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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly

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ON THE ROAD TO VIET NAM
"The Loss of China Syndrome"
PAT McCARRAN AND
J. EDGAR HOOVER

Christopher Gerard

On September 28, 1954, shortly after delivering a stump speech urging Democratic party unity, Senator Patrick A. McCarran collapsed and died from a heart attack in Hawthorne, Nevada. An undisputed power in Nevada politics for nearly twenty years, McCarran first gained national prominence in the mid-1930s as a conservative, regional critic of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, and then as a powerful congressional opponent of Harry S. Truman's administration. During the early 1950s, in fact, McCarran eclipsed the more notorious Joseph McCarthy as the United States Senate's most effective anticommunist. As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and its Internal Security Subcommittee, McCarran directed congressional inquiries into alleged communist influence in American life and left an indelible imprint on three of the era's most important pieces of antisubversive legislation: the Internal Security Act of 1950, the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, and the Communist Control Act of 1954. In subsequent memorials in Nevada and Washington, D.C., McCarran's colleagues, including senators Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson, lauded the senator and acknowledged his uncompromising anticommunist zeal. McCarthy, whose censure by the Senate McCarran had openly opposed only days before, was particularly emotional, observing that McCarran "did not compromise with wrong nor waver on a principle." J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and guardian of the nation's internal security, privately acknowledged the loss to McCarran's widow, eulogizing the senator's career as "a living inspiration to those dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life."[1]

Christopher Gerard completed his Ph.D. in history at Marquette University in 1993. The title of his dissertation was "A Program of Cooperation: The FBI, the SISS and the Communist Issue, 1951–1956." The author wishes to thank Athan Theoharis, Robert Newman, and the staffs of the Special Collections Department of the Getchell Library at the University of Nevada and the National Archives's Center for Legislative Archives. Research for this article was funded in part by generous grants from the Cyril E. Smith and Arthur J. Schmitt Fellowships of Marquette University.

Unknown to the mourners—and to later historians and other researchers as well—Hoover had an especially good reason to regret McCarran's death. Recently released FBI documents now reveal that Hoover secretly aided McCarran's campaign to alert Americans to the dangers of Cold War domestic radicalism. Since the 1940s, Hoover carefully cultivated ties with congressional conservatives whose powers of oversight and appropriations might adversely affect the FBI. Among these conservatives was Patrick McCarran, chairman of the Senate Judiciary and Appropriations committees since 1949. McCarran had enjoyed a close personal friendship with Hoover since 1940, when the senator offered to defend the director against the attacks of liberal critics, including Nebraska's Senator George Norris, an adversary of the bureau's investigative techniques and of Hoover's tenure since the 1920s. Responding in early 1940 on the Senate floor to the FBI's controversial arrest of radical recruiters for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Norris had pointedly described Hoover as "the greatest publicity hound on the American continent," whose agency threatened American civil liberties. An indignant Hoover privately labelled the criticisms part of a conspiratorial smear campaign. Repulsed by Norris's attacks, McCarran contacted the FBI in May 1940 and informed a Hoover aide that the FBI director had "some friends in the Senate who would like to defend his organization." McCarran was supplied with information for this purpose, but FBI and other records do not indicate what information he was given or how it was used.[2]

An influential senator in the 1940s, in 1950, McCarran emerged as the Truman administration's most formidable critic of its internal security policies. Responding that year to popular fears generated by Senator McCarthy's charges of communist infiltration at the State Department and by the onset of the Korean War, McCarran forged a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that in September decisively overrode President Harry S. Truman's veto of the omnibus McCarran Internal Security Act. The main features of the act authorized the federal government to require that the Communist Party and its allied front organizations register with a specially created Subversive Activities Control Board, and empowered the president to detain domestic radicals during a "national emergency." In November, McCarran joined other Judiciary Committee members in creating a special Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) to monitor the president's compliance with the act. Moreover, when Truman proposed a commission on internal security in January 1951 to undercut the SISS's political impact, McCarran effectively blunted the effort. The so-called Nimitz Commission (named after its chairman, Chester W. Nimitz, former admiral of United States naval forces in World War II) died stillborn in October when, after months of White House bargaining, McCarran led a Judiciary Committee majority in denying routine exemptions to conflict-of-interest legislation for the commission's members and staff. Denying any political partisanship, McCarran accused Truman of "trying to throw a bomb" at the SISS, but the bomb, he smugly noted, was "merely a dud."[3]

"The Rats' Nest" by Ed Holland. *Washington Times-Herald,* 1951. (*Patrick McCarran Papers, Nevada Historical Society*)

McCarran's adept use of congressional power to ensure his SISS a free reign over the communist issue did not escape the attention of FBI officials. And recalling McCarran's past willingness to defend bureau interests, FBI Director Hoover marked the Nevadan as a key congressional ally in the battle against communism. While President Truman negotiated with McCarran over the Nimitz Commission in early 1951, Hoover began to explore the possibility of establishing a formal liaison program with the SISS. The proposed liaison was a further extension of the bureau's 1946 public education campaign, in which the FBI used conservatives in Congress, the media, and fraternal and business organizations to warn Americans of the dangers of domestic radicalism. In contrast to the FBI's covert assistance to other congressional allies, including the more notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) and Senator McCarthy, the FBI-SISS liaison program reflected the FBI director's unqualified confidence in McCarran's ability to serve the cause of anticommunism and to protect the confidentiality of FBI sources. Hoover identified with McCarran's

disdain for McCarthyite procedures, most notably HUAC's tendency to "brand the person as communist or subversive publicly and then get the evidence afterwards," and he approved of McCarran's extensive use of closed hearings and his prohibition of live radio and television coverage or photographs during committee proceedings. "A properly constituted congressional committee that properly observed the propriety of the situation," Hoover later reflected, could be of great assistance, and the SISS "had always conducted itself in the proper manner."[4]

The FBI director first raised the possibility of forging an FBI-SISS liaison relationship on March 7, 1951, during an off-the-record discussion with McCarran before the Senate Appropriations Committee. At that time, Hoover proposed that McCarran convene a more formal meeting of the Judiciary Committee at which "certain matters of parallel interest" might be discussed and committee members could have the full benefit of his views. McCarran took up Hoover's suggestion, and on March 15 Hoover and his superior, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, McCarran aide Julien Sourwine, and six senators, including McCarran, discussed the proposed liaison behind closed doors. During this meeting, McGrath endorsed the proposal, at the same time delegating complete responsibility for resolution of its details to the FBI director. The attorney general required only that he be kept informed of all written and oral information that the FBI would provide the SISS. Hoover agreed, and recommended that Sourwine serve as the over-all policy liaison with the bureau, while Robert Morris, the former minority counsel for the Senate Tydings Committee, handle the details of the SISS's pending inquiry into the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). During Senator Joseph Tydings's hearings in 1950, Senator McCarthy and the so-called China Lobby (a loose coalition of politicians, businessmen, journalists, academics, and personal relatives of Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek) had labelled the IPR as "subversive."[5]

It remains unknown whether Attorney General McGrath informed President Truman and obtained his approval of the FBI-SISS liaison, as there are no records confirming that Truman had been briefed. The president may have concluded in early 1951 that, with the SISS already created, the proposed Nimitz Commission faced certain extinction at the hostile hands of McCarran's Judiciary Committee. Given that likelihood, Truman may have decided to contain whatever political damage the SISS might create by having McGrath monitor the liaison program. (The covert agreement specifically denied SISS access to government loyalty files, thus preventing McCarran from exploiting the communists-in-government issue as McCarthy had done in 1950.) On the other hand, McGrath may have concluded that the president was insufficiently vigilant on the communist issue and that a more aggressive program under his own supervision would awaken the public to the dangers of domestic radicalism.[6]

What is known is that in 1951, McCarran's SISS began forwarding hundreds of volumes of closed-session transcripts to FBI headquarters in Washington,

D.C. There the testimony was examined for purposes of updating or correcting bureau files regarding a witness's subversive activities and for determining whether a witness was reliable or had committed perjury. Extant bureau records document that the FBI found the transcripts, which are often later made public, to be of little value. McCarran also allowed FBI officials prepublication access to SISS reports to ensure that the reports were accurate and to prevent adverse comment on the FBI.

In return, through the SISS liaison McCarran received hundreds of blind memos (altered to conceal the identities of senders and receivers) detailing the radical politics of the specific individuals and organizations who became the subjects of SISS's investigative interest. Using this data, McCarran and the SISS launched a series of investigations during the 1951–53 period that probed alleged communist subversion within youth organizations, the State Department and other groups of Far Eastern policy specialists, radical labor unions, the educational system, the entertainment industry, and American and foreign nationals employed by the United Nations. Of these inquiries, however, it was the yearlong, highly publicized probe of the Institute of Pacific Relations that had the most lasting impact on the nation's postwar China policy debate. Seizing this opportunity, J. Edgar Hoover willing obliged his friend, the senior senator from Nevada.

Indeed, Hoover had originally welcomed the FBI-SISS liaison in order to expose the radical politics of IPR personnel. For this purpose, McCarran seemed a logical ally. Though a relative latecomer to the China issue, McCarran nevertheless embraced the Nationalist Chinese cause for ideological and personal reasons. A frequent speaker on the China Lobby circuit who enjoyed close ties to Chiang's family, McCarran joined his Republican colleagues in September 1948 in their calls for increased economic and military aid for the Nationalists. Unlike his partisan Republican colleagues, McCarran saw the China issue as symptomatic of Congress's unhealthy deference to the executive branch on foreign policy issues. Congress's failure to insist on substantial assistance for the Nationalists, he believed, had left a key Western ally vulnerable to communist aggression. Only a "Marshall Plan for the Far East" would deter Soviet expansion in the region, and the following year McCarran and fellow Democrat James Eastland sponsored a massive, $1.5 billion Chinese aid bill. When the Truman administration ignored these pleas, and the Chinese Communists drove the Nationalists from the mainland in 1949, McCarran concluded that Soviet intrigue involving State Department and other China policy specialists was to blame. The North Korean invasion in June 1950 and President Truman's controversial firing of General Douglas MacArthur the following April only confirmed McCarran's suspicions of Soviet subversion.[7]

Of special interest to both McCarran and the FBI were individuals associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations. This influential Far Eastern policy think tank had become an indispensable source of information on East Asia for aca-

demics and government policy makers during World War II. As the fortunes of the Chinese Nationalists declined, the IPR came under increasing fire from the China Lobby, which attacked the institute's analysts for their pessimistic assessments of the Chinese civil war and for their recommendations for a United States-Chinese Communist rapprochement. The attacks of the China Lobby escalated in 1949, following the collapse of the Nationalist regime, and reached a fever pitch in early 1950, when Senator McCarthy issued his dramatic if unproven charges that Far Eastern specialists in the government, some with links to the IPR, had engineered a sellout of China. After first trying to discredit McCarthy with a formal investigation, the Democrat-controlled Tydings Committee dismissed the Wisconsin senator's espionage charges in its final report, but the issue refused to die. Exploiting the political opportunity created by the outbreak of the Korean War, McCarran joined pro-Nationalist SISS members William Jenner and Howard Ferguson in calling for a thorough congressional investigation to document what one China Lobbyist called the Far Eastern conspiracy.[8]

J. Edgar Hoover's suspicions of the IPR predated those of the Nevada senator. Beginning in 1941, the bureau had periodically monitored the IPR after receiving accounts of pro-Japanese and Soviet espionage activity. The FBI's investigative interest intensified in 1949 when former-communist FBI informants described subversive activities by IPR personnel, including Owen Lattimore, an accomplished Far Eastern scholar and IPR officer and journal editor, and several Foreign Service personnel. Though the IPR had never been designated as subversive by the federal government, Hoover nevertheless was alarmed by these reports charging the group with radical tendencies.[9]

Hoover first assisted McCarran's committee in March 1951, when SISS investigators uncovered a huge (and supposedly secret) collection of IPR documents on a Massachusetts farm belonging to Edward C. Carter, a prominent IPR official. Overwhelmed by the sheer size of their discovery—the nearly 200,000 documents weighed more than six tons—McCarran and other SISS members were certain they had unearthed the proof for McCarthy's earlier espionage charges. The SISS, however, lacked the manpower and expertise to analyze their cache. Upon learning that IPR officials had granted the FBI formal access to the records a year before, McCarran sought the bureau's help, but FBI officials were cautious at first. Since FBI agents had examined the Carter documents only for evidence of criminal activity and for information relating to the loyalty of government employees, Hoover and other FBI officials feared that McCarran, concerned with broader political objectives, might publicize documents dismissed by the bureau. Hoover further cautioned McCarran that his agency had not conducted any analysis of the documents but had merely compiled summary digests identifying the writers and recipients, but not the contents, of the IPR correspondence. Nevertheless, Hoover instructed his aides to provide SISS with the summaries, realizing that this strategy would minimize the chance that the SISS

would publicize other IPR documents ignored by the bureau. Soon afterward, Robert Morris reported that the committee was "very much pleased" with the bureau's assistance, and when the SISS closed the IPR hearings the following year, Hoover was relieved that the committee had not publicly sought to embarrass his agency.[10]

The FBI summaries proved particularly useful to the SISS and were used by the staff first to question closely hostile witnesses, including Owen Lattimore, and then when compiling the subcommittee's final report on the IPR. The FBI officials also ensured that the SISS would expose the communist and pro-Soviet activities of Edward C. Carter and Frederick V. Field, the latter a leftist millionaire and IPR official who was active in raising funds for defendants convicted of violating the 1940 Smith Act. The bureau also helped McCarran link the IPR to various "communist-front" groups, processed name checks on specified IPR officials, and identified friendly sources and possible witnesses for testimony.[11]

Among the latter was Alfred Kohlberg, a millionaire textile importer and China Lobbyist who had personally campaigned against communist influence in the IPR since the early 1940s. Kohlberg provided valuable aid to the committee, suggesting friendly witnesses and lines of inquiry for SISS staff. The FBI also offered help from Louis Budenz, the former communist and professional informant who had first supported McCarthy's charges against Owen Lattimore before the Tydings Committee in 1950. Budenz helped the committee identify the IPR officials whose names appeared in the documents seized from Carter's farm. Later, in public SISS testimony, he portrayed the IPR as "a captive agency completely under the control of the Communist party" that had guided America's China policy in favor of the Soviets and Chinese Communists.[12]

Budenz's testimony became the centerpiece for the McCarran subcommittee's IPR report in July 1952. Citing the evidence obtained from the Carter farm and other sources, the SISS announced it had uncovered a broad conspiracy of procommunists within the IPR that had corrupted America's China policy. The report claimed that Owen Lattimore had been "a conscious, active, and articulate agent of the Soviet conspiracy" and had perjured himself before the SISS.[13]

J. Edgar Hoover was equally enthusiastic. When McCarran provided the FBI director with an autographed copy of the report, Hoover announced his pleasure that the SISS had finally exposed "the left-wing element" in the IPR. Hoover lauded the work of McCarran and his staff as "a perfect illustration of what can be accomplished through cooperation and proper timing." Commenting on the contrast to the partisan wrangling that marked the Tydings investigation, Hoover commended the high tone that McCarran had set with the IPR hearings and said he hoped the committee would follow its chairman's "wise and vigorous leadership for many years to come."[14]

Hoover's praise encouraged McCarran. Convinced that he had proven McCarthy's earlier claim that Lattimore was "a top Soviet spy," McCarran pressured the Justice Department to prosecute Lattimore for perjury. The SISS chair-

man was infuriated by Lattimore's twelve days of highly publicized and contentious testimony. During his appearance, the longest of any congressional witness, Lattimore repeatedly challenged the committee's authority and procedures, including the biased treatment of witnesses and the questionable fairness of the SISS chairman. (Months before the confrontation, Lattimore reminded the committee, McCarran had already told the conservative *U.S. News and World Report* that the IPR was "communist-infiltrated and controlled.") In another instance, Lattimore accused Robert Morris of suppressing evidence from the earlier Tydings Committee hearings and its report that had discredited Louis Budenz's charges against Lattimore. For his part, McCarran joined SISS members and staff in pointedly challenging Lattimore's fifty-page opening statement, at times sentence by sentence, for three days. Abandoning this strategy, the committee then shifted its focus to examine Lattimore with questions based in part on the information derived from the FBI summaries of the Carter documents. Lattimore's faulty responses with regard to obscure events in the 1930s and 1940s provided the details for the subsequent perjury charges.[15]

McCarran's zeal for a perjury prosecution, however, was not shared by leading Justice Department officials, who, according to rumor, had doubts about the case. When President Truman fired Attorney General McGrath for failing to investigate federal corruption, and nominated federal judge James P. McGranery as his successor in April 1952, McCarran decided, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to withhold his support until McGranery pledged devotion to the Lattimore case. McCarran held personal reservations about McGranery, whom he described to one FBI official as a shallow, "unpredictable Irishman"; he also anticipated strong opposition from Judiciary Committee Republicans, who were sure to attack McGranery's personal character and judicial record. Privately, McCarran concurred with these critics, agreeing that McGranery, as a subordinate to Attorney General Tom Clark, had "sold the FBI down the river" in the controversial *Amerasia* case.[16] FBI officials, however, reassured McCarran of the nominee's friendship with J. Edgar Hoover and of McGranery's peripheral role in prosecuting the *Amerasia* defendants. Conceding that the nomination was the best that could be expected, McCarran nevertheless concluded that the matter would require his patient handling.[17]

That patience was quickly tested during the Senate hearings and floor debate. In response to McGranery's apparently evasive and flippant answers during confirmation hearings, Senator Homer Ferguson led a Republican minority against the nomination. Ferguson raised hard questions about McGranery's personal integrity and competence as a federal judge and charged that McGranery had lied in describing his role in the *Amerasia* affair. McCarran deftly turned back Ferguson's attack by first closely questioning McGranery as to his rumored indifference to the Lattimore prosecution. McGranery repeatedly denied the allegations. Thus satisfied, McCarran then challenged the personal motives of hostile witnesses and defended the nominee's record as a federal judge. As for

Amerasia, McCarran brushed aside Ferguson's charges, noting that, minor inconsistencies aside, both McGranery and his Justice Department superior had recommended placing the case before a grand jury. McCarran's efforts succeeded, and on May 20, 1952, the Senate approved the nomination, 52-18. McCarran later confessed to FBI Assistant Director Louis B. Nichols that the McGranery affair had been the most difficult matter he had ever handled in the Senate, and that his efforts "had saved [McGranery's] life." Nichols agreed, and hoped McGranery would repay McCarran for his critical support.[18]

Despite McGranery's testimony, one month later McCarran again found reason to doubt the Justice Department's zeal to seek Lattimore's indictment. In June 1952, McCarran learned that Edward Hummer, a department lawyer and former FBI agent, was skeptical as to taking legal action against the Asian scholar, fearing such a strategy would place Lattimore "on a pedestal and make him a martyr." Hummer's FBI superiors, however, quickly refuted him (and he later recommended prosecution and successfully argued the government's case before a grand jury), but McCarran remained unconvinced. He persuaded the attorney general to send Roy Cohn to Washington to serve as McCarran's personal agent in order to ensure Lattimore's indictment. (Cohn had caught McCarran's eye by conducting his own controversial grand jury investigation of subversive American employees at the United Nations in New York.) Cohn recommended a perjury prosecution, and in December Justice Department and FBI officials agreed on a seven-count indictment, alleging that Lattimore had sympathized with or promoted communism or communist interests and had lied before the McCarran committee to conceal his subversive beliefs.[19]

McGranery was not the only attorney general from whom McCarran demanded devotion to the Lattimore affair. In early 1953, in his last days as Judiciary Committee chairman, McCarran remained wary of continuing Hummer as Lattimore's prosecutor. During confirmation hearings for Herbert Brownell, Jr., McGranery's successor, McCarran again pointedly questioned the nominee, who promised to exercise "the greatest care" in selecting a prosecutor for the case. McCarran was rewarded when Brownell replaced Hummer with Leo Rover, a former United States attorney for the District of Columbia, who favored prosecuting Lattimore.[20]

Although Rover's appointment ensured a vigorous prosecution of the Lattimore case, it did not guarantee a conviction. In May 1953 federal district judge Luther Youngdahl, a recent Truman appointee, dismissed four counts of the indictment on constitutional grounds and demanded additional evidence for the remainder. In rejecting the crucial first count as "fatally defective," Youngdahl chided the government for demanding that a jury probe Lattimore's mind to speculate about his unorthodox politics. His ruling was largely sustained on appeal the following year. Undeterred, Rover adopted a two-pronged strategy. First, he fashioned a new, more clearly defined two-count indictment that claimed Lattimore had been "a follower of the Communist line" and "a pro-

moter of Communist interests." Then, hoping to increase his chance of success, the enterprising Rover filed an affidavit of bias and prejudice against Youngdahl.

Both actions, however, met with defeat. In October 1954 a clearly enraged Youngdahl dismissed the bias action as a clear attempt to discredit and intimidate his court. Then, in January 1955, Youngdahl dismissed the new perjury indictments, again focusing on constitutional issues raised by the vagueness of the charges. Six months later, Youngdahl's rulings were again sustained by the United States Court of Appeals. Recognizing the futility of further action, Attorney General Brownell dropped the case.[21]

Though Lattimore was vindicated by Youngdahl's rulings, his academic career was crippled by the McCarran hearings and the perjury indictments. University trustees allowed him to retain his job at Johns Hopkins but prevented him from teaching any classes. He was largely ostracized from American academic circles, and his scholarly productivity suffered. Nevertheless, Lattimore found the Mc-

"Listen to 'em yell" by Ed Holland. *Washington Times-Herald*, 1951. (*Patrick McCarran Papers, Nevada Historical Society*)

Carran-inspired indictments served as "an international passport" for lecture tours in Europe, and when he became eligible for retirement in 1962, he leaped at an offer from Leeds University to establish a department of Chinese, and later Mongol, studies. Retiring from Leeds in 1970, he spent most of the decade travelling in the United States, Asia, and Europe.[22]

McCarran's hearings also blighted the careers of three talented Foreign Service officers. The first was John Paton Davies, Jr., who the SISS claimed had plotted to infiltrate the government with communist sympathizers. (The "plot" was in fact an aborted government plan to recruit individuals with known contacts to the Chinese Communists for intelligence purposes.) Davies refused to testify on the matter before SISS and the committee recommended perjury action, but the Justice Department dropped the matter. By 1954 Davies had passed no fewer than nine loyalty-security investigations but was nevertheless dismissed by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as a "security risk." In 1969 he was finally rehabilitated when he received a security clearance to work on an arms-control and disarmament research project sponsored by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.[23]

John Stewart Service, another China Lobby target, was labelled by several SISS-friendly witnesses as "pro-communist" because of his dissident reports on the Chinese Nationalists and his ties to the *Amerasia* affair. Cleared in seven loyalty investigations, he was dismissed by Secretary of State Dean Acheson after an adverse ruling by the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board in December 1951. Undaunted, Service worked for five and a half years in a New York steam-valve factory, during which he successfully appealed the loyalty ruling and his dismissal. Though reinstated in July 1957, he never reacquired a full security clearance and chose an early retirement at age fifty-three. He later earned a master's degree and became curator at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, but he was shunned as a controversial figure by the State Department.[24]

John Carter Vincent, who the SISS had claimed was the source of IPR influence in the State Department, faced formal charges and a closed State Department Loyalty Security Board hearing in 1952. The board's favorable ruling was overturned by the Civil Service Commission, but a reluctant Secretary of State Acheson appointed a special committee of legal and diplomatic experts to decide the matter. In January 1953, Secretary of State Dulles dismissed Acheson's group and personally reviewed the case. In the absence of any evidence of disloyalty or security risk, Dulles offered the fifty-two-year-old Vincent a forced retirement that preserved his pension benefits. Vincent briefly earned a modest income commenting on world affairs but soon lost his speaking contract when his employers feared the notoriety of his views on Far Eastern affairs.[25]

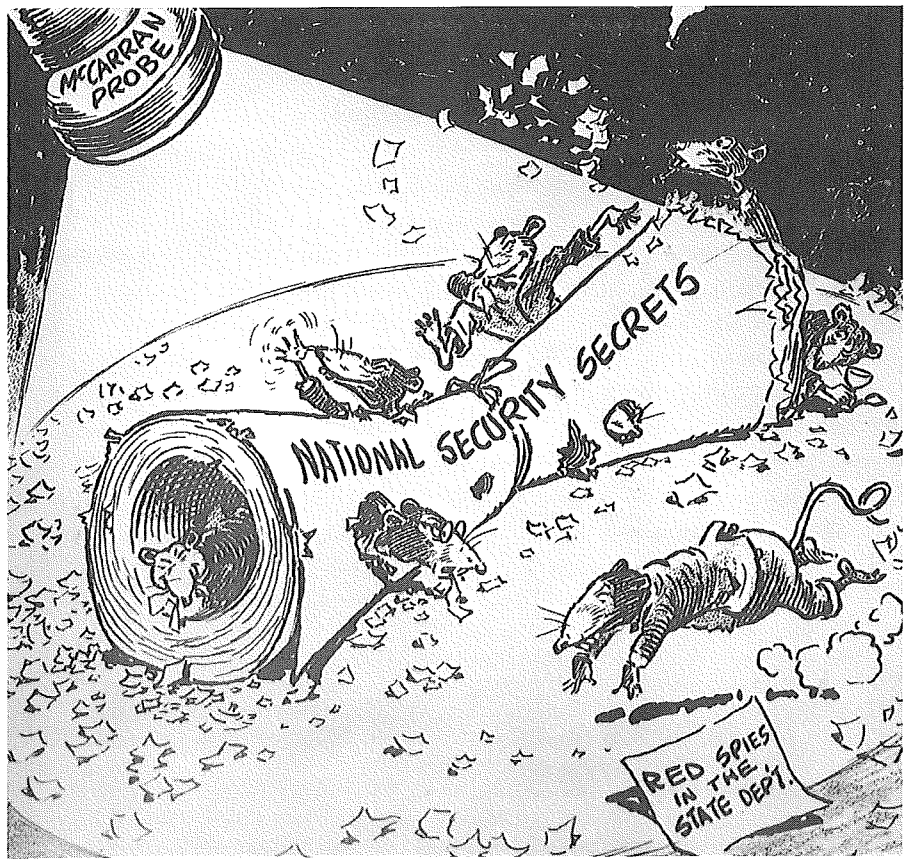
Nor did the IPR itself escape the consequences of McCarran's Far Eastern inquisition. The SISS hearings and their aftermath further weakened the group's corporate financial base, which had begun to erode in the late 1940s after attacks

by China Lobbyists in Congress and the media. The McCarran hearings added to the group's notoriety, hampering its membership recruitment and fostering crucial defections over the communist issue by IPR chapters in Hawaii and on the West Coast. In May 1955, Senator Eastland, McCarran's successor at SISS, prevailed upon his personal friend, T. Coleman Andrews, commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), to revoke the IPR's tax-exempt status. Acting solely on Eastland's advice, Andrews claimed that the IPR, under the guise of an educational institution, had disseminated "propaganda" and had attempted to influence government officials. The organization quickly filed a civil suit in a New York federal district court, hoping to stem the loss of tax-deductible donations from corporate contributors and set a precedent for educational organizations involved in similar controversies.

As in the Lattimore perjury indictments, there was little substance to the IRS charges. Desperate attempts by Justice Department attorneys to obtain FBI assistance yielded no useful information, and the government was forced to rely solely on the McCarran committee's 1952 report on the IPR. In court, attorneys for the Justice Department argued that there had been "no change" in the IPR's subversive character since 1955. In March 1960, federal Judge Daniel Edelstein overturned Andrew's ruling, noting that the government had failed to offer "a shadow of a scintilla of evidence" in support of its case. The victory was a Pyrrhic one, however, for the institute's notoriety, coupled with the five-year stigma of the IRS tax action, had devastated the group's membership roll and financial base. Facing dissolution, that year IPR officials moved their base of operations to the University of Vancouver in British Columbia. The IPR's controversial New York chapter fared less well, finding no new home for its activities save the University of California at Berkeley, which took over publishing an IPR journal.[26]

Despite his personal conviction that the Soviet Union had secretly corrupted the nation's China policy, and even with substantial assistance from the FBI, Pat McCarran never uncovered a "Far Eastern conspiracy." His year-long focus on the supposed disloyalty of IPR personnel precluded a more useful (if perhaps belated) analysis of the nation's foreign-policy options in the aftermath of the Chinese civil war and the North Korean invasion. Equally important, McCarran's concern with identifying IPR officials supposed to have engineered the "loss" of China obscured his own more substantive criticisms of the growing power of the executive branch, and especially that of the presidency, in charting the nation's foreign policy during the critical early years of the Cold War. Few of McCarran's colleagues, however, were willing to demand a greater congressional role (and thus shoulder greater responsibility) in determining the nation's foreign policy. Most, like McCarran himself, were content with the more modest strategy that used public investigation to reassert congressional authority in matters of foreign policy.

Ironically, the IPR hearings so lauded by J. Edgar Hoover set in motion events



"The Giant and the Pygmies" by Ed Holland. *Washington Times-Herald*, 1951. (*Patrick McCarran Papers, Nevada Historical Society*)

that diminished Pat McCarran's institutional power base and dramatically altered the FBI-SISS relationship. Adopting the "loss of China" as a key campaign issue in 1952, the Republicans captured the White House and congressional majorities that year. These shifting political tides caused McCarran to lose his Judiciary Committee chairmanship to Republican William Langer, who in turn chose William Jenner, a Midwest isolationist and ardent McCarthyite, to chair the SISS. Langer's choice of Jenner proved fateful, for the Indiana senator's reckless exploitation of the communists-in-government issue, coupled with his open boasts of the SISS ties to the FBI, forced Hoover to limit carefully and finally terminate the liaison arrangement in 1954.

Nevertheless, these events did not lessen McCarran's impact on the China debate. By equating dissent with disloyalty and by insisting that the Far East was as essential to the nation's internal security as Western Europe, McCarran contributed to what one scholar has called "the loss of China syndrome."[27] This phenomenon fostered low morale and encouraged conformity within the State

Department and the federal government generally well into the 1960s. Foreign service officers and other Asian specialists who might have questioned their country's containment policy in Asia took their cues from the experience of Lattimore, Service, Davies, and Vincent, whose damaged careers symbolized the peril of valuing accuracy and initiative over political orthodoxy. Similarly, the China issue has forced American presidents since 1952 to pursue strident anticommunist policies in Southeast Asia and Latin America in order to avoid congressional charges that they were "soft on communism." It was precisely the fear of a "who lost Vietnam" debate that conditioned President Lyndon Johnson's escalation of the Vietnamese war. So persistent was McCarran's China legacy that it took until 1971 for President Richard Nixon, no stranger to the China debate, to pursue reconciliation with the Chinese Communist regime. Many contemporary observers hailed Nixon for his shrewd world statesmanship, overlooking the fact that in his 1950 Senate campaign Nixon, much like the senior senator from Nevada, had openly courted the China Lobby and assailed the Truman administration with charges of surrendering Asia to the communists.

NOTES

[1]*Reno Evening Gazette* and *Nevada State Journal* (both 19 September 1954), p. 1; *New York Times* (29 September 1954), p. 1, (30 September 1954), p. 31, (3 October 1954), p. 87, (10 November 1954), p. 23; Telegram, J. Edgar Hoover to Mrs. Patrick McCarran, 29 August 1954, Patrick A. McCarran Papers, Box 61 (1954), Nevada Historical Society, Reno.

[2]*Congressional Record* (hereafter cited *CR*), 3rd sess., (26 February 1940), 1980–82, (7 May 1940), 5642–64, (both in vol. 86, pt. 5); Athan G. Theoharis and John Stuart Cox, *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 158–67.

[3]Internal Security Act of 1950, *Statutes at Large*, 987–1031; Presidential Veto Message, 20 September 1950, Official File, Box 116, File 2750–C (Internal Security Legislation), Harry S. Truman Library, Independence Missouri; *CR*, 81st Cong., 2d sess., (30 November 1950), 15965–66, (11 December 1950), 16382, (21 December 1950), 16872 (all in vol. 96, pt. 18); *New York Times* (3 October 1951), p. 4, (28 October 1951), p. 1.

[4]*New York Times* (19 August 1951), sec. IV, p. 7; Memo, FBI Director to Clyde Tolson, D. M. Ladd, and Louis Nichols, 25 November 1952, FBI 62–88217–854. National Archives and Records Service, Washington D.C. (hereafter cited as NARS).

[5]Memo, FBI Director to Clyde Tolson, D. M. Ladd, and Louis Nichols, 25 November 1952, FBI 62–88217–854; Memo, Nichols to Tolson, 9 March 1951, FBI 62–88217–23x; Memo, FBI Director to Attorney General James P. McGranery, 15 July 1952, FBI 62–88217–356; Memo, Attorney General McGrath to FBI Director, 26 June 1951, FBI 62–88217–355.

[6]Memo, Nichols to Tolson, 21 March 1951, FBI 62–88217–24; Letter, George M. Elsey to author, 20 February 1991; Letter, Kenneth M. Hechler to author, 25 February 1991.

[7]Von Veron Pittman, Jr., "Senator Patrick A. McCarran and the Politics of Containment" (Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1979), 176–96.

[8]Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 74–101.

[9]Memo, D. M. Ladd to the Director, 10 April 1950, FBI 100–64700–171; Memo, Ladd to the Director, 6 March 1951, FBI 100–64700–735.

[10]Memo, D. M. Ladd to the Director, 10 March 1951, FBI 100–64700–705; Field Office Report, New York, IPR: AIPR Inc., Espionage-R, 20 July 1950, FBI 100–64700–490; Memo, Nichols to Tolson, 13 February 1951, FBI 100–64700–639; Memo, Nichols to Tolson, 6 April 1951, FBI 100–64700–727.

[11]Memo, Laughlin to Belmont, 9 April 1951, FBI 100–64700–769; Memo, Laughlin to Ladd, 17 August 1951, FBI 62–88217–NR; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Institute of Pacific Relations: Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws* (hereafter cited *SISS-IPR Hearings*), 82nd Cong., 2d sess., 5–180; Memo, Nichols to Belmont, 12 May 1951, FBI 100–64700–795; Memo, Laughlin to Ladd, 21 August 1951, FBI 62–88217–209; Memo, FBI Director to McGrath, 26 June 1951, FBI 62–88217–89; List (undated), "Interlocking between IPR and CDFEP, Box 2, Alfred Kohlberg folder, Records of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, 1951–77, Special Collections, Institute of Pacific Relations, Investigative Subject Files, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited SISS-IPR Papers, NARA); Memo, Belmont to Ladd, 10 October 1951, FBI 62–88217–NR; Blind Memo, 10 October 1951, FBI 62–88217–NR.

[12]Letter, Alfred Kohlberg to Senator McCarran, 28 March 1952; Letter, Robert Morris to Alfred Kohlberg, 1 March 1951; Letters, Morris to Kohlberg, 10 May, 14 and 28 March, 23 October, 6 and 24 September, 15 August 1951; and Letters, Benjamin Mandel to Kohlberg, 4 and 12 April 1951 (all in Box 2, Alfred Kohlberg folder, SISS-IPR Papers, NARA); Memo, Belmont to Ladd, 13 April 1950, FBI 100–64700–260; SISS Memo, 20 March 1951, Box 5, Louis Budenz folder, SISS-IPR Papers, NARA; and *SISS-IPR Hearings*, 516–18, 521–23, 550, 553–55, 1084–85, 1097.

[13]U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, *Senate Report 2050: Institute of Pacific Relations*, 82nd Cong., 2d sess., 2 July 1952, 223–26.

[14]Letter, Hoover to McCarran, 14 July 1952, FBI 100–64700–1094.

[15]*SISS-IPR Hearings*, 2923, 2926–28, 2931–42, 2948–50, 2955, 2988, 3037–38; "Communist Threat inside the U.S.," *U.S. News and World Report* 31 (16 November 1951), 24; Robert Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 365–79.

[16]In 1945, after learning that certain individuals had illegally obtained classified government documents, FBI agents arrested Philip Jaffe, editor of *Amerasia*, a Far Eastern periodical, and five others on espionage charges. Lacking incriminating evidence (despite unauthorized FBI break-ins, buggings, and wiretaps), the Justice Department indicted three defendants on charges of unauthorized possession of government documents. Fearing disclosure of the FBI's illegal investigative activities, government lawyers negotiated nominal fines in exchange for guilty pleas for two defendants and dropped charges against the third. Conservative journalists and congressmen later claimed President Truman had instructed McGranery to whitewash a sensational case of espionage.

[17]Memo, Nichols to Tolson, 11 April 1952, Louis Nichols Official and Confidential File.

[18]U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Nomination of James P. McGranery to be Attorney General*, 82nd Cong., 2d sess., 8–9, 25, 49–50, 56, 64, 78, 84, 90, 132, 166–67; *CR*, 82nd Cong., 2d sess., vol. 98, pt. 4 (20 May 1952), 5544–54; Memos, Nichols to Tolson, 10 and 12 May 1952, Louis B. Nichols Official and Confidential File, NARS.

[19]Brian Gilbert, "New Light on the Lattimore Case," *New Republic*, 131 (27 December 1954), 10–11.

[20]U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General-Designate*, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 19 January 1953, 4–5.

[21]United States v. Lattimore, (1955) 112 F. Supp. 515–20; United States v. Lattimore, (1955) 127 F. Supp. 405–13; United States v. Lattimore (1955) 232 F. 2d 334.

[22]Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*, 437–38, 485, 495–96, 509–11; *New York Times* (6 March 1972), p. 32, (23 March 1972), p. 42.

[23]Letter, Robert Morris to Jay Sourwine, 7 November 1951, Box 3, Folder 54 (Julien G. Sourwine), Eva B. Adams Collection, Special Collections, Getchell Library, University of Nevada, Reno; *SISS-IPR Hearings*, 2751–71, 5443–48, 5470–83; E. J. Kahn, Jr., *The China Hands: American's Foreign Service Officers and What Befell Them* (New York: Viking Press, 1975), 244–46; Ross Koen, *The China Lobby in American Politics*, Richard C. Kagan, ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 190–92; *New York Times* (31 August 1961), sec. IV, p. 8, (15 January 1969), p. 1.

[24]Service v. Dulles *et al.*, 354 U.S. 365–89 (19); Kahn, *China Hands*, 267–76.

[25]*New York Times* (20 February 1952), p. 1, (16 December 1952), p. 1, (4 January 1953), p. 1, (4 March 1953), p. 1; Kahn, *China Hands*, 254–56; Gary May, *China Scapegoat: The Diplomatic Ordeal of John Carter Vincent* (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Books, 1979), 281–89.

[26]John Thomas, *The Institute of Pacific Relations: Asian Scholars and American Politics*, 74–75, 109–22, 129–30, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974). Memo, J. A. Sizoo to Belmont, 13 September 1957, FBI 100–64700–1271; Memo, G. A. Neese to Tolson, 17 September 1958, FBI 100–64700–1281; Memo, Roach to Belmont, 17 September 1958, FBI 100–64700–1282; Institute of Pacific Relations v. United States, 5 Am. Fed. Tax R. 2d 1333:33; *New York Times* (8 December 1960), p. 8; *Toronto Globe and Mail*, (14 January 1961).

[27]Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America from 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1978), 387–91.

ASPECTS OF PUNISHMENT
Indian Removal in Northern Nevada

Matt Bischoff

On January 6, 1879, more than five hundred Northern Paiute Indians began a forced march that took them across 350 miles and over two mountain ranges in the dead of winter. They were close to starvation and lacked adequate clothing for such a journey. On the first night out, an old man froze to death, his body left on the side of the road. A young woman gave birth to a baby who died from exposure soon after. The next day the mother herself died, and she, too, was left by the side of the road.[1] The United States Army had received orders the previous winter, in 1878, to move forcibly the Paiutes from Oregon to the Yakima Reservation in Washington Territory. These Paiutes' native land was the northern Great Basin; yet more than five hundred of them were removed, taken through Oregon and across the Columbia River to the Yakima Reservation. Why were they banished from their native land? What were the conditions that prompted the United States government to take such action? Why were they removed in 1879, and not earlier? These questions have received little consideration in studies of Northern Paiute history, which usually focuses on the Pyramid Lake war of 1860.

Indian policy of the United States government after the Civil War, and to some extent before, sought to concentrate the Indian populations on newly designated reservations. The reasons for these policies evolved over the years, but emerged in clearer form after the Civil War, when the government attempted to reformulate its Indian policy; the reservation system soon became the cornerstone of that policy. To most Washington bureaucrats, the reservation was a way in which to separate Indians from whites, thereby protecting the whites from the Indians, and vice versa. The reservation was also designed to be a place in which the Indian would be taught to live a civilized, Christian life style.[2] Another perceived bonus of the reservation system was the opening of land to Euro-American entry. William P. Dole, as commissioner of Indian Affairs, summed up the reservation policy in 1861:

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An early photograph of Pyramid Lake. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

As the ultimate objective of all our operations among the Indians should be to better their condition, it will be my duty, as well as the duty of all other employees of the government, to endeavor to secure for them reservations of such dimensions, and possessing such natural facilities in climate, soil, and all other desirable qualities, as will, so far as possible, remove the obstacles in the way of their advancement, and present to them the greatest inducements to abandon savage and adopt civilized modes of life.[3]

The Northern Paiutes in far-off Nevada and southern Oregon felt the effects of these policies emanating from the East.

For centuries a group of people had subsisted in the northern Great Basin, an area consisting of present-day eastern California (as far south as Owens Valley), northern Nevada, southeastern Oregon, and southwestern Idaho. They spoke a common language, Numic, and called themselves the Numa, or The People.[4] Ethnographers collectively termed them Northern Paiutes. The Numic language is one branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family, a family that includes Mono, Panamint, Shoshone, Commanche, Kaiisu, and Ute (including Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi).[5] The Northern Paiute were linguistically distinct from the Southern Paiute, although they shared a similar life style. The term *Northern Paiute,* therefore, was a linguistic classification of the native inhabitants.

The Indians who lived within the northern Great Basin had a limited sense of being members of the greater linguistic family, however. They had no large-scale tribal structure, nor any permanent political cohesion. Because the resources of the Great Basin are so varied, native inhabitants exhibited multiple subsistence patterns, in contrast to the relatively homogeneous buffalo-hunting

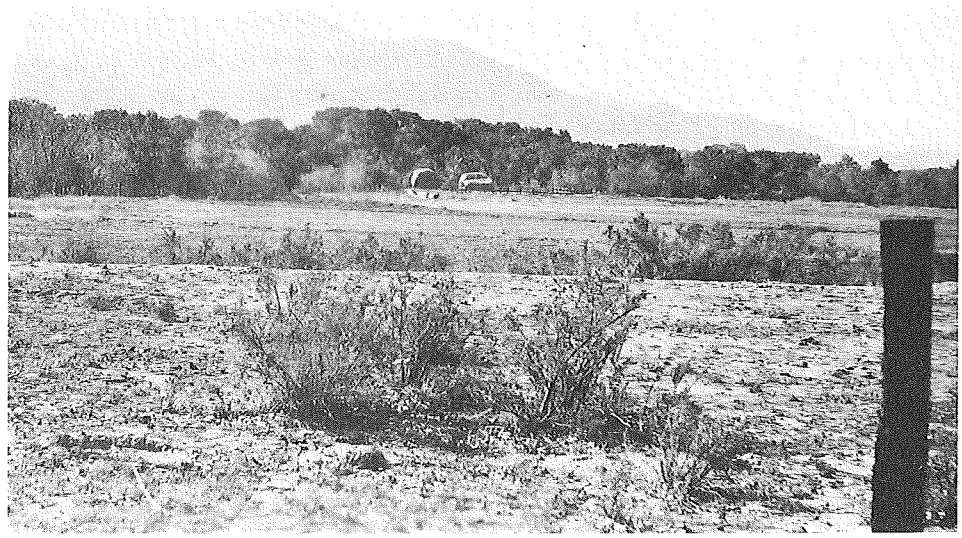
cultures of the Plains. The varied environments of the Great Basin supported only small and isolated populations, and subsistence could be quite different from one valley to the next. Northern Paiute in Owens Valley, for example, used the ample supply of water for agriculture, and supported a relatively large population. The Northern Paiute residing at Pyramid Lake subsisted primarily upon a bounty of fish from the mouth of the present-day Truckee River. The general aridity of the Great Basin and the fact that areas with ample water are often separated by large mountain ranges or extensive deserts added to the isolation of Indian groups.[6]

The primary social unit of the Northern Paiute was the nuclear family. Collections of these nuclear families often made up what ethnographers refer to as bands. These bands were intermarrying, cooperating units that often collected for a specific event. No rigid structure existed for the bands, and they were loosely held together.[7] A band often derived its name from its food source, and when the band moved its name changed also[8]: "The territory of the Kuyuidokado [meaning fish-eaters, the Pyramid Lake band] ranged from the desert north of the lakes, to the Truckee Meadows on the south, from the Virginia City boundary on the west, to the Kupa-dokado [Ground squirrel eaters]. To the north lived the Kamo-dokado (Jack-rabbit eaters) and the Toe-dokado" [Cat-tail eaters].[9]

Bands might form for a large hunt, or, more often, for military reasons. War parties were often assembled from the collection of nuclear families, and this war band existed only as long as the need for war remained.[10] Leadership of the bands was not rigidly defined and usually consisted of the headman of a family cluster who served as an advisor or leader of discussion.[11]

Contact with whites forced the bands to develop more organization, and leaders began to hold more authority over their people. Chief Winnemucca, for example, who had little authority before white contact, became known as chief because of the influence that his daughter Sarah had with the whites. Sarah spent many of her formative years with the Ormsby family in Carson Valley. The Ormsby family had been a prominent one in the valley since its founding in the 1850s. Colonel John Ormsby led the expedition against the Paiutes at Pyramid Lake, and was killed in the first battle of that war in 1860. Sarah's relationship with the Ormsby family was one of friendship, and she learned to read and write English while living with them. She was then sent to a boarding school in San Jose, California, where she became more educated in the white man's ways before returning to her people. Although Chief Winnemucca was only the headman of a single band that numbered about a hundred, the whites viewed his family as a powerful representative of the Northern Paiute people. Winnemucca and Sarah soon served as liasions between the Northern Paiutes in Nevada and those in Oregon, thereby enhancing political cohesion among their people.

Cattle and horses of the white emigrant and settler depleted the land and food



The site of the first battle of the Pyramid Lake War. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

sources of the Paiute. These new animals, conversely, represented an irresistible new food source to supplement the Paiute's meager existence. Raiding and stealing of this stock fostered an amalgamation of the Indian bands, for a larger group was a more effective raiding party and offered more protection. For hostilities against the whites, various headmen recruited neighboring warriors who owned horses and who would then range over large areas, attacking white settlements and eluding the United States Army. The friction that developed between whites and Paiutes as a result of this contact, as well as its inherent threat of violence, further necessitated a more cohesive form of band organization. The acquisition of horses, reduction of native resources, dislocation, and other effects of white contact produced further amalgamation of the bands. A persuasive leader was often able to play upon these factors and gain a substantial amount of power over a given group.[12]

In the late spring of 1860, the Pyramid Lake War, the first organized warfare between Northern Paiutes and whites, suddenly changed the world of the Paiute. Although the Paiutes almost totally annihilated the first group of whites sent against them, and fought the second group to a stalemate, they were eventually defeated. Most of the Paiute bands that resided in the Pyramid Lake region scattered across the Nevada Territory following the conflict. The first Indian agent for Nevada Territory, Warren Wasson, reported only seven thousand Indians in western Nevada in an 1861 communication to the commissioner

of Indian Affairs.[13] Wasson also indicated that these Indians were relatively poor, owning only twelve hundred ponies among them. By the time of Wasson's report only two reserves had been designated for the Northern Paiute, one at Walker Lake and the other at Pyramid Lake. Pressure on the government from white settlers for the release of these lands was growing steadily by the early 1860s.

Under these conditions the Paiutes realized that they could not win against such an organized and numerous foe as the white man. Throughout the early 1860s large numbers of Pyramid Lake Paiutes left Nevada for sparsely populated southeastern Oregon. Most of these wished to avoid further contact with the whites, and Nevada was becoming more and more populated. Southeastern Oregon offered open land with relatively few whites, and presented the Indians with a chance to return to their precontact life style.[14] The Paiutes who remained in Nevada were concentrated at the Pyramid Lake Reservation, established in 1859 by the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs. The superintendency maintained a general agency in Carson Valley, headed by Frederick Dodge, which administered the affairs of both the Pyramid Lake and Walker Lake reservations. Although Dodge was sympathetic to the Paiutes, he carried out basic governmental policy that consisted of placing Indians on reservations. Official recognition of the Pyramid Lake Reservation suffered many setbacks, and it was not fully recognized until 1874, when a presidential decree solidified its existence.

Paiutes in Nevada who were not willing to settle on reservations were not free to roam; Fort Churchill on the Carson River, established after the Pyramid Lake War, presented an armed force that watched over their activities. Bands such as Winnemucca's were not comfortable living in Nevada under the watchful eye of Fort Churchill, and considered the Pyramid Lake Reservation too vulnerable to this military force. Sparsely settled southeastern Oregon lured Paiutes in search of game and fish, while volunteer and regular troops in Nevada pacified the more belligerent bands.[15] Many bands of Northern Paiutes were already residing in southeastern Oregon, and their presence offered encouragement to Pyramid Lake Paiutes to move north.[16]

Two groups of Northern Paiute-speaking Indians in southeastern Oregon were the Yahooskins and the Walpapis. These two freely roaming bands were designated as Snake Indians by the first whites to come into contact with them. The Yahooskins and Walpapis, however, were Northern Paiute bands who had come from Surprise Valley and Warner Valley in southern Oregon and northern California, and were closely related to the Pyramid Lake Paiutes.

The Yahooskins resided primarily around the Goose Lake basin, hunting in the western Warner Mountains. The Walpapis, owning a large number of horses, were a more mobile band that ranged throughout the Silver-Summer Lakes region between 1859 and 1867, led by an infamous and warlike leader named Paulina. Although these portions of Oregon were relatively isolated, a north-south wagon road was constructed in 1859 to link Yreka, California, to

southeastern Oregon and Washington in order to service the Canyon City gold strikes. This wagon road passed through the Sprague and Summer Lake valleys, in the heart of Yahooskin and Walpapi land, and travelers along it increasingly complained of Indian attacks.

Because of the mounting number of attacks by predatory bands, and the

Warren Wasson, the first Indian Agent for Nevada Territory. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

continuing desire to place all Indians onto reservations, government emissaries ventured out to conclude treaties with bands such as the Yahooskins and Walpapis, beginning in 1864.[17] Lieutenant Colonel Charles S. Drew of Fort Klamath was ordered in July of 1864 to complete treaties with the troublesome Oregon bands. Eventually most of the Indians came into Fort Klamath and signed treaties, and as a result both the Yahooskins and the Walpapis were convinced to move onto the Klamath Reservation in Oregon by August of 1865.

Meanwhile in Nevada, soon after the Pyramid Lake and Walker Lake reservations were established and Paiutes in large numbers were convinced to reside on them, suffering began. The reservations were created in the understanding that they would hold only approximately one quarter of the Indian population of northwestern Nevada. Most of the Paiutes who inhabited the two reservations lived a hand-to-mouth existence; farming operations had not begun as the agents had hoped, and many Indians began to work for nearby whites in menial, poorly paid jobs. Soon reservation populations declined as many Paiutes drifted away in search of a more satisfying life style. Not only was the original Pyramid Lake Reservation unable to support its inhabitants, parts of it were taken away from the Indians. The land surrounding and including present-day Wadsworth, originally part of the reservation, was removed in 1865 to be sold to white settlers in preparation for the transcontinental railroad. Indian dissatisfaction in Nevada was extremely high by 1865, and war between whites and Indians appeared likely.

In the spring of 1865 army captain Almond Wells attacked a band of Paiutes encamped at Mud Lake, near Pyramid Lake, in reprisal for their theft of cattle from white ranchers. Wells was pressured by the ranchers to punish the menacing Indians, and the result was a massacre of mostly women and children at Mud Lake. Soon after, a few whites were killed in an apparent reprisal at the Walker Lake Reservation to the south.[18] A virtual war soon developed between whites and Indians in northern Nevada and parts of southern Oregon.

Trouble had been brewing for some time in southern Oregon and southwestern Idaho, as well as in northwestern Nevada. The Paiutes at Fort Klamath had grown restless and dissatisfied with their new home, and by early 1866 Paulina had taken his band of Walpapis off the reservation, creating apprehension among whites and Indians alike. With Paulina's reputation for raiding and stealing, his departure from the reservation caused a panic. The Yahooskin band at Fort Klamath was so afraid that Paulina might return to attack those on the reservation that they, too, decided to abandon Fort Klamath.[19] Paiutes from the Humboldt and Quinn river areas, as well as many in other parts of southern Oregon and southwestern Idaho, attacked white settlements throughout the northern Great Basin region, fighting detachments of army units from various military camps in the area.

The ensuing war was especially brutal, as civilians as well as combatants on both sides suffered. White settlers affected by the conflict pressured various

army posts to conclude the war and punish the Indians. Governor George L. Woods of Oregon in 1866 made a plea to the commander of the Military Division of the Pacific, General Henry Halleck, to put an end to the continued attacks upon white settlers and to use Indians against Indians in the struggle.[20] Oregon volunteer units had been fighting the hostile Indians since the spring of 1865, but the volunteers' numbers were too small to deal effectively with the scattered Indian attacks. The volunteers were dismissed in October of 1865, replaced by federal troops from the area. But even with the arrival of these troops, the white military presence in southern Oregon was still limited. Only one company of infantry was stationed at each fort in southern Oregon and northern Nevada, and the size of each company was greatly reduced from regular strength in every case. Although federal troops launched expeditions into the Malheur and the Owyhee river areas, their capacity for aggressive action was limited, as their primary responsibility was to guard the settlements.[21]

In 1866 an aggressive military campaign was launched against the offending Paiutes, led by the famous Indian fighter General George Crook. After numerous campaigns, Crook's troops in May of 1867 moved out of their base at Fort Harney into the Malheur River country in southcentral Oregon, where they engaged various Paiute bands. Under Crook's leadership almost every hostile band had surrendered by 1868, and he placed them, when he could, at various army posts throughout southeastern Oregon. The Indians were to be temporarily under the watchful eye of the military until more permanent arrangements could be made.[22]

In late 1868 orders from the headquarters of the Division of the Pacific specified that all Indians captured in the Owyhee River region were to be moved, forcibly if necessary, to Fort Vancouver in Washington Territory. Although Crook was able to convince some Indians, and force others, to move onto other reservations, his power was not sufficient to carry out these orders completely. A few powerful bands, like one led by a man named We-ah-we-ah, were able to maintain their nomadic life styles. According to a military correspondent for the Division of the Pacific, any removal of Indians at that time would have caused another Indian war, a war that the white troops were not prepared to fight again.[23]

The Paiutes at the Pyramid Lake Reservation continued to suffer. The reservation in 1869 contained no buildings, its boundaries were undefined, there were no records for the agency, no farming operations existed, and white squatters abounded. The reservation agent attempted to remove many of the squatters, but they continued to encroach. With the eventual construction of the Central Pacific Railroad across reservation land in 1868, "wild," or nonreservation, Paiutes were reluctant to move onto the reservation, and many who lived there were ready to leave.

Two bands led by Egan and Oyetes joined Winnemucca and his band at the close of the war. These three Paiute bands, originally from different geographic

Chief Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

areas, moved south together into Nevada. They, along with many other non-reservation bands, located themselves close to army forts, for protection and occasional handouts of food. The government wanted to collect these bands on reservations, but could not force them to move. The government instead relied on treaty councils to persuade them.

A. B. Meacham, superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, was unable to remove the Indians through treaty councils as hoped, and so in the late 1860s decided to begin work on a reservation in the Paiutes' native region of south-central Oregon. He reasoned that having the Indians concentrated on a reservation would be better for the interests of both whites and Indians, even if they were not removed from their country. Meacham's proposed reservation was immediately accepted by the secretary of the interior. One month later, President Ulysses S. Grant accepted the proposal; the reservation was established in March 1873, becoming known as Malheur, from the river that passes through the region.

As soon as the Malheur Reservation was created, officials in southern Oregon and northern Nevada began a concerted effort to bring all Indians in the area onto the reservation: "[It is the] intention of this department to eventually locate all the roving and straggling bands in Eastern/Southeastern Oregon which can be induced to settle there. The Indians who should be collected upon this reservation are now a constant source of annoyance to the white settlers."[24] Attempts to gather roving bands in southeast Oregon finally yielded some successes between 1872 and 1875. Winnemucca and his hundred other Paiutes had roamed all over northern Nevada and southern Oregon since the end of the Pyramid Lake War in 1860, but by 1875, there were many more whites in the region, including large numbers of government and military personnel. Winnemucca's band, like other Paiutes, suffered from lack of food, and so agreed to move to the Malheur Reservation in 1875.

By 1877 the government's Indian policy was solidified, and the continued efforts at concentration on reservations became more vigorous. The Malheur Reservation was a convenient place to collect roaming and straggling bands, but the government was unwilling to use military force to collect resistant bands. Although the government doubtless had the power in 1877 to remove any straggling Paiutes forcibly, it chose not to. Perhaps it then saw no need for forced removals that might cause another war, but by the summer of 1878, the need, or excuse, for forced removals was present.

Conditions on most reservations had deteriorated drastically by the late 1870s. Discontent rose to an all-time high at Malheur, as William V. Rinehart replaced the well-liked Samuel Parrish as agent. Rinehart was a political appointee of Grant's in 1876, and the Indians soon grew to despise him. According to Rinehart, the land on which the Indians resided was government land, and not Indian land, as many Indians had previously understood. Because of this view, the new agent treated the Paiutes at Malheur as if they were his wards; he ran

General O. O. Howard, Commander of the Military District of the Columbia. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

the reservation with an iron fist, punishing misbehaving Indians often and severely. There was so much dislike for Rinehart among the Malheur Paiutes in the late 1870s that many bands began to leave the reservation.[25] A large number of Malheur Paiutes went east to Steen's Mountain in eastern Oregon, where the rebellious westward-traveling Bannocks later met them.

Conditions for the Bannock Indians on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho were similar to those on Malheur. Indians received stingy rations, and generally received poor treatment from their agent. In a visit to the Fort Hall Reservation in 1877 General Crook realized the seriousness of the Bannocks' condition: "Starvation is staring them in the face, and if they wait much longer, they will not be able to fight. They understand the situation, and fully appreciate what is before them."[26] Tensions between the Bannocks and nearby white settlers was high by the late 1870s. The settlers accused the Bannocks of committing a variety of depredations and urged the Fort Hall agent to control them. The Bannocks, in turn, resented the strict control placed over them by the agent and resented also the increasing number of white squatters who were locating themselves upon Bannock land.[27]

After a few fiery exchanges with their white agents, the Bannocks left the reservation, resolved for war. Leadership was assumed by an individual named Buffalo Horn, well known for his military exploits and experience, serving under Crook in the Nez Perce war the previous year. The Bannock war party began by attacking the white settlements outside the reservation in a fit of rage, and determined to head west. Once they reached the Camas Prairie in western Idaho, two bands, tired of the bloodletting and wishing to avoid further armed conflict, returned to the reservation. The remaining warriors numbered 150, with a herd of 600 ponies.[28]

Soon troops were raised from a variety of areas to combat the Indians. A number of pitched battles resulted, with Buffalo Horn being killed on June 8. Now leaderless, the war party attempted to avoid contact with the army and gain recruits from surrounding reservations. The party came to Steen's Mountain, where it was supplemented by a number of disgruntled Paiutes from the Malheur Reservation.[29] Egan's band was one of these groups, and Egan himself assumed leadership of the combined Indian force.

General O. O. Howard, commander of the Military District of the Columbia, took charge of the campaign against the Bannock uprising. Howard was at first unable to move troops from eastern Oregon and Washington to the center of the action because of fear of attacks in these regions. Howard was also unable at this time to enlist the services of any other Indian groups to serve as scouts or auxiliaries. The Warm Springs and Umatilla Indians refused to serve the army as there developed an understanding among many of these tribes that the whole region might go on the warpath if the Bannocks proved successful in any way.[30]

The hostile Indians numbered close to two thousand, with six hundred warriors and the rest noncombatants. The war party consisted of Bannock, Paiute,

Klamath, and Weiser Indians. The destination of the hostiles became the various reservations in central and western Oregon, where further Indian recruits could be obtained. Along the way the Indians killed, burned, and looted all white settlements in their path.

Howard organized a three-pronged attack that would prevent the Indians from crossing the Columbia River, where they hoped to enlist the aid of the Columbia River Indians under Chief Moses. Steamships were placed in the Columbia River, and their cannons devastated any Indians who attempted a crossing. The Indians then ventured to the Umatilla Reservation, where they fought troops under Captain Evan Miles on July 13, sapping much of their energy and supplies. Eventually a treacherous group of Umatilla Indians killed Egan, and the outbreak crumbled from a lack of leadership. The war party broke into a number of smaller war parties that scattered eastward.[31]

The majority of the Paiutes separated from the Bannocks and headed toward the Malheur country, but eventually they traveled to northern Nevada to surrender at various army posts in that country. The majority of the Bannocks retreated to the Fort Hall Reservation to blend in with the peaceful Indians there. Other Bannock groups were rounded up and imprisoned at various army installations across the country. A small group of Bannocks ventured to Montana to join with Sitting Bull's Hunkpapa Sioux, who were viewed as one of the last true "wild" bands of Indians in North America.[32]

General Howard had most of the Paiutes under his control at Camp Harney in southern Oregon, and he continued to capture stragglers and bring them to camp. All Indians under Howard's authority at Camp Harney were treated as prisoners of war as he awaited orders from the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. Preliminary orders came in October of 1878 to collect all Paiutes who had lived on the Malheur Reservation and bring them to Camp Harney. Further, in November came the stunning order to move the guilty Indians from Camp Harney and Fort McDermitt to the Yakima Reservation in Washington.[33] Paiute bands led by Ocheo, Panguitch, Paddy-Cap, Leggins, the late Egan, and Tanwahta were forcibly removed to the Yakima Reservation in Washington in the winter of 1878–79, as punishment for their part in the Bannock War.

The Bannock War provided the United States government with the excuse and opportunity to remove the offending Indians. After the hostilities the army remained a strong presence in the region, and the government utilized the troops to pursue its policies. The depredations committed by the Indians provided the impetus for punishment, and the removal was such punishment. It also implemented the government's policy of concentrating Indian groups. The Yakima Reservation was to be one of a select number of reservations upon which Indian populations would be collected.[34]

The need for punishment was recognized by General Howard, and he agreed with his orders to remove the Indians: "It would have been a reward to misconduct to have given them back the reservation which they had robbed and

deserted when they went to war."[35] In his 1880 annual report, written two years after the Paiute removal, the commissioner of Indian affairs alluded to the fact that the Indians were removed as punishment: "At the close of the war those who had taken part in the hostilities, together with 100 other Paiutes who belonged at Malheur, were removed with their women and children to the Yakima Agency. There remained about 230 Indians, under Chief Ocheo, Winnemucca, and a small group of Weiser Indians who properly belonged at Malheur."[36] The commissioner drew a connection between those who were removed and those who took part in the hostilities. He also claimed that certain Indians "properly belonged" at Malheur. Winnemucca, Ocheo, and the band of Weiser Indians did not take part in the Bannock outbreak, and perhaps this was why the commissioner referred to them as properly belonging at Malheur.

By the time the order to transport the offending Paiutes was finally undertaken, the severe winter of 1878 had fallen over the northwest. The Paiutes were rounded up like animals and forced to march the long and arduous trip to Washington Territory. A soldier at Camp Harney described the procession:

> The bucks were all herded off to one side by the soldiers and held up there. The large government wagons were lined up. They had high top covers with doors in the rear ends. The squaws were ordered to get in, this they refused to do. The soldiers grabbed them, dragged them to the wagons and threw them in while the others held the doors. The poor creatures fought like wild cats, kicked, scratched, and screamed. The children were loaded after the others were quieted. It was getting late in the season, some had about 150 miles to their destination, and it must have been terrible. Strange as it may seem, the next year several bucks showed up in hiding in the Blue Mountains. The stockmen secretly killed them whenever found.[37]

Agent William Wilbur at the Yakima Reservation seemed to understand why the Paiutes had been sent to his reservation, which consisted strictly of Yakima Indians: He referred to the new arrivals as prisoners, and treated them as such.[38] The transfer of the Paiutes to Yakima, though directly ordered, was not carefully thought out, and the source of their support was unclear. Wilbur was materially unprepared for the prisoners, having barely enough food and supplies for the Yakima Indians.[39]

The removal of these Paiutes to Yakima as punishment for their participation in the Bannock War was not an isolated event. The commissioner of Indian affairs, E. A. Hayt, in 1879 verbalized the government's need for some kind of penalty for offending Indians:

> It is impossible to properly govern a barbarous people like our wilder Indians without being able to inflict some punishment for wrong-doing that shall be a real punishment to the offender. At the present time the military are called upon to suppress insurrections, and chastise, by the penalties and losses of war, those who rebel against the government. These are temporary evils to the Indians, and unless the punishment inflicted is unusually severe the lesson is soon forgotten.[40]

Sarah Winnemucca. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The Paiute bands that were not removed to Washington continued to roam throughout southern Oregon and northern Nevada. The Malheur Reservation was reopened in late 1878, soon after the Bannock War ended. Rinehart desperately needed to bring Indians onto his reservation in order to maintain his profitable and influential position of Indian agent, but the Paiutes unanimously refused to go back to Malheur. Because of Rinehart's failures and because of pressure from ranchers to open Malheur to white settlement, the reservation was discontinued on December 23, 1880. By 1882 the land was returned to the public domain.[41]

Soon after her people were removed to Yakima, Sarah Winnemucca, Chief Winnemucca's English-speaking daughter, decided to use her influence among the whites to draw attention to her people's plight. With the money she earned as an interpreter at different reservations, Sarah decided in late 1879 to go to San Francisco, and then to Washington, D.C., in January 1880.[42] There, Sarah met with Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, and later with President Rutherford B. Hayes. Both men wished to end the negative publicity surrounding the Paiute affair, and, in order to pacify her, Schurz assured Sarah that her people could return from Yakima and that all Paiutes would receive land allotments.[43]

Sarah, however, was soon disappointed as no official actions were taken to allow the Paiutes to return home. She grew impatient and resolved to take her case to the American public, traveling to Boston in 1883. Two Boston women were especially inspired by Sarah's speeches: Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and her sister, Mrs. Horace Mann. The sisters helped Sarah obtain speaking engagements throughout the country, and Mrs. Mann provided further help by assisting Sarah in the writing of her autobiography, *Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*.[44]

The removal of the Paiutes and Sarah's campaign on their behalf coincided with, and fueled, an Indian-policy reform movement in the United States. Although she died in 1891, Sarah helped propel the crusade into the 1890s. The event, or series of events, that the reformers increasingly focused upon and which captured the attention of the public, was that of forced removal of Indian populations. The long-held government policy of Indian concentration required movement of large groups of Indians, often over long distances. As people began to hear of Indian hardships endured in the execution of this policy, public opinion began to shift toward sympathy for Indians.

Sarah Winnemucca's writings and, more important, the speeches she made on behalf of her people had an immeasurable impact upon public sentiment. Many other Indian leaders also spoke in attempts to help their people. The speeches came from many sources, covering a variety of Indian experiences, but all shared the common goal of touching public sympathy. Sarah's speeches were received by a public that was ready to listen to any eloquent plea, especially from a full-blood Indian.

The Indian reform movement evolved through a number of stages, seeking

varied reforms, some ultimately improving the life of the reservation Indians, others worsening the situation. Often the reformers' goals were contradictory, but all were aimed primarily at "de-Indianizing" the Indians and making them more "American." These goals led to such measures as the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, which gave citizenship to American Indians and parceled out reservation land, giving each head of a family 160 acres of land.[45]

By the early 1890s the Indian reform movement was beginning to lose its widespread public enthusiasm. Although the general public eventually lost interest, the reformers felt they could point to a variety of improvements in the Indian condition. These included health care, decreased alcohol consumption, and a movement toward citizenship that was achieved only in 1924.[46]

Conditions for most Indians by the end of the century, however, were far from what the reformers had envisioned. The Indians did not in general become hard-working individual farmers as hoped. The tribal identity that the reformers tried so hard to eliminate could not be erased so easily. Most Indians, understandably, continued to identify with their tribes. Part of the reason for this continued identification was the hardship that the Indians faced and their need for security. Hundreds of years of tribal organization and identity was also an important factor. In addition, the government itself prolonged tribal aggregation through such policies as group removals and negotiations with tribes as distinct units.

The Northern Paiutes at Yakima were so unhappy with their new home that by the summer of 1882 two hundred of them attempted to escape to Nevada. An agent at Yakima, however, caught them, and sent them back to the reservation. Eventually the Indian Bureau became more lenient toward the Paiutes, or at least looked aside when they attempted to return home. Agent Wilbur's replacement was an agent who did not seem concerned with the loss of Paiute residents on the reservation. Most of the escaped Paiutes roamed around their original lands in southeastern Oregon and northern Nevada, finding temporary homes at army camps such as Fort McDermitt or in towns like Winnemucca.[47] Those who went back to the Pyramid Lake Reservation found that there was little or no room for them there. Other bands, such as Ocheo's, went to Fort Klamath. We-ah-we-ah and his band eventually made their way to the Warm Springs Reservation in northern Oregon, while others journeyed to the Umatilla Reservation, also in northern Oregon. Some went to the Malheur vicinity, eventually receiving allotments near present-day Burns, Oregon. By the fall of 1883 almost all the Paiutes at Yakima had escaped or gained permission to leave. The only remaining Paiutes were Paddy-Cap and about seventy followers who, in 1884, moved to the Duck Valley Reservation, where the group remained.[48]

The Paiute removal of 1879 was designed as a punishment for misbehaving Indians, a punishment that was repeated for other tribes at other times and places. The removal was not an aberration, but had its origins in years of government Indian policy. Conditions in 1879 set the stage: The Paiutes had been

defeated in a general war, and the government authorities in the region were finally strong enough to force them to move. Thus, although the removal was primarily a punishment, it also fit the government's policy of concentrating the Indians on reservations. Public awareness of this removal added momentum to the general movement for reform of Indian policy that was sweeping the eastern United States in the late nineteenth century.

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[6]Julian Steward, "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society," in Earl Swanson, *Languages and Cultures of Western North America* (Pocatello: Idaho State University Press, 1970), 115.

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[24]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 435.

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A STATISTICAL HISTORY OF THE NEVADA POPULATION 1860–1993

Ron DePolo and Mark Pingle

1. *Introduction*

The discovery of the Comstock Lode in 1859 marked the beginning of what can be called the mining era in Nevada. During that era, developments in the mining industry represented the principal force driving Nevada's socioeconomic development. The end of the mining era arguably occurred in 1931, when the law legalizing casino gambling in Nevada ushered in what can be called the gaming era (1931–present), during which developments in the gaming industry became the driving force behind the state's socioeconomic development.[1]

Population changes constitute one important type of socioeconomic change. This article describes changes in the Nevada population since 1860, with special emphasis upon how developments in the mining and gaming industries have affected the state's population. To highlight changes that are uniquely Nevadan, comparisons are made between Nevada and the United States as a whole.

A population can change quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative changes are captured by the population's growth rate; qualitative changes are captured by changes in the population's demographic characteristics. An historical description of Nevada's population growth is provided below, along with descriptions of change in the following four demographic characteristics: age, ethnicity, sex, and urbanization.

Those familiar with Nevada's history may not be surprised by what is presented here. That is, some readers may find that these facts simply support or confirm notions found in various levels of detail in other historical studies. Nonetheless, because this compilation of government statistics is comprehen-

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sive and is presented in a user-friendly format, even the well-informed should find this study useful as a reference tool.

A description of Nevada's 1990 population is presented in section 2, the data being drawn from the most recent census. Section 3 describes Nevada's population growth over the 1860–1993 period, while sections 4, 5, 6, and 7 look at changes in age, ethnicity, sex, and urbanization occurring over the 1860–1990 period. Finally, section 8 offers some concluding comments.

2. *Population Characteristics: 1990*

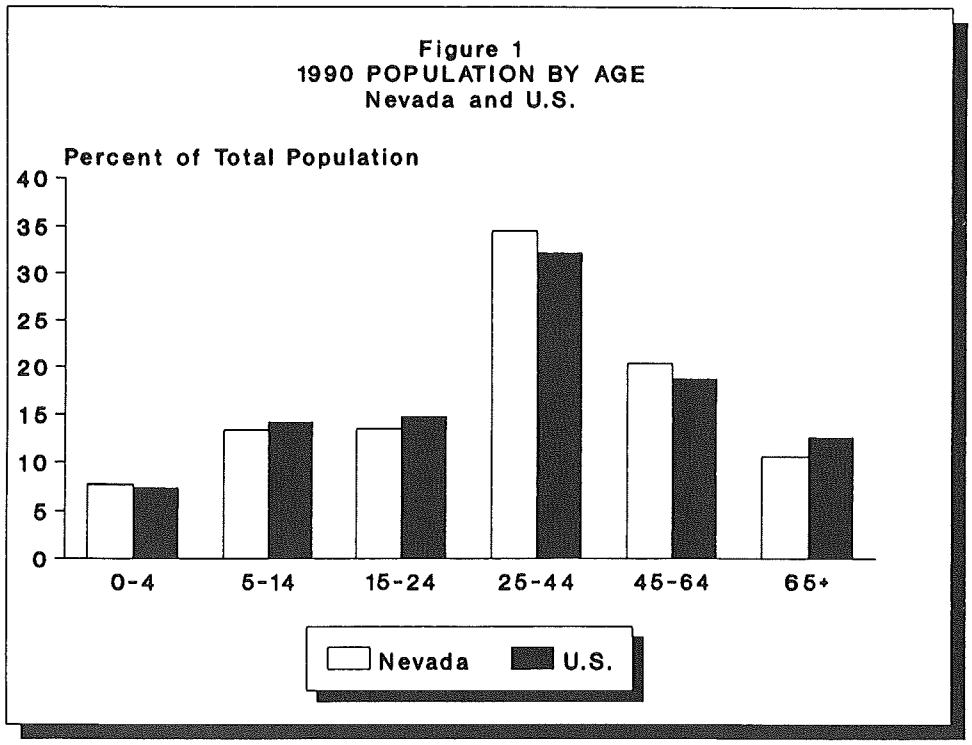
In 1990, the population of Nevada totalled 1,201,833 persons. With just one half of one percent of the United States population, Nevada is one of the least populated states, ranking thirty-ninth in 1990. From smallest to largest, the states that had smaller 1990 populations than Nevada were Wyoming, Alaska, Vermont, North Dakota, Delaware, South Dakota, Montana, Rhode Island, Idaho, New Hampshire, and Hawaii.[2]

Table 1 in the Appendix presents the demographics of the Nevada and United States populations in 1990. Over-all, the characteristics of Nevada's population are similar to those of the population as a whole. However, as will be explained further below, this similarity is a relatively recent phenomenon. Historically, Nevada's demographic traits have deviated considerably from the national picture, with the differences diminishing over time. The slight differences that remain today are characteristic of the larger differences of the past.

In 1990, the median age of the Nevada population was 33.3 years, slightly above the national median of 32.9 years. Ranking the fifty states from oldest to youngest according to median age places Nevada at sixteenth. Florida (36.3), West Virginia (35.4), Pennsylvania (35.0), Oregon (34.6), New Jersey (34.4), and Connecticut (34.4) had the highest median ages, while Utah (26.3), Alaska (29.4), Texas (30.7), Louisiana (31.0), and Mississippi (31.1) had the lowest.[3]

Figure 1 presents the 1990 populations of Nevada and the United States by age. Note that relatively high proportions of the Nevada population are in the age categories 25–44 and 45–64. For making historical comparisons, it is useful to define three broad age categories: (1) age 0–24, (2) age 25–64, and (3) age 65 and over. In 1990, 54.8 percent of Nevada's population was in the age 25–64 "working age" category, a higher percentage than any other state and well above the national average of 50.9 percent. Alaska (54.4 percent), Maryland (54.3 percent), Colorado (53.7 percent), Virginia (53.3 percent), and New Jersey (54.3 percent) ranked just behind Nevada. Utah (43.3 percent), South Dakota (47.0 percent), Mississippi (47.1 percent), Idaho (47.6 percent), and North Dakota had the smallest percentages in the age 25–64 category.

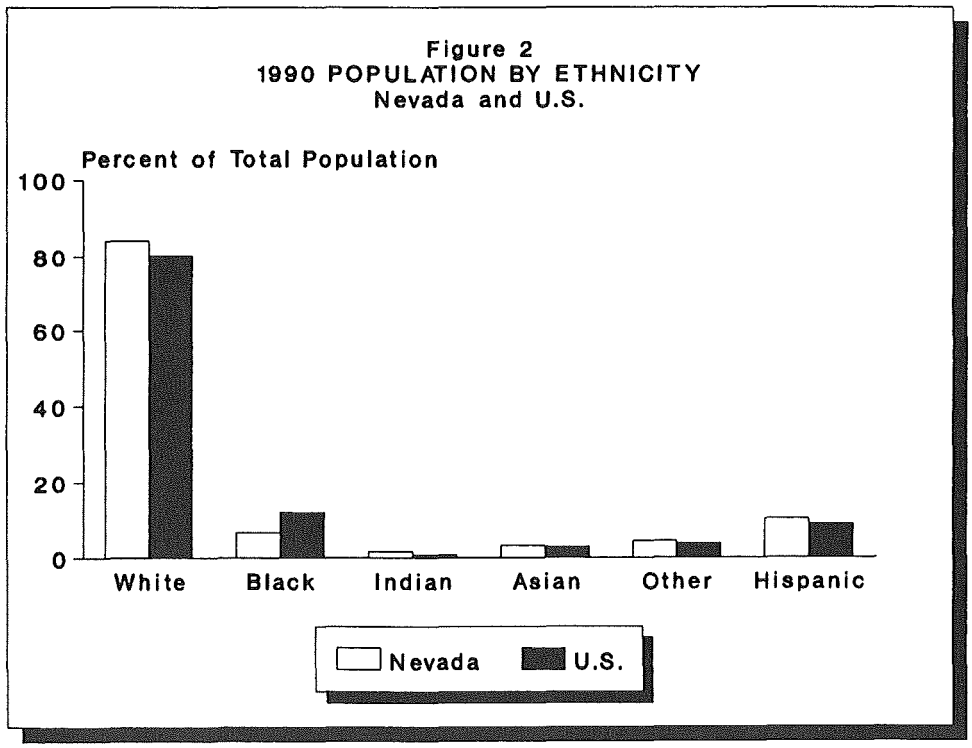
Given the large concentration of population in the age 25–64 group, the age 0–24 and age 65-plus categories are each relatively small. While 36.4 percent of the United States population was age 0–24 in 1990, Nevada ranked forty-third



among the states at 34.6 percent. Utah (48.0 percent), Alaska (41.5 percent), Idaho (40.4 percent), Mississippi (40.4 percent), and Louisiana (40.1 percent) had the highest concentrations in the age 0–24 category, while Florida (31.6 percent), Connecticut (33.3 percent), New Jersey (33.4 percent), Pennsylvania (33.6 percent), and Massachusetts (34.3 percent) had the lowest concentrations.

As to the percentage of the population aged 65 and over, Nevada (10.6 percent) again ranked forty-third among the states and well below the national average (12.6 percent). Florida (18.3 percent), Pennsylvania (15.4 percent), Iowa (15.3 percent), West Virginia (15.0 percent), and Rhode Island (15.0 percent) had the highest concentrations in that category, while Alaska (4.1 percent), Utah (8.7 percent), Colorado (10.0 percent), Texas (10.1 percent), and Georgia (10.1 percent) had the lowest concentrations.

Figure 2 presents the 1990 populations of Nevada and the United States by ethnicity. The classifications white, black, American Indian, Asian, and other are considered to be "races" by the United States Bureau of the Census, with the five categories adding up to 100 percent of the total population. The Hispanic category includes persons of Hispanic origin regardless of race. Examining the figure, note that Nevada's ethnic composition in 1990 was more white, less



black, more American Indian, more Asian, and more Hispanic than the United States as a whole.[4]

Compared to other states and the country as a whole, Nevada's concentrations of whites and blacks are now middle-of-the-road. With 84.3 percent of its 1990 population classified as white, and 6.6 percent classified as black, Nevada ranked twenty-seventh among the states in both categories and had concentrations relatively near the 80.3 percent and 12.1 percent concentrations for the United States as a whole. Vermont (98.6 percent), Maine (98.4 percent), New Hampshire (98.0 percent), Iowa (96.6 percent), and West Virginia (96.2 percent) had the highest concentrations of whites, while Hawaii (33.4 percent), Mississippi (63.5 percent), Louisiana (67.3 percent), California (69.0 percent), and South Carolina (69.0 percent) had the lowest concentrations. The states with the highest concentrations of blacks were Mississippi (65.8 percent), Louisiana (30.8 percent), South Carolina (29.8 percent), Georgia (27.0 percent), and Alabama (25.3 percent), while Montana (0.3 percent), Idaho (0.3 percent), Vermont (0.3 percent), Maine (0.4 percent), and South Dakota (0.5 percent) had the lowest concentrations.

In 1990, Nevada ranked high relative to the other states in terms of its con-

centration of Asians. The Asian category includes Pacific Islanders. With 3.2 percent of its population in the Asian category, Nevada ranked seventh among the states, although not much above the United States average of 2.9 percent. Hawaii (61.8 percent), California (9.6 percent), Washington (4.3 percent), New York (3.9 percent), Alaska (3.6 percent), and New Jersey (3.5 percent) each had higher concentrations of Asians than Nevada. The states with the lowest concentrations of Asians included West Virginia (0.4 percent), South Dakota (0.4 percent), Kentucky (0.5 percent), Mississippi (0.5 percent), Montana (0.5 percent), Arkansas (0.5 percent), Alabama (0.5 percent), North Dakota (0.5 percent), and Maine (0.5 percent).

Nevada also ranks relatively high among the states in terms of its concentration of American Indians. The American Indian category includes Eskimos and Aleuts. With 1.6 percent of its 1990 population in the American Indian category, Nevada had double the 0.8 percent concentration for the United States as a whole, placing Nevada tenth among the states. Alaska (15.6 percent), New Mexico (8.9 percent), Oklahoma (8.0 percent), South Dakota (7.3 percent), and Montana (6.0 percent) had the highest concentrations of American Indians, while Pennsylvania (0.1 percent), West Virginia (0.1 percent), and thirteen other states (at 0.2 percent) located primarily in the South and Northeast had the lowest concentrations.

Considering people of Hispanic origin regardless of race, Nevada's 10.4 percent concentration placed it eighth among the states, although just above the national average of 9.0 percent. New Mexico (38.2 percent), California (25.8 percent), Texas (25.5 percent), Arizona (18.8 percent), Colorado (12.9 percent), New York (12.3 percent), and Florida (12.2 percent) each had higher concentrations of Hispanics than Nevada. The states with the lowest concentrations of Hispanics included West Virginia (0.5 percent), Maine (0.6 percent), Kentucky (0.6 percent), Alabama (0.6 percent), and Mississippi (0.6 percent).

In 1990, Nevada was one of only five states to have more male residents than female. Nevada's 1990 population was 50.9 percent male, placing it second behind Alaska (52.7 percent) and well above the national average of 48.7 percent. Other states with relatively high concentrations of males included Hawaii (50.9 percent), California (50.1 percent), Wyoming (50.0 percent), and North Dakota (49.8 percent). The states with the lowest concentrations were Mississippi (47.8 percent), Alabama (47.9 percent), Pennsylvania (47.9 percent), New York (47.9 percent), and Rhode Island (48.9 percent).[5]

Given its vast open spaces, Nevada might not be expected to be one of the most urbanized states in the nation. But such is the case. Currently, an urban area is defined as a "place" having a population of 2,500 or more.[6] In 1990, 88.3 percent of Nevada's population was located in urban areas, well above the United States average of 75.2 percent. This percentage placed Nevada fourth among the states, behind California (92.6 percent), New Jersey (89.4 percent),

and Hawaii (89.0 percent). The least urban states in 1990 were Vermont (32.2 percent), West Virginia (36.1 percent), Maine (44.6 percent), Mississippi (47.1 percent), and South Dakota (50.0 percent).[7]

3. Population Growth

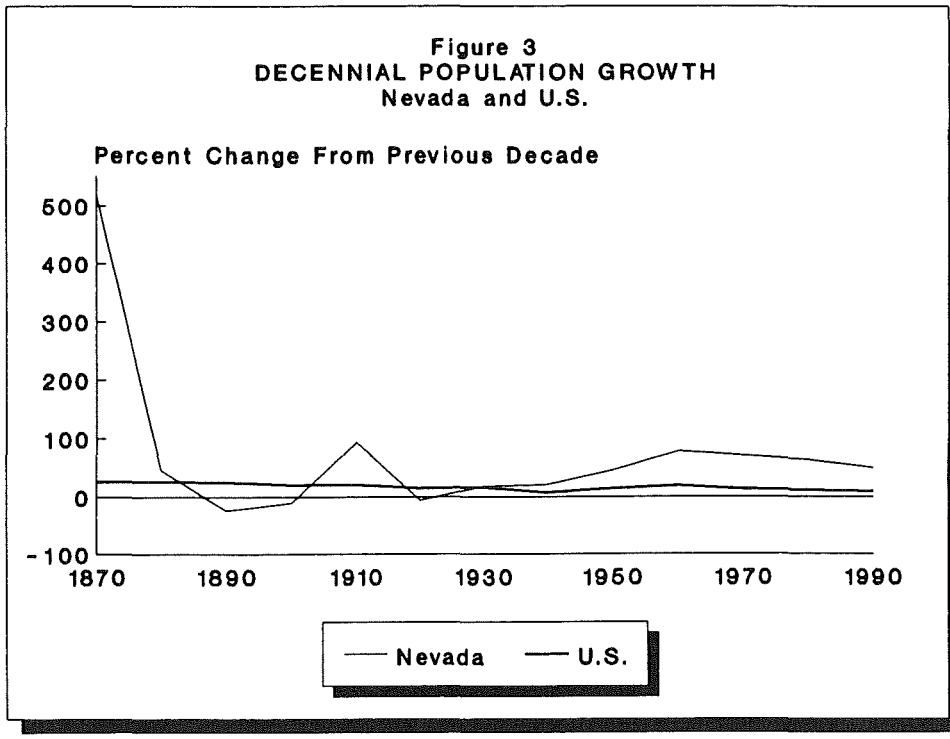
Table 2 in the appendix presents the decennial census population counts for Nevada and the United States from 1860 to 1990.[8] The annual mid-year population estimates for Nevada and the United States over the 1929–93 period are also shown.[9] For the decennial data, population growth rates are calculated as the percentage change in the population from the previous decade; for the annual data, growth rates are calculated as the percentage change from the previous year.

Between 1980 and 1990, Nevada was the country's fastest-growing state. While the national population increased by 9.8 percent over the 1980–90 period, Nevada's population grew by 50.1 percent. Between 1980 and 1990, Nevada surpassed Rhode Island, Idaho, New Hampshire, and Hawaii in population size. Population growth in Alaska (36.9 percent), Arizona (34.8 percent), Florida (32.7 percent), and California (25.7 percent) placed those states just behind Nevada during the 1980s, while West Virginia (−8.0 percent), Iowa (−4.9 percent), Wyoming (−3.4 percent), North Dakota (−2.1 percent), and Illinois (0.0 percent) had the lowest rates of population growth.

Figure 3 displays the decennial percentage changes in the populations of both the United States and Nevada over the 1860–1990 period. Using the population growth for the nation as a whole for comparison purposes, note that Nevada's growth during the mining era (1860–1930) was extremely volatile. In contrast, during the gaming era (1930–90) the state has consistently experienced rapid population growth.

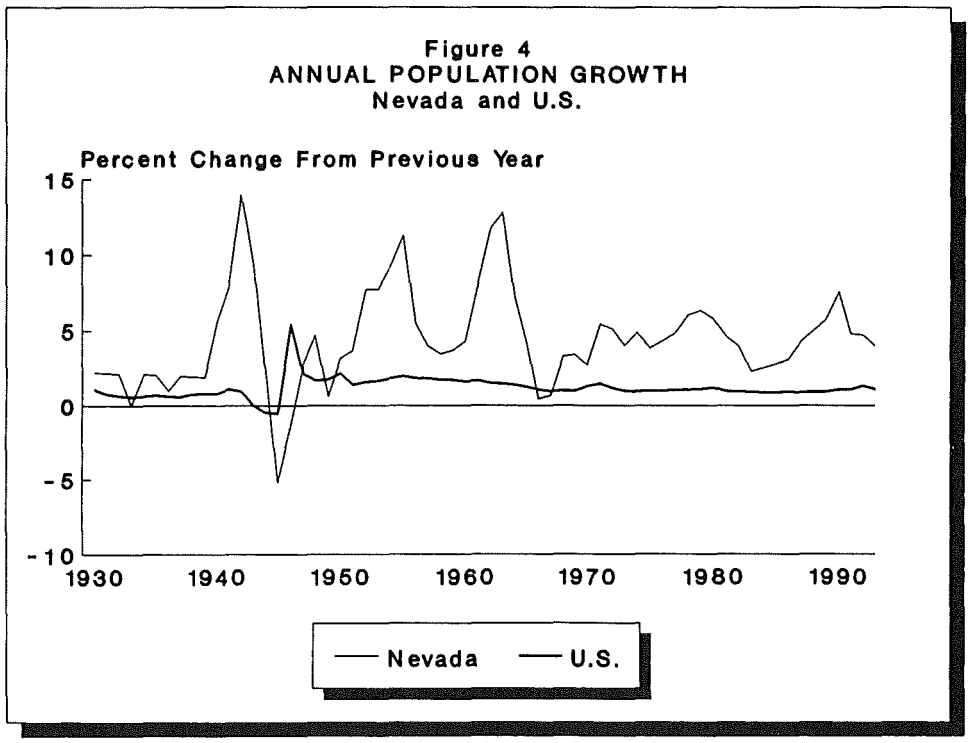
During Nevada's mining era, changes in the rate of growth were highly correlated with booms and busts in the mining industry. Discovery of the Comstock Lode, reported in the *Nevada Journal* in 1859, was primarily responsible for the five-fold increase in population between 1860 and 1870 and the nearly 50 percent increase between 1870 and 1880. Comstock production peaked in 1876, with mineral production in Nevada then declining to an all-time low in 1894. The result was the decrease in the Nevada population that occurred between 1880 and 1900. Discovery of gold and silver at Tonopah and Goldfield spurred a more than 90 percent population increase between 1900 and 1910, but as the southern Nevada mineral production declined, there was another exodus, with Nevada experiencing a decrease in population of more than 5 percent between 1910 and 1920.

During the gaming era, the state's long-term population growth trend has been more consistent with the national trend, except that Nevada has tended to have a higher rate of growth. Figure 4 presents the annual population growth rates for Nevada and the United States between 1929 and 1993. Between World



War II and the mid 1960s, the United States experienced what has become known as the baby boom—an increase in the rate of population growth running counter to the historical decreasing trend. Like the rest of the nation, Nevada grew rapidly during the baby-boom period, but at a more substantial rate. Whereas the average annual growth rate of the United States population was 1.9 percent over the 1945–65 period, the comparable rate for Nevada was 5.7 percent. Unlike the country as a whole, Nevada had additional population booms during the 1970s and during the late 1980s and early 1990s, periods during which the state's gaming industry was rapidly expanding.

It would be an exaggeration to argue that the growth of the gaming industry is entirely responsible for the more stable and more rapid increase in Nevada's population during the gaming era. A 1949 law, which exempted warehousing activities from the property tax, began what has been a successful effort to encourage the development of a warehousing industry in Nevada. The establishment of military bases and an atomic energy testing area has provided a consistent source of federal government employment. Construction of Hoover Dam in the 1930s, development of ski areas, and the gradual development of Lake Tahoe have also encouraged the evolution of a nongaming tourism industry. However, in spite of these diversification achievements, there is little doubt



that the consistent and relatively rapid growth of the gaming industry is the force underlying the consistent rapid growth of the Nevada population.

4. Population by Age

Table 3 in the Appendix presents the populations of Nevada and the United States by age, with each age cohort being expressed as a percentage of the total population.[10]

Figure 5 presents the percentage of the population age 24 and under for Nevada and the United States from 1860 to 1990. In 1860, 61.2 percent of the nation's population was age 24 and under, while the comparable percentage for Nevada was just 32.6 percent. Over the 1860–1950 period, the proportion of the United States population age 24 and under exhibited a generally decreasing trend, while that for Nevada was increasing. Since 1970, the proportion of this cohort has decreased in both the state and nation, with the difference between Nevada and the country being small relative to the differences experienced prior to 1950.

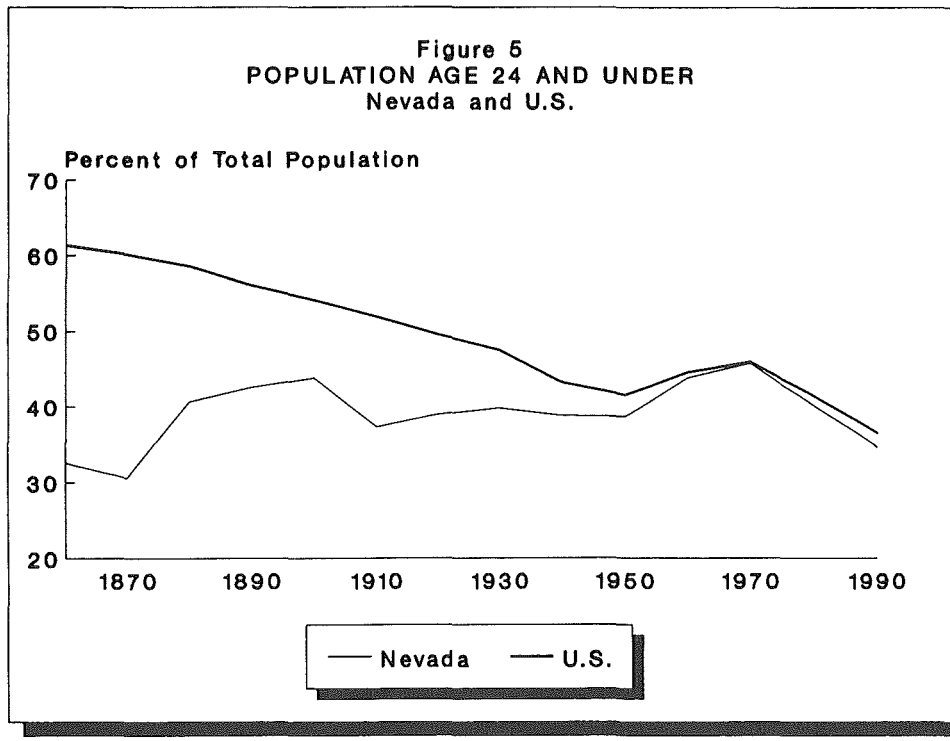
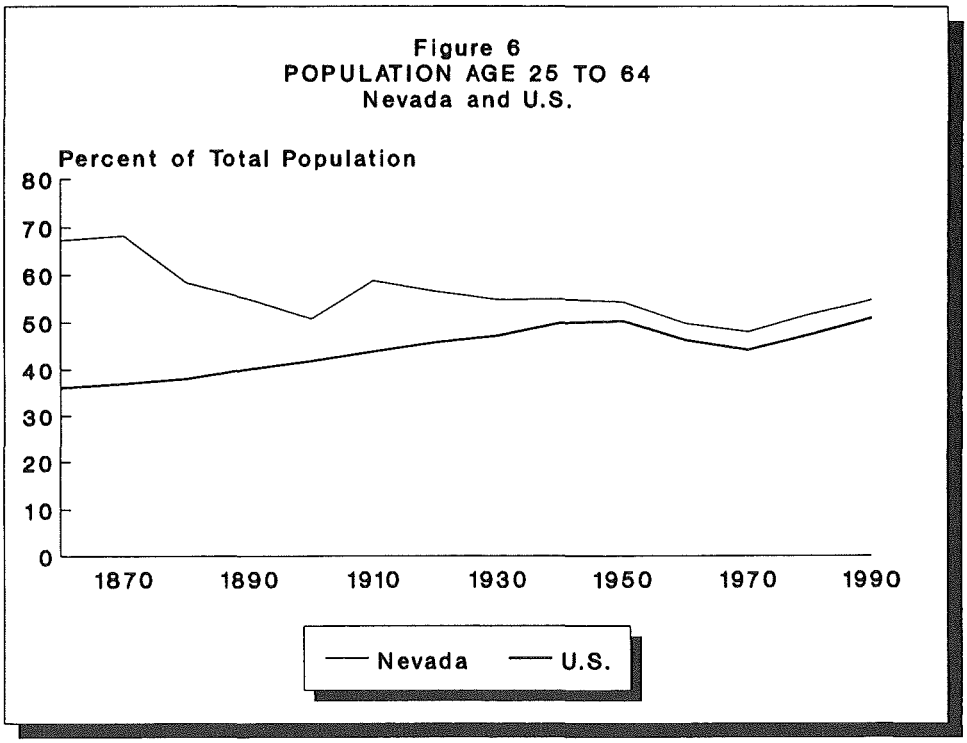


Figure 6 presents the percentage of the population age 25–64 for Nevada and the United States from 1860 to 1990. In 1860, 67.3 percent of the Nevada population was age 24–64, while the comparable national percentage was just 36.1 percent. Over the 1860–1970 period, the proportion of the United States population age 25–64 exhibited an increasing trend, while that in Nevada was decreasing. Since 1970, the proportion of the population age 25–64 has followed an increasing trend in both state and nation, with the difference between the two being small relative to those prior to 1950.

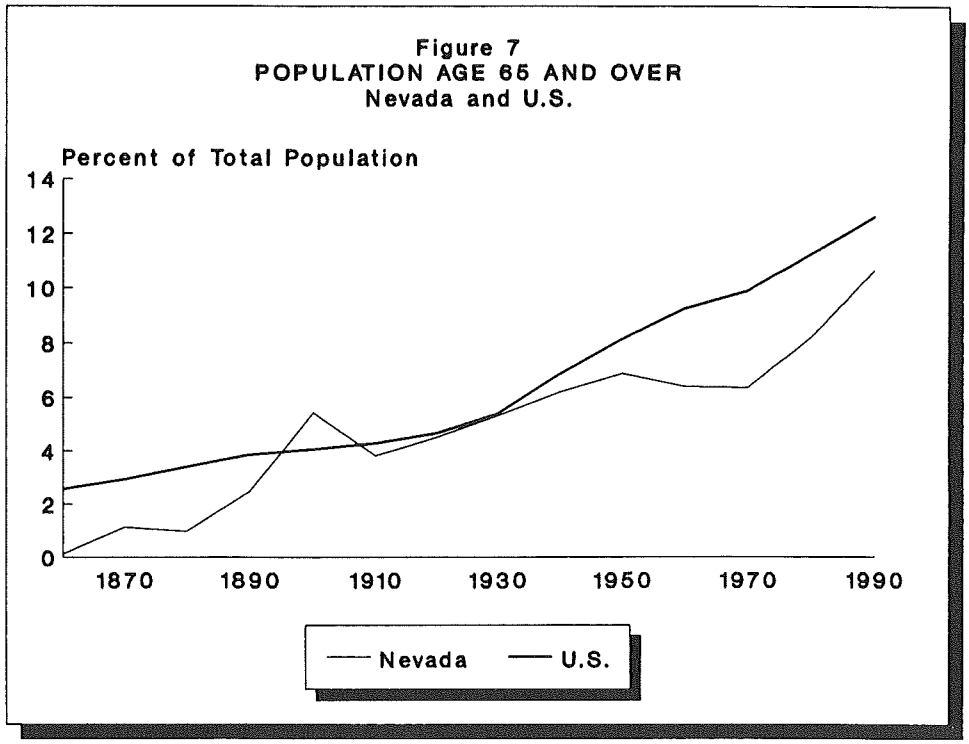
Figure 7 presents the percentage of the population age 65 and over for Nevada and the United States from 1860 to 1990. In 1860, 2.6 percent of the United States population was over age 65, while the comparable percentage for Nevada was just 0.1 percent. Over the 1860–1990 period, the proportion of the population age 25–64 has followed an increasing trend in both state and nation, with the proportion for Nevada tending to be slightly smaller than that for the country as a whole.

It is apparent from Figures 5–7 that the age composition of the Nevada population has over time become more like that of the nation. The most obvious explanation for this is that Nevada's economy and life style have become more



like that of the country as a whole. Life anywhere on the 1860 frontier was rugged when compared to life in the more developed regions of the eastern United States. Thus, compared to the country as a whole, the 1860 Nevada population would be expected to have smaller proportions of the very young and very old, with the proportions drawing closer to the national figures as Nevada developed.

However, there is evidence that changes in the mining industry also affected the age distribution of Nevada during the mining era. Recall that Nevada's population decreased during the 1880–1900 period because of reductions in mineral production. In Figure 5, note the hump in the Nevada curve during that period, and also note the corresponding valley in the Nevada curve shown in Figure 6. A reasonable explanation for this shift in the age of Nevada's population is that, because families with children and the elderly tend to be less mobile, those who moved into Nevada during mining booms and also exited during busts were disproportionately people age 25–64. The data indicate that a disproportionate number of that group did leave the state between 1880 and 1900 to pursue opportunities elsewhere, making the proportion of those age 24 and under grow along with the proportion of those age 65 and over. Conversely,



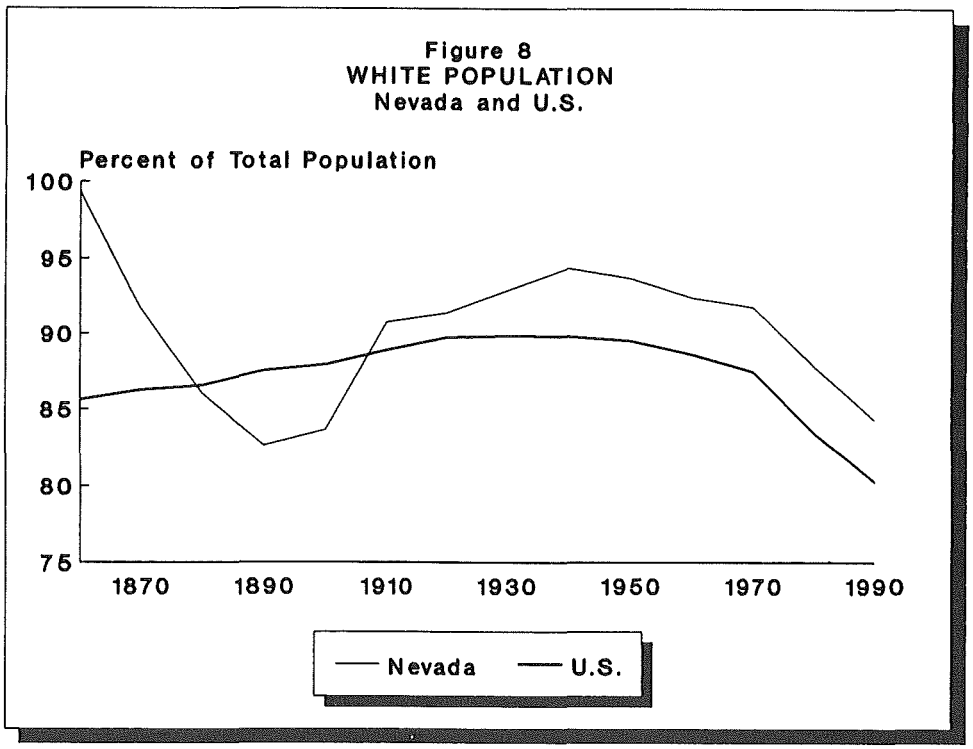
between 1900 and 1910, a period that saw rapid expansion due to a mining boom, the data indicate that a disproportionate number of people age 25–64 entered Nevada, shrinking the proportion of the population age 24 and under along with the proportion age 65 and over.

As mining has become relatively less significant in the state's economy and gaming more significant, employment in mining jobs has decreased relative to that in service and retail jobs generated by the gaming industry. As a consequence, life in Nevada has become more consistent with that found elsewhere in the United States, which explains why the age composition of the state's population is now more consistent with that of the country as a whole.

5. Population by Ethnicity

Table 4 in the Appendix presents the populations of Nevada and the United States by ethnicity, with each ethnic group expressed as a percentage of the total population.[11]

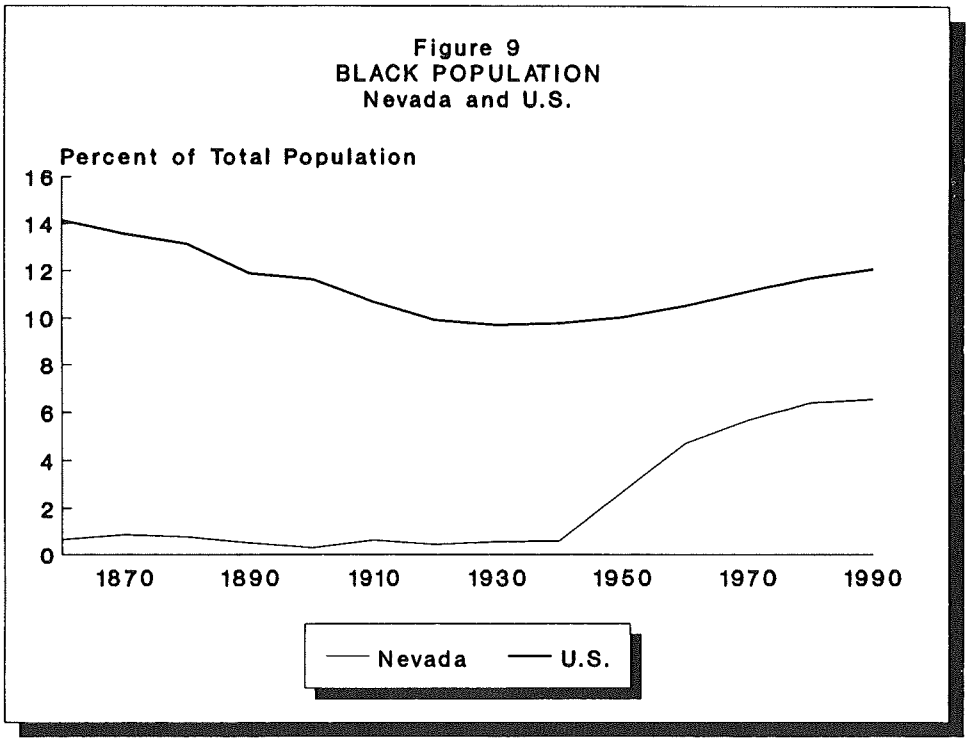
Figure 8 presents the white populations of Nevada and of the United States



from 1860 to 1990 as percentages of their respective total populations. During the gaming era, note that the state and national trends were similar. The concentration of whites in Nevada and the country as a whole has been decreasing since 1940, with the concentration in Nevada consistently remaining above that nationally. During the mining era, however, Nevada's concentration of whites was more volatile than the national concentration. While 99.3 percent of the Nevada population was classified as white in 1860, the percentage dipped to 82.6 percent in 1890, then increased to 90.7 percent in 1910.

Figure 9 presents the black population of Nevada from 1860 to 1990 as a percentage of the total Nevada population; the black population of the United States is shown similarly. During the mining era, the concentration of blacks in the country followed a decreasing trend, while the concentration in Nevada remained consistently small (less than 1 percent). During the gaming era, both state and national concentrations of blacks have followed an increasing trend, with Nevada remaining consistently below the national level.

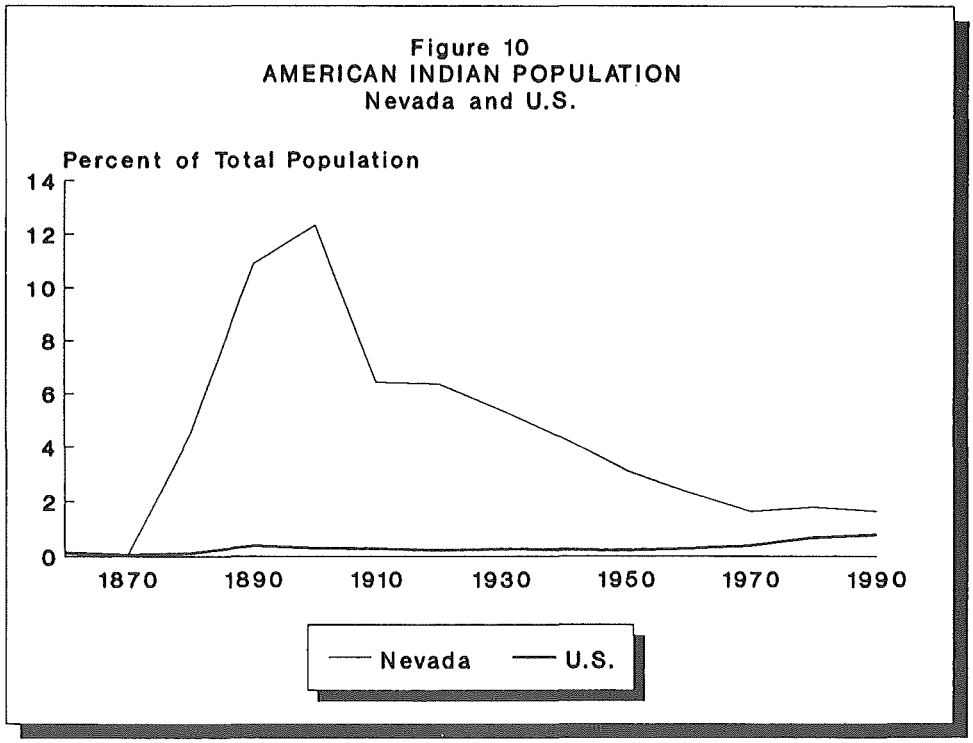
Figure 10 presents the American Indian populations of Nevada and of the United States from 1860 to 1990 as percentages of their respective total popula-



tions. While the concentration of American Indians nationally has remained consistently small over the entire period, the concentration in Nevada increased to a peak of 12.3 percent in 1900 and has followed a decreasing trend thereafter.

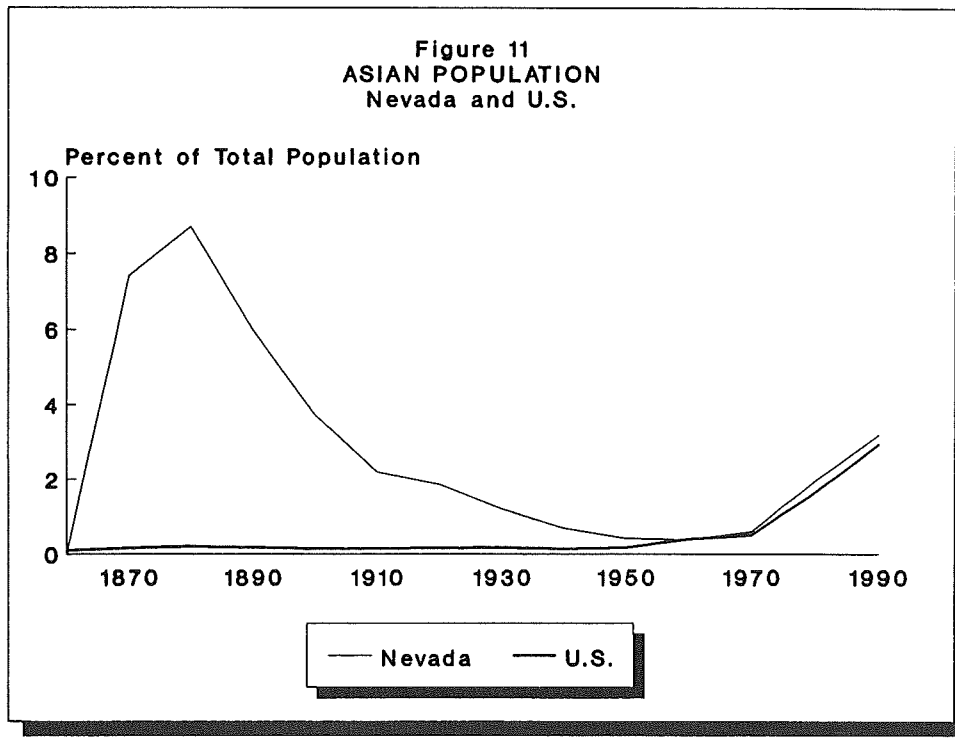
Figure 11 presents the Asian population of Nevada, including Pacific islanders, from 1860 to 1990 as a percentage of the total Nevada population; the nationwide Asian population is similarly shown. Note that the trends followed by Nevada and the United States are nearly identical during the latter part of the gaming era, with the concentration of Asians in Nevada being comparable to the national figures. In contrast, note how Nevada differs from the country as a whole during the mining era. The concentration of Asians in Nevada increased from 0 to 8.7 percent over the 1860–80 period and then decreased until a low of 0.4 percent was reached in 1950.

From the data presented in Figures 8–11, it is evident that the ethnicity of Nevada's population, although once quite different from that of the United States as a whole, has become more like the national average over time. Again, changes in the state's economic structure can explain many of these demographic changes.



For example, fluctuations in Nevada's ethnic mix between 1860 and 1910 can be explained by the booms and busts of the mining industry. The discovery of the Comstock Lode generated a large influx of population, most of whom were white. To facilitate excavation of the Comstock, and particularly to help construct railroads, Asians (mostly Chinese) were brought into Nevada. The 1876 peak in Comstock production was followed by depressed economic conditions that led to (1) a mostly white exodus from Nevada in the 1880s and 1890s, accounting for the fact that the state's white population was proportionately smaller than that of the nation during that period, and (2) the perception of a "yellow peril," the fear of which resulted in persecution and expulsion of the Chinese immigrants, accounting for the declining proportion of Asians after 1880. The departure of whites and Asians, along with better methods of counting, accounts for the fact that the concentration of American Indians in Nevada increased between 1870 and 1900. In 1900, mineral discoveries in southern Nevada generated another population influx (mostly white), explaining the increase in the state's white population between 1900 and 1910.

As noted above, the stabilization of economic conditions during the gaming era produced stabilization in the state's population growth. This, combined with

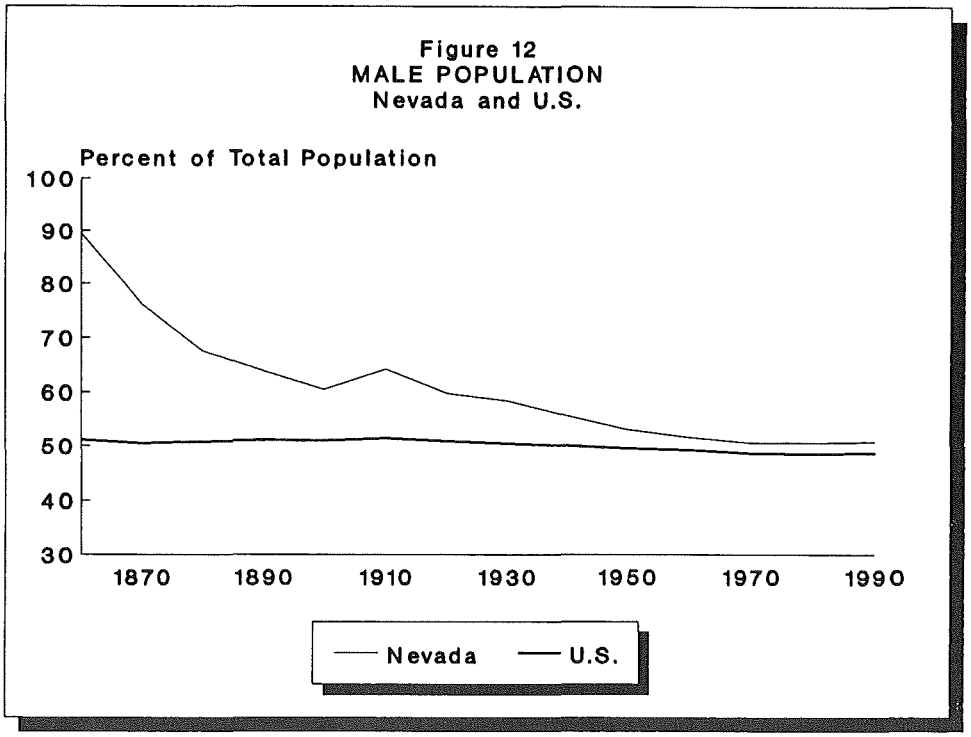


the growth of the gaming industry, has attracted people of all ethnicities to Nevada. As a result, Nevada's ethnic mix has become more consistent with that of the United States as a whole.

6. Population by Sex

Table 5 in the Appendix presents the populations of Nevada and the United States by sex, with each sex expressed as a percentage of the total population.[12]

Figure 12 presents the male population of Nevada from 1860 to 1990 as a percentage of the total state population. The male population of the United States is shown similarly. In 1860, Nevada was 89.5 percent male, while the country as a whole was 51.2 percent male. The male proportion of the Nevada population follows a decreasing trend over time, reaching 50.6 percent in 1980, a pattern to be expected for any frontier state. However, the increase in the male proportion of the Nevada population between 1900 and 1910 provides evidence that the state's mining booms and busts did affect the male-female demographic mix: People flocked to Nevada in pursuit of opportunities associated with the



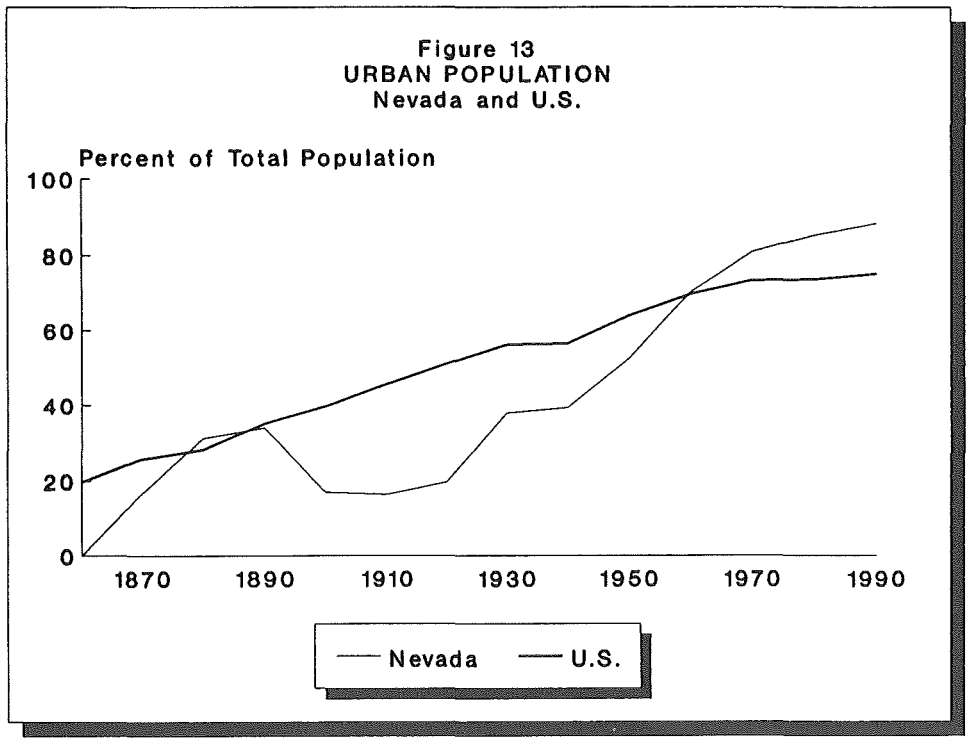
mineral discoveries in southern Nevada, but the data in Figure 12 indicate that a disproportionate number of them were male.

In large part because of the emergence of the gaming industry, Nevada had a highly developed, urban, service-oriented economy by 1980. This evolution has made life in Nevada comparable to that in states whose development has not been centered on mining or the frontier, explaining why Nevada's male-female mix is now relatively close to that of the United States as a whole.

7. Urbanization of the Population

Table 6 in the Appendix presents the urban and rural populations of Nevada and the United States, each expressed as a percentage of the respective total population.[13]

Figure 13 presents the urban population of Nevada from 1860 to 1990 as a percentage of the total Nevada population; the urban population of the United States is presented similarly. In 1860, 100 percent of the Nevada population was classified as rural. Over the 1860–1990 period, both Nevada and the United States became increasingly urbanized, with the state's urbanization proceeding at the faster pace. Except for the unusual 1880 and 1890 censuses, Nevada's



population prior to 1960 was less urban than that of the nation; since that time, Nevada has been more urban and less rural than the country as a whole.

The general trends toward urbanization in Nevada and in the United States as a whole can be attributed to advances in the ability to produce agricultural products and to the development of the manufacturing, trade, and service industries. Agricultural improvements reduced the relative cost of food, decreasing the relative cost of living in urban areas. Manufacturing, trade, and service industries can develop more easily in urban areas because suppliers and buyers are able to interact.

The predominance of mining and ranching in Nevada's early history explains why its population tended to be less urban and more rural than the national norm. The fact that Nevada's urban-rural mix was close to that for the United States as a whole during 1880 and 1890 indicates that a disproportionate part of the population exodus from Nevada, occurring because of declines in mining at that time, originated in rural areas. The fact that the gaming industry is an urban phenomenon accounts for Nevada's relatively rapid growth in urban population and explains why its population has been more urban than that of the country as a whole since 1960.

8. Conclusion

Whereas Nevada's mining era was characterized by population booms and busts, the gaming era has seen consistent population growth, with the state's growth rate consistently exceeding that for the nation. During the mining era, the state's population demographics differed significantly from those of the country as a whole, in part because Nevada was a frontier state just then being settled, but also because mining was its major industry. The population data indicate that those who moved into Nevada during mining booms and departed during busts were disproportionately white males between the ages of 25 and 64. As gaming has displaced mining as the major industry, the state has become more urban. The trend toward urbanization has made life in Nevada less rugged and more like the rest of the country, explaining why the state's demographic structure is now comparable to that of the United States as a whole.

Appendix

Table 1

1990 Population Demographics Nevada and U.S.

Characteristic	*Nevada*[1]	*U.S.*[2]
By Age		
Age 0–4	7.7	7.4
Age 5–14	13.4	14.2
Age 15–24	13.5	14.8
Age 25–44	34.5	32.2
Age 45–64	20.3	18.7
Age 65+	10.6	12.6
By Ethnicity		
White	84.3	80.3
Black	6.6	12.1
American Indian	1.6	0.8
Asian	3.2	2.9
Other Races	4.4	3.9
Hispanic (Any Race)	10.4	9.0
By Sex		
Male	50.9	48.7
Female	49.1	51.3
By Residence		
Urban	88.3	75.2
Rural	11.7	24.8

[1]Percent of Nevada Population.
[2]Percent of U.S. Population.

TABLE 2
Population Nevada and U.S.

	Decennial census population			
	Nevada		*U.S.*	
Year	*Population*	*Growth rate*[1]	*Population*	*Growth Rate*[1]
1860	6,857	—	31,443,321	—
1870	42,491	519.7	39,818,449	26.6
1880	62,266	46.5	50,155,783	26.0
1890	47,355	−23.9	62,947,714	25.5
1900	42,335	−10.6	75,994,575	20.7
1910	81,875	93.4	91,972,266	21.0
1920	77,407	−5.5	105,710,620	14.9
1930	91,058	17.6	122,775,046	16.1
1940	110,246	21.1	131,669,275	7.2
1950	160,082	45.2	150,697,361	14.5
1960	285,278	78.2	179,323,175	19.0
1970	488,738	71.3	203,302,031	13.4
1980	800,493	63.8	226,545,805	11.4
1990	1,201,833	50.1	248,709,873	9.8
	Annual mid–year population			
	Nevada		*U.S.*	
Year	*Population*	*Growth rate*[2]	*Population*	*Growth Rate*[2]
1929	90,000	—	121,769,000	—
1930	92,000	2.2	123,075,000	1.1
1931	94,000	2.2	124,038,000	0.8
1932	96,000	2.1	124,839,000	0.6
1933	96,000	0.0	125,580,000	0.6
1934	98,000	2.1	126,372,000	0.6
1935	100,000	2.0	127,251,000	0.7
1936	101,000	1.0	128,054,000	0.6
1937	103,000	2.0	128,822,000	0.6
1938	105,000	1.9	129,824,000	0.8
1939	107,000	1.9	130,884,000	0.8
1940	113,000	5.6	131,955,000	0.8
1941	122,000	8.0	133,417,000	1.1
1942	139,000	13.9	134,670,000	0.9
1943	152,000	9.4	134,697,000	0.0
1944	155,000	2.0	134,075,000	−0.5
1945	147,000	−5.2	133,387,000	−0.5
1946	145,000	−1.4	140,638,000	5.4
1947	149,000	2.8	143,665,000	2.2

1948	156,000	4.7	146,091,000	1.7
1949	157,000	0.6	148,666,000	1.8
1950	162,000	3.2	151,871,000	2.2
1951	168,000	3.7	153,970,000	1.4
1952	181,000	7.7	156,369,000	1.6
1953	195,000	7.7	158,946,000	1.6
1954	213,000	9.2	161,881,000	1.8
1955	237,000	11.3	165,058,000	2.0
1956	250,000	5.5	168,078,000	1.8
1957	260,000	4.0	171,178,000	1.8
1958	269,000	3.5	174,143,000	1.7
1959	279,000	3.7	177,124,000	1.7
1960	291,000	4.3	179,954,000	1.6
1961	315,000	8.2	182,960,000	1.7
1962	352,000	11.7	185,708,000	1.5
1963	397,000	12.8	188,423,000	1.5
1964	426,000	7.3	191,063,000	1.4
1965	444,000	4.2	193,451,000	1.2
1966	446,000	0.5	195,486,000	1.1
1967	449,000	0.7	197,360,000	1.0
1968	464,000	3.3	199,297,000	1.0
1969	480,000	3.4	201,250,000	1.0
1970	493,200	2.8	203,798,700	1.3
1971	520,000	5.4	206,817,500	1.5
1972	546,700	5.1	209,274,900	1.2
1973	568,900	4.1	211,349,200	1.0
1974	596,700	4.9	213,333,600	0.9
1975	619,800	3.9	215,456,600	1.0
1976	646,800	4.4	217,553,900	1.0
1977	678,100	4.8	219,760,900	1.0
1978	719,300	6.1	222,098,200	1.1
1979	765,100	6.4	224,564,100	1.1
1980	809,900	5.9	227,255,000	1.2
1981	847,600	4.7	229,457,400	1.0
1982	881,600	4.0	231,668,700	1.0
1983	902,000	2.3	233,806,200	0.9
1984	925,000	2.5	235,846,600	0.9
1985	951,100	2.8	237,949,900	0.9
1986	980,700	3.1	240,162,200	0.9
1987	1,023,500	4.4	242,321,000	0.9
1988	1,075,200	5.1	244,534,300	0.9
1989	1,137,400	5.8	246,820,200	0.9
1990	1,223,900	7.6	249,466,200	1.1
1991	1,283,000	4.8	252,159,900	1.1
1992	1,343,900	4.7	255,472,000	1.3
1993	1,398,500	4.1	258,256,000	1.1

[1]Percent change from previous decade.
[2]Percent change from previous year.

TABLE 3
Population by Age[1] Nevada and U.S.

	Nevada					
Year	*0 to 4*	*5 to 14*	*15 to 24*	*25 to 44*	*45 to 64*	*65 and Over*
1860	4.4	4.3	23.9	61.6	5.7	0.1
1870	7.1	9.4	14.1	58.8	9.4	1.2
1880	10.1	15.0	15.5	44.8	13.5	1.0
1890	8.1	17.4	17.1	35.3	19.6	2.5
1900	9.0	16.7	18.1	31.3	19.5	5.4
1910	7.8	13.0	16.4	41.4	17.5	3.8
1920	8.7	16.2	14.0	37.3	19.3	4.5
1930	7.8	16.4	15.6	33.2	21.7	5.3
1940	8.2	14.3	16.3	33.0	22.1	6.2
1950	10.6	15.3	12.8	33.5	21.0	6.9
1960	11.6	19.0	13.3	29.3	20.5	6.4
1970	9.0	20.5	16.2	27.4	20.5	6.3
1980	7.0	14.7	18.4	31.3	20.4	8.2
1990	7.7	13.4	13.5	34.5	20.3	10.6
	U.S.					
Year	*0 to 4*	*5 to 14*	*15 to 24*	*25 to 44*	*45 to 64*	*65 and Over*
1860	15.4	25.1	20.7	25.6	10.5	2.6
1870	14.0	26.3	19.8	25.2	11.7	2.9
1880	13.7	25.0	20.0	25.5	12.5	3.4
1890	12.2	23.4	20.4	27.0	13.1	3.9
1900	12.1	22.4	19.6	28.1	13.7	4.1
1910	11.6	20.6	19.7	29.2	14.6	4.3
1920	11.0	20.9	17.7	29.6	16.1	4.7
1930	9.3	20.0	18.2	29.8	17.4	5.4
1940	8.0	17.0	18.2	30.1	19.8	6.9
1950	10.7	16.1	14.7	30.0	20.3	8.1
1960	11.3	19.8	13.4	26.2	20.1	9.2
1970	8.4	20.1	17.4	23.6	20.6	9.9
1980	7.2	15.4	18.7	27.7	19.7	11.3
1990	7.4	14.2	14.8	32.2	18.7	12.6

[1]Nevada population age cohorts are presented as a percentage of the Nevada population. The U.S. population age cohorts are presented as a percentage of the U.S. population.

TABLE 4
Population by Ethnicity Nevada and U.S.

	Nevada[1]					
	Race					
Year	*White*	*Black*	*American Indian*	*Asian*	*Other*	*Hispanic Origin (Any Race)*
1860	99.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1870	91.6	0.9	0.1	7.4	0.0	0.0
1880	86.0	0.8	4.5	8.7	0.0	0.0
1890	82.6	0.5	10.9	6.0	0.0	0.0
1900	83.6	0.3	12.3	3.7	0.0	0.0
1910	90.7	0.6	6.4	2.2	0.1	0.0
1920	91.3	0.4	6.3	1.9	0.0	0.0
1930	92.8	0.6	5.3	1.2	0.1	0.0
1940	94.4	0.6	4.3	0.7	0.0	0.0
1950	93.6	2.7	3.1	0.4	0.1	0.0
1960	92.3	4.7	2.3	0.4	0.2	0.0
1970	91.7	5.7	1.6	0.6	0.4	0.0
1980	87.8	6.4	1.8	1.9	2.0	6.8
1990	84.3	6.6	1.6	3.2	4.4	10.4
	U.S.[2]					
	Race					
Year	*White*	*Black*	*American Indian*	*Asian*	*Other*	*Hispanic Origin (Any Race)*
1860	85.6	14.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
1870	86.2	13.5	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
1880	86.5	13.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
1890	87.5	11.9	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0
1900	87.9	11.6	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
1910	88.9	10.7	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
1920	89.7	9.9	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
1930	89.8	9.7	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
1940	89.8	9.8	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
1950	89.5	10.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0
1960	88.6	10.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.0
1970	87.5	11.1	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.0
1980	83.4	11.7	0.7	1.6	2.5	6.4
1990	80.3	12.1	0.8	2.9	3.9	9.0

[1]Ethnic groups presented as a percent of Nevada population.
[2]Ethnic groups presented as a percent of U.S. population.

TABLE 5
Population by Sex Nevada and U.S.

	Nevada[1]		*U.S.*[2]	
Year	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
1860	89.5	10.5	51.2	48.8
1870	76.2	23.8	50.6	49.4
1880	67.5	32.5	50.9	49.1
1890	63.8	36.2	51.2	48.8
1900	60.5	39.5	51.1	48.9
1910	64.2	35.8	51.5	48.5
1920	59.7	40.3	51.0	49.0
1930	58.4	41.6	50.6	49.4
1940	55.6	44.4	50.2	49.8
1950	53.1	46.9	49.7	50.3
1960	51.7	48.3	49.4	50.6
1970	50.7	49.3	48.7	51.3
1980	50.6	49.4	48.6	51.4
1990	50.9	49.1	48.7	51.3

[1]Percent of Nevada population.
[2]Percent of U.S. population.

TABLE 6
Urban Versus Rural Population Nevada and U.S.

	Nevada[1]		*U.S.*[2]	
Year	*Urban*	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Rural*
1860	0.0	100.0	19.8	80.2
1870	16.6	83.4	25.7	74.3
1880	31.1	68.9	28.2	71.8
1890	33.8	66.2	35.1	64.9
1900	17.0	83.0	39.7	60.3
1910	16.3	83.7	45.7	54.3
1920	19.7	80.3	51.2	48.8
1930	37.8	62.2	56.2	43.8
1940	39.3	60.7	56.5	43.5
1950	52.5	47.5	64.0	36.0
1960	70.4	29.6	69.9	30.1
1970	80.9	19.1	73.5	26.5
1980	85.3	14.7	73.7	26.3
1990	88.3	11.7	75.2	24.8

[1]Percent of Nevada population.
[2]Percent of U.S. population.

NOTES

[1]Although gambling was legal in Nevada during the mining era (1869–1910), there was nothing of the magnitude achieved during the gaming era.

[2]Population rankings by state for 1990 were obtained from the *1990 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 321.

[3]Age distributions of state populations for 1990 were obtained from the *1990 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, 321.

[4]Ethnic distributions of the state populations for 1990 were obtained from the *1990 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, 330–34.

[5]Distributions of the state populations by sex for 1990 were obtained from the *1990 Census of the Population, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, U.S. Summary* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 59.

[6]The U.S. Bureau of the Census includes "incorporated places" and "census designated places" in its definition of places. Incorporated places include incorporated cities, towns, villages, and boroughs. Census designated places are "densely settled concentrations of population that are identifiable by name, but not legally incorporated places."

[7]Classifications of state populations as urban versus rural for 1990 were obtained from the *Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1992* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Economics and Statistics Administration), 27.

[8]Decennial population data for Nevada were obtained from the *1990 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, Nevada* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 1. The decennial population data for the U.S. were obtained from *Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1991* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Economics and Statistics Administration), 7.

[9]Annual population estimates for Nevada were gathered from *State Personal Income: 1929–1987* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis), 27–29; *Regional Information System CD-ROM* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis); *Nevada Population Estimates and Forecasts* (Nevada Department of Taxation, 28 October 1993), 2. Annual population estimates for the U.S. were gathered from *State Personal Income: 1929–1987*, 27–29; *Regional Information System CD-ROM; Survey of Current Business* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis), vol. 74. no. 1, p. 25.

[10]Data on Nevada population by age were obtained from *1990 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, 382; *1980 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Summary* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 290; *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, part I (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 31. Data on the U.S. population by age were obtained from *1990 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, 23; *1980 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, 67; *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, part I, p. 15.

[11]Data on the ethnicity of the Nevada population were obtained from *1990 Census of the Population and Housing, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, Nevada* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 9; *1980 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Nevada* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 13, 70; *1970 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, Nevada* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), 24; *Twelfth Census of the United States, Population*, part I, vol. 1 (U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office) 548, 568, 572; "Statistics of the Population of the United States," *Tenth Census of the United States* (U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office), 378–79. Data on the ethnicity of the U.S. population were obtained from *1990 Census of the Population and Housing, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, Nevada*, 59; *1980 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Nevada*, 12–13; *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, part I, p. 14.

[12]Data on distribution of the Nevada population by sex were obtained from *1990 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, Nevada*, 28; *1980 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Nevada*, part 30, p. 23; *1970 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics*, vol. 1, part 30, p. 33; *Twelfth Census of the United States, Population*, part I, vol. 1, p. 471. Data on distribution of the U.S. population by sex were obtained from *1990 Census of the Population and*

Housing, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, 59; *1980 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, part I, p. 22; *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, part I, 14.

[13]Data on urban and rural characteristics of the Nevada population were obtained from *1990 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, Nevada*, 28; *1980 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Nevada*, part 30, p. 11; *1970 Census of the Population, Characteristics of Population, Nevada*, vol. 1, part 30, p. 7. Data on urban and rural characteristics of the U.S. population were obtained from *1990 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, 1; *1980 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary*, vol. 1, part I, 20; *Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1992*, 17.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
THE WALKER RIVER RUSH, 1856–1861

John M. Townley

Just six months after the 1848 gold strike at Sutter's Mill, miners in the expanding Mother Lode districts confidently speculated that California's placers might extend well beyond the Sierra Nevada. Discovery of the Comstock's placer halo by 1849, southern California's Amargosa excitement of 1851, the Fraser River rush of 1857–60, and the Gila River strike in 1858 confirmed that earlier premise. The Walker River placers, a small eastern-slope district found in the mid-1850s as wandering prospectors pushed the mining frontier into the Great Basin, have been virtually forgotten. Although active only from 1857 to 1861, they opened the way to Aurora, Bodie, and many of central Nevada's mining districts. Never bonanzas attracting thousands of goldrushers, the interesting Walker River districts do add a piece or two to the puzzle of pre-Comstock Nevada.

At the time, the discovery of Walker River's gold was often credited to trapper-explorer Jedediah S. Smith, who was crossing the Sierra on his way east to Salt Lake in 1827. In 1860, Thomas Sprague, a resident of remote Genoa in Carson Valley, Utah Territory, published a letter in California's *Marysville Appeal* claiming that Smith found gold northeast of Mono Lake and brought samples to the 1827 fur rendezvous at Bear River. Sprague asserted that Smith's associates in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company directed him to examine the deposit more carefully on his return trip. A southern California priest, Father Narciso Duran, supposedly was written a letter informing Mexican authorities of Smith's discovery.[1] Two miners working Monoville claims in 1860 claimed that they had been with Smith in 1827 and spent several weeks testing Mono Gulch. A year earlier, miners had found ax-marked stumps, supposedly cut by Smith's party.[2] This romanticized 1827 discovery of eastern-slope gold placer deposits has been generally discounted by later Smith scholars.[3]

California-based prospecting parties panned the eastern slope, usually near Carson and Washoe valleys, as early as 1850. In 1851, at least one party of seven men from Mormon Station (Genoa), a settlement in Carson Valley, explored

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south to the vicinity of Bridgeport before being attacked by Indians.[4] A year later, Lieutenant Tredwell Moore's small infantry column reached Mono Lake by way of Bloody Canyon and returned to the San Joaquin with samples of placer gold.[5] Leroy Vining and a small party from Mariposa crossed to the Mono Basin later in 1852 and prospected among its surrounding ranges.

Interest in Walker River surged early in 1853, when word spread—probably helped along by over-zealous merchants of Sonora, the outfitting town that sold most of the goods packed east over the Sierra that summer—that emigrants using Sonora Pass to reach the Mother Lode in September 1852 found traces of placer ground as they passed along the Walker. One of the emigrants supposedly returned later that fall and took an ounce of gold from the stream in only a few minutes. The story improved over the long winter.[6] Indians were quoted as confirming that gold abounded anywhere east of the Sierra's crest.[7] The *Alta California* summarized aspirations among the mining fraternity with an article in May 1853:

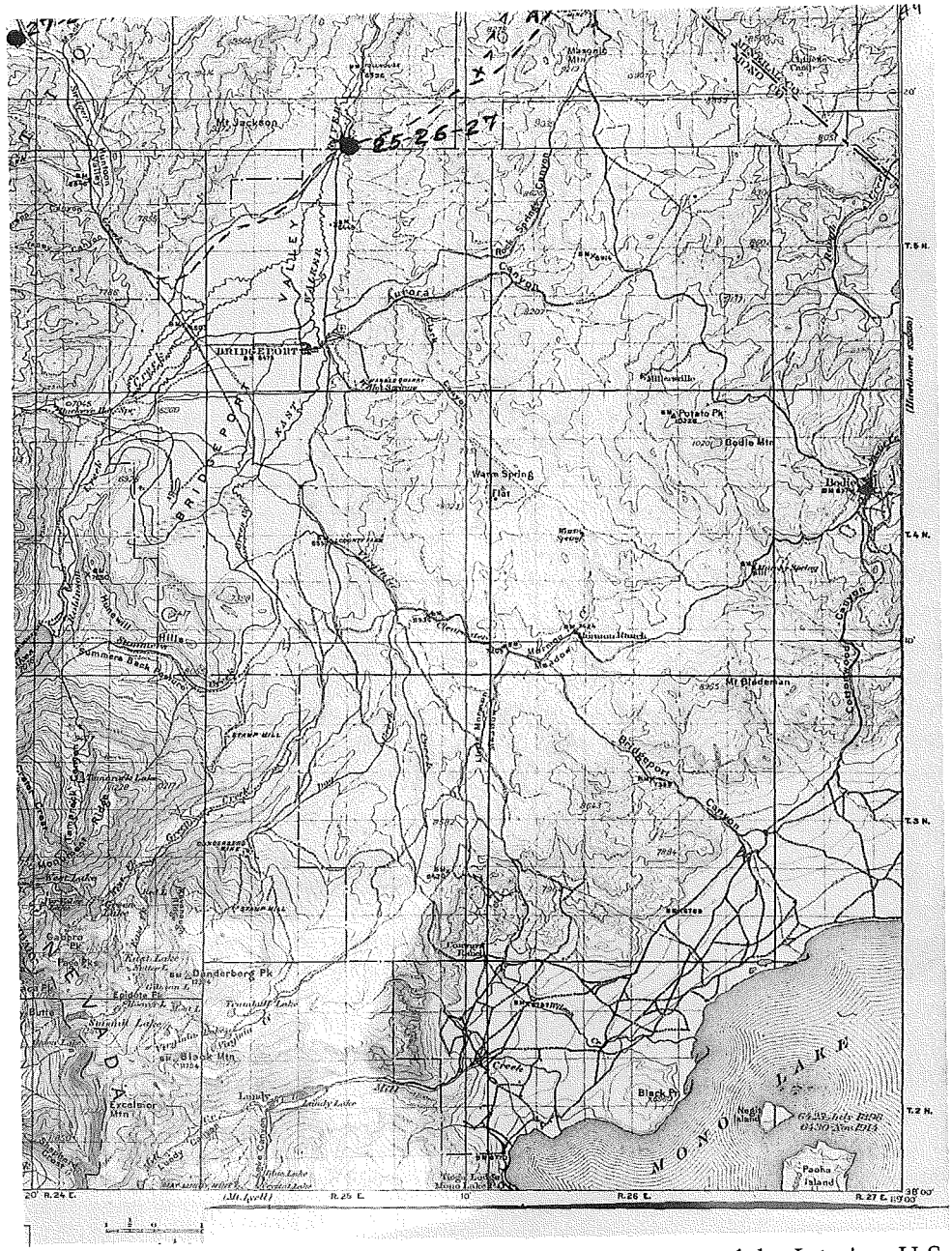
> It is well known that the Mormons have been for some time past engaged in mining on Carson's River and in that vicinity. This has led people to believe that gold may be found all along the eastern slope of the Sierra, as it is on this side. Stories of rich mines existing on the other side of the mountains have been current from time to time, and more than one expedition has been fitted out before this to explore them but have returned without success. Last fall, however, some of the emigrants, who came through on the new trail [Sonora Pass], discovered gold on Walker's River, and one of them reported that he had found RICH diggings there. Col. McLean, also, who came over the mountains for the purpose of awakening an interest in the new route, reported that he had discovered gold in one of the gulches between Carson's and Walker's, but was unable to prospect thoroughly for want of the proper implements. These reports induced a large company of men to start over the mountains to prospect the section of country alleged to contain gold.[8]

None of the 1853 prospecting parties returned with full pokes, and disappointed miners suspected they had been humbugged by speculators interested only in boosting the Sonora Pass wagon road.[9]

A Settlement at Dog Creek

In April 1856, George S. Lauman's party from Carson Valley found placer ground along Dog Creek yielding five to seven cents to the pan, a good prospect. They returned in 1857, and a few lucky miners recovered up to $10 daily.[10] Receipt of $3,000 in recovered gold by Tracy's Express impressed even California's jaded mining fraternity, and several groups headed over Sonora Pass to test the deposits.[11] One prescient individual wrote back to Placerville in 1857:

> Rich veins of silver are known to exist in the hills and mountains adjacent to these valleys [the reference is to lands north of the Carson River that include the Comstock Lode], and



"California-Nevada: Bridgeport Quadrangle." Department of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey. Scale 1:125,000. Surveyed 1905–9. Edition of 1911, reprinted 1933. Dog Creek is near the center of the map.

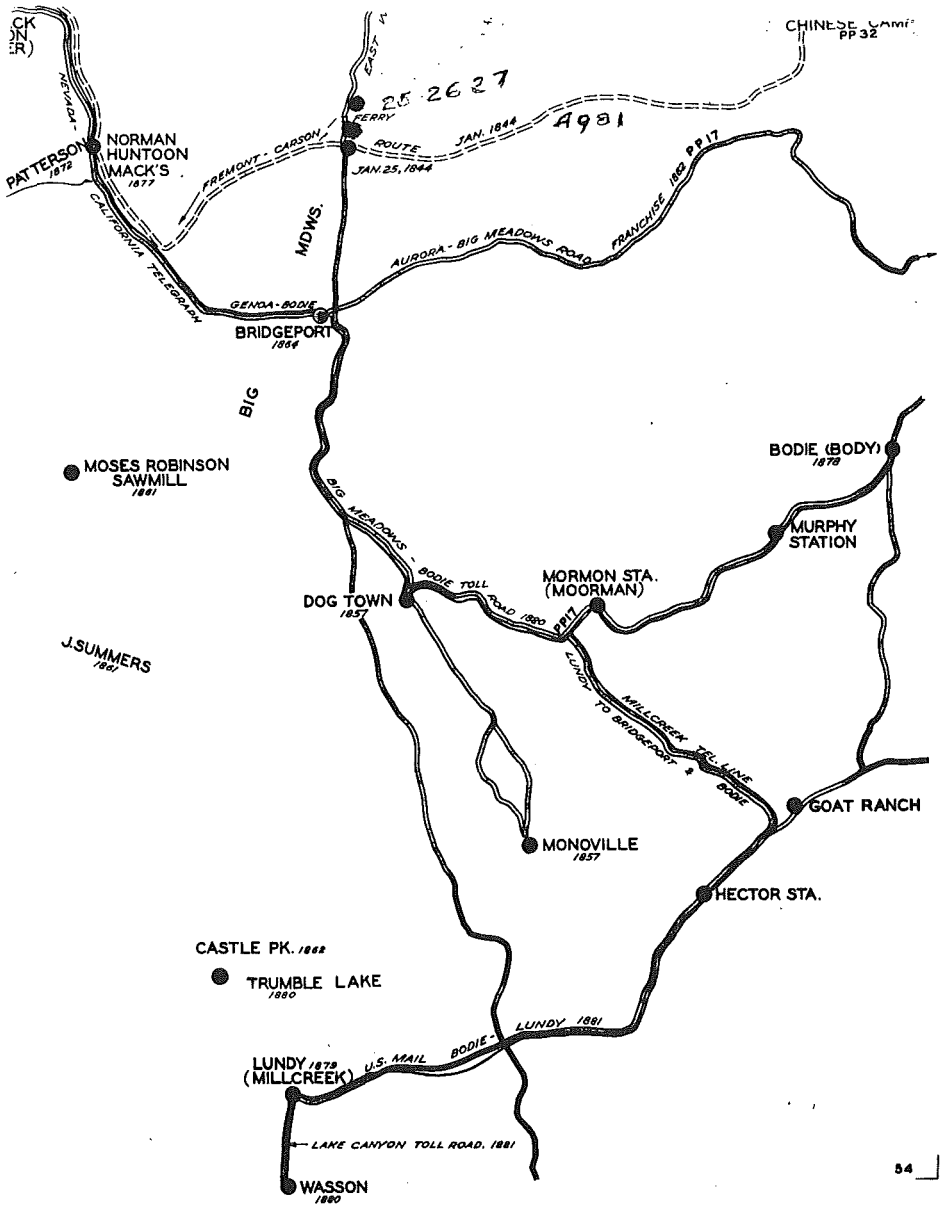
especially this may be said to be the case in those around Walker's valley. I am sustained in this opinion by an Old Mexican silver miner. If some enterprising American would get a good Mexican silver miner and come over here with him, he would strike a good silver mine in five days.[12]

By mid-summer 1857, some 150 men had arrived on Dog Creek, and more lined the roads. Letters sent back to California reported limited ground for exploitation and a return of only $3 or $4 daily, little better than Gold Canyon.[13] Hall [no first name given], described as the "discoverer" of Dog Creek, brought in provisions and intended to stay the winter.[14]

During 1858 the eastern slope was tentatively prospected from Owens Lake to Susanville by men from Carson Valley and the Mother Lode. Genoa and Gold Canyon were almost deserted as miners headed south to the Walker River country.[15] Dog Creek had been tested at least six miles upstream from its junction with Virginia Creek and paid from a nickel to twenty-five cents to the pan.[16] Men teamed together to expose the richest ground, yellow sand located just above a red-brown volcanic ash layer from one to six feet below the grass roots. The ash lay atop a thick deposit of large, barren boulders.[17] From one to three feet of overburden had to be removed with pick and shovel to reach that yellow sand. A peculiarity of Dog Creek's stream bed was the high number of large granite boulders and scarcity of pay dirt. Miners had to move a wagonload of rock to glean a pan of concentrates. It took four men digging to feed a single rocker.[18] Lucky miners could recover half an ounce daily in small, round "shot" gold. There were no large, jewelry-rock nuggets reported. Production in this first full year of work came from banks and feeder gulches along Dog and Virginia creeks.[19] No one had yet reached bedrock, and the extent of Walker River's placers remained a mystery.

By November 1858, some seventy men planned to stay in Nevada Camp (the site of present Dogtown) for the winter. They built cabins and imported provisions. The trip to Genoa took ten to twelve days roundtrip, but flour from Mott's newly completed Carson Valley mill was popular. Many miners had accumulated at least $1,000 in six months of work, over and above expenses.[20] Some three hundred cattle grazed in Bridgeport Valley, but most men kept their mules and riding animals in camp so they could leave quickly should the winter become too harsh. Although strikes had been made away from Dog Creek, local miners camped in common—fear of the numerous surrounding Indian bands kept them cautious.

By January 1859, cold weather and a foot of snow shut down mining. Many men joined in a company to divert Dog Creek upstream, open several miles of primitive canal by shovel, and ground-sluice its lower channel to bedrock. Timber was dragged to camp and whip-sawed into planks for dams and sluices.[21] Another party sank an exploratory shaft that passed through the yellow sand-lava layer and entered deep gravels containing as much as twenty-five cents to the pan. That gold proved much more coarse than deposits near the surface and



A hand-drawn overlay for the "Bridgeport Quadrangle," showing Dog Town and Monoville. William M. Maule, "A Contribution to the Geographic and Economic History of the Carson, Walker and Mono Basins in Nevada and California" (1938), 54. (*U.S. Forest Service California Region Collection, Nevada Historical Society*)

produced a minor excitement.[22] Despite occasional shortages of provisions, Nevada Camp made it through the winter of 1858–59 without incident.

Early in May 1859, local creeks thawed and mining began in earnest. More than two-hundred men worked gravel or prospected surrounding areas. By June the population had doubled, and included two white women. Two general stores and a weekly express to Placerville added an air of permanence to the tiny community.

The Rush to Mono

Dog Creek's best-known anecdote concerns the discovery of nearby Mono Diggings. On the Fourth of July, 1859, according to local legend, a lucky prospector, later said to be Dogtown miner and "squawman" Cord Norst, blundered into enriched gravels almost five miles south of Dogtown.[23] For some unknown reason Norst quit a hard-drinking Independence Day celebration on Dog Creek and wandered away to sleep it off. On awaking, he found himself face down beside a gravel bar covered with nuggets. Filling his pockets, he hurried back to the party and showed samples to all present. The celebrants refused to believe his story and considered hanging him for high treason since anyone who chose to prospect during the national holiday showed a distinct lack of patriotic zeal. At length the whole group decided to pass judgment on Norst's strike and marched in a body to what became known as Monoville. After they sampled the high-grade gravels, the rush was on.[24]

Who actually made the discovery is still unknown, as is the date. The *Daily Alta California*'s issue of July 4, 1859, carried a mention of the "east dry diggings," Monoville's initial title, and this alone should dictate that the find was made some time earlier than July 4, since the nearest telegraph was situated in Genoa, a journey of several days.[25] Perhaps Dogtown's 1859 celebration of Independence Day started a week early, a situation not unknown in Mother Lode camps.

News of bonanza gold placers brought a rush of miners into Monoville late in 1859. Values were found in two dry gulches heading into Mono Lake. Huge granite boulders hampered recovery of gold-laden gravel and concentrates were packed several miles to Virginia Creek for final washing. Despite the handicaps fortunate men cleared $1,000 a week, and most of the rest made $10 to $12 per shift.

Claimholders on depopulated Dog Creek held an emergency meeting, amended their local regulations, and authorized the leasing of claims to Chinese who ordinarily were barred from staking claims. They then rushed to Monoville, leaving a representative to collect royalties from the Asians brought to Walker River from California.[26] District Recorder Joshua A. Talbot and other entrepreneurs financed a ditch, the United Water Ditch Company, from Virginia Creek and sold water to fifteen companies of Monoville miners, beginning about mid-September. Pay dirt was up to twenty-five-feet deep, with the badly fractured granite bedrock containing glory holes in crevices and sinks.[27]

By the time Talbot's ditch shut down for the winter on October 29, 1859, sixteen men were said to have been injured in gunfights that season. The altitude must have affected eyesight, since none of the injured parties died. Monoville's townsite had been surveyed, and lots brought $50 to $300. Culture consisted of Mart Taylor, the self-advertised one-man theatre, who sang or recited anything requested.[28] Two sawmills supplied wood for cabins, and plans had been drawn for a larger ditch to supply men working Mono's hillside bench gravels. Most miners pulled out after twelve inches of snow fell on November 16, but 150 stubborn men decided to stay until spring.

In one of the last events of 1859, silver ore was reported on October 12 from outcrops a few miles east of Monoville.[29] A month later an unidentified Hispanic miner claimed to have located silver propsects some sixty-five miles southeast, but was warned away by Indians. Early in May 1860, silver was reported on the East Walker River no more than eight miles from Monoville. This, and tales of the Comstock's newly uncovered riches, probably motivated the miners who first staked bonanza silver ledges at nearby Aurora in August 1860.[30]

Monoville also played its part in the discovery of Mono County's most productive mining district. Terrence Brodigan, W. S. Bodey, and three other men made their headquarters at Mono Diggings during 1859; the following spring they staked claims about ten miles northeast on the site of Bodie, California.[31]

Prospects seemed so rosy as the winter of 1859–60 approached that about 150 men wintered at Monoville. Supplies reached the camp by sledge from Genoa. There were a couple of weeks when lard and rice were the only staples, but by April 1860 wagons from Mother Lode merchants arrived with a variety of goods. Talbot's ditch company opened its headgates on May 20, and production began in earnest. Once they were being fed by Virginia Creek water costing fifty cents per miner's inch per day, sluicebox companies produced up to fifty dollars daily to the man, while rockers averaged an ounce per shift.[32] About 1,000 claims had been recorded, and the Whipple ground, another claim, allegedly produced twenty-three pounds of gold in a single day.[33] When the second ditch from Virginia Creek opened, groups of miners merged individual claims into corporate holdings and hydraulicked the gravels to bedrock.

By the end of May 1860, there were 1,200 men packed into the small camp. In August, twenty-two bars, two hotels, two smithies, two butchers, two laundries, and one hospital shared Monoville with the tents and shacks of its growing population. An ever-braying and beer-loving burro given the name Brigham Young had full run of the camp and was formally appointed guest of honor at most celebrations.

The camp's three women were individualists in a community full of the same. One, a Mrs. Watts, left her husband for a local miner named Donaldson and kept the district in gossip during October 1860. Another, Cherokee Liz, weighed in at three hundred pounds and evidently supported herself by prostitution. The best-known lady of Monoville was Adaline Carson Simmons Stilts, the

daughter of John Frémont's scout Christopher "Kit" Carson and an Arapaho woman. The twenty-four-year-old girl had attended Howard Female Academy in Fayette, Missouri, between 1848 and 1851 and married Louis Simmons a year later. In California during 1852, she left Simmons shortly, and arrived in Monoville with George W. Stilts.[34] In 1860, having taken the name of her famous father, she committed what may have been Monoville's first murder: "On the 28th of July a woman known as 'Kit Carson,' killed one Hancock, with whom she had been living by stabbing him to the heart."[35]

Released, she died five years later and was buried at Mono Lake:

> A well known "woman of the town," generally known as "Kit Carson," died in this place early this morning. She was part Indian and claimed to be the daughter, by a half-breed Indian woman, of the celebrated moutaineer Kit Carson. She has resided here about five years, and is said to have been intelligent and well educated. Intemperance caused her death.[36]

Decline of the Walker River Placers

With Aurora and Virginia City in bonanza, there seemed little reason to stick with $5-a-day placers. In the summer of 1861 Mono County's metropolis was Aurora, not Dogtown or Monoville. The United Water Ditch Company's dams were still ice-blocked in July, and most of the Dog Creek and Monoville miners had already moved to the new camps. By fall, Monoville and Dogtown were virtual ghost towns.[37] Walker River's population in 1860 probably reached 2,000, but could boast only 10 percent of that number by 1862. A few fortunate miners took their profits and started ranches in Bridgeport Valley and other locations along the East Walker River.

High-volume bucket dredges and other technological improvements in placer mining never reopened the Walker River districts. On Dog Creek, a few Chinese miners and Indian women patiently recovered $2 or $3 dollars daily from the gravels, and did so for decades. More elaborate systems employing sluices and small dipper dredges occasionally disturbed Dog Creek, but they shut down after only short periods of activity, indicating inadequate values among the deeper gravels. Monoville still had potential, and several promoters hoped to import floating dredges and revitalize the remote district. Despite claims of good values and enough gravel for years of exploitation, none of those projects ever went beyond the talking stage.

Today, Dogtown and Monoville stand forgotten among some of the scenic treasures of the eastern slope. Long idle and ignored by traffic rushing through the district along U.S. Route 395, these short-lived camps add more to our understanding of the mining frontier's expansion beyond the Mother Lode than simply record-breaking production figures. Development along the eastern slope during the 1850s displays many blank spots, but the brief Walker River

rush sheds considerable light on the modern origins of that small, impressive region linking Bridgeport and Mono Valley.

NOTES

[1]The letter was printed in the *Marysville Appeal*, 6 October 1860, p. 1. Analysis of its content appears in H. H. Bancroft, *California inter Pocula, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 35 (San Francisco: History Company, 1888), 39. Despite inaccuracies, there is enough detailed information in the letter to wish Sprague had explained the source of his ideas. Had he been one of Smith's companions, or was knowledge of Smith and his travels widespread in the 1850s? The best account of that 1827 trip is *Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827*, Western Frontiersman Series, no. 18 (Glendale, Calif.: Clark, 1977). Thomas C. Fletcher, *Paiute, Prospector, Pioneer: The Bodie-Mono Lake Area in the Nineteenth Century* (Lee Vining, Calif.: Artemisia, 1987), 11, dismisses the claim about Smith. Fletcher's careful study points out the conflicts in attempts to make Smith a miner, rather than trapper.

[2]The statement by members of Smith's party is found in Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1881), 21, and Frank S. Wedertz, *Bodie 1859–1900* (Bishop, Calif.: Sierra Media, 1969), introduction. Wedertz repeats the story in *Mono Diggings* (Bishop, Calif.: Chalfant, 1978), 13. These two works by Wedertz are the best summaries of Dogtown and Monoville.

[3]See note 1.

[4]*San Francisco Herald*, 2 August 1851, p. 2.

[5]*Sacramento Union*, 27 August 1852, p. 3. Moore supposedly explored seventy-five miles east of Mono Lake and later displayed "rotten quartz filled with gold." Fletcher, *Paiute, Prospector, Pioneer*, discusses Moore's trip (pp. 18–22), and includes copies of Moore's reports (pp. 95–99). For a more comprehensive look at early transmontane trips, see Carl P. Russell, "Early Mining Excitements East of Yosemite," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 13 (February 1928), 40–53.

[6]*San Francisco Herald*, 10 March 1853, p. 3.

[7]*Ibid.*, 18 May 1853, p. 2.

[8]*Alta California*, 24 May 1853, p. 2 [later appears as *Daily Alta California*].

[9]*San Francisco Herald*, 18 May 1853, p. 2.

[10]*Sacramento Daily Union*, 22 April 1857, p. 2; 1 August 1857, p. 2.

[11]*Daily Alta California*, 6 July 1857, p. 1; 2 August 1857, p. 2; 7 August 1857, p. 2.

[12]*Mountain Democrat*, 11 July 1857, p. 2. This unusual reference to silver cannot be linked to an individual. Supposedly only the Grosh brothers (Ethan and Hosea) had found silver in what was later the Comstock district, but there may have been other miners searching for metals other than gold.

[13]*Daily Alta California*, 10 September 1857, p. 1.

[14]*Ibid.*, 10 August 1857, p. 1.

[15]*Ibid.*, 6 May 1858, p. 1.

[16]*Ibid.*, 21 May 1858, p. 1.

[17]*San Francisco Herald*, 9 June 1859, p. 3.

[18]*Ibid.*, 27 May 1858, p. 1. *Daily Alta California*, 9 October 1858, p. 1.

[19]*Nevada Democrat*, 26 January 1859, p. 1.

[20]*Sacramento Daily Union*, 8 November 1858, p. 4.

[21]*Daily Alta California*, 29 January 1859, p. 1; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 12 January 1859, p. 3.

[22]*Nevada Democrat*, 13 April 1859, p. 1.

[23]*Daily Alta California*, 2 April 1860, p. 1.

[24]While the *Daily Alta California* credits Norst (Nost) with Monoville's discovery, Ella Cain, *The Story of Early Mono County* (San Francisco: Fearon, 1961), 4–6, reports that Chris, no other name given, actually made the strike. Cain's source is verbal tradition originating from stories told later by Cord Norst, who remained at Dogtown and operated a store. Wedertz, *Mono Diggings*, 25, shows Norst as Monoville's discoverer.

[25]*Daily Alta California*, 4 July 1859, p. 3. The *Placerville Mountain-Democrat*, 2 July 1859, p. 2, published the same information and confirms that the strike came prior to 4 July. On 2 April 1860, the *Daily Alta California* (p. 1) printed a lengthy account of the Walker River diggings taken from the

San Andreas Independent and written by J. A. Talbot; Cord Norst is cited as Monoville's discoverer. The issue of 8 October 1860 (p. 1), probably another Talbot piece, added the Fourth of July story of the drunken Norst and two other miners blundering into Monoville's gravels. Fletcher, *Paiute, Prospector, Pioneer*, 30–31, believes the Monoville strike was made in 1858.

[26]*Daily Alta California*, 19 July 1859, p. 1; 22 July 1859, p. 3; 4 November 1859, p. 1.

[27]*Sacramento Union*, 12 September 1859, supplement, p. 2; 15 October 1859, p. 1.

[28]*Tulare County Record*, 17 September 1859, p. 2; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 7 October 1859, p. 1.; 17 November 1859, p. 2.

[29]*Daily Alta California*, 26 November 1859, p. 1.

[30]Angel, *History of Nevada*, 415. The first newspaper account of the Aurora strike appeared in the *Daily Alta California*, 14 September 1860, p. 1. The four discoverers assayed their samples in Virginia City, then came to San Francisco to raise exploration capital. *Ibid.*, 21 September 1860, p. 1.

[31]Roger D. McGrath, *Gunfighters, Highwaymen and Vigilantes: Violence on the Frontier* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 103–4; Wedertz, *Bodie*, 1–4. W. S. Bodey's death was reported in the *Daily Alta California* (19 May 1860, p. 1), which later carried a description of the "Boda" diggings (7 October 1860, p. 1).

[32]*Daily Alta California*, 6 May 1860, p. 1; *San Francisco Herald*, 4 July 1860, p. 3.

[33]*Daily Alta California*, 7 July 1860, p. 1.

[34]Thelma S. Guilt and Harvey L. Carter, *Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 69, 78, 89, 179, 193–94, 196. A short article in *Nevada State Journal* (1 August 1930, p. 2) summarized Adaline's career, as did Wedertz, *Mono Diggings*, 35.

[35]*Marysville Appeal*, 11 August 1860, p. 3.

[36]*Reese River Reveille*, 5 September 1865, p. 4 (reprinted from *Aurora Union*, 26 August 1865).

[37]*Nevada Morning Transcript*, 1 October 1861, p. 2.

BOOK REVIEWS

Always Bet on the Butcher: Warren Nelson and Casino Gaming, 1930s–1980s. By Warren Nelson, Ken Adams, R. T. King, and Gail K. Nelson, preface by R. T. King, introduction by Ken Adams. (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1994. 217 pp., preface, introduction, glossary of gambling terms, index.)

The function of oral histories produced through the University of Nevada Oral History Program is to document the life and times of individuals who have been prominent and important in the history of the state of Nevada and its communities. In this excellent synopsis of the life of Warren Nelson, not only does the reader learn about the individual, but also about the evolution of a burgeoning industry that would prove to be the lifeblood of the state of Nevada.

Always Bet on the Butcher is a well-rounded account of Nelson's life from childhood to present day. While it is important to understand the origins of this man's values and attitudes, the latter part of the book—the post-war years of gambling in Reno—is perhaps the most interesting in that it provides a first-hand account of the northern Nevada gaming industry.

Warren Nelson was raised in Montana by relatives who took him in after his mother died. His descriptions and stories of childhood on a cold Montana cattle ranch are vivid; yet, although they were tough times for most people, Nelson has fond memories of those days. He returned as a young boy to live with his father and stepmother in Great Falls. His father, the head chef at the premier hotel in Great Falls, had an interesting group of friends that included the famous western painter and sculptor, Charles Russell. Although Nelson's father was active in local unions of the time, Nelson himself did not support the unions when they later tried to organize casino workers in Reno.

Nelson was ambitious from an early age with one of his first jobs being a bellboy at the Park Hotel where his father worked. He made most of his money on this job by obtaining bootleg whiskey for hotel guests and selling it to them at a premium (p. 27). Such were the times. When the Depression hit, Nelson's father had entered a partnership to establish an illegal keno game in the back room of the Mint Cigar Store in Great Falls. Thus, Warren Nelson's career in gambling began. He took the initiative to learn everything he could about the game of keno and when he couldn't understand the formulas for the game, he consulted one of his former math teachers.

Chapter 6 explains a great deal about the history of the game of keno and how it was originally played and operated by the Chinese. By the end of prohibition, the Mint Cigar Store was also offering the game of twenty-one which Nelson quickly learned how to deal. Shortly thereafter, Nelson was contacted by another gambler to come to Reno. In 1936 he went to work at the Palace Club establishing the first keno game in town (p. 50). Considerable ingenuity went into developing a game that would be fast-paced and dramatic, enticing customers to play. The ingenuity of Warren Nelson throughout his career in the gaming industry is demonstrated by his idea to pay out the first big hit on a keno ticket at the Palace Club (i.e., $800) in eighty ten-dollar bills in full display of the other casino customers (p. 52). To this day, the public celebration centered around a large jackpot win in a casino is a significant marketing tool used throughout the industry.

Warren Nelson's career in gaming was interrupted by World War II. Nelson was stationed in San Francisco, however, and managed to maintain a second, albeit secret job dealing the illegal games at a club in El Cerrito. It was there that Nelson learned first-hand how much could be stolen from the games by management, by customers, and by ill-treated employees. The descriptions of the action in this club during the war years are very good. There were craps tables so crowded that players were not allowed to stand with their hips square to the table and could play with one hand only, so as to allow room for more customers (p. 74).

While the stories and background information thus far are colorful and provide some insight into what shaped Nelson, the valuable information about this man and his contributions to the gaming industry in Reno are in the second half of the book. The history of the early beginnings of the gaming industry in Las Vegas is rather common knowledge (Reid and Demaris, 1963; Skolnick, 1978; Turner, 1965). However, the history of the industry in Reno often goes unnoticed (Dixon, Adams and King, 1992; Smith, 1961; Mandel, 1982). Clearly, the stories are just as colorful; they simply are not composed entirely of such romanticized characters as Bugsy Siegel, Meyer Lansky, Jimmy Hoffa, and Moe Dalitz. Instead, the names of the characters will tend to be recognizable only to those from northern Nevada.

Nelson returned from the marines to work for Bill Harrah who was in the early stages of construction with Harrah's Club. Nelson played an integral part during the actual building of that casino and then managing the casino operations. Nelson always hired people he knew to work for him—mostly from Montana, the Marine Corps, or other casinos. This is in keeping with an age old practice in the gaming industry often referred to as "juice," which only recently is changing. Not only does the reader learn about Nelson's approach to management but also about Bill Harrah's, Jack Douglass's, and other associates with whom Nelson did business over the years. It was

often differences of business philosophy that led to dissolutions of these associations.

It was during his association with Harrah that Nelson discovered that management could watch the casino floor from the crawl space in the attic (p. 86). Harrah subsequently remodeled the attic of the club, installing several two-way mirrors about the games—the precursor to the elaborate electronic surveillance systems of today's casinos.

Throughout the book, Nelson's philosophy on management style is discussed. He maintains that providing good customer service, treating and paying employees well, choosing good people in key management positions, keeping up with changing technology, encouraging education and training of employees, and knowing what business you are in will prove successful each time. These are basic tenants that are often heard in the gaming business today.

Along the way, Nelson is not afraid to discuss business deals that were not financial successes such as the Waldorf Club and a philanthropic venture, the now defunct Old College in Reno. This well compiled oral history portrays a man seemingly satisfied with his life, still quite involved in the operations of the Club Cal-Neva in downtown Reno. UNOHP's *Always Bet on the Butcher* provides fascinating insights into the evolutionary and dynamic history of Reno's dominant industry over the past sixty years.

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Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier. By Arrell Morgan Gibson; completed with the assistance of John S. Whitehead. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. xii + 495 pp., ill., maps.)

At the time of Arrell Morgan Gibson's untimely death in 1987, the great body of this book had been finished. Gibson, the George Lynn Cross Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, left fifteen complete chapters. Neither the text nor the footnotes have been changed, although the footnotes to chapter 15 were unfinished and they have been removed altogether. Two additional chapters which study the literature on the Pacific Basin and carry the story into the twentieth century have been added by John S. Whitehead of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, following Gibson's original outline.

Gibson takes Frederick Jackson Turner's concept of successive stages of migration on the frontier and applies it to the Pacific Basin. American expansion of influence in the Pacific Basin during the nineteenth century followed from, and to some extent was concurrent with, its continental expansion. Turner's stages of migration included the fur frontier, the mining frontier, the stock-raising frontier, and the agrarian frontier. Gibson argues that Turner should have added a military frontier, overland trader frontier, missionary frontier, and civilized Indian frontier to give a more comprehensive view of western development. "Each successive group created an identifiable frontier or community in which its members established and progressively enlarged the American presence." (p. 4) The same holds true for the Pacific Basin where Gibson identifies the following successive stages of American expansionary influence: the maritime fur frontier, the whaling frontier, the maritime trading frontier, the mining frontier, the agrarian frontier, the missionary frontier, and the military frontier.

For Gibson's purpose, the emphasized areas of the Pacific Basin include the present states of California, Oregon, and Washington; Russian North America or Alaska; and the Hawaiian Islands. To a lesser extent they include Japan and China. The geographical emphasis shifts from chapter to chapter. There is embarrassingly little discussion of American influence on the Philippine Islands. The inclusion of the area from San Diego to Puget Sound into the basic scheme of this work ties in American continental expansion to its expansion in the Pacific Basin. The latter becomes an extension of the former. Too often, by encountering such diverse topics as California, Alaska, and the Hawaiian Islands in the same chapter one loses a sense of what they had in common. The parts discussed seem discrete and unrelated and the ties artificial. In other chapters, Gibson's device works well, eg, in the mining chapter where mining booms ricochet from California to Australia to British Columbia to the Klondike and Alaska and it all meshes together very nicely indeed.

Gibson's research is not exhaustive and the book lacks sufficient citation. There are errors and omissions. The size of the island of Niihau in the Hawaiian archipelago is misstated (p. 254). The off-hand statement that George Vancouver signed an agreement with Kamehameha, "a powerful island leader, for the British annexation of Hawaii," seriously oversimplifies a complex transaction and lacks any citation. Surely Professor Whitehead overstates the impact of Herman Melville's work in "creating the image of Polynesia that would be firmly

implanted on the American mind." (p. 387). Overall, though, *Yankees in Paradise* is a useful and well organized outline of American expansionary influences in the Pacific basin.

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Nevada: True Tales from the Neon Wilderness. By Jim Sloan. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993. 209 pp.)

One of Jim Sloan's narrators in *Nevada: True Tales from the Neon Wilderness* tells his listener that "just as the only way to understand the beauty of a poem is by listening to it, the only way to explain Nevada is by telling stories about it" (p. 10). Telling stories about some Nevadans, rather than the place, is what Sloan proceeds to do. He also explains, "Nevada is less an exact place than it is an idea, an experiment, a testimony to all that is strong and weak about us." By telling us about some unusual individuals, who tend to inhabit the lonely places rather than the cities, Sloan is giving the reader an impression, a feeling for what comprises life in Nevada. Therefore, he introduces a variety of characters: Nelson, the miner who talks about some Chinese miners in Tuscarora; Ross Durham, a genius at cheating slot machines; Joe Conforte, the brothel owner who could never get the District Attorney—Bill Raggio—to like him; John Birges, whose bumbling attempt to extort money from a casino led to its destruction and rebirth; Melvin Dummar, the comical almost-heir to Howard Hughes; Glen Henderson, a country sheriff's deputy who let himself be tarnished in the Nye County brothel wars; Gerald Gallego, perhaps not as guilty of murder as his wife; Mildred Miller, purveyor of illegal cures for almost anything; Don Cox, the biologist who cut down the oldest-known bristle cone pine; and Evelyn, rich for just a moment as a member of a slot team.

Tying all of these characters together is an air of hope, of reaching for the "Main Chance." Somehow, each one believes, he or she will hit a jackpot. Sometimes, as with biologist Cox, there is an ironic underside to success: He found the answers to his questions but killed the oldest living thing. Slot cheat Ross Durham, "The Natural," was caught and did time, but the only thing he really wanted was to beat the machines. For each of the characters, there is a bittersweet realization that even the jackpot does not necessarily bring peace or happiness. Finally, it all comes back to the miner's resignation: "Nevada, you learn, is a place where the air is thick with possibilities, yet the promises here can be fleeting and deceitful" (p. 4).

A reporter for the *Reno Gazette-Journal*, Sloan has assembled a set of stories that

falls into a tradition peculiar to Nevada. Although the Silver State is mostly desert, with only two significant metropolitan areas, a predominant mood in the literature about the state most closely resembles *noir,* the "through-the-glass-darkly" novels and films of the 'thirties and 'forties (in the words of Mike Davis in *City of Quartz*) that "repainted the image of Los Angeles as a deracinated urban hell" (p. 37). Although there is nothing quite like the Bunker Hill section of Los Angeles, symbolizing "the rot in the heart of the expanding metropolis," in Nevada the desert—searing and pastel all at once—is always there. It is beautiful, dangerous and unforgiving. In its way, it has been as disappointing as was Los Angeles for the likes of Raymond Chandler and James M. Cain. It is no surprise that characters they created resemble real-life figures in Nevada. An occasional perusal of John Smith's column in the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* reveals the same people and points to the continuing national fascination with the seedy and dark in Nevada.

Sloan's *Nevada* leans toward the *noir,* yet it is good journalism and good history. He gives us strong impressions that contain at least some of the truth. If he does not always seem to be persnickety about documenting individual facts, he is in good company. Thucydides told his readers the truth, what happened, even if he "found it difficult to remember the precise words used in the speeches" (*History of the Peloponnesian War,* I:22). This is a good book that, like the neon it reflects, lights up a bit of the dark and draws us closer.

Peter L. Bandurraga
Nevada Historical Society

America's Obsession: Sports and Society Since 1945. By Richard O. Davies. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994. 192 pp.)

Rather than a history of the drama transpiring between the foul lines or on the gymnasium floor, Richard O. Davies attempts in this book to assess the larger significance of sports to post-World War II America. His effort leads in two directions. First, as with other serious students of sports, Davies believes that modern sports reflect major social issues; indeed, sports may provide an exceptionally accessible way of looking at the recent history of fundamental conflicts arising from labor, race, gender, international politics, and the media.

Second, Davies believes that sports themselves have become increasingly important to Americans, hence his title, *American Obsession: Sports and Society Since 1945.* In this regard, much of Davies's book consists of an effort to appraise the degree to which, and in what respects, sports have been good or bad for the country. Indeed, some readers will prefer a book more devoted to what hap-

pened and why in the world of American sports than one that focuses so much on the social utility of sports.

Readers of my *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sports* (second edition, 1990) and Randy Roberts and James Olson, *Winning is the Only Thing: Sports in America Since 1945* (1989) will find much that is familiar in Davies. Yet Davies adds some important and interesting vignettes. In particular, I benefited from his discussions of sports betting, drug use in sports, Little League baseball, and high school sports. Moreover, neophytes in sports history will be edified by his treatment of intercollegiate athletics, professional team and individual sports, African-Americans and women in sports, the modern fitness movement, and several other topics. In short, readers looking for an analytical perspective on the role that sports have played in American society in the post-1945 era, should give Davies's book serious consideration. It is a readable and an accurate summary of the current research and thinking of the authorities in the field.

Benjamin G. Rader
University of Nebraska

NEW RESOURCE MATERIALS

Nevada Historical Society

Bishop Creek Dam Photographs

In 1911, the Pacific Reclamation Company of New York began developing the community of Metropolis near Wells in Elko County, Nevada. It was to be the show-piece center of a grandiose 40,000-acre agricultural development devoted to wheat growing. A two hundred-foot-high dam was built on Bishop Creek, forming a reservoir which was intended to supply irrigation water to the project's farmers. However, before the end of 1912 a lawsuit initiated by other water users in the area led a court to severely limit the amount of water that could be stored in the reservoir. This, together with very dry weather and other problems, forced the project to be scaled down and then, in 1913, caused the failure of the Pacific Reclamation Company.

During 1911 and early 1912, when hopes for the Metropolis venture were high, Arthur Ross superintended the reclamation company's erection of the Bishop Creek Dam. Snapshots were taken documenting the construction, the construction camp that sprang up near the dam site, the workers and their equipment, and the families of some of the company's employees who lived in the camp. The pictures were placed in an album kept by Arthur Ross.

As the result of a gift from Edith Ross Klemroth, daughter of Arthur Ross, these photographs are now among the Society's collections. We wish to thank Mrs. Klemroth (who is shown as a child at Bishop Creek) for her donation, which provides new visual documentation of one of Nevada's most significant, and most notorious, irrigation projects.

Harold J. Vaughan Papers

In a concerted effort to aid historians of recreation and leisure time activities in Nevada, the Society has added the papers of Harold J. Vaughan to its holdings. Vaughan, a Carson City resident early in this century, operated billiard halls. Several volumes of financial journals and a small amount of correspondence record activity at The Kingsbury, which Vaughan managed, and, later, Vaughan's Billiard Parlors. In addition to providing information on the businesses' purchases from suppliers and their customer accounts, the records covering the period 1911–1922 also reflect Vaughan's activities as a tobacconist and newspaper dealer.

Friends of Mount Rose Records

Dick Benoit and Rose Strickland have donated a substantial group of records and papers of the Friends of Mount Rose, an organization that was formed in 1983 to block development of a massive ski resort around Galena Creek on the lower eastern slopes of the mountain near Reno. The materials received, which include environmental reports, study papers, correspondence, newsletters, and other items, document the group's fight against the proposed project, and the settlement reached in 1994 by which the land originally earmarked for development was acquired by the federal government. The records constitute an important addition to the Society's environmental and conservation-related research collections.

Eric N. Moody
Manuscript Curator

IN MEMORIAM

John Mark Townley, Sr.

John Mark Townley, Sr. died after a brief illness on September 18, 1994 in Reno. From 1972 to 1980 he served as director of the Nevada Historical Society. Before that, from 1962 to 1972 he was a project engineer for the Atomic Energy Commission at the Nuclear Test Site. After his retirement from the Historical Society, he directed the Great Basin Studies Center and wrote extensively. Among his principal published works are the following: *Conquered Provinces:*

John Townley in the Nevada Historical Society exhibit shop, c. 1976. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Nevada Moves Southeast, 1864–1871; Turn This Water into Gold: The Story of the Newlands Project; The Orr Ditch Case, 1913–1944; Truckee Basin Fishery; Alfalfa Country: Nevada Land, Water and Politics in the Nineteenth Century; Ho! For Reese River: Natural Resources of the Toiyabe-Toquima Highlands, Central Nevada; Tough Little Town on the Truckee: Reno, 1868–1900; The Trail West: A Bibliography-Index to Western American Trails, 1841–1869; and *The Overland Stage: A History and Guidebook. Mr. Wingfield's Town,* the second volume of Dr. Townley's history of Reno, was in preparation at the time of his death.

Born in Shawnee, Oklahoma on August 18, 1932, Dr. Townley received a bachelor's degree in geology from the University of Texas at Austin, and a master's and doctorate in history from the University of Nevada, Reno. His family has established a memorial in Dr. Townley's name at the Nevada Historical Society.

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(Signed) Peter L. Bandurraga, Director

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