procedures; and a determination of future demands on the land. It was a broad mandate to be sure, and one that left room for flexibility as well as protection of those interests that required access to and use of public lands. To accomplish this agenda a wealth of talent and expertise was assembled to do research, write reports, and make recommendations. One of the finest pieces of scholarship to be commissioned, for example, was Paul W. Gates' *History of Public Land Law Development*.[29] Also important to the commission work was the selection of an advisory council consisting of twenty-four members, two selected by each member. It was here that Bible seized the opportunity to ensure that mining interests were protected by the appointment of a fellow Nevadan and a long-time friend, W. Howard Gray.

Bible and Gray had a long association extending back to the 1940s when Bible succeeded Gray as Assistant Attorney General for Nevada. After leaving that post, Gray continued his practice of law, specializing in mineral leases. He was later counsel for the Nevada Mining Association and eventually chairman of the Public Lands Committee of the American Mining Congress.[30] Bible and Gray could be counted on to support the cause of western miners, and the 1872 mining law which formed the basic statute for all mining in the United States. The stakes were high. If the 1872 statute underwent significant modification, mining corporations could be forced to pay a percentage of profits in tax revenue to the national government.

The 1872 law was largely the handiwork of Nevada Senator William M. Stewart, who championed the cause of silver producers in his home state. More important, he opposed any and all taxes being levied against mining companies. The law did not tax minerals taken from public lands. Critics of the law have correctly charged that billions of dollars in precious metals were taken from public land without one cent being returned to the federal coffers. Nevertheless, the statute has remained intact, as has the accessibility of miners to the public domain in search of precious metals. With this in mind, Bible, Gray, and the Nevada Legislature moved quickly to define their positions. In a four-page preliminary report issued in March 1966, the Nevada Legislature took a positive stand, stating that a moratorium should be invoked on changing policies or laws unless concurred with by state governors.[31] The report embraced other ideas and suggestions, but this one clearly had a great impact on mining interests in Nevada because it was unlikely that the governor would consent to a revision of the law. This theme was carried through four years later when the commission made its report, findings, conclusions, and recommendations: the 1872 law escaped intact.[32]

Not everyone on the commission agreed with the conclusions respecting the 1872 law. In particular, Arizona Democrat Morris Udall wanted the report to go further in recommending an overhaul of the statute. The commission, however, did suggest some modifications by recommending a royalty on all mineral production taking place on public lands. Even Chairman Aspinall, in a rare display of practicality, recognized that at some point mining companies would have to pay their fair share of profits taken from federal lands. Consequently, in 1972 he and Senator Bible cosponsored the Mineral Development Act which called for payment of a two percent royalty by mining companies doing business on public lands. Delaying tactics used by the American Mining Congress successfully blocked this legislation, and no reform legislation in modernizing the 1872 law has subsequently appeared. Summing up the situation, one critic observed, "Congress turned to more pressing matters, and the hoary old 1872 law sailed into the 1980's, warts and all." This was a sweet victory for the miners and their western advocates.[33]

Throughout his twenty years in the United States Senate, Alan Bible battled long, hard, and usually successfully on behalf of American mining

interests in general and Nevada mining interests in particular. He was not without critics, and foremost among them were syndicated muckraking columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. Pearson's dislike for Bible dated back to the 1950s with the senator's long association and identification with Pat McCarran, whom Pearson characterized as the most repulsive man in the Senate next to Joe McCarthy. Pearson correctly labelled Bible a McCarran boy, a fact Bible never denied. In the 1952 Democratic primary for the Senate, Pearson supported Mechling over Bible, believing that a vote for Mechling was a vote against the McCarran political machine.

Bible was not surprised when he entered the Senate and found Pearson to be one of his most vocal critics. Pearson and Anderson's most damning charges against Bible came in 1968 with the publication of *The Case Against Congress*. In Section II of the book, labelled "conflict of interest," Pearson and Anderson charged that Bible supported mining interests in the Senate at the same time his law firm in Nevada had mining clients from which he received a fee. They also charged that while Bible was supporting mining interests in the Senate, he owned some thirteen claims himself.[34] The clear implication drawn from these charges was that Bible's support of mining was rooted in his desire to benefit personally.

While the hint of impropriety existed on the surface, the explanation for Bible's advocacy of mining was not personal gain. In their zeal to expose wrongdoing on Capitol Hill, Pearson and Anderson did not bother to examine the impact of historical and environmental conditioning on the views of elected officials. Like so many others who represent districts and states in Washington, Bible staked out positions on issues based on local and statewide concerns. No prominent law firm in Northern Nevada could escape clients with mining interests. And as for Bible's thirteen mining claims, none appeared to return a significant profit. If Bible had been primarily interested in or concerned with improving his own financial status, he would not have fought so long and so vigorously in support of a small research laboratory employing only forty people. Bible certainly had no financial stake in the Boulder City operation. He embraced the cause of mining because the heritage and traditions of Nevada had influenced him as a young man and because the state's economic well-being partially depended upon that support.

Alan Bible was the last in a long line of Nevada senators to support the cause of mining on a national level. Throughout his political career, mining remained one of his top priorities and a matter of considerable importance to Nevada voters as well. He campaigned on the mining issue in 1954 and handily defeated Republican Ernest Brown by twelve thousand votes. In 1962 he outpolled his Republican opponent, William B. Wright, by almost a two-to-one margin. Again in 1968 he rolled up an impressive victory over Ed Fike, defeating the aggressive challenger by fourteen thousand votes in a year that saw many Democrats defeated nationwide. He was clearly the most

popular politician in Nevada. However, by 1974 his health had begun to fail and he chose retirement over the prospects of another reelection campaign that would have placed a heavy drain on his energies.[35]

By the 1970s the state's economy had undergone considerable change and no longer included mining as the state's principal source of revenue. Although Bible steadfastly embraced all manner of economic betterment for Nevada, it was his unabashed advocacy of mineral production that placed him firmly within the state's historical tradition. It is unlikely that mining will again dominate the economic life of Nevada requiring powerful senators to champion that cause in Washington. With the passing of Alan Bible from the political scene, Nevada ended a tradition that began over a hundred years ago on the Comstock with the election of the state's first senator, William M. Stewart—a tradition of which Bible unquestionably was a part.

Notes

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[1] Russell R. Elliott, *Servant of Power: A Political Biography of Senator William M. Stewart* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984). For a general history of Nevada see Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973). A shorter and very readable treatment of Nevada history is provided by James W. Hulse, *The Nevada Adventure: A History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1981).

[2] Mary Ellen Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada, 1892-1902* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969).

[3] At the present time a scholarly biography of Francis Newlands has not been published. However, his contribution and impact on Nevada politics have been detailed in other works. Russell Elliott's *History of Nevada* and biography of William M. Stewart provide adequate background information. Loren B. Chan, *Sagebrush Statesman: Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973) is the best work produced on Oddie and the Progressive Era in Nevada. There are two scholarly works on Key Pittman. See Fred L. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963) and Betty Glad, *Key Pittman: The Tragedy of a Senate Insider* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986). Indispensable to understanding Nevada politics from 1932 to 1954 is Jerome E. Edwards, *Pat McCarran: Political Boss of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982). Professor Edwards's work is vital to appreciating the emergence of Alan Bible as a political force in Nevada.

[4] Alan Bible, *Recollections of a Native Son: The Law, Politics, the Nevada Attorney Generals Office, and the United States Senate* (Oral history project, University of Nevada, Reno, Library, Reno, Nevada 1981), 1-32. Oral interview of Alan Bible with author, 6 September 1986.

[5] See Bible oral history, 33-52. See also University of Nevada, Reno, Annual, *The Artemisia of 1930*, Vol. 27, the record of the college year 1929-1930, pp. 28, 29, 39, 51, 87, 163, 234, 235, 240, 243.

[6] Stephen Kemp Bailey, *Congress Makes a Law: The Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1950), 189-219. This is an extremely valuable work because of its concentration on local forces and influences on Senate voting patterns. It is this author's belief that Alan Bible's behavior as a U.S. Senator was to a large extent conditioned by local mining and water interests in Nevada. Like Bailey, this author sees the absence of a true urban center as a contributing factor that intensifies these forces. Also see David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 64.

[7] Oral interview of Alan Bible with author, 1 November 1986.

[8] Mary Ellen Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent 50's* (Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1981), 88.

[9] Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent 50's*, 93.

[10] Oral interview of Alan Bible with author, 9 January 1987.

[11] *Ibid.* Also see Bible oral history, 231-254. For political statistics of the state of Nevada, see Nevada Secretary of State, *Political History of Nevada, 1986* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1986), 279, 307. Also Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent 50's*, 105.

[12] See Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent 50's*, 91.

[13] Oral interview of Alan Bible with author, 9 January 1987. The Bible family, particularly the children, preferred life in Reno to Washington, D.C. Alan Bible has always felt badly about reversing his decision not to run for reelection in 1956, principally because Republican Representative Cliff Young had declared that he would be a candidate for the Senate, based on Bible's assurance he would not run again. When Bible did change his mind, it left Young with nowhere to go and he was easily defeated by Bible in the general election. Bible is one of many who experienced firsthand the persuasive powers of Lyndon Johnson. He recalled that Johnson would tell someone, "Come let us reason together." That meant he was serious and would not let up until he had thoroughly convinced his opponent. In addition, Bible asked for the same committee assignments held by Pat McCarran, a request that Johnson agreed to, providing that Bible would also sit on the Washington, D.C. committee, which oversees governmental operations in the nation's capital. Later in his political career, Bible would use his position on the Interior and Appropriations Committee for the considerable benefit of Nevada in water and recreation legislation.

[14] *Battle Mountain Scout*, 1 November 1956. This is an interesting edition because it carries the advertisements of both candidates and a short statement of the issues. Here Bible wants the voters to know his record on tungsten.

[15] See *Political History of Nevada*, 280.

[16] *Congressional Record*, 11 February 1956, D86. Statement from the office of Senator Alan Bible, 19 February 1957, Alan Bible Papers (hereafter cited as AB Papers), Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Library, Box 45; William D. Swackhamer, *Political History of Nevada, 1979* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1979), 224, 226.

[17] Bob Redwine to Alan Bible, 27 February 1957, AB Papers, Box 45. Nevada's population was about 285,000 in 1960, a little less than in 1957.

[18] *Congressional Record*, 1 March 1957, 2511-12. Statement of Senator Alan Bible before the Senate Appropriations Committee, 1 April 1957. Also see news release from the office of Senator Bible, 1 April 1957, AB Papers, Box 45.

[19] Alan Bible to Lyndon Johnson, 9 April 1957, AB Papers, Box 45.

[20] *Pioche Record*, 26 April 1957; *Humboldt Star*, 27 May 1957. This editorial places responsibility for Nevada's mining problems squarely on the House Appropriations Committee for failure to fund Public Law 733. *Congressional Record*, 7 August 1957, 13655. Report of Nevada State Mining Inspector, Mervin J. Gallagher, on the loss of jobs in Nevada because of Congress' failure to fund Public Law 733. *Congressional Record*, 30 August 1957, 45110. Article from the *Nevada State Journal* dated 25 August 1957, criticizing the United States for aiding Far Eastern mining interests while allowing American miners to lose their jobs.

[21] Alan Bible to Carl Hayden, 9 March 1960, AB Papers, Box 45. Also Jack Carpenter to author, 11 September 1987. Mr. Carpenter was an administrative assistant to Senator Bible for eighteen years and is currently retired from the American Mining Congress where he was employed as a consultant.

[22] Statement from the office of Senator Alan Bible, 3 May 1960, AB Papers, Box 45.

[23] Statement from the office of Senator Alan Bible, 26 January 1962, AB Papers, Box 45.

[24] Statement from the office of Senator Alan Bible, 29 April 1965, AB Papers, Box 45.

[25] Alan Bible to Carl Hayden, 7 May 1965, AB Papers, Box 46. Also see *Boulder City News*, 4 November 1965.

[26] Statement from the office of Senator Alan Bible, 10 May 1966, AB Papers, Box 46. Also, oral interview of Tom Carnahan with author, 14 September 1987. Mr. Carnahan is the research director of the U.S. Bureau of Mines in Reno, Nevada.

[27] Richard Allan Baker, *Conservation Politics: The Senate Career of Clinton Anderson* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 207, 208. Dr. Baker is currently the historian for the United States Senate. His work on Senator Anderson is written, researched and documented well. It is a valuable contribution to understanding the influence and power of a generation of western senators that have emerged since 1948, and clearly must reading for those interested in western history in the post-World War II era.

[28] Public Law 88-606 enacted 19 September 1964, Statute 42 USC 1391-1400. Besides Aspinall and Bible, other members of the Commission included Representatives Burton, Kyl, Saylor, Taylor, Udall, and Senators Allott, Anderson, Jackson, Jordan, Kuchel and Walter Baring of Nevada.

[29] Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing Company, 1968). Originally published by the Government Printing Office, this piece remains as the definitive work on public land law in the United States.

[30] Statement from the office of Senator Alan Bible, 19 August 1965, AB Papers, Box 46.

[31] "Nevada's Preliminary Position on Federal Land Laws," 1 March 1966, AB Papers, Box 46.

[32] United States Public Land Law Review Commission, *One Third of the Nation's Land: A Report to the President and Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June 1970), 11. This report is currently out of print.

[33] William K. Wyant's superbly written and researched *Westward in Eden: The Public Conservation Movement* (University of California Press, 1982), 141-149, 164.

[34] Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, *Case Against Congress* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), 123.

[35] Nevada Secretary of State, *Political History of Nevada, 1986* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1986), 279, 283, 286.

The Desert Homestead as a Non-Farm Residence

MARSHALL BOWEN

IN THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, thousands of homesteaders moved into the dry valleys of the northern Great Basin. Authorities on the region agree that most of these people intended to farm, and that the remainder either claimed land for purely speculative reasons or obtained the property for use by local ranchers. Their views are echoed by scholars focusing on other parts of the American West. Mary Hargreaves, for example, has observed that most homesteaders in the northern Great Plains either farmed or speculated in land, while Paul Gates, writing about the impact of early twentieth-century land laws throughout the West, has stressed the importance of aspiring dry farmers and stock raisers in the homesteading process.[1]

These studies, however, do not take all homesteaders into account. Careful scrutiny of documents written by northeastern Nevada homesteaders and the people who knew them, found largely in General Land Office files, suggests that another group of settlers, who simply wanted places to live, and were not very interested in farming, speculation, or ranchers' land acquisition schemes, were also involved in homesteading. This paper, focusing on two small homesteader communities in eastern Elko County, identifies some of these people, and describes the procedures which they followed to establish their non-farm homes in the desert.

Both settlements were located near the foot of the Pequop Mountains, between the town of Wells and the Utah state line (Fig. 1). Although neither had a generally accepted name at the time, the collection of homesteads west of the Pequops was occasionally referred to as "Independence Valley," an identity derived from its location near the northern end of a desert trough bearing that name, while the settlement east of the Pequops was sometimes called "Decoy," after a nearby Nevada Northern Railroad siding in Steptoe

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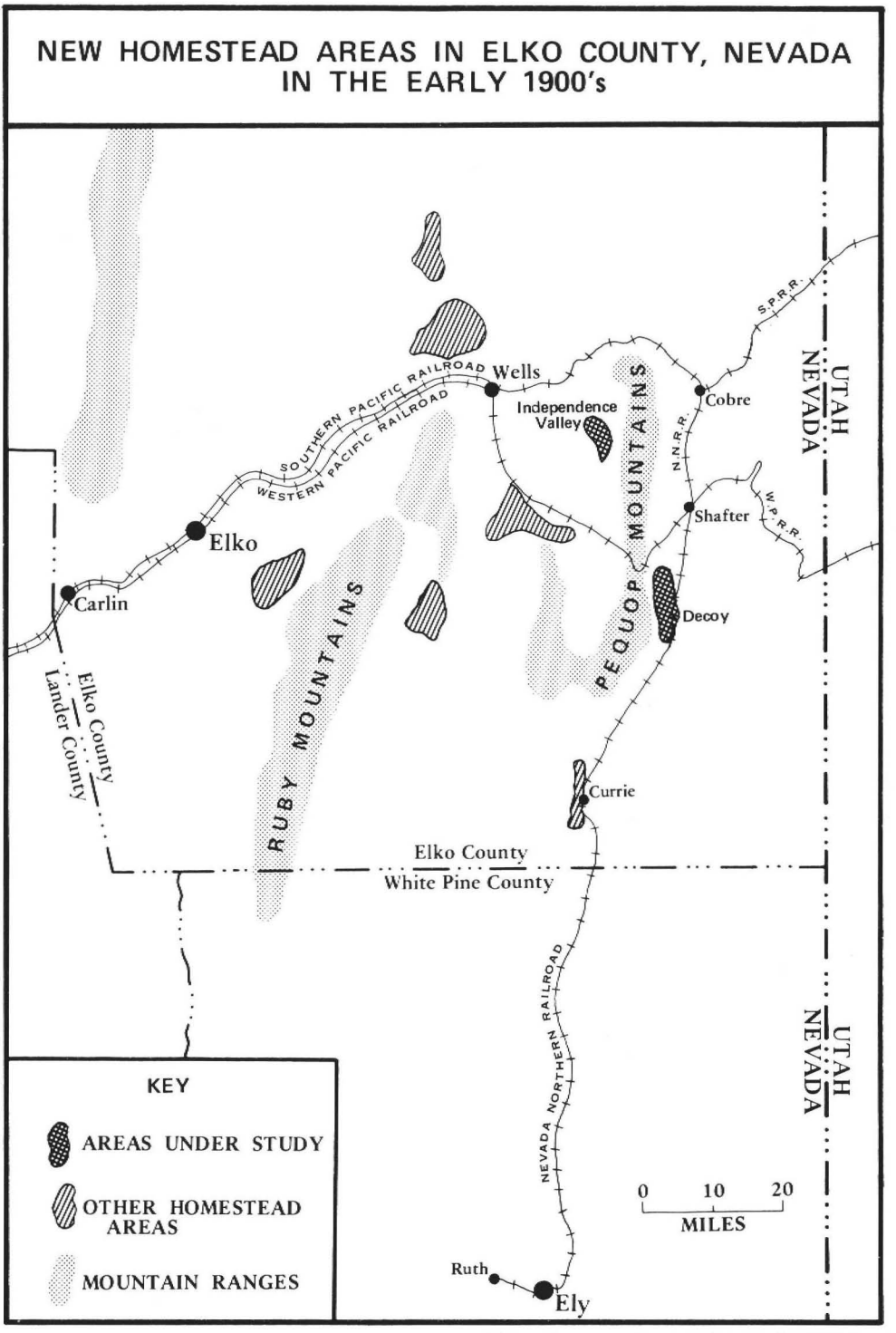


Figure 1. Map outlining homestead areas in Elko County during the early 1900s. *(Courtesy of author)*

Valley. Both colonies occupied monotonously flat plains, occasionally interrupted by low sand dunes, close to the shorelines of Pleistocene lakes which once washed the base of the Pequops. This area is very dry, with northern Independence Valley receiving only about six inches of precipitation annually, and the country around Decoy even less.[2] Before the homesteading era, the sites of both settlements were unoccupied, and the land was used exclusively for grazing, primarily by cattle owned by ranchers located a few miles away, but occasionally by sheep belonging to transient operators passing through the valleys.[3]

Settlement of these areas took place between 1913 and 1916, and, with two minor exceptions, was carried out under the provisions of the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, as amended in 1912.[4] The original Act, designed to promote dry-farming settlement on the nonirrigated lands of the West, allowed each settler to obtain a 320-acre half-section of land, provided that he live on the claim continuously for five years, and had at least one-fourth of the property under cultivation by the end of the third year of residence. Homesteaders' difficulty in meeting these standards prompted Congress to revise the Act and establish less stringent requirements in 1912. The new law reduced the residence requirement from five years to three, permitted homesteaders to be absent from their claims for as long as five months in each of the three years, and cut the cultivation requirements in half, from one-fourth to one-eighth of the total acreage.[5]

These amended regulations made the homesteading procedure more attractive, not only to prospective farmers, but also to people less anxious to embark on full-fledged careers in agriculture. After 1912, a settler could work at an off-homestead job for almost half of the year, avoid living in his drafty claim shack during the coldest winter months, plant a relatively small amount of cropland, and still secure ownership of the land within three years. This would be soon enough, as some cynics observed, to permit him to obtain a patent before he starved to death. If these loose regulations did not sufficiently ease the homesteader's burden, he could take advantage of additional legal actions which lowered the requirements still further. In 1913 the General Land Office ruled that it would interpret "cultivation" as including summer fallowing practices done in conjunction with a program of dry farming, meaning that a settler could conceivably satisfy government cultivation requirements by plowing a certain acreage, but not necessarily planting a crop on it. Furthermore, individuals who found that cultivation of even the bare minimum of acreage constituted a hardship were able to petition the General Land Office to grant them a special dispensation absolving them of the responsibility of cultivating any more land than the amount already worked. In August 1914, the five-month leave of absence to which settlers were entitled was extended to six months when climatic conditions were particularly severe.[6] In the eyes of Congress and General Land Office officials,

these various rulings seemed to insure that the government could promptly dispose of even the most unattractive parcels of public land.

With this set of rules in effect, it is not surprising that homesteaders poured into the unoccupied valleys of western Utah, southeastern Oregon, and northeastern Nevada. Sixty-one individuals filed Enlarged Homestead claims at this time on land in Independence Valley and near Decoy (Table 1). Fifteen of these people either failed completely to establish residence, or simply camped out on their claims for a few days before moving on; they have been eliminated from further consideration. Forty-six individuals, in many cases accompanied by their families, actually established residence, with the first homesteader arriving in late 1913, and the last one leaving in 1924. All but four of these homesteaders were living on their claims in the summer of 1915, when population peaked in both colonies. Eventually, seventeen people fulfulled the government's residence and cultivation requirements, and were granted patents to their property.[7]

The overwhelming majority of homesteaders who established residence came from Utah and Nevada (Fig. 2). Almost half of them, including every settler in Independence Valley, were residents of Salt Lake City. All of the Nevada homesteaders came from the northeastern part of the state, with eighty-five percent claiming prior residence in six communities along the route of the Nevada Northern Railroad, from the vicinity of Ely to the railroad's connection with the Southern Pacific at Cobre. Two others—a friend and a relative of a Utah settler—arrived from Eagle Grove, Iowa, while a third person, very likely with Nevada connections, drifted in from Orofino, in northern Idaho.[8]

Most settlers were blue collar workers (Table 2). Railroad men and unskilled laborers were most numerous, followed by miners and prospectors, skilled workers such as butchers and carpenters, and a scattering of individuals performing personal services, such as bartenders and clerks. Only one man was unquestionably a farmer. The occupations of thirteen Decoy settlers are unknown, but their former residence in such places as Carlin, Cobre, Shafter, and East Ely suggests that several were employees of the area's railroads. Five of the settlers were women: two unmarried Salt Lake City clerks, a pair of widows, one from Salt Lake City and one from Iowa, and the estranged wife of a Salt Lake City bartender.[9]

TABLE 1
Land Acquisitions in Independence Valley and Decoy, Nevada, Under the Revised Provisions of the Enlarged Homestead Act, 1913 to 1916

Location	Initial Entries	Residence Established	Final Patent Issued
Independence Valley	12	11	6
Decoy	49	35	11
Total	61	46	17

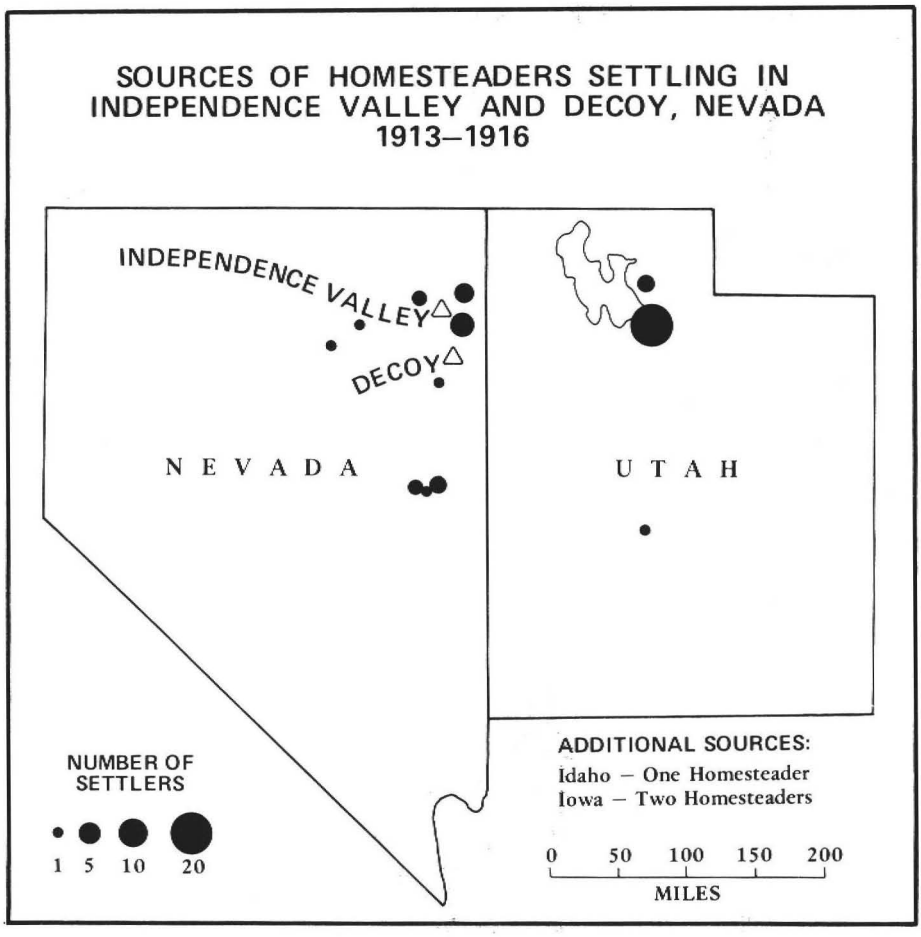


Figure 2. Map showing homesteader's properties in Independence Valley and Decoy, Nevada, 1913-1916. *(Map courtesy of author)*

Many of these men and women were influenced, directly and indirectly, by the pleasant picture of country living being painted by proponents of the Back-to-the-Land Movement, which was receiving nationwide attention at this time. City people were encouraged by individuals writing in newspapers and in popular magazines such as *Collier's* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, to forsake urban life and take up homesteading in the dry valleys of the West. Homesteading, it was said, would permit them to escape the congestion of the cities, enjoy good health in the clean country air, raise a nice garden, and, perhaps most important of all, own a place of their own.[10] The *Salt Lake Tribune* was full of articles extolling the virtues of country life, and notifying its readers of the availability of homestead land to the west.[11] The Movement

TABLE 2
Previous Occupations of Homesteaders Moving to Independence Valley and Decoy, Nevada, 1913-1916

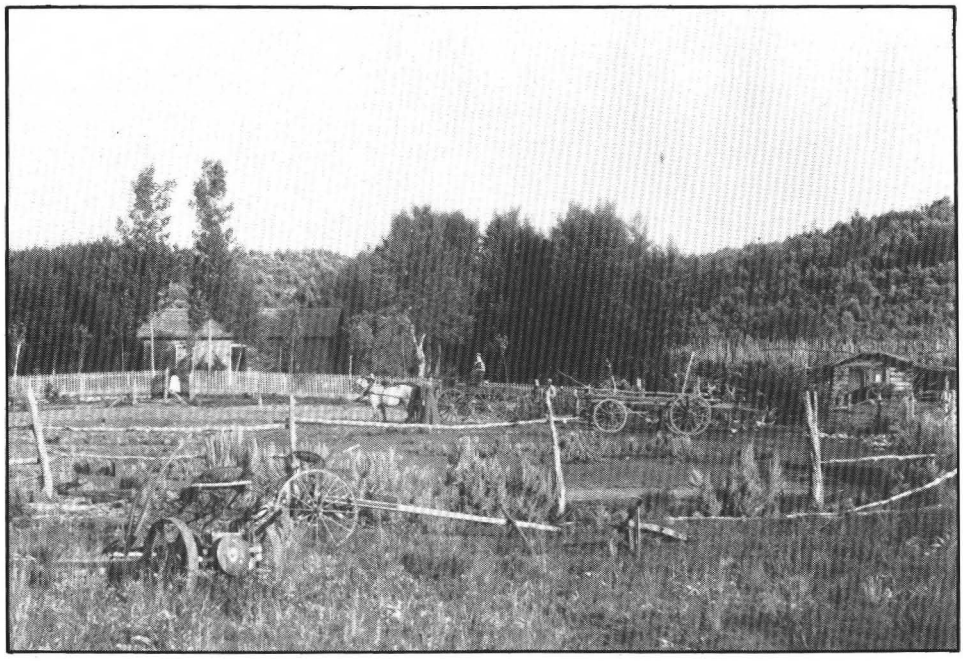
Occupation	Independence Valley	Decoy	Total
Men			
Railroad Workers[a]	1	5	6
Unskilled Workers[b]	3	3	6
Miners and Prospectors	0	5	5
Skilled Workers[c]	4	1	5
Service Personnel[d]	2	3	5
Farmer	0	1	1
Occupation Unknown	0	13	13
Women			
Clerks	0	2	2
Unemployed[e]	1	2	3
Total	11	35	46

[a] Includes a pipefitter, a fireman, a telegraph lineman, a section hand, an inspector, and a clerk.
[b] Includes four general laborers, a janitor, and a cesspool cleaner.
[c] Includes a butcher, a carpenter, a carpet layer, a machinist, and a public utilities company electrician.
[d] Includes two retail store clerks, two bartenders, and a bank teller.
[e] Includes two widows, one a retired janitress and the other a former milliner, and the estranged wife of a bartender.

found expression all across the northern Great Basin, with settlements ranging in character from loosely-organized collections of homesteaders in the High Desert of Oregon to a colony of eastern Jews in a Utah valley.[12]

The homesteaders from Salt Lake City were ideal targets for a movement which offered participants so much hope. Most of them held low-paying jobs, and were living in rented quarters just before moving to Nevada, with the majority packed into crowded flats, small basement apartments, and, in one case, the back room of a store. Almost two-thirds of the group were residents of neighborhoods on the fringes of the central business district, with several of them making their homes in a particularly run-down section located between the downtown area and the city's main railroad yards.[13] Many were galvanized into action by the persuasiveness of a certain Maude Byrne, a forty-year-old native of Pennsylvania who had recently separated from her husband, a bartender in a Salt Lake City saloon. During the summer of 1914, Mrs. Byrne prevailed upon one of her husband's fellow bartenders and several aquaintances, principally patrons of the saloon, to join her in a move to Independence Valley, where she believed they could all forge better lives for themselves and their families.[14]

The settlers from Nevada had much in common with the people from Salt Lake City. A large number were railroaders and miners, earning low wages, and, in many cases, living in company bunk houses and rented cabins. Their desire to make a fresh start on land of their own understandably exerted a strong pull. No one seems to have stepped forward to guide them to their



A homestead farm in Elko County, Nevada. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

homesteads, but leadership in this case was not really necessary, for the availability of desert land was common knowledge, and easy railroad connections existed between each Nevada settler's home community and the flats near Decoy.[15]

As anticipated by the designers of the Enlarged Homestead Act, several settlers plunged right into farming. The most dedicated effort to produce crops in Independence Valley was made by a Salt Lake City man who succeeded, with the help of his wife's uncle, in planting close to three hundred acres of grain in the spring of 1916.[16] The best efforts at Decoy were made by a man living at the extreme southern edge of the colony, who harvested fifteen tons of hay from forty acres of rye (described as "oats or something" by a passing coyote hunter), and by a settler from Utah, living five miles to the north, who put in sixty-five acres of wheat and hay in 1918.[17]

Others viewed their homesteads as investments. One of the most ambitious of these individuals was a young man from Wells, who sought unsuccessfully to develop a townsite on his newly-acquired property, situated astride the Nevada Northern tracks near the Decoy siding.[18] Three settlers living nearby were more fortunate, and apparently profited by selling relinquishments. This activity was an illegal, yet common, procedure involving private arrangements between original claimants and newcomers, through which the

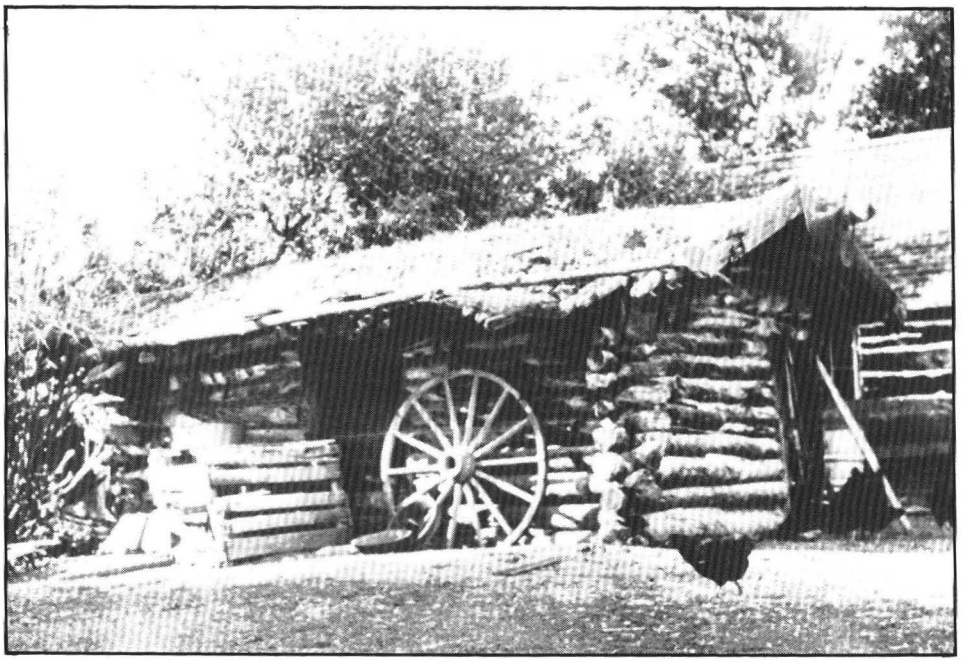
latter person paid a sum of money for the privilege of taking over the former's claim, which in fact still belonged to the government and could not be legally bought or sold. Judging from their extremely short terms of residence, five additional men—two at Decoy and three in Independence Valley—also may have intended to sell relinquishments, but were apparently unable to find buyers for their marginal properties.[19] At least two other settlers wanted to use their homesteads, when patented, as collateral for securing loans.[20]

A few may have claimed homesteads with intentions of later transferring the property to ranchers, but their numbers were not large. Only two settlers actually sold their land to ranchers, and in one of these cases it is apparent that the homesteader did not consider selling out until all other possibilities of deriving an income from his claim were exhausted. Three others who had close personal connections with ranchers living nearby may have originally intended to turn over their property, but they failed to follow through. A sixth man, from Salt Lake City, was thought to be preparing to sell his land in Independence Valley to a rancher who had befriended him, but the purported deal was never completed.[21]

Altogether, about half of the forty-six settlers are known to have followed the standard homesteading procedures of farming, speculating, and acquiring land for ranchers. A few others, whose activities are poorly documented, may have been aspiring farmers, hopeful speculators, or collaborators with ranchers, in which case the number of people engaged in these pursuits might be expanded to approximately two-thirds of the total. For the remainder, other forces must have initiallly drawn them to the desert, and kept them there long after the excitement of claiming a homestead had worn off. In many instances this attraction was nothing more than a settler's desire to have an inexpensive home of his own, which would constitute a marked improvement over his previous living arrangements.

One especially well-documented example of this circumstance is the case of John C. Hillman, a middle-aged prospector crippled by rheumatism. Hillman lived in a cabin on the outskirts of Cobre with his wife, a teenage daughter, and a son in his early twenties who was employed as a locomotive fireman. Another son, slightly older, lived in Cobre where he worked in the general store. Hillman knew that he was no longer able to roam the hills searching for ore deposits or work in a mine, and was receptive to the suggestion of an old friend from Utah that he join the colony that was developing near Decoy. In early 1914 he claimed 320 acres of mediocre land adjoining his friend's homestead, just a few hundred yards from the Decoy railroad siding. Hillman reasoned that if he and his wife and daughter could fulfill the three-year residence requirement, and his sons could make some improvements and cultivate a little land in their spare time, he would be able to provide his family with a solid, permanent home despite his ailment.[22]

With these plans in mind, Hillman and his sons built a three-room house



Homestead cabin in Ruby Valley. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

from railroad ties, measuring sixteen by thirty-two feet; and in August 1914, he and his wife and daughter moved into their new home. The sons stayed behind in Cobre, but assisted the family whenever possible. Together the family planted a garden, put in an acre of potatoes, set out berry bushes, and even sowed an acre of oats. The Hillmans lived with this arrangement until 1917 when the father's condition worsened to the point where he could no longer work the farm, and the sons' job responsibilities made it impossible for them to go to Decoy to help as often as necessary. Nothing was harvested from the homestead in 1917, and its three residents were able to survive only because of the sons' financial assistance and the generosity of some of their neighbors. Hope for improvement in 1918 soon vanished when the older son joined the army and was sent to France and the younger son was killed in a train accident, leaving Hillman and the two women to fend for themselves. The family realized that it was senseless to stay on the homestead any longer, and moved to a small town near Portland, Oregon, where Hillman managed to find work in a butcher shop. When he left, recalled another homesteader, the once-vigorous prospector "was unable to do anything [and] . . . was walking on crutches."[23] Nothing in his words or actions indicated that Hillman ever meant to develop his homestead into a working farm, or that he intended to sell the place once he received his patent. For this unfortunate man, a

homestead in the desert was just a place where he had hoped to live the remainder of his life in some degree of comfort and security, surrounded by family and friends.

Hillman was not the only settler who took homestead land merely to establish a home for his family. Colonists at Decoy included another miner and a railroad worker, both from the vicinity of Ely, who lived on their claims for a while, but never showed much inclination to farm or develop the property for sale. The miner's family lived near Decoy for almost three years, but the miner himself spent close to two-thirds of that time in off-homestead employment, which included a position in the mines near Ely lasting for six months, and a ten-month stint on a job in Ohio. The other man moved his family to homestead a claim near Decoy in order to be near several relatives and friends, and joined them whenever he had sufficient time off from work. Dividing his attention between homesteading and railroading proved to be too much of a burden, however, and after a single summer he and his family reluctantly returned to East Ely.[24] Neither individual could be called a "homesteader" in the strictest sense of the word, but each man was quite willing to use his homestead property to provide a rent-free dwelling place, complete with garden and well, for his family.

These developments could not have occurred without the collusion of General Land Office officials' overlooking the failure of settlers to comply with the letter of the law. Land office clerks usually accepted a homesteader's statements about his length of residence and amount of cultivated land without question, provided that two witnesses—often neighbors who had been prompted in advance—corroborated the homesteader's assertions. Nine of the fifteen settlers whose farming activities are reasonably well documented swore that they had cultivated exactly forty acres, the bare minimum required by law. The precision of their acreage figures was certainly not arrived upon by accident, and raises the suspicion that some homesteaders inflated the acreage in their reports until it reached the amount demanded by the goverment, a supposition borne out by field work in both valleys.[25]

Special agents sent out by the General Land Office to examine homestead conditions were often sympathetic to the settler's needs, and supported an unofficial policy of ignoring noncompliance by otherwise creditable settlers. Commenting on a claim near Decoy, one agent observed that it "makes little difference" whether the required acreage was cultivated or any crops were raised, adding that, the homesteader deserved to receive a patent by virtue of just having lived on the place for parts of three years. This agent believed that a good try was all that the government could reasonably expect from settlers in this desolate area, and if someone wanted to live out there and own a half-section of desert land, it was all right with him.[26]

The tendency of homesteaders to exaggerate their amount of cultivation, and

of the General Land Office's willingness to wink at these violations, is well illustrated in the case of John A. McRae, a Salt Lake City man who settled in Independence Valley. McRae's sworn statement, completed in 1920, stated that in 1918, three years after he had established residence in the valley, he put in thirty acres of grain and planted a garden on his half-section claim. As if to flesh out the year's report, he added that he had also "set out several fruit trees." He knew this was not quite enough to satisfy the government's requirements, so in his report for 1919 he enlarged the amount of land said to be in grain to forty acres, and swore that he had twenty additional acres cleared and ready for seeding.[27]

The General Land Office was prepared to issue a patent on the basis of these assertions, but when one of McRae's neighbors complained that he had not come close to satisfying the requirements, the office was forced to conduct an investigation. The field work of land office agents, supplemented by the testimony of McRae and several of his neighbors, established that no more than twenty acres had ever been cultivated, that only ten of these acres had been planted in any crop, and that on one occasion another twenty acres had been haphazardly railed but then allowed to return to its original condition. Furthermore, the investigation revealed that no cultivation whatsoever had occurred on McRae's land in 1918, and that the homesteader's statement about the fruit trees was completely false. Still, the General Land Office saw fit to grant a patent to this individual, ruling, in the words of the official charged with making a final decision, that McRae had "cultivated a sufficient acreage of the land to meet the requirements of the law."[28] Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that people taking land in these desert valleys were encouraged to lie about some of their activities, cheat a little on their figures, and avoid making much of a commitment to farming.

Despite the naïve enthusiasm which many settlers exhibited, it did not take long for most of them to realize that homesteading in this part of Nevada was a mistake. Drought and jackrabbits took their toll on those who tried to farm, while isolation and lack of conveniences drove away the people who had hoped that country living would be a pleasant experience. The number of settlers dwindled rapidly. By the summer of 1920, only three occupied dwellings, housing a total of four residents, could be found in the two settlements.

None of these last holdouts had been much involved with farming during their homesteading years, nor had they expanded their original claims into small livestock ranches. The final resident of the Decoy area was Anna Martinsen, an elderly, Swedish-born widow who had worked as a janitress in Salt Lake City before moving to Nevada. Although her son-in-law, who held an adjoining claim, and her son, visiting from Utah, did clear some land for her between 1915 and 1918, it was apparent from the start that the Martinsen place was never going to be a viable farm. Supported by other family

members, Mrs. Martinsen made a home for herself on the claim and elected to remain there until late 1920, more than two years after her son had joined the army and her son-in-law had moved to Idaho. Shortly before she moved back to Utah, she observed that trying to farm in the Decoy area "would have been a waste of time, labor, and money," and added that the valley had become a sad place for an old lady to have a home, with her nearest neighbor twenty-eight miles away. For this woman, homesteading in Nevada for a period of five years was just a matter of exchanging rented rooms in the city for her own little house in the desert.[29]

In 1921, Maude Byrne and her husband, John Sloan, a local man whom she had married in 1917, were the last residents of Independence Valley. The couple never did a great deal of farming, and relied instead on off-homestead employment to sustain themselves. Mrs. Sloan cooked at ranches and mining camps within a few miles of the homestead, while her husband worked either as a railroad section hand or as a member of hay crews for local ranchers. Sloan earned additional income from property in Wells which he owned in partnership with a former Independence Valley resident, and according to local rumor, from a small mine which he reportedly developed in the Pequops, a short distance southeast of the couple's home.[30]

By finding jobs away from home and pooling their resources, the Sloans maintained a comfortable existence in the valley. It is clear, however, that they were never involved in a viable farming enterprise, and that their agricultural work was limited to caring for a garden and milking a pair of scrawny cows. When they moved away in 1924, almost a decade after the woman had first claimed land in Independence Valley, the Sloan homestead still bore little resemblance to the dryland grain farms envisioned by the authors of the Enlarged Homestead Act.[31]

In retrospect, the experiences of the men and women who settled these Nevada flats provide compelling evidence that homesteading in the early part of the twentieth century was a more involved process than most scholars have realized. Homesteaders in Nevada, as in many parts of the American West, did indeed start farms, speculate in desert lands, and secure property for ranchers. But the actions of many individuals who moved to Independence Valley and the Decoy area seem to indicate that a fourth motive—to have non-farm homes in the country—was a powerful inducement to colonization, and was a critical factor underlying the perseverance which some settlers exhibited. This procedure, in time, was encouraged by attitudes prevalent among many town and city dwellers of this era, who believed that their lives would be measurably improved by moving to the country, and was facilitated by lenient homestead regulations and by General Land Office personnel who loosely interpreted the new laws. If studies of homesteader communities in other parts of the West can show that the activities identified in this study were duplicated elsewhere, a substantial revision of standard accounts of homesteading in the early twentieth century may well be in order.

NOTES

[1] Barbara Allen, *Homesteading the High Desert* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 50-55 and 115-116; Marshall E. Bowen, "Dryland Homesteading on Tobar Flat," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (1981): 81-4, 123-129; James Slama Buckles, "The Historical Geography of the Fort Rock Valley, 1900-1914" (M.S. thesis, University of Oregon, 1959), 65-95; Carlton Culmsee, "Last Free Land Rush," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (1981): 32-40; E.R. Jackman and R.A. Long, *The Oregon Desert* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1967), 37-42 and 49-54; John Edwin Lamborn, "A History of the Development of Dry-Farming in Utah and Southern Idaho," (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1978), 62-73.

[2] *Northeastern Nevada Cooperative Land-Use Study* (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939); John G. Houghton, Clarence M. Sakamoto, and Richard O. Gifford, *Nevada Weather and Climate* (Reno: University of Nevada, Mackay School of Mines, 1975), 30-33 and 44-53; C.T. Snyder, George Hardman, and F.F. Zdenek, *Pleistocene Lakes in the Great Basin* (Washington: U.S. Geological Survey, 1964).

[3] Edna B. Patterson, Louise A. Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier* (Sparks: Western Printing and Publishing Co., 1969), 207-294, 323-324, 380-384, and 426-433; *Nevada State Herald* (Wells), 10 October 1902, 6 March 1903, and 29 January 1904.

[4] The exceptions were a man who lived on his Desert Land Act entry near Decoy for a few months, without being required to do so by law, and one or two people who moved onto an abortive real estate development organized by a Minnesota speculator in northern Independence Valley.

[5] Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 504-508; E. Louise Peffer, *The Closing of the Public Domain: Disposal and Reservation Policies, 1900-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951), 147-155; 37 *Stat.* 123-124, 6 June 1912.

[6] Peffer, Public Domain, 156; 37 *Stat.* 666, 11 February 1913; 38 *Stat.* 704 and 712, 22 August 1914; U.S. Code, Title 43, Section 164.

[7] General Land Office (GLO) tract books and Homestead Patent Applications (HPA's), Record Group 49, National Archives, Washington National Records Center (WNRC); unpatented Homestead (Hd) files, Bureau of Land Management, Reno, Nevada (BLM); Elko Land Office Contest Dockets, Federal Archives and Research Center, San Bruno, California (FARC); *Nevada State Herald*, 26 February 1915.

[8] This information has been assembled from a wide variety of sources, the most important of which are the entry forms attached to GLO, HPA's, WNRC; unpatented Hd files, BLM; city directories; and the U.S. Census of Population, manuscript schedules, Nevada and Utah, 1910, National Archives, Washington D.C. (NA).

[9] *Nevada State Herald*, 1910-1915; *Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk and Co., 1906-1915); *Ogden City Directory* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk and Co., 1914-1916); U.S. Census of Population, manuscript schedules, Nevada and Utah, 1910, NA; family genealogical records, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[10] This movement is reviewed in Stanford John Layton, "The Politics of Homesteading in the Early Twentieth-Century American West: The Origin and Supersession of the Enlarged Homestead Act and the Stock Raising Homestead Act" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 1972), 7-36 and 68-118, and is summarized in Allen, 123-125.

[11] For example, 5 March 1911, 12 March 1911, 22 March 1911, 24 March 1911, 24 May 1914, 16 May 1915, 23 May 1915.

[12] Allen, *Homesteading*, 27-85; Raymond R. Hatton, *High Desert of Central Oregon* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1977), 52-81 and 94-108; Robert Allen Goldberg, *Back to the Soil: The Jewish Farmers of Clarion, Utah, and Their World* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), 55-131. See also Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966).

[13] *Salt Lake City Directory*, 1906-1915; GLO, HPA's, WNRC; unpatented Hd files, BLM.

[14] Affidavit sworn by Maude Byrne, Elko, Nevada, 24 August 1914, and statement of Maude Byrne Sloan, 3 March 1920, both attached to HPA 777013, and letter from N.F. Waddell, Detailed Clerk, GLO, to Commissioner, GLO, 9 March 1922, attached to HPA 929616, WNRC.

[15] *Nevada State Herald*, 26 February 1915; *Elko Independent*, 19 June 1914; *Elko Free Press*, 5 October 1915 and 7 February 1916; U.S. Census of Population, manuscript schedules, Nevada, 1910, NA; Vera Tares, interview with author, Rio Oso, California, 26 June 1982.

[16] James P. Farley to Clay Tallman, U.S. Land Commissioner, 11 August 1917; statement of James P.

Farley, 5 October 1917, attached to HPA 623101, and testimony of Paul Streibel, given in case of the United States vs. John A. McRae (hereafter U.S. vs McRae), U.S. Land Office, Elko, Nevada, 25 November 1922, attached to HPA 929616, WNRC; *Nevada State Herald,* 24 May 1916.

[17] Statements of George C. Reed and Isadore R. Leighton, 17 May 1918, in HPA 668320; statements of Thomas H. Means and George C. Reed, 11 June 1919, in HPA 715491, WNRC.

[18] *Nevada State Herald,* 26 February 1915; GLO tract books, WNRC; unpatented Hd file EL 01772, BLM.

[19] GLO tract books, WNRC; unpatented Hd files, BLM. No offical records confirm these transactions, but it is highly probable that if a homesteader relinquished his claim on a certain date, and another person filed an entry for the same land on the same day at the same place, a sale of the first person's relinquishment was involved in the transfer of homesteading rights.

[20] Charles B. Henderson, U.S. Senate, to Clay Tallman, Commissioner of the GLO, 2 October 1918, and 28 February 1919, attached to HPA 675271; Margaret Warner to William Spry, GLO Land Commissioner, 9 March 1922, attached to HPA 868493, WNRC.

[21] Oscar P. Carlson to GLO, 29 January 1915, unpatented Hd file EL 01290, BLM; Farley to Tallman, 11 August 1917, attached to HPA 623101, statement of Floyd A. Leach, 17 May 1918, attached to HPA 668320, and Waddell to Commissioner, 9 March 1922, attached to HPA 929616, WNRC; Elko County deed books and tax assessments, Elko County Court House, Elko, Nevada (ECCH); Mr. Cliff Jensen (former Mormon bishop of Metropolis, Nevada, and a friend of one of the purchasers) interview with author, Gridley, California, 27 June 1981.

[22] Statement of Thomas H. Means, 11 June 1919, and affidavit of John C. Hillman, sworn in Estacada, Oregon, 25 February 1920, attached to HPA 758886, WNRC; U.S. Census of Population, manuscript schedules, Elko County, Nevada, 1910, NA.

[23] Affidavits of John C. Hillman, 11 June 1919, and 25 February 1920, and statements of Josie Riendeers [sic] and Lois Recore, 25 February 1920, attached to HPA 758886, WNRC. Quotation from the latter source.

[24] George N. Carrico to U.S. Land Office, 1 February 1916, and statements of George N. Carrico and James W. Byron, 19 July 1917, attached to HPA 609950, and various notes and papers attached to HPA's 675271 and 868493, WNRC; unpatented Hd files, BLM; Taresh, interview with author.

[25] This information is distilled from the statements of forty-five homesteaders and witnesses in fifteen HPA's WNRC. Fieldwork done in Independence Valley in 1979 and 1982, and near Decoy in 1981, revealed that land cultivated by the homesteaders still showed signs of disturbance, which permitted a crude accounting of the land actually cultivated. In a few cases the amount of disturbed land closely matched homesteaders' estimates, but in most instances it fell far short of the established mark.

[26] A.A. Wilhelm, Special Agent, GLO, to Commissioner, GLO, 28 November 1921, attached to HPA 868494, WNRC.

[27] Statement of John A. McRae, 3 June 1920, in HPA 929616, WNRC.

[28] Testimony of Paul Streibel, John A. McRae, and Pete Bylund, 25 November 1922, affidavit sworn by Celsus P. Heidel, Ogden, Utah, 26 January 1922, Waddell to Commissioner, GLO, 9 March 1922, and D.K. Parrott, Action Assistant Commissioner, GLO, to Register and Receiver, Elko Land Office, July 1923, in U.S. vs. McRae, attached to HPA 929616, WNRC. Quotation from letter written by Parrott.

[29] Affidavit sworn by Anna Martinsen, Salt Lake City, Utah, 16 December 1917, statements of Anna Martinsen and Henry D. Rasmussen, 13 November 1919, and affidavit sworn by Anna Martinsen, Elko, Nevada, 24 July 1920, attached to HPA 782561, WNRC.

[30] Statement of Maude Byrne Sloan, 3 March 1920, in HPA 777013, and testimony of Maude Byrne Sloan and John J. Sloan, 25 November 1922, in U.S. vs. McRae, attached to HPA 929616, WNRC; *Elko Daily Independent,* 10 November 1917; Mr. Gene Pengelly (a long-time acquaintance of Sloan), interview with author Wells, Nevada, 22 June 1982.

[31] Testimony of Maude Byrne Sloan, 25 November 1922, and Waddell to Commissioner, GLO, 9 March 1922, in U.S. vs. McRae, attached to HPA 929616, WNRC; Elko County tax assessments, 1921-1925, ECCH.

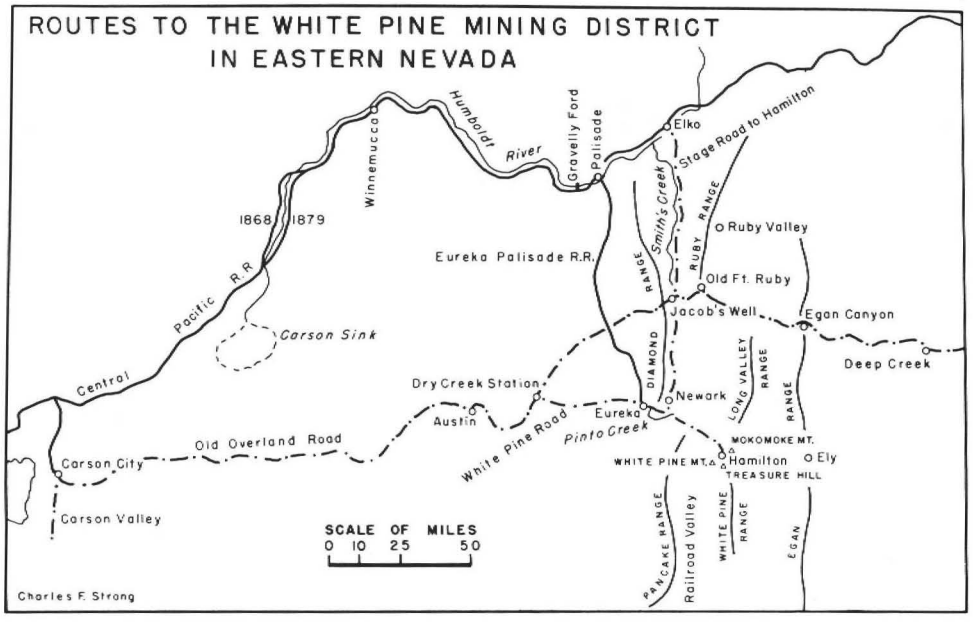
Hail and Farewell to Nevada Silver: Samuel H. Folsom's Reminiscences of Nevada, 1866-1868

SAMUEL HILLIARD FOLSOM WAS BORN in Hopkinton, New Hampshire, in 1826. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1851, and in 1857 set up a law practice in Cambridge, Massachusetts. During his lifetime he made two trips to Nevada, the first in 1866 and the second in 1868. His interests were in mining; and from what is known, he was involved with three mining companies, one of which was most likely the New England and Nevada Mining Company in Austin.

During his stay Folsom corresponded with his wife and told her of his adventures. He spoke of his journey from New York to Austin, which in those days involved all methods of available travel: by ship to Panama, overland by railroad, by ship to San Francisco, by boat to Sacramento, eastward by railroad, completing the journey by stagecoach to Austin. The letters tell of trips by horseback and wagon to mining districts within about 100 miles of Austin, commenting about the living conditions and health problems, including the fever experienced by the White Pine Mining District in 1868 when the mining towns of Hamilton and Treasure City were founded.

During his second trip to Nevada, in February of 1869, Folsom received word that his four-year-old daughter was extremely ill. He left Austin by stagecoach and got as far as Salt Lake City where he was held up for several days by a severe winter storm. There was no choice but to return to Austin. His daughter eventually died of what was described as typhoid fever. Two of Folsom's three children died while he was on that trip. He returned to Massachusetts and never saw Nevada again. He had a stroke in 1904 and died in 1907.

At some point after returning to Massachusetts, Folsom wrote what appears to have been a speech or essay, most likely in the late 1860s-early 1870s. All of his letters, including the following essay, have been transcribed by his grandson, Elliott Marple of Mercer Island, Washington. As we read through this account, we are enlightened by tales of life in Nevada during the mid-nineteenth century. In keeping with the traditional writing style of the time, the essay is printed in its original form.



By permission from *Treasure Hill: Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp* by W. Turrentine Jackson, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, copyright 1963. Map by Charles F. Strong.

The Nevada Historical Society would like to thank Elliott Marple for allowing us to print the following account.

* * * * * * * * *

NEVADA OCCUPIES THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN PORTION of the great internal basin of the Continent, which extends from Salt Lake westerly to the Sierra Nevada, and from the head waters of the Snake river southerly to the head waters of the tributaries of the Colorado river. It has little in common with N.E. [New England] either in climate, soil or scenery and possesses fewer of those elements upon which we can predicate permanent growth, and future greatness than any other portion of our country—Agriculture, manufactures, & commerce: some one or all of which pursuits imparts vigor, stability & wealth to other states, will ever be insignificant or wholly wanting in this.

The lofty Rocky mountains on the one side and the Sierra Nevada on the other, form barriers which the rain bearing clouds from the Atlantic, and Pacific seldom cross, *hard* rain in summer is infrequent and of no practical importance, and the snow fall of winter is exceedingly light, generally melting as it reaches the vallies, and seldom accumulating there to the depth of a few inches. On the mountains it gradually accumulates during the winter and

forms the reservoirs which supply, during summer the scanty springs, and mountain streams—

The light rain fall of summer renders artificial irrigation of the soil necessary, to produce the ordinary crops of grain and vegetable, and the light snow fall of winter yields but a scant supply of water which can be utilized by the farmers for irrigating purposes—

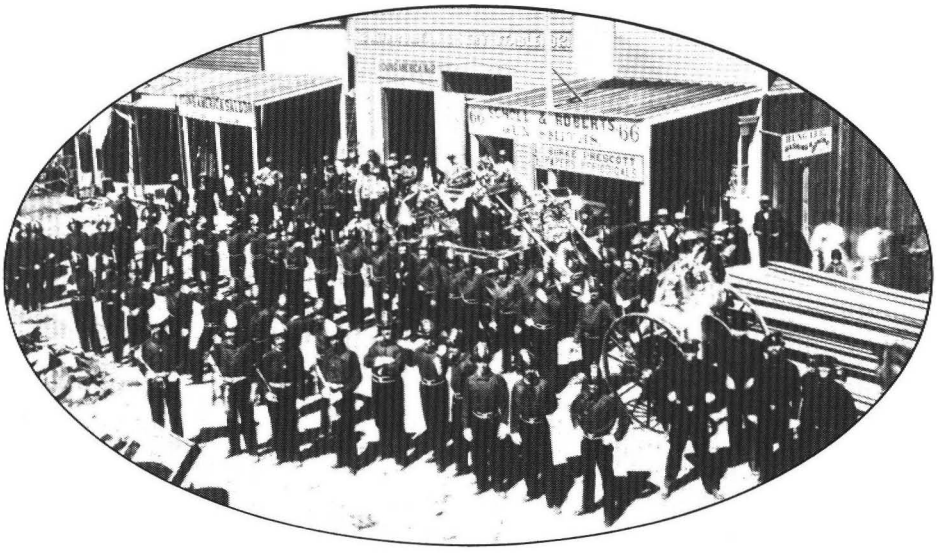
The temperature is a serious obstacle to general agriculture, the nights are cool, and frosts frequent, which are mainly attributable to the great altitude of the country, its lowest vallies being from 4 to 6000 feet above the sea level, cold storms of snow occur in June, and many of its mountains wear their snow caps through August, and some throughout the year—

Alkali exists to a greater or less extent in all the soil, both on the mountains and in the vallies, but is only found in such excess as to destroy vegetation in the lowest portions of the vallies, forming what are called alkali flats. These flats are seen in all the vallies, in some they extend for miles covering thousands of acres, and in the distance resemble vast snow fields, but generally they are seen scattered here and there in streeks and blotches over the vallies.

The soil generally speaking is not wanting in fertility, moisture and warmth only are required to produce heavy crops of grain & vegetables. But untimely frosts and want of moisture are characteristic obstacles to agriculture which will ever render it of slight importance. And even if those climatic changes should occur which some think probable from the fact that the rain fall has increased at Salt Lake since the settlement of the country, and rain should become frequent & abundant, the condition of the country would hardly be improved, for whenever the rain fall exceeds evaporation, then lakes begin to form, and the inundation of all the arrable portions of the country is simply a question of time, for such is the conformation of the country, there is no outlet for its rivers. They flow into its lowest vallies forming lakes & lagoons, which rise in spring and early summer, when the water from melting snows is most abundant, and gradually subside by evaporation under the dry hot atmosphere of mid summer and autumn—

The country is very poorly supplied with fuel, coal has not yet been discovered and its supply of wood is limited; and the whole country is nearly destitute of timber suitable for building purposes—You will not see in this country what you would call a forest. Scattered here and there along the foot hills, are clusters of low bushy white cedar. On the sides of the mountain & in the ravines & canons, are scattering trees of red [?] pine, a kind of dwarf pitch pine, while high up in the mountains occasionally will be found small groves of the mountain mahogany, a small tree resembling in form & color of leaf and shape of its top, our plumb tree this is the only hard wood of the country and is the only thing I ever saw growing *there* that reminded me of N.E. home.

On the sides of some of its loftiest mountains, in ravines & canons, where



Virginia City as Samuel Folsom may have seen it during his visit to Nevada during the late 1860s. Photo c. 1876. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

the snow lingers longest in summer, grows the fir tree, which furnishes the best timber of the country, but it is of a very poor quality suitable only for the poorer class of buildings.

The vallies are destitute of all trees. Along the margin of mountain streams which flow into the vallies at long distances from each other, grow a few water bushes, which serve the Indian for arrows & basket work and the white man for thatch for his cabbins.

The characteristic & I might say only shrubs of the country are the Black Sage, White Sage and Greese wood. The Black Sage, a half dead and alive shrub grows from 2 to 3 feet high, is found every where upon the better portion of the soil and makes excelent fuel for the camp fire. The White Sage grows about six inches high, is found in the more sandy parts of the vallies & in soil containing too much alkali for the Black Sage. It has a very light green color when growing & when mature is nearly white. Cattle never feed upon the White Sage while growing but after it has been touched by heavy frosts, they seek it in preference to all other food & live and fatten upon it during the entire winter. The Greese wood grows about as high as the Black Sage in soil containing too much alkali for any other plant & is useful to neither man or beast.

Scattered among the sage bushes in the vallies, and up the mountain sides through ravines & canons is found the bunch grass, growing in isolated bunches about two inches in diameter, which affords the most nutricious food

for the cattle both when green and growing in the spring, & when withered and dry in summer and autumn.

In the lower portions of the vallies where water collects from surface drainage, water grasses grow quite luxuriantly & afford good pasturage & a limited amount of poor hay. Upon the bunch and water grasses, & white sage, cattle thrive and keep fat throughout the year, without care or attention from the Hurdsman—and for grazing purposes Nevada may be of some value.

The scenery of this Basin country can be call[ed] neither grand, beautiful, or varied. Its mountains, while they are not wanting in beauty of form & outline, do not impress you with the idea of vastness and are wanting in the ever varying lines & color which lend a charm to other mountain scenery, and they differ from each other only in minor details—

Its vallies are uniform in appearance sloaping gradually from their sides to the base of the mountains on either hand, destitute of lakes, rivers & trees & virdure except that of the sage and greese wood which in the distance softens the view but gives no richness of color.

Nowhere in this basin country is the ground covered with turf or sod, but is like a well trodden road way, with here & there a tuft of grass and shrub—The vallies may be described as long irregular lanes walled in by mountains, and the whole country as a series of mountain walled lanes—

The atmosphere is uniformly dry, and marvelously pure, and transparent. Objects can be seen through it a hundred miles, presenting sharp, well defined outlines—and a traveler entering this country for the first time is deceived in nothing, so much as in distances—Objects which appear to him just across a narrow valley within an easy hours ride, will take him the better part of a day to reach—

The days are warm and cloudless, but seldom hot, except in riding over the alkali vallies which reflect the suns rays with a burning effect—The nights are always cool, and magnificently brilliant.

A person crossing this country from Salt Lake to Virginia City by the overland stage route will be *impressed* with the unvar[y]ing general appearance & character of the country, and oppressed by such clouds of penetrating irritating alkali dust as he will never forget. His path will be across a succession of mountains and vallies, the former rising abruptly from the vallies, bare & brown, the latter smooth, waterless & treeless—Arid sterrility overspreading everything—Throughout the entire journey of 500 miles he will not see a dozen spots where a ton of hay could be cut—He will cross but two rivers, the first the Reese River a mere brook, and the next, the Carson, the largest river in the state, which is less in size than our Concord River—He will enter but one town that of Austin, containing about 3000 inhabitants, and with the exception of a little settlement of Mormons 30 miles west of Salt Lake he will not see a settlement of a half dozen cabbins.

The scarcity of animal life will be observable. Coyotes, or prairie wolves,

jack rabbits, Ravens, Hawks, Sage Hens and a few small birds will make pretty complete catalogue, if I may be permitted to leave out of the list of animals, the Shoshone Indians—I think ones admiration of the instinct of the bruit creation is increased just in proportion as it has led them to avoid such a country.

That the country is sparcely inhabited by white men excites no surprise, the wonder is that it is inhabited at all. But we find it occupied by two classes of men, religious enthusiasts and enthusiasts whose ruling passion is not religion, the Mormon & the miner. The former occupies Utah and the Southwestern portion of Nevada—the latter the Central Northern & Western part of the state.

The first settlement was made in Nevada at what is now Virginia City, formerly called Washoe, in the year 1859, upon the discovery of the Comstock load, which has proved one of the most productive silver mines of which we have record—

The Comstock lead load ledge vein or mine, all of which terms are used to denote the same thing, extends for several miles along the eastern sloap of a spine of the Sierra mountains, outcropping at an altitude of some 7000 feet above the level of the sea and some two or three thousand feet above the Carson valley which lies in front or to the East.—The side of the mountain just below the out crop of the Comstock where Virginia City is built is precipitous and the streets of the city range along the mountain, one above the other like seats in an amphitheatre.

The view of the Carson valley to the East is intercepted by sharp conical peaks & irregular spires of the mountain, which lie in front and below the city—The view to the west is arrested by the steep mountain side, while directly back of the city, and almost overhanging it, Mount Davidson, a conical peak rises a thousand feet. Look whichever way you will from the city the view is the most unlovely, unattractive, barren, and desolate, I have ever seen—The redish brown earth, parched and seared by drought & heat, treeless, shrubless, & grassless, impress one with the idea that it has just passed out of its primeval igneous condition, and that the fires are not yet dead but slumber beneath a thin superficial covering of cinders and ashes.

A story has been told, I cannot vouch for its truth, of a donkey that rejoiced in existance for several years in Eureka, a small mountain town high up in the Sierras, where during the long winters he subsisted upon playing cards which he picked up each morning at the doors of gambling saloons—Now if this donkey of paste board diet, could have been transported to the mountains about Virginia City & left to shift for himself, I believe he would have died of starvation. I doubt if after taking a careful survey of his situation he would have attempted to live, so utterly hopeless would have appeared his condition—

Yet in these barren mountains nature had made her richest deposits of the

noble metals—The discovery of which in '59 lead to the wildest mining excitement and speculations known to the Pacific coast—miners speculators merchants, gamblers, men of all professions, trades, & occupation, which make up the best and worst of society, flocked to this near Eldorado by thousands, invigorated the first silver mining of the country, and built the towns of Virginia, Carson, Washoe, Gold Hill & Dayton.—

The conditions under which silver mining was commenced were favorable in respect to richness and quality of ore but unfavorable in all other respects. The men who engaged in the business were inexperienced in the mining & reduction of silver ore—The country furnished nothing to facilitate mining operations.—The heavy machinery for mills, the tools and appliances for sinking shafts on the mines, all articles of food & clothing, in short every thing requisite for the sustenance of man or beast, or for carrying on of business, had to be bought in California, and transported three hundred miles, sixty of which was across the Sierra mountains over which at that time no road was built, and every thing was brought over on the backs of horses & mules at great expense.

But great as was the expense at first of mining on the Comstock the rich results in gold & silver bullion justified the outlay, and even lead to great extravagances in buildings, machinery & supervision—Out of over $90,000,000 worth of bullion which has been taken out of the Comstock mines, less than $5,000,000 has been divided among stockholders and this $5,000,000 has been divided among few comparitively, of those who invested money in the stock of companies organized to work the Comstock—

There were some seven hundred of these companies, six hundred at least purely speculative, their right to mines a myth, and the sale of their stock a swindle—Of the hundred other companies which carried on mining vigorously & in good faith, only about twenty ever reached a dividend paying condition. But these few successful companies gave currency to the many bogus or as they are called wild cat companies, which filled San Francisco with their stock—There was hardly a man or woman who did not buy, & not one who did not lose, lost not only their money, but their confidence in silver mining stocks—

Four years after the discovery of the Comstock, silver ore was discovered at what is now Austin, on the western sloap of the Toyabee range of mountains 180 miles east of Virginia City, 480 from San Francisco and nearly in the geographical center of the state.—Through the next valley west of Austin flows the insignificant Reese River—hence the name of the Reese River mining country which has been applied generally to central Nevada.

This discovery lead to mining excitement No. 2—In twelve months from the time the first ore was discovered some 5000 to 6000 from all parts of the coast had collected, built the town of Austin and commenced legitimate mining and illegitimate speculations—The former were upon numerous small

veins, the latter upon one mammoth vein. The Virginia ore was rich, simple in its chemical combinations, easily reduced & abundant—The ore at Austin was richer, more complex in its combinations more difficult of reduction & limited in quantity.

The conditions for carrying on business at Austin, were less favorable than at Virginia, it was more remote from its base of supplies, labor was more expensive, as well as supplies, the Sierra Nevada which furnished Virginia with an abundance of cheap lumber was 200 miles from Austin. The narrow veins of ore, made its extraction very expensive & its rebellious nature, necessitated a difficult & much more costly process of reduction than that adopted for the Comstock ore.

Under these circumstances it required large sums of money to carry on mining operations in Austin. To procure it in California by sale of stocks or otherwise was difficult, if not impossible—She had just passed through the Washoe fever and was not yet convallescent—The East was rich, and to the East came men with specimens of ore wonderfully rich in silver, offering to make every body rich who would invest in their mining schemes. But at first the East fought shie, her conservative moneyed men, were not posted in Reese River mines, or mining & knew nothing of the men who offered them for sale—The business might be hazardous, and they did not indulge in games of chance—except in an innocent way at church fairs & in the sale of opera houses & coleseums.

Before they would engage in mining schemes, scientific men must examine the mines and tell them all about the mines; when they were made & how, how long they would hold out, and how much annual net profit they would pay. The Austinites to meet these requirements of the cautious men of the East took Prof. Silliman the younger to Austin where they feasted, petted, and lionized him much after the toading style of the East. The Prof. examined the mountains and mines, and determined the contents of both. The mines not having been opened or developed, he could tell as well what was in the one as the other—made his report & returned to N.Y. a richer if not wiser man than when he went.

With this report Col Harker came to Boston and sold a sixth interest in some mines for $500,000. This was the first large Nevada silver mining operation in Boston & was followed by many smaller ones, till Bostonians were engaged in mining operations in Nevada which cost them $2,000,000, probably $3,000,000—N.Y. and other eastern cities expended money for mines & mining by the million—$8,000,000 is not an overestimate of the amount of eastern capital which has been employed in the purchase of mines, building mill & exploring for ore in central Nevada—and of this large sum of money expended by hundreds of companies but two have ever made a dividend, and less than $50,000 has been returned.

Incredible as these statements may seem they are easy of verification. It

may be asked how is it possible that eastern men should engage so deeply & continue so long in a business so completely unremunerative? The solution of the question is found in a combination of ignorance, false theories, & fraud.

There was nothing known here of silver mining, except in a general way—an idea generally prevailed that a silver mine was the most valuable thing in the world, inexhaustible and ever increasing in richness—That if *one* was sure of a true fissure vein of silver bearing quarts rock an immense fortune was certain—The only question being one of time & money in opening & developing the mine. Upon these facts and theories men believed silver mining safe & remunerative.

Unfortunately the theories were false—The whole history of mining in Nevada proves that the richest ore lies near the surface, and mines which are rich and promising at first are often exhausted, & veins as often pinch out, or peter, as grow larger—and if the history of mining in Nevada prove anything it is that there is no rule or knowledge which enabled any man, be he practical or scientific to determine the character & value of a mine further than it has been actually explored—and the expression often made by miners that you can tell nothing.

Through false reports & misrepresentations of men selling the mines—eastern companies were led into the extravagant folly of building quarts mill before their mines were developed. Within two years of the time of discovery of ore at Austin 17 mills had been erected with eastern capital, at an average cost of not less than *$100,000* each—when one mill was all that was required—and for the past three years there has not been ore taken out in the whole district sufficient to keep one 20 stamp mill in constant opperation.

The next discovery of ore of such importance as to create a general excitement on the Pacific coast was made late in the Autumn of '67, at what is known as White Pine, situated 590 miles east of San Francisco 100 east of Austin and 300 west of Salt Lake. The location of mines are near the summit of a lofty mountain, said to be 9000 feet above the level of the sea.

The heavy fall of snow upon this mountain soon after the discovery of ore delayed work on the mines till the following year. On the 2nd day of June 68 I made my first visit to the White Pine, the mountain was for the most part covered by snow, and snow was then falling—There were then but 3 cabbins in the whole district, and about 20 men—mining work was just commencing.—It was not till August that the exceeding richness of the White Pine ores was generally known—

Then began the rapid emigration of men to this district from all parts of the coast and the old excitement of Washoe & Austin was reenacted on the first of Jan'y—It was estimated that there were 10000 men in the district.

Three towns had [were] established Hamilton, Treasure City, & Sherman town. Two daily stage lines were established between there & Austin—& one to Elko on the P.R.R. Three quarts mill had been built & several more were

in process of erection—Two daily newspapers were established & two banks—Stores filled with all kind of merchandise were abundant—and gambling saloon & whiskey shops were fearfully numerous. Two breweries were in full operation. $951,218 in bullion had been taken from the mines & sent to market and the ore in sight in one mine was estimated to be worth $1,000,000 and 180 mining Co.s had already been organized in San Francisco to work White Pine ore with an aggregate capital of not less than $350,000.

The conditions under which mining was commenced at W.P. were more favorable as to ore & less in all other respects—The ore was easy of reduction & richer than any hitherto found in the State, and in some places laid in a decomposed state on the surface, requiring no work in mining except to pick & shovel it up—Of this decomposed chloride ore looking like rich earth I reduced over 200 tons with an average resut over 1000 to the ton—

During the next six months from Jan'y to J. a new county was formed with Hamilton its county seat, courts were established, and the violent disturbed condition of things, brought to some degree, within the control of municipal authority—Thus in the short space of one year in the heart of the wilderness, sprang into existence the largest mining settlement in the State, and one which may, from its great productiveness, reverse the present mining record of the State, may add another to its list of failures.

Both the growth and decay of towns in Nevada are exceedingly rapid. When a report goes abroad that ore has been discovered in some new place—The miner & prospector pack their horses or mules with flour, bacon, and beans for provisions, shovel & pick for tools—& a pair of blankets for bedding and with that outfit, start for the new discovery hoping by being early on the ground to make some valuable locations of mines—

The merchant hastens to forward his merchandize, so that in the absence of competition he can realize a large profit on his goods—The speculator starts in hot pursuit, hoping to secure the best mines at a low figure. The lawyer is not far behind, he knows too well the advantage of being retained in the litigation which always attaches to all rich mines—The Dr. is sure to have business arising from the exposure and violence of a new camp and the Gambler, Highwayman & Horse thieve, a scum which is always borne along on the advance wave of mining excitement. They flourish best when there is the least law and greatest license—

Thus all the elements of society are incited to aggregate, at every new point of discovery, where every one is eager to possess himself of the natural riches of the country—or the accumulated wealth of his neighbors—If the mines prove rich and extensive, the settlement flourishes, if otherwise, it is quickly deserted—Uncertainty and instability is characteristic of every thing in the State—Its people build for today, nothing for the future—People live there to accumulate wealth & then go some where else to enjoy it—I have never seen a man or woman who considered Nevada his or her permanent home—All are

looking forward to the time when by some happy streek of luck they shall have accumulated a fortune and can leave the country.

I have referred to Virginia, Austin & White Pine as the mining centers of the State. But these places do not embrace all the mining of Nevada—Districts are numerous all through the State, where mines have been discovered, creating more or less local excitement, & considerable mining activity—but there are few at the present time, where there is any mining done.—During the ten years of Nevadas existence, she has produced over $100,000,000 dollars worth of bullion, and if to this large sum should be added the present cash value of all its mines and improvements—I do not believe it would make a sum equal to the money sent into the State.—

Individuals may and many have made fortunes—But Eastern companies and most western companies have made failures—

It is a note worthy fact that only worthless mines, or mines which have not been proven of value, that come into the Eastern market—A good mine will sell for more coin in Nevada, than it will for g...n back in N.Y. or Boston—

The society of Nevada is made up of men from all nations all professions & occupations and with every shade of character, but with a greater proportion of men who live by gambling and violence than is found in the East.

The men who engage in mining and other laborious employment, are better educated and more intelligent, than men similarly employed in the older States—Employment there, is nor rendered respectable or otherwise, by any conventional rules—Every employment whereby man can make money, if not criminal, is respectable—You will see ex Governors—judges ministers & men of all other professions, laboring with pick and spaid—men of all nations will be found engaged in laborious occupations, except the Jews, who are numerous through the Pacific Coast, and are among the leading merchants and Bankers—

Among this mixed collection of men under slight legal restraint—when the revolver is every ones pocket companion, life & property is not so well protected as in the older States, and in the newly formed towns Highway robbery and homicide are no unusual occurrences—But the worst Nevada settlement, will compare favorably in this respect, with the new towns formed along the line of the Union P.R.R.

The institution of the Sabbath, *if* remembered, is but little regarded. All kinds of work, except labor in the mines are carried on on that day as on other days—and I once heard an intelligent man, assert that the only way he knew when Sunday came there was by oyster soop at his boarding house which was supposed to be served on Sunday

Viewing Nevada from a financial standpoint, & in no other is it important, its history is not incouraging. But time may change this History—when cheap labor, and cheaper transportation, shall render the veins of silver, copper and lead, which thread all through her mountains available—and who, by some,

much dreaded Chinaman, may effect the one, and a more generous system of railways the other.

This country like all other portions of the west, where the white men are not too numerous—is occupied by Indians—The tribe living in the Basin country is the Shoshone—who at first, were hostile & had several fights with the whites but were severely punished—since which time they have been peaceable and friendly—They are good natured, indolent and improvident—Their food consists of Pine nuts, seed of wild grasses, a few mountain roots with such wild game as they can capture. They are not fastidious in their tastes. Lizzards, mice & grasshoppers are articles of their food—Indeed I know of but one thing animal from the Lizzard to vermin they do not eat, & that is the Coyote. Some superstition prevents their feasting upon him.—

The women & children assisted by the old men, gather the Pine nut, grass seeds & roots in their seasons, the men do the Hunting. The women are treated with kindness, I have lived in sight of a pretty large incampment of them for over a year and never saw a blow struck a woman or child.

They are but scantily clothed in summer or winter, & one of their peculiarities is to live in the open air, both summer & winter unsheltered by any thing—They live in small parties or families, from 20 to 100 or more scattered all through the country. They are normily under the control of one chief but each family has its own subchief. They gather about all the white settlements where they are kindly treated & employed more or less in light work & well paid, and in a short time have money which they expend in clothing, horses & gambling, which is as fascinating to them as it is to some of their white brothers—

About a white camp they appropriate all the cast off clothing, and as they seldom get a whole suit at a time, you will see them making their first step towards civilized life with a battered plug hat and paper collar minus the rest of the dress—In speaking of their treatment of women I do not wish to understood to assert, that they treat the gentle sect with all the consideration their due—from the following colloquy I once had with one I think they are wanting in noble generosity toward their wives—One night I had made my camp fire near a spring of water & was preparing for supper—when an Indian came along with his rifle, tin pot, & a string of five small rabbits commonly called cotton tails, sat down by the fire dressed his rabbits, thrust them into the pot to boil. The entrails he carefully laid upon a piece of bark—After observing his performance, I addressed—Jim—ick kawano nuka—Jim replied ick heap nano, so you eat em.—Shaking his head, nu heap eatem—I concluded that to the victor belonged the spoils, or the Lions share as well with the Indians as the white man and that when there shall no longer be occasion to aggitate the rights of women among the whites there will be a wide field opened among the Shoshones—

Before leaving to night the Country of sage & alkali, I desire to take a

parting look at the only spot in that desert country, which the hand of man has done aught to beautify or render attractive—The only place where you will find permanent homes, surrounded by orchards and gardens, and extensive fields waiving with grain, and the only part of that Country where you will see any well directed effort to subdue the desert and found a State.

I refer to Salt Lake City, which is beautifully located, neatly built & neatly kept.—Every where there is order, industry and thrift—a city without its pallatial residences of the rich on the one hand, & the hovels of the poor on the other. On its streets you will see no ragged uncared for children, no mendicants asking alms, either with or without a *hand organ*—Its people are all dressed with comfortable clothing, and judging from the size of gentlemens pants, you would not conclude there was any scarcity of cloth in the city. The children look healthy & happy.—The women you will see will not impress you as beautiful, while none will give you the idea that they have been whipping their husband—

If you are curious to examine into the history of this people—you will find that they are Mormons, believers in Polygamy theoretically & practically—That they are independent people having their own President & set at defiance the American Eagle—That thus far they have proved an over match for the before said Eagle, either at arms or diplomacy.—

If you will inquire of some sage old saint, the prospect of their peculiar institution, he will probably tell you that it will remain undisturbed in spite of the courtly lectures of Colfax, or the gentle murmurings of Anna Dickinson until the government of the U.S. can send to them men with authority to enforce the laws, whom they cannot bribe—But when the Government of the U.S. shall send good & faithful servants who will not be seduced from their trust by Mormon gold or lust. Then will the foul shame of polygamy be wiped out, and the beautiful city of Salt Lake purified, and the hard toiling industious Mormons left undisturbed to make the desert bloom & blossom forever—

Historic Preservation in Nevada

RONALD M. JAMES

THE NEVADA DIVISION OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND ARCHEOLOGY has participated in the listing of several important buildings on the National Register of Historic Places. Listing on the National Register qualifies a structure for federal development grants and for federal tax incentives for rehabilitation. In addition, the National Register provides recognition for resources important to our heritage. Recent listings include the following:

CARSON CITY LISTINGS

Abraham Curry House, Carson City, listed March 30, 1987. The Curry House is a single-story, symmetrical masonry dwelling supported by a sandstone foundation and terminating in a hip roof. It was built around 1871 by Abraham Curry, the founder of Carson City and the first Superintendent of the United States Mint in Carson City. The dwelling served as Curry's home until his death on October 19, 1873. Located at 406 North Nevada Street, the structure was recently rehabilitated utilizing the historic preservation tax incentives. The Division of Historic Preservation and Archeology provides state assistance and review for this important program which is operated by the National Park Service.

Dr. William Henry Cavell House, Carson City, listed June 22, 1987. This important two-story, masonry and frame dwelling is located at 402 West Robinson Street. Built in 1907 as a wedding present from Dr. William Henry Cavell to his wife, Ida Platt Cavell, the house represents an unusual integration of Colonial Revival and Shingle styles. Designed by Oakland, California architect, John Conant, the dwelling is one of two constructed in Carson City according to identical plans. The house remained in the Cavell family until 1951.

Kitzmeyer Furniture Factory, Carson City, listed June 22, 1987. Also rehabilitated under the historic preservation tax incentive program, the Kitzmeyer building is a significant landmark in Carson City's historic com-

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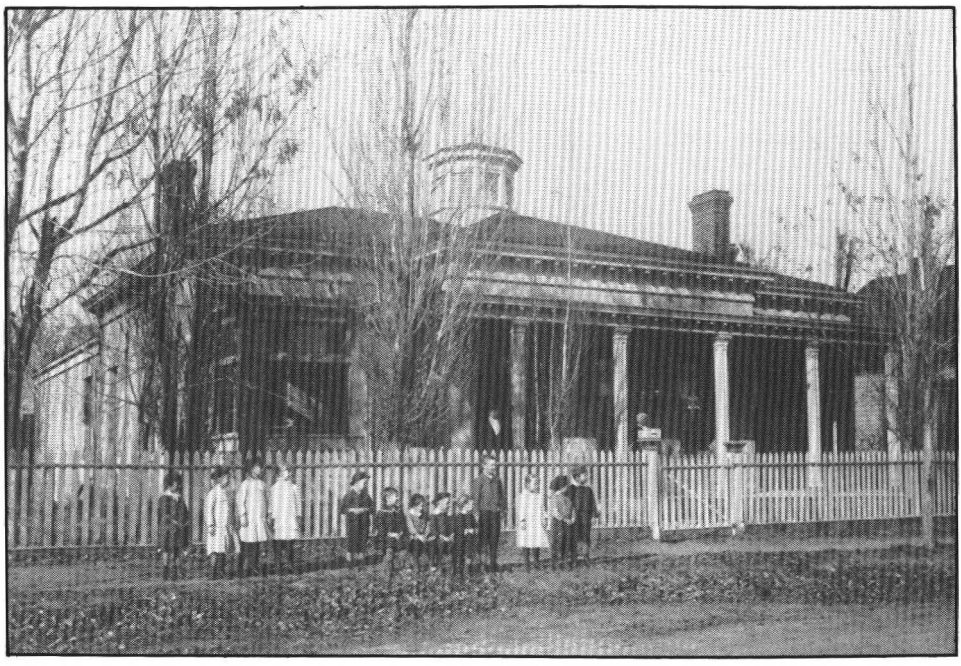

The Abraham Curry House in Carson City, Nevada, c. 1890s. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

mercial district. Located at 319 North Carson Street, the symmetrical, two-story, Italianate-style commercial building was constructed in 1873 by George W. Kitzmeyer as a furniture factory and showroom. Kitzmeyer, a native of Germany, was attracted to Carson City in the late 1860s as a result of the Comstock mining boom. Shortly after his death in 1898, his son, George E. Kitzmeyer converted the establishment into a mortuary. The building served in this capacity until 1939.

Carson City Public Buildings, Carson City, listed October 2, 1987. The Heroes Memorial Building, the Supreme Court Building, and the Ormsby County Courthouse stand on the other side of Carson Street from the Capitol. The three structures are excellent examples of the diverse and profoundly important contribution of Nevada's finest historic architect, Frederick J. DeLongchamps. The Heroes Memorial Building and the Ormsby County Courthouse were constructed on identical plans between 1920 and 1922. They are massive two-story sandstone Neo-Classical style structures with ascending steps and massive colonnades accenting ceremonial entrances. Currently, the Heroes Memorial Building houses offices for the Attorney General of the State of Nevada. The Ormsby County Courthouse has served as the courthouse for the Carson City Independent Municipality since the dissolution of Ormsby County in 1969.

The Supreme Court and Library Building were constructed between the two structures from 1935 to 1936. It represents a later phase of De-Longchamps's career and illustrates his ability to incorporate and excel in contemporary architectural fashion. The stylized sunbursts and key motifs make this Carson City's finest Art Deco style structure. The interior of the Supreme Court Building is accented by black marble and cast aluminum fixtures and is in an excellent state of preservation. Unfortunately, a grand leaded glass ceiling in the Supreme Court chamber was obliterated when that important room underwent extensive remodeling.

LAS VEGAS LISTINGS

Stephen R. Whitehead House, Las Vegas, listed August 6, 1987. This two-story, frame house was constructed in 1929 according to designs by prominent local architect, A. Lacy Worswick. This Mission Revival building is located at 333 North Seventh Street and is currently used for commercial offices. The Whitehead House is locally significant for its design and its association with Worswick and Stephen R. Whitehead, a local businessman and politician.

Ice House, Hanson Hall, and the Lincoln Hotel, Las Vegas, determined eligible for listing on the National Register on October 2, 1987. Due to owner objections to listing, these nominations were forwarded to the National Register of Historic Places for a formal determination of eligibility. All three structures played important roles in the early development of Las Vegas.

The Ice Plant at 612 South Main Street is a two-to-four story industrial structure located in the former San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad yards in Las Vegas. Constructed of reinforced concrete in 1908, the Plant was the tallest structure in Las Vegas for many years. The production of ice in the Plant was critical at a time before the use of refrigerated railroad cars; and as the only such facility between Salt Lake and San Bernardino, the Ice Plant insured the importance of Las Vegas as a railroad town. The Plant ceased production in 1983 and remained empty until June of 1988 when a fire demolished the structure.

Hanson Hall at 700 Dividend Drive served as a Union Pacific storehouse. Built in 1910 of coursed concrete block, the structure retains a high degree of architectural integrity. As with the Ice Plant, Hanson Hall is significant because of its association with the industrial development of Las Vegas.

The Lincoln or Victory Hotel was constructed in 1910 by Dan Hickey at a cost of $3,250. The two-story Mission Revival style building at 307 South Main Street serves as an excellent reminder of the early history of Las Vegas. Designed and constructed by Moore and Rhoads, who had constructed forty-eight buildings in Las Vegas by 1911, it is the only surviving commercial building credited to that firm.

Las Vegas Hospital, Las Vegas, listed October 13, 1987. The importance of this two-story Mission Revival style building to the architecture of Las Vegas made this structure an obvious subject for a National Register nomination. Unfortunately, the wood and adobe landmark was demolished by a fire in February, 1988. As with the Whitehead house, the hospital was designed by A. Lacy Worswick. It was constructed in 1931 in the 200th block of North Eighth Street. The hospital was significant for its architecture and for its association with the development of Las Vegas.

Railroad Cottage Historic District, Las Vegas, listed December 22, 1987. This district includes eight modest cottages constructed by the railroad in 1910-1911 to house workers. These structures, located between Second Street (Casino Center) and Fourth Street and between Garces and Clark, are the best surviving representatives of this important period in the development of Las Vegas.

The cottages share a common rectangular plan with a two-bay, entrance porch recessed into the right-front corner of the main block. Three different roof designs, all derivations of the hipped roof, provide variety. The simplest has a full hipped roof with a small hipped venting dormer. The second type has a truncated hipped roof with an upper, perpendicular gable containing a vent. The third and most ornate type employs a hipped roof with a major porch gable containing a vent. This gable has flared eaves and is faced with half-timbering or shingles. Because a majority of the property owners did not object to listing, the nomination was forwarded and accepted by the National Register.

RENO LISTINGS

Joseph H. Gray House, Reno, listed November 20, 1987. This two-story wood-frame dwelling was constructed in 1911 for prominent businessman, Joseph H. Gray. The Colonial Revival style structure shows massing influenced by the Queen Anne style. Located at 457 Court Street, the house is indicative of the suburban design associated with Reno's Rio Vista Heights Subdivision, the city's most prominent and architecturally influential residential development of the early twentieth century. Gray was the co-founder of the important Grey (sic), Reid, Wright Company in 1910.

Book Reviews

History of Nevada. By Russell R. Elliott. Second edition, revised. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1973, 1987, 472 pp., illustrations, sources, index.)

WHEN THIS BOOK FIRST APPEARED IN 1973 reviewers welcomed it as "the major event in Nevada historiography," "an immensely absorbing book," and "a solid work." Building on the writings of Effie Mona Mack and others, Russell Elliott had produced the most comprehensive, scholarly, one-volume history of the state to that time. And over the years it has proved to be an invaluable tool for researchers, college students, and others interested in the fascinating past of this sparsely-settled and largely misunderstood state.

Now in its second edition, Elliott's revised *History* incorporates some newer scholarship and brings the story to the mid-1980s. While most of the text, from prehistoric times to the present, remains virtually unchanged, three chapters dealing with economic, political, social and cultural developments since 1950 have been rewritten. The last, "A Social and Cultural Appraisal," is the work of William D. Rowley, an able scholar and long-time colleague of Elliott's at the University of Nevada, Reno.

In his revision Elliott gives the exact route of fur-man, explorer Jedediah Smith in crossing the Great Basin in 1827 and new information on Nevada territory from Orion Clemen's scrapbooks and the letters of Andrew J. Marsh, official reporter of the 1864 constitutional convention. More important are the interpretations of historian David A. Johnson. He determined that it was fear that William Stewart and San Francisco capitalists would control the new state, and not a dispute over taxation, as previously believed, that principally caused defeat of the statehood movement of 1863. Further, Stewart exploited the depression the following year to persuade voters to support statehood to restore prosperity.

Elliott gives able treatment of mining rushes and the history of legalized gambling and control. He is still convinced that the state's liberal marriage and divorce laws and gambling, which replaced mining and agriculture in importance, brought economic stability and cultural amenities. However, he warns that the growing political power of the gaming industry "is so great that it brings into question the ability of the state of Nevada to control it." He comes down rather hard on state gaming regulators but applauds the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since 1973 in suppressing mob activities in Las Vegas. Cooperation between federal and Nevada authorities must

improve, he adds, "to successfully fight underworld organizations with strong interstate connections."

There is so much good about this book that one hesitates to find fault. However, the authors seem cramped in the space allotted to tell their story, obviously supported by prodigious research. A map of prehistoric sites and illustrations of mining technology would have been helpful. The excellent bibliography was updated with an addendum, which users will find inconvenient. Nevada's racial minorities may object to having their history relegated largely to the last chapter. While this includes discussion of Wovoka and the Ghost Dance, missing from the first edition, there is no mention of the Western Shoshones' dispute with the federal government over the Treaty of Ruby Valley (1863) which resulted in a significant U.S. Supreme Court decision. Discussion of another controversy, management of wild horses and burros, was not updated; and the federal-state conflict over public lands in the Sagebrush Rebellion received scant attention.

Future historians undoubtedly will weave more social history into the story and focus more on southern Nevada, particularly Las Vegas. But this book likely will remain for many years the best general history of the state.

Robert W. Davenport
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Volume 4, April 7-July 27, 1805. Edited by Gary E. Moulton. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. 464 pp., illustrations, figures, preface, introduction, notes, sources cited, index.)

THIS VOLUME OF THE MOULTON EDITION OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK journals takes the intrepid captains and their Corps of Discovery from Fort Mandan, in what is now North Dakota, to the Three Forks of the Missouri. As they moved up the Missouri the other major rivers they encountered were the Yellowstone, Milk, Musselshell, Judith, and Marias.

Traveling through lands hitherto unknown to the white man (mostly present-day Montana), they faced perils largely absent in the earlier portions of their journey, such as Lewis's near-fatal meeting with a grizzly bear. Common-sense diplomacy averted the potential danger of Indian hostilities.

Although game and other food was usually plentiful, they could not resist partaking of the frontiersman's favorite, buffalo intestines. No doubt July 4, 1805, was a sad day for some of the men, the party's stock of "sperits" having become depleted.

More evident here than in the previous volumes are Lewis's powers of

description. His accounts of Giant Springs (pp. 339-340) and the Great Falls of the Missouri (pp. 283-286) are particularly noteworthy. Abundantly evident also in this volume is Lewis's talent for fully describing species of flora and fauna which were new to science, a good example being his notes on the golden currant, *Ribes aureum*, Pursh (pp. 391-392). Clark, principally occupied with the cartography of the expedition, made shorter entries in his journals, and often copied those of Lewis. The eccentric spelling of both leaders should not delude anyone into thinking that they were intellectually deficient.

The reports of other leaders of military exploring expeditions almost never mention the names of those serving under them, unless they were fellow officers. Lewis and Clark not only gave the names of their men but also singled out a number of them for praise. The captains were particularly appreciative of the blacksmithing and fishing skills of Privates John Shields and Silas Goodrich, and the accomplishments of Pierre Cruzatte as a waterman and fiddler. Both Lewis and Clark expressed genuine concern over the ill health of the one female member of their group, Sacagawea.

The rejoicing among scholars and buffs of the expedition over the appearance of yet another volume of the splendid Moulton edition was accompanied by considerable sadness over the recent deaths of two great Lewis and Clark authorities, Donald Jackson and Paul Russell Cutright. The contributions of those two wise and good men to the scholarship of the epic journey will be readily apparent to those consulting the notes and bibliographies of the volumes of this edition.

Michael J. Brodhead
University of Nevada, Reno

Jack Longstreet, Last of the Desert Frontiersmen. By Sally Zanjani. (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, 1988. 171 pp., illus., intro., notes, index.)

THIS BOOK IS BEAUTIFULLY WRITTEN, the prose flowing easily on the page. The description of the landscape indicates a real love for the rugged vastness of the land which Jack Longstreet called home and an understanding of Nye County as a "last frontier" in twentieth-century Nevada. Zanjani understands the people who settled that small world in the early days and the place of such men as Longstreet in the cultural landscape. Had she merely put this book together from published and documentary sources, she would have failed. As it is, Zanjani took the time and trouble to explore county, state and federal archives, talk to those who knew Longstreet and tramp the same

ground. Her methodology could serve as a model for fleshing out the lives of half a hundred Nevadans still awaiting a biographical study. This book is a must read.

Although Jack Longstreet fits into no snug academic categories, this short biography is an important addition to the literature of Nevada's history. A man who seemed to deliberately cover his past, he left behind neither memoirs nor descendants. Indeed, the author is uncertain of his true name, the date and place of his birth, and the circumstances of the first forty years of his life. Because of his secretiveness, legends have grown up around him, most of which the author is unable to either confirm or deny, but what she can document is fascinating and good reading. Was he an outlaw? Certainly Jack Longstreet always seemed to be fleeing something, but that is not hard evidence. As to his being a cattle thief, he was minus an ear, the tell-tale mark of a rustler, but there was none of that during his years in Nevada. Jack Longstreet did kill several men, but always with good reason, and he was known as a man to avoid if at all possible. Does this make him a killer? The author leaves this judgment to those who read the book and consider the circumstances.

In point of fact, Jack Longstreet seems to have been a representative citizen in many ways—a man who farmed, ranched, tended store, mined, raised horses, made friends and enemies, drank too much on occasion, took a fling at the faro banks and poker tables, and lived his life with few apologies. He had a succession of Indian wives, spoke the native tongues and adopted Indian ways when it suited his purposes. Without posturing or seeking credit, he defended his Indian brothers and sisters when it seemed that he could make a difference, or killed others if circumstances were such that this was called for.

Longstreet is sometimes a shadowy figure, placed in the background of ordinary events. He was a boatman on the Colorado River in the early years, a merchant in the Mormon community of St. Joseph, a rancher at Ash Meadows, and a man his fellow citizens would call upon to track killers or mark desert trails. In addition, he was one of many ranchers in the rugged Kawich country of central Nevada, a locator of mining claims in such camps as Gold Reef, a bootlegger in the 'twenties and, toward the end of his life, someone who represented the "Old West" to greenhorns and journalists.

Phillip I. Earl
Nevada Historical Society

Copper Times. By Jack Fleming. (Seattle: Murray Publishing Co., 1987. 255 pp., illustrations.)

IT WAS WITH MILD CURIOSITY THAT I first picked up a copy of *Copper Times* from the shelf in a local bookstore. As I glanced quickly at the various pictures and topic titles, I came upon "Operation Haylift" in bold type and paused with sudden excitement as memories of being a student at White Pine High School during the winter of the "Haylift" flashed through my mind. I recalled the disappointment when I was told that I could not ride in the "Flying Boxcars" and help drop bales of hay to stranded livestock and starving wildlife. It was required that each parent sign a "release of liability" form for their children to participate in this emergency program. Since my father was in Carson City serving in the state legislature and was not available, I missed the opportunity for a great adventure. Moreover, I vividly remembered how impressed I was as heavily winter dressed actors and actresses appeared before the student body of White Pine High School at a special assembly to describe their activities in filming on location the story of the "Haylift."

The preceding illustration should strongly demonstrate the greatest appeal of *Copper Times:* its ability to reawaken memories of the colorful events and fondly remembered personalities connected with the copper-based lifestyle of White Pine County. Former White Pine residents will truly appreciate the kaleidoscope of vignettes that will stir dim memories into full remembrance. The book will provide pleasure to the casual reader restricted by time from becoming deeply involved in the more traditional presentations of history.

While realizing that the intent of the author is not to produce a comprehensive history of the area (even he acknowleges the lack of an index as a detriment to the serious reader) there are other distractions: items are out of chronological order and the treatment of topics is too brief. The book will most likely give the average reader a frustrated desire to know the rest of the story.

Overall, *Copper Times* makes great recreational reading and provides a springboard for additional research for the serious scholar. The book is recommended and admired because it does capture the special multi-cultural uniqueness of White Pine County.

Fred R. Horlacher
Reno, Nevada

Dives and Lazarus: Their Wanderings and Adventures in the Infernal Regions. By Dan De Quille. Edited and introduced by Lawrence I. Berkove. (Ann Arbor: Ardis Publishers, 1988. 141 pp., illustrations, notes, appendix.)

IN THIS SLIM VOLUME PROFESSOR BERKOVE RESURRECTS an unpublished novella written late in the career of Comstock journalist and historian William Wright, better known as Dan De Quille. Although editor Berkove's characterization of *Dives and Lazarus* as a "minor masterpiece" (p. 13) is perhaps overly generous, he is to be commended for adding to the published oeuvre of this talented Nevada writer.

According to Berkove, *Dives and Lazarus* was written in the final decade of De Quille's life, sometime between 1890 and his death in 1898. Although it was apparently submitted for publication, the novella was never subjected to a final draft, and consequently remains somewhat unpolished. It has the light, mildly humorous character of one of De Quille's short fictional sketches, simply extended to greater length.

The plot follows the adventures of the humble Lysander P. Lazarus and his companion, Magnificus Aureferous Dives, both recently deceased. The two men lose their way after crossing the river Styx and then wander through the nether regions on their way to seek their fate at the gates of the Celestial City. They extensively tour the spiritual realm, encountering along the way numerous figures from Greek and Roman mythology, from Scandinavian folklore, from English literature, and from the Bible. The extent and variety of their journeys, as Berkove points out, reveal the breadth of De Quille's reading.

A subplot involves the political and economic battle raging in the 1890s between the proponents of free silver and those favoring the gold standard. As a famous industrialist, Dives has amassed a fortune durng his lifetime, and an extended sojourn in the cave of Mammon gives De Quille a chance to contrast the humble rhetoric of the free silverites, of whom Lazarus is one, with the self-serving behavior of the advocates of the gold standard. Clearly on the side of free silver, De Quille's handling of this exchange is rather heavy-handed, although it is also the most spirited section of the novella.

When the two spiritual wanderers finally reach the Heavenly Gates, Dives is confident that he will be redeemed not by a lifetime of good deeds, but by his deathbed bequests to charity, which were both substantial and wide ranging. Along with several hundred thousands to various churches, libraries, and hospitals, Dives has also left $150,000 to found a hospital for cats without claws. To his chagrin, however, his humble companion, Lazarus, is invited to enter the Celestial City, while he is summarily consigned to hell. From that point on, the novella loses most of its narrative impetus, as Lazarus desultorily catalogues some of the wonders of heaven, including a museum of Biblical artifacts that houses Noah's Ark, and a zoo made up of famous animals from the Bible such as Balaam's ass. He lives up to his name when, as De Quille's introduction had forecast, he suddenly wakens from the dead at the end of the work.

While this example of De Quille's extended fiction in no way approaches his achievement in *The Big Bonanza*, it is of historical interest to students of

De Quille and of the free silver controversy. Its usefulness could have been increased if the editor had supplied more background on the free silver debate, and in particular on De Quille's position on the matter. Annotations which read, as too many do, simply "See *Hamlet* III, i, 79-80," or "See *I Kings* 2:9-12," would also have been more helpful if the material for comparison had been cited directly in the text, rather than leaving the reader to consult a library. However, the volume is valuable for its extensive introductory biographical sketch of De Quille, and for its treatment of the latter's career in relation to Mark Twain, a fellow Comstock journalist with whom De Quille is often compared. *Dives and Lazarus* is undoubtedly a minor work, but by making it available Professor Berkove has enhanced our knowlege of De Quille as a writer.

Elizabeth Raymond
University of Nevada, Reno

Escape from Death Valley: As Told by William Lewis Manly and Other '49ers. By Leroy and Jean Johnson. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1987, 230 pp., illustrations, maps, index, bibliography.)

IN JANUARY 1850, WILLIAM MANLY AND JOHN ROGERS set out on foot to try to find food for an emigrant wagon train stranded in the desolate wilderness of Death Valley. The two young men's epic trek, called "one of the most vividly romantic exploits ever recorded," is a familiar story to western historians.

When the Bennett-Arcan wagon train left Utah too late in the season to attempt crossing the high Sierra passes, they chose to travel southwest into southern California before turning north to the newly discovered gold fields. In an attempt to find a "shortcut," the emigrants became stranded in the trackless desert of Death Valley.

Manly and Rogers volunteered to search for help. "They gave us all the money they had in camp," Manly later recalled, "with instructions to bring them something to eat and some animals if we could find any." The starving men, women and children were doomed if the two were unsuccessful in obtaining relief. "If he gets out," commented one of the men left behind, "he is a damned fool to come back to help anybody out of such a Godforsaken place as this."

The heroic struggle of Manly and Rogers over more than 250 miles of rugged mountains and barren deserts has become one of the legends of the early West. Arriving at Rancho San Francisco 30 miles north of Los Angeles, the two were able to purchase some meager supplies, two horses and a mule.

Although the horses had to be abandoned on the return trip into Death Valley, the sturdy little mule was driven on through the desolate mountains and canyons. On February 9, the tiny relief party finally reached the stranded

wagon train. The life-giving supplies which the mule carried enabled the emigrants to slowly follow the two men's trail back to Rancho San Francisco, where they arrived on March 7.

The tale of the pair's desperate journey has been recounted several times, especially in Manly's *Death Valley in '49,* published in 1894. However, his original account of the rescue of the Bennett and Arcan families first appeared as articles entitled "From Vermont to California" in 1888. For the first time this earlier serialized account is here reprinted in full. Leroy and Jean Johnson used both Manly's 1888 and 1894 accounts to retrace the rescuers' journey out of and back into Death Valley.

The Johnsons utilized many other sources in their extensive research, yet they also succumbed to the sin of feudalism, clinging to the "ownership" of knowledge and staking out territorial limits on a subject. At every point where George Koenig's books on the same subjects are mentioned, the Johnsons dutifully make negative swipes. Critical comments are repeatedly registered against Koenig's 1984 *Beyond This Place There Be Dragons,* whose maps are far superior to those in this book. One doesn't grow taller by cutting another down.

Such broad sweeping statements as "Koenig's major conclusions about the routes taken by the 49ers [sic] . . . are at variance with the 49ers' [sic] firsthand accounts" show only prejudice against the earlier work. The accounts themselves, much like other emigrant journals, are filled with contradictions, not only between different people but in the same person's recollections at various times. Even Manly's birthdate, as recorded in his own words, is given in one place as April 6 and elsewhere as April 20.

The Johnsons, and others, have hoofed (and huffed) from Mt. Misery westward across Nevada and into Los Angeles, and none can claim that they actually walked in Manly's footsteps. It is impossible to trace exact routes in a land where, within relatively few miles of similar scenery and options, there could be any number of spots for pinpointed searchings. Physical evidence, with few exceptions is generally ravaged by time and weather, scavenged over a hundred years, or intermixed with the leavings of later miners.

Yet *Escape from Death Valley* is the most complete treatment of the Manly-Rogers exploit. The authors discuss the types of research they conducted, which sources they felt to be accurate, and the many problems they encountered with on-the-ground investigations. They also critique both Manly's and Rogers's own accounts, attempting to identify those passages where errors were caused by forgetfulness, bias or editing.

Given the fact that this volume is interpretive as well as factual history and thus subject to differences of opinions, it is a remarkably detailed and informative study of this episode of western migration and the heroic saga of two compassionate young emigrants.

Stanley Paher
Reno, Nevada

Reader's Notebook

A Report on Recent Books and Articles

THE FIRST ISSUE OF A NEW JOURNAL, *Western Legal History,* has been published by the Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society, headquartered in Pasadena, California. It will appear twice a year. In a keynote article, "Some Lessons of Western Legal History," John Phillip Reid notes that the history of law in the West has generally been ignored by the "generalists among western historians" and, thus, that a publication devoted to the subject is needed simply because so little has been written about it. Reid suggests that one major but largely unexplored area of inquiry deserving the attention of western and other historians is that which deals with the "existence of a legal culture shaping the behavior of ordinary people."

A longtime Nevada law enforcement official, Johnson W. "Bud" Lloyd, is the subject of Tom Wright's "Eureka's Saddleback Lawyer," *Nevada Magazine,* March/April 1988, while the deeds and sudden demise of an outlaw of the 1870s, Morgan Courtney, are recalled in Phillip I. Earl's "Violent Life of a Nevada Badman," *Quarterly of the National Association and Center for Outlaw and Lawman History* XII (Winter 1988). Mysterious thefts from the U.S. Branch Mint in Carson City during the 1890s are the subject of Douglas McDonald's "Gold from Carson Mint Caper was Never Found," *The Nevadan Today* (Sunday magazine of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*), April 24, 1988, while the last bank robbery in Virginia City, on October 25, 1927, is detailed by Val Burnett in "The Last Heist on the Comstock," *Reno Magazine,* January 1988. Butch Cassidy's purported holdup of a Winnemucca bank and other popular but untrue tales of the Silver State are scrutinized by Dennis Myers and Guy Louis Rocha in "10 Great Historical Myths," *Nevada Magazine,* May/June 1988.

The second number for 1987 of *Nevada Public Affairs Review* is devoted to "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada." Edited by Elmer R. Rusco, it features articles on various racial, ethnic and religious groups, among them the Chinese, blacks, Western Shoshone and Paiute Indian peoples, Hispanics, Basques, Yugoslavs and Jews, as well as monographs on such topics as civil rights legislation and the toppling of Nevada's miscegenation laws. The lives of Chinese in Nevada and the West are discussed further in Douglas McDonald's "Chinese Joss Houses Gave Comfort in a Strange Land," *The*

Nevadan Today, February 28, 1988, while conflict between the Hualpai Indians and the U.S. Army along the Colorado River in the 1860s and 1870s is examined in Dennis Casabier's four-part article, "Peace for the Hualapai," *The Nevadan Today*, January 3, 10, 17, 24, 1988.

Recreation, sports, education and other features of cultural life in Nevada or the wider West have been dealt with in Elliott West's "Child's Play: Tradition and Adaptation on the Frontier," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History* 38 (Winter 1988); Marguerite Patterson Evans's, "Letters from Contact," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* No. 88-1 (Winter 1988), describing a rural Elko County school teacher's experiences in the early 1930s; D. Roman Hill's, "The Great Ely Badger Fight," *The Nevadan Today*, January 17, 1988, about a time-honored Nevada hoax; Virginia Rishel, ed., "The Rise of Tex Rickard as a Fight Promoter," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Fall 1987); Jack E. Sheehan, "A Blast from the Past," *Nevada Magazine*, May/June 1988, a reminiscent look at golf's Tournament of Champions when it was staged in Las Vegas from 1953 to 1968; Michael Luster and Blanton Owen, *In a High and Glorious Place: Folklife in Lincoln County, Nevada*, an illustrated booklet issued in 1987 by the Folk Arts Program of the Nevada State Council on the Arts; and in James Conaway, *The Kingdom in the Country* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), in which the author tours the West's public domain and offers his impressions of "wranglers, shepherds, miners and bureaucrats, squatters and gunfighters, Indians and other inhabitants of the land nobody owns." A sporting event that helped launch a Sierra Nevada recreation industry, the 1960 Winter Olympics at Squaw Valley, is recalled in Robert Frohlich, "The Best Olympics Ever," *Nevada Magazine*, January/February 1988.

Others aspects of industrial and commercial development in Nevada and the Far West have recently been examined in John D. Haeger, "Business Strategy and Practice in the Early Republic: John Jacob Astor and the American Fur Trade," *Western Historical Quarterly* XIX (May 1988); Eric N. Moody and Robert A. Nylen, "The Comstock Brewing Industry," *OAH* (Organization of American Historians) *Newsletter*, February 1988; James A. Young and Jerry D. Budy, "Adaptation of Tracklaying Tractors for Forest Road and Trail Construction," *Journal of Forest History* 31 (July 1987); and Suzanne D. Sobel, "Nevada's Camels were Two Humpers," *The Nevadan Today*, May 1, 1988, about the experiment with the beasts as draft animals for hauling salt to the Comstock mills in the 1860s. Nevada's most notorious business, legal prostitution, receives some attention in Barbara Meil Hobson's, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), a history and analysis of prostitution policy that is infused with a feminist, internationalist perspective.

Prostitution in and around Las Vegas is one of the topics discussed in a number of recently published articles which deal with the construction of Hoover (Boulder) Dam and its impact on southern Nevada in the early and

mid-1930s. Written for *The Nevadan Today* by Dennis McBride, and based in part on oral history interviews, these fascinating pieces include "Hoover Dam: Hard Times Made Hard Conditions for Life and Work," March 6, 1988; "Whisky, Working Girls, and Juke Joints," March 20, 1988; "Block 16 Let Boys be Boys til Bluenoses Declared War," March 27, 1988; and a two-part profile of Sims Ely, Boulder City's contoversial first city manager, "Boulder City Dictator," April 10, 17, 1988. Some inside views of how Las Vegas News Bureau photojournalists promoted the post-World War II city as a national entertainment mecca are found in K.J. Evans, "The Boys Who Shot Up Vegas," *The Nevadan Today*, April 17, 1988.

The presently flourishing gambling towns on Nevada's borders—Laughlin, Jean, Mesquite, Jackpot, Wendover, and Stateline and Crystal Bay at Lake Tahoe—are examined in "Boom Towns on the Border," *Nevada Magazine*, January/February 1988, while the patriarch of one of them, Don Laughlin, is profiled in A.D. Hopkins's, "The Man Who Saw Laughlin Coming," *The Nevadan Today*, February 7, 1988. Collectors of Nevada gambling memorabilia will be interested in Howard Herz's, *Harvey's Guide to Collecting Gaming Checks and Chips* (Minden, Nevada: High Sierra Numismatics, 1985).

A number of new reprints and anthologies of previously published material deserve attention. Among these are Ann Ronald's *The New West of Edward Abbey* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1988), which was originally published by the University of New Mexico Press in 1982; Gae Whitney Canfield's *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), which first appeared in 1983; a third edition of William Loren Katz's *The Black West* (Seattle: Open Hand Publishing, 1987); editor Jack Herzberg's *His Honor, the Buckaroo: The Autobiography of John L. Davie* (Reno: Jack Herzberg, 1988), a collection of 1931 newspaper articles by the late Oakland mayor who once ranched in Lassen County, California; Robert A. Bennett's *The Bohemians: American Adventures from Bret Harte's Overland Monthly* (Walla Walla, Wash.: Pioneer Press, 1987); Sam Davis's *A Miner's Christmas Carol and Other Frontier Tales* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Western Tanager Press, 1987), a collection of stories by one of Nevada's most famous journalists and short fiction writers; John C. Frémont's *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), a republication of the popular 1845 work; and Howard Stansbury's 1852 report on Utah's land and people, *Exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), which carries a new introduction by Don D. Fowler of the University of Nevada-Reno. Inhabitants of the Great Salt Lake Valley figure also in Conway B. Sonne's new book, *Ships, Saints, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration, 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987).

Notable among Nevada-related biographical writings that have appeared

during the past months are Christine Cendagorta, "J.E. Church, Nevada's Fantastic Snowman," *Nevada Magazine*, March/April 1988, about the noted snow scientist and surveyor, and Jim Bramlett, *Ride for the High Points: The Real Story of Will James* (Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing, 1987), an extensively illustrated study of the cowboy writer and artist who spent some of his formative years in the Silver State. Two prominent Nevada writers, one a newspaperman, the other a historian, are profiled in Agnes Nelson's, "Joe Jackson: Journalist Recalls Reno and Its Fast-and-Loose Time," *The Nevadan Today*, December 6, 1987, and Brett Pauly, "Phillip Earl: Chronicling the Wild Wild West," *Trends '88* (annual magazine of the Incline Village, Nevada, *North Lake Tahoe Bonanza*, March 25, 1988). A 1930 incident involving a young Elko, Nevada, girl, Jean Truett, and the characteristic humanitarian activities of Lou Henry Hoover, wife of the President, is recalled in J. Keith Melville, "The First Lady and the Cowgirl," *Pacific Historical Review* LVII (February 1988). Major Nevada political personalities are the subjects of K.J. Evans's, "Berkeley Bunker," *The Nevadan Today*, January 24, 1988; Ken White, "Grant Sawyer," *The Nevadan Today*, December 27, 1987; Ken White, "Gibson Faces Fight of His Life," *The Nevadan Today*, February 21, 1988, about longtime state Senator James Gibson; and a master's thesis by Christopher G. Driggs, "Governor Emmet D. Boyle of Nevada: A Man of His Times," which was submitted to the University of Texas at Austin in 1987.

Some noteworthy recent works dealing with localities in Nevada or eastern California are Thomas C. Fletcher, *Paiute, Prospector, Pioneer: A History of the Bodie-Mono Lake Area in the Nineteenth Century* (Lee Vining, Calif.: Artemesia Press, 1987); Toddy Folgate, "Earthquake, 1915," *The Humboldt Historian* (North Central Nevada Historical Society Quarterly) X (Summer-Fall 1987); Herman B. and Ruth Gilbert, "The Discovery of Gilbert," *Central Nevada's Glorious Past* (publication of the Central Nevada Historical Society) 10 (November 1987), concerning a significant Nye County mining camp; and *Proceedings. First Death Valley Conference on History and Prehistory. February 8-11, 1987.* This volume, issued by the Death Valley Conference Committee, contains thirteen articles on the anthropology, history and natural history of the Death Valley region, including Susan J. Buchel's "Albert Johnson's Pursuit of a Death Valley Dominion," Phillip I. Earl's "Bullfrog County: Another Desert Dream" (about the proposed county of 1906-1909, not the ill-fated reality of the 1980s), and Beth Sennett-Walker's "Changing Times: Panamint Shoshone Response to White Development."

David Barnett, whose publication credits include numerous articles about motion picture making in Nevada and films with Nevada settings, has written "Buck Benny Rides Again" for *The Nevadan Today*, January 31, 1988. The 1940 Jack Benny film, which had a southern Nevada setting, is viewed as a publicity device for Las Vegas that didn't quite work out. Two television

productions that had a greater promotional impact on the state, and especially on Virginia City, are discussed in Robin Holabird's, "Bonanza: The Next Generation," *LV, The Magazine of Las Vegas,* April 1988.

Several recent works of fiction appearing on the printed page rather than the silver or televison screen, have dealt with historical Nevada themes. Clark Howard's *Quick Silver* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988) traces the fortunes of three World War I veterans in the mines of Virginia City and the early casino industry of Las Vegas. Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, who appears in *Quick Silver,* is a central figure in Max Allan Collins's *Neon Mirage* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), a detective novel set partly in 1940s Las Vegas that mixes real with fictional characters. Finally, two lively works of fantasy deal with the "Nevada Mark Twain": Kirk Mitchell's *Never the Twain* (New York: Ace Books, 1987) has a time-traveler trying to wreck Twain's literary career before it gets started; and David Carkeet's *I Been There Before,* a 1985 novel republished by Penguin books in 1987, begins with a resurrected Twain finding himself on a deserted road outside Aurora, Nevada, in 1986 and follows him as he travels about the country, visiting old haunts and commenting on the state of his new world.

Eric Moody

New Resource Materials

Nevada Historical Society

Charles L. Richards Papers

The Society has been fortunate in acquiring some personal papers of Charles Lenmore Richards (1877-1953), a longtime Reno attorney who served as Nevada's congressman from 1923 to 1925. Consisting of correspondence, newspaper clippings, legal documents and miscellaneous printed items, the papers pertain chiefly to Richards's efforts between 1949 and 1952 to save and restore the Centenary Methodist Church, which had been erected in his birthplace of Austin, Nevada, in 1866. Among correspondents on the church matter are Belle M. Roberts, Norman B. Calloway and other regional Methodist Church officers, Jock Taylor, Molly Magee (Knudtsen), and Frederick L. Rath of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings. Also included in the papers is a small amount of correspondence dealing with property Richards owned in Austin and the possible donation by him of "tokens" to a museum proposed to be established in Austin's old Gridley Store.

Sagebrush Literary and Musical Society Records

On April 9, 1897, the Sagebrush Literary and Musical Society was organized by seventeen young women of Eureka, Nevada. For at least a year and a half, the club held meetings in the homes of various members, at which there were programs of group singing, solos and duets, instrumental music, and readings and recitations. Sometimes there were debates, and word contests of various types were usually conducted. The meetings often focused on the works of a single American or English author, such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Wordsworth or William Cullen Bryant.

Harold Curran has graciously donated to the Society the first, and perhaps only, minute book of this Eureka club. Through its descriptions of regular and business meetings between April 1897 and October 1898, the volume provides us with fascinating new detail on the cultural life of one of Nevada's principal communities at the end of the nineteenth century.

Alpine Glass Company Records

Records from the early years of this prominent Reno business were recently donated by Mrs. Byron E. Morris, who, with her husband, owned and

operated the firm for almost four decades. The materials consist of a cash book and a daily journal of transactions for the period 1926-1928, just prior to the Morrises' purchase of the company late in 1928, and a number of photographs taken during the 1932 Reno Rodeo, including some of an Alpine Glass Company float that appeared in the rodeo parade. We wish to thank Mrs. Morris for her gift, which besides the Alpine Glass records, included an invoice book for the years 1886-1887 from the Manning & Jaques hardware store in Reno.

Eric N. Moody
Manuscript Curator

Special Collections Department
University of Nevada, Reno

The department is pleased to announce that the records of the Nevada Mining Association have been donated by the Association's Board of Directors. The Association was organized in March 1913 with a membership of the state's principal metal producers. Headquartered in Reno, the NMA was and is, interested in finding solutions to common mining and metallurgical problems, national and state legislation affecting the industry, and the bulk procurement of industry commodities such as cyanide. They also followed closely the creation and administration of the State Insurance Fund and the Industrial Safety Conferences.

The records consist of two cubic feet of material dating from 1913 to the 1940s. Included are reports, correspondence, and studies concerning the mining industry. In addition to data on technical aspects of mining, the material shows clearly the interrelationship which exists between the industry and politics, with correspondence from such notables as Vail and Key Pittman, James Scrugham, Emmet Boyle, and Tasker Oddie. The collection is being processed and will have a guide to assist researchers.

A new addition to the department's monograph collection on Great Basin Indians, published by the National Archives, is a guide to the Nevada Indian records at the Laguna Nigel (Calif.) branch of the National Archives. This is a partial inventory of the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, consisting of over 2000 boxes generated by the Phoenix Area office. Included are materials about the Western Shoshone Agency tribes, records of the Sherman and Phoenix Indian Schools, and many photographs.

An eagerly awaited bibliography of overland travel accounts is now available. *Platte River Road Narratives* by Merrill J. Mattes, published by the University of Illinois Press, contains citations and analysis of over 2000 accounts of travel over the central overland route to Oregon, California,

Utah, Colorado, and Montana, from 1812-1866. Arranged in chronological sections and then alphabetically, each entry is summarized with a note of where the writer of the material went and when, along with Mattes' personal assessment of the importance of the material.

Susan Searcy
Manuscript Curator

Oral History Program
University of Nevada, Reno

The Oral History program at the University of Nevada-Reno has recently completed the following work:

Herrera, Rose and Ciriaco (b. 1908 and 1904). *Life in Eureka: 1920s-1950s.* Ranching in Fallon and Italian Creek; the Eureka Garage and Herrera Service Station; Basques and other ethnic groups; a history of the Herrera family.

Works in progress include interviews with:

Bennett, Barbara, as yet untitled. Work was recently begun on an oral history with Barbara Bennett, mayor of Reno from 1979 to 1982. The regulation of municipal growth was the principal issue during Ms. Bennett's administration, and the oral history will examine this in depth. Other topics will include city and state politics and government in the 1970s and 1980s, women's concerns and the feminist movement in Nevada, developments in the state Democratic party, and the experience of Common Cause. The oral history should be available to the public by mid-fall 1988.

Foster, Verne, as yet untitled. With a grant from the Nevada Mining Association, the OHP has commenced work on an oral history with Verne Foster. Mrs. Foster is the daughter of Alex Wise, who was the mining engineer for the C & C Mine in Virginia City, and who, with Roy Hardy, owned and operated the Flowery Mines in Six Mile Canyon in the 1920s. Mrs. Foster attended the University of Nevada in 1919 and 1920. In 1925, she married Herb Foster, who went on to become athletic director and head football coach at Reno High School for almost three decades.

Mrs. Foster's extended family has been deeply involved in the mining industry in Nevada since the late nineteenth century. She joined the staff of the Nevada Mining Association in 1952, and remained there until her retirement in 1988. The oral history will be partially biographical, but it will

primarily concentrate on illuminating the role of the NMA in the history of mining in Nevada. To be available by fall 1988.

As part of our work with Mrs. Foster, we acquired the papers of the Nevada Mining Association, which are now part of UNR's Special Collections.

Ullom, George (b. 1915), as yet untitled. The OHP is currently concluding an interview with George Ullom, a Las Vegas native who discusses his role on its police force from the 1940s through the 1950s. Mr. Ullom discusses early Las Vegas industries; problems between the Basic Magnesium Industry (BMI) strikers and the police; minorities in Las Vegas; tourism; and the notorious Block 16 and prostitution. To be available by mid-fall 1988.

Helen Blue
Program Coordinator/Editor

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