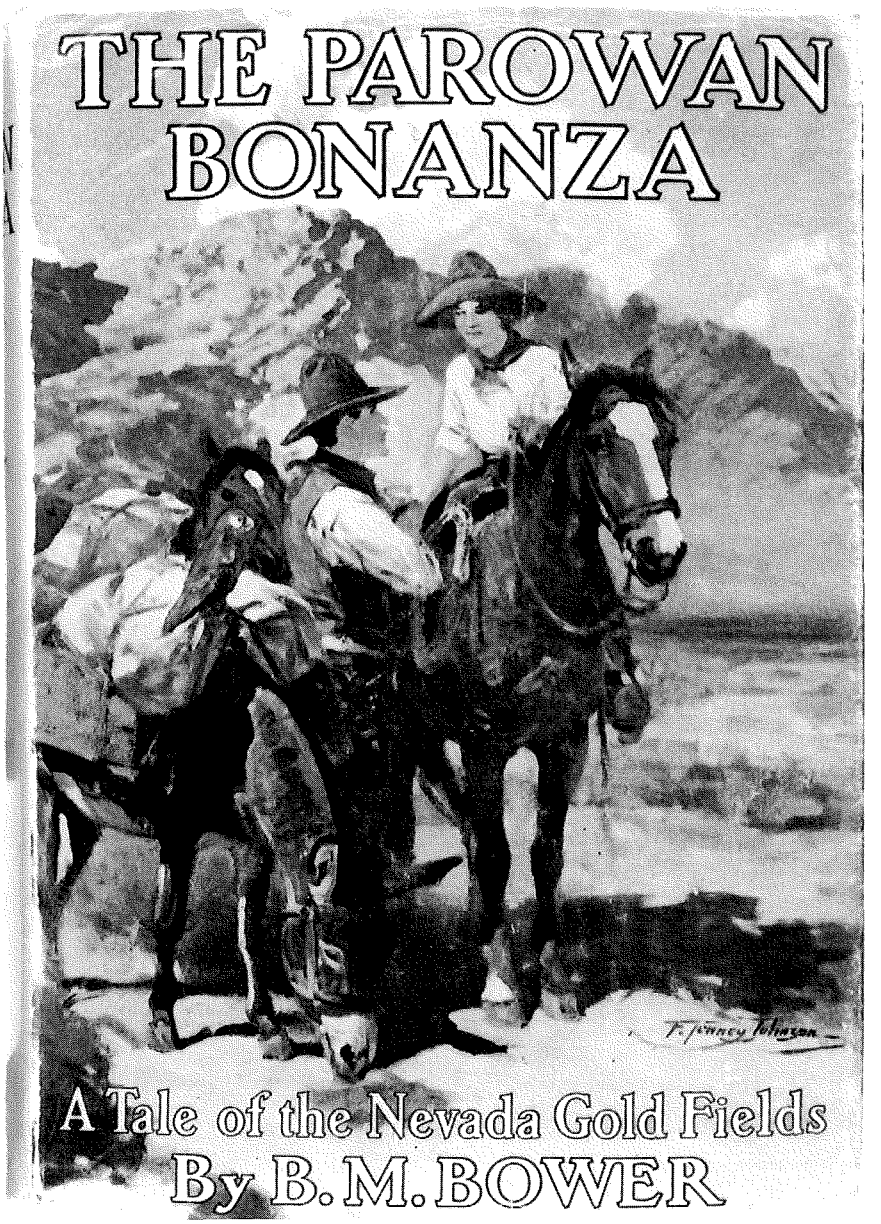
Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly



SUMMER 1996

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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

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Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly

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The Revolution in Legislative Apportionment
Part II

Gary E. Elliott

Legislative Reapportionment in Nevada, 1965

The political forecast for 1965 was bleak for Nevadans who opposed reapportionment of the State's legislature. Nationally, Republican candidate Barry Goldwater had been humiliated by President Lyndon Johnson's 1964 landslide election, which also swept into office Democrats committed to civil rights and reapportionment. The connection between racial equality and voting equality had been the glue that held together the coalition that defeated the Dirksen Amendment, which would have permitted state legislatures some latitude in apportioning their memberships. Liberal Democrats feared that state legislatures would continue to dilute minority voting rights centered in urban areas, thereby frustrating civil rights legislation. Thus, civil rights and reapportionment were linked in the 1960s progressive agenda.[1] This was partly true in Nevada. Since 1959, sparsely populated rural counties had used their malapportioned representative strength, particularly in the state Senate, to defeat Governor Grant Sawyer's civil rights program.[2]

Despite heavy Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen again introduced a constitutional amendment similar to his failed proposal of 1964. He offered some changes in his plan to amend the United States Constitution to allow one house of a state legislature to be apportioned on factors other than population. Early in the legislative session, the

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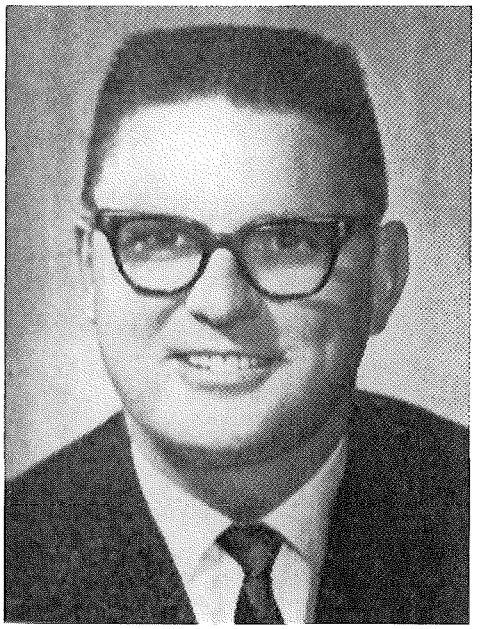
James E. Woods. (Handbook of the Nevada Legislature, Fifty-fourth Session, 1967 [*Carson City: Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1967*], 64)

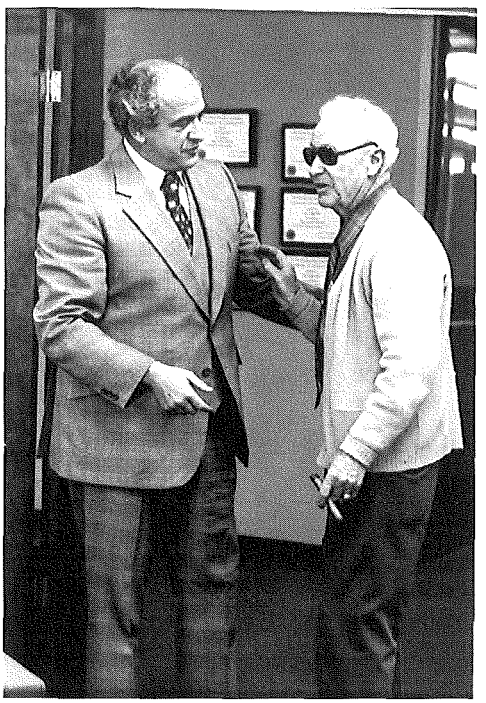


Coe Swobe. (Handbook of the Nevada Legislature, Fifty-Fourth Session, 1967 [*Carson City: Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1967*], 16)

apportioned on factors other than population. Early in the legislative session, the Nevada state Senate and Assembly endorsed the Dirksen proposal by passing Assembly Joint Resolution (A.J.R.) 2, which contained language virtually the same as Dirksen's.

A.J.R. 2 and the discussion the issue prompted were expressions, in constitutional terms, of the fear, anger, and apprehension of Nevada legislators and spokesmen outside of Clark County. For example, Republican Assemblyman James Woods of Reno said, "If the legislature is revamped in line with U.S. Supreme Court decisions, you'll see corruption in the State of Nevada like you've never seen before." Sounding a different theme, fellow Republican James Slattery, senator from sparsely populated Storey County, declared, "A communist member of the high court upset 175 years of tradition and states rights that have always been Nevada's tradition." And Coe Swobe, a Washoe County assemblyman, said, "Reapportionment would allow a majority of people in one county, or geographical area to dominate the entire legislative process in Nevada."[3]

The Woods thesis—that equal voting power would create corruption—was a strangely antidemocratic claim. It was based on fear, and specifically a loathing of urbanites, who were portrayed as a monolithic force favoring change. Woods, and other like-minded Nevadans, simply put forth the proposition that groups



Walter Cox, Editor of the *Mason Valley News*, with Governor Mike O'Callahan. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

with less popular support should have inordinate bargaining power because of their moral superiority. Those who argued, as Swobe did, against the majority rule that the United States Constitution espouses merely restated John C. Calhoun's proposition of a concurrent majority; they asserted for the less populated counties the right to veto the will of the majority. The Supreme Court rejected the Woods and Swobe versions of the ideal state as unacceptable in a democratic society based on the proposition and assumption of equality.

Like balancing the geographic elements of the state, equalizing the economic interests in the legislature was a major concern outside of Clark County. Walter Cox, then publisher of the *Mason Valley News* in Yerington, said, "Take that Anaconda Mine for instance. You give Clark County control of the government and all these kooks and beatniks moving into Las Vegas from Southern California, they'll want more money for some welfare program, and raise it from property taxes, make it so costly to operate the mine that they'll put it out of business, and 450 persons along with it."[4] Cox expressed the intuitive knowledge of rural Americans about the public policy preferences of urban voters, who then lacked the power to enforce their opinions. More important for Nevadans, the plight of the western mining industry was, contrary to Cox's assertions, in no appreciable way tied to the problems of urban constituencies. Foreign imports and a reduction in government subsidies, along with the mining industry's intransigent position on environmental degradation, did more to harm mining then could reapportionment.[5]

Fears and hyperbole aside, however, the economic facts pointed to a distinctly unequal distribution of the state's resources before reapportionment. In her lawsuit, Flora Dungan pointed out that no senator from Clark County had been permitted to sit on the Finance Committee, which decides how resources are allocated.[6] For example, in 1963, Clark County gaming operators paid $373,150 in table-tax fees and received back from the state $52,552.92, or 14 percent. By contrast, Esmeralda County paid no table-tax and received the same amount as Clark County. The same imbalance was obvious in dispersing other resources as

Flora Dungan. (Handbook of the Nevada Legislature, Fifty-Fourth Session, 1967 *[Carson City: Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1967], 48*)

well. Clark County collected 44 percent of the gas taxes, and the state returned only 19 percent, whereas Lincoln County collected 1 percent and got back 5 percent. Such inequities prompted some to claim that Clark County was being used as a foreign-aid program for the cow counties—an ironic twist, given the opposition of mining operators, and Senator Bible, to the foreign-aid programs that they accused of hurting the mining economy.[7] Such had been the impact of malapportionment.

It was this atmosphere that hung over the January 18 opening of the 1965 legislative session. Governor Sawyer offered only sympathy to those lawmakers forced to eliminate their own jobs. Tougher still was the loss of rural domination, which for so long had been the way of life in Nevada politics. No doubt sensing that the legislature was not up to the task, Sawyer asked it to table the reapportionment issue altogether and concentrate on other state business until he called a special session to deal specifically with reapportionment.[8] The governor also seemed to have modified his earlier position by the time of the opening of the session. Instead of claiming that reapportionment was a legal issue best left to the courts, he now said that voters should choose the representative plan best suited to their state, essentially adopting Senator Alan Bible's position.[9] This change in attitude allied the governor with the voters instead of the hated United States Supreme Court.

The governor's apprehensions proved correct: The regular session of the legislature was paralyzed by the reapportionment question. Six bills on the topic were introduced; none passed. The most important, A.B. 1, introduced by Raymond Knisley of Pershing County and James Gibson of Clark County, suffered a narrow 18 to 17 defeat.[10] The plan called for a seventeen-member Senate: seven from Clark County, five from Washoe, and one from each of five electoral districts of three counties each. As for the Assembly, it would consist of thirty-five members: fifteen from Clark, ten from Washoe, and two from each of the five districts proposed for the Senate.[11] Table 1 shows the distortion, under A.B. 1, in representation in the Senate with Clark County having 18,145 persons per senator and District IV, having 12,112 per senator. Although the A.B. 1 plan was an improve-

TABLE 1
Apportionment under AB 1

Ideal population per senator = 16,781 (5.8% of population)
Ideal population per assemblyman = 8,150 (2.8% of population)

Percentage of state population, by legislative district	*Senate*	*Assembly*	*Population per senator*	*Percentage of population*	*Population per assemblyman*	*Percentage of population per assemblyman*
I Washoe (29.7%)	5	10	16,948	5.9	8,474	3.0
II Churchill Humboldt Pershing (6.1%)	1	2	17,359	6.1	8,679	3.0
III Elko Eureka Lander (5.0%)	1	2	14,344	5.0	7,172	2.5
IV Storey Douglas Ormsby (4.2%)	1	2	12,112	4.2	6,056	2.1
V Esmeralda Lyon Mineral (4.6%)	1	2	13,091	4.6	6,545	2.3
VI Lincoln Nye White Pine (5.9%)	1	2	16,613	5.9	8,306	3.0
VII Clark (44.5%)	7	15	18,145	6.4	8,468	3.0

SOURCE: Eleanor Bushnell, "Reapportionment: Crisis in Nevada." *Bureau of Government Research Newsletter*, 4:1 (October 1965), 2.

ment, it arguably failed to meet the equity standards imposed by *Reynolds v. Sims*.[12]

An analysis of the forces lined up to defeat A.B. 1 finds that they reflected the same interests that operated in Congress against the one person, one vote rationale. There was an urban-rural bias, but ideology and party were the more salient factors. Democrats in the Nevada legislature decisively supported A.B. 1 (88.2 percent), whereas only a small minority of Republicans (11.8 percent) endorsed it. Also, rural Democrats were much less disposed to favor A.B. 1 than were their urban counterparts.

After the legislature adjourned, the hopes of lawmakers who opposed reapportionment were dashed as the United States Senate rejected the Dirksen Amendment, which would have allowed one house of the legislature to be de-

TABLE 2
Population of Nevada Counties and Incorporated Cities, 1970, 1980, and 1990 Censuses

County and City	*1 April 1970*	*1 April 1980*	*1 April 1990*	*Wet change 1980–1990*	*Pct change 1980–1990*
Carson City	15,468	32,022	40,443	8,421	26.3
Churchill County	10,513	13,917	17,938	4,021	28.9
Fallon	2,959	4,262	6,438	2,176	51.1
Clark County	273,288	463,087	741,459	278,372	60.1
Boulder City	5,223	9,590	12,567	2,977	31.0
Henderson	16,395	24,363	64,942	40,579	166.6
Las Vegas	125,787	164,674	258,295	93,621	56.9
Mesquite[1]	674	914	1,871	957	104.7
North Las Vegas	46,067	42,739	47,707	4,968	11.6
Douglas County	6,882	19,421	27,637	8,216	42.3
Elko County	13,958	17,269	33,530	16,261	94.2
Carlin	1,313	1,232	2,220	988	80.2
Elko	7,621	8,758	14,736	5,978	68.3
Wells	1,081	1,218	1,256	38	3.1
Esmeralda County	629	777	1,344	567	73.0
Eureka County	948	1,198	1,547	349	29.1
Humboldt County	6,375	9,449	12,844	3,395	35.9
Winnemucca	3,587	4,140	6,134	1,994	48.2
Lander County	2,666	4,076	6,266	2,190	53.7
Lincoln County	2,557	3,732	3,775	43	1.2
Caliente	916	982	1,111	129	13.1
Lyon County	8,221	13,594	20,001	6,407	47.1
Yerington	2,010	2,021	2,367	346	17.1
Mineral County	7,051	6,217	6,475	258	4.1
Nye County	5,599	9,048	17,781	8,733	96.5
Gabbs	874	811	667	−144	−17.8
Pershing County	2,670	3,408	4,336	928	27.2
Lovelock	1,571	1,680	2,069	389	23.2
Storey County	695	1,503	2,526	1,023	68.1
Washoe County	121,068	193,623	254,667	61,044	31.5
Reno	72,863	100,756	133,850	33,103	32.8
Sparks	24,187	40,780	53,367	12,587	30.9
White Pine County	10,150	8,167	9,264	1,097	13.4
Ely	4,176	4,882	4,756	−126	−2.6
Nevada totals	488,738	800,508	1,201,833	401,325	50.1

[1]Mesquite was a township in the 1970 and 1980 censuses.
SOURCE: Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Mahlon Brown. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

termined on factors other than population. The Senate Democrats were aligned against the amendment, 56.2 percent (36), compared to only 43.7 percent (28, including Bible and Senator Howard Cannon) who voted in support of the measure. But Republicans overwhelmingly favored the amendment, 90.6 percent (29), while opponents accounted for only 9.4 percent (3).[13] The Nevada state Senate had enthusiastically supported the Dirksen Amendment early in the legislative session, with Senate Joint Resolution (S.J.R.) 2 passing 16 to 1, only Democrat Mahlon Brown of Clark County being opposed.[14] Unexpectedly, S.J.R. 1, requesting that Congress call a convention of the states for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution along the lines of the Dirksen Amendment, nearly succeeded. Article V of the United States Constitution provides for a constitutional convention whenever two-thirds of the state legislatures request a convention; by 1967, Nevada had joined thirty-two other legislatures in requesting the move, just one short of the required number.[15]

When the legislature adjourned without approving a reapportionment plan, the federal district court began hearings in the case of *Dungan v. Sawyer*. The court had little difficulty in characterizing Nevada's legislative apportionment as "invidiously discriminatory" in light of the guidelines set forth in *Reynolds v. Sims*.[16] In its ruling, the district court ordered Governor Sawyer to call the legislature into a special session no later than October 30, 1965, and to submit a reapportionment plan by November 20, 1965. Further, the court held that in the event the legislature failed to act, the court would impose its own scheme, or order at-large elections.

There was no sentiment to challenge the court's judgment.[17] Likewise, state leaders believed that the legislature should do the job of reapportionment. Lieutenant Governor Paul Laxalt did not want the courts involved, nor did the governor, who ordered the special session to begin on October 25, 1965. Sawyer refused to become embroiled in the nasty business of reapportionment by declining an invitation to submit a plan, but again appeared to shift direction by saying that he wanted the greatest possible protection afforded to the smaller counties in

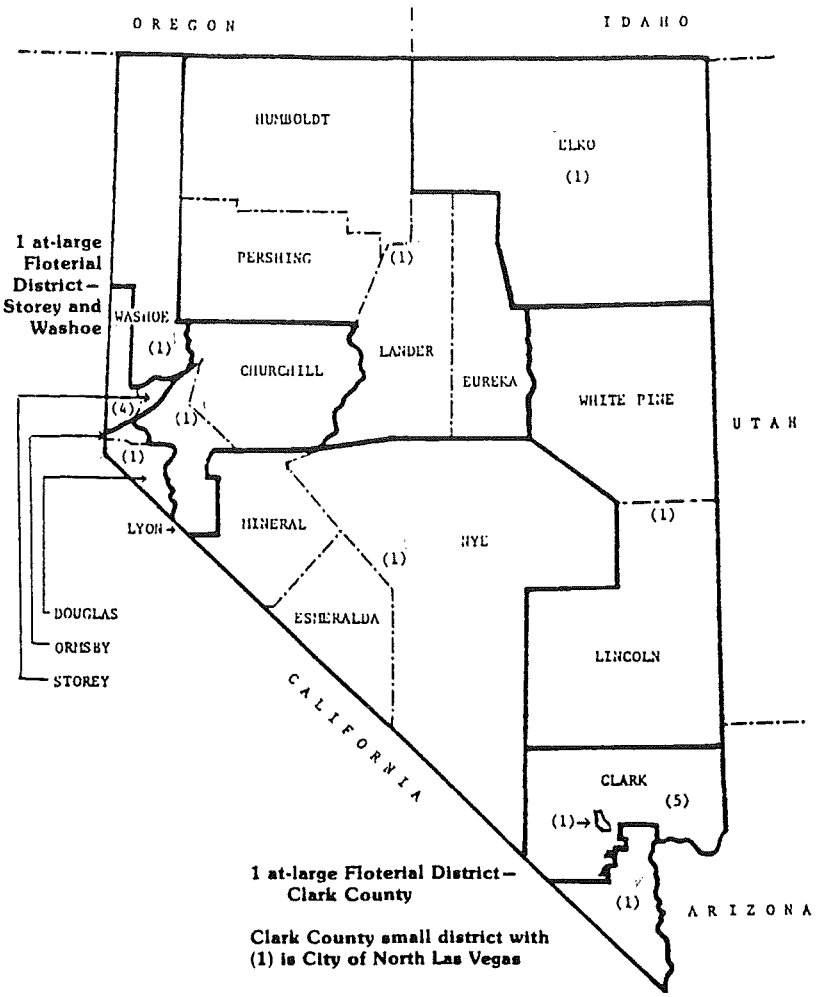


FIGURE 1. Nevada Senate as reapportioned by the 1965 special session. (SOURCE: *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: 1986), 165.)

any reorganization plan.[18] It seemed as if the governor wanted to be on all sides of the issue at the same time.

The special session proved to be a festival of resentment, directed largely at the Supreme Court. There were angry attacks, hostility, and even a resolution to fly the flag at half mast during the session.[19] Twenty proposals were introduced, and the legislature finally adopted a plan that increased each chamber by three seats. Clark County would receive eight of the twenty seats in the Senate, with six for Washoe and six for the rural counties. In the Assembly, with forty members, Clark County would have sixteen, with twelve from Washoe and twelve from the

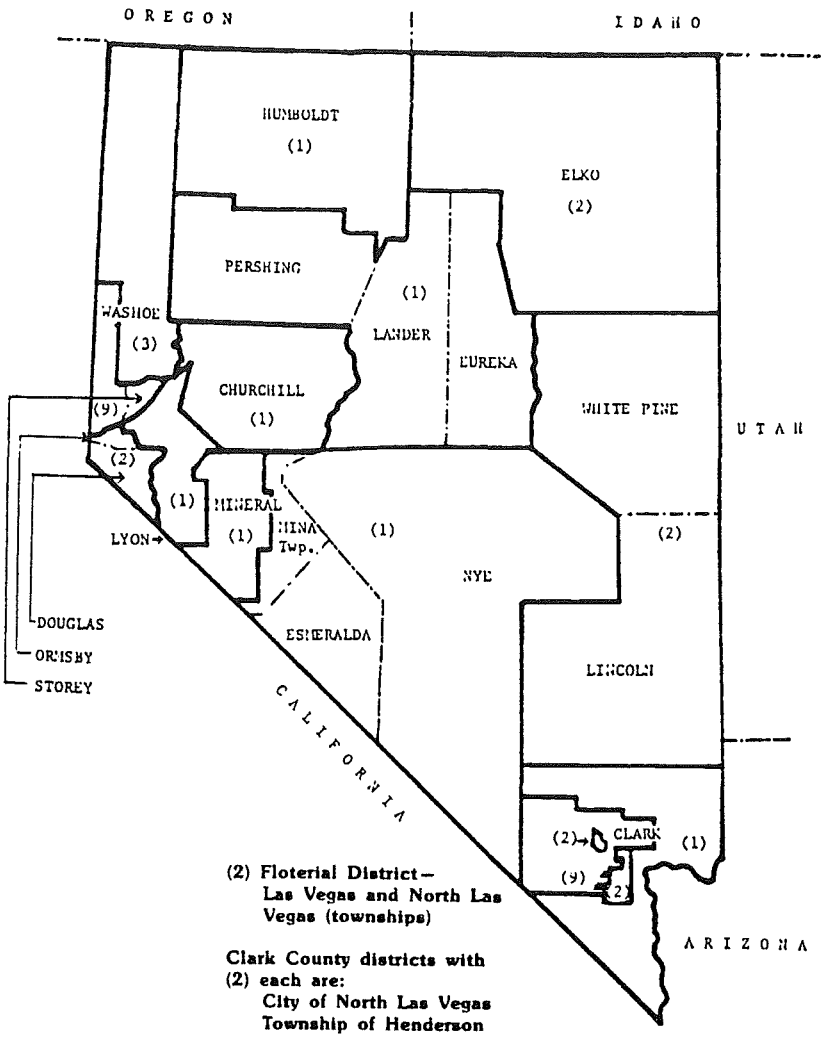


FIGURE 2. Nevada Assembly as reapportioned by the 1965 special session. (SOURCE: *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: 1986), 167.)

rural counties. On November 16, 1965, Governor Sawyer signed the reapportionment plan into law.[20]

Declaring the law unfair, Dungan mounted an immediate challenge. The maximum population variation was 21.2 percent in the Senate and 22.4 percent in the Assembly. But on March 21, 1966, the district court's three-judge panel accepted the reapportionment plan, although clearly unhappy with the lawmakers' handiwork. The court's comments capture the mood of the moment.

TABLE 3
Nevada Senate Districts

District	Total Population	Percentage of state population	White population	White percentage of district	Black population	Black percentage of district	Other population	Other percentage of district	Deviation from optimum	Percentage deviation	Hispanic population	Hispanic population of district
1	91,639	7.62	84,884	92.63	1,871	2.04	4,884	5.33	34,409	60.1	7,002	7.64
2	115,219	9.59	77,153	66.96	19,520	16.94	18,546	16.10	759	0.7	22,066	19.15
3	111,768	9.30	89,032	79.66	8,020	7.18	14,716	13.17	−2,692	−2.4	17,200	15.39
4	36,966	3.08	9,978	26.99	22,980	62.17	4,008	10.84	−20,264	−35.4	5,276	14.27
5	132,410	11.02	117,541	88.77	5,051	3.81	9,818	7.41	17,950	15.7	10,695	8.08
6	148,328	12.34	131,590	88.72	8,371	5.64	8,367	5.64	33,868	29.6	10,334	6.97
7	105,129	8.75	92,480	87.97	4,925	4.68	7,724	7.35	−9,331	−8.2	10,331	9.83
11	96,474	8.03	83,950	87.02	2,859	2.96	9,665	10.02	−17,986	−15.7	9,340	9.68
12	44,297	3.69	39,007	88.06	1,130	2.55	4,160	9.39	−12,933	−22.6	4,169	9.41
13	107,154	8.92	96,412	89.98	1,672	1.56	9,070	8.46	−7,306	−6.4	9,210	8.60
21	59,388	4.94	50,662	85.31	375	0.63	8,351	14.06	2,158	3.8	8,289	13.96
22	54,654	4.55	49,096	89.83	1,043	1.91	4,515	8.26	−2,576	−4.5	3,820	6.99
23	53,081	4.42	49,499	93.25	240	0.45	3,342	6.30	−4,149	−7.2	3,418	6.44
24	45,326	3.77	41,411	91.36	714	1.58	3,201	7.06	−11,904	−20.8	3,269	7.21
	1,201,833		1,012,695		78,771		110,367		3		124,419	

Notes: Mean deviation is 12,734
Mean percentage deviation is 16.64%

Largest positive deviation is 34,409 (60.12%)
Largest negative deviation is −20,264 (−35.41%)

Over-all range in deviation is 54,673 (95.53%)

The population database is derived from the 1990 Census; Public Law 94-171 redistricting data provided by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as validated by the Legislative Counsel Bureau and its contractor.

SOURCE: Legislative Counsel Bureau, State of Nevada, Carson City.

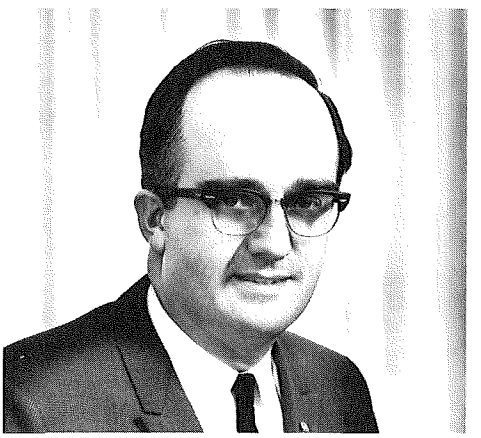
We find that Nevada's malapportioned, rural-dominated Legislature, ordered by this Court into special session, after much travail, frustration, boredom, clowning, hard work, hot anger, honest compromise, barely concealed self-interest, enlightened statesmanship and even tears, obviously guided by able legal counsel, has given birth to a plan which this Court cannot say is constitutionally impermissive. While it is quite apparent to the Court that the rural-dominated Legislature gave up no more than it believed it must, this, in itself, does not warrant disapproval. It matters not that the Legislature may have skated upon thin ice and approached dangerously close to the edge of unconstitutional waters.[21]

Pursuant to the plan, the Nevada legislature held three sessions before the 1970 decennial census, and the state saw none of the immediate and dire consequences predicted in 1965. The result had been an inexorable march toward voter equality in the Silver State. (See Figures 1 and 2.)

Equality in Fact: Reapportionment 1971 to 1991

The 1970 census showed Nevada's population to be 493,000, with a 2.8 percent annual growth rate for the decade.[22] When the legislature met in 1971, the atmosphere was in stark contrast to the events only six years earlier. Reapportionment had not produced the horrors that many had predicted would result from the tyranny of the majority. What had occurred was a greater acceptance of population-based representation, so much so that the Assembly moved further and faster than the Senate toward the goal of one person, one vote.

The Assembly adopted a reapportionment plan that was largely the work of veteran Republican lawmaker Frank Young of Clark County. Under the plan, the Assembly abolished multimember districts in favor of single-member districts. The Senate, however, chose not to go along with the lower house, in some measure because of the greater complexity involved in converting to single-member districts. But protecting incumbents was the primary interest of lawmakers, who went about the time-honored practice of gerrymandering to insulate friends, and near friends, from the assault of newcomers. Inevitably, disparities in population from district to district were the result.[23]



Frank Young. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The census data showed that the ideal population representation for a senator in 1971 was 24,437, and for an assemblyperson, 12,218. However, the reapportionment plan revealed 28 percent of disparity between the largest and smallest district in the Senate, and a 38.4 percent disparity for the Assembly. Although these figures were down sig-

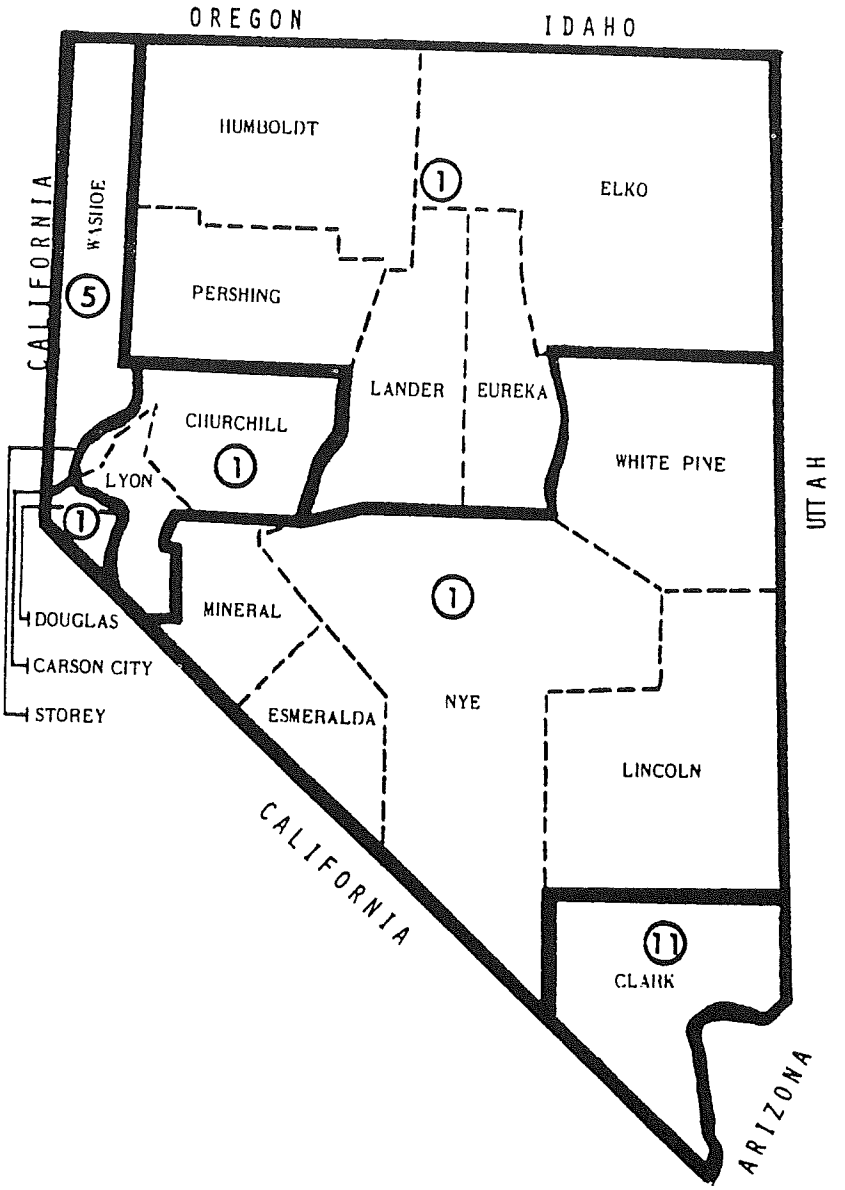


FIGURE 3. Nevada Senate as reapportioned by the 1971 session. (SOURCE: *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: 1986, 173.)

nificantly from the 1965 disparities (47.3 percent for the Senate and 52.8 percent for the Assembly), they were beyond the limits set in *Reynolds v. Sims*.[24]

Predictably, there was a swift legal challenge to the plan in *Stewart v.*

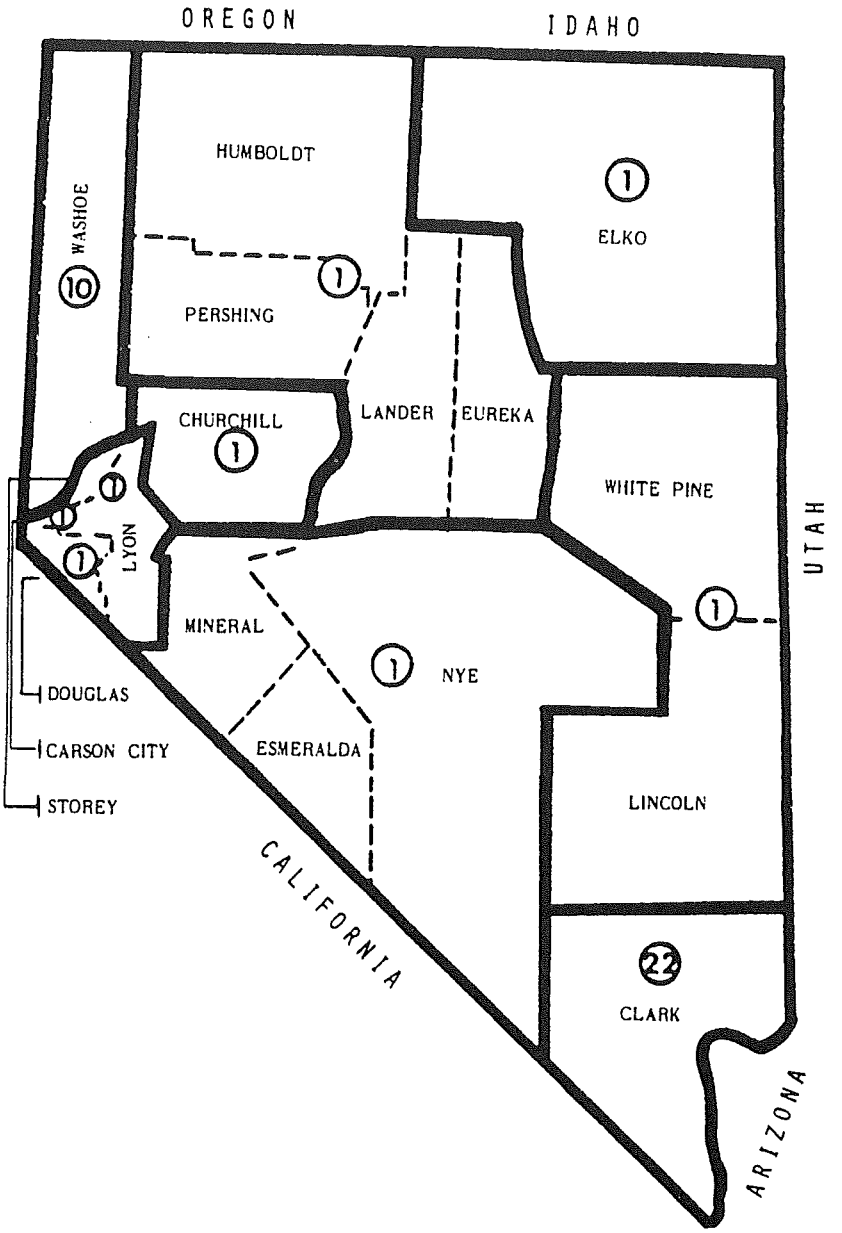


FIGURE 4. Nevada Assembly as reapportioned by the 1971 session. (SOURCE: *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: 1986), 175.)

O'Callaghan and *Millspaugh v. O'Callaghan*.[25] The litigation resulted in something for each side. The federal district court upheld the 1971 reapportionment plan and with it the multimember Senate districts. The court noted that statewide the average disparity in the Assembly was only a modest 4 percent, and an equally

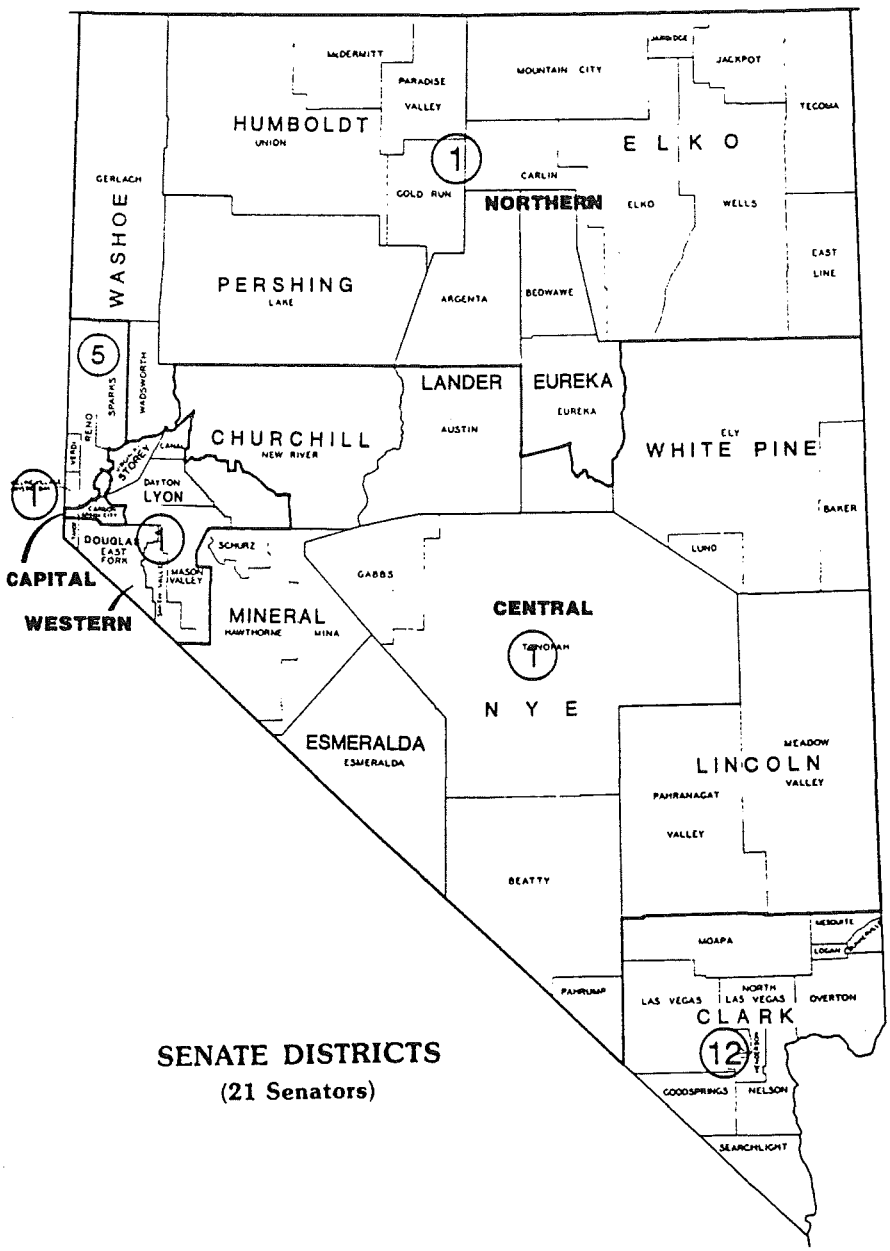


FIGURE 5. Nevada Senate as reapportioned by the 1981 session. (SOURCE: *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: 1986, 181.)

acceptable 5 percent for the Senate. However, the court found seven Assembly districts and two Senate districts beyond the limits of disparity approved by the federal courts, and ordered all the offending districts redrawn for the opening of the 1973 session. The court's ruling was along the broadest lines permissible in

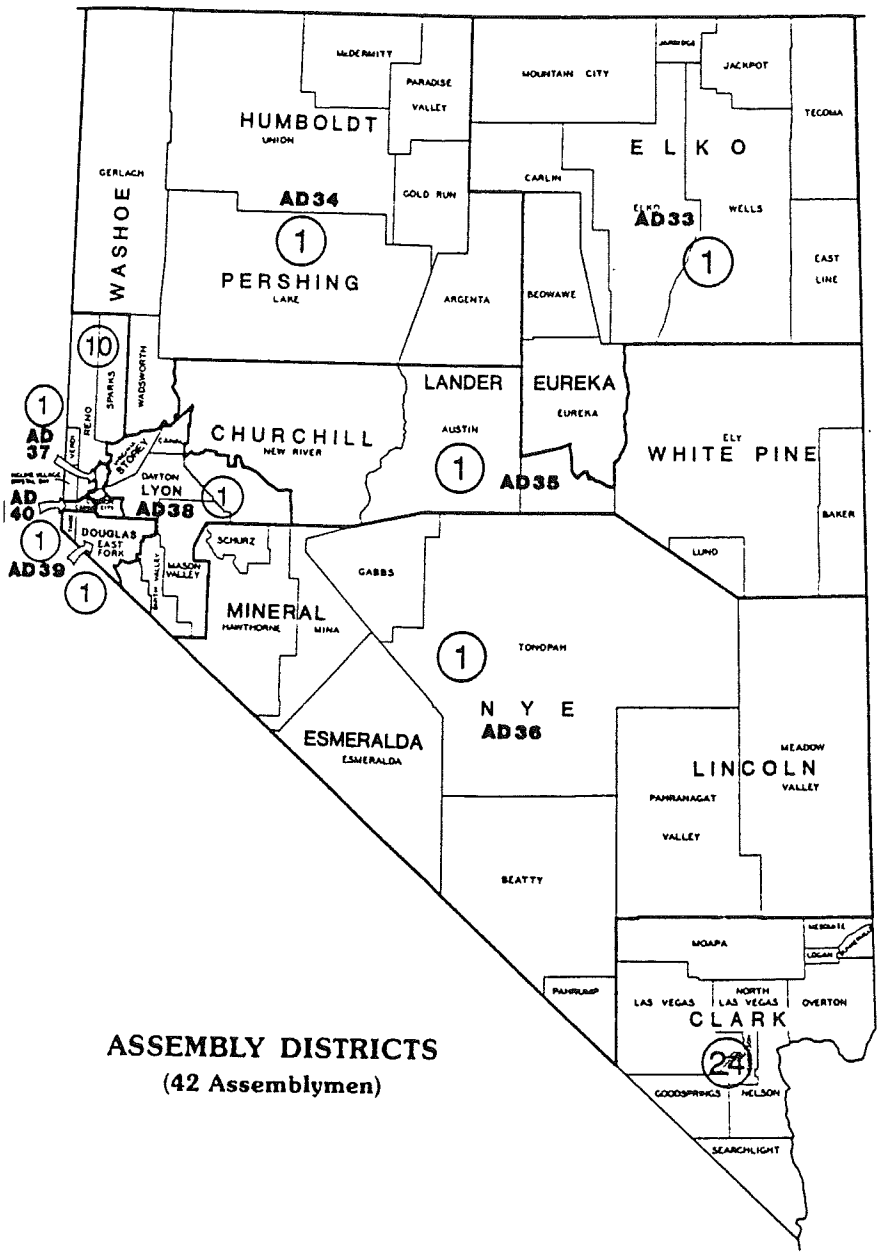


FIGURE 6. Nevada Assembly as reapportioned by the 1981 session. (SOURCE: *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: 1986, 183.)

that it considered "community of interest" factors—agriculture, stock raising, and mining.[26] The court also upheld the constitutionality of multimember districts having as many as seven members. While the 1971 plan survived a court test, it was far from ideal, and even further removed from the spirit of the equal protection guarantees in the Fourteenth Amendment. (See Figures 3 and 4.)

By 1981, reapportionment in Nevada had taken a decisive turn toward greater equality in districting, in marked contrast to the disturbing events sixteen years earlier. Redistricting still contained a generous dose of political self-interest to ensure incumbent survival, but agreement rather than discord characterized the legislative plans. For example, in 1981 lawmakers agreed early on to increase the size of the body by one Senate and two Assembly seats because of the population expansion occurring in Clark County. Moreover, multimember districts came under scrutiny because of the absurdity of one seven-member district in Clark County, which was changed to five two-member districts. Ultimately, the reapportionment plan adopted by the legislature resulted in twelve Senate and twenty-four Assembly seats for Clark County, with no loss of representation for the remainder of the state's political subdivisions.[27] (See Figures 5 and 6.)

Unlike the two previous reapportionment plans, the 1981 scheme was not challenged in court—a sign of changing legislative attitudes. The Nevada lawmakers had made a concerted effort to reduce the disparity between districts, thereby moving in the direction of equality based on population. But two problems clearly emerged in 1981. First, Clark County accounted for nearly all of the state's population growth, both in raw numbers and to a lesser extent in percentages (see Table 2). To accommodate these patterns, the legislature could either continue to increase its size to the constitutional maximum of seventy-five members (Article 15, Section 6), or choose to maintain the current size, which would mean reducing the number of representatives outside of Clark County. Second, reapportionment was becoming a complex process of equalizing districts amidst a population explosion; the numbers were out of date as quickly as they became known. Obviously, the process would demand a greater expenditure of time and resources in the future. Specifically, the task required application of computer science and technology to demographic patterns.

The legislature jump-started the process in early 1985. It passed Senate Concurrent Resolution (S.C.R.) 59, which directed the Legislative Commission, and the staff of the Research Division of the Legislative Counsel Bureau, to cooperate with the Bureau of the Census in preparing the 1990 decennial report.[28] This resolution was prompted by Public Law 94–171, passed by Congress on December 23, 1975; it directed the secretary of commerce, who supervises the Bureau of the Census, to provide data to states to aid in tabulating population figures for reapportionment.[29]

The Bureau of the Census, in compliance with Public Law 94–171, developed the Block Boundary Suggestion Program (BBSP). The primary purpose of the BBSP is to allow states to identify visible geographic features to coincide with

county precinct boundaries. This program allows the state to receive another level of census data—by precincts as well as by the standard census geography. Comparisons can then be made for use in the political analysis of redistricting alternatives.[30]

Between 1985 and 1987, the legislative staff completed Phase I of its study of the BBSP. The staff met with local officials in all seventeen counties and obtained maps and physical descriptions of voting districts that were in turn provided to the Bureau of the Census. In its concluding report, the study group recommended legislation to require precinct or voting-district boundaries to coincide with visible features outlined in the BBSP proposal. Another recommendation requested a concurrent resolution to complete Phase II of the program before the 1990 census.[31]

The 1987 legislature followed the recommendations of its legislative commission, adopting Assembly Concurrent Resolution (A.C.R.) 12 for Phase II of the program.[32] In late 1988, Nevada received from the Bureau of the Census a set of maps of the state showing the block boundaries that the legislative staff had submitted. Voting districts were subsequently redrawn along these physical boundaries, which would allow the Bureau of the Census to provide the 1990 data in block form.

The next step in the data-collection process was to combine block figures into aggregate blocks, then into census tracts and block numbering areas (BNA) consisting of about 4,000 people. In Nevada there are about 183 census tracts used primarily in the urban counties, and roughly 59 BNAs in use in the rural area.[33] Census geography, although expensive, is the most accurate means of tabulating population for the purpose of redistricting.

Another key innovation developed by the Bureau of the Census is the Tiger File database. This is a computer-generated map containing the geographic and statistical codes for Nevada. The data from the census can be entered on the map to show population relationships between and among voting districts in specific geographic areas.[34] Beyond 1991, Nevada lawmakers have the technological capability of quickly seeing all the available options in legislative reapportionment. More important in light of the demands for voter equality, disparities between political districts can be addressed with a high degree of accuracy. (See Table 3.)

Equally impressive, given the state's recent history, are the lengths to which legislators have gone in discharging their responsibility for reapportionment in 1991. For instance, in June 1990 the Subcommittee on Reapportionment received a briefing from Scott G. Wasserman, deputy legislative counsel in the Legislative Counsel Bureau, on the legal and constitutional requirements of reapportionment. Three months later the subcommittee met in Reno to review preliminary census data and to finalize proposed rules and procedures to be followed by the 1991 legislature.[35] Still, no one expected traditional considerations of partisanship and self-interest to miraculously disappear from the reapportionment struggle, particularly with the almost equal balance of Republicans and Democrats in the legislature.

While Democrats held a slight majority in the Assembly and Senate, they clearly would be unable to enact their reapportionment plan without compromise.[36] Equally clear was the unpleasant prospect of either increasing the size of the legislature or redistricting Washoe County to accommodate the loss of one Senate and two Assembly seats. In the 1980s, Washoe grew less rapidly than Clark County, while other political subdivisions had increases at a rate sufficient to maintain their 1981 representation levels. Early in the session, agreement was reached to maintain the current size of the legislature, to be accomplished by increasing the Clark County delegation while making a corresponding reduction in the number of representatives from Washoe County.

After some false starts in May of 1991, the legislature adopted S.B. 647 as a compromise measure on June 29. The aggregate total of sixty-three legislators was maintained. Forty-two assemblypersons would be elected from single districts, and the sixteen Senate districts would be composed of eleven single-member and five multimember districts. In the Assembly, the average population in each district was 28,615, and the overall range of deviation was a modest 4.5 percent. In the Senate the multimember districts made the picture more complicated. However, all Senate districts outside of Clark County were single-member, while five of the eight districts in Clark County were multimember districts, meaning that two senators were elected from the same constituency base. The average single-member Senate district was 57,230, and the average multimember district, 114,460—exactly twice as many. In the Senate, the range of deviation was only 2.6 percent, well below the legal guidelines set by the federal appellate courts.[37]

The 1991 legislature also moved ahead to protect the expansion of minority interests, which was important to the success of any reapportionment plan. In *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* (1980), the United States Supreme Court struck down a redistricting plan that tended to exclude African-Americans from equal participation in the political process. After Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the High Court began to define equal rights in terms of equality of outcome and result.[38] In other words, voting rights meant maximum political effectiveness, not just an opportunity to participate by casting a ballot. When Mississippi changed its method of electing county supervisors from single-member districts to at-large voting in order to dilute the voting strength of African-Americans, the Court noted that the right to vote is a measure of political power.[39] In 1982, Congress amended the Voting Rights Act to clarify what appeared to be conflicting rulings from the High Court. In a 1980 ruling, *City of Mobile v. Bolden*, the Court had held that a violation of the Voting Rights Act required proof of discriminatory intent, which had been demonstrated in the earlier cases. Congress substituted the "results test," under which minority groups need not prove intent to discriminate, only that they had had less opportunity to elect officials.[40]

The Assembly reapportionment plan for Clark County addressed the problem head-on. It provided for these minority-majority districts: 55 percent African-Americans in one district, a 47 percent African-American plurality in another, and

a 40 percent plurality for Hispanics in yet another. In the Senate, one Clark County district contained a 51 percent majority of African-Americans. However, race-conscious redistricting to create minority-majority districts may not survive the reasoning of the majority of the Court under Chief Justice William Rehnquist. For example, in 1993, the Court ruled that the government must demonstrate a compelling reason to create minority-majority districts. Although *Shaw v. Reno* (1993)[41] involved a congressional district in North Carolina rather than a state legislative district, the Court may well extend its rationale to the states.

Indeed, the Court appears headed in that direction. In *Johnson v. DeGrandy* (1994),[42] Justice David Souter upheld state minority-majority districts under the Voting Rights Act, but only insofar as they achieved minority voting strength in proportion to their percentage of the population. But in *Holder v. Hall,* decided in the same year, Justice Clarence Thomas wrote a blistering opinion deriding twenty years of judicial activism in minority voting rights as "a disastrous misadventure in judicial policymaking." Thomas categorically rejected the notion that race defines political interest and would move the court to accept a definition of the Voting Rights Act in line with *City of Mobile v. Bolden,* rather than later opinions.

Justice Thomas rejected the contention that the "strict scrutiny" test, as used by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in applying the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in *Shaw v. Reno,* should be used in all majority-minority districting cases. Five members of the Court seemed to be headed in that direction. In 1995, the Court invalidated an irregularly shaped Georgia congressional district, composed primarily of African-American voters. In *Miller v. Johnson,* Justice Anthony J. Kennedy speaking for the Court said, "Just as the state may not, absent extraordinary justification, segregate citizens on the basis of race in its public parks, buses, golf courses, beaches, schools, so did we recognize in *Shaw* that it may not separate its citizens into different voting districts on the basis of race.[43] Thus, the Miller case, at least insofar as congressional districts are concerned, excludes race as the predominant factor in the redistricting process.

Conclusion

After retiring from the court in 1969, Chief Justice Earl Warren said that the most important case decided during his tenure was *Baker v. Carr.* To many, this may seem a strange pronouncement, given the near revolutionary character of the Court's rulings in civil rights, freedom of speech and religion, and the extension of Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Amendment protection to those accused of crimes. But *Baker* v. *Carr* was the quintessential expression of the jurisprudence of reinforcing representative democracy, occurring at a time when the Court moved to fill the vacuum created by reluctant executives and an intransigent Congress. Unshackled from the political question issue, Warren set a course that expanded voter rights in new areas by demanding equality and fairness. The result has been

revitalized state governments, now capable of confronting problems rather than merely maintaining the status quo based on faintly disguised slogans of states' rights, threats of urban kooks, and suspected communist subversion. Arguably, state governments today are the most energized and innovative representatives of the people, which would have been unimaginable without *Baker v. Carr* and the reapportionment revolution that flowed from it. Still, the Supreme Court's holdings in the aftermath of *Reynolds v. Sims* have undergone a much needed adjustment in course to one that is now more reasonable and realistic, while still upholding the equal protection principle in voter rights.

In 1967, the Supreme Court in *Swann v. Adams,* struck down a Florida reapportionment plan that included a variance ratio of 1.3:1 for the Senate and 1.4:1 for the House.[44] If the *Swann* ruling had been applied to Nevada's 1991 reapportionment plan, the plan would be judged unconstitutional, despite the expenditure of $450,000 and considerable staff time.

But with changing personnel on the Court came new ideas that moved in the direction of greater flexibility. Indeed, the absence of exact numerical pairing did not signify inequality, per se. Specifically, in the 1970s, the Court began to distance itself from its ruling in *Swann.* In *Abate v. Mundt* (1971), the Court approved an 11.9 percent deviation from population equality in the apportionment of a county government. Moving still further, in *Mahan v. Howell* (1973), the Court would not look to a justification for a deviation as high as 10 percent; in fact, it gave approval to a 16.4 percent deviation for the Virginia legislature.[45] By 1983, the Court even approved a 60 percent disparity below the mean for Niobrara County, Wyoming, with the rationale that a factor such as historical adherence to county boundaries can be considered in a state apportionment formula.[46] It appears that twenty years after the failed Dirksen Amendment, the Court had recognized that factors other than population may or should be significant in legislative judgments.

Unquestionably by 1991 Nevada lawmakers had complied not only with *Reynolds v. Sims* and its prodigy, but with the spirit of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. More important, the achievement occurred without the dire consequences forecast in 1964. The predictions of Walter Cox about welfare and the disregard for the economic foundations of cities and counties outside of Clark County have failed to materialize. In fact, James Hulse in *Forty Years in the Wilderness* makes the case that Clark County and its gaming-driven mentality have produced an even more miserly approach to social welfare issues than existed before the 1960s.[47] Leaving aside the validity of Hulse's assertion about Nevada's pre-1960s social consciousness, there can be little doubt that he is correct with regard to Clark County's lawmakers: They are not the extravagant, free-spending liberals who many had feared would dominate the legislative process in the aftermath of *Reynolds v. Sims.*

Lastly, there is a lingering feeling, belief, and assumption expressed by many—including Jerome Edwards, professor of history at the University of Nevada,

Reno—that Clark County lawmakers, because they are predominantly concerned with gaming-related issues, may disregard or brush aside other concerns.[48] It is an intriguing issue that can be addressed quantitatively, that is, by a comparison of the voting records of legislators on issues vital to constituents outside of Clark County. It is a view that requires precise definition and measurement. There is merit to the assertion raised by Edwards that should be addressed to assess accurately the impact of reapportionment on the minority. Such a study would put to rest the uncertainty as to whether Nevada is experiencing what some critics have complained is the tyranny of the majority. Presently, however, there is no evidence, and no reason to believe, that Clark County lawmakers have acted with disregard for the general welfare of Nevadans outside of Clark County.

NOTES

[1]Gordon E. Baker, *The Reapportionment Revolution: Representation, Political Power, and the Supreme Court* (New York: Random House, 1966), 137.

[2]*Hang Tough: Grant Sawyer, an Activist in the Governor's Mansion*, oral history of Governor Grant Sawyer, by Gary E. Elliott and T. R. King (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Project, 1993), 95–106.

[3]*Nevada Appeal* (12 January 1965). This is the second in a series of six articles by Tom Wilson.

[4]*Nevada Appeal* (12 January 1965).

[5]Gary E. Elliott, *Senator Alan Bible and the Politics of the New West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994), ch. 4, 8. Also see Gary E. Elliott, "A Legacy of Support: Senator Alan Bible and the Nevada Mining Industry," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 31:3 (Fall 1988), 183–97.

[6]*Nevada Appeal* (25 January 1965).

[7]*Ibid.* (13 February 1965).

[8]*Nevada State Journal* (29 January 1965).

[9]*Reno Evening Gazette* (9 March 1965). Also see message of the governor to the legislature of Nevada in *The Journal of the Assembly of the Fifty-Third Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1965), 9, 10.

[10]*Ibid.*, vii, 9, 742.

[11]Eleanor Bushnell, "Reapportionment: Crisis in Nevada," *Bureau of Government Research Newsletter* (Reno), 4:1 (October 1965), 2.

[12]*Ibid.* Bushnell does not agree that the population variance would be rejected by the courts.

[13]Bushnell, "Reapportionment," *Nevada Daily Bulletin* (5 August 1965).

[14]*Journal of the Senate of the Fifty-Third Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1965), xxi, 14, 22, 26.

[15]*Ibid.*, xii, 8, 22, 25. Also see J. W. Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, 12th ed. (San Diego: 1991), 32.

[16]*Reapportionment Newsletter of the Legislative Counsel Bureau* (Carson City), 1:3 (23 May 1990), 2.

[17]*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (24 September 1965). Attorney General Harvey Dickerson declined to appeal the ruling of the district court.

[18]*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (24 September 1965); *Reno Evening Gazette* (22 October 1965); *Nevada State Journal* (5 October 1965).

[19]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 1:3 (23 May 1990), 3.

[20]*Ibid; Las Vegas Sun* (16 November 1965).

[21]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 1:3 (23 May 1990), 3.

[22]Ron DePolo and Mark Pingle, "A Statistical History of the Nevada Population, 1860–1993," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 37:4 (Winter 1994), 301.

[23]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 1:3 (23 May 1990), 3, 4. *Gerrymandering* is a term that describes establishing voting-district outlines that will preserve partisan power. It originated in Massachusetts in

1812, where the state legislature produced a salamander-shaped district; the process is named after the governor, Elbridge Gerry.

[24]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 1:3 (23 May 1990), 5. Eleanor Bushnell, "Reapportionment," 101–7.

[25]343 F. Supp. 1080 (1972).

[26]Bushnell, "Reapportionment," 101–7.

[27]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 1:3 (23 May 1990), 4.

[28]Brian L. Davie, administrative services officer, interview, 24 May 1995; Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 59, File No. 134; *Study of Boundaries for Blocks for Census in 1990*, Bulletin No. 87–15, Legislative Commission of the Legislative Counsel Bureau, State of Nevada (December 1986).

[29]Public Law 94–171, 23 December 1975, 89 Stat. 1023, 94th Cong. 2nd Sess. to amend Title 13, Section 141(c).

[30]*Reapportionment*, Bulletin No. 91–12, Legislative Commission of the Legislative Counsel Bureau, State of Nevada (January 1991), 20, 21.

[31]*Study of Boundaries of Blocks for Census in 1990*, 2.

[32]Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 12, File No. 44 (1987).

[33]*Reapportionment*, Bulletin No. 91–12, 21–23. There are other aggregates of census data such as voting districts and Census County Divisions (CCD) that have replaced the old townships of earlier census data collection. There are sixty-eight CCDs in Nevada.

[34]*Reapportionment*, Bulletin No. 91–12, 23.

[35]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 1:5 (26 September 1990), 3.

[36]Assembly: 22 Democrats and 20 Republicans; Senate: 11 Democrats and 10 Republicans.

[37]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 2:4 (26 July 1991), 4.

[38]The Court's redefinition of equal rights began in 1971 with *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (402 U.S. 424), holding that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not require a showing of discriminatory purpose, and that a plaintiff need only prove a discriminatory impact. Thus, the Court began to consider racially disproportionate impact as opposed to a racially discriminatory purpose.

[39]*Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 364 U.S. 399 (1960); *Allen v. State Board of Elections*, 393 U.S. 544 (1969).

[40]*City of Mobile v. Bolden*, 446 U.S. 55 (1980).

[41]*Reapportionment Newsletter*, 2:4 (26 July 1991); *Shaw v. Reno*, 113 S. Ct. 2816 (1993). The case was remanded for trial on the merits of the claim.

[42]*Johnson v. DeGrandy*, 114 S. Ct. (1994); *Holder v. Hall*, 114 S. Ct. (1994). Also see David M. O'Brien, *Supreme Court Watch 1994* (New York: Norton, 2nd ed. 1994), 32–34.

[43]*Miller v. Johnson*, 115 S. Ct. 1688 (1995). The Supreme Court tests and standards for applying the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment have three tiers. The upper tier of analysis applies to suspect classifications and fundamental rights, and the standard of judicial review is the strict scrutiny test. Here, the state must demonstrate a compelling interest in the legislation for the Court to uphold the act. As a practical matter, the government can rarely demonstrate a compelling interest. Ironically, it was Justice Hugo Black, speaking for the Court in *Korematsu v. United States* 323 U.S. 214 (1944), who said that the strict scrutiny standard applies to classifications involving racial minorities. This is the standard applied by O'Connor in *Shaw* and by Kennedy in the *Miller* case. The intermediate tier applies to quasisuspect categories involving gender, alienage, indigency, etcetera. Here the Court standard is the strict rationality test between the ends and means of legislation. The lowest tier applies to economic legislation and requires only a rational basis for the legislation.

[44]*Swann v. Adams*, 385 U.S. 440 (1967). Also see Alfred H. Kelly, Winfred A. Harbinson, and Herman Beltz, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development*, 7th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991), ii, 618.

[45]*Abate v. Mundt*, 403 U.S. 182 (1971); *Mahan* v. *Howell*, 410 U.S. 315 (1973).

[46]*Brown v. Thomson*, 463 U.S. 835 (1983).

[47]James W. Hulse, *Forty Years in the Wilderness* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986). See ch. 6, and 87–112.

[48]Jerome E. Edwards, "Nevada: Gambling and the Federal-State Relationship," *Halcyon: A Journal of the Humanities* (1989), 237–54; *idem*, "Gambling and Politics in Nevada," in *Politics in the Postwar American West*, Richard Lowitt, ed. (Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 147–61.

THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Las Vegas

Robert Kryger

In the 1960 campaign, John F. Kennedy restored the traditionally Democratic coalitions that in the 1950s had bolted the party for Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Republicans. This accomplishment is clearly reflected by voting patterns in three southwestern cities, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Las Vegas. Even though Kennedy ultimately lost to Nixon in California and Arizona, he attracted large numbers of minority voters who had drifted toward Republicanism during the Eisenhower years. The black vote was also crucial to Kennedy's major triumph in Las Vegas, which helped him carry the state and secure Nevada's three electoral votes. But the dynamics of the Kennedy-Johnson campaigns in the three cities differed.

Voter behavior can best be explained by contrasting campaign issues and demographic trends with "normal vote analysis."[1] Six years after the campaign, political scientist Philip Converse popularized this concept while working with data compiled from the years 1952 to 1960. The term refers to "the partisan division of the vote that would occur if the long-term force of party identification were the only force influencing the election outcome, or if party identification was operating and the short-term forces canceled themselves out."[2] He developed this approach to measure how the vote would unfold if people based their decisions on party allegiance alone. Over the last two decades, this method has proven its value as an indicator of voter bias and effect of that bias upon campaign issues.

Examining the 1960 election is valuable because many of the issues raised during that campaign are still hotly debated today. For example, affirmative action and the federal government's role in the economy and in international affairs are re-emerging and dividing Americans once again. Understanding these issues in their 1960 context sheds light on how they have evolved and why they remain unresolved.

On a regional scale, an analysis of voter response in these three southwestern cities is important because of their growing electoral importance and their significance in nominating presidential candidates. Beginning with the election of

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TABLE 1
Electoral Votes by Geographic Region, 1960–1990

	1960	*1960s*	*1970s*	*1980s*	*1990s*	*Change from 1960*
California, Arizona, Nevada	39	48	54	58	66	69.2%
New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania	93	86	82	74	68	–26.9
Illinois, Michigan, Ohio	72	73	72	67	61	–51.3
Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia	38	37	36	37	40	5.3
Texas, Florida	34	39	43	50	57	67.6

SOURCE: Data from *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 57–65.

1960, three of the next nine presidential nominees came from the Southwest: Barry Goldwater of Arizona won the Republican nomination in 1964 and was followed by two Californians, Richard Nixon (1968) and Ronald Reagan (1980). Nixon and Reagan spent a combined total of fourteen years in the Oval Office. Support in the Southwest, therefore, has proven to be increasingly important in presidential campaigns.

Table 1 illustrates the change in electoral power of the area studied as opposed to that of the three largest states in the Northeast, the Midwest, and the South. Also included are data for Florida and Texas, the area's stiffest competition for growth in electoral dominance.

One must first appreciate the growing importance of the Southwest in American politics and then recognize the unique political climate that exists in the region. That climate has been shaped by the urban concentration of the population and the diverse constituencies that have moved into the area, bringing with them their individual political socialization and partisan desires.

A national trend developed between 1950 and 1960 in which citizens began to leave central cities for the suburbs. According to Theodore White, the "census of 1960 announced the passing of the great city," as it showed a population decline in fourteen of the fifteen largest urban centers.[3] The one exception, Los Angeles, lay in the Southwest, and, in fact, urban growth in the Southwest refuted White's interpretation of the 1960 census. A more accurate view would emphasize the decline of the great eastern city and the emergence of the great southwestern metropolis. The phenomenal growth of Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Los Angeles between 1940 and 1960 is shown in Table 2.

The reason for this growth is two-fold. Southwestern cities had been pursuing defense dollars since the 1920s, and their persistence paid off with the emergence of the Japanese threat, and the subsequent mobilization of America during World

TABLE 2
Population Growth, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Las Vegas, 1960–1990

	1940	*1960*	*Increase*
Los Angeles	1,504,277	2,479,015	64.80%
Phoenix	106,818	439,170	311.14
Las Vegas	8,422	82,827	883.46
Total	1,619,517	3,001,012	85.30

SOURCE: Data from the *1960 Census of Population.*

War II. The key to their postwar success was their focus on aviation, which placed them in a leadership position in the long wave of economic growth which was to occur during the Cold War. The dominant industries of this wave—those engaged in the mass marketing of earlier innovations and the exploitation of new industries such as electronics, telecommunications, and aerospace—had solid foundations in the Southwest, foundations that would allow the region to take the economic lead in postwar America.[4]

World War II not only boosted the economies of these southwestern cities but altered their social compositions as well: Migration doubled the Mexican community in Los Angeles, "and black migrants from the lower Mississippi valley helped to southernize the Far West."[5] Along with increasing the minority communities of the West, these population movements brought an infusion of youth to the area. Indeed, the wartime influx was composed mainly of "men and women in their early twenties."[6] The origins of voting-age migrants in the 1950s, as well as the median ages of these populations, are shown in Table 3.

Most of the newcomers arrived from the South and Midwest. The large number of westerners in Las Vegas resulted from a postwar influx of Californians. Also evident is the youthful nature of the cities, with Los Angeles hosting the oldest population, having a median age of thirty-three. The effect of these migrant communities was profound in shaping the political environments of the three

TABLE 3
Origins of Voting-Age Migrants, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Las Vegas, 1950s

	Northeast	*Midwest*	*South*	*West*	*Median age*
Los Angeles	19.3%	40.5%	28.3%	11.9%	33.2%
Phoenix	13	47.5	28.7	10.6	28.4
Las Vegas	12	29.8	22.9	35.2	31.6
North Las Vegas	12	29.8	22.9	35.2	24.5

SOURCE: Data from *1960 Census of Population.* (Las Vegas and North Las Vegas totals are for the state of Nevada as municipal numbers were unavailable).

cities. Southern migration was accompanied by racism, bigotry, and various forms of disfranchisement. The methods of oppression were by no means as overt as those in the South, but in many areas they were far more effective. Where southern migration was dominant, especially in emerging cities such as Phoenix, and left unchecked by a more liberal northeastern influence, minorities enjoyed less influence over policy making.

There appear to be three tiers of minority progress that developed in the Southwest, the lowest of which existed in Phoenix, where voting laws and municipal government were structured to dilute minority influence and encourage segregation. As a result minority groups were politically impotent, unable to gain power through either spatial concentration or neighborhood networking. The second tier existed in Las Vegas, where minorities had only recently ended segregation in public places and were just beginning to mobilize politically. The end of segregation had resulted from agitation by an increasingly vocal minority with some form of economic leverage, coupled with the aid of sympathetic whites within the power structure. The final tier was evident in Los Angeles, where segregation was at least not official policy, and voting laws and the municipal government were structured in such a way that minority groups could influence public policy in relation to the size of their communities, and elect members of their groups to local office. Reaching the third tier by no means guaranteed fair treatment, but it did ensure a degree of political responsiveness equal to the groups' levels of mobilization and political participation.

Three main issues dominated the 1960 presidential campaign in the Southwest: the economy, foreign policy, and civil rights.[7] The issues of racial tolerance and the economy were conditioned by local circumstances and will be dealt with in the analysis of the individual cities. Foreign policy was a national issue that transcended regional interests; it will be covered separately and factored into the regional analysis later.

In 1960 the world was a precarious place. Trouble spots included the Congo, Quemoy and Matsu, Cuba, Korea, Turkey, Europe. America's problem was intensified by a series of embarrassing incidents that eroded the country's prestige around the world, especially the downing of the U-2 spy plane over Russia and the subsequent defection to the Soviet Union of two National Security Agency employees.

The U-2 incident occurred days before the important Paris summit meeting between President Eisenhower and Russia's Premier Nikita Khrushchev in early May 1960. Upon hearing of the incident, Khrushchev left the summit, denouncing Eisenhower as a "liar" and "hypocrite."[8] These events called into question the effectiveness of the Eisenhower administration in world affairs and opened the door for Kennedy's foreign-policy theme: the loss of American prestige—an issue of great importance in relatively conservative, defense-oriented cities like Los Angeles and Phoenix.

Nixon entered the campaign from his post as vice president in the Eisenhower

Vice President Richard M. Nixon giving a speech in Virginia City on June 12, 1959. Pat Nixon and Governor Grant Sawyer are seated behind him on the rostrum. (*John Nulty photo, Nevada Historical Society*)

administration, and foreign policy was his strongest issue. He had made his mark in the legendary kitchen debate with Khrushchev, and voters regarded him as a tough and experienced man. His choice of Henry Cabot Lodge as running mate only reinforced his dominance in this area, since Lodge had been the United States's representative to the United Nations before Nixon chose him. On the other hand, voters and experts alike viewed Kennedy as inexperienced and im-

mature on foreign policy issues. He began the campaign by suggesting that Eisenhower should have apologized to Khrushchev for the U-2 incident. This antagonized veterans' groups and anticommunists, and slowed his early momentum. Exploiting the moment, Nixon called Kennedy "näive" and "inexperienced."[9] Samuel Lubell, perhaps the most prominent political analyst of his time, noted that "what is hurting Kennedy most is the widespread feeling among voters that he is inexperienced in foreign affairs."[10] He explained this view in his weekly column on September 26, the day of the first of the Great Debates.

On that night, most television viewers expected to see Nixon dominate his less-experienced opponent. However, Kennedy's surprising performance dramatically shifted the momentum away from Nixon. In just two hours the magic of television had helped Kennedy to destroy much of Nixon's advantage. After the first debate Kennedy campaign aide J. Leonard Reinsch predicted that "every time we get those two side by side we're going to win and he's going to lose,"[11] an analysis verified by every postdebate poll taken in the country.

National polls confirmed the widely held view that Kennedy's performance in the debates established him as Nixon's equal. Though Nixon was still considered superior on the issue of foreign policy, voters no longer viewed a Kennedy victory

Senator John F. Kennedy in a reception line at the Governor's Mansion with Betty and Grant Sawyer, February 1, 1960. (*Don Dondero photo for the* Reno Evening Gazette, *Nevada Historical Society*)

as a threat to national security. This allowed his campaign to focus on domestic issues, where he enjoyed the advantage.

In order to understand the effect of domestic issues on the southwestern election results it is necessary to focus on the individual cities themselves. Each municipality developed in its own manner, and each offered a very different arena for political combat. In Los Angeles, for instance, Kennedy's appeal to group-related interests drove him to a large victory. By proving to a politically energized and growing black populace that he was the best candidate to advance the cause of civil rights, Kennedy recaptured this valuable community whose support gave the Democrats 53 percent of the city's vote.

A normal vote analysis reveals a considerable Democratic advantage. As Table 4 indicates, Kennedy lost almost 5 percent of the registered Democrats to his Republican opponent. Voters favored Nixon personally because he was a native of California, and they gave him a slight edge on both foreign and domestic policy issues. Kennedy countered this with his strong appeal to group-related interests, but this was ineffective outside of the central city, resulting in the loss of California to his Republican opponent.

In 1960, the nation's blacks were 50 percent registered Democrats, down from 71 percent in 1952.[12] These voters had broken party ranks in the previous two elections, dividing their support equally between Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson.[13] Kennedy therefore faced the challenge of restoring this vital group to the Democratic fold.

The 1960 Democratic National Convention, held in Los Angeles, produced two major effects upon the local campaign. The southern California location energized Democratic registration efforts by heightening political awareness, especially among the city's minority residents. The *Los Angeles Sentinel* reported that the You Must Register to Vote Drive was a "huge success" in registering minority voters.[14] The second effect was the growing black animosity against Kennedy. This stemmed from his choice of Lyndon Johnson as his running mate as well as from his conciliatory actions toward conservative southern governors. Black leaders in Los Angeles considered Johnson's civil rights record to be weak because he had supported only two of the last eight civil rights measures in Congress. They were

TABLE 4
Normal Vote and Deviation, Los Angeles Presidential Election, 1960

	Registered voters	*Normal vote*	*Deviation*
Republications	1,165,002	38.69%	8.3%
Democrats	1,742,190	57.85	−4.85
Other	104,187	3.46	−3
Total	3,011,379		

SOURCE: Figures from the *Los Angeles Sentinel* (6 October 1960), p. 13.

Downtown Los Angeles in 1960. (*Dick Whittington photo, Doheny Memorial Library, University of Southern California*)

even more disturbed by his embarrassing statement at the 1956 Democratic convention that "I am not now and never have been an advocate of Civil Rights. I don't think I ever will be."[15]

Johnson proved a boon for Republican advertisers. The National Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge placed an ad that quoted Mississippi's Democratic Senator James Eastland as he praised Johnson: "You have to give him credit. He took everything related to integration out of those civil rights bills. . . . He has always opposed Congress' implementing the segregation decisions of the Supreme Court."[16] Thereafter followed a list of Eisenhower-Nixon deeds that included civil rights bills, integration in Washington, D.C., and the appointment of blacks to administration posts. The ad concluded with the Nixon theme on civil rights: "The Democratic Platform has fine words—but Democrats cut those same words out of the civil rights bill. The Eisenhower-Nixon team shows a record of solid achievement—deeds to be remembered on election day."[17]

Further hampering the Kennedy-Johnson ticket among African-Americans in Los Angeles were the blatant appeals in the South to the racism of southern voters. Promoting a campaign visit from Senator and Lady Bird Johnson, the

Montgomery Advertiser ran an ad in which the white-rooster symbol, sign of segregation, was used to appeal to Montgomery voters. The rooster carried the slogan "White Supremacy for the Right." Republican strategists delivered this ad to black editors across the nation: It was published in the *Los Angeles Sentinel,* followed by the question, "Where do Democrats really stand?"[18]

Nixon clearly exploited Democratic courting of the South and picked up some key black endorsements, including former Los Angeles Dodger Jackie Robinson. The nomination of Johnson, distrust toward Kennedy, and a positive meeting with Nixon convinced Jackie Robinson to support the Nixon ticket in his weekly newspaper column. Robinson viewed Kennedy as a "cold, calculating political machine,"[19] and specifically criticized him for "wiring Arkansas Governor [Orville] Faubus to join him on the platform, while at the same time asking Negroes to have faith in his civil rights promises."[20] Robinson quoted Governor John Patterson of Alabama, who had described Kennedy as a "friend of the south."[21] Nixon, on the other hand, won Robinson's support by "looking him in the eye" and giving "straightforward answers," whereas Robinson had to "challenge Kennedy six times."[22]

The Kennedy campaign limped out of the convention and into a special session of Congress that had been scheduled for the summer of 1960 to accommodate a possible presidential run by Lyndon Johnson, the Senate majority leader. Republican Senator Everett M. Dirksen (Illinois) proposed a two-point civil rights bill that the Democrats, including Kennedy, tabled. Though attacked as "eleventh-hour politics" by the nominee, the negative effect was substantial. Val Washington, the Republican director of minorities, conducted a thorough investigation of Kennedy's congressional voting record and found that the senator voted against two key civil rights measures in 1957. Washington asserted that on both of these issues "Kennedy followed the leadership of Senator Johnson."[23] The special session left Kennedy appearing unacceptable on civil rights and ineffective in his new role as leader of the Democratic party.

As a result of these and other events, the Kennedy campaign stumbled along in black Los Angeles for most of the summer and early fall, until the dramatic arrest of Martin Luther King at an Atlanta sit-in resurrected Kennedy's hopes. The failure of Nixon and Eisenhower to use the Justice Department's leverage to win King's release gave the initiative to Robert Kennedy, who, after some delay, secured King's release with a timely word to the judge.

Even Nixon's most ardent black supporter, Jackie Robinson, could not save the vice president from his mistake. The *Los Angeles Sentinel* ran its November 3 edition without Robinson's weekly column, stating only that he had missed the deadline. Though Robinson continued to support the Nixon ticket, he remained silent on the King issue, emphasizing instead his distrust of Kennedy because of his congressional record and the selection of Johnson. Although Jackie Robinson stubbornly resisted such a move, the *Los Angeles Sentinel* endorsed Kennedy days before the election, proclaiming "we recommend the election of John F. Kennedy

on the basis of his past record, his performance during the campaign, and his future plans for a forward moving America."[24] The editorial addressed the choice of Johnson as running mate by comparing him to previous southern candidates such as Harry Truman who, "once cut away from dependence upon their white constituency," became friends of civil rights. The editorial even characterized Johnson as courageous for "wholeheartedly endorsing the Democratic platform while representing a white Texas electorate."[25]

Election results in Los Angeles's fifteenth congressional district, encompassing most of Watts and South Central, revealed that black support for Kennedy cut beyond partisan lines and was not based on party or platform. Indeed, the *Los Angeles Sentinel* endorsed Republican Gordon L. McDonough, who defeated his Democratic opponent by a convincing margin, clearly displaying the willingness of blacks to split their tickets for candidates sympathetic to their needs (see Table 5).

Here lies the significance of the 1960 election to the future of American politics. The direct actions of one candidate allowed the party as a whole to lure black voters back into its fold for the next generation. This permitted the Democrats to secure both the White House and Congress so as to fulfill their pledge of extending civil rights to all Americans. Moreover, their momentum in accomplishing this resulted in Democratic nonwhite pluralities of 99 and 92 percent, respectively, in the following two national elections. These numbers acquired even more significance following passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965. These national reforms, coupled with increased voter-registration efforts, enhanced the power of the black vote, which in turn fueled more Democratic victories in the sixties.

Of course, economics and poverty were inextricably tied to civil rights. Kennedy addressed the economic concerns of low-income groups and minorities at a time when America's economy appeared to be faltering. The Democratic platform proposed increasing the minimum wage to $1.25 to ensure "the right to

TABLE 5
Ticket Splitting, Presidential/Congressional Elections, Fifteenth District, Los Angeles, 1960

Candidate	*Votes*
Nixon (R)	79,750
McDonough (R)	89,234
Kennedy (D)	98,389
Martell (D)	84,650
Total presidential votes	178,139
Total congressional votes	173,884

SOURCE: Data extracted from *Congressional Quarterly's Report on the 1960 Election.*

earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation."[26] Benefiting most from this measure were the members of Los Angeles's black and Hispanic communities at the bottom of the economic ladder, those who, in occupations such as laundry work, earned as little as $0.68 per hour.[27] Kennedy also proposed increased government spending on housing, health care, education, and aid to the elderly. Almost a quarter of Los Angeles's population was black or Hispanic. The nineteenth congressional district contained the city's largest proportion of Spanish-speaking voters and supported Kennedy 113 to 60. The largest concentration of blacks was centered in the fifteenth, twenty-third, and twenty-sixth congressional districts and supported Kennedy by a 132,252 vote margin.

The civil rights issue proved to be the difference in Los Angeles voting, but it does not solely account for Nixon's defeat. While the black vote was decisive, Kennedy's victory would not have been possible had he not also built a foundation of mainstream white voters more concerned with domestic and foreign policy issues. In Los Angeles the economy and defense spending went hand in hand. Military expenditures "transformed the aircraft industry in Los Angeles," expanding companies such as Lockheed, Douglas, Hughes, and North American to the point where "a third of the area's jobs depended directly or indirectly on military spending."[28] The dependence on Pentagon dollars continued into the 1950s with the Korean War and, later, Vietnam. It was this dependence on defense spending that became a threat to Kennedy's campaign because of a speech 3,000 miles away.

While addressing a small crowd in Niagara Falls in September, Kennedy declared, "I support the re-establishment of defense manpower policy number four, which was thrown out in 1953 and which provided that defense contracts go to those areas which are able to meet the competitive price and have over eight percent unemployment." He argued that we "can use defense contracts to strengthen the country." The reaction from a city so dependent on defense was predictable: "Kennedy Hints at Defense Job Shift" proclaimed the headline of the next day's *Los Angeles Times*.[29]

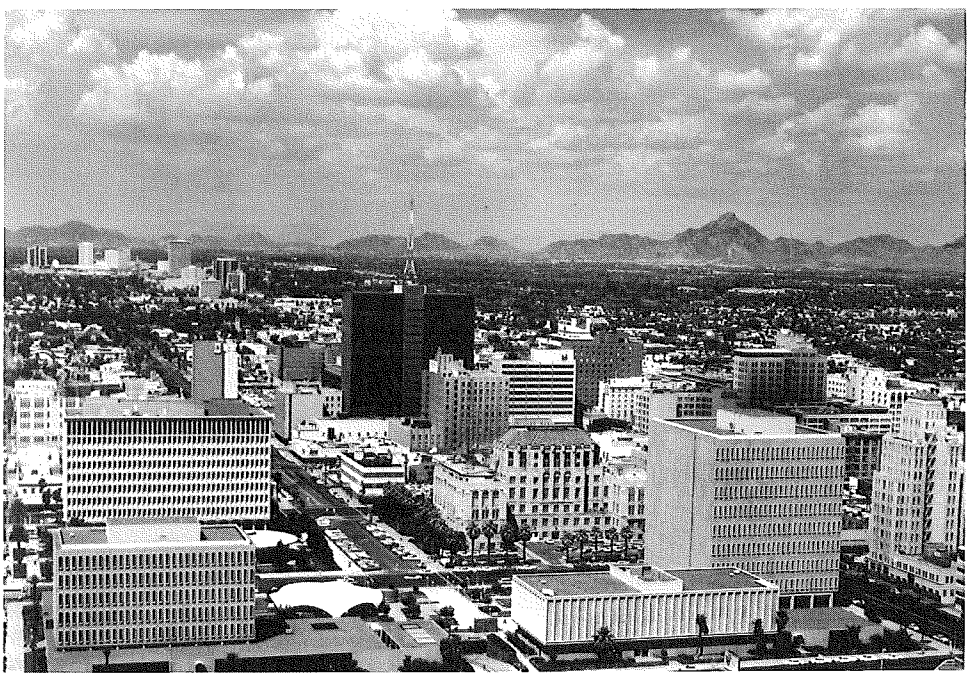
Republicans were quick to exploit the miscue. Patrick J. Hillings, chairman of the Los Angeles City Republican Central Committee, declared that "Californians are shocked at the statement of Senator John Kennedy at Niagara Falls that he advocates the removal of many defense contracts now assigned to California industry."[30] Contributing to the furor was the Defense Department's announced plans to build a new plant near Los Angeles to manufacture F-100 Interceptors—a windfall that demonstrated the "generosity" of Republican leadership. The damaging effects of the Niagara Falls statement were evidenced by a poll on October 2 that showed Nixon leading California 48 percent to 39 percent, with 13 percent of the voters still undecided. The previous poll had Kennedy leading 42 percent to 41 percent, with 17 percent undecided.[31] This poll showed even more damage considering it followed the famous first television debate with Nixon on September 26 in which Kennedy won by an 11 point margin.[32]

Kennedy attempted to minimize the fallout from his Niagara Falls speech by addressing the defense issue in his next visit to southern California. On his final campaign swing through the Southwest, Kennedy pledged to "fight for the process that [this] area needs to keep expanding its natural resources and economy."[33] Although the statement certainly salvaged some votes, it did not offset the damage done.

In the end, Kennedy won Los Angeles's central city but lost the periphery and subsequently the state. Because of the structure of the Los Angeles economy, and Nixon's stance on foreign policy and domestic issues, the Whittier native was able to overcome Kennedy's normal vote advantage. The only Kennedy edge came from group-related interests concentrated within the central city area that helped him prevail in downtown areas, but he lacked the numerical strength to carry the more suburban districts where white registration was heavy.

A similar result unfolded in Arizona. As in Los Angeles and Las Vegas, Democratic strategists had initially expected to carry the Valley of the Sun. A normal vote analysis of Phoenix indicated a prime area for a Democratic victory, but election-day returns in heavily urban Arizona gave Nixon his biggest plurality in a nonfarm state. As Table 6 indicates, Phoenix voters deviated from their party by an amazing 21 percent.

The Phoenix vote was the result of three factors. First, Kennedy's argument that the American economy was faltering was not persuasive in a prosperous city like



Downtown Phoenix in the 1960s. (*Arizona Historical Foundation*)

TABLE 6
Normal Vote and Deviation, Phoenix, Presidential Election, 1960

	Registered voters	*Normal vote*	*Deviation*
Democrats	155,941	61.56%	−21.01%
Republicans	92,687	36.59	21.21
Miscellaneous	4,667	1.84	−0.19
Total	253,295		

SOURCE: Data from the Maricopa County Department of Elections and *The Phoenix Gazette* (11 October 1960), p. 16.

Phoenix. Second, Nixon addressed specific economic policies important to Arizonans, and, finally, the political structure of Phoenix prevented minority coalitions from gaining power and influencing the outcome of the election to any great degree.

Cities having defense-dependent economies were more resilient in the face of national recessions than communities tied to the cycles of business. Since defense spending was a constant, unaltered by market demands, Los Angeles and Phoenix remained relatively insulated from national recessions so long as the federal government maintained its defense spending. The other sectors of these urban economies were in turn able to feed off this stable industry and continue to grow and diversify.

Cold War spending had protected Arizona from the 1958 recession and permitted it to emerge in 1960 as the national leader in growth of employment, rate of manufacturing employment, and nonferrous-mineral production. The state also ranked second in the growth of agricultural income, rate of income growth, and bank-deposit growth.[34] While national unemployment rose from 5.4 percent in August to 5.9 percent in September, the jobless rate in Phoenix remained at 2 percent.[35] The increase in joblessness exerted its greatest effects upon urban economies, where "28% of the nation's major industrial centers now had substantial unemployment."[36] The residents of Phoenix, however, saw nothing but future prosperity.

The economic issue came down to a battle between Kennedy's Keynesian economics and Nixon's free-market Republicanism. According to his biographers, Kennedy had acquired his affinity for social programs and government pump priming during his college years at Harvard.[37] Nixon exploited the postwar cynicism about the New Deal and the Fair Deal, voicing the criticisms articulated by Robert Taft and other Republican strategists. He sought rural and suburban support by campaigning against the "sinfulness of spending and the danger of inflation."[38] Thus the choice for voters was drawn clearly between an activist federal government grounded on the New Deal tradition and a laissez-faire government based on traditional Republican orthodoxy.

More specifically, Kennedy emphasized the Democratic platform's proposal of increased spending, reminding voters that "Franklin Roosevelt knew who had been ignored and omitted by twelve years of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover."[39] Nixon countered by debunking the belief that the "federal bureaucracy solves all of our problems" and exhorting voters to "remember it's not Jack's money he's going to spend but yours."[40] On his October 15 visit to Phoenix, Nixon criticized Kennedy's economic views, suggesting that "Kennedy just ought to come to Phoenix to see what has happened here in the last seven years . . . to learn what free enterprise can do for progress," and again reminding voters, as he always did, that "it's not Jack's money he's going to be spending; it's yours."[41]

In Arizona, as in Nevada, popular officeholders played a key role. Indeed, Nixon's rhetoric was reinforced by Arizona's favorite son, Barry Goldwater, who campaigned vigorously for the vice president. Goldwater, bastion of fiscal conservatism, scolded the Democrats for "losing faith in the Constitution and in free enterprise . . . Senator Kennedy's New Frontier is just the same old dish warmed over." He linked this economic policy to the international scene, predicting that "the 1960s will either see the Democratic party lead America into Socialism or the Republicans will provide a government with personal freedom."[42]

Rhetoric was not Nixon's only weapon in this victory over Kennedy in Phoenix. He was also effective in addressing the city's economic interests by supporting two proposals that local voters considered vital to Arizona's continued growth. First, he endorsed a Goldwater bill that would transfer control of federally held lands in Arizona to the state. This would result in a substantial increase in revenue through sale and taxation because 71 percent of Arizona land was under federal control.[43] The transfer of land from federal to state control dovetailed nicely with Nixon's stance on economic issues. The Arizona theme was definitely grounded on an antifederalist sentiment. Second, Nixon's support of a proposed oil-depletion tax program also appealed to Phoenix voters. The first test well for oil in Arizona had been drilled in 1906, with poor results. Continued drilling, however, had produced 600 test wells by 1960.[44] Results were especially promising with dense oil deposits found in the northeastern area of the state. This issue was beneficial for Nixon because Kennedy remained neutral, neither supporting nor rejecting the proposal.

As in Los Angeles and Las Vegas, defense spending was a strong Republican issue in Phoenix. To ease fears of a lack of commitment to contracts based in the West, the federal government slated several new programs for Arizona companies during the campaign. AiResearch, a Phoenix-based company, received a $1.3-million contract to build B-52 decoys that were used to confuse enemy radar. This new contract supplemented a previous $2-million grant given for the same project.[45] Additional defense funds for the building of F-104s by the Sperry Phoenix Company and $35 million for Motorola to work on B-70 bombers reinforced the Republican commitment to the Southwest.[46]

Kennedy could make no gains on economic issues, but was successful in ap-

pealing to local minority groups. However, unlike the situation in Los Angeles, the blacks and Hispanics of Phoenix lacked the political clout to influence the vote to any great degree. This was due to their small number, the structure of the city government, and discriminatory voting laws. Riding a tidal wave of anticorruption sentiment, Barry Goldwater had led a group of political reformers in 1949 in a successful takeover of municipal government. The reformers had amended the Phoenix city charter, strengthening the council-manager position and providing for at-large elections,[47] a format that had a regressive effect on minority enfranchisement. One of the most effective means for minority groups to achieve political representation was the exploitation of their spatial concentrations within a small municipal district. But at-large elections diluted their vote and allowed politicians to ignore their interests. At-large districts also inhibited neighborhood networking by creating an atmosphere of disfranchisement. Groups became politically disillusioned because they consistently failed to elect representatives from within their own memberships. This disillusionment resulted in low turnout and political apathy.

Along with these factors were election laws designed to decrease turnout by minority groups. Conservatives accomplished this through a mandate requiring "the reading of the Constitution of the United States in the English language in a manner showing that he is neither prompted nor reciting from memory unless prevented from doing so by physical disability."[48] This was an obvious attempt to diminish the political influence of the Mexican-American community in Arizona. State legislators combined this law with one requiring re-registration of persons who moved from one precinct to another and the deletion from the rolls of those who failed to vote in primary elections. These restrictions exerted their strongest effect upon low-income groups who, because they are usually renters, tend to move more frequently than the more affluent, who are usually homeowners.

An analysis of the 1960 census reveals that minority groups constituted a small proportion of the metropolitan population. Table 7 details the percentage of latino, black, and white citizens in the Phoenix and Los Angeles municipalities. As the table indicates, minority groups in Phoenix lacked the numerical strength of those in Los Angeles.

TABLE 7
Minority Populations, Phoenix and Los Angeles, 1960

	White	*Black*	*Latino*
Los Angeles	71.9%	13.8%	10.7%
Phoenix	90	5.8	3.85

SOURCE: Data from the *1960 Census of Population,* and Raphael Sonenshein, *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 8.

TABLE 8
Voting Results, South Phoenix Area, Presidential Election, 1960

	South Phoenix	*Percentage*	*Non-South Phoenix*	*Percentage*
Kennedy	16,085	63.92	52,575	37.19
Nixon	9,078	36.08	88,799	62.81

SOURCE: Data from *The Phoenix Gazette* (12 September 1960), p. 19 (precinct map), and the Maricopa County Department of Elections.

Moreover, while the Democrats' voter-mobilization effort was extensive in Los Angeles and Las Vegas, it was almost nonexistent in Phoenix. Tucson attorney Alfred Marquez established Viva Kennedy clubs principally to "stimulate the support of Spanish-speaking people for the Democratic Presidential ticket."[49] Native American groups sponsored a "Meet Your Candidates Night" to heighten political interest and attempt to increase registration numbers.[50] And while these efforts were to pay future dividends for minority power, they were largely ineffective in the 1960 campaign.

Table 8 demonstrates Kennedy's performance in the south Phoenix area. Containing the majority of the city's minority population, this area has voter returns showing that Kennedy made an impression among its citizens. Of the 168 precincts within the municipal area, Kennedy led in only four north of Roosevelt Street; but within the south Phoenix area, Kennedy reversed his performance, drawing 63 percent of the area's vote. He attracted 37 percent in the rest of the city.

It was obvious long before the election that Kennedy would not win back many Arizona Democrats. Goldwater noted in a Las Vegas speech that Democrats "have not overwhelmingly come over to the Republican party, but many vote for the Republican candidate because of roots being in the South and that they are Jeffersonian Democrats."[51] This analysis was especially true for the 1960 election, where the candidates' philosophies contrasted along federalist and antifederalist lines. Kennedy was hurt by the fact that the constituency which supported his platform of a strong federal government was politically small and disfranchised.

According to polls, Nixon was judged to excel in foreign policy, domestic policy, and personal attributes. Arizonans were becoming more conservative, thanks to Goldwater's national prominence, and so they readily identified with Nixon rather than a northeastern liberal like Kennedy. In a city as prosperous as Phoenix, Kennedy's economic theme appealed little to middle- and upper-class residents. Instead, his support was limited to interest groups that lacked the numbers to make a real difference.

As in Los Angeles and Phoenix, the Democrats expected to win Las Vegas; and a normal vote analysis of Las Vegas clearly demonstrates the basis for this optimism. In this resort city, Kennedy was able to translate party identification into

electoral votes. He eventually won the Las Vegas vote and the state of Nevada because of a resurgence in the strength and unity of the Democratic party, as well as the condition of the national economy and his strong support for Las Vegas blacks, who acted as the saving vote.

Unlike those in the Golden State, Democratic officeholders in Nevada really helped the Kennedy campaign in Las Vegas. The party had a strong tradition that shaped many of the voters' attitudes. Patrick McCarran had joined the powerful Key Pittman in the United States Senate in 1933. In his role as a maverick Democrat who sometimes wavered in his support of Roosevelt's programs, McCarran was particularly effective in diverting federal funds into the Silver State's economy before, during, and after World War II. McCarran was never shy about describing his role in "winning over President Roosevelt and bringing industrialization to the desert."[52] In fact, it was on the strength of these federal funds that he built "a powerful bipartisan machine."[53] Though many of his efforts were focused on his own "political aggrandizement,"[54] the effect of his achievements kept voters loyal to the party into the 1960s.

McCarran continued a tradition of strong Democratic leadership that protected and advanced issues vital to Las Vegas's growth, and this was in turn maintained by his successors. Among the many contributions of Democratic Senator Alan Bible was his 1955 battle against a sweeping antigambling bill, proposed by

Downtown Las Vegas, c. 1960. (*Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, Las Vegas*)

Republican Congressman Kenneth Keating, which "exempted Nevada only from some provisions."[55] Senator Howard Cannon, on the other hand, had delivered a project from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to develop the Kiwi-A space rocket in southern Nevada, which brought with it $200 million in appropriations on the eve of the 1960 election.[56]

McCarran did, of course, generate animosity by the methods he used to secure power and influence. These included labeling opponents as communists and threatening investigations by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Resentment over his conduct had created "bitter divisions within the state party . . . and broken relations with the national Democrats."[57] By focusing on enhancing his own political strength rather than strengthening the party, McCarran had opened the door for Republican Congressman George Malone to play a leading role in diverting federal funds to Las Vegas. In 1952 Malone helped to address the city's needs for more electricity, and in 1955 he acquired federal funds for flood control in Las Vegas.

The 1960 election, however, witnessed a Democratic resurgence in Las Vegas, with Walter Baring defeating Malone by more than 4,000 votes in the race for Nevada's only congressional seat. Clearly, Kennedy rode the coattails of local Democrats; indeed, he trailed Baring by 900 votes in Las Vegas. Of added benefit to the Kennedy campaign was the ability of Governor Grant Sawyer and Senators Bible and Cannon to campaign for him without having to run for re-election themselves. Cannon was especially helpful, campaigning for the ticket throughout the Southwest. After the election, the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* noted that the "Democratic tide carried Senator John Kennedy to victory in the Presidential race in Nevada."[58] Though overstated, the point was relevant because Kennedy's Nevada cohort played a decisive role in his victory.

Their effect upon the election coincided with the view widely held in 1960 that Democrats were superior to Republicans in the management of the economy. This opinion resulted from the Republican performance in the years preceding 1933 and the subsequent revitalization of the depressed economy by New Deal Democrats. A Gallop Poll in early November confirmed the existence of these sentiments, with 51 percent of responses indicating that America was better off finan-

TABLE 9
Normal Vote and Deviation, Las Vegas Presidential Election, 1960

	Registered voters	*Normal vote*	*Deviation*
Republicans	11,822	22.21%	19.99%
Democrats	38,001	71.40	−15.25
Other	3,400	6.39	−4.74
Total	53,223		

SOURCE: Data from *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (6 November 1960), p. 1.

Senator Patrick McCarran. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

cially with a Democrat in office. Only 35 percent favored the Republicans on the economy.[59]

The economy was crucial to Kennedy's success in Las Vegas because the city was a "special function community."[60] "Tourism, and to a lesser extent, defense, fueled the urbanization of Las Vegas in the 1950s," but the future of the city depended more on its tourist industry.[61] Thus Las Vegas, unlike Phoenix and the defense-oriented suburbs of Los Angeles, was tied to the national economy. Since the travel allowances of most Americans have ordinarily been based on their discretionary dollars, when the economy slows because of unemployment, fewer tourists and conventioneers can afford to come to Las Vegas. In 1960, with manufacturing accounting for only 4.5 percent of the economy, the city had nothing to fall back on.[62]

In the late 1950s Las Vegas's economy had slowed "as the market for weekenders from southern California was tapped out,"[63] and the nation was mired in a severe recession. With these conditions fresh in the minds of Las Vegans, Kennedy's contention that the "shortsighted policies of the Republican party have threatened us with a new recession"[64] impressed many voters. The national numbers bore out what Kennedy was arguing. As noted above, unemployment in 1960 was rising at an unacceptable rate, and the situation in Las Vegas mirrored that of the nation. Unemployment in Las Vegas stood at 6.7 percent and reached 8.6 percent in North Las Vegas.[65] Kennedy's charges were also confirmed by the activities of the Eisenhower administration during the final days of the campaign. The Republicans attempted to neutralize the unfavorable unemployment figures for October by delaying their release until after the election. When the results became available on November 5 they confirmed the Democrats' suspicions: Unemployment had hit 6.4 percent—almost equaling the mark set in the midst of the 1958 recession.[66]

While economic issues invigorated Kennedy's campaign, so did his appeal to minority voters. Although Phoenix minorities were unable to make their presence felt in the election, the Las Vegas blacks, like their Los Angeles counterparts, were extremely effective. They were a highly mobilized group who had just won an historic victory in their fight for civil rights. Las Vegas was anything but a progressive city during the 1950s. In fact, it was a "non-southern city with a pattern of the deep south."[67] What was unique was that many of the popular Las Vegas acts featured noted black entertainers such as Sammy Davis, Jr. While these entertainers were welcomed as performers, they were not welcomed as guests in the hotels, restaurants, and casinos, nor were black tourists, conventioneers, or local residents. Under the leadership of James McMillan, and with the help of Hank Greenspun, editor of the *Las Vegas Sun,* and others, blacks had finally gained admittance to most of Las Vegas's public places by March 1960. The process had begun in 1957 with the formation of the Nevada Voters League, a political arm of the N.A.A.C.P. made necessary by a charter barring activity by the parent organization in the electoral process.[68] This group had been able to register

enough African-American voters to help swing Nevada's 1958 elections to Democrats Howard Cannon and Grant Sawyer.[69]

Black Las Vegans enjoyed even more potential power than their counterparts in Los Angeles because they made up 15.8 percent of the population. In addition, they could more easily disrupt the economy thanks to the city's dependence upon tourism. As A. S. Young observed in his *Los Angeles Sentinel* column, Las Vegas could "ill afford a Little Rock."[70] So, as the 1960 election approached, this "westernmost suburb of Jackson, Mississippi,"[71] was evolving into a demographic paradise for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. Not only was the minority population large, it was also active in the political arena, the economy was slumping, and the Democratic party had a strong tradition in the state.

The city's election returns proved decisive. Kennedy won both the central city and the suburbs by gaining 55 percent of the vote in Las Vegas, 61 percent in North Las Vegas, and 56 percent in the remainder of Clark County. The city vote was crucial to his winning the state because his margin of victory in Nevada was only 2,493 votes. In southern Nevada, Kennedy excelled in domestic policy, group-related issues, and party management. Nixon's edge in foreign policy did not even begin to chip away at Kennedy's normal vote advantage.

The 1960 presidential election was significant because it returned traditional Democratic coalitions to the party fold. This was by no means a given. The Republican party, influenced by New York's Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, had moved decidedly to the left. Had it not been for Kennedy's skillful campaigning and his intervention in the King affair, many black voters would have bolted to the Republican party. Even more significant, the Republican loss in 1960 gave new life to the Goldwater wing of the party. With Goldwater's nomination in 1964, the Republican party shifted again, this time to the far right, suffering an embarrassing defeat, but setting in motion a dynamic new trend that led to a string of Republican victories once the Great Society ended and the Vietnam war became a foreign policy disaster.

The 1960 election also marked the emergence of the Southwest as a regional electoral power. Understanding the attitudes and interests of its citizens became essential to any successful campaign. These states continued to increase their

TABLE 10
Voting Results, Las Vegas, North Las Vegas, and Remainder of Clark County, Presidential Elections, 1960

	Las Vegas	*North Las Vegas*	*Remainder of Clark County*
Kennedy	55%	61%	56.2%
Nixon	45	39	43.7

SOURCE: Data from *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (14 November 1960), p. 3, and Las Vegas County Commissioner's Office.

electoral power, surpassing traditional eastern power centers and leading the nation thereafter by producing two presidents. In addition, many key issues in the 1960 campaign remain important today: Affirmative action, federal influence in the economy, and America's role in the world are debated in much the same fashion now as they were in 1960. Understanding the voter motivations of 1960 can shed new light on the dynamics of constituent politics today.

NOTES

[1]Herbert B. Asher, *Presidential Elections and American Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 41.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]Theodore White, *The Making of the President: 1960* (New York: Atheneum Publishing, 1961), 216.

[4]Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), 27.

[5]*Ibid.*, 19.

[6]*Ibid.*, 27.

[7]Much has also been made of the religious issue in 1960. Like the economy and civil rights, it had an effect largely dependent on the area in question. The three states studied here had a proportion of Catholics almost identical to the national average. For this reason, Kennedy enjoyed only a small advantage, if any at all. His religion mattered in the South, where it was a liability, and in the Northeast, where it was an advantage. With these factors in mind, the religious issue will be considered as moot, and the focus will be on issues relevant to the areas in question.

[8]White, *Making of the President*, 117.

[9]*Los Angeles Times* (22 September 1960), p. 22.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[11]Sidney Kraus, *The Great Debates* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), 283.

[12]Asher, *Presidential Elections*, 86.

[13]Ronald W. Walters, *Black Presidential Politics in America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 28.

[14]*Los Angeles Sentinel* (7 July 1960), p. 7.

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[46]*Ibid.* (2 November 1960), p. 58.
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EL PICACHO, THE WRITING CABIN OF B. M. BOWER

Alvin R. McLane

Bertha Muzzy Bower Sinclair Cowan (1871–1940), western novelist writing under the pen name of B. M. Bower, was based at El Picacho in Nye County, Nevada, for about six years. Eleven of her books contained Nevada locales for which she used real and imagined geography, sweeping across the landscape from Goldfield to Pahranagat Valley and from the Diamond Mountains to the Black Canyon of the Colorado River. She wrote eleven novels during the 1920s in a cabin near Oak Spring located on the present Nevada Test Site. Bower and her son Roy, her husband Robert Elsworth "Bud" Cowan (also an author of one novel), his children Martha and Bob, a Russian cook, a couple of miners, a parrot named Polly, some chickens, and three burros named Mud, Wide One, and Angel Face all took up residence at El Picacho. Dan Sheahan of Groom, a day's horseback ride to the east, courted and married Martha in 1923. They lived at Groom after their marriage.[1]

Bower's writing cabin, the nearby mines, and the camp were together called El Picacho—a Spanish term meaning a large isolated pointed hill—which was also the name for Bower's former ranch near Quincy, California. Bertha masked her gender by using her initials, B. M., because her publishers did not think that her novels would be a commercial success if readers knew that the writer was a woman.[2] Accordingly, there must have been some consternation among the publishers when a local newspaper[3] identified her as the president of the El Picacho Mining Company and, incidentally, as female.

The novels written at the cabin are *Casey Ryan, The Trail of the White Mule, The Eagle's Wing, The Voice at Johnnywater, The Parowan Bonanza, The Bellehelen Mine, Desert Brew, Black Thunder,* and three stories set with a Montana background—*Meadowlark Basin, Van Patten,* and *White Wolves.*[4] Johnny Water (Johnnies Water) and Bellehelen Mine are real places in the Belted and Kawich ranges, respectively. Oak Spring Butte is the Parowan Peak of *Parowan Bonanza,* and sneakily tucked away in the novel is El Picacho camp, used as the actual locality of the novel's bonanza. (The camp is also featured in *Casey Ryan* and *The Trail of the White Mule.*)

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In the novel, Bower describes the real geography to the south—the Skull Mountains, Specter Range, and Skeleton Hills. Then she hides the identity of Parowan:

From now on the geography will remain closed and you must take my word for it. And when I tell you that the great, blunt-topped butte behind him [Bill Dale] was Parowan Peak, don't look for it on the map: you'll never find it. It's a great, wild country, a beautiful,

B.M. Bower, c. 1920 (*Estate of B.M. Bower, courtesy of Kate B. Anderson*)

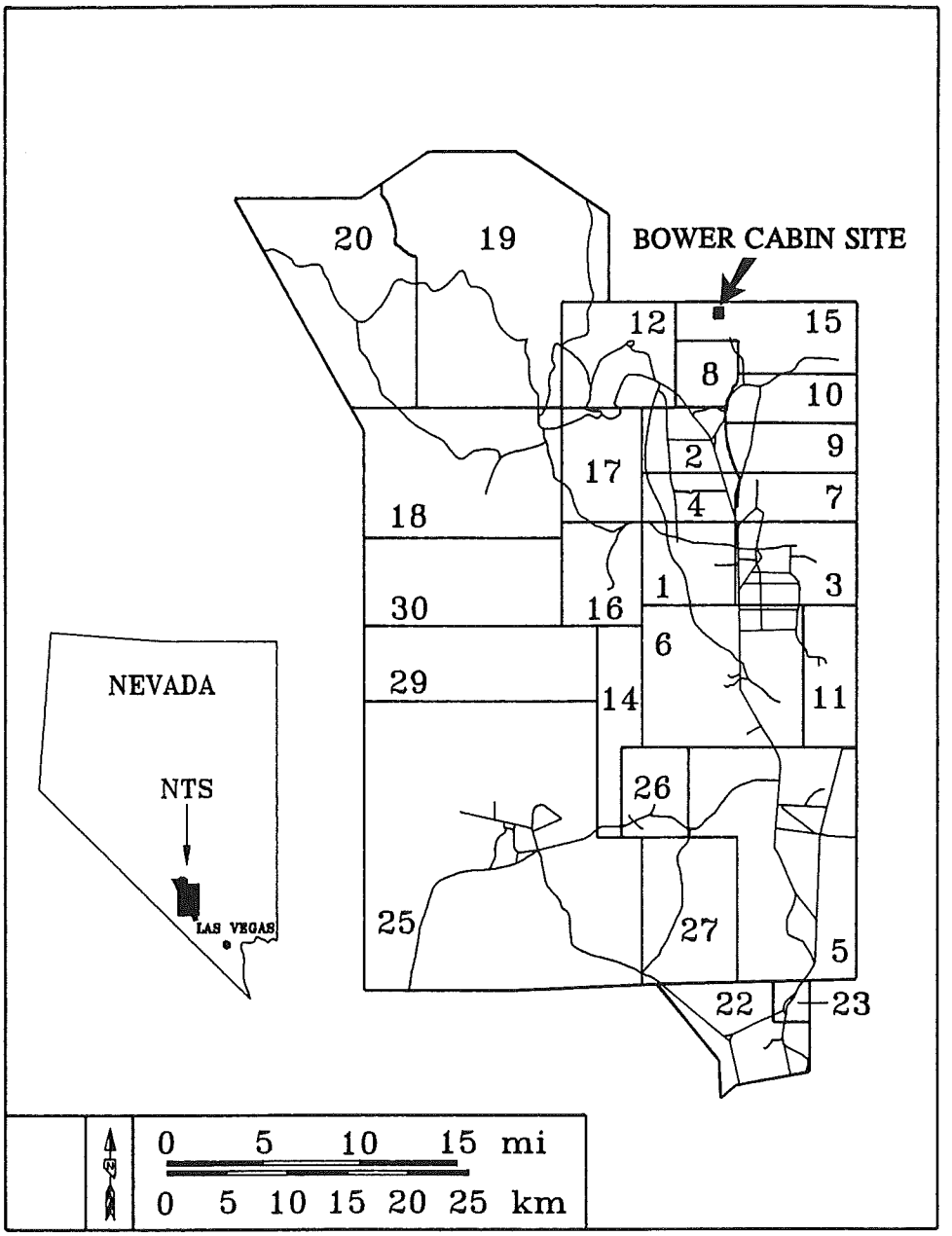


FIGURE 1: Location of Bower's El Picacho on the Nevada Test Site.

savage country, and if you don't love it you will fear it greatly. And fear it is that rouses the sleeping devil of the desert and sets the bones of men bleaching under the arid sky.[5]

Born in Cleveland, Minnesota, November 15, 1871, with the given name of

Bertha Muzzy, Bower was taken by her parents to the Montana cattle country in 1889 when she was seventeen. Bert, as she preferred to be called in her early years, was married three times—all to working cowboys. Bertha's first husband was Clayton J. Bower, to whom she was married in 1890, and the union engendered three children. However, this marriage was unfulfilling, and she started writing in 1900 to become self sufficient, using the cowpoke as the protagonist of colorful western fiction. Women were often active heroines. Her first piece was published in *Author's Magazine* in December 1901. A novelette in *Popular Magazine* and a novel, *Chip, of the Flying U,* both published in 1904, launched her career as a successful western writer. The Bowers divorced in 1905. Shortly before the turn of the century, in 1898, Bertrand "Bill" W. Sinclair had drifted down to Montana from Canada. Sinclair and Bower became friends and they married August 12, 1905, in Great Falls when Bertrand was a "young squirt."[6] With Bower's help, Sinclair himself became a successful writer of western and Canadian literature.[7] The marriage lasted until 1911.

After this separation, Bower traveled frequently. Besides Montana, she had residences in various western states—New Mexico, Oregon, Idaho, and California. Her third marriage was to Bud Cowan, in California during 1920. Bower had known Bud for some time—he was an acquaintance when they both lived in Montana. He had been a rodeo champion, a sheriff, and was good with musical instruments—the organ, piano, guitar, and mandolin. Besides cowpoking, Bud also had a short-lived stage-route-and-mail contract during 1918–19 between Caliente and Pioche, Nevada. When winter snows blocked the roads, however, financial hardship put an abrupt end to the venture. The couple moved to Nevada in 1920 and took up residence in the El Picacho camp, moving Bower's base from Los Angeles.[8]

While Bud Cowan was operating his stage line in Caliente he had learned about an Oak Spring copper/silver prospect from the proprietor who owned the Smith Hotel in Caliente.[9] During late 1919 and early 1920, newspapers were speculating that a silver boom was in sight: "Wild Scramble for Nevada Silver Mines," proclaimed a *Clark County Review*[10] headline. With the idea of a quiet spot in the desert to write and the possibility that money might be made from a producing silver mine, Bower married Cowan and together they formed the El Picacho Mining Company, Inc., with Bower as president.

The earliest reference to mining in the district is found in the Nye County Recorder's Office, and identifies Antonio Aguayo as filing claims at Oak Spring during March 1889. The *Beatty Bullfrog Miner* for August 5 and 26, 1905, reports on the miners in the district. E. L. Lawrence was the first locator for this period. A miner named McClure had a claim of turquoise incorporated as the Turquoise Mining Company. Other prospectors who worked property there during this time were Walter Graham, T. W. Spellman, Jack Burgess, Jack Miles, and the Messrs. Marty and Spears. Sydney Ball[11] also describes the properties there in 1905. Gold and silver occurred in the quartz 1.5 miles south of Oak Spring. The same distance

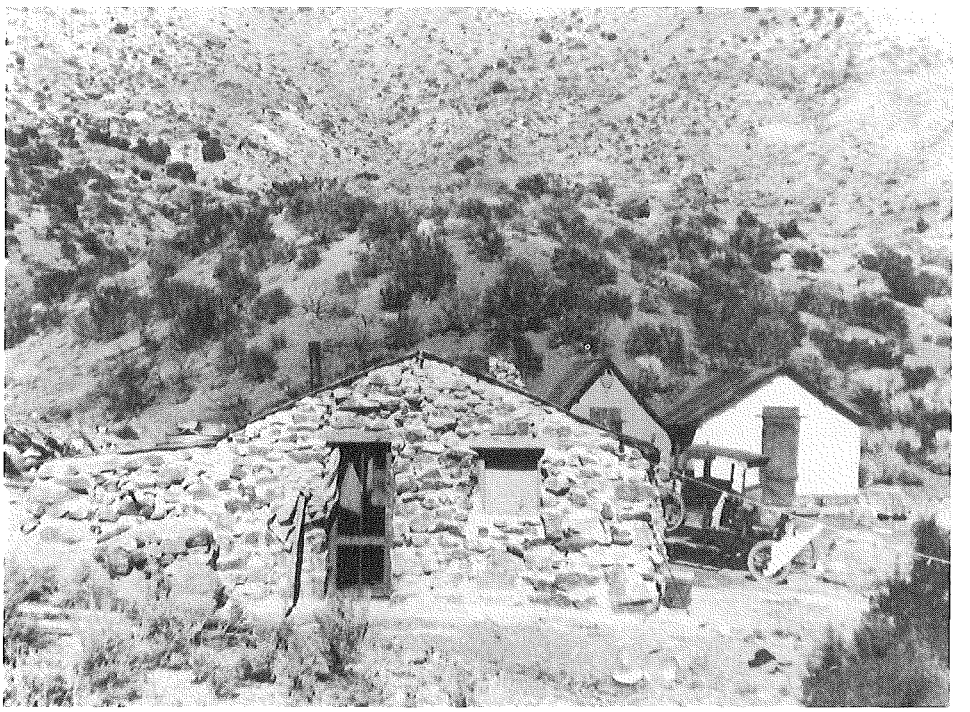
south, but 4,000 feet from the granite contact, in limestone, the turquoise was described: "The chrysocolla is usually verdigris green, although picked pieces are a beautiful robin's-egg blue." Gold and silver values were found at a working in pyrite 4,000 feet south of Oak Spring. Copper-sulfate crystals and lead carbonate were found in a vein in which a 25-foot shaft had been sunk 900 feet southwest of the spring. Horace Harding had copper claims in the district in the teens.[12] In 1917, a small quantity of copper ore containing a little silver was shipped from the Horseshoe claim.[13] It was the ore shipment from this mine that probably prompted Cowan and Bower to organize the El Picacho. Bower's letters indicate that they utilized the camp from 1920 to 1926, with a short stay in 1928.[14] The Nye County Recorder's Office records show that the El Picacho claims had annual assessment work filed for the years 1922–28.

Tungsten exploration activity in the district occurred later. During 1937–41 George and Ted Tamney located a deposit south of El Picacho and lived in the El Picacho cabin. Though the area was thoroughly explored by various interests, the district produced only a small amount of ore. The last tungsten exploration there took place between December 1956 and May 1957, and involved George Tamney and associates and the Atomic Energy Commission. Mining activity was terminated before nuclear testing began on the Nevada Test Site.[15]

Bower used the cabin during the daytime to write. She went to the cabin in the morning and returned at 4:00 or so in the afternoon with a sheaf of typed pages.[16] Bud Cowan's son Bob gives this description:

> There were two main houses of stone. They had corrugated iron roofs with false ceilings. Bower had a cabin by herself where she did her writing so nobody could bother her. You never bothered her. She'd stay up there until she felt like coming down or got starved out.[17]

Besides the writing and mining at El Picacho camp, there were other activities to while away the time. Bower welcomed friends and acquaintances who came by such as "old time cowboy" Dick Tennile. Dele Sinclair, Bower's teenage daughter came in for the summers, and Paul Eldridge, before he became professor of literature at the University of Nevada in Reno, was a lifelong follower of Bower. He made a trip to her cabin site during 1923 and stayed for two weeks. Another time, about 1920, the Bower family witnessed mysterious earth lights out on Yucca Flat after a thunderstorm.[18] Called ball lightning when associated with electrical thunderstorms, this phenomenon appears as circular balls of radiance that move laterally just above the earth's surface.[19] Bob Cowan liked the outdoors and often hiked several miles north to Johnnies Water. There he became a friend of Johnny Pass, an Indian who ran horses in this area of the Belted Range until he moved out in 1930.[20] Bob would be gone for several days at a time because he liked camping in the hills.[21] This fact, as well as the family's isolated existence, is reflected in Bower's shopping list, which, she notes, is interesting "when one



B.M. Bower's writing cabin at El Picacho Mine in the 1920s. It remains intact today, although the smaller frame buildings to the rear are gone. (*Estate of B.M. Bower, courtesy of Kate B. Anderson*)

shops for the Wilderness." She continues: "My last shopping, for instance, included dynamite, carbon paper, detonating caps, messaline, fuse, the latest magazines, a new typewriter, and half the innards of a Ford."[22]

After the El Picacho period, sometimes tumultuous activity occurred at the cabin site. Horse thieves from Utah and the Arizona Strip found the hidden El Picacho in 1933 and holed up there. Before the thieves were apprehended, Dan and Martha Sheahan had a close, unrecognized, encounter with the outlaws when they drove out to visit their friend Richard Bohna, who was living in one of the boarded-up tent houses at the site.[23] Bohna was not home at the time, but the Sheahans found a warm stove and a note with the message, "Have gone to Goldfield for powder." Later that fall, a group of the Sheahans went hunting above the cabin. They found hobbled horses nearby and knew something was amiss. Dan then figured that the note found during their earlier visit had been written by the thieves to throw off suspicion of the warm stove, and that they had then hidden under the floor boards until the Sheahans left. Later, the sheriff found rifles in a dugout under the floor, and tires and license plates in a shed. Also, stolen goods were found under a natural bridge by Groom Lake, and a load of wool was found in a rock shelter farther east.[24] The tale was aired as one of the "Death Valley Days" radio episodes, and was narrated by Ronald Reagan.[25]

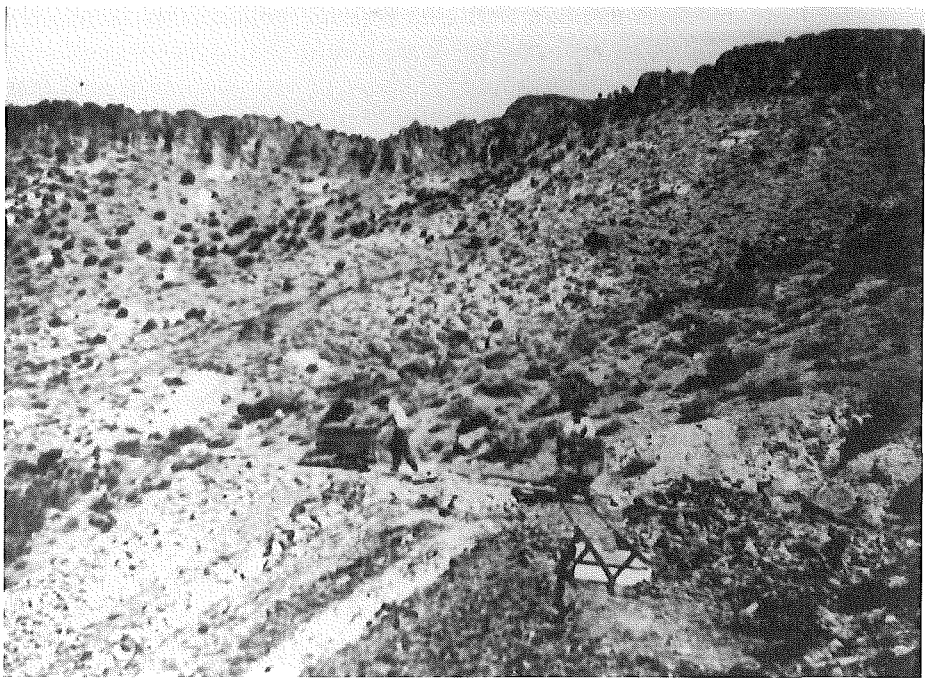
El Picacho Mine site in the 1920s. (*Estate of B.M. Bower, courtesy of Kate B. Anderson*)

I visited the site during September 1994 with Harold Drollinger, an archaeologist with the Desert Research Institute. We were conducting archaeological surveys in the area at the time with other crew members. I had previously read that B. M. Bower had lived in a cabin at Oak Spring,[26] and George Koenig refers to Oak Spring as "the isolated ranch of cowboy-western novelist B. M. Bower."[27] This information, undoubtedly, came from the Sheahan family of the Groom Mine. Temporarily working with us on the surveys was a long-time Nevada Test Site employee, Bill McKinnis, recently retired. I asked him about the ranch house and he noted that the only place that came close to a ranch-house description was a building not far from where we were working. Drollinger and I drove to the cabin and right away I knew that this was the house where B. M. Bower had lived. There were rock-lined walkways and beds for flowers. The place definitely had a feminine touch. When I returned home from the field, I immediately checked a photograph of the El Picacho camp that Kate Anderson had sent me. The house that we found was the same as in the photograph taken about 1921.

The writing cabin is a wood-frame building faced with native stone. Parts of two walls have fallen down, but the house is in a remarkable state of preservation considering that full-time occupation ceased seventy years ago. A second room has been attached to the northwest side of the house. It is lower than the main room and has a dirt floor. The entire structure measures about thirty-five by twenty-four feet. In the near vicinity are a root cellar, rock retaining walls, and a privy. A short distance beyond are rock cairns and prospects. Historical debris from the El Picacho era and thereafter lie scattered about. The can-and-glass debris consists of hundreds of milk, fruit, and meat tins, and beverage bottles. Other debris includes personal effects and items associated with the household and the mining industry such as stoves, tools, autos, lumber, nails, batteries, and crucibles.[28]

Near the end of her stay at El Picacho camp, Bower became acquainted with Alan LeBaron, who delved into petroglyphs and Nevada's prehistoric past. Both Bower and LeBaron wrote newspaper articles during 1924 and 1925 about the petroglyphs near Yerington and Las Vegas.[29] It was perhaps through Edward Clarke, the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s Sunday Editor, that the two met. Clarke himself wrote a feature article about the petroglyphs near Yerington emblazoned with the title "WAS THE GARDEN OF EDEN IN NEVADA?" a story long on sensation, but short on scientific rigor.[30] About 1925 Bower wrote a short manuscript called "Ancient Turquoise Mine Found Near Las Vegas." It has not been determined whether this piece was ever published. Bower and LeBaron also teamed up to collaborate on a couple of short stories about the United States Forest Service.[31]

After the El Picacho period, the family moved to Las Vegas. According to the *Las Vegas Age*[32], Bud Cowan was elected city marshal (equivalent to today's chief of police) for that city in 1925. Later making their home in the artists' colony of Sierra Madre near Los Angeles, they continued working the El Picacho Mine



Working at El Picacho Mine in the 1920s. (*Estate of B.M. Bower, courtesy of Kate B. Anderson*)

sporadically over the next few years.[33] Bud's novel *Range Rider* was published by the Sun Dial Press about 1930. He died at Las Vegas on July 4, 1938.[34]

Bower continued to write in Sierra Madre and other locales, completing sixty-eight novels in all. Although the writing of B. M. Bower has been overlooked in the past, her work is becoming known again, and a handful of modern writers are bringing her to the attention of new readers. For instance, Norman Yates has featured her in *Gender and Genre—An Introduction to Women Writers of Formula Westerns.*[35] *The Whoop-Up Trail,* from 1933, was reissued in early 1995 by Chivers as part of their Gunsmoke Westerns Library series. And Bower was inducted into the Western Writers of America Hall of Fame at the 1994 conference in Billings, Montana.[36]

When B. M. Bower died, on July 23, 1940, only a few of her readers knew that this western novelist was a woman. The "red-haired, freckle-faced and always laughing lady" was sixty-eight years old and "at work on another thrilling story of strong, silent men and shooting irons."[37] Kenneth Davis writes that Bower's novels "qualify as serious literature rather than pulp fiction because her popular 'Flying U Ranch' series demonstrates her mastery of the finer points of her genre."[38] Of *The Bellehelen Mine,* a review found "character drawing of a fine quality."[39] Nevada's own cowboy/outlaw/artist/writer Will James knew Bower and Bud and at his request they visited him in 1927 at the National Championship

Rodeo in Chicago.[40] James liked Bower's books, writing of one that "there's everything that'll please them who don't know the West and them who do."[41]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Shortly before I found the Bower writing cabin, Kate Anderson from Arkansas, granddaughter of B. M. Bower, corresponded with me about the location of the cabin and the El Picacho Mine. At the time I did not know of either. Since the serendipitous discovery of the El Picacho cabin, there has been a joyous exchange of material between us. Ms. Anderson controls the B. M. Bower papers and the bulk of this article is based on data supplied by her. Harold Drollinger has provided archaeological data, Joe Tingley furnished information on the early claim locations in the Oak Spring district, and Marjory Jones made editorial comments. The United States Department of Energy has given permission to publish this article.

APPENDIX
Novels of B. M. Bower

	Date	*Title*	*Artist*	*Library*
1.	1904	*Chip, of the Flying U*	C. M. Russell	1, 2
2.	1904	*The Lonesome Trail*		3
3.	1906	*The Range Dwellers*	C. M. Russell	4
4.	1907	*The Happy Family*	D. C. Hutchison	2, 4
5.	1905	*The Lure of the Dim Trails*	C. M. Russell	2
6., 7.	1908	*Her Prairie Knight and Rowdy of the Cross L* (Two volumes in one)	W. H. Dunston	
8.	1908	*The Long Shadow*		5
9.	1909	*The Lonesome Trail*	D. C. Hutchison	2, 5
10.	1911	*Lonesome Land*	Stanley Wood	6
11.	1912	*The Flying U Ranch*	D. C. Hutchison	
12.	1912	*Good Indian*	A. O. Fischer	
13.	1913	*The Gringos*	A. O. Fischer	2, 7
14.	1913	*Uphill Climb*	C. M. Russell	
15.	1914	*Ranch at the Wolverine*		
16.	1915	*The Flying U's Last Stand*	A. O. Fischer	
17.	1915	*Jean of the Lazy A*		
18.	1916	*The Phantom Herd*	Monte Crews	5
19.	1916	*The Heritage of the Sioux*	Monte Crews	2, 7
20.	1917	*The Lookout Man*	H. Weston Taylor	
21.	1917	*Starr of the Desert*	Monte Crews	
22.	1918	*Cabin Fever*		
23.	1918	*Skyrider*	A. O. Fischer	

24.	1919	*Rim o' the World*	A. O. Fischer	2
25.	1919	*The Thunderbird*	A. O. Fischer	
26.	1920	*The Quirt*	A. O. Fischer	
27.	1921	*Casey Ryan*		
28.	1921	*Cow Country*	W. H. Dunston	
29.	1922	*The Trail of the White Mule*	Frank T. Johnson	2
30.	1923	*The Voice at Johnny Water*	R. Schuyler	
31.	1923	*The Parowan Bonanza*		3, 8
32.	1924	*The Bellehelen Mine*		2
33.	1924	*Desert Brew*	R. Schuyler	2, 7
34.	1924	*The Eagle's Wing*	F. T. Johnson	2, 7
35.	1925	*Black Thunder*		
36.	1925	*Meadowlark Basin*		2
37.	1926	*Van Patten*		
37.	1926	*Outlaw Paradise* (British version of *Van Patten*)		2
38.	1927	*The Adam Chasers*		2, 7
39.	1927	*White Wolves*		2
40.	1928	*Hay-wire*		3
41.	1928	*Points West*		2
42.	1928	*Rodeo*		
43.	1929	*The Swallowfork Bulls*		2
44.	1929	*Tiger Eye*		
45.	1930	*Fool's Goal*		
46.	1931	*Dark Horse*		
47.	1931	*The Long Loop*		
48.	1932	*Laughing Water*		2, 3
49.	1932	*Rocking Arrow*		
50.	1933	*The Flying U Strikes*		
51.	1933	*Open Land*		
52.	1933	*Trails Meet*		5
53.	1933	*The Whoop-Up Trail*		
54.	1934	*The Haunted Hills*		
55.	1935	*The Dry Ridge Gang*		
56.	1935	*Trouble Rides the Wind*		5
57.	1936	*Five Furies of Leaning Ladder*		
58.	1936	*Shadow Mountain*		
59.	1937	*The North Wind Do Blow*		
60.	1937	*Pirates of the Range*		
61.	1938	*The Wind Blows West*		5, 9
62.	1939	*The Singing Hills*		
63.	1939	*A Starry Night*		
64.	1940	*Man on Horseback*		2
65.	1940	*The Spirit of the Range*		10
66.	1940	*Sweet Grass*		
67.	1941	*The Family Failing*		10

68.	1951	*Border Vengeance*	5
69.	1951	*Gunfight at Horse Thief Range* (reprint of *Five Furies . . .*)	
70.	1952	*Outlaw Moon*	5, 11

Library Locations: 1. Elko, 2. University of Nevada, Reno, Special Collections, 3. Nevada Historical Society, Carson City, 4. University of Nevada, Reno, Main Library, 5. Fallon, 6. Wells, 7. University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Special Collections, 8. Reno, 9. Sparks, 10. Elko, 11. Austin.

Note: Border Vengeance and *Outlaw Moon,* though credited to Bower, were ghost written by Oscar J. Friend. This list was compiled from Orrin A. Engen, *Writer of the Plains* (Culver City: Pontine Press, 1973); Davidson, "Author Was a Lady"; local library search; the computer network; and Kate Anderson.

NOTES

[1]George Koenig, *Beyond This Place There Be Dragons* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1984), 59; Kate B. Anderson, personal communication, 1994.

[2]Kenneth W. Davis, "Realistic Characterization in the *Flying U* Novels of B. M. Bower," *Purview Southwest* (1987), 43–53.

[3]*Las Vegas Age* (26 November 1921, 4 February 1922).

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[5]B. M. Bower, *The Parowan Bonanza* (Boston: Little Brown, 1923), 20–21.

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[9]Robert Sheahan, personal communication.

[10](20 December 1919).

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[12]Robert Sheahan, personal communication.

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[23]Robert Sheahan, personal communication.

[24]Bill Vincent, "Snowbound in the Desert," *Nevadan*, Sunday magazine of *Las Vegas Review Journal* (13 November 1977), 6J, 23J.

[25]Robert Sheahan, personal communication.

[26]Margaret Long, *The Shadow of the Arrow* (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1941), 175.

[27]Koenig, *Beyond This Place*, 59.

[28]Harold Drollinger, Archaeological Site Form (1994), Desert Research Institute, Las Vegas.

[29]Alvin R. McLane, "An Annotated Petroglyph and Pictograph Bibliography of Nevada and the Great Basin Desert Research Institute, Quaternary Sciences Center, *Occasional Paper* No. 1 (1993), 11, 45.

[30]Edward Clarke, "Was the Garden of Eden in Nevada?" *San Francisco Chronicle* (17 August 1924), 1.

[31]Kate B. Anderson, personal communication.

[32](5 July 1938). There is a discrepancy regarding Bud Cowan's tenure as city marshal. State records do not list him as a city marshal.

[33]Kate B. Anderson, personal communication.

[34]*Las Vegas Age* (5 July 1938).

[35](University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

[36]Kate B. Anderson, "B. M. Bower: A True Westerner" (1995), manuscript in possession of Kate B. Anderson.

[37]*Los Angeles Examiner* (24 July 1940).

[38]Davis, "Realistic Characterization."

[39]Stanley R. Davison, "The Author Was a Lady," *Montana*, 23:2 (1973), 14.

[40]Kate Anderson, personal communication.

[41]Davison, "Author Was a Lady," 10.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
WERE BRONCO AND FLORISTON THE SAME PLACE?

Tom Macaulay

In *California Place Names,* Erwing Gudde states, "Floriston, a railroad station established in the 1870s bore the name 'Bronco,' after the creek a mile to the south; when the post office was established in 1891 the new name was chosen."[1] A careful review of the historical record, however, indicates that this was not the case. Business records, property deeds, and law suits all show that Bronco was established first, and that Bronco and Floriston were two separate and distinct communities.

Bronco was one of the small settlements spawned by the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR). During 1867–68 thousands of CPRR surveyors, graders, and track layers surged back and forth through the Truckee River canyon. When winter storms drove crews from the high Sierra, the CPRR leapfrogged them east to prepare the line for the day when the mountains would be conquered. In the spring the crews returned to the mountains. In addition, hundreds of loggers swarmed through the hills, feeding the sawmills that provided the ties, telegraph poles, timbers, lumber, and boiler fuel that railroad construction and the mining industry consumed in enormous quantities.

In May of 1868 construction in the mountains was completed, the rails continuous from Sacramento to Reno. When construction moved east to the Nevada desert a few sawmills remained, supplying the CPRR, the mines of Virginia City, and the growing cities in California.

In addition to supplying timbers for construction, Sierra forests provided boiler fuel for the CPRR. Its locomotive fleet used for construction increased from one engine in July of 1867 to three in 1868 and to more than seventy by the time the road was completed to Promontory in 1869.[2] All of these engines needed boiler fuel, and the only source was the forests of the Sierra Nevada.

Among those supplying this fuel were the brothers Lucius Davis Wickes and Alexander Mackey Wickes. In 1868 they established their wood yard on the CPRR

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at Alder Creek, a few hundred yards below Tunnel 14. Alder Creek provided ample power for their saws, and the mountains to the east were covered with first-growth timber. The waters of Alder Creek were dammed and diverted to flumes that carried the forest bounty to the rail line. (This Alder Creek should not be confused with the Alder Creek of Donner Party fame, which was located near Truckee, California.)

On December 12, 1872, L. D. Wickes filed a claim for the water rights to Alder Creek.[3] His affidavit claims that he appropriated the water prior to November 1, 1868. The map filed with the affidavit shows Alder Creek, and the flume and ditch built by the Wickes brothers terminates on the line of the CPRR at Bronco. In depositions defending their claims against a lawsuit filed in 1877 by Walter Hobart, the brothers make the same claim, and the map filed with their deposition again shows Bronco located on the CPRR.[4]

Alder Creek has had three names since the Wickes brothers established their wood yard. It has been known variously as Alder Creek, Wickes' Creek, and Bronco Creek. The names have been used interchangeably, and the usage of names has overlapped. In a claim for water rights to serve their paper mill, filed on August 6, 1900, the Floriston Pulp and Paper Company presented a map that shows the creek as Wickes's [sic.] Creek and Flume, rather than Alder Creek.[5]

It does not appear that the name Bronco Creek was in common use in the 1870s when the post office was established at Floriston, although it was in common use in later years, and especially in 1949 when Erwin Gudde wrote his book. The record is silent as to why the names Alder Creek and Bronco were chosen.

In 1873 Walter Hobart, for whom Hobart Mills was later named, purchased timber tracts adjacent to the Wickes's property.[6] When he attempted to float his logs he found that there was not sufficient water in Alder Creek because of diversions made by the Wickes brothers. Hobart demanded that Wickes stop diverting Alder Creek so that he could use its waters himself, and when Wickes refused to accommodate him, he filed suit in district court, Washoe County, Nevada, in 1877. (In this suit Hobart refers to Wickes's use of Alder Creek or Wickes' Creek.)

Judge S. W. Wright, in a decision handed down in 1878 and confirmed by the Nevada Supreme Court in 1880, found in favor of the Wickes brothers and against Hobart.[7] (This was one of the first legal rulings establishing the principle of prior appropriation of water, and hence the concept of water rights as a commodity. This concept was later incorporated into legislation that, in the West, replaced the former Eastern water law of riparian rights.)

In 1877 L. D. Wickes sold his interest in the Alder Creek property, "with dwelling and store *located at CPRR station at Bronco. . .*" to A. M. Wickes for $900 [emphasis added]. L. D. Wickes then devoted his energies to the new Peavine Mining District, near Reno, where he was a storekeeper and postmaster. The two brothers apparently worked together because both are mentioned in news reports about

the Peavine District, and L. D. Wickes of Reno signed deeds and leases for the Bronco property.

Life in the Truckee River canyon depended on the CPRR, which provided the only access to the area, and especially the lower section between Boca and Verdi. As small communities developed, the CPRR established telegraph stations, section houses, flag stops, depots, and side tracks as the occasion demanded. CPRR records give us important information about Bronco and Floriston.

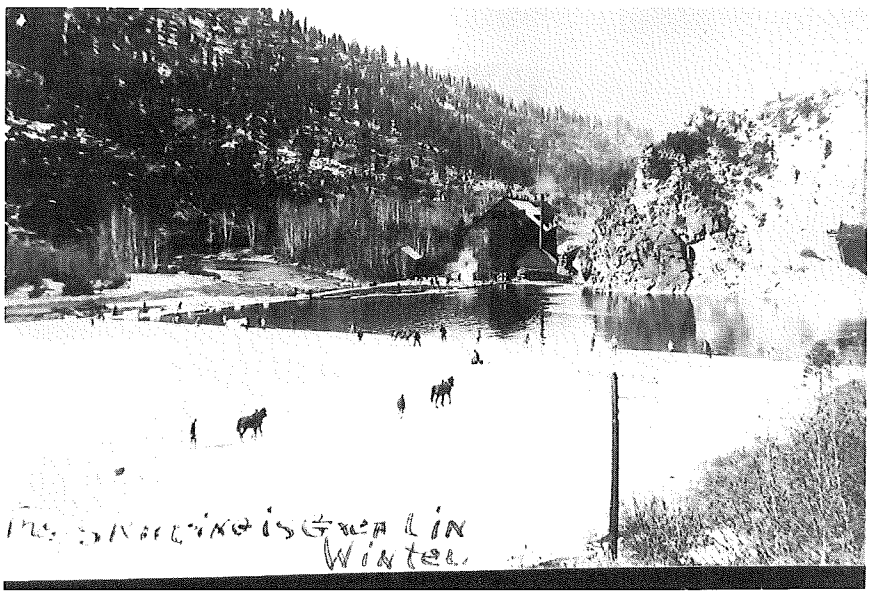
The *Southern Pacific Company Official List of Officers, Stations, Agents; Table of Distances,* available at California State Railroad Museum in Sacramento, lists the stops along the line. (The Southern Pacific Company acquired the CPRR in 1884.[9] The 1885 list shows Bronco, but there is no listing for Floriston. The 1886 list is missing, but the 1887 version shows Wickes' Spur at the former location of Bronco and Floriston is mentioned for the first time, one mile downstream from Wickes' Spur.

According to records in the National Archives, a post office was established at Bronco, Washoe County, Nevada, on October 18, 1872, and Alex M. Wickes was appointed postmaster.[10] On November 11, 1872, the designation was "changed to Nevada County, California." (These are also the dates reported by Walter Frickstad and Edward Thrall[11] and by James Gamett and Staley Paher[12] in their histories of Nevada post offices.)

Why was the post office first established in Nevada, and then moved to California? The correct location of the boundary between the two states has been a matter of contention ever since Congress passed the enabling legislation for the Territory of Nevada, and then for the State of Nevada. When the CPRR was built, the state line as then established was west of Bronco, that is, upstream and between Bronco and Truckee. In 1872 the boundary was resurveyed and the line moved to the east, downstream, between Bronco and Reno. James W. Hulse has related the story of Alexel Von Schmidt and the survey of the Nevada-California state line in two articles for the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly.*[13] The Von Schmidt survey, which moved the state line to the east, was completed in 1872 and affected not only the post office at Bronco but land titles and water rights on both sides of the boundary. To this day the relocation of the state line continues to confound historians and property owners.

The new boundary is shown in a map prepared in 1880 by Nevada County Surveyor J. G. Hartwell. Bronco and Alder Creek are shown in California in Section 31 of Township 18 North, Range 18 East, the same location shown by Wickes in the lawsuit and water right depositions.[14] This map does not show Floriston or any other community in Section 30, the site later occupied by Floriston, one mile downstream from Bronco.

The harvesting of natural ice was an impetus for moving the post office from Bronco to Floriston. Ice harvests started in the Truckee basin at Boca in 1868, and as the industry expanded new ice ponds were developed. Ice was harvested at



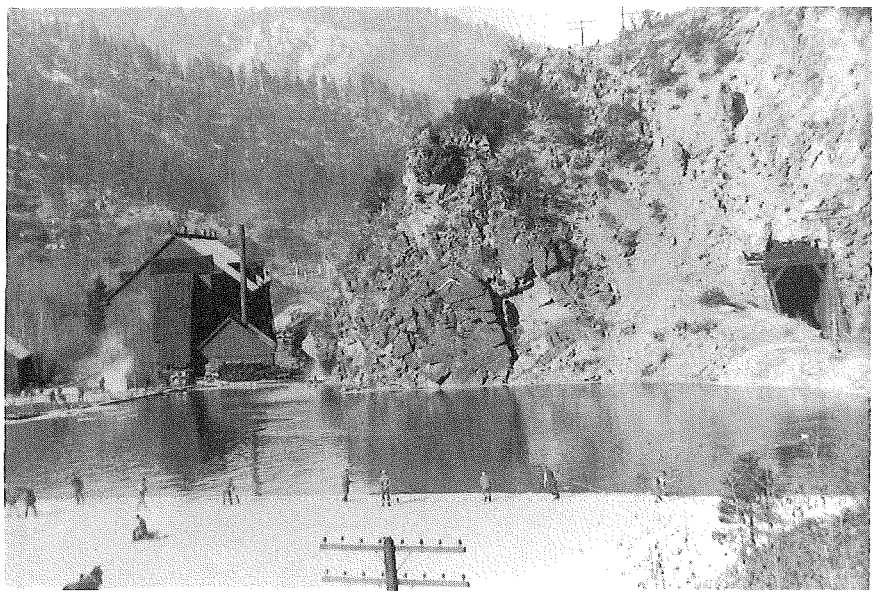
Ice harvesting on a pond near Bronco, July 6, 1880. This pond was owned by A. M. Wickes of Bronco until about 1890. (*Alice McGinnis Collection*)

Cuba, two miles west of Bronco and later named Iceland, by the People's Ice Company in 1876.[15] Ice harvests reached Bronco in 1878, when A. M. Wickes agreed to a three-year lease of some of his property to the People's Ice Company.[16] The lease provided that the ice company would have use of the land and water rights from November until March each winter, with the right to construct ice houses and reservoirs at any time. In 1884 Wickes sold this land to the Truckee Ice Company, which in turn sold it to the Union Ice Company.[17]

In the summer of 1887 Wickes and his associates incorporated three ice companies: Bronco Ice Company on May 28 (previously incorporated in Nevada, in 1886), Floriston Ice Company on August 6, and Rocky Run Ice Company on August 15.[18] The Bronco company recorded its place of business as Bronco, California, while the Floriston and Rocky Run companies listed Truckee, California. However, they all harvested ice in the Bronco/Floriston area.

Each of these companies built ice ponds and warehouses that supplied the Pacific Coast ice trade. Their businesses helped to move the population center of the area away from Bronco and toward what became known as Floriston.

As the CPRR shifted its preference in boiler fuel from wood to coal, the wood yards along the CPRR gradually closed. Although Wickes continued his operation by selling wood in Reno and adjacent areas, this was not enough to maintain his business, and he liquidated his holdings at Bronco and moved to Reno. In 1891 he sold timber rights to the Kidder Brothers of Salt Lake City, and they operated their saw mill at Bronco in 1891 and 1892.[19] Also in 1891, through a series of



Cutting ice on the same pond near Bronco, July 20, 1883. This pond was eventually purchased by the National Ice Company and may have been part of the Floriston Ice Company. (*Frances English Collection*)

deeds, Wickes sold property interests at Bronco to San Francisco businessmen Joseph Martin, Nicholas Hollings, and S. H. Simonds.

A. M. Wickes died of pneumonia in Reno on January 23, 1892, shortly after becoming a partner in E. Sessions and Company, furniture dealers. His estate included property in Reno, a note from E. Sessions and Company, and a mortgage from S. H. Simonds and Nicholas Hollings of San Francisco for land purchased at Bronco in 1891. The title to the land contains references to "the residence of A. M. Wickes [at Bronco]."[20]

With the departure of Wickes there was no longer a reason for maintaining the post office at Bronco. It was moved to Floriston on July 20, 1891, and David M. Dysart, superintendent of the Floriston Ice Company, was appointed postmaster. When Dysart declined the appointment it was given to Scott H. Simonds.[21]

Floriston continued as a small, insignificant town on the railroad, harvesting and shipping ice, until the end of the century. All of that changed when the Fleishacker brothers, Herbert and Mortimer, became interested in the area. The Fleishackers were active and prominent financiers and developers in California, with their headquarters in San Francisco. Mortimer Fleishacker was postmaster at Floriston from October 17, 1901, until December 10, 1904, probably looking after the brothers' business interests in the area.

In 1899 the Truckee River General Electric Company, a Fleishacker organization, built the Farad hydroelectric generating plant. The employees lived at the plant, two miles down the Truckee River from the diversion dam at Floriston.[22]

It was in June of 1899 that big changes came to the area, changes that were to make Floriston a household name. The Floriston Pulp and Paper Company, another Fleishacker organization, announced plans to build a pulp-and-paper plant at Floriston. By May of 1900 the plant, largest in the West and one of the largest in the world, was completed and in operation.[23] Water rights and land that had been used by lumber and ice companies since 1868 were acquired by the paper company, and most traces of the earlier industries disappeared.

For thirty years, from 1900 until 1930, the Floriston Pulp and Paper Company and its successors were a prominent sight along the Truckee River. Pollution from the plant caused frequent complaints from downstream users, such as Verdi and Reno in Nevada. At Christmas in 1930 the plant was closed, and in the following year it was dismantled. By then the plant was owned by the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, and paper-making operations were shifted to Camas, Washington.

Company houses and a hotel remained to mark the site of Floriston, but they were empty until after World War II, except for a caretaker. In 1947 the property was acquired by Preston Wright of San Francisco, who resold the houses to private parties.

Although Floriston still exists—with 42 houses, 140 residents, and a post office—it is easily overlooked.[24] Travelers along I-80 between Reno, Nevada, and Truckee, California, will scarcely notice highway signs in the Truckee River canyon. "Floriston 1 Mile," "No Service." Most traces of former businesses—ice harvests, lumbering, and paper making—have succumbed to the ravages of time, but the houses built by the Floriston Pulp and Paper Company still remain, although the beautiful old hotel was destroyed by fire in 1949. They are owned by civic-minded people who are proud of their independence and remote location. They know the history of the paper company, and they know that lumbering was important during the construction of the CPRR. But they are surprised to hear about the early ice harvests, and even more surprised to learn that a little community called Bronco, one mile up the Truckee River, with a post office, store, and telegraph station, predated Floriston by twenty-three years.

Ice Harvest at Bronco and Floriston

Ice harvests at Bronco and Floriston were part of a much greater industry. Starting at Boca in 1868, these Truckee River harvests quickly spread along the length of the river, from Truckee, California, to Essex, near Verdi, Nevada.

Truckee-basin ice had many and varied uses. One of the most unusual was for cooling miners in the deep mines of Virginia City, where temperatures were as high as 167 degrees. It took 10,000 tons of ice a year to keep the miners at work. This was an important market for an industry that harvested 44,500 tons of ice in 1878.

Truckee ice was used as might be expected for cooling drinks and preserving foods, but it also made possible the great California agricultural industry. Without ice from the Truckee it would not have been possible to ship produce from California fields to the consumer markets in Chicago and New York. In later years this business was conducted by the Pacific Fruit Express.

Ice harvests along the Truckee were controlled by two companies, the Boca Ice Company at Boca and the Summit Ice Company at Prosser Creek. As new companies, such as the Rocky Run, Bronco,

and Floriston companies were established, they came under the control of these dominant companies. Many smaller companies became part of the Union Ice Company, a firm familiar to many Californians and Nevadans today.

The Union Ice Company did not have a monopoly on California ice. Before it could acquire all of its small competitors, another large company entered the trade: the National Ice Company. By 1910 these two companies owned all of the ice-producing properties in the Truckee basin. Harvests in the Bronco-Floriston area were controlled by the National Ice Company.

Mechanical refrigeration spelled the end of natural-ice harvests. The costing ponds and warehouses, which were subject to the vagaries of weather, were replaced by dependable, efficient machines that can produce ice and refrigeration where and when it is needed.

All that remains of the natural-ice companies of the Truckee basin, such as those at Bronco and Floriston, are a few crumbling dams and embankments, and the memories of those who love the history of the Sierra.

Notes

[1]Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949), 110.

[2]George Kraus, *High Road to Promontory* (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1969), 158, 211.

[3]Washoe County Recorder, Reno, Book B, L&M, p. 187.

[4]Washoe County Clerk, Reno, Hobart v. Wickes, Reel Box 63, 1283–1319.

[5]Washoe County Recorder, Reno, Book G, L&M, p. 398.

[6]Washoe County Clerk, Reno, Hobart v. Wickes, Reel Box 63, 1283–1319.

[7]John W. Byrd, "The End of the 'Monster' of Riparianism in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 22:4 (Winter 1979), 274.

[8]Washoe County Recorder, Reno, Book 6, Deeds, pp. 607–8.

[9]Bill Yenne, *The History of the Southern Pacific* (Greenwich, Conn.: Greenwood Press: 1985), 48.

[10]National Archives, *Record of Appointments of Postmasters*, Washoe County, Nevada, and Nevada County, California.

[11]Walter N. Frickstad and Edward W. Thrall, *A Century of Nevada Post Offices* (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Rotaprinting Co., 1958).

[12]James Gamett and Staley W. Paher, *Nevada Post Offices* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1983).

[13]James W. Hulse, "The California-Nevada Boundary: The History of a Conflict," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 23:2, 3 (Summer, Fall 1980), 87, 157.

[14]Nevada County Clerk, Nevada City, Calif.

[15]Washoe County Recorder, Reno, Book 2, Leases, p. 233.

[16]*Ibid.*, Book 2, Leases, p. 293.

[17]Nevada County Recorder, Nevada City, Calif. Book 64, Deeds, p. 340, and Book 65, Deeds, p. 561.

[18]*Ibid.*, Record of Incorporations.

[19]Washoe County Recorder, Reno, Book B, Bonds and Agreements, p. 359.

[20]*Ibid.*, Book 15, Deeds, p. 508.

[21]National Archives, Washington, D.C., *Record of Appointments of Postmasters*, Washoe County, Nevada, and Nevada County, California.

[22]*The Spirit of Sierra*, (Reno: Sierra Pacific Power Company, n.d.), 8.

[23]Florenco Donnelly, *The Paper Mill at Floriston* (Wilmington, Del.: Hercules Powder Company, 1952), 62.

[24]Marie Reichlin, resident of Floriston, mayor, and former postmistress, personal interview, July 1994.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reclaiming the Arid West: The Career of Francis G. Newlands. By William D. Rowley. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996, 199 pp., photos, map, notes, and index.)

Reclaiming the Arid West is the most important biography on a twentieth-century Nevada politician. This impressive work extends well beyond the confines of Nevada to the national progressive movement, the ideal of conservation of natural resources, the economics and politics of reclamation in the western states, and what would later emerge as New Dealism. Professor William Rowley of the University of Nevada, Reno presents a stimulating and well written account of the career of Francis Newlands that rests on a solid foundation of research into primary and secondary sources.

Francis G. Newlands was born in Natchez, Mississippi, in 1848, the fourth of five children. His father struggled with alcoholism, and his mother, Jessie, assumed the leadership and stabilizing role in the family. Francis had ambition which received strong support from Jessie, resulting in young Francis attending Yale despite the depressed economic circumstances of the family. The lack of money forced his departure from the Ivy League to George Washington University in Washington, D.C., where he graduated with a degree in law. It was here that Newlands made an impression on Orville H. Browning, Secretary of the Interior, who eased the young lawyer's admission into the higher echelons of society in the nation's capitol. With a law degree and acceptable social credentials, Newlands set out for San Francisco to make his fortune.

Newland's Yale connection was the key factor in securing a position in an established law firm that enabled him to enter San Francisco society. Later, he would marry Clara Adelaide Sharon, the daughter of William Sharon, one of the wealthiest men on the Pacific Coast. From this union, Newlands had cemented his ties to wealth and power, but there were less desirable consequences. William Sharon was the representative of the "bank crowd" on the Comstock where he earned the reputation as a "robber baron". His business and political tactics assumed legendary status even in the rough and tumble atmosphere of the mining frontier. Later, Newlands would be forced to fend off charges by his political opponents that he possessed the same traits as his famous father-in-law.

In 1881, Clara died, leaving three children for Newlands to raise. Four years later, William Sharon died, precipitating the connection between Newlands and Nevada. Sharon was involved in a high profile scandal involving his former mistress, who was suing him for divorce. After losing in the California courts, Sharon brought suit in federal court under the diversity of the citizenship clause of the U.S. Constitution. Upon his death, Newlands, as executor and trustee for the estate, moved to Nevada to maintain jurisdiction in federal court—a strategy that proved successful because Sarah Hill's claim to the estate was eventually dismissed.

Newlands brought to Nevada all the laissez faire capitalist notions befitting a man of his wealth and power in the late nineteenth century. He feared majority rule and deplored the tendency among some legislators toward redistribution of wealth to satisfy the public's clamor for economic justice. He believed in the free market and the protection of private property from government regulation and confiscation. But maturity and experience over thirty years would produce a revolution in his thinking toward the role of government in the lives of people. Rowley is convincing in establishing Newlands as a leader in the centripetal movement against laissez faire constitutionalism and defender of the emerging regulatory state.

From his earliest days in Nevada, Newlands realized his political future could not be based on bullying and bribing people as his father-in-law had done. He was offended by Nevada's "rotten borough" heritage in which political offices were for sale to the highest bidder. Nevertheless, he became a protegé of Senator William M. Stewart, one of the creators of the state's political legacy of graft and corruption.

In 1892, Newlands was elected to the United States House of Representatives as a Republican and would remain in the lower house for ten years. His political philosophy had already undergone considerable change since his arrival in Nevada in the 1880s. He consistently steered a course away from the state's mining past toward a new era based on irrigated agriculture. He championed the use of modern scientific knowledge to advance economic development in the western states. Newlands became convinced that the region's economic future was in irrigation. As Rowley points out, Newlands was only partially correct, but certainly his enthusiasm for multi-purpose water projects proved to be the basis on which western economic development would progress in the late twentieth century.

Development was the key word in Newlands's politics. Strangely, considering the state's fidelity to cattle ranching, Newlands rejected this land-based industry as backward-looking. There was little in Newlands's political life that would forecast the "sagebrush rebellion." He could afford to ignore cows, but not silver, which was the one issue that would not go away.

Newlands campaigned for the remonetization of silver coins, which had been eliminated by the Mint Act of 1873. He had little choice if he wanted a political

future in Nevada, especially with the emergence of the Populist and Silver Parties in the 1890s. Indeed, it was the silver cause that would eventually force Newlands into the ranks of the Democratic Party when the Nevada Silver Party endorsed William Jennings Bryan in 1896. When the war in the West over silver ended with Bryan's second defeat by Republican William McKinley, Newlands was free to pursue his passion for progress in the West.

Beginning in 1901, Newlands introduced in the House of Representatives the National Reclamation Act, which expressed his faith in expertise and centralized power. He saw reclamation as a national responsibility like any other public work, or internal improvement. He did not want the public domain given over to the western states because he considered them inadequate for the task of development. Like Colonel John Wesley Powell before him, Newlands considered the arid West as a unit unrestricted by state boundaries. Irrigation controlled by individual states meant jealousy and domination by local interests, which Newlands believed would only frustrate regional development. He was keenly disappointed when his bill was defeated with the comment by House Speaker Joe Cannon:

> I will not vote, as I am now informed, to pay by grant from the federal Treasury, for the irrigation of 600,000 acres of land. It would breed maladministration: It would be a great draft upon the Treasury; it would breed great scandal in the public service and destroy the manhood of the very constituents that the gentleman represents.

Despite criticism from the House leadership, Newlands was back again in 1902 with his nationalization of irrigation bill. This time, however, he received support from the new occupant of the White House, Theodore Roosevelt. With the president's considerable support and the fortuitous absence of Wyoming Senator Francis Warren, who championed state control, the Newlands proposal passed Congress. There is no disputing the impact of the 1902 reclamation act on the course of economic development in the West. Likewise, some of the safeguards that Newlands installed to promote democratic ideals were ignored. The 160-acre maximum parcel size restriction was not enforced, which led to land monopoly—the very anti-democratic possibility Newlands tried to avoid. Also, the emergence of the "iron triangle" of western reclamation projects acted to insure the perpetual motion of unwise projects predicted by Speaker Cannon. This combination of undesirable and unforeseen consequences worked to tarnish Newlands's vision of a new democracy based on a nationalized, scientific approach to resource development.

In 1903, Newlands was elected to the United States Senate. He continued to emphasize a greater role for the national government in the lives of people through scientific planning and management. Newlands's federalism meant centralization with a corresponding de-emphasis on states-rights because of its self-

ishness, lack of efficiency, and localism. He stood squarely in the progressive mode and tradition of Theodore Roosevelt's "New Nationalism," rather than the "New Freedom" of Woodrow Wilson. Regrettably, Newlands's Senate career was marred by his unabashed racism, which took on greater importance because his legislative record did not surpass his accomplishments as a member of the House.

Newlands wanted all non-whites excluded from the political process because he believed they had no aptitude for democracy. While he wanted to restrict immigration to only whites, thereby anticipating many of the sentiments of another senator from Nevada, Pat McCarran, Newlands reserved his most vitriolic comments for black Americans.

Repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment took center stage in Newlands's thought because he believed blacks were simply a race of children. He would write black Americans out of the constitution, which he considered exclusively a white man's document. Moreover, Newlands espoused the colonization of blacks back to Africa, or any place outside the United States. All of his thinking came together at the 1912 Democratic Party Convention when he introduced the "white plank" to the platform committee:

> Experience having demonstrated the folly of investing an inferior race with which amalgamation is undesirable with the right of suffrage, and the folly of admitting to our shores peoples differing in color, with whom amalgamation is undesirable, we declare that our constitution should be so amended as to confine the right of suffrage in the future to people of the white race, and we favor a law prohibiting the immigration to this country of all peoples other than those of the white race, except for temporary purposes of education, travel, or commerce.

The resolution was defeated in committee.

There is an inherent contradiction between Newlands's philosophy on the role of government to promote democracy and his racist views. On the one hand, the national government should be a positive and activist force to improve the lives of ordinary people—but not black Americans. He failed to see, just as Justice Henry Billings Brown in *Plessy v. Ferguson* did not understand, the transition from negative to positive liberty embodied in the Civil War Amendments to protect the civil liberties of black Americans.

Late in his career, Newlands predictably advocated the development of the Colorado River under the auspices of the federal government. Rowley concludes, "Senator Newlands's career captured many of the central tenets of the progressive movement. The main theme of his thought was the rational utilization of natural resources, especially water." (p. 171)

Rowley's task was not an easy one. The career of Francis Newlands is a study in contradiction—personal and professional. In terms of Nevada politics, Newlands emerges as a transitional figure from the Gilded Age corruption to the professionalism embodied in the progressive spirit. Rowley portrays Newlands

as struggling against the state, and his family's jaded past, to bring forth an era of honest government with officials unshackled from the special interests of mining and railroads—strange politics for one steeped in special interest banking and land development.

Ultimately, Rowley's definitive work will be required reading on the early history of progressivism, reclamation politics, the American West, and Nevada politics at the turn of the century. It belongs on the bookshelf of everyone interested in the development of the American West.

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The Cornish Miner in America; The Contribution to the Mining History of the United States by Emigrant Cornish Miners—the Men Called Cousin Jacks. By Arthur Cecil Todd. (2nd edition, Spokane: Arthur H. Clark, 1996, 279 pp., illus., maps, facsims.)

When Cecil Todd's *The Cornish Miner in America* first appeared in 1966, it was a ground-breaking publication for immigrant studies. It remains a classic work in the field and a valuable research tool. Other books that have become available over the past thirty years provide additional ways to view those who came from Cornwall to mine in the West, but Todd's work will always retain the distinction of being first. Because Cornish immigrants were important in the development of Nevada, this publication has particular significance for the study of the state's past.

Cornwall, the western-most county of England, was one of the Celtic nations of Britain. Although there are no native speakers of its ancient language, the Celts who live there retain a unique local culture. The immigrants from Cornwall are unique in the history of immigration: They were few, distinctive in character, and drawn largely to western states. The only other Europeans who share these features are the Basques, a group that is well-studied in Nevada and the West. The Cornish, on the other hand, tended to fade from public view, becoming a little-known ethnicity. From the mid-nineteenth century until the beginning of the next, however, the Cornish were famous for their mining expertise, and they played an important role in the development of the region. These were the celebrated "Cousin Jacks" of mining lore who rivaled the Irish and others and consistently positioned themselves so they could encourage the hiring of a relative, often named Jack.

Todd's task in the 1960s was to build a research field where none existed. In a recent presentation to a meeting of the Cornish American Heritage Society in Sacramento, he pointed out that he felt an obligation to preserve the stories of so many who traveled, risked their lives, worked hard, and built an industry. Although Todd's work has an encyclopedic quality, woven into its structure are insights that help in understanding the whole. The works that followed may have been more analytical, but none could claim to have broken so much ground and provided so much detail where none had existed before.

The Cornish Miner in America anticipated much of the research that is now at the forefront of Cornish studies. The immigrants from Cornwall during the nineteenth century may have numbered no more than 100,000. This makes them a manageable population, easily computerized and studied. The difficulty is in tracking Protestant native speakers of English who could blend into the place they settled. Fortunately for the student of immigration, they often resisted assimilation for decades. Still, Todd's book anticipated the goal of tracking the individuals, never loosing sight of the specifics. In contrast, a group as large as the Irish-Americans, for example, would make the creation of a comprehensive plan to computerize the data a daunting obstacle. For the Cornish, however, it is realistic.

Following Todd's lead, a few historians in Cornwall established the Cornish-American Connection, a research facility mandated to complete the work Todd initiated. This organization seeks information on all Cornish immigrants and their descendants. Creating a web of contacts and scholars is critical to the success of an endeavor that promises to tell us as much about Nevada and its mining heritage as it does about Cornish immigration in general. To assist the project, the Nevada Historical Society has agreed to create a "Cornish File." This will serve as home to submissions from members of the public who recall stories about Cornish immigrants in their families or communities. Researchers are also encouraged to submit historic newspaper articles or other sources related to the Cornish experience in Nevada. The State Historic Preservation Office will transfer its Cornish-related research files to the Historical Society for public use, and it will coordinate the project with the Cornish-American Connection. Interested members of the public can call the state Historic Preservation Office at (702) 687-6360 or send submissions to Historic Preservation Office, Capitol Complex, Carson City, Nevada 89710.

Cornish immigrants, forming part of the industrial bedrock of Nevada and the mining West, left us with a rich heritage. Cecil Todd's *The Cornish Miner in America* is a benchmark study that retains its value after thirty years. With the cooperation of the Nevada Historical Society, future study promises to follow in Todd's footsteps and shed more light on this little known part of the region's ethnic patrimony.

Ronald James
Nevada State Historic Preservation Office

My Life on Mountain Railroads. By William John Gilbert Gould, edited by William R. Gould. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1995, 250 pages, illustrations, index).

My Life on Mountain Railroads is an enjoyable collection of stories told by a fifty-year railroad veteran. The author, Gilbert Gould, began his career early in this century as a "hustler helper," or assistant supply man, at the Denver & Rio Grande roundhouse in Salt Lake City. Before reaching his twenty-first birthday, the required age for a fireman, Gould was firing locomotives for the Rio Grande. In 1958, he retired from the Utah Railroad. During his extended career, Gould witnessed the evolution of transportation as trolleys gave way to automobiles and as coal-fired engines were replaced by diesel-electric locomotives. Gilbert Gould was an engineer when railroading was "a complete and distinct way of life." Realizing the treasure of this experience, his son requested he record his memories. Upon retirement in 1958, Gould began writing down stories of his past and mailing them to his son. Gould died in 1961. Last year, these stories were published by his son, William R. Gould, who edited the manuscripts and arranged them in rough chronological order.

William John Gilbert Gould was born in Wales in 1888. While a small child, his extended family, having converted to the Mormon faith, immigrated to Utah. For generations, the men of the Gould family had worked the Welsh mines, so they naturally settled in Carbon County and sought jobs in the coal fields of central Utah. All the men of the family, with the exception of Gilbert Gould's father, were hired as coal miners. Rejected by the mines, the elder Gould took a job with a section crew with the Denver & Rio Grande, a turn of events which proved to be a good opportunity for both him and his son.

The early events recounted by Gould occurred in the Tintic Mining District where his father worked on the railroad as a section foreman. The silver mines of Tintic Mining District, located southwest of Salt Lake City, were booming in the late nineteenth century. The Goulds first lived in Ironton, a stop along the tracks just below Silver City Junction. About all there was in Ironton was the foreman's house and a wye in the track which allowed engines to be turned around for the trip back to Salt Lake City, after they had distributed their freight to the various mining camps. Recalling his childhood in Ironton, Gould writes, "Those Rio Grande engines sounded a mournful whistle down into our valley as they screamed through the deep cuts and roared across the high fills clinging to the mountainside" (p. 16).

After a few years in the Tintic district, the Gould family moved to Salt Lake City. Gilbert recalls his first job, selling newspapers. Yet, he seemed to have only one goal in life, to go railroading. He jumped at the first opportunity to go to work in the roundhouse, and from there nagged supervisors until he received permission to study to be a fireman. After a few training trips, Gould's name was placed

on the board of active firemen. However, his success was short-lived. When it was discovered that he was not old enough, according to company policy, to be a fireman, he was demoted to firing a switch engine in the Salt Lake City rail yards.

Most of this book consists of Gilbert's memories as a fireman. In telling these stories, Gilbert gives the reader an insight into the working operation of a coal-fired engine, such as how to shield oneself from the flames of a firebox with the scoop. Through anecdotes, he informs the reader how the placement of coal within a firebox was different from one type of engine to another. Too much coal in the wrong place could "clinker over" a firebox and significantly reduce the boiler's ability to produce steam. In addition to shoveling coal, the fireman was also responsible for maintaining the running lamps. In the era when trains were still using oil lamps, this was a difficult task. The flame might look nice when the train was stopped, but could quickly smut up a globe when the train began to move and air was fed to the flame. Another difficulty was "lighting on the fly," or lighting the running lamps while the train was moving.

Although this book is not a manual on operating steam engines, there is much which can be learned through these stories. Since Gould spent his entire career on the Denver & Rio Grande and the Utah Railroads, he is able to provide first hand accounts of operating a steam engine over steep mountain grades. One section of track, used by both railroads, is the well-known and dangerous Soldier's Summit. Coming down this steep grade required special care. Something as seemingly insignificant as a bit of frozen condensation in a brake-line coupling could spell trouble for the crew. On rare occasions when he was a fireman, the engineer would order Gould to prepare to jump just in case they were not able to stop the train.

Gould was never in any serious accidents; however, he was aware of the dangers of railroading in the era before modern signaling and switching. The reader can feel the fear of a crew approaching another train on a curve and being unsure if they are on opposite tracks. Throughout the book, as a further reminder of the dangers, Gould mentions various engineers he knew who were later killed at the throttle. An entire chapter is devoted to train wrecks.

In addition to technical aspects of railroading, Gould also provides glimpses into the working lives of railroaders. Many of these men were great jokers. One story about practical jokes involved a habit some engineers had of blowing their whistle, using a special sequence, to let their wives know they were approaching town. This was done for two reasons, to assure their wives of their safe return and so to allow time to prepare their dinner. A few engineers began learning the whistle sequence used by others. They could blow their whistle long before a husband was due back, thus insuring him of a cold dinner. Gould also gives an insight into the psychology of various engineers he worked under. Some became good friends and served as his mentor; others seemed only to want to get him fired.

In 1917, shortly after being promoted to engineer, Gould went to work for the

Utah Railroad. The Utah was a new railroad which served isolated coal mines in Utah, Carbon and Emery Counties. Being employed by a short-line allowed Gould to spend most evenings at home with his family. Even though Gould worked for the Utah Railroad for over forty years, he wrote little about those experiences. The book ends, leaving the reader desiring more. I would have especially liked to have read Gould's thoughts about switching from steam to diesel. Perhaps Gould would have shared more of his experiences had death not come so early, just a couple of years after his retirement.

One surprise I found in the book were the number of stories told about violation of company policies. One of Gilbert's earliest stories was about his father going into town to cash his check. At the time it was against company regulations for railroad employees to drink, but that didn't stop his father and another section crew foreman from becoming drunk. Gilbert, who was only eleven at the time, had to take his father home on a hand cart. Gilbert also tells of engineers and brakemen hoarding oil and other precious commodities which they could not always get from the hustler in the roundhouse. A number of other stories involve giving away coal from a tender in exchange for favors to those who lived near the tracks. On occasion the trade was for a hot meal for the crew who had been waiting on a sidetrack for hours. Other times it was for homemade wine or for chocolate bars from an employee of a candy factory.

These stories will entertain and provide a glimpse at life on the railroad in what now seems to be a distant era. The railroad buff will gain an appreciation of the dangers of handling a large locomotive and a heavy load of coal down a steep mountain grade. For the historian, this book serves as a source of anecdotes which brings alive an era in western American history. Both will find the book enjoyable and entertaining.

Charles Jeffrey Garrison
Cedar City, Utah

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