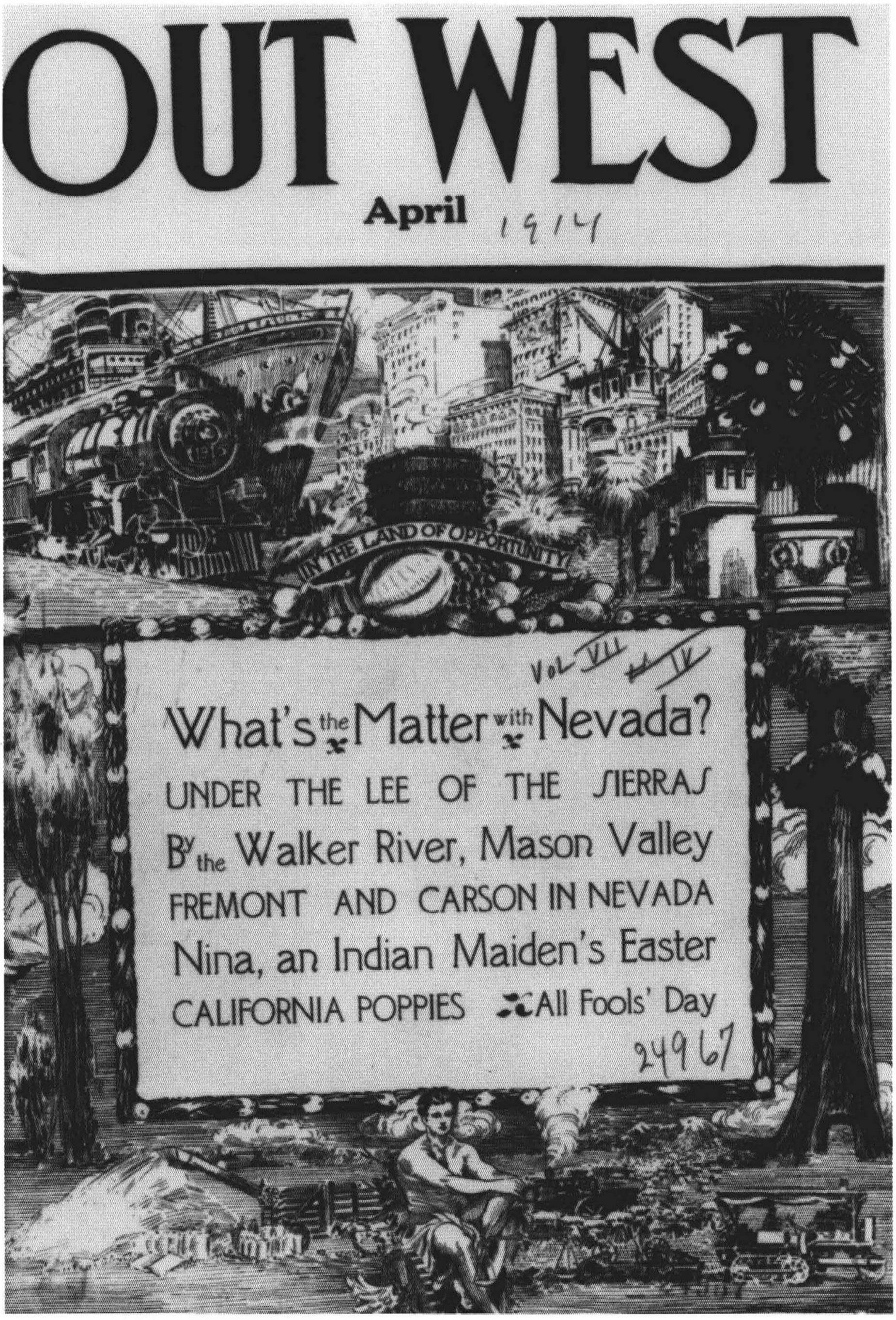
Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly



WINTER 1991

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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

Prospective authors should send their work to The Editor, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503. Papers should be typed double-spaced and sent in duplicate. All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform with the most recent edition of the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and numbered consecutively. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor.

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Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly

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NEVADA: BEAUTIFUL DESERT OF BURIED HOPES

Wilbur S. Shepperson

From the turn of the century to World War I, Nevada not only commanded outside attention, it evoked widespread excitement. Throughout most of western America, its water project elicited genuine surprise and admiration. No longer did the geography intimidate, rather the myth of opportunity and western exceptionalism seemed to dominate the state. The great Buddha's admonition that "life can change as quickly as the swish of a horse's tail" seemed to apply in a most positive way. Twenty years of depression was replaced with a boom psychology. In addition to Nevada's second major mining rush, agriculture was seen as the new opportunity. Indeed, the state enjoyed a peculiar agrarian marriage between such diverse interests as advocates of reclamation, political progressives, Reno's intellectual community, the Southern Pacific land office, several machinery and wholesale houses in San Francisco, cooperative and utopian colonies, and some Salt Lake City business and church interests. All envisioned a new, prosperous rural society; all saw democracy, federal technology, and taming the arid lands as a moral and material resource.

After the passage of the Newlands Act in 1902 and the attendant western publicity, a local newspaper could amusingly note that, "Nevada agriculture is becoming more respectable every day." And as work on the giant project proceeded on schedule, it attracted increasing notice, perhaps reaching an initial zenith between 1904 and 1907. *Sunset,* published by the Southern Pacific Railroad, regularly returned to the subject in articles like "Redeeming the West," "The New Nevada," "The Reclamation of Nevada," and "Irrigation as a Social Factor." Both fact and hyperbole were crowded into the stories. A February 1905 report claimed that letters from prospective homemakers were flooding the office of the state engineer. "Thus the lonely Sage-brush State will awaken from her slumber to listen to the gladsome shouts of youth in fields and orchard."

Wilbur S. Shepperson died September 21, 1991. Please see the memorial article elsewhere in this issue. This article is a chapter in his forthcoming book, *Mirage-Land: Images of Nevada* (copyright 1992 University of Nevada Press) and is used by permission of the publisher.

The title of the article is the same one that Anne Martin used for her critical essay on Nevada in the July 26, 1922 issue of *The Nation.*

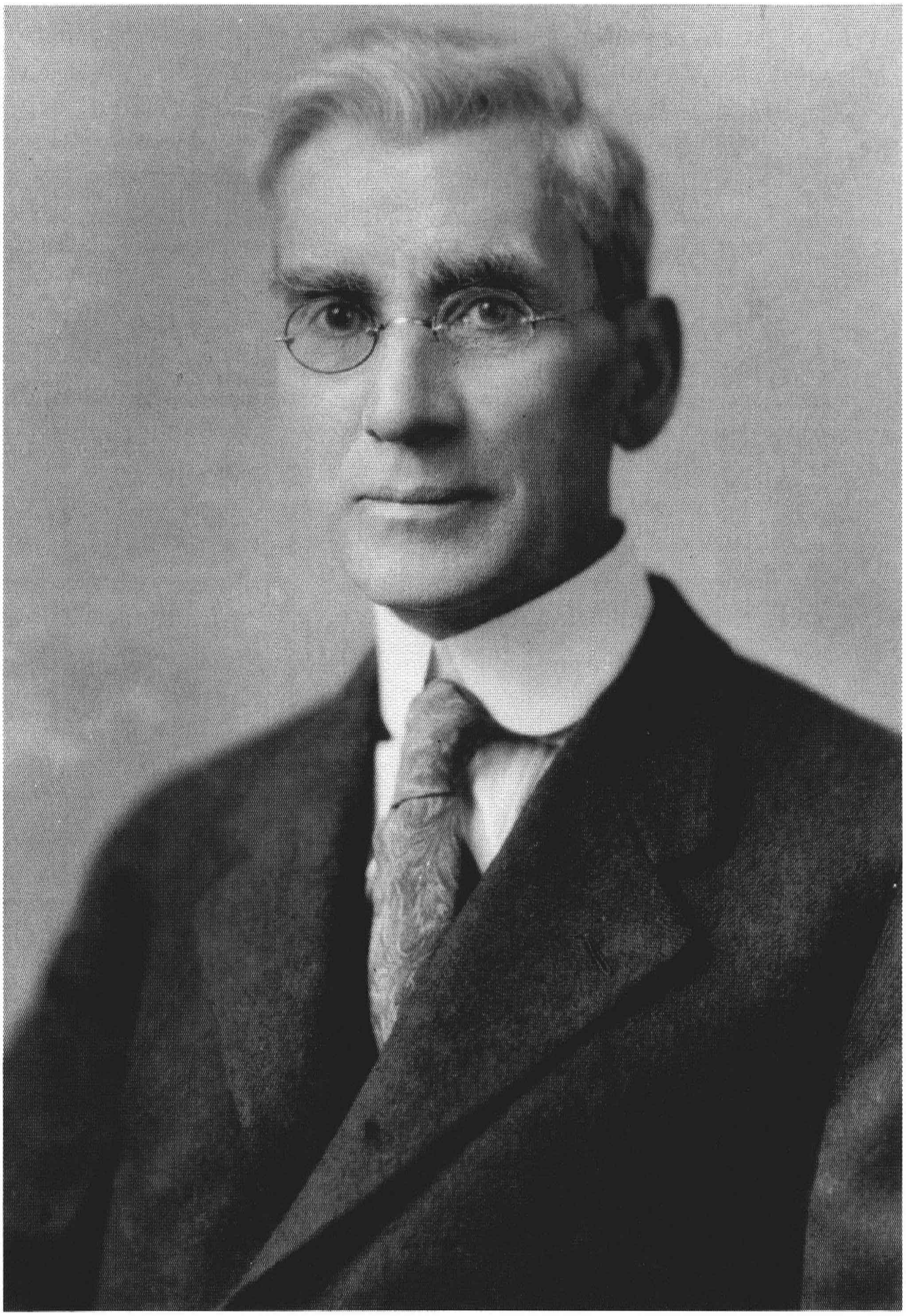
Equally as important, irrigation farming was to produce a spirit of serving which was to exert an unusually healthy influence upon both local and national life. The *Land of Sunshine,* the *Californian,* and the *Overland Monthly* followed the lead of *Sunset* and for some years emphasized Nevada's agrarian opportunities.

On the national scene, *Harper's Weekly, Leslie's Weekly,* and *Collier's* covered Nevada's mines but also spoke lengthily and positively of Nevada irrigation. Senator Newlands wrote for *Collier's,* while *Harper's* in a florid and overly written story of February 2, 1907, spoke of "titanic labors," "unbounded imagination," "performance of miracles," and "marvelous jugglings of rivers and mountains." After quoting scripture extensively, the writer stressed that the members of the Reclamation Service were practical men who proposed "to convert two-fifths of the area of the United States from arid land into fertile farms."

As the irrigation publicity seemed to crest, on May 23, 1905, the *San Francisco Call* published a special Nevada edition consisting of sixteen pages with seven columns per page. The *Call,* "the washerwoman's paper," was by the 1860s known as California's most popular and cheapest newspaper. Mark Twain reluctantly took a job with the *Call* in June 1864 and was most unhappy there as a police-court reporter. The paper insisted that Nevada was "witnessing the dawn of a new era." Along with pictures and articles on oats, alfalfa, creameries, and beet sugar refineries, Robert L. Fulton explained that the state "runs south into the fig, orange and cotton country." "Nowhere is there such celery, such mealy potatoes, such juicy berries." Nevada was "trembling on the rise and not in a thousand years will she offer the inducements to settlers that she does to-day."

Perhaps the most sophisticated image provided by the new agrarian movement was the founding in Reno, in June 1905, of the state's first professionally designed and edited magazine, the *Progressive West.* The journal was an indirect outgrowth of various publications fostered by the Reno Chamber of Commerce over the previous decade and a direct outgrowth of *Nevada's Natural and Industrial Resources.* First printed in Reno in January 1904, *Nevada's Natural and Industrial Resources* was the state's entry at the 1904 St. Louis World Fair. With a lengthy introduction by Robert L. Fulton, it emphasized the university and livestock farming and told quaint stories about the "jewel of great prize" which was, of course, Nevada. *Greater Nevada: Its Resources and Possibilities,* published in early 1905, expanded upon the 1904 issue. About that time it was decided that a monthly publication would create a more widely circulated and sustained image of the state.

The *Progressive West* combined the several new forces which had been drawn together to build a more traditional "mid-western-like" agrarian culture. Editors for the magazine were J. E. Stubbs, dynamic president of the University of Nevada; J. A. Yerington, son of railroad executive Henry Yerington; and John Sparks, governor of Nevada. The managing editor and motive force was the creative M. M. Garwood. Mrs. Garwood, also executive secretary of Reno's Chamber of Commerce, enjoyed the local assistance of newspapermen like Sam



Robert L. Fulton, a Nevada booster and the first President of the Nevada Historical Society. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Davis and John L. Considine of the Carson *Appeal* and the ever–active Robert L. Fulton of the Reno *Gazette*. The journal well expressed the progressive optimism of the day; it was "intended primarily and ultimately as means towards the reclamation of the desert." The editors believed that the publication was "the

logical outgrowth of a demand from every part of the world." Therefore, the first number was circulated throughout the United States and in England, France, and Australia.

Reversing the long and persistent justification for failure and claims of colonial exploitation, the magazine found that "no State has yet received such a vast impetus, nor such actual material assistance as has Nevada." The contribution was such that "not even the next generation will witness the climax of its achievement." June 17, the day President Roosevelt signed the reclamation bill, must become a Nevada holiday; Dat-so-la-lee, the seventy-year-old Indian basket maker, was a state treasure; and Reno's Mardi Gras, from June 29 through July 4, 1905, was seen as a clean, healthy, spirited celebration. Not surprisingly no comment was made about Nevada's second major prizefight, held in Reno on July 3. The progressive forces were successful in their demands that the affair not be scheduled for July 4.

Garwood was convinced that the newly established Las Vegas was going to succeed as a center for southern Nevada; she christened it, perhaps borrowing the title, "The Gateway to Goldfield." Commercial conflicts and jealousies between Reno and Tonopah-Goldfield, between agricultural interests and the mining boom towns, between temporarily prosperous camps and those of past glory were to be reduced to good fellowship and understanding. Industrial advertisements were a major financial underpinning for the publication. The eighteen in the first issue represented Chicago, New York City, Los Angeles, Sacramento, and San Francisco. Salt Lake City businesses soon became supporters of the journal. However, the advertising grew only slightly and San Francisco remained the chief advertiser of machinery, transportation equipment, tools, and other hardware.

By late 1905 a few newspapers like the *Deseret News* of Salt Lake City and smaller sheets from Inyo, Mono, and other rural California counties praised the objectives and positive attitude of the *Progressive West*. Unfortunately, by 1906 Mrs. Garwood had withdrawn as editor and the journal was rapidly becoming self-conscious, garish, and apologetic for not maintaining deadlines. Although Garwood briefly returned to the editorship later in 1906, the high hopes and tasteful quality rapidly slipped away. A noble attempt to assure the country that Nevada's physical reclamation had also introduced an era of broad cultural reformation had been short-lived.

Fortunately, the Nevada Historical Society, also a product of the expansion and reform of the decade, was more successful as a cultural association. Its founders and supporters were from the same small knot of progressive–minded Renoites who wished to eliminate what one of the group characterized as "the negative quality in Nevada's history." In the creation of the society, the "negative quality" was to be assaulted by the "man of all seasons," Robert L. Fulton, and a "woman with a missionary zeal," Jeanne Elizabeth Wier. In addition to their social concerns, the two were brought together by their fierce respect for

Jeanne Elizabeth Wier in 1908, Professor of History at the University of Nevada and Executive Secretary of the Nevada Historical Society from 1904 to 1950. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Frederick Jackson Turner. Writing for *The Irrigation Age* in January 1902, Fulton encapsulated the doctrines of the western historian in a simplistic, although theoretical way. Fulton explained that in the past "the public lands were open and the tinker and the tailor, bookkeeper and the barber, the laborer and his sons knew that if worst came to worst, they could go west and find a quarter-section and make a home on it." Misery, riots, anarchy, class hatred had all been averted in America through western land. But now "the safety valve is closed."[1]

Jeanne Wier, a new history instructor at the University of Nevada, may have worked with Fulton on the article. Coming from Iowa by way of Oregon and California, she had become an ardent Turnerian while a student at Stanford University. As an activist, she along with other academics like President Stubbs and sociology professor Romanzo Adams found Fulton and his community of friends invaluable supporters of the proposed agency. (Fulton was also responsible for Stubbs moving to the university; they were relatives and both from Ohio.)

In May 1904, the Nevada Historical Society was founded with Fulton as the first president and Wier the secretary-curator. The society under the persistent Wier, the university under the progressive Stubbs, and an active group of business and political leaders formed an unusually concerned, vigorous, and enlightened force within the state. They were a small beacon, an attractive image, which introduced leading scholars and publicists to western Nevada and brought the Society some little outside recognition. Wier's dogged determination to make the association into a reputable, professional organization led her to embark not only upon invaluable collecting ventures, but to take her story to meetings of historians, to publish professionally, and to catalogue an impressive body of her findings. For the first time Nevada began to enjoy outside academic attention.

It was a new image. Jeanne Wier believed that Nevada must cease being a frontier and a wilderness because "The American frontier zone has moved on into the midst of the Pacific." Nevada must cease being a desert and with reclamation "Nature shall reap . . . even where she has not sown." After observing the retrogression and decay of a hundred Nevada communities, she declared, "We are not willing that Nature should come to her own again here." Jeanne Elizabeth Wier enjoyed a William E. Smythe type of enthusiasm; however, she held fast to one objective.

Certainly the National Irrigation Congress, and its crowning achievement, the Newlands Reclamation Act, widely publicized the opportunities for western settlement. But almost as significant was the new wave of experiments being undertaken by advocates of cooperative settlements. By 1916 at least 250 such communities had been established in the United States with the majority having collapsed in infancy. By the turn of the century the West had become the Mecca for scores of bizarre and generally unrealistic social experiments. Many saw one of Nevada's remote valleys as a Shangri-La which could easily be converted into

Romanzo Adams in 1903, Professor of Education and Sociology at the University of Nevada, from the student yearbook, *Artemesia 1903*. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

a productive and self-sufficient paradise. Although substantial sums of money were spent on several of the projects, most never proceeded past the planning stage.

As early as 1892 there had been a plan to settle a thousand Danes along the

Walker River. In 1907 Father T. W. Horgan proposed to locate a thousand Irish near the Carson Sink, and in the same year four hundred Polish families were to found a settlement near Fort Halleck in Elko County. In 1911 much publicity was given to a planned Italian vineyard near Unionville, and Russian—Americans considered farming in northeastern Nevada during 1915. The Dunkards, under the leadership of George L. Studebaker of the famous wagon-automobile family, almost left Muncie, Indiana in 1904 to take over Spanish Springs and Lemmon Valley in Washoe County; and the House of David considered leaving Benton Harbor, Michigan in 1907 for Rhyolite. According to the group's religious prophesy, 144,000 persons would be drawn together before the millennium would come in southern Nevada. A half-dozen plans to locate Russians, Finns, or Estonians on the lands of the Nevada-California-Oregon Railway were typical of the short-lived or stillborn ventures of the era before World War I. A proposed South African Boer colony in northern Nevada, a Hindu colony in Churchill County, Japanese colonies in the Ruby Valley, at Fallon, and at Las Vegas, a Siberian Baptist colony in Washoe County, a Norwegian colony on the lower Carson River, and a Greek colony near Reno further suggest the attractive rural image and colonization mania that had overtaken Nevada.[2]

During the last half of the nineteenth and first years of the twentieth century, the Mormon Church contributed in a quiet and selective way to Nevada's agrarian image. Church affiliates had long fostered settlements in southern and eastern Nevada; however, about the turn of the century it again became involved when the Nevada Land and Livestock Company secured property at Georgetown, near Ely. Although this experiment was short-lived, the church fostered the purchase and settlement of numerous other ranches along the White River in White Pine and Nye counties.

The most widely publicized and best financed semi-Morman colony was that of Metropolis, ten miles northeast of Wells in Elko County. Building the community was a joint effort by the Southern Pacific Railroad and Salt Lake City businessmen. In 1911 the Pacific Reclamation Company of Salt Lake City, Reno, and Ogden secured large tracts of land, mainly from the railroad, and constructed a major reservoir on Bishop Creek. It was declared the third largest earthen dam in the United States and designed to irrigate over thirty thousand acres. The town was built on an impressive scale with a large hotel, a railway station (Southern Pacific constructed a branch line eight miles long), fire hydrants, sidewalks, parks, schools, and a cooperative marketing system. Prospective settlers from all over the West and Canada came to visit the "farmers' paradise." By 1913 the community had grown to approximately a thousand persons, the majority of whom were from Utah, Idaho, and Canada.

Along with the usual problems of dry years, rodents, and crop failures, the Lovelock Valley Irrigation District quickly brought suit against the Pacific Reclamation Company for taking water from the Humboldt River. After a lengthy legal battle, Lovelock won the case; most of the colonists were Mormon, how-

ever, and since they were encouraged to remain by church leaders, Metropolis was slow to die. In 1924 some thirty-five families still remained in Metropolis. The town officially disbanded during the 1930s, but twenty-seven residents still occupied the land in 1960. The promotional brochures, the land salesman, and the advertised fourteen inches of rain per year had given way to drifting sand, sagebrush, and jackrabbits. Another widely publicized image of a "genteel life on the fertile plains" had been abandoned.[3]

The largest and most widely publicized cooperative colony to be founded in Nevada was located in the heart of the new reclamation district some four miles east of Fallon. The leaders, who enjoyed extensive contacts throughout the country, had most recently participated in the Llano del Rio Colony in Antelope Valley, forty-five miles northeast of Los Angeles. Numerous Nevadans, including several farmers and ranchers who turned over their lands for cooperative settlement, joined the visionary promoters. Indeed, it was a strange mixture of utopians, populists, Marxists, and dirt-farmers who founded the town of Nevada City, Nevada in 1916. World War I heightened the drama. Within a few action-packed months, persons from thirty-three states, Alaska, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, England, Germany, Sweden, France, Hungary, and Switzerland had arrived at the new Eden. Most colonists were opponents of the war and many assumed that Nevada's isolation would shield them from the conflict. From the first, the Marxist-oriented, German-speaking, semi-intellectuals had difficulty relating to the half-starved farmers from the Great Plains and the rebellious fruit pickers and lumbermen from the Pacific Coast. Between 1916 and 1919 some five hundred persons actually settled in Nevada City, and over two thousand other heads of families joined the cooperative in absentia and made preparations to migrate to Nevada.[4]

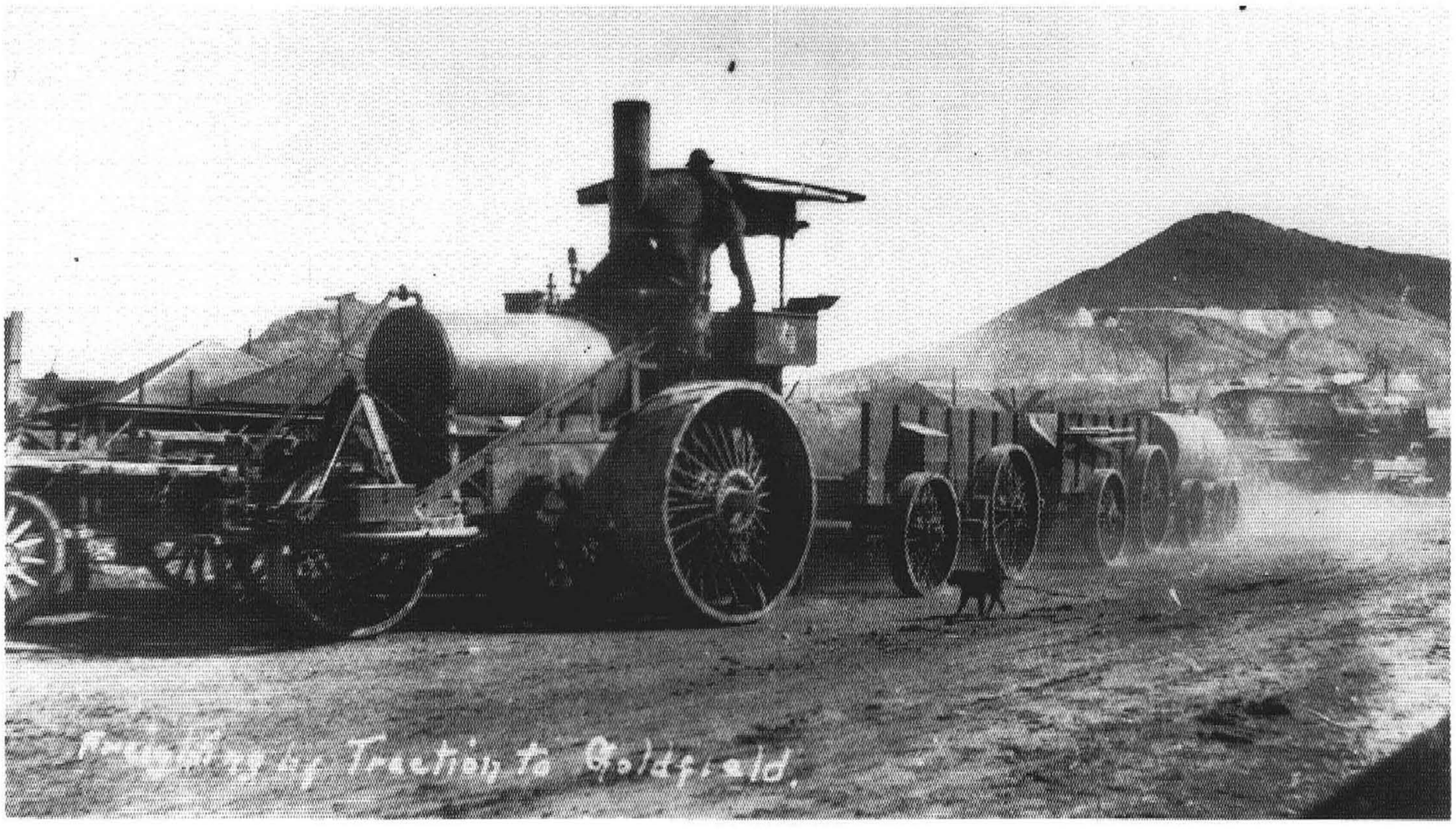
Colony leaders gained access to a dozen lengthy mailing lists. Some, like the world famous socialist newspaper the *Appeal to Reason,* enjoyed a circulation exceeding 525,000. Nevada City published two widely circulated monthlies, *Nevada Colony News* and the *Co-operative Colonist;* and the editor of the *Colonist* placed advertisements "in all of the Socialist papers of the country." From the *Daily Call* of Seattle to the *Leader* of Fitchburg and Boston, from the *Star* of Frackville, Pennsylvania to the *Co-operative News* of Everett, Washington, and from the *Sword of Truth* of Sentinel, Oklahoma to the *Weekly Bulletin* of Butte, Montana, the story of Nevada's new order was told. In local papers like the *Argosy* of Belper, Kansas, in regional journals like the *Home and Farmer* of San Francisco, in specialized publications like the *Angora Journal* in Portland, Oregon, in the *Socialist Year Book of Cuyahoga County* of Cleveland, and even in a woman's weekly printed only in Finnish, *Toveritor,* readers were informed that there was a community in Nevada that soon would have "greater power and influence than the Standard Oil Company."

The *Appeal to Reason* of Girard, Kansas, the *Cooperative Herald* of St. Paul, the *York Labor News* of Pennsylvania, and the *Miami Valley Socialist* of Ohio seem to

have provided an extensive correspondence list of potential colony members and genuine interest in "America's new Socialist home." Not all papers, however, welcomed the colony business and promotion. For example, the *Co-operative Consumer* of New York City canceled the Nevada advertisement in May 1918. They had previously given it a prominent display on the back of their journal, but the advisory council composed of John Dewey, Edward P. Cheyney (the historian), Walter Lippmann, and others checked the colony's references and financial statements and concluded that the project was unsound.

For a brief three years the image of Nevada, at least for thousands of the disaffected, was not of an arid landscape or a booming gold town, or of controversial prizefights, or easy divorce, but rather Nevada was "the new socialist center of America" and a haven for those frustrated by drought, capitalism, and war. The dispossessed longed for association and felt a need for material and sentimental comradeship. They were in revolt against loss of status and the disappearance of frontier relationships. Ownership in common, use of a commissary, and participation in the commonweal were as American as Jamestown and Plymouth Rock and now were to be rediscovered in the fertile Lahonton Valley of Nevada. An optimistic Frenchman once declared, "No map of the world is worth looking at unless it contains an island of utopia." The nationwide image of Nevada as the poor man's utopia was tragically short-lived.

William Bradford stepped off the *Mayflower* at Plymouth Rock in 1620 and recorded in his journal that he had arrived at a "hideous and desolate wilderness." Nearly three hundred years later, scores of observers stepped off the train



Freighting by traction in Goldfield, c. 1906. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

at Tonopah-Goldfield and recorded the same impressions. Rex Beach, the novelist, had been a pioneer of the Klondike and at Nome and yet he wrote in *Everybody's Magazine,* "It was two hours after midnight when we piled out of the Pullman into the whirling snow that the desert wind whipped into our face . . . this frozen gale flapped my fur coat about my legs, numbed my nose, and destroyed illusion utterly." The Yale man Frederick Palmer, writing for *Collier's,* found that at Goldfield "you step out of the world of the whole of America into the world of a mining camp." Only "two branch lines of steel disappearing into the mystery and silence" tie one to civilization. And when Barton W. Currie of *Harper's* decided to rent a car at Goldfield to travel the seventy-eight miles to Bullfrog he said, "It was a burning day. The indoor thermometers scaled well above 100. Outside, dust that stung like lime-powder wove about in eddies and spiral clouds."

Occasionally writers and image–makers jokingly declared that the new mining districts had embraced the proposition that it was "unwise to become overcivilized," and that the camps were synonyms for "frontier barbarity." And yet most writers preferred to produce highly illustrated articles suggesting that a spirit of the Old West was being blended with modern technology, and although the camps presented a desolate outlook, tons of supplies were gorging all wagons and freight cars headed for the rising mining towns.

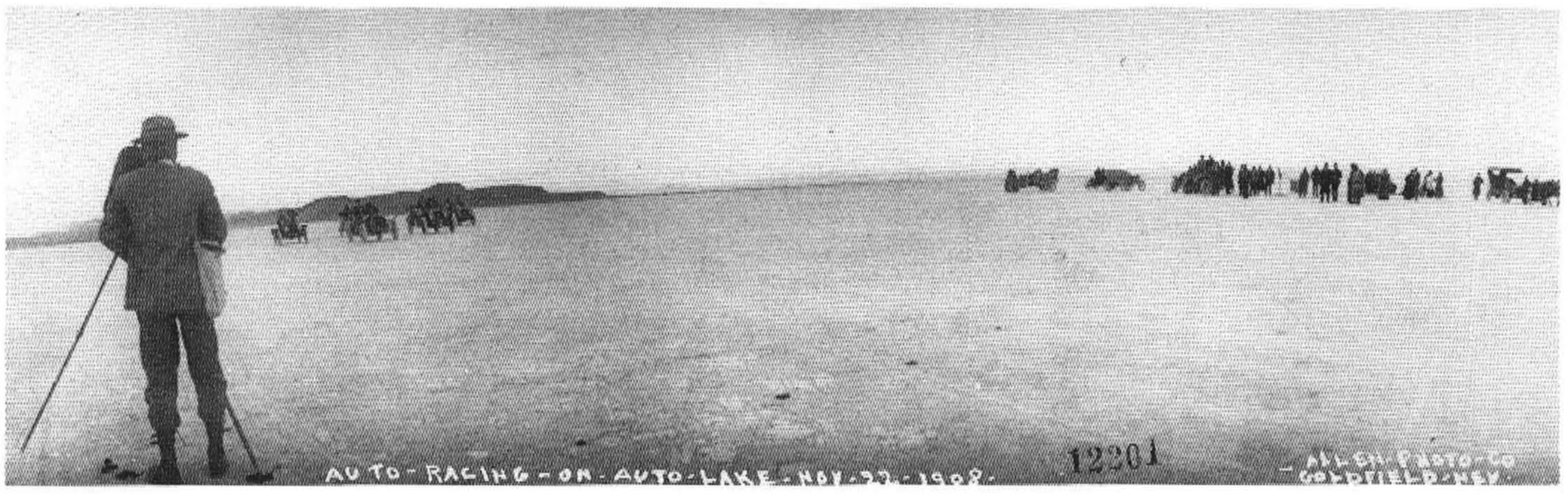
Even at first there was a shortage of food, water, timber, and related necessities, an extensive and efficient freighting system was quickly inaugurated. Railroads became a high priority with the first train reaching Tonopah in July 1904, less than three years after the initial discovery became generally known. Almost all of the two score active camps founded early in the twentieth century followed the traditional pattern of birth, boom, and decay; however, the speed of development and rapidity of decline was unique. The total human history of a majority of the camps was less than two years. The most vocal individual publicists were often the speculators, stock salesmen, and business promoters. Many were not only excessive in their praise, but fraudulent with their schemes.

Of the many journals rushing to record and reflect the new Cinderella of the West, *Sunset* probably provided the widest and most popular coverage of the Nevada scene. The magazine had been founded in May 1898 and in addition to advertising Nevada's agrarian opportunities, it printed blandly written stories, poems, and bits of history about the state. Its editors were surprisingly slow to notice the Tonopah-Goldfield strike. The first mining article, however, "Tonopah and Its Gold," of May 1903, opened an era of over four years in which everything Nevada became a journalistic imperative. Authors quickly changed the thrust of their articles from Tonopah to "The Goldfield Way" and "Money Makers of Goldfield," and then to "The Gold of Fairview" and to "Finance in Fairview." In late 1906 and early 1907, the magazine published a series of articles on Manhattan, Round Mountain, Wonder, Ramsey, Olinghouse, Bullion, Silver

Desert Queen Mine works behind residential street, Tonopah, c. 1907. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Peak, Bullfrog, and similar widely celebrated and short-lived strikes. Most journalists noticed the "forlorn prospectors," the "dusty burros," and the dugouts, tents, and "huts of beer bottles." Nevertheless Nevada had again become "a land of prodigals," of "fair play," of "adventurous spirits," where "the last of the gun-fighters" from Texas and Alaska, Australia and South Africa had come to die. The new mining boom had stimulated a strange, bizarre, rough-hewn romanticism.

The lack of journalistic restraint and judicious limit reflected in *Sunset* was surpassed by the newspaper exaggeration of the day. The *Call* of San Francisco was perhaps the first widely circulated paper to actively promote, indeed to ballyhoo, Nevada mining. On May 23, 1905 it supplied several fairly balanced statements by President Stubbs and five other professors of the University of Nevada; and then it blared headlines like, "Opulent Nevada Amazes Mankind," "New Era Dawns on Land of Gold," "Capitalists Invest Their Millions in Belief That Returns Will Be Good," "Story of Wealth and Progress Wins Admiration of the Entire World," and "Prosperity Attends Forward March of Fabulously Rich Commonwealth." The *Recorder* of San Francisco was soon to equal the *Call* in prodigious exaggeration. On June 20, 1907 it ran an anniversary edition on "California and Nevada Mines." The 28-page supplement became an encyclopedia of Nevada mineral wealth. The articles were wildly exaggerated. There



Auto racing near Goldfield, 1908. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

was "Searchlight is Without a Failure," "Manhattan, the Goldseekers' Mecca," "Wonder Camp, of Wonder," "Goldfield, the Great Golconda, Richest Camp on Earth," "The Thriving Camp of Rhyolite," "Copper Wealth of Ely District," and "Candelaria Mines Carry Rich Silver."

Even surpassing the *Record* and the *Call* in an attempt to build Nevada's mining image was the formation of two papers totally devoted to propagandizing the West. On June 10, 1906 a newspaper-size publication entitled *Manhattan* was issued in San Francisco. As a Sunday mining edition, it was to be complete with pictures, advertisements, and directions on how to invest in various Nevada stock options. *Manhattan* was a mere continuation of the many attempts to stimulate investment. *Tonopah* had been launched in San Francisco as early as May 1903. The first paragraph of the first article set the tone for the 32-page journal. "Never have Nature, and Fortuna, her handmaid, spread their treasures

with more munificent hands and never has their largesse been more equally and fairly distributed between man and man, than in that new and wondrous mining district, Tonopah." Articles on the health, the soil, the university, the officials, and of course, on the mines of Nevada followed. Over a dozen poems were tucked into the first issue. Few were as short as

> The Goddess of Gold flew o'er the earth
> And pitied the desert bare;
> A kiss she pressed on the desert's breast
> And the wealth of a world was there!

Although *Tonopah* was to be "circulated throughout the American Continent," it was discontinued after the first issue.

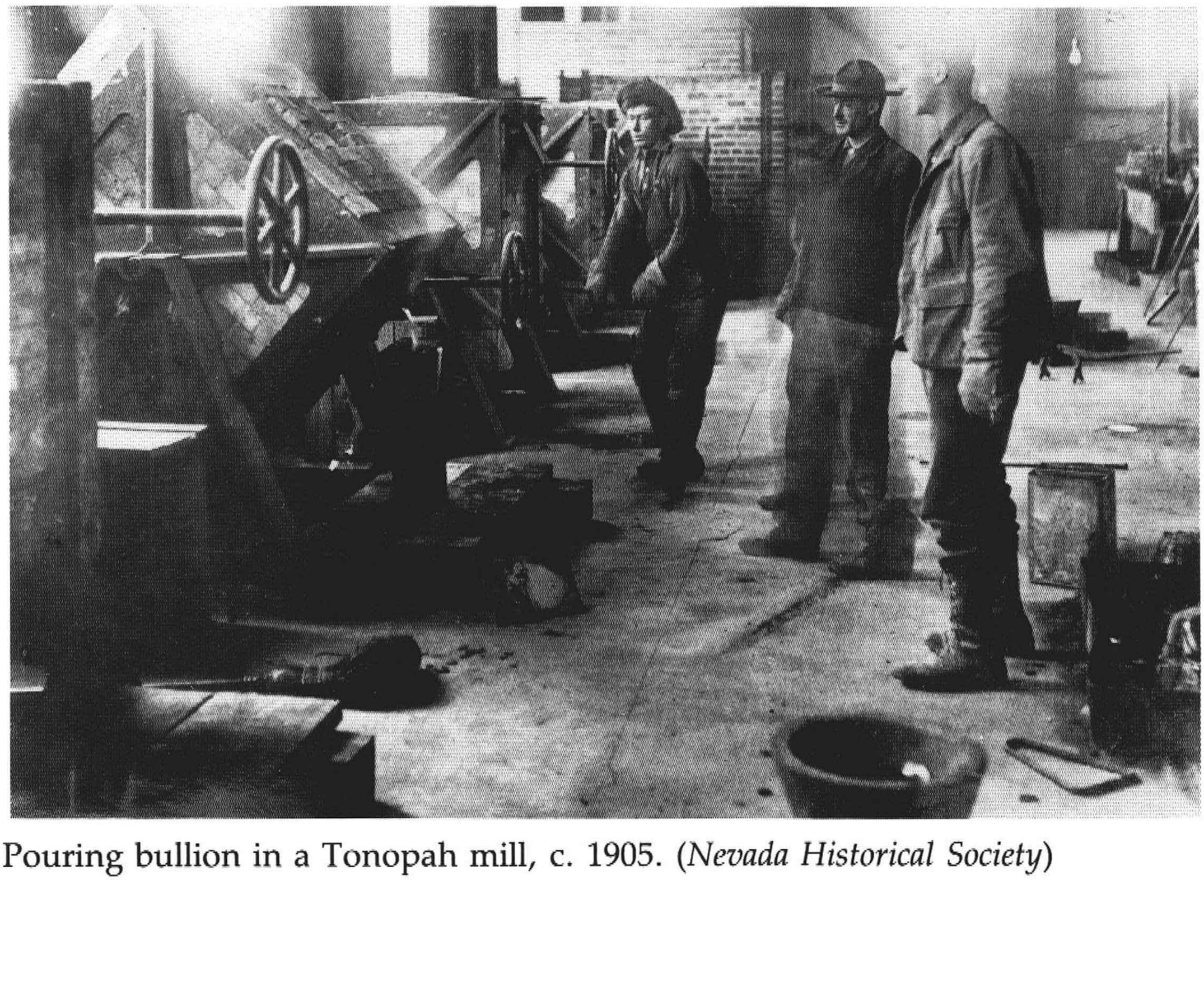
By the turn of the century the *New York Times* had become the premier mirror of the nation's industry, finance, labor, and politics. The paper's response to Nevada tended to project the eastern image of a western state awash in mining booms. Clearly the *Times* focused on issues which concerned the nation as a whole, so in the case of radical labor as well as mining investment, Nevada was merely mirroring western America. But conversely, reporters occasionally saw unique personal and social issues worthy of special emphasis. Between 1901 and 1912, the *Times* carried more than a hundred articles on the state, excluding sports. More than eighty of these dated from between 1907 and 1910. Roughly 28 percent were centered on White Pine County and the corporate investments in the copper camps. Twenty-six percent of the articles were devoted to radical labor: the Goldfield shooting of John Silva by Morrie Preston on March 10, 1907, the subsequent strikes and introduction of federal troops, and the bizarre nomination of Preston for president of the United States by the Socialist Labor party in July 1908 while he was in the Nevada State Prison.[5]

The 1907 strike and the shooting of Silva elicited over 20 articles in the *Times* and a similar broad-based response in most of the national press. With President Roosevelt ordering federal troops into the state in December 1907, coverage of the Goldfield labor problems continued to mount. In early December the mine operators asked Governor John Sparks to introduce federal troops to preclude the violence anticipated by the mining unions. Sparks informed the president in a telegram that troops were necessary since "domestic violence and unlawful combinations and conspiracies" existed. Popular opinion across the country accepted the claim and tended to support the official action. Indeed a kind of national hysteria swept the country on December 7, as the first troops arrived in Goldfield. Within a week, however, it became clear that the miners were not threatening, or were unable to take violent action, and newspaper coverage of the incident rapidly declined. By December 20 both the president and many responsible papers openly questioned the facts that Nevada officials had presented and doubted the necessity for the introduction of troops. Later in the

month, the president became convinced that something was gravely amiss in the state and pressured the governor to call a special session of the legislature. A state police force was quickly organized and in March 1908 the federal troops were withdrawn.

Over the period of a month the *Times,* like the president and most of the eastern press, had moved from support of the Nevada officials and mine operators to serious doubt and questioning of their motives. There was a general feeling that the mine owners had manipulated the nation. The Goldfield affair became a cause célèbre for the radical press. The Industrial Workers of the World's official publication, the *Industrial Union Bulletin* of Chicago, and *Miners' Magazine* of Denver, carefully covered the dispute and castigated the president for being duped by the rag-tag state of Nevada. Even Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth Bulletin* of New York City denounced "the capitalists of Nevada" and the "White House Tsar." Senator Newlands, who owed much to the president for Nevada's reclamation, found himself embarrassed by the now emerging Nevada image. And within a year Nevada officialdom again became involved in a national, indeed an international, conflict with President Roosevelt and the central government.

Early in 1909 Nevada's demands for Japanese exclusion became a thorny issue for the local legislature and a major irritant for President Roosevelt. In a lengthy series of articles, dating from February 2 to February 10, 1909, the *New York Times*



Pouring bullion in a Tonopah mill, c. 1905. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

closely followed Nevada's attempt to exclude the Japanese from land holding within the state. The Roosevelt administration, which at the time was negotiating with Japan, found both the Drew Bill of California and the Nevada resolution "criticising President Roosevelt, and designating the Japanese as 'parasites of the world' and a menace to civilization and progress" particularly infuriated the White House. A "very high Administration Official" declared that Nevada would be amusing in her outburst if it didn't create so much serious trouble for the federal negotiators. He noted that the "good manners" of the Japanese contrasted favorably with "the boorishness of the Nevada Legislature," and he was pleased that the Japanese people and government well understood the relative unimportance of the Nevada debate.[6]

During the controversy, the Roosevelt administration reminded the state of the labor troubles of 1907–08 and suggested that its citizens misunderstood their position and the role of the central government in the labor dispute and that they had again misunderstood their position in relation to the Japanese. In the face of the federal pressure, the state senate on February 9 referred the bill to the Judiciary Committee where it was to die quietly. Again, Nevada officialdom had created a lasting image as a thoughtless, provocative, inept government.

The *Times* often found it impossible to limit a discussion of Nevada prizefights to the sports page and praised F. M. Lee, vice president of the Nixon National Bank of Reno, and Senator Nixon for being opponents of prizefighting, divorce, and gambling. Lee was interviewed while staying at the Waldorf-Astoria and easily dismissed the peculiar Nevada sports as "tiresome."[7] Both the physical location of gambling establishments and the future of divorce were issues which often competed for space with mining stories. But occasionally the paper, like most of the press, failed to retain its quiet, underplayed reporting. For example, on June 21, 1908, it devoted an entire page along with photographs and cartoons to "Romance and Reality in the Rush to Rawhide." Smaller headlines were equally flamboyant—"The Boom, Outranking the Klondike Stampede," "The Cowboy who Named Rawhide," and "The Man who Might Have Been a Tenderfoot." With seven columns to the page, the *Times* supplied facts and history, personal experiences of early inhabitants, and finally wild stories about escape from snakes in Rooky Gulch.

Like a moth to a flame, a crew of journalists seemed to be drawn to exotic hellholes from Leadville to the Klondike, from Butte to Bisby. And yet they produced a most uneven collection of essays. Although they sought the bizarre and the mundane, the incomprehensible and the offending, few showed a practical wit built on intimate details or were literally provocative. In short, the major articles in the established eastern magazines were lengthy and well illustrated, but neither humane nor historic. They were of temporary camps on yet another last frontier and only casually influenced America's image of Nevada.

The White Pine County copper mining boom differed dramatically from mining developments in other parts of the state. Copper, discovered in 1870, was

first processed in 1873, but it was not until electrical appliances demanded large quantities of the metal that the Guggenheims established the first permanent furnaces in 1900–01. The industry enjoyed a steady growth over several decades while the Greeks, Serbs, Croatians, Italians, Basques, Japanese, and other immigrants provided labor for the new industry. Racial and nationalistic clashes occurred, but outside newspapers and journals seldom created an image of local discord; with full employment and the adult population of White Pine County being over 50 percent foreign born, ethnic clashes were quickly forgotten. Labor bosses supplied large blocks of the foreign manpower for the mines and railroads; an image of Nevada as a land of hope where all could work was easily sold to the prospective migrants. Although not always understood by the local press, the foreign–born supplied Nevada with a majority of its labor force for sixty years prior to World War I.

Between 1963 and 1965, seventy-eight older immigrants from White Pine County were interviewed by the author and asked for their image of the state. Clearly not all immigrants were reflective nor were their ideas newsworthy or unique; but the publicity given to the state by mine owners and stock jobbers should be balanced against the opinions of the unwashed and often illiterate workers. All of the interviewees had migrated to Nevada as adults at least twenty-five years earlier, i.e. before World War II. The average migrant questioned was retired and sixty-seven years old. Thirty-five percent were women, none had graduated from high school, and several could not write in any language.

After a lengthy residency within the state and retirement, most presumably felt comfortable or they would have left. Sixty-five percent of all men interviewed did project a positive perception of Nevada. They emphasized the rough and masculine nature of the country, the opportunities to hunt and fish, and the lack of controls. A typical comment was that of an Italian who had worked as a school janitor for over forty years. "The day I arrived in Nevada I felt like an eagle. I have felt that way ever since." Over half of the men admitted, however, that their arrival was an accident of employment. The response of an eighty-five year old Cornishman was typical. In his first letter home he emphasized that "under no circumstances will I remain in this state for more than five years." He had not been out of the state for more than two days at any one time since 1906.[8]

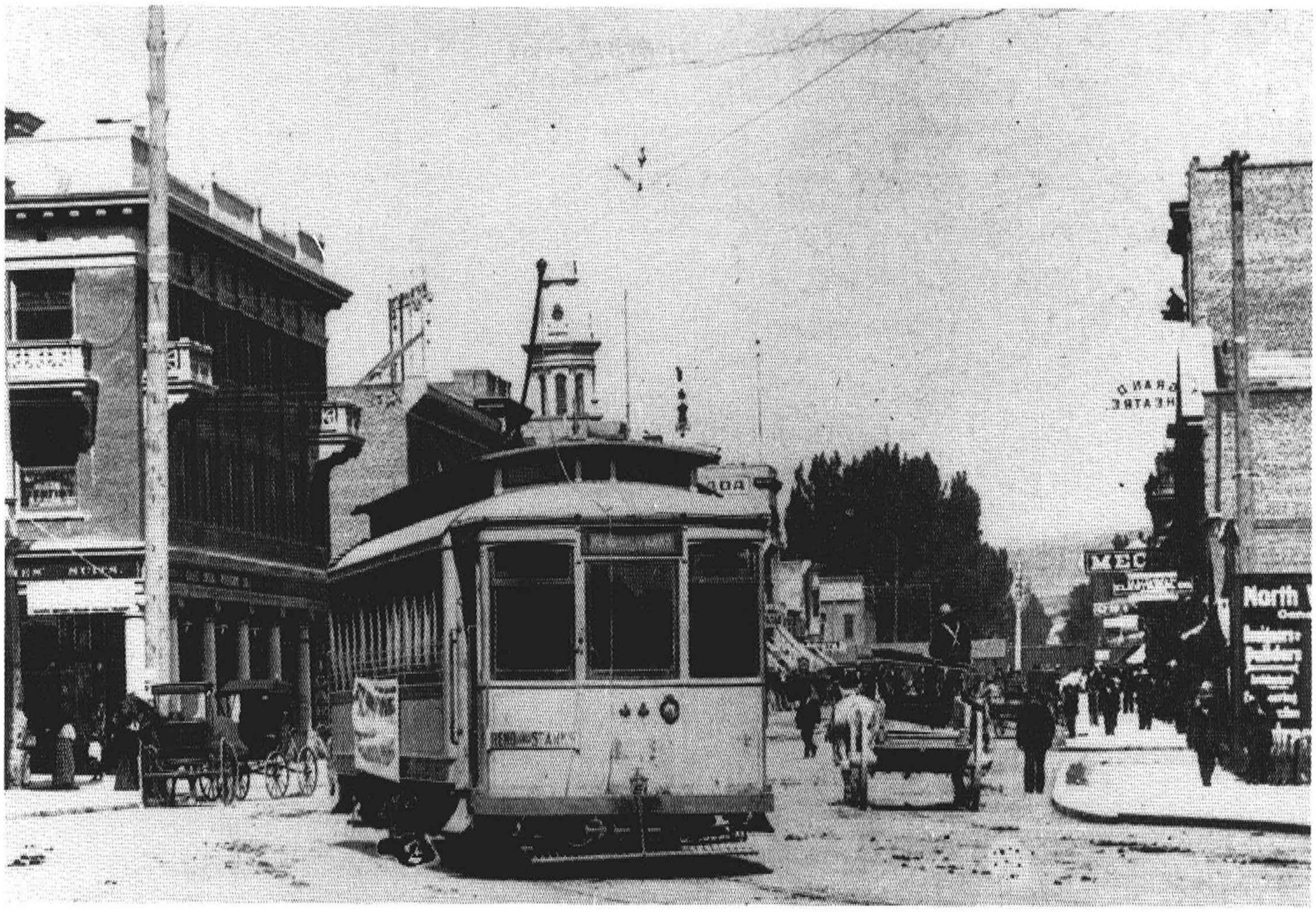
In 1923 a London-born woman who had been converted to Mormonism arrived in McGill. She wrote to England, "If we had gone one mile further into the wilderness we would have dropped off the earth." She became despondent, tried to starve herself to death, and feigned tuberculosis so that she would be sent to a city for treatment. After forty years in Nevada she still "hated and despised" most aspects of western life. A Swedish girl was drawn to the desolate camp of Blue Eagle, southwest of Ely, to become a schoolteacher. Sixty years later she contended that "sagebrush, drunken Indians, and overwork" was her perception of Nevada.

For some three years, 1906–1908, *Harper's, Collier's, Leslie's* and other similar publications seemed to compete for coverage of Nevada mines with photographs, drawings, tabloid art, and titles like, "The Millions at Tonopah," "Gateway to Goldfield," "Nevada, the Western Eldorado," and "All that Glitters in Nevada." In addition there were many articles devoted to railroad construction, automobiles in the desert, labor conflicts, electrical and water systems, and prizefights.

After the turn of the century, several national journals devoted all, or a major part, of an issue to publicizing a particular state. *Harper's Weekly* allotted its June 20, 1903 number to Nevada. It was ideal timing since both reclamation and mining strikes were newsworthy developments. In addition to the traditional photos of new camp sites or of twenty-mule teams hauling lumber into and ore out of Tonopah, the lengthy article glorified pioneers, exaggerated the state's progress, and supplied an encyclopedia of detailed mining discoveries. Two years later Winifred Black had greater access and new material when compiling "Gold of the Burning Desert" for the September 1905 issue of *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Although a good story teller, Black was led to exaggerate when explaining that the camp of Bullfrog "sells more stamps in a week than the city of Sacramento does in two weeks." Black declared that Bullfrog, when only three months old, had nearly 10,000 inhabitants, a $50,000 water system, electricity, an ice plant, and a forty-room hotel. *Collier's* did its giant spread on Nevada on January 26, 1907. Frederick Palmer was arrogantly clever, but amusing and probably accurate. He noted the boosterism and attempted to analyze some of the "horny crocodile" types who were trading stock, dissolving million-dollar companies, selling office furniture, and pandering to eastern speculators. As more new strikes were publicized, Nevada had "turned mania into dementia."

National interests in and journalistic coverage of Nevada mining declined almost as rapidly as it had burgeoned; however, national magazines continued in their various series to highlight the state. By October 1916 *American Magazine,* in a series called "The Glory of the States," provided a sidewalk coverage of historical and commercial issues. The author was particularly impressed that as early as 1875 the *Encyclopedia Britannica* could give a paragraph, although rather critical, to the state and that in 1885 Nevada apples were shipped to Windsor Castle for Queen Victoria. Almost totally ignoring the state's mining past, the article concluded that "What Nevada needs more than anything else is about two million hogs, cows, beef cattle and sheep, [and] another half million acres of cultivated land."

Two years earlier, in April 1914, George Wharton James applied William Allen White's famous article "What's the Matter with Kansas?" to Nevada. In *Out West,* formerly *Land of Sunshine,* James provided a lengthy, pointed, and surprisingly accurate image of the state in "What's the Matter with Nevada?" James was the Calvinistic Methodist leader of the Nevada Cornish; he had arrived in America in 1881 and over the years had become equally devoted to ecology and growth, to industry and beauty, to nature and Christianity. After dismissing the



North Virginia Street, Reno, c. 1906. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

geography, climate, and migratory problems of Nevada, James suggested that there was an outside perception that "every city, town and mining camp [was] a rendezvous for the gambling and demi-monde elements." It had become "a State born of fraud and lies, cradled in pollution and corruption, nurtured by graft and swindling, . . . shunned [by] good men and women, [but] the paradise of the corruptionist, the gambler, the pimp, the abandoned and the degraded." Nevada was viewed as "a menace to the progress of civilization, the despair of the church, the anguish of the angels, and the anathema of God,—what good could possibly come out of Nevada?" Outside the state the very word *Nevada* called "forth a laugh, a sneer, a blush, or an oath." In the minds of Americans, Reno had become "the awful cesspool" overwhelming even Dante's *Inferno*.

In an attempt at emphasis, James repeated the already famous doggerel associated with Reno divorce. The first of several verses suggests the tone of the jingle.

Nevada, 'tis of thee,
Sweet state of liberty,
Of thee I sing.
State where our fathers flee:
State that sets mothers free—
Marriage, because of thee,
Hath lost its sting.

James noted the problems, but he failed at solutions. His unsatisfactory conclusions argued that the "illmated *from other states*" should not longer "flaunt their domestic infelicities before the unwilling eyes of the pure men, women, . . . and children of Nevada. They must stay at home [and] cease from making Reno the wash-house of the nation." Perhaps the aroused and decent people of Nevada were in the process of a bold and defiant challenge to eradicate immorality and evil. Although no longer in the pulpit, George Wharton James was always facing personal contradictions; for him religion was to be tailored to size and use. He had converted desert aridity into beauty and novelty; therefore, Nevada behavior was not beyond an indulgent and friendly God and morality need not create conflict but rather could elicit something of a free-floating approval. In a strange and unreal way, James revealed many of Nevada's contradictions.

Finally, the *Nation* ran its "These United States" series in 1922, and the widely traveled tennis champion, former history instructor, and candidate for the United States Senate, Anne Martin, wrote "Nevada: Beautiful Desert of Buried Hopes" for the July 26 issue. Martin was both thoughtful and devastating; she demonstrated that Nevada had not progressed in three decades. The brief agricultural and mining booms did little to change the image of the state. " 'Youth' cannot explain away her backwardness and vagaries, her bizarre history, her position as the ugly duckling, the disappointment, the neglected step-child, the weakling in the family of States."

Martin even reverted to the casual traveler who saw the "wonder of weariness" and " 'desert' plain," the "straggling towns" and "drying bed of a river." Nevada possessed "a peripatetic male electorate," half of whom drifted out of the state every two years. Nevada, with venereal disease and prostitution, had placed a greater percentage of her citizens in jails, prisons, almshouses, and insane asylums than any neighboring state. Martin also attacked the "Mackay millions," the "Comstock lode," and the "Guggenheim" interests. They were all gone except for a few exploiters who were "still picking the bones." Indifference by the national, state, and local governments to the plight of starving farmers and the greed of the large livestock interests infuriated Martin. And finally she offered a prediction that boosters' clubs and chambers of commerce could not change Nevada. The people must rise up, otherwise "She will continue to lie, inert and helpless, like an exhausted Titan in the sun—a beautiful desert of homeseekers' buried hopes."

H. L. Mencken, William Allen White, and Edmund Wilson, among others, contributed to the *Nation's* series, but none equalled Martin's passion. Over the previous ten years, she had created an image of a privileged, educated, rebellious suffragette who had been led to jail in both England and America. But after her leadership of the National Women's party and defeat for the United States Senate in 1918 and 1920, she moved to Carmel-by-the-Sea in 1921 and with some bitterness remembered Nevada and herself as a "tangle of weeds and pond lilies" moving "without pattern."

Anne Martin, author of "Nevada: Beautiful Desert of Buried Hopes." (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Eloquent and depressing, angry and sad, Nevada's most famous female was devastating when evaluating her state, but "Beautiful Desert" was not to quietly fade away. After appearing in book form in 1923, Governor James Scrugham was naively approached by the publishers and asked for an endorsement.

Scrugham found the article to be a "gross libel" on the "devoted and self-sacrificing" citizens of the state. The editor of the *Nevada State Journal,* former governor Emmet D. Boyle, was even more sarcastic and uncompromising in his attacks. Eventually both Martin and Scrugham agreed to a written debate rather than "a fistfight." The issue died after a flare of notoriety and publicity leaving the American image of Nevada in even greater confusion and doubt.

After the bitter moralistic controversy surrounding the Corbett-Fitzsimmons fight in 1897, it was surprising to find that the Marvin Hart–Jack Root heavyweight championship of July 3, 1905, created scarcely a ripple of dissent. Indeed, Reno almost concealed the fight with a six-day Mardi Gras celebration, that included bicycle races, trapeze performers, a carnival with a beauty queen, a trout-fishing contest, horse races, and local Indian participants wearing colorful marching apparel. The elderly Mark Twain was invited by Robert Fulton to preside over the entire week's performance and was assured there were "no objectionable shows." As the city rather successfully controlled the entire celebration, Reno was able to declare itself "a center of legitimate sport." It was difficult to criticize Nevada when major fights had been held in San Francisco in 1902 and 1903 and with both Los Angeles and Coloma, California, scheduled to stage fight events over the next few years.[9]

National reaction was more critical when Joe Gans and Battling Nelson fought for forty-two rounds in a lightweight championship match at Goldfield on September 3, 1906, and again when Gans and Kid Herman fought at Tonopah on January 1, 1907. Both fights were designed to revive a flagging gold rush. Mixed in with Goldfield's fight promotion was the successful attempt to move the county seat from Hawthorne, and enthusiastic locals even speculated that the state capital would soon be moved from the North. The *Los Angeles Record, Chicago Chronicle, San Francisco Bulletin,* and other papers found the mining camps to be "wildcat country" where legitimate "sports have held their nose at the mention of sagebrush." The *Salt Lake City Telegram* declared that nations which have bullfighting, can now "look down upon the Anglo-Saxons with . . . commiseration . . . and contempt for our civilization." The *Butte Evening News* thought the entire affair a stock swindle: Nevada "must be losing its red blood." Before the Goldfield fight, the *Tonopah Weekly Bonanza* claimed that "hundreds of letters from preachers across America" were sent to Tex Richard and the Goldfield Athletic Association opposing the contest and its related events. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Ladies' Benevolent Association, and many other groups across the West published bitter denunciations of prizefighting. Supposedly because of the outcry, Goldfield canceled the planned bullfights and substituted auto races across the desert.

Despite criticism of Nevada and of prizefighting, the sports corps representing major papers from New York, Boston, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and the West Coast cities converged on Goldfield in August 1906. Many reporters received shares of worthless mining stock in return for a favorable account of the town.

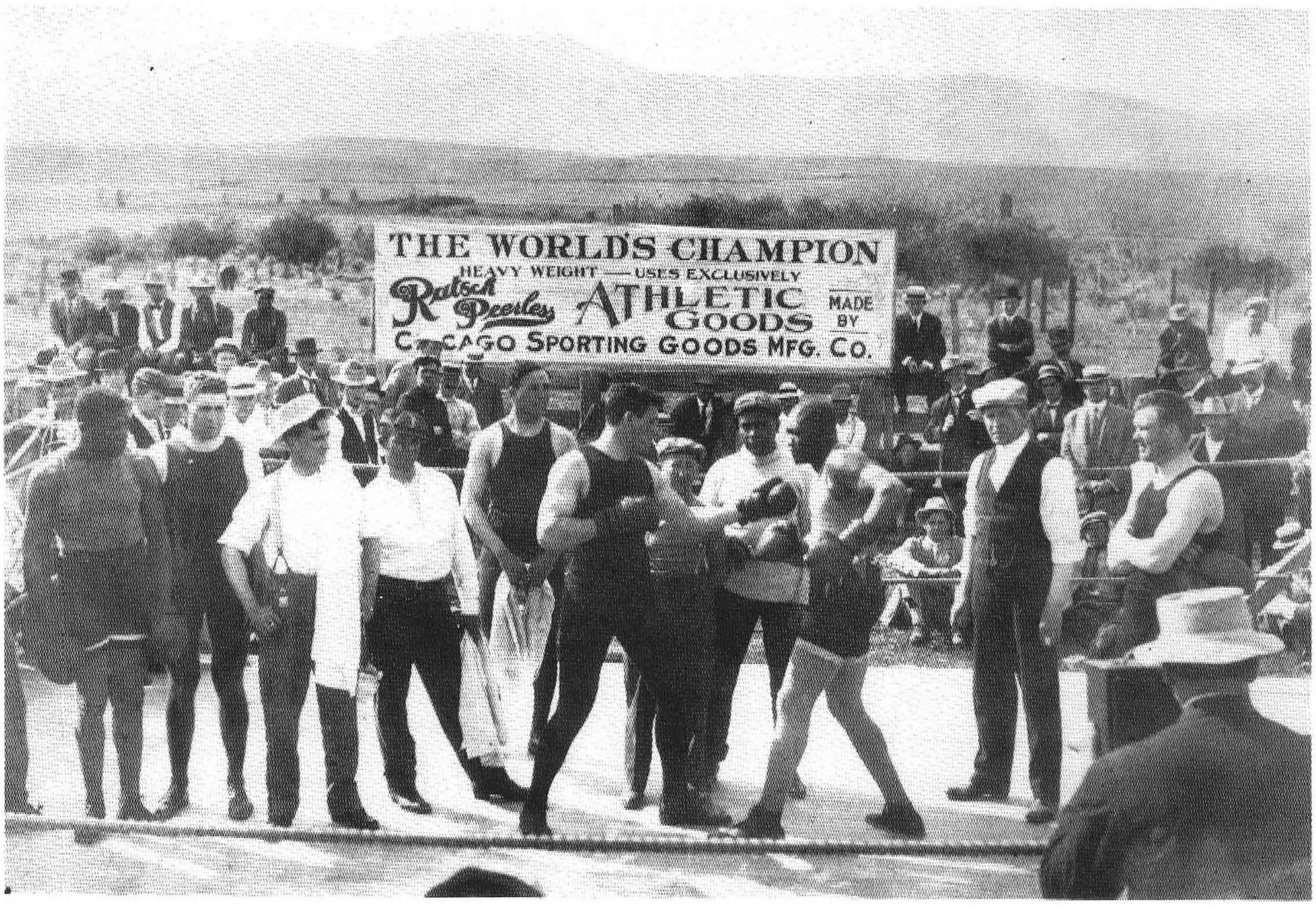
A further complicating image was that Gans and his unusually attractive wife were black and Nelson was a declared racist. On August 25 Nelson proclaimed: "While I can ever crawl, I will not let it be said that a nigger put me out." He refused to shake hands with Gans before the fight and assured his supporters, "I am going to go after him while I've got a breath left in my body." Poems about "coons" circulated along with suggestions that Gans would star in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Tex Rickard and other promoters spent somewhere between $5,000 and $18,000 to build the stadium and to send out 37,000 illustrated post cards, 30,000 circular letters, and 8,000 souvenir cards; but only some 8,000 spectators arrived in Goldfield. President Theodore Roosevelt did not visit the event and Nevada retained its image as the "carpetbagging kingdom" and set the stage for the greater racial disturbance that followed in 1910.

On July 4, 1910, Reno staged the most widely publicized and eventually the most racially controversial fight of the century. During the early summer, the publicity steadily increased while Reno became infamous and Nevada again "broke with nationwide moral and religious opinion." Again, the state was viewed as an unfortunate black sheep, off limits but "less to be scolded than to be pitied."

Many issues overlapped to create the harsh characterization. Nevada's persistent permissiveness clashed with the national distaste for prizefighting. Jack Johnson, the easy victor over Jim Jeffries, was not only black, his wife and his many girl friends were white. Differing from Joe Gans, Johnson seemed vain, even arrogant, and with a baffling confidence. And finally Reno could not absorb the many different social problems and basic need for facilities created by an influx of somewhere between 14,000 and 25,000 people. By July 4 special trains were lined up trying to find switch-yard accommodations. Reno faced its first traffic jam with automobiles descending upon the town from California and perhaps from Utah. Jack Johnson drove his personal "solid steel" motor car. There were occasional fights and very heavy gambling, but according to journalists, "little blood was spilled."

Scores of telegraph operators were imported so that the fight could be reported round by round in other states, and thousands jammed armories, movie theaters, and parks across the country. The *Detroit Free Press* of July 5 typified the national reaction to Johnson's Reno victory. On the front page were headlines such as, "Race Riots Follow Big Fight in Many Cities," "Several Killed and Many Hurt; Blacks Chased in Streets," and "Negro Tenement Burned by a Great Mob in New York." With the Johnson victory in the fifteenth round, rioting broke out across America. Two blacks were killed at Lake Providence, Louisiana; a black constable was killed in Mounds, Illinois; two blacks were shot in New Orleans, and one in Roanoke. A third lynching in twenty-four hours was threatened at Charleston, Missouri, but even after the first two blacks were hanged, the governor still found no further need for police protection. In almost all eastern



Jack Johnson sparring before his prize fight with Jim Jeffries in Reno. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

cities, as well as in Little Rock, Houston, Pueblo, and others further west, rioting occurred. Whites were infuriated by the Johnson victory and by the blacks' attempt to celebrate. In New York City there were seventeen major clashes before midnight; trolleys were stopped and blacks pulled off to be beaten. Groups like the "Hounds of Hell" and "Pearl Button" gangs accosted blacks while others chanted "Let's lynch the first nigger we see." Blacks fought back in many towns and urban regions and several whites were injured or killed.

Jack London described the fight round by round for the *Daily Picayune* of New Orleans, the *New York Herald*, the *St. Louis Republic*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and several Canadian papers. He found "tragedy in the defeat [of the] white champion." He also tried to explain "the yellow streak" in Johnson which he had noted before the fight. Of course, London had assistance in his racism. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* for July 5 ran a large cartoon entitled, "Sambo Remo Rastus Brown—On His Way From Reno Town." Blacks were depicted in the railway dining car after the victory, demanding "poke chops—an' . . . some watermelon."

Most of America's leading sports figures were pleased with Reno hospitality. The ten reporters from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, two of whom were women, continued their defense of the state of Nevada. Helen Dare, one of the women reporters, stated, "Never have I seen a crowd more kindly . . . It was a good-looking crowd, the well dressed, well groomed, well set up men, many of notably distinguished bearing were in preponderance." Most of the press corps

agreed with the referee when before the fight he had called for "three cheers for Nevada, the only free state in the Union." An English observer even found Reno similar to London and to Epsom Downs on Derby Day.

During the Johnson-Jeffries fight observers spoke glowingly of the automobile traffic arriving in Reno from California and Utah. Their reports, however, seem to have been exaggerated since only about fifty transcontinental motorists traversed the state four years later, in 1914. One of the last cars to make the trip in that year was driven by Paula and Ned Davis; they were traveling from their home in Oakland to Albany, New York. Fortunately Paula Davis kept a diary and carefully recorded their experiences while crossing Nevada.[10]

They entered the state at Verdi on September 5, 1914, and seven days later reached the Utah border. Although from the West, they were shocked by the total absence of trees and grass, by the burning heat, and by the isolation and primitive character of the communities east of Reno. It was a land of "bare dry valleys and mountains . . . with old decrepit mining towns . . . to break the monotony." The Davises focused most of their attention on their 1913 Chalmers automobile and the rocks, chuck holes, and ruts which laced the roadway from Reno to Utah. East of Fallon they found "desert with a vengeance." They drove across "a big bare crust, which would crackle every foot of the way" and was "absolutely impassable" when it rained. In short, the Nevada segment of the soon-to-be-famous Lincoln Highway was intolerably bad with not more than "fifty-miles of even graded roads through the whole state."

The Davises and other tourists repeatedly joked about the poor 80,000 citizens of the state who constantly complained about their financial inability to properly build a highway. The motorists declared the unmarked alkali wastes of Nevada and Utah, where the cars sank in lonely bogs and sand pits, the worst stretch on the entire transcontinental road. Indeed, in response to a promotional scheme by the Lincoln Highway Association imploring tourists to "See America First," the motorists, after crossing Nevada, often critically advised people to "See Africa First" or "See the Moon First." Henry Joy, president of the Lincoln Highway Association, was forced to admit that a twenty-five mile stretch of sand and marsh east of Fallon was the worst road on the entire American crossing. Nevertheless, by 1915 World War I had diverted eastern tourists from Europe to California, and some five thousand autos crossed central Nevada in that year.

While profiting from the travelers, Nevada was marked as being the most backward place in America in road construction. Fortunately, the Federal Road Act of 1916 was to inaugurate an extensive highway building program and by the early twenties the state had, rather by accident of location and the largess of the federal government, captured an image as a major auto-tourist attraction.

The sparse rural society of the early 1900s drew as much from a national identity and outside involvement as from the local setting. The land that had been so uniformly disparaged was beginning to claim attention, even a reverence. The

Mormons could see a chance to expand their social ideals of family, church, and brotherhood; the utopian socialists had visions of cooperative action propelling them into a position of economic and political power. Both land promoters and intellectuals borrowed the agrarian dreams of Cato the Elder, of Jefferson and of Smythe, and they saw the land and its occupants blooming while the children were being taught and the righteous were praising God. It would be a mistake, however, to apply Robert Frost's poem to Nevada. "The land was ours before we were the land's." Only at major reclamation sites like the new town of Fallon, in a few irrigated areas, and across the cowboy country of the northern counties did the land come to shape a regionalism and permanently create a distinct way of life and thinking.

In short, Nevada generally failed to kindle the magic power of place so often prophesied in the barrage of early twentieth-century literature. Although likening themselves to a Columbus locating a new world and conversely assuming the mantle of a Montezuma with a room full of gold, the visionary promoters and investors were soon gone. And Nevada with an estimated population of 100,000 in 1907 had declined to only 77,000 persons in 1920. Despite the boom psychology of World War I, drift and disillusion was again to prevail. From the mines to Main Street a cruel feeling of helplessness confronted both businessmen and the jobless. Neither did observers find a rich and stable social order. There seemed little interest in belonging and a lot of lengthy discourse on rugged individualism. There was much freedom and much space, but little sense of place or shared memory. For a decade Nevada had fit Gertrude Stein's view of America: "Conceive of a space that is filled with moving." But mobility had always seemed the primary reality for Nevada and with the collapse of the mines and the many agrarian experiments, there was another exodus. It was again time for the forlorn, lost, scruffy towns and camps to be reclaimed by the desert.

Notes

[1]James T. Stensvaag, "The Life of My Child," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 23 (Spring 1980), 3–20. Also see *First Biennial Report of the Nevada Historical Society 1907–1908.* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1909).

[2]Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970), 33.

[3]*The Pacific Reclamation Company: Farm Lands, Metropolis, Nevada* (Salt Lake City: The Pacific Reclamation Company, 1911). J. Carlos Lambert, *The Metropolis Reclamation Project* (Carson City, State Printing Office, 1925).

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

[5]Sally Zanjani and Guy Louis Rocha, *The Ignoble Conspiracy* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986). The figures above were compiled from citations listed in the *New York Times Index* under Nevada and related categories.

[6]*New York Times*, 2 February 1909, 1–2.

[7]*New York Times*, 3 July 1910, 5.

[8]Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada*, Chapter 2.

[9]Phillip I. Earl, curator of history at the Nevada Historical Society, has written for local newspapers and has amassed extensive information and valuable materials on Nevada prizefights.

[10]Paula Davis, "Crossing Nevada by Auto in 1914," *In Focus* (Annual Journal of the Churchill County Museum Association), 1988–89. Richard G. Lillard, *Desert Challenge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 165. The Nevada Highway Department quickly grew into the largest and busiest agency within the state. The Arrowhead Trail crossing from Utah to Las Vegas to Los Angeles, the Roosevelt Highway from Ely to Tonopah to Mojave, the Victory Highway from Wendover to Elko to Winnemucca to Reno, and the Lincoln Highway from Ely to Carson City were highly advertised between the wars.

PROFILE OF A NEVADA RAILROAD TOWN
Las Vegas in 1910

Eugene P. Moehring

By 1910, Las Vegas was a mature community compared to the tent village platted just five years earlier by the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad. In the interim, its residents built a town of respectable proportions and established a range of municipal services that included a volunteer hose company, an embryonic school system, and a measure of law enforcement. The primitive water network of redwood pipes installed by the railroad's land company was supplemented by the Vegas Artesian Water Syndicate, founded by local businessmen in 1906.[1] Similar enterprise marked the creation of the Consolidated Power and Telephone Company to provide some semblance of utility service. At the same time, the fledgling community improved its physical appearance by grading, curbing, and oiling downtown streets, and it promoted construction of auto roads to Bullfrog, Indian Springs, and other distant points in an effort to strengthen its strategic position as a transshipment point.[2]

Business leaders reinforced these initiatives with a series of actions designed to extend the town's political significance in southern Nevada. To this end, they launched a campaign in 1906 to secure the county seat—an effort that culminated in the division of Lincoln County and the birth of Clark County. This triumph was followed by a successful move to incorporate Las Vegas as a city. In one stroke, Las Vegas won the right to establish its own police department, control its own finances, and float bonds to fund schools, street sewers, and other vitally needed projects.

By 1910, Las Vegas had achieved a measure of independence and self-reliance. While the nascent economy remained tied to the railroad, business leaders in 1909 took a giant step toward the eventual diversification of the town's portfolio by establishing the Las Vegas Promotion Society, a precursor of the chamber of commerce. The formation of social networks was also well under way, as resi-

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dents banded together in a variety of secular and religious groups. Led by the Episcopalians and Catholics, local Christian denominations staged numerous fund-raising efforts in the years after 1905 to finance permanent church buildings. Secular clubs and organizations also proliferated. The founding of fraternal groups like the Elks (1906) and Masons (1907) promoted further social cohesion by drawing the town's male leadership closer together. Local women, too, created a number of charitable organizations in the years after 1905. The first major female group, the Mesquite Club, began meeting in 1911.[3]

Clearly, as the census taker began his rounds in 1910 a vibrant community was taking shape in Las Vegas. But we know little about the demographic structure of the town, because past scholarship has focused principally on the political and economic events described above. Most of the demographic research in Nevada has emphasized the northern and central portions of the state. The pre-eminent work in the field is of course Wilbur Shepperson's *Restless Strangers*, but this book, like the various community studies recently published on towns in California and Colorado, focuses largely on mining societies.[4] As primarily a railroad town in the newly emerging southern portion of the state, Las Vegas exhibited many demographic characteristics that resembled—but also diverged from—the relatively new towns on the western mining frontier.

One resemblance was a loss of population within several years of the town's birth. As John Reps notes, this was a common experience for new railheads. After the initial flush of optimism that characterized the founding of virtually all new railroad division towns, Las Vegas lost population, especially after 1907, when the deepening national panic slowed commercial traffic across the country. The 1910 population of 937 was less than half the peak estimate of 2,000 in

Las Vegas in 1908. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

May 1905. A New Year's Eve track washout in Meadow Valley halted all train service for the first six months of 1910 and also contributed to the decline. However, by imposing a six-month recession upon the town, the event forced every adult to decide whether or not to stay and stick it out in Las Vegas. As a result, the 1910 census became a truly accurate gauge of the community's permanent and committed resident population—a population that was largely male, white, and non-Hispanic. Indeed, the 589 males represented nearly five eighths (62.9 percent) of the total population; non-Hispanic whites accounted for 90 percent of all males and females.[5]

The relatively small number of minority residents is significant. Unlike many young nineteenth-century mining communities in Nevada and California, racial minorities (including blacks, Japanese, Chinese, and Mexicans) made up only 10 percent of Las Vegas's population. The Chinese population was a case in point because it hardly fit the state's traditional pattern. In 1910, there were only four Chinese (all males) in town. This contrasted sharply with Nevada's early mining frontier, which attracted thousands of Chinese to Virginia City, Carson City, and Reno. In those towns the Chinese worked in the "nooks and crannies" of a white economy that exploited their labor at every turn. Gardening, woodcutting, ragpicking, gambling, laundering, and printing were all trades that drew upon Chinese talents, but this was not the case in Las Vegas.[6] After 1880, as Nevada's mines went borrasca and railroad construction slowed, anti-Chinese violence and discriminatory legislation combined to encourage a large outmigration. Despite their reputation as railroad builders, the Chinese were not drawn in large numbers to the construction of the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad in 1905 or of the Las Vegas and Tonopah line in 1907. In fact, the local Japanese contingent was larger. As Wilbur Shepperson observes, by 1910 Nevada had become a "major area" for Japanese labor, although Las Vegas reflected this trend only slightly. The Japanese represented the largest nonwhite presence in town; there were seventeen (all males), and they lived near and worked mostly for the railroad.[7]

Hispanics outnumbered Asians in Las Vegas. Obviously, the proximity of southern Nevada to major migratory routes from Mexico through southern California and Arizona contributed to this larger total. Still, there were fewer than sixty people of Mexican origin in Las Vegas, including women and children. As Corinne Escobar and others observe, efforts to provide a precise count of Nevada's Hispanic population have been frustrated by the United States Census Bureau's traditional failure to settle upon an acceptable definition of the category. Finally, in 1970, the agency agreed to identify the group's members as those persons whose "mother tongue" was Spanish. Employing this criterion, it is possible to set the number of Hispanics (all were Mexicans) at fifty-six.[8]

In contrast, there were only sixteen blacks (including men, women, and children) in 1910 Las Vegas. Despite a substantial black presence in the West since Reconstruction, blacks did not reside in southern Nevada in the same numbers

as in California and other states. The group's small population might be explained by the New Year's Eve track washout in Meadow Valley, as the drop in railroad traffic may have discouraged some black railroad workers and laborers from leaving California and nearby states for Nevada. But, for blacks, Las Vegas was a microcosm of the Silver State. Even in 1910 Reno, blacks made up only 1 percent of the population. Elmer Rusco notes that Nevada's black population remained small until World War II, when 13,000 jobs at the newly opened Basic Magnesium defense plant prompted a black migration to Las Vegas—a movement further accelerated by the postwar growth of the resort industry. Similar events precipitated a somewhat less impressive migration to Reno-Sparks as well.[9]

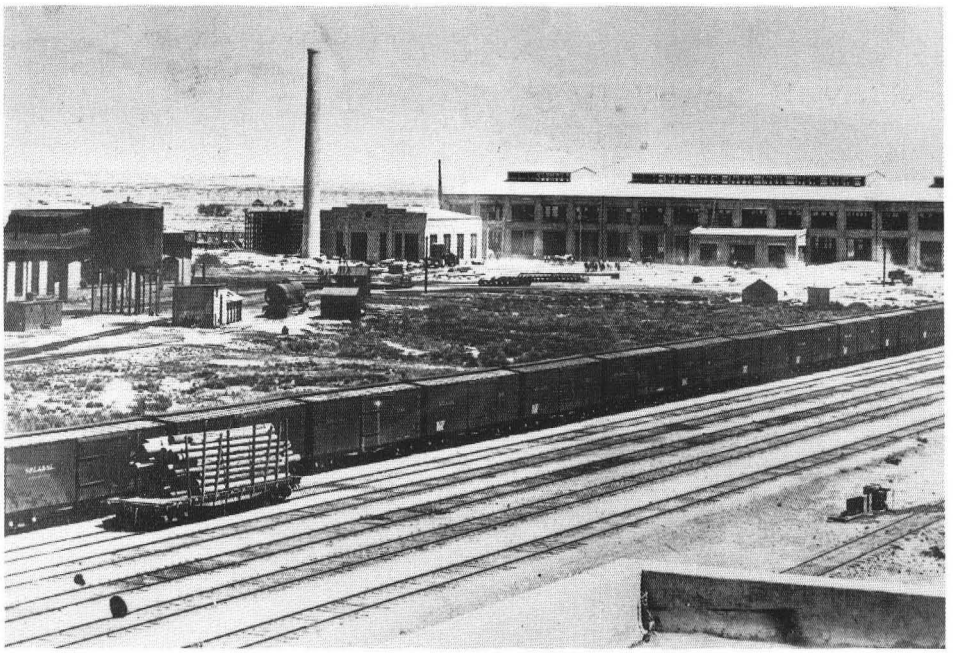
While the size and composition of Las Vegas's minority groups differed somewhat from traditional patterns in new communities on the western mining frontier, the large number of married residents was a significant departure. In contrast to many mining boom camps, whose survival depended upon unpredictable ore supplies, the railroad awarded Las Vegas a more stable economy. Unlike Grass Valley and Nevada City in California, as well as Grand Junction, Colorado, and other western towns, early Las Vegas resembled Jacksonville, Illinois, and Merle Curti's Trempealeau County communities on the farming frontier because of its large number of families.[10] Even with the prolonged track washout, the railroad economy was basically stable and provided steady employment that enabled men and women to establish homes, form associations, and dig roots. Marriage reflected the permanency of this commitment. The town's 173 married couples accounted for 36.6 percent of the total population and 48.3 percent of all adults. In Las Vegas there was a large number of relatively new marriages and many older ones as well. Seventy-one couples had been married for five years or less, and many of these had begun families. In addition, most had wed before they moved to Las Vegas. The census taker counted 111 couples who had been married between five and twenty years and another 61 who had been together for twenty years or more—a clear indication of the town's attraction to mature adults. In fact, most partners were still in their initial unions. Just one person, a woman, was on her third, and only four marriages involved spouses who were both twice wed. The population also contained sixteen widows and twenty-five widowers (most of whom were age fifty or older), as well as ten divorcees who were still not married. There were no interracial marriages, although common law or informal relationships may have existed, particularly in the red-light district around Block 16.

While Las Vegas's number of families was large compared to many western mining towns, there was also a substantial unmarried population. The 174 non-Hispanic white male adults made up the largest segment of this group—a demonstration of the magnetic effect of employment opportunities in the new community. However, these income sources mostly benefited males; only thirty-three single white females lived in their own households. This reflected the lack

of careers for women in a small railroad town. There were simply not enough well-paid jobs to permit young women to establish and maintain their own households independent of a father, brother, or husband. Males were clearly predominant as heads of households: There were 332 male heads, which accounted for over 30 percent of the town's entire population in 1910. At the same time, only twenty-one women headed their own households, and most of these were widows. Within this group, white women dominated; there was only one black female head in Las Vegas. And the same pattern held for the local Asian and Mexican populations.[11]

Besides the married and single groups within the population, a significant number of Las Vegans had wives or husbands living elsewhere. There were fifty-four non-Hispanic white adults whose spouses did not live in Las Vegas, but only one black, five Mexican, one Chinese, and three Japanese. These figures for minorities are largely attributable to the relatively small percentage of these groups in the town's population. The substantial non-Hispanic-white number undoubtedly resulted from many husbands coming to Las Vegas alone with the intention of sending for their families once they had secured permanent employment in the new society. Other men came temporarily at the behest of the railroad, with the expectation of being transferred elsewhere within a few years. Given the fact that the great New Year's Eve flood had disrupted traffic, many men undoubtedly waited until normal commerce resumed before deciding to settle their families permanently in Las Vegas. On the other hand, it was still a common practice for the wives of Asian men to remain in China or Japan or even California. Mexican workers, too, often coped with the financial strains of a marriage by leaving their spouses at home in Mexico or California while they worked for part of the year in another place.[12]

Not surprisingly, the relatively large number of married couples in town produced many family households, a pattern which resembled that found in large railroad towns like Reno as well as in Nevada's agricultural hamlets. Children represented 23.7 percent of the local population, in sharp contrast to the figures for early mining towns. Indeed, while Ralph Mann finds that only three men in a hundred had their wives and children with them in Grass Valley in 1850, the Las Vegas figure was almost thirty (29.5 percent). Railroad towns tended to attract more families than the early mining camps because men with wives and families to support sought reliable employment in communities whose economies were not subject to boom-bust fluctuations. It is therefore entirely predictable that even early Las Vegas contained many families. Young children predominated. Although there were only 63 teenagers in the town, the census taker counted 162 residents under the age of thirteen. This was partially a reflection of the large number of young married couples in the community. The composition of Las Vegas's juvenile population mirrored the town's overwhelming majority of non-Hispanic white families. This group accounted for 216 youngsters under the age of twenty-one. Nearly all the children were American–born: Only seven



San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad shops and yard, Las Vegas, c. 1910. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Las Vegans under the age of twenty-one were born abroad—four Europeans, three Mexicans, and an eighth child born at sea. Only twenty sons and daughters older than twenty years of age still lived at home. Clearly, the trend was for adult offspring to establish their own households at an early age, a practice common in many frontier areas, where individualism and independence were encouraged by the opportunities permitted by an expanding regional economy. And the foreign and American-born of Las Vegas were almost equally likely to have children living with them, a fact that parallels Ralph Mann's findings in Grass Valley and Nevada City.[13]

Unlike those towns, however, Las Vegas had an adult population that was somewhat older. Mann, Kathleen Underwood, and others note that working single males under the age of thirty tended to predominate in the early years of mining towns. Although Las Vegas had 310 residents (30 percent of the total population) between the ages of twenty and thirty-four, the largest group of adults (329, or 35 percent) fell between thirty-five and fifty-five years of age. Like earlier frontier communities, this nascent railroad town attracted its share of young men and women, but it also lured hundreds of middle-aged people who had lived and worked in other towns for a decade or two. Unlike early mining communities, Las Vegas contained a significant number of citizens age fifty-five and over. Sixty-six people (7 percent) composed this group, and many of them

still held jobs and maintained households. Only five were in their seventies. The oldest person in town, a widow, was eighty.[14] Undoubtedly, Reno, Elko, and many of the state's farm communities had an even larger percentage of elderly.

The figures differed somewhat for blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. With respect to their populations, the average age per group was 28 years or more. Despite having only three children, the Mexicans were the youngest minority group, with a mean age of 28.35 but a median age of 28 years. In fact, the oldest Hispanic was only 57. This relative youthfulness can be attributed to the presence of a substantial number of newly married Hispanic couples. The town's sixteen blacks included only two children, which explains why the group's mean age of 34.25 was about 6 years older than the Hispanic figure. The black median age was even higher, at 37.5 years. The average age of Hispanic adults (over age twenty) was 29 years, and the black average was 34.25 years. The Japanese mean age of 30.06 was just two years younger than its Spanish counterpart, because all of the Japanese in Las Vegas were adult men. Nevertheless, the Japanese contingent was young compared to the town's four Chinese males, whose mean age was a high 52.75 (and a median age of 56). As noted earlier, the area's relative lack of farms and substantial mining activity resulted in a tiny Chinese population which helped distort the average age upward.[15]

While race and Spanish origins were significant factors in early Las Vegas, so were other forms of ethnicity. As in towns all across the West, a large segment of the Las Vegas population was made up of first- and second-generation Americans. Although 354 (50.4 percent) of Las Vegas adults claimed American-born parents, an almost equal number did not. Sixty-eight (9.7 percent) listed either a mother or father who was born abroad (a few did not know their parents' place of birth), and 280 (39.9 percent) were the offspring of parents who were both born abroad. Europeans and peoples of the British Isles dominated. Of these, the Irish were the largest group: Sixty-six residents reported that at least one of their parents was born in Ireland. The Germans were the next highest, with fifty-eight residents, and the Scandinavians claimed twenty-one. Fifty-four Las Vegans claimed at least one English parent. The Scots accounted for twenty-five, but the Welsh for only four. Clearly, the railroad economy did not attract the number of Welsh who had earlier flocked to the mining camps of northern Nevada and other western states.[16]

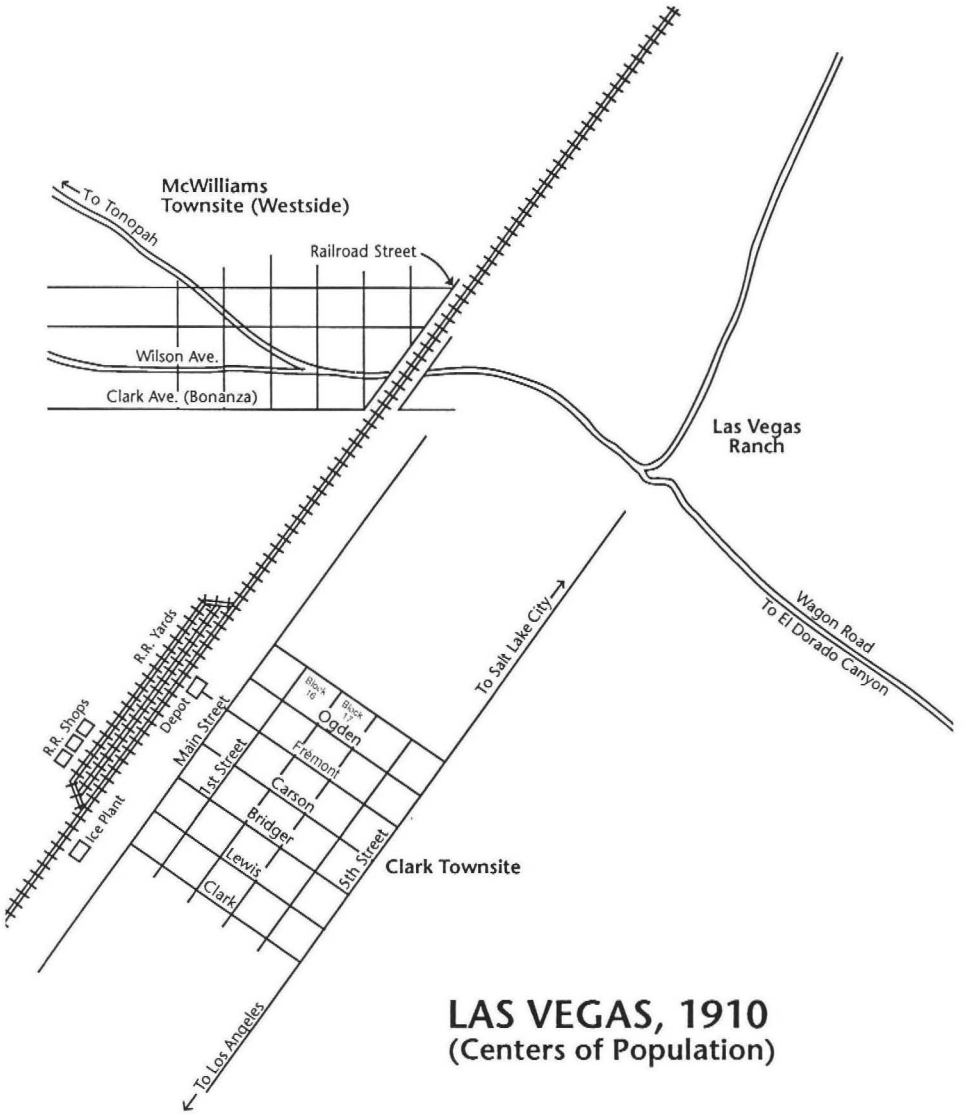
In contrast, people of Southern and Eastern European parentage accounted for a much smaller part of Las Vegas's population. There were only four residents of Austrian parentage and an even smaller number with Polish, Russian, or Romanian backgrounds. Moreover, the local Italian population numbered only nine. These figures contrast sharply with those of Wilbur Shepperson, who documents the presence of a substantial Eastern European population on Nevada's mining frontier after 1870. Shepperson notes that in 1880 Nevada had an Italian population that was proportionally twice as large as that in any state west of the Mississippi and the largest percentage of Italians (3 percent) of any state

in the nation. Obviously, Las Vegas's early railroad economy, combined with the area's lack of substantial farming, mining, and smelting activity discouraged the migration of these groups.[17]

The foreign-born had dominated early Nevada. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Nevada had the largest percentage of foreign-born inhabitants of any state in the country, with 44.2 percent in 1870 and 41.2 percent in 1880. In both decades Nevada was a full seven percentage points ahead of the state with the next largest percentage, California. Studies of Grass Valley, Nevada City, and other western towns, as well as Shepperson's analysis of selected towns in the Silver State, all point to a majority of foreign-born residents. For example, Shepperson observes that in 1880, Grantsville (in northwest Nye County) "typified many of Nevada's earlier mining communities because 276 of 502 inhabitants were foreign-born." In that same year, there were only 770 American-born males on the Comstock who were gainfully employed, compared with 816 Irish, 640 English, and 544 males from other areas abroad. This was not the case in 1910 Las Vegas, where only 184 adult residents and 7 children were foreign–born, representing 20.3 percent of the town's total population. Still, the number of immigrants, while substantial, was somewhat low when compared to Nevada's traditional levels. As might be expected, Europeans dominated (ninety-seven) followed by Mexicans (forty-eight), Canadians (nineteen), Japanese (seventeen), and Chinese (three).[18]

Although most local residents were American-born, in contrast to many earlier Nevada communities, Las Vegas also contained a majority of citizens whose mothers and fathers were also American-born. Residents came from all regions of the United States. The Midwest clearly dominated, claiming 285 local inhabitants (53.5 percent of the American-born adult population). Eighty-two (15.4 percent) Las Vegas adults were born in the states east of Ohio and north of Maryland, as were the parents of many other residents who themselves were born in midwestern and far western states. Southerners represented the next highest number, with sixty-two (11.6 percent). Not surprisingly, California contributed almost as many people as all of Dixie (forty-seven, or 8.9 percent). Utah's figure of twenty-one (3.9 percent) was much lower, although it equaled the number for all the remaining western states combined. Certainly southern Nevada's boom-bust mining economy and feeble agriculture did little to draw westerners to the Las Vegas area. Only fifteen adult residents (2.8 percent) came from other parts of Nevada. Thus midwesterners, easterners, and Californians accounted for most of the American-born adults in early Las Vegas.[19]

Residential patterns were almost as diverse as the population itself. Early Las Vegas was a montage of different living arrangements. Although among families, nuclear relationships were the rule and extended families the exception, there were households where nieces stayed with aunts, and grandchildren with grandparents, and stepchildren with stepparents. Adult offspring might even employ a parent in business, but still be living at home themselves. On Fremont



LAS VEGAS, 1910
(Centers of Population)

Street in Clark's Townsite, for example, Benjamin Boggs, Jr., at age thirty-eight, owned a cigar store where his sixty-three-year-old father and thirty-three-year-old brother worked as salesmen.

As might be expected, it was not unusual to find men of similar occupations living near each other. The concentration of railroad families in the zone of "railroad cottages" south of Fremont was an expected pattern in a quasi-company town. While section men often dwelled together, it was also common for railroad men with different jobs to share the same block. In one stretch of houses along South Second Street, the census taker found a railroad conductor, brakeman, boilermaker, ice-plant manager, and two locomotive engineers. But

men in other occupations also lived near each other. In Marie Gabriel's rooming house, for example, four of her seven boarders were carpenters. The townsite was also home to numerous miners who shared the same street. This was the case on North First Street where four gold miners and one general miner all inhabited the same block.

However, residential clustering by occupation was the exception on many streets outside the railroad zone. Typical of the pattern was Carson Street near Fourth, which hosted a public-school teacher, a railroad conductor, a "home farmer," and a retail trouser salesman. Of course, certain locations attracted specific types of people. As one approached the edges of the occupied townsite, land was more available, and the lower lot prices meant cheaper houses and lower rents. Thus, on the eastern edge of Clark's Townsite on Fifth Street, a farmer, three common laborers, and two general teamsters were neighbors. The laborers, who usually earned lower wages than skilled craftsmen, were no doubt attracted by the lower cost of land. The farmer, on the other hand, required more open land to grow his garden vegetables, and the teamsters needed space for a livery stable and pens to accommodate their horses and cargo wagons.[20]

The residential patterns of minority groups varied somewhat. Like the Asians and Mexicans, blacks accounted for a small part of the town's population. Historians of early Las Vegas have observed that a few black men were members of the construction gangs that built Montana's Senator W. A. Clark's line through Las Vegas. It is probable that they resided in McWilliams's Original Townsite (today's Westside), but, along with the whites, they moved to Clark's Townsite east of the tracks once it became apparent in 1905 that the old townsite (dubbed Ragtown) could not compete. Historian Roosevelt Fitzgerald notes that four years later, in 1909, Walter Bracken, the chief agent for the railroad's land company in town, wanted to restrict blacks to the Block 17 area "because our colored population, Mexicans, etc., is growing very rapidly and unless we have some place for this class of people, they will be scattered all through town." Fitzgerald contends that Bracken's argument apparently failed to impress railroad officials and local residents because blacks owned property on "several different blocks of early Las Vegas and experienced no difficulty in making those purchases." But this may be an overgeneralization because, at least as to residence, blacks tended to cluster. John Bevelton, a depot porter, lived with his wife, a "private family laundress," on North Second Street. John Green, a common laborer, his wife (also a family laundress), and two children were their next-door neighbors, as were William White, a common laborer and his wife (another family laundress). John Franklin lived nearby at his saloon on North First Street in the red light district with his wife Emma and five "unemployed" young black female "boarders." The 1910 census thus places all of Las Vegas's blacks in two small strips around the Block 17 area. Even Mr. and Mrs. Jack Lowe, whom Fitzgerald cites as an example of racial scattering, bought land on Ogden and Second Street in close proximity to Block 17. So, unlike the Mexicans, Las Vegas blacks were

not spread around town, at least not in 1910. Perhaps by their own desire rather than by any formal segregation, they resided close to one another. But the definitive answer to this question will require further research.[21]

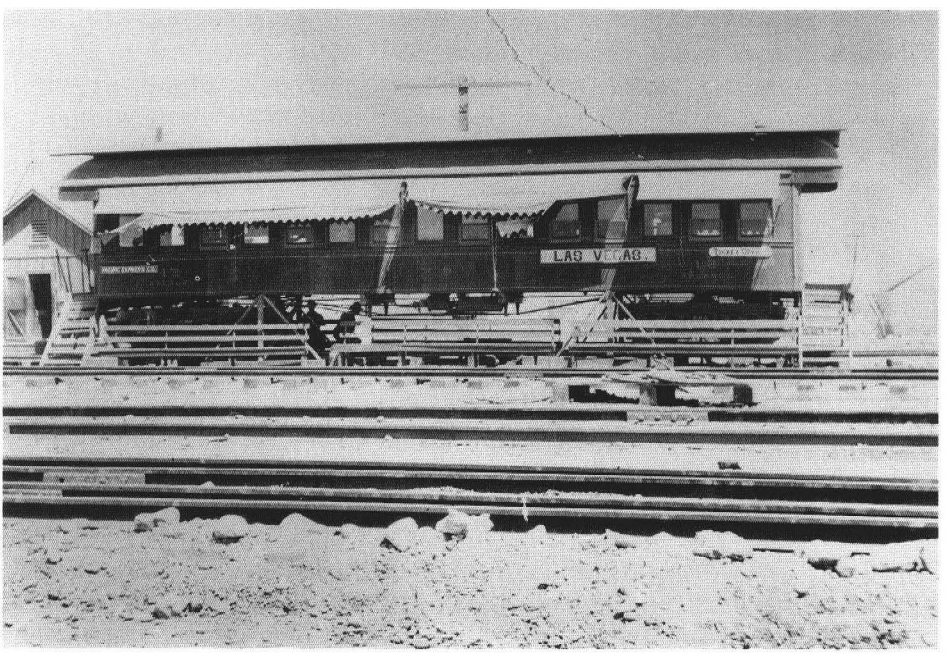
Like their countrymen in Reno, Virginia City, Grass Valley, Nevada City, and other towns across the Far West, the four Chinese inhabitants of Las Vegas stuck together. Two lived in the same dwelling on Ogden Street, where they owned a laundry, and the other two, a restaurant owner and his cook, shared an address on nearby North First Street. The town's seventeen Japanese males also tended to live near each other. Twelve Japanese railroad men were housed in the "construction cars," and another was based in the yards. All were aliens who arrived in the United States after 1905, a reflection of the railroad's use of cheap contract labor in Las Vegas to build its new roundhouse and machine shops. But not all Japanese lived in the railroad camps; a few resided elsewhere, including one railroad laborer who rented quarters on Main Street. Of course, Japanese who did not work for the railroad also lived in town. One hotel cook stayed at his place of employment, the Hotel Nevada on Fremont Street across from the train station. Two others, a private family cook and a saloon porter, lived nearby on First Street.[22]

The residential pattern of local people of Mexican descent was somewhat more scattered than that of the black and Asian Las Vegans. One Mexican lived alone on Main Street and another on Clark. Two women lived together in their saloon on First Street, while Frank Luniga, his wife, and three sons owned a house on Second Street—a block populated mostly by American and Irish miners. There were also instances of clustering, particularly among railroad workers. But some company employees rejected temporary housing in the yards for rented quarters in town. Two common laborers and one "railroad laborer" dwelled close to each other on Fremont Street, while four others enjoyed a similar arrangement on Main. At the same time, a Mexican section boss shared a household with two "section hands" at Corn Creek, north of the townsite.[23]

Las Vegas exhibited a particular residential pattern that differed sharply from those in some mining towns. In a sample of fifty cabins or houses in Grass Valley, Ralph Mann finds that approximately half of those miners living near each other were from the same region of the country or even the same state. Moreover, many were connected through some form of kinship. This was not the case in Las Vegas. Except for the minority enclaves of Mexicans and Asians, the standard pattern on most Las Vegas blocks was one in which neighbors came from different states and parts of the country. This was the case for both single and multiple occupancy dwellings. For example, in John Wisner's hotel on Main Street, all but two of his thirteen boarders were born in different states. The same was true of the twelve boarders at Roy Lockett's hotel on Second Street and the seven renters at Marie Gabriel's rooming house. On First, Second, Fremont, and other streets, household heads came from states in all regions of the nation, and there was a smattering of foreign-born residents on almost every

street. The pattern was the same on virtually every road regardless of whether families or singles dominated the housing. Even the town's few blacks, who lived together in small clusters, were from different states. The lone exceptions were the bar girls at John Franklin's saloon. Three of the four were from Missouri. In all likelihood, they came west together.[24]

Las Vegas's transportation-based economy and the town's proximity to small-scale mining operations largely dictated the occupational structure. As might be expected, the railroad was the major employer, with 201 employees. Despite the predominance of low-grade operations in the area, Las Vegas was also home to forty-nine miners and mining engineers. Building trades also employed a significant number of residents. Even with the reduction in railroad traffic occasioned by the prolonged track washout northeast of town (the Las Vegas and Tonopah line was not affected), new construction continued in the yards as well as in the town itself. In 1910, there were thirty-one males working in the building trades, including carpenters, stonemasons, and plasterers, some of whom also toiled for the railroad. Another twenty-three men characterized themselves as "common laborers." Still others embraced the rigors of wagon life on the dusty roads of southern Nevada, but theirs was a declining profession. As Malcolm Rohrbough finds in his study of Aspen, the coming of the railroad substantially reduced the need for teamsters—as it did across the West. By 1910,



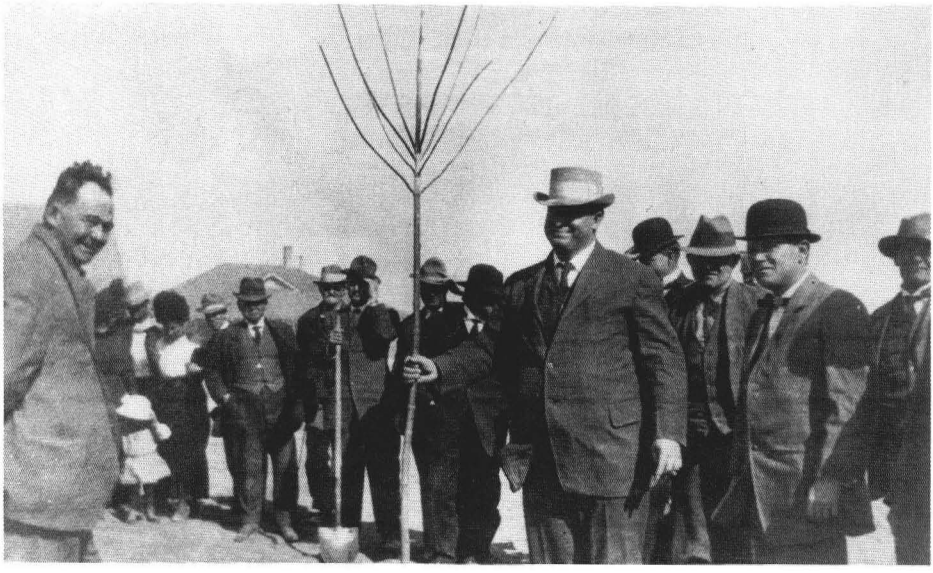
The first San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad ticket office in Las Vegas, c. 1905. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Las Vegas witnessed the same phenomenon, as train service to Los Angeles, Ogden (even though temporarily suspended), and Tonopah cut the number of general teamsters in town to nine men who were chiefly engaged in supplying the small settlements in the surrounding mining and agricultural hinterlands.[25]

Though a division town of fewer than a thousand people, Las Vegas boasted a small but vibrant business community. Jobs were especially plentiful in the hotel and food-service sector of the local economy. From its earliest days as a desert oasis, Las Vegas had catered to travelers, and the railroad only strengthened this role. Unlike the dwindling teamsters, the large number of bar and hotel employees accurately reflected the town's transportation-based economy. Fifty Las Vegans either owned or worked in hotels, saloons, or restaurants. The town's service economy also supported another fifty-eight residents who owned retail stores or other businesses. Some merchants, like newly elected Clark County Treasurer Ed Clark, engaged in both wholesale and retail merchandising. Besides these proprietors, another forty-five Las Vegans were employed by retail businesses, and still others labored in more temporary capacities in that line of work. A small agricultural and dairy industry also existed on the outskirts of town. Four ranchers (one sheep and three cattle) combined with eighteen farmers to meet the local demand for meat, vegetables, and dairy products.[26]

Although Las Vegas's business community was substantial, its professional class was not. Only two attorneys, two physicians, one dentist, and a couple of clergymen lived in the town. This differed markedly from the experience of earlier mining communities along the High Sierra frontier. In his study of Nevada City and Grass Valley, Ralph Mann estimates that the professional class accounted for roughly 3 percent of the entire population. Observing that "a society of single men engaging in dangerous, sometimes legally ambiguous work and living under makeshift conditions, created opportunities for gifted lawyers and doctors," Mann makes a strong case for the substantial presence of professional groups.[27] It was the nature of Las Vegas's economy that determined the small size of its professional elite. A railroad center like Las Vegas had less need for lawyers than a mining community. While railroad work could be risky at times, the incidence of serious injury was far lower than in the mines. Moreover, in contrast to Virginia City, Delamar, Grass Valley, and other communities on the mining frontier where valuable ore deposits might prompt hundreds of claims, a railroad town like Las Vegas (even as a county seat) saw far less litigation.

Like the professional class, the business elite of Las Vegas was relatively small. Thirty-eight men and two women made up the wealthier business class; fifty-three men and three women could be classified as petty merchants. The American–born dominated in both categories, claiming thirty members of the first group and thirty-eight of the second. This was in stark contrast to mining communities in California and Colorado. In addition, Las Vegas also diverged



Planting the first tree at court house in Las Vegas, March 1911. Judge J. W. Taber holding tree; Ed. W. Clark with shovel. Left to right: Mayor Peter Buol; unidentified woman, child, man, woman, man; James G. Givens; Frank Stewart; Clark; Chas. Ronnow; Governor John Sparks; O. J. Van Pelt; unidentified; Harley A. Harmon; Judge Henry M. Lillis. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

from the pattern of foreign-born dominance demonstrated by Shepperson's survey of selected mining communities in Nevada.[28]

In his study of Nevada's foreign-born residents, Shepperson finds a strong correlation between specific ethnic groups and occupations. He argues that the federal census reports "graphically illustrate" the tendency of French Canadians to favor lumbering, of Chinese to prefer railroading, and of the Irish and the Cornish to embrace mining as their chosen field. The pattern also held true for retail jobs within the towns. In Virginia City, he notes that "the Germans ran two butcher shops . . . the Austrians (mainly Slavs) ran saloons and grocery stores, the Italians were mainly shoemakers and saddlers, [and] the Canadians and French operated restaurants, saloons and a bakery." Shepperson also observes that among the immigrants in Nevada, the Germans were often the most prosperous either as skilled craftsmen or owners of local businesses. Ralph Mann arrives at a similar conclusion in his study of Grass Valley and Nevada City. While Americans dominated the economies there (as they did in Las Vegas), the Germans enjoyed elite status. Indeed, German storekeepers were "reinforced by brewers, butchers and other master craftsmen and as a group stood at the top of the foreign-born prestige structure." In Las Vegas, too, the Germans, led by Ed Von Tobel and Jake Beckley, were especially successful.

However, the traditional correlations between other ethnic groups and occupations occurred less frequently in Las Vegas than on the old mining frontier. A recent essay on the ethnic composition of southern Nevada correctly indicates that "unlike other parts of Nevada where certain groups became identified with specific economic activities—Slavs and Greeks in mining, Chinese in railroad building, or Basques in sheepherding, Las Vegas's early economy apparently did not draw large numbers of specific groups associated with specific occupations." The Las Vegas experience diverged from the rest of Nevada. Shepperson's study finds that, even as late as 1910, the correlation between certain nationalities and occupations was strong. The railroad-mining entrepôt of Tonopah, for instance, was serviced mainly by foreign businesses and a "surprisingly small number of American [born] proprietors." Furthermore, with the coming of the railroads, "Britons and Canadians occupied most of the technical posts such as telegraphers, switchmen and locomotive engineers." This was not the case in Las Vegas, where the American–born dominated the business class. But railroad employment cut across virtually all national lines. True, the Europeans tended to control skilled railroad positions while the Japanese and Mexicans were mainly unskilled, but no one group monopolized boilermaking or steamfitting.[29]

While the American-born residents held jobs in all sectors of the early Las Vegas economy, so did the immigrants. Local ethnic groups engaged in a wide variety of occupations. The railroad employed more than one third of the town's thirty-three working German males as locomotive engineers, telegraphers, carpenters, ice-plant engineers, and boilermakers in the roundhouse, etcetera. A significant number (nine) owned their own businesses, including the lumber merchants Ed Von Tobel and Jake Beckley. Four were skilled artisans in the building trades, and another was a mining engineer. Only one German was a farmer.

The town's thirty-nine employed Irish males also preferred railroad work. Like the Germans, some performed skilled work as steamfitters and boilermakers, while others served as conductors, section bosses, brakemen, and common laborers. Six owned businesses, and two owned farms. However, while the Germans counted only one mining worker, the Irish claimed six, and each group contributed six more men as employees of local retail businesses.[30]

There were thirty-seven workers of English descent in the Las Vegas economy. As in other groups, a substantial number (ten) worked for the railroad in various capacities, but another ten owned businesses—evidence that many English settlers came to Las Vegas with some wealth and business experience. Charles "Corky" Corkhill, for example, owned and edited the *Clark County Review* (later the *Review-Journal*), three other Englishmen owned hotels, and a fourth ran a saloon. Real estate, soda-pop manufacturing, a bakery, a grocery, and a tailor shop completed the list of the group's businesses in town. Although the English contributed fewer miners (three) than the Irish, they provided the

most farmers and ranchers (four) of any group in town. In contrast, six of the town's seventeen working Scottish males listed their occupations as railroading. Three more were engaged in mining, and another two were common laborers. The total Welsh population numbered only four. Of these, two were women; one was a lawyer and the other a schoolteacher.

Aside from the British Isles, Western Europe was not heavily represented in Las Vegas's occupational structure. The town's single Austrian and lone Dutchman were both stonemasons. The French contingent was also small; three men toiled in the mines and two on the railroad. The city's only Belgian was a mining engineer, and its two Swiss residents a saw-mill lumberman and a real-estate agent. On the other hand, Scandinavians were slightly better represented in the local work force. The community's three Norwegian, six Danish, and five Swedish workers were employed by the railroad, the telephone company, and various retail businesses.[31]

As past scholarship demonstrates, Nevada witnessed a substantial Eastern and Southern European migration to its mining frontier. But Las Vegas did not share in this experience. Wilbur Shepperson correctly emphasizes the Silver State's role as an entrepôt for Italian immigrants. But early Las Vegas counted only nine Italians in its entire population. All five adult males worked for the railroad; the lone woman was a hotel housekeeper. Of the community's two Russian-Poles, one was a farmer and the other a railroad section foreman. The Romanian contingent included two males: a coppersmith and a railroad laborer. The third Romanian, a woman, reinforced a popular stereotype by running her own fortune-telling business. All three lived on the outskirts of town near Las Vegas Creek.[32]

In contrast to the Eastern Europeans, the town's Canadian representatives were quite numerous and, like other groups, engaged in a wide range of occupations. Although six worked for the railroad, fourteen others owned their own businesses. Surprisingly, only one mined and two farmed, while a third raised cattle. Canadians also claimed one of the town's three schoolteachers. In addition, Sam Gay, a policeman (soon to be sheriff), as well as Clark County Assessor William McBurney took pride in their Canadian roots.[33]

While the town's non-Hispanic white population spread throughout the economy, many minority workers did not. The railroad was the major employer for Mexican males. Seventeen worked in the yards, and only one owned a retail business. Two other Mexicans were miners, and two more were common laborers. The same pattern held for the Japanese. Fourteen of Las Vegas's seventeen worked for the railroad; two others were cooks. In contrast, none of the town's Chinese males worked for the railroad. Two jointly owned a laundry, and another was a cook.

Like the Chinese, local blacks rejected the railroad in favor of "common labor" and other jobs. Only one black male worked on the trains, a significant departure from the pattern in many southern states, although it is possible that the

San Pedro line preferred white employees. There were two black proprietors in Las Vegas: James Franklin owned a saloon, and Jules Wilson a tailor shop. In a more traditional pattern, three black women (all wives) listed their occupations as "home laundress." Five other women appear to have been bar girls. The five lived at Franklin's saloon in the red-light district of North First Street. They ranged in age from twenty-one to forty and listed themselves as "unemployed" and "boarders." The inevitable question arises: How did they pay the rent? Only one Mexican woman lived in a saloon as an "unemployed boarder"—M. Von Bromblia, who stayed at Anneta Burt's saloon on First Street. A possible explanation for this arrangement could be that Burt's saloon catered to the town's Mexican males, but a more conclusive statement awaits further research. Several young white American-born women also lived on the street in other saloons as "unemployed boarders."[34]

Though not an occupation in the strict sense of the term, taking in boarders is another means of earning income, and renting space to strangers has played a significant role in western town life since colonial times. In 1910, boarders accounted for almost 11 percent of Las Vegas's population. Some of these lived in rooming houses, but most stayed with private families. It was common for families in residential areas to rent a spare bedroom to one or two boarders as a means of supplementing family income. Thus, on South First Street, George Walls, a miner, lived with his wife, ten-year-old daughter, and two boarders. The men were not miners; one was a teamster and the other a railroad telegrapher. Also on First Street, Lafayette Holcomb, a hotel owner, lived with his brother, the hotel manager, and two boarders—one a hotel cook and the other a railroad laborer. Most of the town's hotels supplemented their profits by accepting renters as well as overnight guests. Even prominent merchants boarded men in their homes. Jacob Beckley, the prosperous lumber merchant, lived with his brother Will, a leading retail clothing merchant, and William Laubenhumer, a printer. Boarding was also common in the commercial district around Fremont Street, where many shopowners lived above or behind their places of business.[35]

Although more than 10 percent of the town's 937 people lived as boarders, Las Vegas had few renters compared to other western communities. Only twenty-nine households serviced the town's ninety-five boarders, far fewer than in Grass Valley, Nevada City, and Grand Junction (where in 1900 one in eight households took in boarders). Part of Las Vegas's low figure can be attributed to the track washout that reduced the number of transients. In addition, much of the construction force that built the repair shops lived in the railroad yards and camp just west of town. Company housing undoubtedly cut the number of boarders. In a significant finding, Ralph Mann notes that in Grass Valley and Nevada City upper- and lower-income groups took in boarders in roughly the same numbers. He also finds that Americans were more likely to accept boarders

than were the foreign-born. In Las Vegas, of the twenty-nine households involved, twenty had American-born heads (many of whom were hotel owners), and nine had foreign-born. As in Grass Valley and elsewhere, high- and lower-income groups were almost equally likely to take in boarders. Of the American-born householder group, eleven owned their own businesses, and nine worked for others. In the foreign-born category, five were owners, three were workers, and one landlord listed no occupation at all.[36]

Race and ethnicity were also factors that sometimes shaped residential patterns. Although Las Vegas never really formed the Chinatown and Japantown ghettos typical of many earlier mining centers, Chinese nevertheless tended to live with Chinese, blacks with blacks, and Japanese, for the most part, with other Japanese. While the Mexicans were less clustered than the Japanese, both groups worked for the railroad in large numbers, and this employment pattern helped to compartmentalize the lives of these people.

On the other hand, foreign and American-born non-Hispanic whites functioned in a more fluid social environment. As was the case in other western communities, membership in political coalitions and fraternal and benevolent associations tended to transcend ethnicity. An examination of the early Las Vegas Rotary Club reveals a membership that comprised both American-born and foreign-born men. Will Beckley was a German-born clothing merchant, and E. W. Griffith was a Canadian-born oil merchant. Former Clark County Treasurer Ed W. Clark had an Irish mother, and Charles Ronnow, a prominent grocer, was the offspring of Danes.[37]

Similar ethnic diversity pervaded the early political activity that white males dominated. Las Vegas's well-chronicled effort to create Clark County was led by the Lincoln County Division Committee. In 1908, American and foreign-born males, as well as native-born males of foreign parentage, made up the membership of the committee. Dan Hickey, for instance, was an Irish-born hotel owner. Peter Buol, a real-estate agent and the city's first mayor, claimed two Swiss parents. Judge Henry M. Lillis, the committee's chair, was born of Irish parents. Prominent grocery merchant W. E. Hawkins had an Irish mother, too. The presence of C. W. Watson and Charles Ireland, both locomotive engineers, along with A. W. Durden (a lumber-company manager), Harley Harmon (the county clerk), Al James (a saloon owner), and a host of other workers and businessmen testified to the occupational and class diversity of Las Vegas's first major political movement. Despite the absence of blacks, Chinese, and Mexicans in the county division campaign, non-Hispanic whites in Las Vegas worked together despite ethnic differences. Two years later, many of the same men cooperated with the newly formed Las Vegas Promotion Society to secure legislation incorporating Las Vegas as a city, an action that enjoyed the general support of voters. Whether it was the effort to secure water, power, the county seat, and a sewer system, or to grapple with other issues of civic concern, a

Peter Buol, first mayor of Las Vegas, inspecting the water system. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

coalition of American and foreign-born white male merchants, petty shopkeepers, and even skilled railroad employees tended to lead the movements, a trend similar to the merchant-miner coalitions of the old mining towns.[38]

The rich variety of demographic characteristics that Las Vegas exhibited both resembled and diverged from the pattern of other young communities in Nevada and the West. Its relative lack of Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, and black residents, its tiny business elite, and small percentage of boarders represented a significant deviation from the configuration in other new towns along the western mining frontier. The same was true of its relatively large number of married couples and families. In this respect, Las Vegas paralleled older railroad centers like Reno and Elko. Even though Reno was a much larger community with a longer history, both towns had the exact same percentage of adult residents of American parentage: 50 percent. And undoubtedly there were other similarities, as well as contrasts.[39]

Our understanding of the social and demographic structure of these societies will improve as more twentieth-century census materials become available. But we will need to study change over time. In the interim, this profile of Las Vegas in 1910 suggests the need for demographic analyses of other western communities, in different states and subregions. The traditional scholarly emphasis on mining camps must be expanded to include railroad, highway, and port towns as well as industrial centers. Historians need to look at a range of towns that

differs in size, economics, and history if they hope to paint a more complete picture of how western urban centers formed and evolved from gold-rush towns to the metropolitan giants of today. Nevada historians, in particular, must supplement the work of Wilbur Shepperson and others with more quantitative studies of the numerous mining, agricultural, and railroad communities that populated this largely "urban" state.

Notes

[1]Florence Lee Jones and John Cahlan, *Water: A History of Las Vegas—History of the Las Vegas Land and Water Company,* 2 vols. (Las Vegas: Las Vegas Valley Water District, 1975), I, 29, 26.

[2]For more on the early history of Las Vegas, see Stanley Paher, *Las Vegas, As It Began—As It Grew* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1971); Elbert Edwards, *200 Years in Nevada . . .* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press and Mountain States Bindery, 1978); Ralph Roske, *Las Vegas: A Desert Paradise* (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1986); Eugene P. Moehring, *Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930–1970* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989); Florence Lee Jones, "Las Vegas Golden Anniversary Edition," *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* special edition for 28 February 1955.

[3]Eugene P. Moehring, "Townmaking on the Southern Nevada Frontier: Las Vegas, 1905–1925," in *History and Humanities: Essays in Honor of Wilbur Shepperson,* Francis X. Hartigan, ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989), 81–104.

[4]Wilbur Shepperson, *Restless Strangers: Nevada Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970). A useful article covering the pitfalls of census data is Robert Haywood, "The Dodge City Census of 1880: Historical Tool or Stumbling Block?" *Kansas History* (Summer 1985), 95–109. See also David Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Study of Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875–1925* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989). Also thought provoking are Robert Barrows, "A Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis, 1870–1920" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1977); Daniel Smith, "A Perspective on Demographic Methods and Effects in Social History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (July 1982), 442–468. Also see Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), for background material concerning the early twentieth century.

[5]John Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States; Clark County, Nevada, Las Vegas Precinct* (hereafter cited as *Manuscript Census for 1910*). The "Las Vegas Precinct" encompassed "Clark's Townsite" as well as the "original Las Vegas Townsite" and nearby areas. While the printed 1910 census lists 945 people in the precinct, the more accurate manuscript rolls list exactly 937 names.

[6]*Manuscript Census for 1910.* For more on the Chinese in Nevada, see Gary BeDunnah, "History of the Chinese in Nevada, 1855–1904" (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, 1966); Russell Magnaghi, "Virginia City's Chinese Community, 1860–1880," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 24 (Summer 1981), 130–57; Sue Fawn Chung, "The Chinese Experience in Nevada: Success Despite Discrimination," in "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada," Elmer Rusco and Sue Fawn Chung, eds., *Nevada Public Affairs Review,* no. 2 (1987), 43–51.

[7]Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* 14. For the Japanese, see Andrew Russell, "A Fortunate Few: Japanese-Americans in Southern Nevada, 1905–1945," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1988), 32–52.

[8]The best work on Hispanics in early Las Vegas is Corinne Escobar, "Mexican Identity in Clark County, Nevada: A Visual Ethnohistory, 1829–1960" (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1990); *Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[9]For excellent background material, consult Elmer Rusco, "A Demographic Description of Nevada," in "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada," 7–12. Also see Rusco's *Good Time Coming?: Black Nevadans in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975); Michael Coray, "Influences on Black Family Household Organization in the West, 1850–1860," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 31

(Spring 1988), 1–31. See also the sections on black history in Perry Kaufman, "The Best City of Them All: History of Las Vegas, 1930–1960" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974); Roosevelt Fitzgerald, "The Demographic Impact of Basic Magnesium Corporation on Southern Nevada," in "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada," 29–55.

[10]Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849–1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); Kathleen Underwood, *Town-Building on the Colorado Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). Also useful are Malcolm Rohrbough, *Aspen: The History of a Silver Mining Town, 1879–1893* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825–1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959); Stuart Blumin, *The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change in a Nineteenth-Century American Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

[11]*Manuscript Census for 1910.* Children are defined as those residents age twenty and younger who did not head their own households. There were a number of young men who were classified as either household heads or "partners." They are counted as adults. Divorcees, widows, and widowers are also counted as single adults. Two or more "partners" who were living together are counted as one household.

[12]*Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[13]*Ibid.*; Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 17, 170.

[14]*Manuscript Census for 1910;* Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 37; Underwood, *Town-Building,* 111. The ages of seven residents were not listed.

[15]*Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[16]*Ibid.*; Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 121.

[17]Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* 14; See also Lenore Kosso, "Yugoslavs in Nevada," in "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada," 61–63; *Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[18]Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* 13, 14–15; *Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[19]*Manuscript Census for 1910.* Seven Las Vegans are not counted in this survey because they did not know where one or both of their parents were born.

[20]*Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[21]Roosevelt Fitzgerald, "The Evolution of a Black Community in Las Vegas: 1905–1945," in "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada," 23–24; *Manuscript Census for 1910,* 7–8.

[22]Mann, *After the Gold Rush* 116–18; Magnaghi, "Virginia City's Chinese Community"; *Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[23]*Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[24]Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 17; *Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[25]Rohrbough, *Aspen,* 160–62; *Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[26]*Manuscript Census for 1910.* Las Vegas's economy reinforced Lewis Atherton's thesis that new frontier towns tend to form "simple economies" in their early years (Lewis Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954), 214–16). This is discussed also in Underwood, *Town-Building,* 110.

[27]*Manuscript Census for 1910;* Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 21.

[28]*Manuscript Census for 1910.* Ralph Mann finds that in Grass Valley the American born accounted for roughly 40 percent of the "merchant and professional families" (*After the Gold Rush,* 121). For the purposes of this article, elite occupations consist of major business positions like hotel owner, major store owner, wholesale merchant, saloon owner, realtor, banker, etcetera. Petty merchants would be retail grocers, barbers, butchers, cigar-store owners, small ranchers, "home farmers," etcetera.

[29]*Manuscript Census for 1910;* Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* 28; Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 215–16; Thomas Wright and Dina Titus, "Ethnicity and National Origins in the Las Vegas Metropolitan Area," in "Ethnicity and Race in Nevada," 66.

[30]*Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[31]*Ibid.*

[32]Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* 14; *Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[33]*Manuscript Census for 1910.*

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]*Ibid.*

[36]Mann, *After the Gold Rush*, 108; Underwood, *Town-Building*, 32.

[37]Mann argues that "no group was completely ghettoized" in Grass Valley or Nevada City, but Las Vegas minorities were even less segregated than in these two California communities.

[38]Paher, *Las Vegas*, 141.

[39]United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States; Statistics, Population, Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining for the United States and Principal Cities, Abstract of the Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 586.

NEVADA'S ENVIRONMENTAL STATESMAN: ALAN BIBLE AND THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM, 1954–1974

Gary E. Elliott

Just as John Muir was perhaps the greatest publicist for America's national parks, Senator Alan Bible of Nevada was the foremost park legislator. Between 1954 and 1974, Bible shepherded eighty-six new parks, monuments, and historic sites through his Subcommittee on Public Lands and Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. It was a remarkable record that went largely unnoticed outside the United States Senate and the National Park Service. Indeed, in 1972, Ralph Nader's congressional study group correctly considered Bible a prime candidate for Senator Who.[1] Bible's invisible leadership reflected the force of Senate traditions emphasizing hard work and committee responsibility, to which he heartily subscribed, and Bible's own low-key, even-handed, persistent pursuit of a balanced land-use policy. In the words of George B. Hartzog, Jr., the director of the National Park Service from 1964 to 1972, "Alan Bible was an environmental statesman."[2]

Bible was a most unlikely candidate for the role of great legislator. Born in Lovelock, Nevada, on November 20, 1909, Bible spent his formative years in Fallon—the heart of the Newlands reclamation project. He was graduated from the University of Nevada in Reno in 1930 and from Georgetown Law School four years later, and immediately entered law practice as a protégé of Patrick McCarran, who was Nevada's political boss and United States senator. After a short stint in McCarran's law office, he was appointed district attorney of Storey County in 1935. In 1938, with McCarran's help, Bible was appointed deputy attorney general. He was elected to his first full term as Nevada's attorney general in 1942 and was re-elected in 1946. In 1950, he declined to run again, entered private law practice, and began preparing a campaign for the United States Senate. After losing in the 1952 Democratic primary, Bible rebounded in 1954 and was elected to fill the two years remaining in the term of Senator

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McCarran, who had died on September 28, 1954. In 1956, he was elected to his first full term, which was followed by victories in 1962 and 1968. In 1974, when he was sixty-five, ill health forced his retirement from the Senate.[3]

Bible's primary interest was the welfare of the Silver State. Specifically, he used his power and seniority in the Senate to funnel federal dollars into Nevada for water reclamation projects, atomic energy development, road construction, airport expansion, and development of recreation areas from Lake Tahoe in the north to Lake Mead in the south. But more important from a national perspective, he contributed mightily to preserving the nation's wild and scenic heritage for public use and enjoyment through the National Park System.

In 1956, as a member of the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Senate's Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Bible began his drive to expand and improve the National Park System. Initially, he saw national parks as a way to supplement local economies by attracting visitors who would spend money in service-oriented businesses. But over the years, he developed a different perspective on parks and the environment, particularly the preservation of wilderness areas. Like most environmentally conscious people in the 1960s, he sought a balanced approach that emphasized use along with protection of scenic wildlife areas. Bible was not an environmental purist, but rather a legislator who worked well in juggling competing interests—a statesman who wanted to protect all land users whether homeowner, developer, miner, timberman, livestock owner, or environmentally concerned citizen group.

With the postwar period came a new interest in the idea of environmental balance. In 1948, Aldo Leopold, the father of wildlife management in America, published his essay "Land Ethic," in which he stated that lands must be protected or they will become unstable. Leopold argued that with economic privileges came interlocking obligations. In short, between utilitarian and ecological views of the environment, there was no either/or proposition. A balance was necessary for the survival of man and nature.[4] This idea of balance was reflected in the 1956 battle over the Echo Park Dam versus the Dinosaur National Monument, which pitted conservationists concerned with aesthetics against western water developers. The result was a dramatic change in the direction of the environmental movement in America and in Bible's outlook as well.

This concern for the environment began just as millions of Americans were taking to the highways in search of vacation and recreation spots to spend their money and leisure time. Similarly, recreation enthusiasts blended with environmentalists of all varieties in a drive to force concessions from developers and traditional land users like ranchers and miners. The shrillest voices came from urbanites fleeing the concrete jungle and crabgrass frontier in search of more meaningful life experiences. Hence the battle over recreation and wilderness represented a conflict that was as much rural versus urban as it was exploiter against preservationist.[5]

Bible was a participant and power in the evolution of the politics and policies

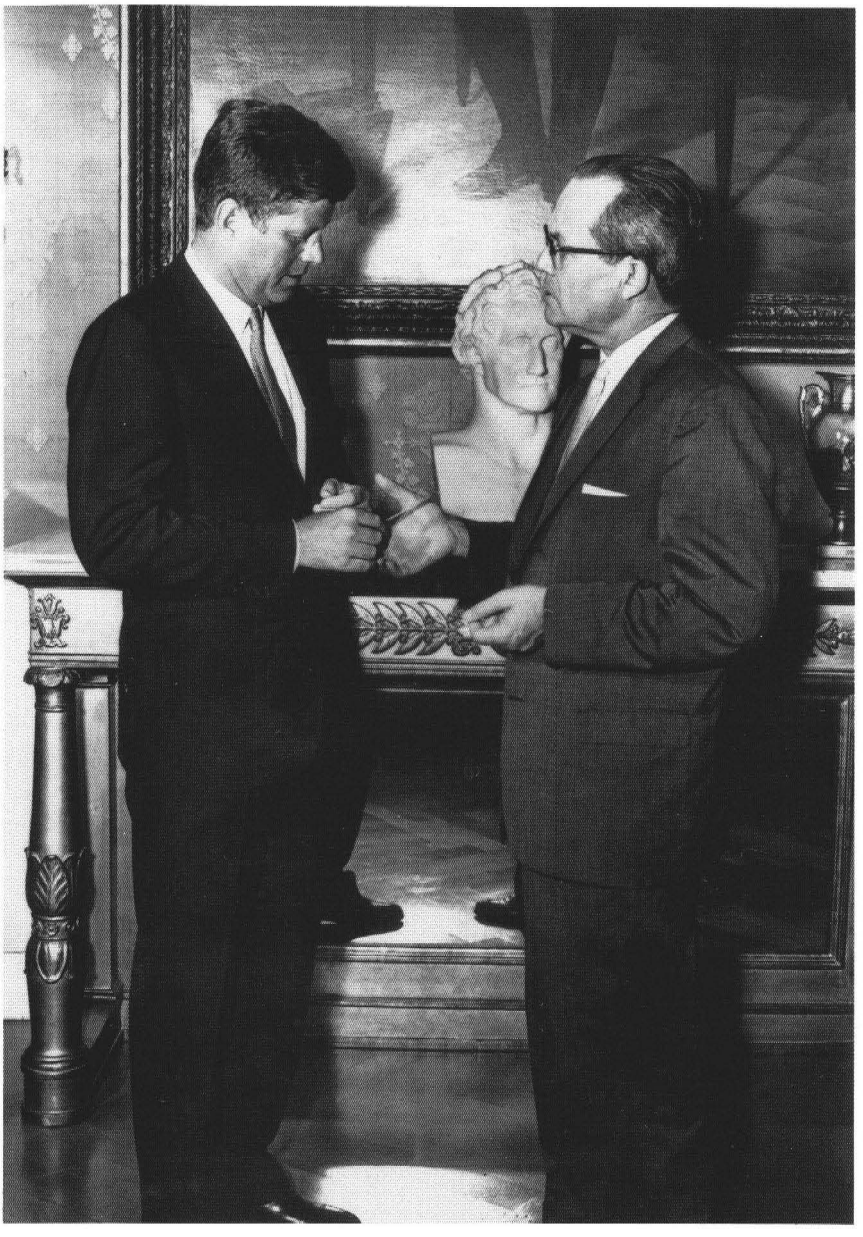
that accompanied these changing public attitudes. During most of the 1950s, he was firmly entrenched in the Gifford Pinchot school of conservation, because of his desire to aid Nevada economically through water development. Efficiency and equity were his concerns, not aesthetics. He was fully cognizant of the rapidly growing influence and power behind environmental ideas, especially after their triumph over the Echo Park Dam. More important, Bible was acutely aware that national parks were a good investment in local and state economic development. This desire to cash in on national parks motivated him in 1956 to embrace Mission 66—a ten-year, billion-dollar plan to publicize and commercialize the national parks.

While remaining on the front lines in the fight for more water development and mining projects, Bible underwent a transformation of perspective concerning parks and recreation. His legislative record as chairman of the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation was unparalled in its scope, and in the number of new parks and monuments that were added to the system. For a decade he demonstrated leadership, patience, and a thorough understanding of how important it was to preserve part of America's heritage even if entire ecosystems could not be saved because of competing political and economic demands. The result was a legacy of accomplishment in legislation that extended far beyond his state (see Tables 1, 2, and 3).

Bible's attitude toward land-use issues began to change in 1959 with the fight to establish the Great Basin National Park in eastern Nevada. It was here that he recognized that his mining and livestock-raising constituents opposed all parks, regardless of the economic benefits involved or of the merits of preserving wild and scenic areas. Simply put, Nevada's miners and ranchers wanted unrestricted access to as much of the public domain as possible for exploitation and profit. At the height of the park controversy, Bible sarcastically observed, "as support of the Great Basin National Park developed, the region abruptly took on a new value, almost overnight it was valuable mineral property. There was no commercial mining then or now, but the area is touted as an area of great potential."[6] Nevada's miners and ranchers won the battle and defeated the park plan, but they lost their foremost advocate, who moved beyond the limits of his local constituency to embrace the larger national goal of protection.

Again in 1959, Bible joined with Senator James Murray, Democrat of Montana, and sixteen other senators in co-sponsoring S. 2460, to preserve and develop shoreline resources for the benefit of future generations. With a price tag of $50 million, the measure failed to receive congressional approval. However, S. 543, which was almost identical in its scope and purpose to the failed Murray proposal, was passed by the Congress on August 28, 1961, paving the way for creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore Park, which proved to be another important influence on Bible's outlook toward environmental issues.[7]

In 1961, Bible's Subcommittee on Public Lands moved into Massachusetts for another round of hearings on the Cape Cod bill, S. 857, sponsored by the state's



Senator Alan Bible and President John F. Kennedy. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

leading Republican, Senator Leverett Saltonstall. The result of the hearings was the sobering realization that the nation's shoreline was rapidly disappearing to residential and industrial users. Bible supported the proposal, and moreover he endorsed the conclusions of the National Park Service study:

TABLE 1
National Seashore Parks Established by Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation (Senator Alan Bible, chairman)

Area	*Date Authorized or Established*
Cape Cod National Seashore, Massachusetts	
40 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 44,600 acres	7 Aug. 1961
Point Reyes National Seashore, California	
45 miles of Pacific Ocean seashore and 64,500 acres	13 Sept. 1962
Padre Island National Seashore, Texas	
80 miles of Gulf of Mexico seashore and 133,900 acres	28 Sept. 1962
Assateague Island National Seashore, Maryland, Virginia	
35 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 39,630 acres	21 Sept. 1965
Fire Island National Seashore, New York	
32 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 19,300 acres	9 Oct. 1965
Cape Lookout National Seashore, North Carolina	
58 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 24,500 acres	10 Mar. 1966
Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, Michigan	
35 miles of Lake Superior shoreline and 67,000 acres	15 Oct. 1966
Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana	
13 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline and 8,720 acres	5 Nov. 1966
Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, Wisconsin	
140 miles of Lake Superior shoreline and 42,825 acres	26 Sept. 1970
Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan	
64 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline and 71,000 acres	21 Oct. 1970
Gulf Islands National Seashore, Florida, Mississippi	
87 miles of Gulf of Mexico seashore and 125,000 acres	8 Jan. 1971
Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia	
19 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 41,600 acres	23 Oct. 1972
Totals: 648 miles, 682,575 acres	

SOURCE: Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 199.

There is no longer any comparable area in the New England region that exhibits all the outstanding values desirable and suitable for extensive seashore recreation.[8]

Thus, Bible moved slowly forward, propelled by the momentum of Congress and environmentally conscious organizations like the Sierra Club. When President John Kennedy signed the Cape Cod National Seashore Park Bill into law on August 7, 1961, the nation had passed a milestone in preservation. And Senator Bible's sense of commitment to protect what was left of America's vanishing recreational areas had been awakened.

TABLE 2
Major Legislation, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation during the Johnson Administration
(Senator Alan Bible, chairman)

1964
Campobello International Park
Medicine Bow National Park
Ozark Scenic Riverway
Fort Bowie Historic Site
Fire Island National Seashore
Canyonlands National Park
1965
Assateague National Seashore
Whiskeytown National Recreation Area
Delaware Water Gap Recreation Area
1966
Cape Lookout Seashore
Guadalupe National Park
Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site
Chamizal National Memorial
San Juan Island National Historical Park
Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area
Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore
Wolf Trap Farm Park
Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore
1967
John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site
National Park Foundation
1968
San Rafael Wilderness
San Gabriel Wilderness
Redwoods National Park
Flaming Gorge Recreation Area
Biscayne Park
Scenic Rivers Act
Scenic Trails Act
North Cascades Park
Colorado River Reclamation Act
Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site
Carl Sandburg National Historic Site

SOURCE: Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 326.

TABLE 3
Major Legislation, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1969–1972 (Senator Alan Bible, chairman)

1969–1970	
Voyageurs National Park	Minnesota
Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument	Colorado
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historic Park	Maryland
Apostle Islands National Lakeshore	Wisconsin
Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore	Michigan
Gulf Island National Seashore	Mississippi and Florida
William Howard Taft National Historic Site	Ohio
Eisenhower National Historic Site	Pennsylvania
Lyndon B. Johnson National Historic Site	Texas
Fort Point National Historic Site	California
Andersonville National Historic Site	Georgia
Ford's Theatre National Historic Site	Washington, D.C.
1971–1972	
Fossil Butte National Monument	Wyoming
Hohokam Pima National Monument	Arizona
Buffalo National River	Arkansas
Cumberland Island National Seashore	Georgia
Golden Gate National Recreation Area	California
Gateway National Recreation Area	New York and New Jersey
Glen Canyon National Recreation Area	Utah and Arizona
Lower Saint Croix National Scenic River	Wisconsin and Minnesota
Lincoln Home National Historic Site	Illinois
Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site	Hawaii
Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site	Montana
Longfellow National Historic Site	Massachusetts
Gulf Island National Seashore	Florida
Mar-A-Lago National Historic Site	Florida
Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Memorial	Pennsylvania
Benjamin Franklin National Memorial	Pennsylvania
John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Memorial Parkway	Wyoming

SOURCE: Compiled from the Alan Bible Papers, Special Collections, University of Nevado, Reno, Library.

After the Cape Cod victory in 1961, Bible joined forces with Senator Paul Douglas, a liberal Democratic reformer from Illinois who was waging a congressional war to save the Indiana Dunes from destruction by industrial interests who wanted a deep-water port on Lake Michigan. On July 23, 1961, Bible and

Senator Alan Bible on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. with (left to right) Congressman Walter Baring, Governor Grant Sawyer and Washoe County District Attorney William Raggio, mid-1960s. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall made a well-publicized trip to the Dunes, and afterward announced that they supported legislation to protect the area from development interests. Bible continued to support Douglas's proposal throughout what seemed at times to be endless rounds of negotiations, compromises, and hearings, which culminated in 1965 when the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee cleared S. 2249 for a full vote by the Senate. Afterward, Douglas sent Bible a telegram: "God bless you, Alan. Many, many thanks. We are friends from the heart forever." In his memoirs, Douglas again paid tribute to Bible for the role he played in passing the Indiana Dunes Bill.[9]

For the nation, Bible, and the environmental movement, the year 1964 was a watershed whose significance has been largely forgotten in the wake of the turbulent years that followed. Elected in a landslide over Republican Barry Goldwater, President Lyndon Johnson used his huge Democratic majority in Congress to press ahead with a vast legislative program reminiscent of the New Deal. Part of the president's Great Society package included the establishment of parks and recreation areas on a grand scale. At the same time, ill health forced Democratic Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico to take a secondary role in environmental matters and to relinquish his chairmanship of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Henry "Scoop" Jackson, Democrat of Washington. While Jackson was taking control of the full committee, Bible assumed

leadership of the newly created Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. For the next decade, Jackson and Bible worked closely together to pass parks and recreation legislation.

Also in 1964, George B. Hartzog, Jr., was appointed director of the National Park Service, to succeed Conrad Wirth. Wirth's emphasis on commercialism disturbed Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, who believed that Hartzog would be more attuned to the direction in which the administration was headed. Udall proved to be correct, and Hartzog and Bible became close personal friends who worked extremely well together. Their goal was always the same—to do what was politically possible to protect America's vanishing scenic wonders while at the same time creating new parks and recreation facilities.

Thus, what emerged in 1964 was a national team assembled to capitalize on, and contribute to, a balance in the environmental movement. The president himself led the way, with Lady Bird Johnson providing encouragement and publicity through her beautification program. Then came Secretary Udall, a tireless worker who was always helpful to congressional committees. In the Senate, Jackson supported Bible's committee decisions and almost never interfered in its business, while Hartzog worked to expand his park service in order to fulfill the agency's mission (which was not always in harmony with the goals of environmental organizations). In the Senate, Bible was the key man not only because of his power as subcommittee chairman, but also through his membership on important subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee.

As the decade of the 1960s drew to a close, so did Bible's unconditional support of the western mining industry. In his quiet but firm way, Bible served notice on the American Mining Congress that business as usual would not be tolerated in the future. On October 11, 1971, in a speech given to the annual meeting of the American Mining Congress in Las Vegas, Bible said, "mining needs to clean up its methods and clean up its image."[10] In addition, the condition of Lake Tahoe, which had been in continuous environmental deterioration since 1945, moved Bible to action. Secretly, he hoped the entire shoreline could be made into a national park, thereby halting the rampant development that threatened to consume the lake's natural beauty.[11] But nowhere was his sense of urgency more keen than for Alaska—America's last frontier. It was here that Bible's land-use ethic tilted well to the side of the preservationists, who were waging a last-ditch fight to save Alaska from the ravages of unrestricted development.

George Hartzog's recent book, *Battling for the National Parks,* reveals the extent of Bible's contribution to establishing national parks in general, and to the preservation of Alaskan lands in particular. Indeed, Hartzog writes that Bible, "more than any other in Congress, held the keys to life and death for the national park system. He controlled all of the legislation for the national park system and all its appropriations to implement such legislation."[12] Without question, Bible was the prince of players on the field of land preservation in Alaska and the one man

Senator Alan Bible with President Lyndon B. Johnson. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

that Hartzog had to have in his corner if the park service had any chance of protecting large blocks of pristine wilderness.

From the beginning, in 1959, Bible had supported Alaska's drive for statehood in the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. But in the decade following its admission to the union, he had no contact with land issues in Alaska, and no legislation came before his Subcommittee on Public Lands or the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. This all changed in early 1969 when the oil discovery of 1968 on the North Slope was publicized and Secretary of the Interior Udall ordered a freeze on all land disposals. Thus, oil profits, the growing energy crisis, and the momentum of the environmental movement all came together to make Alaska the celebrated cause of the 1970s, just as the Echo Park Dam fight had been in the 1950s and ecology itself was in the 1960s.[13]

Initially, it seemed safe to assume that Bible would support a balanced approach that would protect development interests. There was the growing energy crisis, which oil exploration would help alleviate. Probably equally important was the dedication of Alaska's two senators, Ted Stevens and Mike Gravel, to developing the state's rich storehouse of natural resources. Moreover, while environmental groups still maintained considerable clout in and out of Con-

gress, the feeling was growing across the nation and on Capitol Hill, as part of a general backlash against the liberalism of the 1960s, that their objectives posed a considerable threat to American business productivity and should be tempered against the realities of the business world.[14]

This was the situation in 1969 when the House of Representatives began consideration of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, whose provisions protected 76 million acres of pristine land for inclusion in national-interest categories. The protectionist clause was defeated, and John Saylor, Republican of Pennsylvania, the ranking minority member on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, afterward told Hartzog that the fight could be won only in the Senate. That sent Hartzog scurrying off to see Scoop Jackson, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.[15]

Jackson was supportive, but he insisted that Hartzog see Bible, whose Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation had the primary responsibility for the Alaska native claims bill. Hartzog met with Bible, who told him that he had never been to Alaska and was not familiar with the goals the National Park Service had set for the state. Bible then told Hartzog that he would be guided by the wishes of Alaska's two senators, whom Hartzog knew all too well to be against any strong national park presence in their state. The cause, at least from Hartzog's perspective, could not have seemed more hopeless because Bible was known to oppose any park plan that lacked the support of the local congressman and the state's two senators. But the parks director was not easily deterred—always on the sell, Hartzog invited Bible to vacation in Alaska, and Bible agreed.[16] It was through such a small matter that the fortunes of Alaska would be forever changed.

Bible had visited a great many places in the United States and had seen most of its scenic wonders. Comparisons to his home state of Nevada were inevitable, as the gray-brown sagebrush landscape of the Great Basin stood in stark contrast to the wet, green, and wooded areas of many national parks. Other parks, particularly in the semiarid West, possessed spectacular vistas largely missing from Nevada, except for Lake Tahoe and some areas of White Pine County. Still, Bible never seemed to have been so captivated that his preservationist instincts commanded his full attention. Alaska changed that.

Hartzog did his work well. He guided the Bible party all over the state and explained the park service goals for the area. Whether fishing, camping, or sightseeing in a bus, Bible was thunderstruck by what he saw in the raw natural beauty, fabulously rich wildlife, and vast unspoiled wilderness of Alaska. All of those present agree that Bible's perspective was dramatically altered by his Alaskan vacation. After marveling at the land, wildlife, and undeveloped lakes and streams, Bible left the last frontier with a renewed dedication to preserve the area for use and enjoyment of future generations.[17]

Bible then invited Hartzog to his Lake Tahoe home for a few days of rest and relaxation before returning to Washington, D.C. Bible asked Hartzog to draft

language for inclusion in the Alaska bill that would accomplish the objectives of the park service. The result was Section 17(d) (2), introduced by Bible at the mark-up session of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971) before the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. The section called for 80 million acres of Alaskan state lands to be withdrawn for inclusion in four national-interest categories: national parks, forest service, fish and wildlife, and wild and scenic rivers. In addition, Section 17(d) (2) provided that the secretary of interior make recommendations for disposition of the land to Congress by December 1973, and thereafter Congress had until December 1978 to act on the secretary's proposals.[18] Bible had given Hartzog four million more acres than he had originally asked for, and more than the House had provided for earlier.

Bible's amendment protected large areas of Alaska from exploitation while at the same time Congress was given time to study the matter and make sound decisions for the state's economic development. Like Hartzog, Bible knew that Alaska represented a chance for the nation to protect some of the most spectacular unspoiled land in the world. But while Congress gained time to contemplate the future course of Alaska, so did the developers, who immediately centered on Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, who had succeeded Udall in 1969. Their goal was to remove as much of the Section 17(d) (2) land as possible from the protection of the National Park Service and have it placed under the Forest Service or the fish and wildlife management system, where it would be easier for them to get at in the future.[19]

On December 17, 1973, Secretary Morton's recommendations to Congress demonstrated that the developers had lobbied well. Specifically, only 32 million of the over 80 million acres that Bible had sought to protect through Section 17(d) (2) were recommended for inclusion in the National Park System. The remainder were divided between the Forest Service (18,800,000) and the Wildlife Refuge System (31,590,000). Hartzog was hopping mad, particularly when Morton also recommended that sport hunting be allowed to continue in areas designated for national parks.[20] Again the battle lines were drawn. But, unlike the case during the previous twenty years of unprecedented upheaval over land-use policy, Senator Bible was not present. He retired just as Congress began a new round of hearings and proposals on Alaska in January 1975.

The congressional stalemate was broken on December 2, 1980, when President Jimmy Carter signed into law the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. As with all legislation, no one was totally satisfied, but on balance, environmental organizations and their advocates in Congress did well, particularly considering the likely result had President-elect Ronald Reagan been allowed to make the final determination. Specifically, 43.6 million acres were set aside for national parks, 53.8 for the Fish and Wildlife Service, and 3.4 for the National Forest Service, and a whopping 56.4 million acres were designated as wilderness.[21] Clearly, a significant portion of Alaska had been protected. But, just as clearly, the solution had come just in the nick of time. The environmental

movement that had begun in the 1950s with the fight over the Echo Park Dam had run its course in Alaska; the decade of the 1980s belonged to the ravagers and the exploiters.

This story of Alan Bible as champion of national parks and recreation areas demonstrates the difficulty in placing politicians into neat categories of conservative, liberal, or middle of the road. For most of his career, colleagues and friends considered Bible a moderate-to-conservative politician who tended to move in circles dominated by Southern Democrats, who were generally well to the right. To a great extent, that evaluation was correct, and remained so throughout his career. But another side to his character was certainly shaped by the events, ideologies, and movements in the 1960s that placed him in the company of the Great Society liberals.

Bible stood for "qualitative liberalism"—that is, the improvement of people's lives. He supported a whole range of economic and social programs, including traditional New and Fair Deal approaches to Social Security and Medicare. Moreover, aid to education, civil rights, expanded minimum-wage programs, food stamps, and Head Start, just to name a few, received his endorsement. Clearly, he viewed national parks in much the same way that President Johnson and others viewed Great Society measures—as an advancement in improving the quality of life.

In assessing what had been achieved in Alaska, George Hartzog writes:

> Many people rightfully can claim credit for the great treasures that have been preserved for all generations in Alaska, and quite properly they should get that credit for many hands were on the oars. But the captains of the vessel that preserved the opportunity were Scoop Jackson and Alan Bible. Had it not been for them there would have been no work for the others in the years that followed the enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971.[22]

Nor was Hartzog alone in his assessment of Bible's contributions to the National Park System. On August 28, 1970, Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana took the floor to pay tribute to Bible during the Senate's consideration of the Redwoods National Park Bill in California:

> When we are talking about conservation and the challenge of meeting the outdoor recreation demands of a growing nation, one man stands at the top in terms of accomplishment. I doubt that enough attention has ever been directed to the man and his works—the senior senator from Nevada, Alan Bible. During more than a decade in the U.S. Senate, Alan Bible has clearly established himself as a leading conservation figure. Certainly, his record in the area of parks and recreation is unmatched. As chairman of the Parks and Recreation Subcommittee and, before that, the Public Lands Subcommittee, Senator Bible has been instrumental in passing legislation that has added no less than 47 new areas to the National Park System. This is a record unequaled by any other senator in his position in the history of Congress. I submit it as a record that represents the greatest period of recreation development ever witnessed by our nation. Senator Bible's calm guiding hand was largely responsible for solving the complex problems that had

thwarted progress on the Redwood National Park Bill. It was the same effective capacity for overcoming obstacles that made his record of achievement possible.[23]

Finally, Senator Jackson describes Bible as "the guiding force behind the greatest expansion and development of the National Park System in American history." He was the key figure in the Senate, and among his colleagues "Alan Bible's name is synonymous with parks in federal and private lands all over this country." Jackson's conclusions deserve our attention, for they are historically correct:

> . . . a listing of legislation Senator Bible has piloted into enactment by Congress in the 1960s and 70s reads like a roll call of the nation's national parks and historic treasures. He has earned the gratitude of the American people for his role in preserving their natural, scenic, recreational and historic heritage.[24]

NOTES

[1]Bruce Covill and Beverly Wexler Weinberg, "Alan Bible, Democratic Senator from Nevada," in *"Ralph Nader's Congress Project, Citizens Look at Congress"* (1972), 1, unpublished manuscript. Alan Bible Papers (hereafter cited as AB Papers), Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Library.

[2]George B. Hartzog, Jr., interview by author, 30 July 1990. For an analysis of Senate traditions and folkways, see Donald R. Matthews, *U.S. Senators and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); Michael Foley, *The New Senate: Liberal Influence on a Conservative Institution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980). The best over-all treatment of the national parks from a political and economic perspective is Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 2d ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978).

[3]Alan Bible, "Recollections of a Nevada Native Son: The Law, Politics, the Nevada Attorney General's Office, and the United States Senate" (University of Nevada Oral History Project, 1981).

[4]Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 284.

[5]Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3, 13. For an excellent analysis of the political and economic factors that work to produce compromise in land-use policy, see Richard Allan Baker, *Conservation Politics: The Senate Career of Clinton P. Anderson* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

[6]Statement from the office of Senator Bible, "Washington Round-up," April 1966, AB Papers, Box 99. The first bill to establish the Great Basin National Park was introduced by Bible in 1959. See U.S. Congress, Senate, *A Bill to Establish the Great Basin National Park in Nevada, S. 2664*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959. Also see U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, *Hearing on Senate 2664*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959. A more detailed analysis of the Great Basin National Park fight can be found in Gary E. Elliott, "Whose Land Is It: The Battle for the Great Basin National Park, 1957–1967," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 34 (Spring 1991), 241–256.

[7]U.S. Congress, Senate, *A Bill to Preserve and Develop Shoreline Areas, S. 2460*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959.

[8]*Congressional Record*, Senate, 27 June 1961, 11391. Also see U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Establish the Cape Cod National Seashore Park, *Hearing on S. 857*, 9 March 1961.

[9]Ronald Engel, *Sacred Sands: The Struggle for Community in the Indiana Dunes* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 265. U.S. Congress, Senate, The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Public Lands, *Hearings on the Indiana Dunes National Park, S. 2249*, 88th

Congress, 1st Session, 5, 6, 7 March 1964. Paul Douglas to Alan Bible, 17 May 1965, AB Papers, Box 47. Paul H. Douglas, *In the Fullness of Time: The Memoirs of Paul H. Douglas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), 541. President Johnson formally signed the Indiana Dunes Bill into law on November 5, 1966, P.L. 89–761. Another excellent study of the enormous struggle and constant effort required to create a national park is Robert W. Righter, *Crucible for Conservation: The Struggle for Grand Teton National Park* (Colorado: Associated University Press, 1982).

[10]Statement from the office of Senator Bible, 15 October 1971, AB Papers, Index Citation 1/2/3 through 1/2/5.

[11]Lucille Bible, interview by author, 29 August 1990.

[12]George B. Hartzog, Jr., *Battling for the National Parks* (Mt. Kisco, N.Y.: Moyer Bell Limited, 1988), 203.

[13]Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 290.

[14]Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence*, 411.

[15]Hartzog, *Battling for the National Parks*, 211.

[16]*Ibid*, 212.

[17]Lucille Bible, interview by author, 15 August 1989; Dr. Fred Anderson, interview by author, 22 August 1989; Bob McDonald, interview by author, 22 August 1989. In August 1989, the author spent two weeks in Alaska to get a perspective on the state and on Bible's reaction to what he had seen on his vacation. Although the trip was by no means as extensive as the one Hartzog conducted for Bible, it was nonetheless breathtaking and inspirational.

[18]Hartzog, *Battling for the National Parks*, 213.

[19]*Ibid*, 214.

[20]*Ibid*, 215.

[21]*Ibid*, 220.

[22]*Ibid*, 221.

[23]*Congressional Record* (Senate), 28 August 1970, P30364.

[24]Statement from the office of Senator Henry M. Jackson, 12 June 1973, AB Papers, Box 292.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted. By James W. Hulse. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991, 347 pp., preface, maps, bibliography, index.)

This latest volume in the historiography of Nevada is must reading. James W. Hulse is a noted authority and one of the most respected and candid of Nevada historians. His new book, *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted,* is intended as an introductory text and minimizes the often overstated mining frontier, favorite-son politicians, and the northern sectional bias. All of the traditional periods and issues are covered, with strong chapters on railroad building, political and economic development in the counties, and contemporary problems of growth and urbanization. This well-written narrative is based on a wealth of secondary sources with emphasis on the latest scholarship. Those who expect a glorification of the Silver State's past will be sorely disappointed, while the many who are concerned with the recent flow of events in Nevada will be elated by Hulse's openness.

Hulse is more sympathetic to Nevada in the pre-New Deal era, before the state's political and economic life became driven by casino gambling. Mining and livestock interests are treated kindly, more so than this reviewer feels is warranted, given that mining has paid a pittance in taxes compared with the value of the metals extracted. Meanwhile, the western livestock industry is simply an enormous freeloader at the public trough, a tendency inexplicably linked to its heritage of the frontier, where presumably rugged individualism was the order of the day. By comparison, present-day political elites and policymakers are as harsh and unrelenting as the Great Basin environment. For example, in 1970, Nevada had one of the highest per-capita incomes in the nation, but it ranked forty-eighth in per-capita income spent on education. Predictably, Nevadans have taken more pride in their casinos than their educational institutions. Equally disturbing to Hulse is the state's dismal record of aid to the elderly, disabled, and disadvantaged, which demonstrates that education and public welfare have a low priority (p. 290). Moreover, in the 1970s and 1980s, Nevada had a larger percentage of its citizens in prison than any other state, a situation exacerbated by poor to inadequate facilities. While Nevada has prospered economically, it has an abysmal record in the field of human services (p. 291).

Worse yet is the Silver State's sorry civil-rights record, which needs no elaboration here, and its disregard for environmental protection, which Hulse could have gone a bit further in explaining. For instance, Nevada has squandered its precious water resources for decades. Reno is still without meter facilities, which has encouraged waste while avoiding fiscal responsibility. At the same time, Las Vegas has constructed artificial lakes and glorious waterfalls which, according to some estimates, produce an evaporative loss of as much as two million gallons of water each day. And its residents are as wasteful as its developers, consuming 360 gallons a day per person, compared with Phoenix's 210, Los Angeles's 200, and Tucson's 160. Incredibly, the city of waste is now considering a plan to liberate its neighbors' water at an outrageous expenditure of dollars and untold cost to the environment—shades of Los Angeles's raid on the Owens Valley in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Is there a bright spot? Hulse is not optimistic. Referring to Las Vegas, Hulse comments that "whether it and the state it is now leading can fashion social and ethical policies equal to the economic success will be one of the major questions of the 1990s" (p. 347). Based on the public record over the past forty years, there is much to be concerned about and precious little to be hopeful for. One gets the feeling that if Mark Twain were touring Nevada today, he would rename the Silver State the Gilded State. Beneath the glitter and bright lights lies a legacy of rotten public policies.

Hulse has given students, scholars, elected officials, and the public much to think about as Nevada looks forward to the twenty-first century. Readers will enjoy the crisp, concise, free-flowing narrative and suggested readings at the end of each chapter. But like all textbooks, this study has some shortcomings. It would have been helpful if there were more on culture, an extended bibliography, and more maps, particularly of the early mining camps, explorer trails, and population density in the post-World War II period. In addition, an appendix listing the terms of the state's governors and its United States senators and representatives is needed to place Nevada's political history in perspective. On balance, however, this is an exceptional textbook that is thought provoking and convincing. It will be used for many years at university and college campuses across Nevada.

Gary E. Elliott
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Nevada: Golden Challenge in the Silver State: a Contemporary Portrait. By Guy Shipler. (Chatsworth, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1990, 352 pp., preface, illustrations, bibliography, index.)

This volume is published as part of the Windsor Publications series, an ambitious program which through its dozens of urban biographies has greatly

contributed to our knowledge of American cities. *Nevada: Golden Challenge in the Silver State: a Contemporary Portrait,* however, is a bit different in nature; it tries to describe an entire state and is produced in cooperation with the State of Nevada Commission on Economic Development.

That cooperation is at the very heart of the book. It attempts to lure outside business to "this land of enterprise." The targeted audience is the investor or entrepreneur who might want to set up shop in the Silver State. Therefore, the Nevada presented is a Nevada without warts, or blemish, an exceptionally desirable location in which to settle and live.

The format follows that of the other Windsor publications. Veteran and respected newsman Guy Shipler wrote most of the text, giving an overview of Nevada's history and the contemporary state of its government and economy. Shipler writes with style, authority, and sweep, although surely he is too indulgent in implying that state regulation of gambling was effective in the 1930s and 1940s, and in stating that "mob infiltration" in the casino industry was kept to "a minimum" (p. 81). His chapter on government and the economy is excellent, but in general his discussion avoids the critical bite that distinguishes another Windsor volume, William D. Rowley's *Reno, Hub of the Washoe Country.*

The second, and shorter, portion of the book is a "Nevada Enterprise" or Corporate Profiles section written by Gene and Adele Malott. This section suffers from the same weakness shared by all other Windsor books, the only corporations discussed are those which offered to be "patrons" for the volume. This leads to unsystematic coverage and the pieces read like in-house puffery. Yet the profiles provide useful and hard-to-obtain information, which is most helpful for an understanding of the state's business industry.

The many photographs are superb in quality, well selected, and juxtaposed nicely with the text. This is simply one of the most beautiful books available on Nevada. That, along with Shipler's informed narrative, makes this work a worthwhile acquisition, either for one's own library, or as a gift to a friend.

Jerome E. Edwards
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Mark Twain: The Bachelor Years. By Margaret Sanborn. (New York: Doubleday Publishing, 1990, 508 pp., acknowledgements, author's note, notes on sources, bibliography, index.)

Margaret Sanborn's *Mark Twain: The Bachelor Years* covers the life of America's greatest humorist from his boyhood to his marriage in 1870. Richly textured and well written, Sanborn's long book brings to life the family setting and borders state culture that so forcefully shaped young Samuel Clemens. Drawing exten-

sively on Clemens's own words (from his letters and private journal as well as his published essays and novels), the author writes throughout with an eye on the relationship between Clemens's youth and his later artistry. While not a literary biography per se, *Mark Twain: The Bachelor Years* successfully places Clemens's fiction within the larger context of his life—especially his youth and early adulthood—detailing the connection between memorable scenes in his later books and his experiences as a cub river pilot on the Mississippi, Confederate soldier, far western adventurer, lecturer, journalist, and (in the 1860s) author of widening fame.

Of particular interest to readers of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* is the section that covers Clemens's life in Nevada and California during the 1860s, roughly, the middle third of the book (Chapters 12–18). Although the outlines of this story are well known, Sanborn provides new details drawn from Clemens's journal and correspondence. For example, the situation surrounding Clemens's departure from Nevada in 1863, which involved his offensive portrayal of an auction to benefit the United States Sanitary Commission as actually being a promotion for an eastern miscegenation society, has been recounted numerous times. Sanborn's careful coverage of the entire controversy—which involved charge and counter-charge, insult and counter-insult, the threat of a duel with an enraged husband, and, finally, Clemens's hasty departure from Nevada—is a thoughtful and thorough presentation.

Throughout, Sanborn shows a fine grasp of the relevant primary sources. She is particularly good in conveying the clubby atmosphere, the genuine friendships, that lay behind the caustic rhetoric and bombast of rival journalists in Nevada and San Francisco in the 1860s. Above all, Sanborn has made excellent use of the Clemens materials in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, which include Samuel Clemens's personal journals as well as a multitude of family letters. Consequently, Sanborn's narrative offers a valuable guide to the often confusing political and social history of the Comstock Lode in the early 1860s. Because of the focus on Clemens, and in turn because of his wide circle of friends (and no less his sheer nosiness), this entertaining biography serves also the mundane purpose of clarifying the murky historical record of early Nevada. Clemens, it seems, knew everyone of note on the Comstock Lode. Sanborn captures especially well the bond that grew up among Mark Twain and his compatriots at the *Territorial Enterprise:* Joseph Goodman, Denis McCarthy, Dan De Quille, and Steve Gillis. One cannot help but finish *Mark Twain: The Bachelor Years* with a new understanding—one might say a street level appreciation of an observer as sarcastically acute as Mark Twain—of Virginia City and the culture of Nevada's mining boom in 1862 and 1863.

Sanborn is also strong in covering the dynamics of the Clemens family, especially the always problematic relationship between Samuel and his brother Orion, with whom Samuel came to Nevada in the 1860s, and whom, one can infer from the book, Samuel left with relief when he departed Washoe for California and then the wider world in 1864.

Mark Twain: The Bachelor Years ends at 1870, after recounting Clemens's travels abroad, his first great national successes, and his engagement and marriage to Olivia Langdon. In 1870 Clemens was not yet the immortal author of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, but Sanborn demonstrates convincingly that his bachelor years deserve detailed treatment because during that time—not the least the years he spent in Nevada—he gained "the rich fund of knowledge upon which he would draw throughout his long career as a writer" (p. xv).

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We Took the Train. Edited by H. Roger Grant. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1990, 175 pp., illustrations, index.)

Well over 150 years have passed since the first passenger rode on a train in the United States. In this era of automobile and jet travel it is easy to forget that for most of those years railroads and railroad travel were central features in the lives of most Americans. H. Roger Grant has done a great service by gathering together this fine and diverse collection of railroad travel accounts. They spread in time from a ride on the pioneering Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in the early 1830s to a present-day Amtrak journey, and cover the gamut from posh first-class Pullman cars to the lowly mixed train, and even "riding the rods," sneaking rides on freight trains. But this is more than just a collection of train trips. Through the sights and experiences of these travelers we have windows onto the past. We are taken through time and space, vicariously experiencing a slice of other eras, often so different yet in some ways the same as our own.

Grant first introduces the subject with a brief synopsis of the developments and changes in passenger travel and in the traveling public over the past 150 years. The core and strength of the book lies in the twenty-one individual travel accounts, generally excerpts from longer works. These are divided among six topical sections: The Iron Horse Arrives, America's Railroads Mature, Traveling without Tickets, The Electric Way, The Glory Years, and Twilight of Rail Travel. Each section opens with captioned pictures. Grant then briefly introduces each selection, telling about the author and explaining the circumstances and context of each piece. The selections, from around the country, include a passing mention of Nevada in a piece by Robert Louis Stevenson.

The authors range from well known to obscure. Stevenson recounts his journey across the country aboard emigrant cars in 1879. Charles Dickens gives his astute observations on a trip from Boston to Lowell, Massachusetts, about 1841. Florence Leslie accompanied her husband Frank Leslie and his associates on their cross-country tour gathering material for a series of articles in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News* during 1877–78. Tony Hiss tells of traveling with fellow *New Yorker* writer E. M. Frembo (E. M. Whitaker) on the high-speed Metroliner between New York and Washington in 1974. Riding freight trains in depression

years is described by Charles P. Brown and by Erling Kildahl, the first in the 1890s and the other in 1936. Ellen Douglas Williamson recalls a childhood trip to California in 1918. And A. O. Abbott tells of train travel in the South as a Union prisoner of the Confederacy during the Civil War. These are just some of the interesting accounts found in *We Took the Train*.

Grant's knowledge of railroads is obvious, but there are some disturbing errors, inaccuracies, and omissions in his text. He implies that many blacks worked up from positions as porters and stewards to be conductors (p. 136), not a common occurrence until recent years. In another selection he identifies Sacramento as the western end of the transcontinental railroad in 1877 (p. 32) instead of San Francisco (actually Oakland, across the bay). In this same section he doesn't mention that Mrs. Leslie's trip was part of her husband's organized excursion, important context for her adventures. Lack of source citations on many photos is also annoying.

More serious, Grant mistakenly believes that Stevenson's emigrant train trip across the country was in 1892, the year the account was first published (p. 44). He even "corrects" Stevenson's description of changing trains in Chicago (pp. 49–50n.). Stevenson's journey, in 1879, has a very different time and context. It also occurred at the eve of a significant improvement for emigrants: the introduction of the new Central Pacific emigrant sleeping cars that Stevenson describes at the end of the excerpt. Within a year, the Union Pacific and other companies had copied the Central Pacific cars, reducing many of the discomforts Stevenson describes.

While these and other problems can affect a reader's understanding, most are not of major significance and do not greatly impair the point of Grant's presentation. Cumulatively, however, they do call into question the reliability of Grant's statements in areas not familiar to this reviewer. Fortunately, the essence of the book remains the historical accounts themselves, more than sufficient to compensate for Grant's minor difficulties.

In conclusion, *We Took the Train* is a fascinating and entertaining series of vignettes of the past, both informative as a group and enjoyable individually. Despite the problems, Grant has done a fine job, providing interesting fodder for the casual reader and, for scholars, primary source material in the firsthand accounts.

Kyle K. Wyatt
Nevada State Railroad Museum

Atlas of American Indian Affairs. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990, 191 pp., preface, maps, notes, references, and index.)

While researching his prize-winning history, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (1984), Francis Paul Prucha, S. J., realized

the need for a comprehensive atlas of American Indian affairs. Thus, the *Atlas of American Indian Affairs* represents a perspective born of more than two decades of research plus six more years of final preparation. University libraries will find this volume a welcome addition to their reference shelves.

This volume's main feature is its 109 maps, not the author's usual lucid text. Each of ten sections is given only the briefest of introductions, though somewhat more detailed information on sources can be gleaned from the Notes and References at the end of the book. Sets of maps illustrate pockets of Indian population from 1890 to 1980, record Indian land cessions, and identify the location of government trading houses, Indian agencies and reservations, and Bureau of Indian Affairs schools at various times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Two additional sets of maps concentrate on the complex boundaries of Indian Territory (Oklahoma), and the effect of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. The final three sections of the atlas focus on various aspects of the Indian wars, with forty-one maps.

Atlas of American Indian Affairs is a useful reference source, but might have been even better. For example, Prucha could have waited until the results were in from the 1990 census and included that information in his maps. True, to have done so would have delayed the publication for two years, but a dozen of the maps, virtually the entire section on Indian reservations, uses population figures from the 1980 census and is already out of date. It would also have been helpful to regularize the scale of the maps. As it is, there are four major "styles" in the atlas. Thirty-four of the maps use a simple outline of the United States to project their information, but nine other maps rely upon a landform scheme developed by Edwin Raisz for Prucha's earlier *Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789–1895* (1964), and a dozen more were prepared by Rafael D. Palacios and had been previously published in Ralph K. Andrist's *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indians* (1964). Another fifty-four maps, using yet another scale, zero in on state and regional events.

Francis Paul Prucha is the most highly regarded historian of American Indian-white relationships in academia today. His genius for analysis is present in each of the chapter introductions for this atlas, and his penchant for exacting research can be seen in his notes and references. It is not enough, however, to make this a necessary book for private home libraries.

Robert C. Carriker
Gonzaga University

LETTERS

Editor:

The article by A. Constandina Titus in the Winter 1990 *Quarterly* adds significantly to our knowledge of the civil rights movement in Nevada by chronicling the actions of United States Senator Howard Cannon in this policy area. I would like to contribute a brief reference to other events which could have been noted in the article, however, and make one correction.

The article states that George Rudiak's 1953 bill to ban racial discrimination in public accommodations was an "initial attack on Las Vegas's de facto segregation." In fact, the first such bill was introduced, at the request of the Las Vegas Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in 1939. Similar bills were introduced in 1947 and 1949 also. There was also a 1939 precedent for going to the Las Vegas City Commission to ask for local action against discrimination when the Legislature was unresponsive. Also, in 1953 Assemblyman George Hawes introduced a bill to repeal the miscegenation statute. While we do not yet have a full account of the civil rights movement in the state, these facts are available in articles by myself and Roosevelt Fitzgerald in a 1987 edition of the *Nevada Public Affairs Review* devoted to *Ethnicity and Race in Nevada*.

Information about civil rights developments after 1953 might also have been included. Public accommodations bills were introduced in 1955 and 1957, before the serious efforts led by Governor Grant Sawyer began in 1959. Also, a state court ruled in 1958 that the miscegenation statute remaining from the 19th century was unconstitutional, and the 1959 Legislature repealed it. The 1959 and 1960 Legislatures repealed other racist legislation remaining from the 19th century and enacted laws barring discrimination in public employment, by contractors for state and local governments, and in apprenticeship programs. Information about these laws is available in other articles, by myself and Phil Earl, in the *Public Affairs Review* noted above.

The point made by Dr. Titus in her article, that the Nevada Legislature had not enacted significant civil rights legislation by 1964, when Senator Cannon cast his probably crucial vote to invoke cloture so that the national civil rights bill could be voted upon, is of course valid. It is also true that Senator Cannon is to be commended for this vote, since there is little reason to believe that very many of his constituents were demanding it.

Finally, there is a minor error on page 19 of the article. After reporting on the threatened march on the Strip in 1960 to protest public accommodations discrimination by the casino industry, she says that "the city [of Las Vegas] ordered

integration of all public places within municipal borders." This is incorrect. In the aftermath of this dispute a Human Relations Commission without enforcement authority was established, but to this day Las Vegas has not legislated against racial discrimination in this area. The end to public accommodations discrimination by most casinos in Las Vegas was brought about by direct negotiations between NAACP leaders and the industry, not by any policy stance taken by the City, and by the 1965 Civil Rights Act.

Elmer R. Rusco
Department of Political Science
University of Nevada, Reno

Editor:

I would like to comment about a paper in the Spring edition of the *Quarterly*, "Whose Land Is It? The Battle for the Great Basin National Park, 1957–1967" by Gary E. Elliot.

In it the author is very abusive to ranchers. I hope in the interest of fairness you print an article from the ranchers' point of view. It seems that we only hear things critical of ranchers, and no one prints anything supporting them.

R. R. Shattuck
Grass Valley, CA

NEW RESOURCE MATERIALS

Nevada Historical Society

Lew Hymers Drawings

Between the world wars, Lewis A. ("Lew") Hymers was the most successful and best-known graphic artist in Nevada. Born in Reno in 1892, he received his professional training in this country and in Europe, and then worked for the *Washington Post* and for Walt Disney before becoming a free-lance commercial artist in his native city. For three decades before he left Nevada in the late 1940s, Hymers's drawings in newspapers, magazines, books and advertising publications seemed ubiquitous. His pen and ink caricatures of prominent Nevadans appeared regularly in the *Reno Evening Gazette* under the title "Seen About Town." Probably more than that of any other artist or illustrator of the time, his work reflected the life and spirit of Nevada, and especially of Reno, when it was the "Divorce Capital" of the nation.

With funds from the Jacobsen Western Americana Fund of the Jacobsen Trust of the Nevada State Museum, the Society has acquired a group of thirty-one original illustrations and cartoon features done by Hymers for *The Nevada Magazine,* which was published in Carson Valley from 1945 to 1949. Accompanying these are a scrapbook catalog of "stock cuts" from the Cartoon Shop of Lewis Hymers, as well as a printed edition of the catalog issued in 1947.

We wish to thank Pauline and Flip Brandi for making this collection of works by an important Nevada artist available to us.

Margaret E. Clayton Papers

Two early Nevada families are brought to life in a collection of several dozen letters now available to researchers. The papers of Margaret Elizabeth Prentice Clayton include correspondence with her husband, Warren S. Clayton, a carpenter who temporarily left "Maggie" and their children behind in Dayton when he joined the rush to White Pine in 1868; letters from Eliza Ann Prentice Buckland (Maggie's sister) at Buckland's Ranch, which her husband Samuel established on the Carson River in the 1850s; and correspondence between Maggie and other Clayton and Buckland family members.

Ranging from 1866 to 1884, the colorful letters contain information on family life and finances, descriptions of activity in Hamilton, Cherry Creek (where Warren Clayton became justice of the peace), Dayton and the Fort Churchill

One of the pieces in the new Lew Hymers collection. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

area, and comment on the Virginia City fire of 1875, health matters (a blind man's home remedy for diphtheria is related), and politics ("What," Eliza retorts when Clayton asks her what she thinks about one of the 1876 presidential candidates, "dose (sic) a woman's opinion amount to any how in anything where she is not allowed a voice?"). The correspondence concludes in 1884 with a letter to Maggie from George Buckland, Eliza's son, informing her of her sister's death.

The Clayton papers, with their candid and often outspoken comments among family members concerning both private and public matters, constitute a notable addition to the original source materials we have pertaining to nineteenth–century Nevada society.

Davis-Hanna Collection

The Society has received a substantial number of documents relating to the activities of prominent individuals in the Austin, Nevada, area in the 1860s and early 1870s. Chief among these early central Nevadans are Edwin S. Davis, a surveyor and Lander County recorder, and Samuel Hanna, a businessman and rancher at Big Creek, about fourteen miles southwest of Austin.

The Davis material describes his activities as county recorder, his participation (surveying, mapping, grading streets, selling lots) in the development of Geneva, a short-lived boomtown near Austin which was platted in 1863, and his involvement with local mining enterprises, such as the Smokey Valley Gold and Silver Mining Company. Samuel Hanna's papers include correspondence with family members, notably his brother William in California, financial and legal records pertaining to the Silver Age House, a saloon and possibly lodging house he owned at Big Creek, and his Silver Age (Ledge?) Ranch at the same place.

As a whole, the collection provides useful information on the early years of Austin and some of its satellite communities, as well as additional details about the career of Edwin Davis, who left Austin as it began to fade and became U.S. Surveyor General for Nevada.

Eric N. Moody
Manuscript Curator

University of Nevada, Reno

The Special Collections Department has recently acquired a three–volume typescript diary of Josephine C. Scott entitled "A Thousand Miles of Desert and Mountains: A Prospecting Trip Across Nevada and the Sierra." Josephine and her husband George R. (1858–) spent the months between March 14 and Sept. 9, 1914 prospecting with horse and wagon in southern and western Nevada and eastern California. In these volumes Scott describes people encountered, mining and road conditions, towns in which they spent time (Las Vegas, Goldfield, Aurora, and Bridgeport), incidents of travel, and stories of local sites. The Scotts concluded their trip by way of the Walker River and a strenuous trip up Sonora Pass, arriving back in their Orangevale, California home in the fall. Pasted on the verso of each page are photographs taken by the Scotts of people and places, advertisements for mining equipment and supplies, labels from food cans and

packages (they dined frequently on canned salmon), railroad schedules, and newspaper clippings.

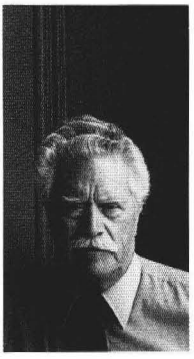
Robert E. Kendall has donated his manuscripts and original maps pertaining to the North End Mines of the Comstock Lode, archival records of several Comstock mining companies, and a number of books pertaining to mining in Nevada. Kendall is a graduate of the Mackay School of Mines and son of Zeb Kendall, who at one time ran the North End Mines. The archival records which Mr. Kendall donated complement his earlier gift of mining records, and include annual reports of the Consolidated Virginia, Ophir Silver Mining, Mexican Gold and Silver Mining, Union Consolidated, Sierra Nevada, and Crown Point Mining Companies. The manuscripts and maps provide a detailed historical and geological overview of the Comstock Lode; their titles are "Study of the Handing-Wall Vein System of the North End of the Comstock Lode," (1948), and "Exploration Opportunities of the North End of Comstock Lode," (1968). The maps which accompany the manuscripts were compiled by Mr. Kendall from information gathered in a detailed study of mining company records.

Readers of this column may recall an earlier acquisition this year of the architectural drawings of Graham Erskine. This Department is happy to announce that the collection has been arranged and indexed and is now fully accessible to researchers. Complementing the Erskine collection is a recently completed transcript of an interview of Erskine by Richard Adkins on behalf of the Nevada Division of Historic Preservation and Archeology. Adkins's interview focuses on Erskine's role in the creation of a state licensing act for architects in Nevada and the practical implications of that act in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Among a number of smaller collections received this year are the John Newton Evans papers, donated by Fred Holabird. Evans, 1835–1903, arrived in Nevada in 1859 and developed several ranches, including one on the Humboldt River and one in north Reno (part of which became the campus of the University of Nevada, Reno). Evans served as president of the regents of the university and was a director of the Bank of Nevada and Farmers and Merchants' Bank. He was married to Elizabeth Metcalf in 1877; they had six children. In this collection of letters J. N. discusses his cattle business and mentions Dr. Joseph Stubbs, university president. There are also letters from Elizabeth to J. N. and to daughter Mary Elizabeth in which she comments on family news.

Susan Searcy
Manuscript Curator

IN MEMORIAM



Wilbur S. Shepperson (*University of Nevada Press photo*)

Wilbur S. Shepperson
(1919–1991)

For forty years Professor Shepperson was a dynamic member of the History Department at the University of Nevada, Reno and chairman of the department for twenty years. He died at his home in Reno, Saturday, September 21, 1991. Born in Scotland County, Missouri, "Shep," as he was known to colleagues, did his undergraduate work at Northeast Missouri State College in Kirksville and graduate work in history at the University of Denver (M.A.) and Ph.D. at Western Reserve University in Ohio. Other graduate work included the Johns Hopkins University, the University of London, and the London School of Economics. Originally a student of British immigration history, Dr. Shepperson continued this interest in his studies of immigration history in Nevada with his well-received book *Restless Strangers, Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (1970). Prior to this, he authored *Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I* in 1966, published by the University of Nevada Press, which he was instrumental in establishing in 1960. He was one of the founders of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, and it was through his efforts that the *Quarterly* became a professional, scholarly journal.

He was a committed member of the Board of Trustees of the Nevada Department of Museums and History and occasionally editor of the *Quarterly* as well as a frequent contributor in the form of articles, book reviews, and essays. In addition Dr. Shepperson was a tireless worker for the Nevada Humanities Committee since its beginning in the state in 1971. He chaired the Committee from time to time and founded *Halcyon, A Journal of the Humanities* under its auspices.

The university made him the first professor to hold the Grace A. Griffen Chair in history in 1987, and he was the first recipient of the Distinguished Faculty Award given by the university in the spring of 1991.

Recently Dr. Shepperson edited a number of essays collected and published under the title: *East of Eden, West of Zion: Essays on Nevada.* In the last year of his life he raced against time and illness to complete his final effort on the state entitled *Mirage-Land: Images of Nevada* to be published in 1992 by the University of Nevada Press. Throughout his life Dr. Shepperson believed that individual effort and commitment could make the difference between stagnation in human institutions and successful achievement in the world. For the institutions of Nevada's academic humanist community and its historical scholarship community, Dr. Shepperson's life made that difference for four decades.

William D. Rowley
Editor
Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

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(Signed) Peter L. Bandurraga, Director