Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly

WINTER 1998

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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

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

The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (ISSN 0047-9462) is published quarterly by the Nevada Historical Society. The *Quarterly* is sent to all members of the Society. Membership dues are: Student, $15; Senior Citizen without *Quarterly*, $15; Regular, $25; Family, $35; Sustaining, $50; Contributing, $100; Departmental Fellow, $250; Patron, $500; Benefactor, $1,000. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Director, Nevada Historical Society, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, NV 89503. Periodicals postage paid at Reno, Nevada and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503.

Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly

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Volume 41 | Winter 1998 | Number 4

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Front Cover: On May 4, 1970, a student and faculty demonstration to protest the invasion of Cambodia by U. S. troops delayed the motorcade carrying the Governor and other dignitaries to the stadium for the traditional Governor's Day ceremonies at Mackay Stadium in honor of ROTC cadets. *(Artemesia 1970 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1970])*

Book Reviews

THE ETHNIC MINORITY EXPERIENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, 1874-1974

Warren L. d'Azevedo

Foreword

In 1975, I submitted a report entitled "American Indian and Black Students at the University of Nevada, Reno: 1874-1974" to the Human Relations Committee of the University of Nevada, Reno. The report, for which I acted as compiler, documented a study begun in 1968 by my anthropology students in cooperation with the first two ethnic associations on campus—The Black Students' Union and the American Indian Organization. The initial emphasis was on these two sectors of the university population because they were expressing the most active concern with regard to the problems they confronted, and they saw the project as directly relevant to their interests. A number of Asian and Hispanic students also participated, but it was not until a few years later that their increasing presence became identified by organizations such as the Asian-American Alliance, the Chinese Student Association, and Movimíento Estudial Chicano y Aztlal (MECHA), the Latin American Student Organization and, later, the Hispanic Student Organization. An update on the enrollment of these minorities at UNR is provided in the foreword to the 1990 reprint of the report.

The preface to the original report also outlines the procedures and difficulties encountered in generating an historical record of the ethnic minority expe-

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Editor's Note: When originally issued in 1975, this report had no illustrations. The photos included here were selected for this republication.

rience at the University from its 1874 opening in Elko and after its move to Reno in 1885. The lengthy credit list for the study reflects the work of dozens of dedicated students, staff members, and former students and employees, as well as members of city, county, and state agencies, and many others who gathered data from interviews and neglected or often obscure sources. Previous efforts of this kind were few and the university's own records on minority enrollment and circumstance were all but nonexistent. Between 1968 and 1974 the work was facilitated by a small grant from the Behavioral Sciences Committee of the Desert Research Institute Research Advisory Board and by the help of two work-study assistants appointed by President N. Edd Miller in 1970 and Acting President James Anderson in 1972. The extensive files of the project are now deposited in the University Archives, Getchell Library, under accession numbers AC 221 and AC 280.

The decision of the Nevada Historical Society to publish a portion of this early report in its *Quarterly* is welcome and timely. The sections selected are the introduction and the first chapter, which examine the climate of changing race relations and attitudes affecting the status of minorities and academic policy at the university over the century or more of its tenancy. The other two chapters are not included here, but they deal with the impact and prospects of federal affirmative-action legislation in the early 1970s and present the research data in tables and extensive appended notes. These materials are available in the University Archives.

Perhaps the major advantage of the present publication of this at this time is that it evokes an all-but-forgotten period in the life of the university less than four decades ago. It offers an opportunity to reflect on the efficacy of changes made during the intervening years, and perhaps its revival will encourage similar or improved inquiry into the current state of our diversified social environment.

Warren d'Azevedo
1999

Introduction

One of the central issues addressed by the nation-wide social reform movements of the 1960's was the failure of educational institutions to provide opportunities for economically and educationally disadvantaged sectors of the community. It was charged that the established practices and innate conservatism of the educational system were geared to service the dominant white middle class to the exclusion of less advantaged classes, particularly those composed of ethnic minorities. This phenomenon became widely identified as institutional racism and attempts to eradicate such racism were in the forefront of the massive agitation for change which resulted in a remarkable period of

new federal and state legislation aimed at correcting long-standing inequities. The thrust of reform exposed token gestures of improvement for what they were, and required that strenuous efforts be made to create a profound reorientation of attitudes and practices demonstrated by concrete results.

During the first one hundred years of the University of Nevada's existence (1874-1974) approximately 277 American Indian and 303 Black students have attended regular sessions on the Reno campus. More than ninety percent of these students attended the University after 1960. Fewer than twenty percent of the undergraduates have received degrees, and the total number of advanced degrees for both groups is eleven. Over sixty percent of each of these groups of students withdrew from the University before completion of their studies.[1] Despite this situation, the University of Nevada has been slow to react to the pressures for change. Where action has been taken it has been in response to the compulsion of federal government policy and only to the degree necessary for avoiding legal sanctions. There has not been one program for aid to disadvantaged students on the campus that can be said to have been developed by the independent foresight or enlightened planning of the administration prior to federal legislative enactment or vigorous student and community pressure. The few programs directed to disadvantaged students which now exist on campus, though constituting a considerable improvement over the past, are inadequately staffed and funded.

The momentum of change during the 1960's reached a peak of concern and action in 1971, but has since subsided. Many of the gains of that period are being lost and the major goals remain unfulfilled. This trend has been accompanied by another well known phenomenon—the erasure of history—particularly in institutions with a rapidly changing membership. Even though we are but half way into the present decade, there is little recollection of or concern for the unprecedented events of the 1960's, and even less about the more distant past. In this respect the numerical figures presented in this report cannot be expected to speak for themselves. They are susceptible to the same forms of misinterpretation and abuse which confront any body of data which has been removed from its significant context. They actually represent real persons taking part in real events in the history of the University and the community of which it is a part.

It is no matter of mere population statistics that only twenty-four American Indian and thirty-three Black students attended the University of Nevada prior to 1960, or that only two of the first group and three of the latter continued on to graduation. Nor is it a matter attributable simply to the low economic level or educational preparation of the populations from which these students came unless, of course, one is prepared to show why these differences obtain. Another more fundamental factor must be brought to bear to explain such disturbing figures, and that factor can only be the deeply ingrained racism which has permeated the social relations of the American West even before the incep-

University of Nevada campus in Reno around the turn of the century - Stewart Hall, Hatch Hall, Merrill Hall and President's house. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

tion of the State of Nevada. Though Nevada was quick to ratify the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution, it was not until 1880 that it removed from its own constitution the restrictions of the rights of franchise or office-holding to "free white males." Stringent anti-miscegenation laws prohibiting sexual relations or marriage between whites and non-whites were among the earliest state acts and were not removed until 1959 (though Indians had been exempted by legislative action in 1919). Laws prohibiting the employment of Chinese laborers were not actually repealed until 1959 while Indians, under Federal policy, were not permitted to vote and did not become United States or Nevada citizens until 1924. The prohibition against the sale of alcohol to Indians was not repealed until 1948. Public schooling for non-whites was all but nonexistent in the nineteenth century and the segregation of Indian children in public educational systems continued well into the twentieth century.

This determined discouragement of normal relations between the dominant white population and non-white minorities was even extended to the prohibition of inter-racial and non-white boxing matches in 1919. Vagrancy laws were used effectively to remove non-whites from public places frequented by whites, and in many small towns "Sundown" notices were posted warning transient non-whites to move on before dark.

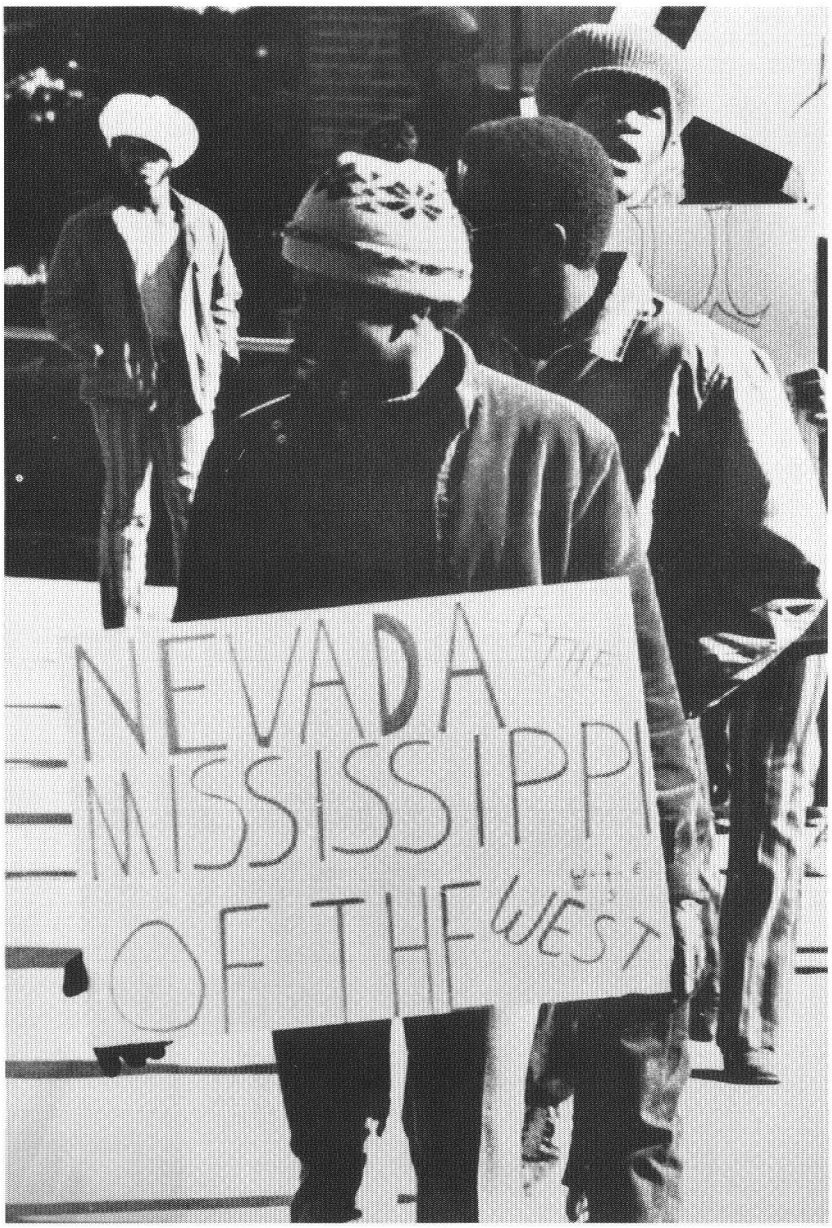
In conformance with national conditions, the unemployment rate for ethnic

minorities in Nevada was almost twice that of whites during the 1940's and 1950's, and during that same period infant mortality was almost fifty percent higher. During these decades the educational level of whites was more than seven times higher than that of non-whites, while fewer than one percent of whites and over five percent of non-whites had no schooling whatsoever. As late as 1960, over sixty percent of working non-whites were employed as unskilled laborers or service workers, while whites overwhelmingly dominated the skilled occupations, clerical work, managerial positions and the professions.[2]

In the decades preceding the 1960's, open and flagrant discrimination was practiced throughout Nevada against all ethnic minorities, but with particular viciousness against Black Americans. Service was generally refused such persons in restaurants, bars, casinos and hotels. In Reno, even famous entertainers like Pearl Bailey were subjected to public indignities by this policy. Law enforcement agencies cooperated with local business establishments in restricting minorities in the downtown area to Lake Street where two small casinos, a hotel and a restaurant would cater to them. Nevada was known to Black people throughout the country as "the Mississippi of the West" and the ordeal of traveling through the state was characteristically referred to as "the Underground Railroad," for if one could not obtain accommodations with friends, or find rooms in the few open "stations," one had best keep moving on. In many small Nevada towns Indians were similarly excluded from public accommodations, subjected to the indignity of having barbers refuse to cut their hair, and being forced to endure segregated movie theaters.[3]

This situation was clearly outlined in the reports of two Nevada civil rights agencies formed in the early 1960's.[4] These reports point out that it was not until 1959 that the Nevada Legislature passed a bill prohibiting racial discrimination in employment in public agencies or contracted work, and not until 1965 did it pass legislation prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations (this law was not extended to include most businesses and housing until 1971).[5] But as these reports make clear, these legislative acts included no provisions for enforcement, and Nevada businessmen meanwhile asserted that they would not tolerate Federal interference in local race relations problems. Thus Nevada stood among sixteen states (mostly southern states) that had not developed strong legislation in this regard. Concern was expressed that Nevada's inaction would give support to "any unjust accusations" against the state.[6]

The situation in Hawthorne, Nevada, was described as one of absolute discrimination, though Las Vegas and Reno were deemed somewhat better.[7] All housing for minorities in Reno was declared to be sub-standard, and minorities were restricted by racial covenants from moving into newly developed areas. The majority of public accommodations was still closed to minorities, and particularly to Blacks. Black Springs, sections of northeast Reno, and the Reno-Sparks Colony continued to be "ghettos" for the greater part of the Black and Indian populations of the area, and urban renewal programs began to in-



Nevada was known to Black people throughout the country as "the Mississippi of the West." *(Artemesia 1972 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1972])*

tensify the problem.[8]

Employment for ethnic minorities was restricted to the most menial labor and service tasks, and it was not until the early 1960's that one of the casinos hired an Indian and two Black persons as security guards. There were scarcely any members of these minorities employed in categories other than laborers or service workers by municipal agencies, stores, or other places of business. One Indian and one Black had been hired briefly on Reno's auxiliary police force, but accusations that the police were purposefully harassing minorities continued.[9]

In 1960 the Nevada Advisory Committee had admonished the Reno Police Department for allowing numerous city police to hold off-duty jobs as security guards for private businesses in which they "helped to enforce the discriminatory practices of the casinos."[10] In 1962 the Nevada Gaming Commission refused the request of the Advisory Committee that it notify its new licensees of the State's policy on discrimination on the grounds that such notification "would carry an implied obligation and responsibility to police and take regulatory action."[11] It was not until 1965, just prior to a meeting of the Nevada Equal Rights Commission, that the Reno Hotel Association adopted a non-discrimination policy in employment and public accommodations.[12]

The Nevada system of public education developed in this historical setting and inevitably has been affected by it. The statutes of the first State Legislature declare that "Negroes, Mongolians, and Indians shall not be admitted into the public schools," and the penalty to any school district allowing such "prohibited persons" to attend would be withdrawal of state school funds. However, any school district could, if it so wished, establish a separate school for the education of these minorities. Census marshals were instructed to count only white children between the ages of six and eighteen years as a basis for apportionment of state funds. The Superintendent of Public Instruction in his report of the 1867-68 school year expressed objection to the law in the following terms:

> Inasmuch as neither Mongolian nor Indian children, except a few living in white families, manifest any desire to attend the public schools, this interdict affects mainly the Negro race . . . . Few of the colored race are able to afford private tuition, and as a consequence we have growing up among us juvenile Pariahs, condemned by our State to ignorance and its attendant vices. Small wonder if, when they come to years, they shall prove social Ishmaelites in the State which has inflicted upon them such irreparable injury.We believe this inhibition unwise, unjust and unconstitutional.[13]

The State Supreme Court eventually declared the provision for total exclusion of non-whites to be unconstitutional, but it did not repeal the law with regard to segregation.

The attitude of early Nevadans with regard to the education of ethnic minorities is expressed concisely by the Hon. D. K. Sessions in an historical sketch of Nevada school history contained in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada*.

The Stewart Indian Institute was opened in 1890 by the United States Government. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Federal Government schools for Indians in Nevada, claiming that there were about seven hundred Indian children in the state who were "without the educational advantages afforded to such children in other states . . . ." The Legislature actually authorized the building of such a school on an initial outlay of state funds, and the Stewart Indian Institute was opened in 1890 after it had been purchased by the United States Government.[16] Insistent encouragement was given to federal government maintenance of this school and to the establishment of other federally operated schools in the state. This was clearly motivated by a desire to keep Indian children out of public schools and to place financial responsibility for their education on the federal government. As a result, very few Indian children attended public schools prior to 1935, and these only in areas remote from Bureau of Indian Affairs schools or in a few local situations where there had developed a special historical accommodation between Indians and whites. Until 1935 Indian children who were not attending public schools, or not attending regularly, were excluded from censuses of school age children, thus absolving the state of any financial or educational obligation for their maintenance under public school laws. Lack of attendance by Indian children appears to have been of little concern to state officials.

With the federal government's enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act and the Johnson O'Malley Act in 1934, federally operated B.I.A. schools began closing down and federal funds were made available to public school systems for development of special programs that would encourage the inclusion of Indian children. Since 1934, therefore, Indian students have been incorporated slowly into the general public school system and are enumerated like other

school-age children in official reports.[17] The last of the B.I.A. day schools for Indians were closed at Dresslerville in 1955, and on the Goshiute reservation in 1970, with considerable resistance on the part of local white citizens to the subsequent integration of the grammar schools.

But it would be grossly misleading to present these developments as constituting major advances in race relations during this period. The attitudes and practices which made these inequities possible are tenacious traditions in American and local community social structure. They will not be altered or eradicated by a few new laws or institutional changes unless such laws and changes are enforced and maintained. In a review of the problems of integration in Nevada public schools, a former Supervisor of Indian Education has presented some observations which dramatically underscore the persistence of racist views in education well into the modern period. He quotes from the biennial reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the years 1923 and 1932 as follows:

> The theory of having Indian children with whites in school is very good, but in actual practice there is not so very much noticeable amalgamation taking place, so far as we have been able to see. The Indian will never develop into much more than a very mediocre American citizen. The Elko school tried the amalgamating process for several years. Finally the board and principal decided that it would perhaps be best to segregate the Indian children from the white children, so a separate Indian school was established. It has been running as such for some years, with results that seem to justify the separation .... It is our belief that Indian children should be provided with only such fundamental teachings as will fit them to make a living of a decent sort, through the use of simple tools, the simple elements of farming, cattle raising, gardening, washing, ironing, cooking, sewing, etc.[18]

These views expressed by the highest ranking official of the Nevada educational system in the early 1930's do not indicate any appreciable improvement of orientation from those made by leading Nevada educators in the 1880's, as quoted previously above. The writer of the article goes on to state that, in his capacity of Supervisor of Indian Education in the late 1950's, he had seen an elementary school lavatory where one of the toilets was labeled in red paint, "Indians." He had also observed that a number of places of business, in particular restaurants, posted signs reading, "No Indians allowed."[19]

In response to the increasing momentum of the civil rights movement and new federal policy, the Nevada State Legislature at last began to move toward correction of these and other inequities. Racial discrimination in public agency employment or in contracted projects was prohibited by law in 1959, as was discrimination in apprenticeship programs. The moribund laws against the use of Chinese labor and against miscegenation were repealed. An Equal Rights Commission was established by the Governor in 1961 but this body was not given power to enforce the law until 1965, the year that the law prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations was enacted in response to the national Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1965 there was a brief flurry in the Nevada

press concerning alleged plans of the Ku Klux Klan to establish chapters of the organization throughout the state. Apparently the efforts were concentrated in the Elko area, and the wide publicity as well as negative citizen reaction discouraged further development.[20]

Over the past fifteen years Nevada has taken the first steps toward discarding its long-standing racist policies. These steps were taken reluctantly, and often long after others had led the way. Some small headway has been made in the improvement of social relations between white and non-white sectors of the community, in employment practices, in educational opportunity, and in the opening of public accommodations to all. Yet de facto segregation and discrimination continue to exist in schools, in housing, in employment, and in the advancement to skilled or managerial positions. The educational institutions of the state remain largely unresponsive to the needs of ethnic and other disadvantaged groups.

If the educational system is the crucible in which the future is formed, an improvement of the role of ethnic minorities in the schools should be a problem of utmost priority in Nevada. But the development of special instructional programs, revised textbooks and curricula, and the training of teachers for these new tasks has proceeded very slowly. The drop-out rate of non-white students remains considerably higher than that of white students. The number of persons from ethnic minority groups represented on the administrative, teaching,

The New China Club's Keno Queen contest at Bill Fong's casino in the early 1960s. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

and counseling staffs of public institutions remains abysmally low, particularly when measured in relation to the importance given this issue by national civil rights legislation over the past ten years. In 1974 there were 71 administrative positions in the Washoe County public school system. Of these, only two were held by Blacks and none by Indians. Of 699 elementary and secondary classroom teachers in the county, only twelve were Blacks and two were Indian. Of 48 positions for guidance specialists, one was occupied by a Black and none by an Indian. Statewide figures for Blacks are skewed greatly by the situation in Clark County where the largest concentration of Black population exists and where there have been significant advances made in program and policy. The remainder of the state, however, presents a picture even less promising than that of Washoe County.[21]

The explanation most frequently given for these figures by conservative and liberal apologists alike is that the educational system of the state or its local communities cannot be held responsible for the high drop-out rate of minority students and the minimal number of them available for recruitment into higher education or professional positions. These problems are said to derive from social conditions too complex and onerous to be coped with by the existing system of education, and that remedies, if any, must emerge from the local and national governmental levels. At the same time, those who express these views are generally critical of federal programs designed to ameliorate the situation on the basis that they are "unrealistic" or tend to be disruptive of established practices and standards. Moreover, it is not unusual to hear official representatives of the educational system state personal opinions that are reminiscent of views commonly and publicly disseminated by their counterparts in the past. One hears, for example, that it is grossly unfair to the white majority population to burden the schools with an increasing proportion of minority students whose backgrounds make them "uneducable" within the present system. In some mysterious manner such students are thought to be lacking in the moral values and motivations necessary for competitive success. The girls are said to be particularly prone to pregnancy and the boys prefer withdrawal to the streets and unemployment.

As a result of such attitudes there is little incentive to accept or conscientiously support new programs which call for fundamental reassessment and change of policy in local institutions. Rather, there is a deep underlying aversion to facing the real implications of the existing situation. Compliance with federal civil rights requirements is often begrudging and cynical, and the ineffectiveness or failure of many new programs is attributed not to the climate of resistance and misunderstanding in which they attempt to develop but to the assumed inevitability of the defeat of misguided and visionary government policy aimed at correcting ancient ills which society will always have with it. Seldom, if ever, do the critics of civil rights legislation and programs offer solutions of their own or take a vigorous role in seeking their implementation. Nor

is there any serious inclination to discover the facts that could contribute to the formulation of constructive policy or the overcoming of long established biases. Every teacher and educational administrator in the state should have access to accurate data concerning the numbers and distribution of ethnic minority students in the school system. Every teacher and administrator should be required to have received instruction in the history, culture and social conditions of the American ethnic minority peoples whose children they are expected to serve. Every teacher and administrator should be made aware and concerned that there are so few such students in their own classrooms, or that certain schools have become the tacitly segregated repository for disadvantaged children.

No teacher or administrator can be allowed the luxury of rationalizing the inequities in the school system by the notion that "Nevada has no racial problems" or that the responsibility for any problems that do exist lies elsewhere. There can be no excuse for the lack of representation of ethnic minorities in teaching and administrative positions in northern Nevada. There is no excuse for the lack of research and analysis concerning the high drop-out rate of American Indian and Black students in Nevada schools—or, for that matter, the lack of regularly publicized information about the rate of attrition of students in general in the Nevada school system. There are to this date no available statis-

In 1883, Clarence Sands (back row, left) was the first African American to graduate from Virginia City High School. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

tics on the number of students who actually graduate from Nevada high schools in the various ethnic categories. The 1974 report of the Department of Education does not provide figures on graduation, either for the general student population or for ethnic minorities.[22] It does, however, report the number of students in these categories who were enrolled in the Junior-Senior High School grades. In the Fall of 1974 there were 57,692 such students in the state of Nevada. Of these, 1,129 were American Indian and 4,370 were Black. In Washoe County the total number of students in Junior-Senior grades was 13,966, while the number of American Indians was 228 and the number of Black Americans, 303.

Unpublished figures have been compiled more recently which reveal that in the school year 1973-74 there were 6,960 students graduated from all 19 Nevada high schools, 1,393 of which were in Washoe County.[23] There are no figures for the number of ethnic minority students graduated. Assuming, however, that approximately one-fourth of the total number of students in Junior-Senior grades might be expected to have been enrolled in the last semester of the senior year, it would seem that less than fifty percent of these graduated. On the other hand, if the student population in the senior year is actually much smaller than that of the junior or previous years it would then be indicated that large numbers of students had already dropped out or are being held back for possible later graduation. And, if it is true that the drop-out rate of ethnic minority students is indeed much higher than that of white majority students, it can be assumed that the number of ethnic minority students graduated from Nevada high schools is proportionately much smaller than that of whites. In any case, though the available data are inadequate, it would appear that the attrition rate of students in Nevada secondary schools is higher than most persons are aware and that the school system has not given sufficient attention to the gathering, analysis, or publication of data necessary for understanding or correcting this situation. A particularly significant deficiency is the lack of information concerning the predicament of ethnic minority students in the school system and the degree to which the system is now providing them the services and opportunities so long denied.

The pattern exhibited in elementary and secondary education appears to be reflected in higher education as well—a matter which is discussed below with regard to one campus of the University System. Nevada remains at some distance from the minimal goal of eradicating the blight of a deeply entrenched heritage of racism. One crucial problem is whether the spirit of existing laws will be demonstrated through rigorous enforcement in every aspect of state and local community life. This is, perhaps, the central unheeded issue of the 1970's and the degree to which it is addressed will profoundly affect the social climate and development of communities for decades to come.

The task is not an easy one. Historically formed social relations are tenacious, and do not always yield to reason, morality or the requirements of social

survival. The political and economic interests that flourish on popular ignorance and divisiveness have little patience with such concepts as equal opportunity, full employment or education for creative and critical citizenship. The test of the viability of our social system is in its capacity to limit the power of such interests, and to effectively reassert its avowed egalitarian principle by concrete transformations of structure and polity which meet the needs of those who have been excluded from its benefits.

It is generally recognized that the momentum of civil rights reform has declined in the 1970's. This is due not only to a national economic crisis affecting governmental priorities, but also to a resurgence of political conservatism throughout the country. This trend is accompanied by growing contradictions in federal civil rights programming and a marked decrease in the pressure for implementation. It has given comfort and encouragement to those elements—both nationally and locally—which have consistently resisted the development and application of civil rights legislation. The impact of this changing orientation upon disadvantaged minority groups must inevitably be one of profound disillusionment and distrust—yet another episode in a history of false promises proffered by a society which, in their view, ever more clearly demonstrates its inability to eliminate inequities that make possible an enormous concentration of wealth and power among a few.

One consequence of such a trend is an augmenting cynicism throughout society with regard to national and local governmental bureaucracy. There is diminished confidence in the political process or in any prospect of positive change through cooperative involvement. The fervent hopes of the 1960's have given way to cautious retreat from commitment. And though the problems are still with us a revived determination to enact their solution awaits the emergence of aroused incentives and new strategies on the part of those who have most to gain and least to lose.

These problems permeate the entire society and are reflected in the structure, policy and personnel of its major institutions. Their impact is particularly crucial and direct upon those institutions to which is allocated the responsibility for educating and preparing the youth of a nation as citizens of coming generations. Over the past two or more decades many Americans have become sharply aware of the failures of the educational system to meet these basic responsibilities not only with regard to a large reserve of minority and other disadvantaged peoples, but with regard to its dominant white middle class constituency as well. There can be little doubt that this failure is of profound import for the quality and continuing vigor of American life. The degree to which the problems remain unresolved is a measure of the inadequacy of the social system as a whole to replenish its creative human resources and correct its most pernicious errors.

A core problem is that of the equal distribution of opportunity to all segments of society and the necessity to take firm steps toward the reclamation of

those who have been impaired by the long denial of fundamental rights. It is in the schools and universities that one would hope to find the most intensive approaches to dealing with them. In the following pages a modest exploration is made into the history and current status of a small institution of higher learning with regard to the experience of some of its minority students and its attempts to address the issues involved. Much that is learned in such a process is relevant to the question of what the problems really are and what might be done about them.

Ethnic Diversity and the Civil Rights Movement in Higher Education

The earliest evidence of the orientation of the Nevada community regarding access to higher education was expressed in the first legislative statute proposing the establishment of a state university. This statute provided free tuition to "white male persons," a provision which was not changed until the University of Nevada at Reno actually opened its doors in 1874.[24] Given the political, economic and educational conditions imposed upon ethnic minorities in Nevada during that era, it would have been remarkable for any members of these groups to have exhibited even the desire to attend the University.

It is not surprising that the first known Black student to attend the University of Nevada at Reno did not register until 1918. The fact that this student withdrew in 1922 without graduating appears to have initiated what has become an all too familiar and persistent pattern. Over the next forty years about twenty other Black students gained admission and three received degrees. The situation for American Indians was scarcely better. The first known Indian student did not enter the University until 1923, and there were apparently only twenty-one others during the next forty years, and two of these did receive degrees. Most Indian students who were prepared to enter college went either to government sponsored institutions or other institutions outside of Nevada.[25]

Interviews conducted among former white and minority students who had attended the University during these years indicate that white students were generally oblivious of this problem. Some were not even aware that there were any members of these groups on the campus. A few recalled great Black athletes such as the Horace Gilloms, the William Basses and the Marion Motleys, athletes who had received national recognition. Former Black and Indian students, however, recalled the profound sense of isolation which they experienced on the campus. They remembered the lack of social involvement as well as outright instances of humiliation and exclusion suffered both on campus and in the community. A number complained of "invisibility," while others stated that as members of ethnic minorities they expected no better treatment and took the situation for granted at the time.

A survey of items in student publications during these decades produces a quaint montage. In the early part of the century "Darky" humor appears frequently. Minstrel shows and black-face costume balls were popular. In a *Sagebrush* of 1920, with the first Black student having appeared on campus the previous year, a cartoon depicted the freshman class as a negroid gargoyle with long, hairy simian arms. The caption read, "The Lord made Father Adam, but whereinhell did you come from?"[26] The *Artemisia* of 1922 provided a lampoon section on the Sigma Nu fraternity depicting its residence quarters with a photograph of one of the tragic hovels characteristic of urban Indian housing of the period. The text referred to it as the Sigma Nu "campoodi" located "on the corner of 4th and University Avenue."[27] In 1923 President Walter E. Clark called upon the student body to contemplate "truth, beauty and goodness" as "the great goal" of the college years: "The ultimate challengers of war, poverty, pestilence, bestiality and other enemies of the race," he writes, "are sciences, arts, moral convictions and religious aspirations and inspirations . . . . Collegians, take heart! You have nothing to lose but your own mortal hates, prejudices, ignorances and fears. You have an Eden to help to win for a race and forever."[28]

The following year the *Sagebrush* reported an item under the heading "Campus Startled when Ku Klux Klan Appears." The annual initiation of the Coffin and Keys honor society neophytes had taken place with white-robed members on horseback dragging a "negro" (presumably an effigy or impersonation!) behind them. A cross was burned on campus, and robed figures burst into classrooms announcing a meeting at Mackay Field which the entire student body subsequently attended. Eleven new members were initiated, among whom were some who became prominent in Nevada public life. Special applause was aroused by a portion of the entertainment in which "a squaw, leading a broken-down horse upon which there rode a buck, careened down the steep hillside" and all were halted and deloused by "State-line officials."[29]

Student publications suggest that minstrel shows and black-faced antics continued to play a special role in campus life for the next forty years and even into the early 1960's. Scarcely a year passed without some major social item about such entertainment presented by sororities, fraternities, the controversial "Sundowners," or by University dramatics classes. A notable example was the Homecoming Wolves' Frolic of 1931 in which a "Mississippi Nights presented by the ATO and Tri-Deltas gave a combination of Negro and modern songs and tap dancing worked into a small plot." Another event stimulated the following press comment: "Seven come eleven and this Lambda Chi Minstrel Show raked a cup."[30] In 1943, when the great football star Marion Motley was apparently the only Black student on campus, the *Artemisia* noted his exceptional performance as a Wolf Pack player, but in the same pages innocently described a black-face skit put on by a student group.[31] Motley withdrew from the University that year and went on to pro-football stardom and the National Football League's Hall of Fame. In 1969 a writer for the University of Nevada

Homecoming celebrations continued to feature antics such as this one in 1960 when the Alpha Tau Omega fraternity presented a popular skit, "Take Me Back to Dixie" with some members in Ku Klux Klan garb. *(Artemesia 1960 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1960])*

Forum contacted Motley who reminisced that his stay in Nevada had been a lonely time: "We had to accept things as they were. At that time there were many places we couldn't go—especially restaurants and casinos." In his three-year stay he had seen other Blacks (all athletes) come and go, but none had stayed as long as a year.[32]

Black-face skits and other charades continued to be reported through the 1940's and 1950's while, at the same time, Black athletes like Sherman Howard, Alva Tabor, Horace Gillom and William Bass were recognized as dominating the sports scene in Nevada. There were, however, one or two notable instances of anti-discrimination actions on the part of the University with regard to sport. In the early 1940's white players defended Marion Motley against racial slurs hurled against him when Arkansas A & M College was being hosted in a game at Reno. In 1946 the University was scheduled to play against Mississippi State, but when State's athletic director wrote asking that the two leading players (Bass and Gillom) be left behind, the University cancelled the game. The following year the University broke the color line in Oklahoma athletics by taking its Black players to the University of Tulsa.[33] But, generally, the racist character of social relations at the University persisted. Homecoming and Mackay Day events almost invariably featured slapstick Black and Indian or other ethnic impersonations.

The 1957 *Artemisia* gave brief and non-committal recognition to events in Little Rock and the growing civil rights protest movement, while the Homecoming celebrations continued to feature black-face antics.[34] In 1958 the Theta

Chi's were lauded for their "Stephen Foster Memorial" presented in black-face.[35] In 1960 the ATO presented a popular skit, "Take Me Back to Dixie" in Ku Klux Klan garb.[36] Though this particular sort of amusement seemed to subside as the student and minority protest movements gained momentum in the early 1960's, a 1962 campus election campaign was carried on with an attendant bevy of black-faced coeds![37]

It is curious that the major focus of racist comment during this period had been the Black rather than the Indian minority, though the numbers of Black and Indian students on campus were equally minimal and the Indian and Black populations in the county were about the same. Despite the long history of Indian oppression in the state, Indian students seemed to have maintained a low profile on campus. Indians were seldom caricatured or, for that matter, even mentioned. Rather, it seems that the expression of racist attitudes about Indians has been tempered by the general American ambivalence involving both hostility and a romantic compassion for these victims of a conquest. Indians, from the white point of view, had become the helpless and docile wards of a dominant white society. In Nevada, where popular and legislative pressure for the usurpation of the remaining Indian lands has continued for a century or more, where every attempt has been made to increase the federal government's financial responsibility for Indian welfare while simultaneously resisting any federal interference, there were nevertheless sporadic expressions of patronizing deference to Indian interests. This did not, however, alter the basic pattern of racial segregation and oppression, even though it did assign to the western

Native American Week at University of Nevada, Reno. *(Artemesia 1970 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1970])*

Indians a status identity which was a bit higher than that of some other minorities. This is implied at the University by the fact that Indians were the first ethnic minority group to receive specific support for education. In addition to the few scholarships available from the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Fleischmann Foundation initiated a number of scholarships for local Indians in the late 1950's. The University of Nevada Board of Regents, in 1964, established twenty fee waivers for Indian students in response to the new Civil Rights Act and the growing pressure from local Indian leaders and newly emerged organizations such as the Inter-tribal Council of Nevada.

The situation for Black Americans in Nevada has been somewhat different. It has reflected national patterns of racist feeling equaled in the West only by the outright fear and hatred of Asians during the early part of this century. Blacks were considered interlopers whose growing population in the mid-twentieth century aroused concern among the white residents of Nevada. The rigorous policy of racial segregation and repression was intensified until events of the 1960's forced change. This social climate was reflected at the University both by the attitude toward Black Americans indicated above, and by the fact that the major source of educational support received by the handful of Black students prior to 1960 came from athletic awards and athletic fee waivers.

This pattern continued until the late 1960's, when new sources of federal support for minority and other disadvantaged students began to become available. Throughout the 1960's the number of Black students from out-of-state exceeded those from within the state, and the majority of the out-of-state students had been recruited and supported by the athletics program. Because of this the University could be, and was, charged with the most flagrant kind of racism which involved not only educational and social negligence with regard to the Black minority on campus, but also with the exploitation of Blacks for the exclusive purpose of improving the university's chances in inter-collegiate athletic competition. A little-known incident which occurred in 1960 provides a dramatic illustration of the problem. Six Black athletes recruited from Las Vegas and elsewhere were housed in a small squalid dwelling in the old minority ghetto of northeast Reno. This was the only area where off-campus housing could be found for them. It was damp, lacked insulation, and was heated inadequately by a small oil stove that also emitted noxious fumes. These men quietly withdrew from the University and Reno after their first year, complaining to friends about the racial attitudes they encountered, the conditions in which they were housed, and the failure of the University and the Athletic Department to fulfill promises made with regard to education and support.[38] It may be noted here that the Report of the Nevada Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1962 strongly condemned the housing conditions for minorities in Reno, and commented on the conditions for Black students at the University as follows:

The fact that few Negroes live in the dormitories was mentioned. We received a letter from the President of the University of Nevada stating that the only reason for this was purely an economic one and certainly was in no way a reflection of policy of this state institution. We accept that as true, however, we do wish to point out that it is a sad commentary upon this state if few of the qualified Negro young people who attend the university, preparing themselves to make a lasting contribution to this state, come from an economic climate that allows them to live in the housing provided by the university. That is to say that, while the university does not discriminate, there is something tragically wrong when so few Negro children with the intellectual background to attend the university are able to afford this housing. The truth of the tyranny of discrimination is nowhere better illustrated.[39]

Discrimination Becomes a Campus Issue

During the first three years of the 1960's there were evidences that national issues were at last affecting an apathetic and isolated campus. For the first time, the pages of the *Sagebrush* reflect a growing climate of social and political controversy. The issue of compulsory ROTC was raised initially at this time and a wide range of opinion was expressed by student and other commentators.[40] In 1961 and 1962 the showing of the film "Operation Abolition" and the invitation of Robert H. W. Welch, a leader of the John Birch Society, to speak on campus met with unprecedented criticism. The latter had been paid one thousand dollars by the Student Union. He called for the impeachment of Earl Warren and denounced the integration struggles in the South as insurrections "brought on by the communists." Student and faculty complaints were met with a series of sarcastic *Sagebrush* editorials defending the film and the views of right-wing speakers.[41] When attempts were made by some students to invite Irving Hall to the campus, he was ridiculed by the editor as a "liberal speaker" being brought by those who expect him to "blast the House Un-American Activities Committee."[42] A few months later the editor lauded the invitation of an Australian anti-communist spokesman to appear on campus as a way of "getting through to the liberals."[43]

In the meantime, a group of students extended an invitation to Black entertainer and civil rights leader Dick Gregory to come to the University. At the same time, the Board of Regents established a policy requiring that "both sides" must be represented in the selection of University speakers, an action which was interpreted by some to be a reaction to the invitation of Gregory. An audience of more than a thousand persons attended his comedy performance, though the *Sagebrush* noted with some apparent satisfaction that fewer came to hear his speech on segregation and white liberal hypocrisy.[44] Ironically enough, this same issue of the paper heaped praise on the remarkable achievements of Black football players Bob Herron and Cal Campbell on behalf of the Wolfpack. And during the next few months considerable space on the sports pages was devoted to "Sophomore Sensation Bill 'The Dipper' Robinson" who was the team's

top scorer for that year. By February of 1963 Robinson had been declared ineligible to play due to scholastic deficiency and, in the same month, he was named "Athlete of the Month" by the Sierra Nevada Sportswriters and Broadcasters Association.[45]

Another incident occurred in February of 1963 which marked a turning point in the history of race relations at the University of Nevada and which exposed to public view realities which had been ignored or accommodated for decades. Bobby Herron, the football star, had been taken to the favorite student hangout (known as the "Little Waldorf Bar") by a group of white teammates and members of a campus social organization. He was refused service by the manager, and a number of students protested by a sit-in. The manager told the press that in 1948 several members of the football team had attempted to take the same kind of action over the same issue, but he had held firm then as well as in the present case on his "convictions." He said that he had refused service to Herron because otherwise "I couldn't tend bar here . . . it would get on my nerves. I don't want to try to prove democracy here. It should start somewhere else." He then suggested that if the protesting students were trying to prove a point, they could start at the University: "Why don't they start in their fraternities?"[46]

The editor of the *Sagebrush* was in full sympathy with the owner of the "Little Waldorf," and used the front page for a banner editorial rebuking the student participants. Its heading read, "The 'Freedom Drinkers': Publicity Seekers or Social Reformers?" The editorial is so classic an example of the patronizing and myopic rationalization of the race issue current throughout the dominant society at the time that it deserves to be brought forth from oblivion. The full text reads as follows:

> Monday's incident involving six University of Nevada students and a local bar was a sad example of men stirring up a controversy that would have been better off left alone in the first place.
>
> It was a pre-conceived attempt to create a situation that would allow the men involved to raise a little hell—and possibly result in their increased stature on the campus.
>
> It was an affair that could result in the worsening—not betterment—of intrastudent relations at the University, an affair that could be seized upon by agitators to create an even more unfavorable situation.
>
> It began weeks ago when Bobby Herron, a popular Nevada football player and campus figure, was refused service in the establishment in question, and the affair caught the interest of a student who favors 'real issues.' It climaxed Monday when Herron returned to the bar in the company of five white students, and was again refused service. He left, along with two others. The remainder of the men stayed to question the bartender.
>
> Having raised their 'real issue,' the men (Herron not included) proceeded to inform the *Sagebrush*. We are printing the story—with regrets—because it is news, but we have no intention of fighting this battle for the men who brought it about.
>
> We print it with regrets because we believe we know what is coming.
>
> We believe that this incident will further provoke race-minded lobbyists [civil rights advocates?] now pressuring the Nevada state legislature.
>
> We believe that the incident is primarily a scheme to obtain a little favorable public-

ity for those involved (not including Herron).

We believe that the incident will bring to the surface latent feelings of prejudice in University students that have lain dormant to this date.

The racial situation on this campus is, or has been, non-existent. Seldom has any prejudice been known—or even thought of—until now. But now, because the issue has been raised, students will appraise their beliefs. Many of them will find out—if their appraisals are entirely honest—that they don't agree with these six men.

And then what happens?

Then feelings will come to the fore, and although no serious incidents are likely to develop, students will be—for the first time—really aware of their feelings.

The solution to Monday's incident seems simple. The proprietor has the right to refuse service to any customer; conversely, customers have the right to refuse patronage to any proprietor.

The solution to the incident does not lie in picketing, economic boycott, or anything similar, because such things as moral attitudes cannot be legislated or changed by force.

The solution is to let well enough alone.

As for the men who instigated the affair, they had better back off—before they create a problem that moves beyond their control, and ends up creating more trouble than its [sic] worth.[47]

A few days later, this editor reported matter-of-factly that the policy of the "Lil' Wal" had not changed and that there had been no noticeable decline in business. He somewhat enigmatically reminds his readers that "No race has 'squatter's' rights."[48]

There can be little doubt that this incident and the artless racism of the *Sagebrush* editor spurred the first public expression of outrage on the part of students and faculty at the University, and the *status-quo* was not to be maintained. For the next few weeks the student newspaper received a barrage of criticism for its position. Seventy-two members of the faculty condemned the "Let well enough alone" editorial and a continual deluge of student letters brought a naive response from the editor that his "stand might have been different if the 'Little Wal' incident had represented a concern for existing problems rather than merely for publicity." Fifty student and faculty members petitioned the owner of the Waldorf to change his policies and held the first recorded student-faculty forum to discuss problems of prejudice and discrimination.[49] Some students, however, along with the *Sagebrush* editor, upheld the right of businessmen to refuse patronage to whom they please. It was pointed out that there was no civil rights legislation covering such issues in Nevada at that time, and that a bill advocating the abolition of the Governor's Equal Rights Commission had been introduced into the legislature.[50]

Such arguments, however, did not stop the upsurge in newly awakened awareness and protest. A number of student-faculty forums were held to call for action on the race issue, and the ASUN Senate was confronted with a request to support a state bill to prohibit discrimination in all public and private establishments. The Senate tabled the proposal on the basis that there was not sufficient student support.[51] Such a bill was finally adopted by the Nevada Legislature in 1965 but was not extended to all businesses and housing until

The Governor's Symposium in 1971 considered issues facing the university. *(Artemesia 1971 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1971])*

1971. Football star Bob Herron, who had been a principal in the initial event, left the campus and did not return until the following year.

Another direct consequence of the "Little Waldorf" incident was a movement on the part of a group of students to initiate an independent student opinion journal. They argued that the biased views of the *Sagebrush* editor and his staff required that there be other vehicles for campus comment. A proposal to establish the magazine *Forum* was defeated by the Publications Board. An appeal was made to the Student Senate which placed the matter before the student body in an election. The proposal was accepted and the first issue of *Forum* appeared in the Spring of 1964 carrying a lead article by the president of the local chapter of NAACP. The editor wrote that the purpose of the new journal was "to provide a closer awareness with the problems facing future citizens."[52]

For the next four years, while exceptional athletes like Napolean Montgomery, Otis Burrell, Robert Gilliam, Vic Simmons, and Alex Boyd were dominating the sport scene at the University, a few white students with the support of some faculty began to take action on civil rights issues. In 1964 two chairmen of departments at the University announced that they would not hold further meetings of their professional associations in Reno until assurances were given that members would not be discriminated against in hotels and other public places.[53] The leaders of Nevada Indian tribes were invited to conduct the first conference of the new Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada at the University in May, 1964.[54] This historic conference took place on Mackay Day, and the appearance of hundreds of dignified, serious Indian leaders on campus that particular day made a noticeable and lasting impact upon the traditional cowboy-and-Indians antics of students in such annual celebrations.

In the fall of 1964, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, was invited to speak at the University, but had to cancel his appearance because of urgent responsibilities in the Southern civil rights campaign.[55] A number of UNR students who had participated in anti-segregation demonstrations in the Deep South meanwhile returned to the University and, in 1965, formed a chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This was met by immediate and vigorous opposition from groups on the campus and in the community. A spokesman of the John Birch Society demanded that SNCC be banned from the campus and charged that it was linked to Communist organizations. Some University officials, faculty, and students expressed concern that SNCC was a radical group that would bring violence and rioting to the campus, while others hailed it as a signal of new student awareness and commitment. Despite strong opposition, SNCC received a unanimous vote in favor of campus recognition by the ASUN Senate.[56] Over the ensuing two years SNCC played a major role in awakening the campus to the issues of the civil rights movement and in organizing effective support programs. In cooperation with the NAACP and other community groups, funds

and supplies were collected to aid civil rights workers in the South, as well as for impoverished minority peoples in the Reno area. Various campus forums and other programs were presented to disseminate information and develop support for new civil rights bills before the Nevada Legislature. Organizations such as the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union began to hold meetings on campus to discuss the problems of discrimination in the Reno-Sparks area.[57]

In 1967 Black students organized a chapter of the NAACP on campus and began holding public meetings to protest local discrimination and to open lines of communication with other students.[58] The Upward Bound Program had been initiated the previous summer through University Extension and involved some seventy-five disadvantaged youths from local high schools.[59] This program was an immediate success and did much to awaken many in the campus community to the problems facing incoming minority students. Prior to this time, the major social issues absorbing student attention were the controversy over compulsory ROTC, the war in Vietnam and students' rights. But in the academic year 1967-68 it was the Associated Women Students in cooperation with the participants in the Upward Bound Program who developed the first specific forums for discussion of racial discrimination on campus.[60] One such meeting in February of 1968 aroused considerable controversy. A group of Black athletes, including three who had won top local honors and national recognition, accused the University of allowing continued illegal discrimination against minority students.[61] They pointed to the housing situation which saw Blacks and other minorities callously denied rentals by off-campus landlords, while campus dormitories were too expensive for most of them. The UNR housing office was totally ineffectual in resolving this problem. There were "Black Clauses" excluding Blacks from membership in the sororities and fraternities, and minorities were "frozen out" of most areas of campus social life. Few members of ethnic minorities, if any, had ever held offices in student government, nor were there any representatives of these groups in the University's administration or teaching faculty. Urgent requests by Black athletes that the University hire at least one Black coach went unheeded. Black students were unable to secure employment on campus or in Reno, except in the most menial and low-paying jobs. They were excluded from most places of entertainment and recreation where other students could go freely. They were frequently subjected to public insults, as well as to police harassment. There had never been more than two or three Black women students on campus, and Black males who dated white coeds were threatened and, in some instances, bullied by gangs of white male students.[62]

The complacency of the campus was ruffled by these and other revelations of minority experiences. But the greatest shock came when two of the top athletes at the University of Nevada charged that open racial prejudice was evident in all aspects of campus life and blamed the administration for failing

to take positive action. One of these students was quoted in the *Sagebrush* as stating, "I want to get out of here . . . . This is the most horrible experience of my life."[63] Such views were revealed to be commonly held by most of the Black athletes, who felt that they had been brought to the University with promises of adequate support and educational opportunity but found that they were here only to be exploited in the sports arena. Some expressed the view that they felt like "part-time humans." On the field they were heroes, but as soon as the game was over they became "invisible" again. A current slogan among the Black athletes was, "We win `em . . . they celebrate `em." For the first time, the *Sagebrush* took special and positive note of the problem in an editorial which acknowledged social discrimination on campus and warned that minority students were being forced to form their own organizations because of the situation.[64] During the same period, a young African student who had received an award in a national contest for his essay on American racial attitudes and foreign students also wrote a widely circulated paper about his experiences as a "nigger" in Nevada. This paper made a deep impression on all who read it and it was frequently quoted in meetings and in the press.[65]

In March of 1968 ethnic minority and white students began a concerted campaign to force sororities and fraternities to rid their constitutions of "Black Clauses." The Associated Students organization sponsored a joint meeting with the Inter-Fraternity Council, the Pan-Hellenic Council and representatives of minority groups on campus. This meeting brought promises from the local chapters of the fraternal and sororal groups to bring pressure on their national organizations to change policy. The meeting also called upon the ASUN to investigate charges of discrimination in off-campus housing and to enforce a requirement that all landlords sign non-discrimination statements.[66] Other meetings were planned to investigate special discrimination against American Indian and Asian students. In response to these actions, the Nevada Equal Rights Commission also initiated an investigation of off-campus housing.[67] At the same time, the rising tide of social consciousness and dissent among students provoked a prominent Nevada senator to make a major pronouncement against the "Hippie movement" which he asserted to be "Communist-led."[68]

The Gathering Storm: 1968-1970

In April of 1968 the profound tragedy of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., shocked the nation. A sense of disbelief and outrage overwhelmed the country, while at the University of Nevada an atmosphere of urgency prevailed. A group of faculty and students formed the Human Relations Action Council which called for "immediate and drastic action" on the part of the University with regard to "the social problems created by racism and apathy."[69] The organization demanded that the University immediately institute a pro-

gram of recruitment of ethnic minority faculty and non-academic staff in all University agencies and services. It also called for the intensive recruitment of minority students from Nevada secondary schools, the increase of scholarships and aids for minorities, the appointment of a Minority Student Advisor, and the establishment of special tutorial and counseling assistance for educationally disadvantaged students. The demands also included the need for a reappraisal of textbooks and curriculum, immediate action on the despicable housing situation confronting minorities, and steps toward improving the social climate for ethnic groups on the campus.[70] It was pointed out that the University had taken virtually no official action on these matters despite the fact that federal moneys had been received for some of these purposes after the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1958, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

One of the first acts of the new organization was to petition the Governor of Nevada (on behalf of 76 members of the UNR faculty) to reverse his decision to refuse the calling of a special session of the Nevada Legislature for the consideration of anti-discrimination proposals. Such a session had been urgently requested by the NAACP and other civil rights groups throughout the state. A delegation of professors visited the Governor demanding action on an open housing law and enforcement of existing legislation. They were informed that great strides were already being made in Nevada through a proper course of "moral persuasion."[71] A few weeks later, the organization was one of the major local supporters of the Poor People's March which passed through Reno early in May.[72] Hundreds of students and other local people joined the thousands of visitors who marched through the downtown strip and participated in the demonstration and rally which followed. This event and the subsequent mass gathering of marchers in Washington, D.C., had a profound impact on local and national awareness of poverty and civil rights problems. Moreover, it signaled an emerging cooperation among local minority groups who had been kept separate and mutually distrustful by identification with the racist attitudes of the dominant society. A dramatic illustration of this changing climate was provided when a young Nevada Indian leader, who some years previously had been quoted in the press as cynically rejecting offers of support from Black organizations in an Indian rights case, was shown in a nationally circulated news photograph side-by-side with a famous Black civil rights leader at the head of a contingent of Poor People's marchers as they stormed the steps of the capitol in Washington, D.C.[73]

The Human Relations Action Council met strong opposition from some sectors of the campus and was attacked by a number of leading conservatives in the community. Its members predominated in a list of "communists" and "communist dupes" on campus distributed by a well-known Nevada legislator later that year, an act which aroused considerable criticism even from those who had once supported him.[74] However, despite these obstacles, 1968 was a year of major advances in civil rights. A Nevada Summit Conference on Racial

Discrimination was sponsored by the students, and a three-day meeting was held at the University involving speakers from organizations and agencies throughout the state.[75] The student publication *Forum* devoted an entire issue to problems of discrimination on campus and the views of Black students.[76] A Martin Luther King Memorial Lecture Series was also begun with leading civil rights proponents such as author-lecturer John Howard Griffen and the famous Black educator Deborah Partridge Wolfe being invited to the campus. The latter's visit was sponsored by the ASUN and the Center for Religion and Life and involved an entire week of crowded seminars and lectures. Some weeks later a leader of the local John Birch Society spoke on campus, calling upon the Nevada Legislature to condemn the Board of Regents of University of Nevada for allowing "an advocate of riots to lecture at the University." The meeting was attended by hundreds of outraged students and faculty who heard the speaker promote George Wallace's candidacy for president and denounce the civil rights movement. A spokesman of the Black Students' Union, protesting allegations made against Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders, rose and demanded to know, "How long must it be that every Black man that stands up for his rights is called a communist?"[77]

In the fall of 1968 the President of the University announced the appointment of a Human Relations Commission charged with developing a concrete program and investigating "all facets of discrimination." The ten-point action program of the Commission was endorsed by the Board of Regents who also issued their own statement of opposition to discrimination. These moves followed a period of urgent protest by the Human Relations Action Council and the Faculty Senate with regard to the off-campus housing situation, and the filing of a federal suit against a local landlord by three Black students.[78] Two of the first organizations of ethnic students were formed at that time. The Black Students' Union and the American Indian Organization applied for recognition as campus groups and, after some controversy over provisions in their constitutions, were accepted by the ASUN.[79] Both groups instituted programs of speakers and sponsored various activities, among which were the first interracial dances and other social events in campus history.[80] Among the major issues pressed by these organizations was the recruitment of minority faculty and students, the establishment of an Ethnic Studies Program, and the hiring of ethnic counselors and tutors. They called attention to the fact that in the entire history of the University there had not been one Black or Indian in an administrative or professional position and that neither instructional nor student services had ever dealt with the problems of ethnic minorities. The American Indian Organization instituted the Annual Indian Forums and programs in which speakers stressed themes of increased unity of local and national Indian groups and cooperation with other ethnic minorities. One of the spokesmen stated, "The stoic, silent, Redman who turned the other cheek to white injustices is dead."[81]

The American Indian Organization instituted the Annual Indian Forums and programs in which speakers stressed themes of increased unity of local and national Indian groups and cooperation with other ethnic minorities. Members included, *standing:* Ray Marjo, Damon Wainscoat, President Karen Wells; *seated:* Tim Brown, Judy Harris, Vicki Voorhees; *not shown:* Valerie Harjo, Carol Harris, Rose Hedrick, Ed Johnson, Carol Sanchez *(Artemesia 1970 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1970])*

The University's first Black member of the teaching faculty was hired in 1969; yet it took him three months to find housing for his family near the University, despite efforts of a number of students and faculty attempting to break through the discrimination policy of local landlords.[82] The matter was brought before a special meeting of the Faculty Senate which passed a resolution urging the President to take action on the housing situation.[83] Though the professor finally found a place to live, he left the University two years later. In this same period, three UNR Black students claimed "squatter's rights" in an apartment near the University which the landlord had denied them because of their color.[84] They filed suit against the landlord and vacated the premises, but the lack of a state open housing law and the prospect of lengthy federal litigation brought the matter to a standstill. A few months later the Black Students' Union sent a request to the San Francisco office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for a full investigation into discrimination at the University and in the community. They pointed to the fact that the position of a housing director at the University had been vacant for more than a year, that no action was being taken on the refusal of landlords to rent to minorities, and that the state had no open housing law.[85] The UNR Faculty Senate demanded action on the part of the University and the state, but received an opinion from the Attorney General that the University could not "be a party to any procedure between students, faculty and landlords."[86]

In 1969 the President of the University, in a much belated move to meet federal compliance requirements under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and in response to the recommendation of the Human Relations Commission, established an Equal Opportunities Program "aimed at extending the University's resources and opportunities to the culturally disadvantaged, in particular members of minority ethnic groups." A companion program, the Educational Opportunities Program, was also established with a former Black student as its part-time director. The latter program was intended to "concentrate on minority student admissions, counseling, and the development of campus social, cultural, and educational opportunities for minority group students." Fifty scholarships were made available for Nevada students only from a portion of the Bob Davis Scholarship Fund, and commitments were made to shortly increase the staff by inclusion of a full-time director, a secretary, three counselors and a number of part-time tutors.[87] In the summer of 1969 the program anticipated applications from eighty prospective students and twice that number in 1970.[88] However, not long after its inception, an accounting firm employed by the University raised objections to the procedures used by the EOP in providing economic assistance to needy students and questioned the ratio of ethnic student participants (which was predominantly Black).[89] This attack on the program ignored the fact that the EOP was one of the few sources of aid to Black students, other than athletic awards and new government-sponsored support through the Financial Aid Office, while Indian students were recipi-

ents of substantial additional aid from University of Nevada fee waivers, Fleischmann Indian Scholarships and Bureau of Indian Affairs grants. Moreover, few whites, Asians or others applied for aid from this program during its initial period, though it was open to all eligible students.

The new program met continued criticism and obstruction, and the promised increases in support were not forthcoming. The part-time Black director warned that unless University attitudes and policy became less restrictive it "could be accused of deceitfully attempting to establish a claim of meaningful change while really working for preservation of the *status quo*."[90] He proposed a special admissions policy for the recruitment of potentially able students with marginal academic records from the high schools, as well as additional fee waivers to include a wider range of minorities and disadvantaged. Though these and other requests for development of the program were made repeatedly over the next year or two, the response of the University was to tighten rather than relax restrictions.[91] During the academic year 1969-70 the President of the Associated Students appealed to the state legislature to assist the University of Nevada "in providing equal opportunity for all students to obtain a college education," and pointed out that the present program was inadequate. The appeal called for funds to develop an extensive high school recruitment program, a special tutorial service, and the abolition of the current percentage allocation of fee waivers which provided fifty percent of all available waivers to athletics, twenty-three percent to music programs, and only twenty-seven percent to all other programs at the University.[92]

After a decade of new awareness and rising expectations, minority students and the progressive forces at the University were confronted with the reality of institutional inertia. The ready promises were nullified by bureaucratic inability or unwillingness to implement actual change, and the scene was set for the disillusionments and reverses to follow. The *Sagebrush* blithely terminated the 1960's with a special edition in December 1969 depicting Santa Claus on the cover with one fist raised in a militant salute and his face that of a Black student who had become the most pugnacious and controversial figure on campus. The editor characterized the decade as one of student activism, of racial issues and, particularly, of youth. He predicted that youth would prevail and that the 1970's would be a decade in which the young would wrest power from the moribund generations. Neither politics or race or any other issue would supercede the sheer vitality of the issue of youth itself as it reclaimed the world. He wrote:

> It's been a long ten years . . . it began with Martin Luther King and ended with Bobby Seale . . . . Youth has become more sophisticated, from the early part of the decade of the '60's, when we first became aware we were a culture unto ourselves, through the middle sixties, when we expressed our new found power in the form of demonstrations, to the end of the decade, when many of us are thinking in terms of channeling our energies into constructive goals . . . . Having gained confidence, young America is no longer

afraid of the establishment or the people in it . . . . We will demand of our public officials that they denounce hypocrisy as a life-style. We will see a black man elected to high public office because he is young, not because he is black. And maybe we will see in the '70's a college newspaper that doesn't have to run a black Santa Claus on its front page at the end of the decade to mark where it's been.[93]

Looking backward from the vantage point of the mid-1970's, this juvenescent valediction to an era of profound social discovery in American life is a disturbingly nostalgic piece for its simple faith in the momentum of the spiritual revolution of Woodstock and its assurance that war, racism and corollary social ills were on the verge of extinction. During the following two years it became clear that the problems were not to be eliminated so easily or quickly and the *Sagebrush* of November 1971 expressed a quite different estimate of the past and the future.[94]

The Confrontations of 1970

Early in 1970 there were mounting protests on the part of minority students against University inaction. The Black Student Union reiterated its demands for increased minority recruitment, representation in student government, tutorial programs, and the hiring of Black coaches in the Physical Education Department.[95] The American Indian Association pressed related demands, calling for the promised expansion of the Educational Opportunities Program and support for the neglected Ethnic Studies Program. Later in the year the association presented these demands to the Board of Regents in the form of a resolution.[96] Though it was received "favorably," no positive action was taken. Nevertheless, minority student enrollment at the University continued to grow due to the vigorous recruiting efforts of these organizations in local high schools and the pioneering role of older programs such as Upward Bound and Talent Search which had done much to encourage the entrance of disadvantaged students and to guide them through an initial period of adjustment.[97]

This growth, however, was accompanied by a new assertiveness on the part of minority students who were becoming increasingly impatient with the conditions they faced on campus and in the community. A number of efforts were made by concerned groups on and off campus to deal constructively with the situation. Black students and their supporters organized numerous meetings at the Center for Religion and Life (stating that they had no facilities for meeting on campus) to which University officials, community leaders and even representatives of the police were invited. Though these meetings did much to air grievances and to provide some basis for mutual understanding, frustration grew as concrete results failed to materialize. Those who called for direct action as the only recourse began to emerge as leaders.[98]

A number of Black students were arrested during the year by the Reno po-

lice, or placed on charges at the University for various alleged misdemeanors. One student was arrested at a disturbance in the Dining Commons which the *Sagebrush* pointed out was apparently the work of white students.[99] He was later cleared in the Reno Municipal Court.[100] Another student was arrested in a Black community demonstration at the U.S. Census Bureau protesting the lack of Black census takers.[101]

Still another student was placed on charges by the University on the grounds of "mental abuse" and of allegedly making physical threats.[102] This amazing case became a major local issue for weeks and aroused considerable campus and community controversy. It was heard before the Board of Regents, and the State Attorney General even considered the possibility of obtaining a Grand Jury indictment against the student. However, so little evidence was available that the Regents finally turned the case over to the President of the University for normal judicial processing.[103] Unusual secrecy shrouded the entire affair and it was not until a delegation of students converged on the President's office almost a month later that copies of the specific charges against the student were made public.[104] The Student Judicial Council at last heard the case. Five of the seven charges were dismissed and the student was penalized for "minor infractions." He received a brief "disciplinary probation, with the exception of his participation in inter-collegiate athletics."[105] Throughout the proceedings his two counselors had been the one Black professor on the campus and a prominent Black professional man in the community. The student, already a controversial and outspoken figure on campus, became more than ever a symbol of Black resistance to white racism at the University and in the community. At the close of the case his lawyer pronounced it a most obvious instance of discrimination in which a particular person had been "singled out" as an example to others. He also accused the prosecution of continuing to make accusations of guilt against the student even when the charges had been dismissed.[106]

It was in the midst of these events that a "Black Week" was sponsored by the Black Student Union with the theme, "Try and Understand."[107] In addition to an Afro-American Fashion Show, an inter-racial dance, a poetry reading, a Soul Food Day, and a Black choir concert, noted Black speakers were invited from California. Dr. Leonard Jeffries, Chairman of the Black Studies Department at San Jose State spoke on the need for special ethnic educational programs, and Dr. Harry Edwards, Black athlete, author and educator (who had urged Black athletes to boycott the 1968 Olympics) created a furor by his attack upon the University administration for its "lack of sensitivity to the nature of the times." He called upon his audience to "live together as brothers, or perish together as fools," and charged that "virtually every program originating in colleges over the past decade has been originated by the student body or by the outside community."[108] The President of the University accused the speaker of not investigating the facts, and defended the administration's progress in the face of great difficulties. A *Sagebrush* editorial announced that, as a direct result of

the speech by Dr. Edwards, the Student Body President was arranging for a meeting of administration, faculty and students to discuss Black-white relations on campus. The editorial went on to comment as follows:

> Not long ago, the black students at this campus organized to become a political force, instead of a social gathering. They realized that they must have power to gain a piece of the political pie. If nothing else, they have forced this sleepy campus to wake up, even if it was an abrupt awakening . . . . Black students want something done NOW, and more than a few white students are hoping that the blacks will be kicked off the campus. That would solve nothing.[109]

This editorial clearly indicated the growing mood of apprehension and discontent among the dominant white majority of students, but it also revealed a degree of partisanship and understanding of minority issues radically different from the stance taken by the student publication some years earlier (e.g., the "Little Waldorf" affair). It recognized that the basic issue of racism was far from resolution and that minorities could not and would not partake in white complacency.

The campus-wide meeting organized by the Student Body President in April erupted into a major confrontation between Black students and the University administration. The President of the University had agreed to attend and was subjected to angry denunciations from a newly elected Black Student Union leadership in an atmosphere heavy with conflicting feelings and interests.[110] They charged that the purposes of the Educational Opportunities Program had been distorted by the fact that it was funded by a limited number of private University scholarships and restricted to Nevada residents. It was not the kind of program required by federal guidelines and, in their opinion, it should be terminated and then reinstituted as a government-sponsored program. The part-time Black director of EOP, a founder of the Black Student Union (who had been recommended by the organization for the position), was also castigated for the program's inadequacies. He responded by pointing to the continual efforts he had made to get more funding for additional students and services, but with little cooperation from the University or even from minority students themselves. In a voice shaking with emotion he told the assembly, "I want the same thing that the BSU wants. I want an expanded program . . . . Who in the hell do you think I am if you think I only want 30 minority students? You must think I'm a Tom."

The meeting lasted three and one-half hours during which the Black students raised again and again the issues about which they had requested action for years: more Black students on campus, a better tutorial program under EOP, more Black faculty, a Black counselor, a minority person as housing director, a Black coach, review of Athletic Department policy on scholarships and awards, a community work-study program, and Black studies in the curriculum. University officials and many of the white students who were present defended the record of the administration in comparison to that of other colleges and

warned the dissident students against pushing matters too far. The University President, who had remained throughout the meeting despite an unprecedented barrage of hostile epithet, called upon the students to work together in seeking constructive solutions. He suggested that the Associated Students set up scholarships instead of bringing in famous dance bands, that they help establish a Black Studies Program instead of inviting expensive speakers. "By working together," he pleaded, "we can do it." But such appeals, even from a much admired University President, had lost their effectiveness and, in this instance, gave the impression that he had done all he could and was now challenging the student body to demonstrate conviction. The meeting ended in confusion and was scheduled to reconvene the following week.

The second meeting was even more heated than the first. Black and white students had formed a United Student Alliance whose members turned out in full strength.[111] Despite the objections of the chairman, they insisted that their list of demands receive top priority for discussion. These demands incorporated the issues already raised by the Black Student Union, but also called for student representation at all levels of University decision-making "from the Board of Regents to faculty committees," dismissal of charges pending against Black students, a voluntary ROTC, and reorganization of the Associated Students. The director of EOP, whose program had been attacked at the previous meeting, declared that if the University actually wanted to show support for the program it could take seriously the suggestion made at the meeting that five percent of the budget of every department on the campus and of the ASUN be given to EOP. If this were matched by federal funds, he said, "I'm sure we can solve a lot of problems." Though the meeting was turbulent and inconclusive, the presidents of the University and of the student body, both of whom were present, responded to the demands for immediate action by promising to make public statements of goals relevant to the discussion. A few days later, the ASUN President issued a policy statement outlining the new goals of her administration.[112] These included a request to the state legislature for funds for minority recruitment and tutorial services, support for an open admissions policy with regard to disadvantaged students, a pledge of three hundred dollars a semester as an ASUN contribution to develop ethnic studies, the appointment of minority and other interested students to committees, support for student representation on the Board of Regents, opposition to University police wearing guns on campus, urging a ROTC re-evaluation, and agreement to pursue a number of other issues raised by the United Student Alliance.

In his State of the University address of the same week the President of the University again committed himself to improving the Educational Opportunities Program and to development of an interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies Program. Though he did not mention the ROTC issue or an open admission policy, he also pledged support to the new Student Bill of Rights, to the creation of an improved advisement and counseling system, to enlarged student and faculty

From the beginning of his presidency in 1968, University of Nevada President N. Edd Miller demonstrated a creative commitment to principles of democratic participation and open discussion. *(Artemesia 1971 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1971])*

participation in decision-making, and to continued curricular changes that would meet the needs of students for relevancy. His address contained the following personal avowal:

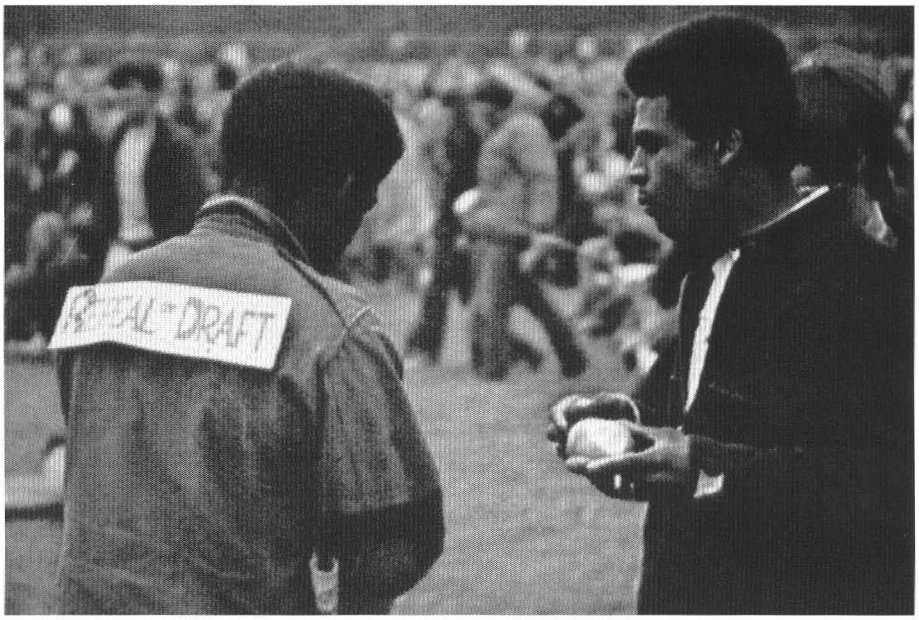
> I believe that change in the University is not only possible, but it is indeed mandatory; for without change, this institution which we cherish and the society of which it is a part will wither and die .... We have a student body, restless about apathy, scornful of the trivial and irrelevant, free and open in the expression of ideas, and yet willing to participate in sure and meaningful ways to make their educational experience here one of great worth and value.[113]

All those who knew this man would understand the profound sincerity with which these words were spoken. Only a few days earlier he had been subjected to scathing personal attack by a crowd of angry students, most of whom would also have admitted that he was the most sympathetic and fair-minded of campus administrators. From the beginning of his presidency in 1968 he had demonstrated a creative commitment to principles of democratic participation and open discussion. His fine perception of the crucial issues in higher education, and his responsiveness to student and faculty concerns had helped to make his administration a high point in productive experimentation in the history of the University. He also had the courage to welcome confrontation and to take principled positions in times of stress, attributes which often caused him to become the target of impatient criticism both from those who felt that he was not making changes rapidly enough and from those who believed that he yielded too quickly or was overly permissive in dealing with campus problems. Activist groups on campus frequently held him responsible for the resistance or lack of support which their proposals met from the established structure of the University. It was assumed that he had the power to implement any and all programs about which he had expressed approval. As with many liberal-minded men in positions of responsibility, he was caught between the forces of creative change which he consistently encouraged and the monolithic impassivity of the institution and community he served. This was particularly apparent during the period of rising cynicism and desperation in 1970 and 1971 when the Black students became convinced that they had been given empty promises and that the few gains they had made were mere tokens. While aware that they had unprecedented access to the President's office, his patient attention to their grievances led many to expect that he would assume forceful leadership on their behalf. When this did not occur, his actual powerlessness in the situation was often interpreted as typical bureaucratic deceit and he became the scapegoat of exasperation over the impersonal disregard of their problems which they continued to experience from the institution as a whole. It was such a role that had been assigned to him during the two stormy meetings in April, and his willingness to participate fully and to commit himself to specific objectives in a major public address were typical of his presidency.

The reaction of the new United Student Alliance to the President's speech was mixed. This brief coalition of the most militant of the Black and white students, and some faculty, gave expression to the widespread dissatisfaction over many issues of policy and reform. It also reflected in its rhetoric and program the uncompromising confrontation with "the establishment" that was taking place in universities throughout the country. This orientation was stated clearly by a Black student leader of the United Student Alliance just prior to the meetings discussed above. "We want to see action," he warned. "If they don't respond to us, we'll act." He then announced that the USA insisted that any commitments made by the administration must be initiated within the next two weeks.[114] However, at a meeting called by the USA to discuss the President's address, this same spokesman cautioned the group that there should be no intention of continuing to attack the President of the University: "We should try to get behind this man and give him our support. He has been trying to get as specific as he can without stepping on too many toes. We're talking about our university president's freedom here too."[115] He pointed out that the President could not act "because of outside forces." Others at the meeting were sharply divided in their views. Some wanted to wait and see what the administration would do about the President's commitments, while others denounced his speech as "a huge, gigantic marshmallow" and called for continued demonstrations of protest. Among those calling for immediate action were a number of younger members of the faculty including the only Black professor on campus. The meeting concluded with a plan to extend full support to the President and to send busloads of students to the next Board of Regents meeting in Elko to "show the Regents that we are serious."

Governor's Day 1970

Less than two weeks later there occurred a series of events which profoundly affected the campus community and coalesced the mood of restless urgency. At the end of April, President Richard Nixon announced the invasion of Cambodia by United States troops. Student demonstrations against the war and the invasion erupted at universities in every sector of the country. On May 4, one such demonstration at Kent State University resulted in the shooting and killing of four students by National Guard troops. This tragedy became foremost in the minds of those University of Nevada students and faculty who had planned a protest rally against the invasion for May 5 at Manzanita Bowl. This was the same date scheduled for the traditional Governor's Day ceremonies at Mackay Stadium in honor of ROTC cadets. They were determined to create a memorial to the Kent State students by protest against U.S. military action and compulsory ROTC. During their rally the students decided to march to the stadium. On the way, they delayed briefly the motorcade carrying the Gover-



Student demonstrations against the war and the invasion erupted at universities in every sector of the country. *(Artemesia 1970 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1970])*

nor and other dignitaries and then continued to the stadium where they marched around the track two times before filing into the stands. As the ceremony began, they stamped their feet and chanted. A number of Black students left the stands and sat in a group on the field where the ROTC drill team was performing, and soon hundreds of other students had joined them. Despite the disruption, the ceremonies continued to the end.[116]

This event climaxed almost a decade of growing anti-war sentiment on the campus, but it was also associated with the many other issues that had been raised by student groups in recent weeks. Prominent in the demonstration were the Black students (mostly athletes) as well as the white students and faculty of the United Student Alliance who had taken leading roles in the confrontations with the University administration in late April. Among them was a young tenured English professor who had been one of the few most active and outspoken faculty members with regard to students' rights, racism, and military requirements at the University. He had been a founding member of the Human Relations Action Council and the Human Relations Commission, had written and proposed the program of Ethnic Studies, had helped to initiate the first attempt at faculty unionization on campus, and was an active participant and advisor to the Experimental College organized by the students. He had also taken part in the United Student Alliance plan two weeks earlier

to arrange for buses to attend the forthcoming Board of Regents meeting. It was this man whom the Board of Regents, at their meeting of May 9, singled out for special reproof for his part in the Governor's Day demonstration, and the President of the University was directed to bring charges against him.[117] A second member of the teaching staff was also included, but the charges were shortly withdrawn for lack of evidence.

The action of the Board of Regents was carried out in an atmosphere of intense community reaction. On the day after the demonstration a Reno broadcasting station editorialized the affair and called upon all citizens to send telegrams to the Regents condemning the participants. Local newspapers contained angry denunciations of student and faculty activism and of alleged complicity or over-leniency on the part of the University administration.[118] On May 7, the President of the University had attempted to show constructive concern about a major issue that had helped to provoke the demonstration by announcing a University-wide Memorial Service for the dead Kent State students.[119] This was met by a heated counter-reaction from the conservative sector of students which erupted into a debate in the ASUN Senate between factions that the *Sagebrush* referred to as the "cowboys and longhairs."[120] The opposition condemned the Governor's Day demonstration and defended the National Guard action in the Kent State shootings. By the time the Regents held their next meeting, the University was confronted with a siege of criticism. Their quick solution was to fix blame, not on the hundreds of students who had participated, but on a controversial faculty member who was declared to be the ringleader of the event. In a follow-up action in June—after having suspended the regular University Code—they approved a hastily constructed "Interim Code of Conduct" which was strenuously opposed by student and faculty groups as a measure to repress dissent.[121] In response to the growing threat to academic freedom a number of faculty members advocated the formation of a labor-affiliated union on campus, and student opposition to the new "code" intensified during the remainder of the year.[122]

Thus, in a few weeks, the major civil rights issue before the University had shifted from the demands of ethnic minorities for improved educational and employment opportunities to a desperate defense of freedom of speech and of the traditional academic obligation of intellectual independence. Many on campus viewed the hostile attitude which prevailed in the community, and the Regents' ready accord with it, to be a situation which placed the very existence of the University, as a small but potentially excellent western state institution of higher learning, in question. It appeared to be a clear expression of the lack of respect or support for the principles of academic freedom, and of education itself, inherent in the history of community relations with the University. In this sense, the University found itself in a position similar to that of the minorities whose legal and moral rights had been denied by neglect or stifled by repressive action when those rights were exercised. Of particular concern to many

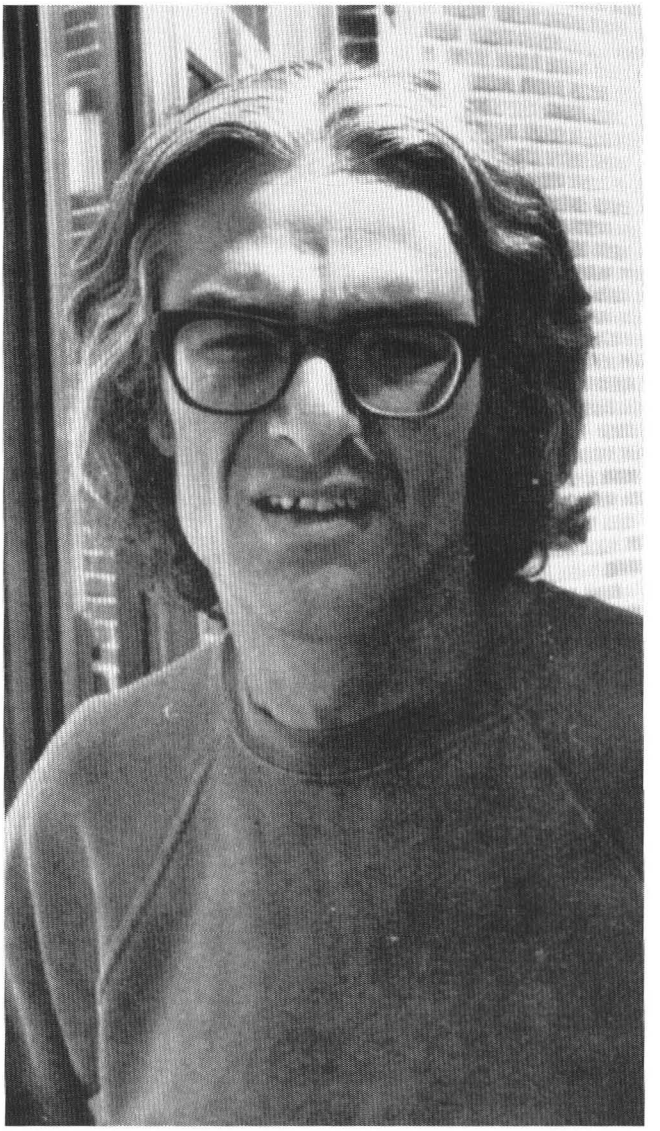
was the failure of the Board of Regents to come to the defense of the University and to assume its fundamental role in the protection and promulgation of the principles which make such an institution possible. Rather, they insulated themselves from a dialogue with the campus and allowed themselves to be led by the most intolerant voices in the community.

Nevertheless, by the Fall semester the matter had not subsided but continued to be a focus of undermining attacks upon the University by powerful elements in the local community. A beleaguered University President was faced not only with this pressure from the community but also the consternation of an aroused student and faculty constituency. Early in October he had the opportunity to present a rejoinder before a meeting of downtown businessmen. His defense of the University deserves to be quoted at length. After outlining the events that had taken place in May, he went on as follows:

> Finally, out of the events of Governor's Day, a fine, healthy, continuous dialogue was set up involving students and faculty, by the hundreds, of all kinds of political and social beliefs, who talked together, dealt with common problems in a peaceful, intelligent way. That dialogue is continuing this semester and has been broadened to include numerous members of the downtown community on a weekly basis . . . .
>
> I know full well that some of you and many citizens of this state are angry at your university and what you believe to be happening there. I must confess that I, too, am angry. I'm angry at an over-reaction directed to all of our students and faculty because of rare instances of poor judgment exercised by a limited few. I'm angry at the apparent willingness of too many people to believe, automatically, the very worst about the university without attempting to find out what the facts are and what the situation really is like. I'm angry when two or three unfortunate episodes, through repetitive gossip, are snowballed into slander of an entire academic community.
>
> I'm angry when distinguished members of our faculty are accused of fomenting riot, when, in fact, they were instrumental in preventing riot. And the damage done to fine people . . . by these cruel and false accusations should be lamented by us all.
>
> I'm angry at charges hurled indiscriminately at our fine student body—charges of radicalism, of lack of interest in this nation and what it stands for. I know these students, from the very liberal to the very conservative. They are an exceptional group of young people, greatly concerned about the world in which they live. Rather than viewing with alarm, we should happily be pointing with pride to them; most of them are citizens of this state, from our own homes, and, while they want change, they want it peacefully . . . .[123]

There is, perhaps, not another so dramatic and eloquent an instance of an official spokesman of the University of Nevada standing up before representatives of the community to defend the principles of creative diversity and intellectual freedom in an institution of higher learning. However, the pressure upon the University from influential sources in the community did not diminish and it was apparent that it would not do so unless some punitive action was taken.

Meanwhile, the professor had been barred from his classes by the Regents. A large number of students petitioned the Board protesting the abrupt and secretive manner in which this action had been decided and pledging full sup-



English professor Paul Adamain had been one of the few most active and outspoken faculty members with regard to students' rights, racism, and military requirements at the University. It was this man whom the Board of Regents, at their meeting of May 9, singled out for special reproof for his part in the Governor's Day demonstration, and the President of the University was directed to bring charges against him. *(Artemesia 1971 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1971])*

port to the faculty member. They complained that "unwarranted and reactionary pressure has caused turmoil throughout Nevada concerning our University." The possibility of a strike was discussed as a last resort, but the *Sagebrush*, while supporting the petition, pleaded that the campus seek "a responsible, legitimate and peaceful way."[124] The only answer given by the Board of Regents to the student request for an explanation was that the professor had not been allowed to meet his classes because he presented "a clear and present danger" to the University community.[125]

The Ad Hoc Faculty Senate Committee which had been assigned to hear the case in accordance with University policy opened the trial on October 16. The attorneys for the prosecution and defense presented their cases on closed circuit television, and a series of witnesses for each gave their versions of the Governor's Day occurrences. The prosecution took the position that the accused professor had disrupted the proceedings: the defense said that he had attempted to monitor them.[126] When the Hearing Committee had received the transcripts of the trial they deliberated for a week before making their recommendation to the President. The recommendation was for "censure" in that the professor had failed to "respect the opinion of others," but that with regard to all other charges there was either insufficient evidence or no apparent violation of the University Code.[127]

The reaction of the Board of Regents was swift and indomitable. The faculty committee's recommendation was returned with the statement that it "didn't test the evidence as much as it should" and that it was "based on incomplete and inaccurate findings."[128] The University President defended the committee on the basis that the evidence did not support any other decision, and the students presented the Regents with a petition containing over a thousand signatures protesting their action.[129] A *Sagebrush* editorial expressed shocked indignation: "The Regents have perpetrated a hoax on the University . . . the Regents want him fired . . . a hearing wasn't necessary."[130] The Student Senate passed a resolution supporting the Faculty Committee's recommendation, and some students attempted to organize a day of mourning and general strike.[131] But with their ears tuned to another drummer, the Regents promptly fired the professor at their December meeting. There were angry outcries from student and faculty groups, and a brief flurry was created by a movement calling for the resignation of the Regents.[132] A student-faculty Defense Committee (including a number of leading Black and other minority students) was formed to raise funds for legal aid.[133] During the first few weeks it received numerous donations, but interest waned as many of the dejected supporters acquiesced to what they thought was a final defeat. However, the case was continued in the courts and two years later the U.S. District Court ruled in favor of the dismissed professor, ordering his reinstatement with full back pay.[134] The implementation of this decision was delayed by a legal appeal on the part of the University, but there was little likelihood that the professor would want to re-

turn to the campus after being deprived of his rights and position for so long a time.

During the Spring semester of 1971 there was scarcely any mention of this affair in local publications, or of the hotly debated issues which had led up to it.[135] The campus appeared to have been shocked into silence and apathy. However, the Defense Committee continued to make appeals for support to the fired faculty member, and this has been supposed by many to be one possible explanation for a renewed effort by the same Board of Regents to exert direct control of free expression on campus. Early in May, the chairman of the Defense Committee, a young social scientist with an exemplary record of research and teaching, was denied promotion by the Board.[136] The recommendation for promotion had been fully reviewed through all regular channels within the University so that denial by the Regents under these conditions was extraordinary. Despite immediate protest from the Faculty Senate, the Regents refused to state their reasons for the denial, though one member of the Board was admonished by the Senate for making derogatory public comments about the professor.[137] Consequently rumor spread rapidly and the faculty member was faced with serious potential damage to his career. An explanation was never given, and the general view was that the Board had taken the action because of his chairmanship of the Defense Committee on behalf of the professor fired the previous year, and because of his active role in civil rights and other controversial matters on campus. This view was strengthened by a public attack upon the Experimental College made by one of the Regents who alleged that the fired professor had been seen at the College office where funds for the Defense Committee were being collected and where there was a "quantity of radical literature."[138] Faced with a suit, the Board of Regents eventually reversed its decision by giving the faculty member his promotion and retroactive salary compensation from the time the promotion had been denied.

For more than a year the urgent demands that had been raised by minority students on campus were all but forgotten while these events dominated campus life. Though most of the leaders of minority groups had seen the problems of the anti-war movement, the Interim Code of Conduct and the attacks on protesting students and faculty as closely connected to their own interests, some of them felt that they had allowed themselves to be diverted from a central task that had gained momentum until the Spring of 1970. No special admissions policy or effective tutorial and counseling service had been developed. The rate of increase of minority students on campus was slowing down. The only minority member of the teaching faculty was preparing to leave the University. No Black coach had been hired despite years of requests on the part of Black athletes. There was still no social center on campus for ethnic students or office space for their duly constituted and approved organizations. The Educational Opportunities Program had not been expanded as promised by the administration, out-of-state students were still excluded, and a Regent's action

raising the grade-point requirements for scholarships had the effect of denying eligibility to many of the participants.

Student Demonstrations

In December of 1970 the chairmen of the American Indian Organization and the Black Student Union formed a brief coalition of their organizations which they called the Ethnic Alliance Ad Hoc Committee.[139] Indian students had tended to be less aggressive than the Black students in their strategy and demands, and were affected by a long-standing aversion to being identified with other minority groups, particularly Blacks. They saw their problems as related to those of other ethnic minorities, but also as unique in the history of American society. Though a symbolic cooperation had taken place between Indian and Black leadership in the Poor People's March of 1968, and though strong coalitions existed among minority activist groups in large urban areas throughout the country, local Indian people had remained generally aloof from such movements; and some deeply resented the fact that their own style of behavior and strategy of protest seemed to be submerged in the wave of arrogant Black rhetoric and impatience. Nevertheless, an influential organization known as the Ethnic Coalition had formed in Reno and, though Black leadership was predominant, some representatives of other minority groups actively participated. A few minority students also were involved in this community activity and it was through their efforts that the campus Ethnic Alliance was initiated.

It was a remarkable indication of the sense of urgency and determination prevailing among minority students at the time. The major issues pressed by the Alliance were the almost total lack of support given the Ethnic Studies Program by the University and the failure to hire minority faculty to participate in its development. A few faculty members had attempted to present courses relevant to the concerns of both white and minority students about racism and ethnic diversity in American society. But these were irregularly scheduled or, often, inadequately taught and most departments were reluctant to develop them at the expense of their standard curriculum. University financial support for the program had not exceeded a few hundred dollars each year. Under pressure from the Ethnic Alliance and the Ethnic Studies Committee, the University allotted five thousand dollars which were utilized for a successful series of seminars on ethnic relations.[140] A request to the Board of Regents for twenty-five thousand dollars for the following year, to bring in a part-time minority faculty member as director and to expand the program, was not approved.

It was due in large part to the efforts of the Ethnic Alliance that two former Black students had been appointed as part-time assistants in the Housing office. Plans were quickly announced for the formation of a Students' Tenant

Union and a Housing Review Board to deal with landlord discrimination in Reno.[141] Concurrently, the Human Relations Commission called upon the President of the University and the Board of Regents to make a public statement in support of an effective open-housing bill which was facing strong opposition in the state legislature.[142] Indian students held their third annual Indian Forum which featured a series of visiting speakers who urged reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and attention to Indian education.[143] Their repeated requests for the hiring of Indians on the faculty finally resulted in the appointment of an Indian counselor to UNR Special Services. Black students became active in the community, giving talks on Black history before local groups and in the high schools. They stressed the need for increased minority enrollment at the University as a means of combating the exploitation of the few that were already there.[144] In response to new government requirements for federal contract compliance with regard to employment discrimination, student and community members of the Ethnic Coalition insisted that the University act soon or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would be called in to monitor the situation. The President of the University directed the Human Relations Commission to begin drafting an Affirmative Action Program for possible implementation the following year.[145] A number of Asian-American and Chicano students also had become involved in the campus Ethnic Alliance as well as the community Ethnic Coalition. Early in the Fall, the Asian students began to develop their own organization which was called the Asian Alliance (or, Asian-American Organization) aimed at representing the largest ethnic group on campus and the development of Asian studies in the curriculum.[146]

These renewed efforts on the part of minority students and other concerned persons in the Spring of 1971 achieved but minimal gains, perhaps the most important of which was the unprecedented, though temporary, trend toward pragmatic cooperation among the various ethnic groups on campus and in the community. Few of the basic problems highlighted in minority student demands since the mid-1960's had been dealt with effectively by the University, and the accumulating sense of frustration was directed more and more to aggressive involvement in campus and community affairs. As had been the case throughout this period, it was the Black students who took the lead. The new President of the Black Student Union announced that the organization was dedicated to improvement of the social, political and economic status of Blacks on the campus, but also to the development of a strong rapport with white students. Moreover, the BSU intended to form closer ties with the Black communities in Reno and Las Vegas, as well as with Black student organizations in other universities.[147] When the ASUN Financial Control Board refused to fund the travel of three BSU members to a western conference of Black Student Unions in Salt Lake City, the President made the trip himself in order to represent his organization.[148]

In early October the Black Student Union entered a candidate for Homecoming Queen and conducted an energetic campaign in her behalf. She became the first ethnic minority woman to win this traditional distinction. The BSU had also become the sponsor of the annual Homecoming Dance, the proceeds of which they intended to use for a campus "Soul Food Dinner" and a Black Week program.[149] The President of the organization was later to comment that these events "gave all the Blacks on campus pride . . . we really felt like we were heading somewhere . . . things were really progressing."[150] But subsequent events were to dampen this enthusiasm as the campus experienced its first serious racial confrontation.

At a BSU meeting just before the Homecoming celebration, the membership reminded their new president of the matter of campus office space for the organization, an issue that they had been pressing since its inception in 1968. He informed them that he had renewed the request a number of times but was told that no space was available. A discussion took place in which it was pointed out that the BSU had developed over the years into a major campus organization with many activities and was now even presiding in an important campus-wide event. Other student groups had been given offices even after the BSU had been turned down—but their own organization had no headquarters for its activities or files. It was decided that a delegation would see the President of the University in the morning. They were again told that there was no space and were referred to the ASUN President. The latter said that he had been doing his best for months to find the BSU a campus office. He then called a number of persons in the administration who reiterated that there was no office space. It was at that point that the Black students made a spontaneous and fateful decision. They occupied the office of the ASUN Vice-President of Activities and announced that they would not leave "until the ASUN or the University came up with a comparable one."[151] Negotiations went on during the day between the presidents of the BSU, the ASUN and the University, and it was finally decided that the BSU could use the office for one week while attempts were made to find them another. The Black students continued their planning for the Homecoming Dance that night and for the other events scheduled on the weekend. The *Sagebrush* announced with apparent approval, "BSU Wins an Office."[152]

During the week, two alternate solutions were proposed by the ASUN: the Center for Religion and Life had offered the temporary use of an office, and there was a bare storage space in the basement of an abandoned building that could be refurbished for them and other ethnic organizations. Both proposals were rejected on the grounds that the Center office was off-campus and the basement space was totally unusable without extensive renovation which would take many weeks. Looking back on this situation some months later, the President of the BSU commented, "We felt that we were just being put in a corner to keep us quiet." He also summarized the Black student position as follows:

> Blacks were not in any legislative bodies, they were not in any judicial councils, they were not in any policy-making committees at all. Blacks are in no fraternities, there are no Black faculty members to speak of on this campus, there is no place where Blacks or ethnic people can go and call their own . . . . So it boiled down to . . . the social, economical and political conditions of the campus that decided to make us be so stubborn in keeping the office, because the office is really irrelevant. We can always get an office somewhere. But the mere fact of having an office in the ASUN and on this University symbolized to many Blacks that they are part of the University whether the University liked it or not.[153]

Toward the end of the week there were indications that a compromise solution might be found. Some of the Black students felt that they had made their point and that they should now vacate the office and rely on the assurances of the ASUN that an adequate office would be found for them. The President of the University had taken the position that he would not intervene in the matter until the students had left the occupied office, and set a deadline of five o'clock on Thursday, at which time he would call for eviction. Though he had often been the most convenient target of their anger, the students admired and trusted this man. There can be little doubt in the minds of those who were close to these events that the Black students were preparing to honor the deadline, though some among them were opposed to doing so. The incident had aroused considerable support from students and faculty. But, at the same time, there was a strong reaction from another sector of students who were outraged by the action of the Blacks. On the night before the deadline, the ASUN Senate held its regular meeting which turned into what the *Sagebrush* described as a confrontation between "two factions":

> The issue was the BSU's take-over of [an ASUN] office. The Blacks were there for the defense. On the other side were students from the College of Agriculture, Sundowners and a number of fraternity men . . . . Rather than drag out such overused and abused terms as conservative and liberal, it is best to view the two factions as: Black, lower-middle-class, metropolitan America: and, White, upper-middle-class, rural America.[154]

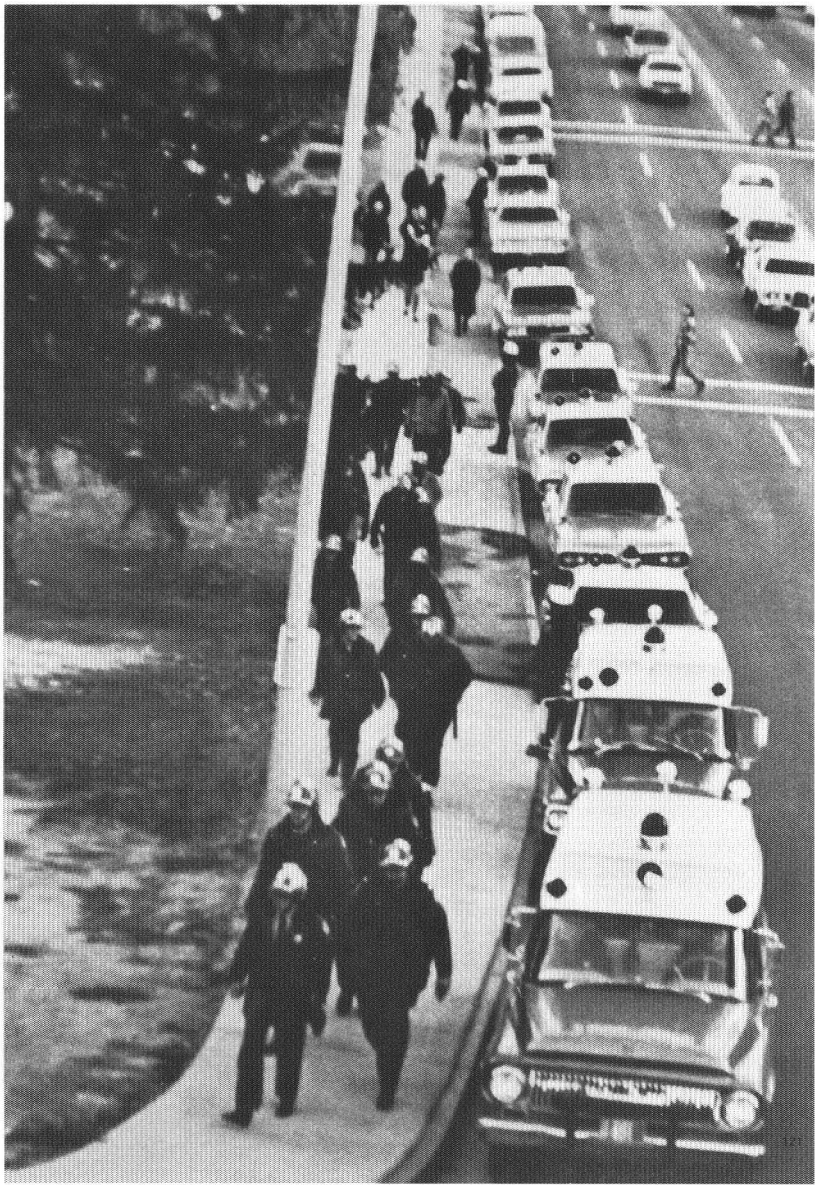
The President of the Sundowners (an unrecognized organization) was quoted as stating, "We are concerned that one small minority can come in and take over the campus . . . the administration keeps backing down and they have for years . . . the legislature cut us back last year and now we could get more cuts." However, the *Sagebrush* commentator was partisan. He wrote:

> The blacks' defense was simply stated. They admitted their action was illegal, but believed it was morally right. Their logic is complex—based on almost 150 years of slavery and almost 100 of discrimination.
>
> Nevada is naive, and so is anyone who claims there is no racism or discrimination in this state. Ask any man with long hair, an Indian, or a drunk on Commercial Row.
>
> It wasn't racism that met face to face at the Senate Wednesday night; it was naivete. The Ag students, the Sundowners, the fraternity men were so sure the world they live in is the only one in Nevada, that they knew the blacks were wrong.
>
> But the blacks know the life they lead is real. And they had to prove it. The challenge and threats made Wednesday night left them no choice . . . the office was no longer the issue . . . .[155]

Though the writer had neglected to mention the hundreds of other white students and faculty (including himself and most of the *Sagebrush* staff) who were either in full support of the Black student demands or actively seeking constructive solutions, he nevertheless correctly recognized that an intense polarization of forces had taken place that night and that responsibility for disruption of the meeting lay with a contingent of white students who were not interested in compromise with any protesting minority group. A representative of this faction appeared on a local television program that same night and threatened violence against the Black students. The Chairman of the Human Relations Commission later attested that it was these specific provocations which caused the Black students to stiffen their position from one of compromise to one of recalcitrant passive resistance.[156] The more moderate leadership was quickly replaced by those who called for continued confrontation.

The deadline came the following evening and a number of Black students barricaded themselves in the occupied office. A string of paddy wagons was parked outside the ASUN building and about forty-five police from the University Police Department, the Reno Police Department, and the Washoe County Sheriff's office assembled. Hundreds of students pushed at the doors of the building attempting to participate in the event—some to defend the Black students, others threatening to evict them. A few faculty and students—later commended for preventing a potential riot—blocked the doors against the angry throng. The University President, surrounded by a group of other administrators, then stood before the barricaded office and read the Nevada Revised Statute which declares it a misdemeanor for any persons to commit an act on public grounds which interferes with the activities normally carried out there, and to refuse to leave upon request of the proper official. When there was no response from within the office, the police forced the door against the resistance of the occupants. Spray from a fire extinguisher within was met by police mace. Once the door was breeched, sixteen Black students (most of them well-known campus athletes) yielded peaceably and were escorted to the waiting vans. A few hours later, all of them were out on bail due to the efforts of a number of faculty, students and community organizations. They were immediately placed on suspension by the President of the University, pending the recommendations of a general hearing panel. While these events were taking place, a similar incident occurred on the new Las Vegas campus of the University where Black students were defending a student body election for senate seats in which most of their candidates had won. They physically took over the subsequent hearing, removed the presiding judges, and declared the election valid. No violence occurred, no charges were filed, and the matter was resolved through discussion.[157]

On the Reno campus, however, a mood of bitterness prevailed. There were those, both on campus and in the community, who felt that the University ad-



In October 1971, the Black Student Union (BSU) occupied the office of the ASUN Vice-President of Activities and announced that they would not leave until the ASUN or the University came up with a comparable office for their organization. A string of paddy wagons was parked outside the ASUN building and about forty-five police from the University Police Department, the Reno Police Department, and the Washoe County Sheriff's office assembled. *(Artemesia 1972 [Reno Associated Students of the University of Nevada, 1972])*

ministration had not acted quickly and forcefully enough. There were others who deeply resented the fact that outside police had been called in and felt that the incident had been diverted from a positive solution by deliberate provocation. The latter view was expressed by a member of the staff of the student newspaper who wrote something of an epitaph for the affair:

> And so a molehill has been turned into a mountain on this campus. A simple request for office space by a legitimate ASUN-sponsored organization has mushroomed into a 1984 scene complete with mace, raised nightsticks and a surrounded building . . . . It appears that the UNR high-rollers are going back to the old days (they wish). You know, if you're a white student you might be right. If you're a brown student you can stick around, and if you're black get back—all the way back . . . .
>
> What began at 6:10 p.m. Thursday, Oct. 28, when police tossed mace into the ASUN office is far from over, baby. The molehill has become a mountain. The only way you can knock it down is to return UNR to its one-time lily-white status.
>
> Ah, the good old days. When students swallowed goldfish and occasionally had a harmless little panty raid on the girls' dorm . . . .
>
> Welcome to the 1970's, welcome to reality.
>
> UNR will never be the same.[158]

True, the University was not to be the same, but not in terms of these dark portents of deepening agitation. In a few weeks the incident was over and was being rapidly forgotten. It may well mark the end of the momentum of minority civil rights struggle which had begun at the University in the early 1960's. In what appears to be its last protest action and programmatic statement, the Black Student Union picketed the University President's office and presented a list of six demands on the day after the arrest. Except for one, they were the desperately time-worn and scarcely heeded demands of the past five or more years: drop the suspensions and charges against thirteen Black students; equal representation for Black students on decision-making boards; develop ethnic studies courses; hire Black faculty; give the BSU office space on campus; and provide special admissions requirements for Black students "with inadequate educational backgrounds and environmental conditioning."[159] The President of the BSU took pains to point out that the demands were "negotiable," and the President of the University commented that he would be happy to meet with BSU representatives when they obtained an appointment with him.

The institution had coalesced its power against the troublesome students. BSU funds were frozen by the Associated Student Finance Control Board. The suspended students were unable to receive their regular scholarships or grants. Athletic participation and awards were withheld. The students faced University charges and possible expulsion as well as a civil charge by the state. General student interest or involvement in the matter seemed to have vanished overnight. A small group of students, faculty, and community representatives met and created a Black Student Support Committee for the purpose of raising funds for those who had become destitute, and for legal aid.[160] There was, however, little positive response from the University community. Many felt

that the Black students had gone too far and that full legal procedure must now be carried out. Others expressed deep resentment over the BSU action and the charges of racism directed to the University. They felt the students were getting what they deserved. Activist coalitions such as the United Student Alliance and the Ethnic Alliance, so much in evidence the previous year, had disappeared from the scene and the other ethnic groups on campus had become silent.

Within the BSU itself there was the recognition that the initiative had been lost. Those students who had favored a tactic of militant demonstration (such as the first sit-in of October 21) to be followed by progressive compromise were critical of the fact that leadership had been usurped by three or four flamboyant personalities whom they considered to be irresponsible and opportunistic. As the tensions increased during the week preceding the deadline of October 28, and especially after the Student Senate meeting of October 27 when Black students felt that violence was being organized against them, the more vociferous voices prevailed. Until the last moment, when police forced the door of the occupied office, differences in strategy were being discussed. But in the interests of unity and pride most of those present remained to be arrested. Among those who had attempted to pursue alternate strategies was the President of the BSU who later resigned and made the following prudent comments:

> Looking back, I can only say that our greatest difficulty in those hours was organization . . . a lot of things didn't fall through—or maybe they could have, if there were organizations behind us . . . . We hadn't had experience . . . the community was ready, but we missed a chance of really mobilizing them because of inexperience. And that only goes back to Black faculty direction on this campus for us. If we would've had a Black faculty . . . we probably wouldn't have been in this situation.[161]

A Beleaguered University President

During the period of student suspensions of many of its members, the BSU attempted to regain its earlier initiative and to solicit support from outside the University. Some funds were raised from Black community organizations in Reno as well as from BSU groups in Las Vegas and California, and the University received numerous communications on their behalf. But these efforts were not sufficient to counter the mood of exasperation and withdrawal on the campus or the determination on the part of many in the white community to see that the Black students were punished. There were calls for civil action against the students and the University administration was criticized for not having brought criminal charges.[162] Few tolerant or reasonable voices were heard and the general attitude of the dominant sector of the community was one of antipathy and impatience toward the University. Notable exceptions, however, were expressed in two local newspapers. One editor suggested that though "there is no question that the blacks were in violation [of university rules] . . .

despite the illegality of the 'occupation' it cannot, in itself be considered a terribly grave offense."[163] Another editor was of the opinion that the suspended students should be reinstated on campus pending their trial. He wrote:

> There is little point—or justice—in holding them guilty until such time as they could prove innocence, which would be the practical effect of continuing the suspension at this moment . . . . Considering the circumstances, this newspaper would suggest that those on campus who would administer justice do so with genuine understanding.
>
> Thus we would suggest they temper their judgment with restraint and put the students on probation but not withdraw the students' grants, scholarships, athletic or general student status and benefits. This would mean the students could continue their efforts, because of a spirit of understanding by their fellows . . . the endless energies of wrangling with bureaucratic hearing efforts would be avoided. We'd like to see those concerned, white and black, then devote their energies to the problems at hand, especially dealing with Black Student Union complaints . . . does it seem improper to consider using university facilities, such as office space, to get at the ethnic problems that continue to cause such division and turmoil to all our people? We think not. And we suggest that those who control facilities provide space for this effort . . . . And the establishment, white in this instance, must extend a hand to these challenging blacks and encourage cooperation in solving the common problems. Out of strife must come progress. The alternative is anguish—for all.[164]

Had such rare and intelligent views prevailed in the community, it is possible that the events of late October would not have occurred as they did and that the University would not then be faced with the confusion, indecision and new crises which followed. The University President did, in fact, lift the suspension of most of the students a few days later on recommendation of the General Hearing Committee. But on the campus, the basic issues which had provoked the confrontation had become lost in the general student weariness of the affair and the disagreements over hearing procedure. There was, apparently, but one organized group on campus prepared to keep these issues before the administration. As the pressures upon the University intensified, the President appealed to the Human Relations Commission to plan immediately "for a program to meet the pressing needs in the area of human relations on this campus." The Commission responded pointedly by reminding the President that many specific programs had already been recommended to him in the past and little had been done by the administration to implement them.[165] It called upon him to meet with the Commission as soon as possible to discuss implementation of the following "past recommendations": (1) establishment of an International House for use by minority students; (2) modifications in University admissions procedures; (3) establishment of an Ethnic Studies Program; and (4) recruitment of Black faculty members. In addition, they made a number of urgent recommendations: that there be Black representation on the hearing panel for the case of the charged students; that the President investigate the alleged refusal of the athletic department to let these students play or practice with their respective teams; and that the Faculty Senate be requested to institute an immediate investigation of the recruiting procedures for athletes, spe-

cifically Black athletes.[166]

But the anticipated meeting with the President did not take place because of an emerging confrontation between him and the Board of Regents. There had been continuing criticism of his policies by some members of the Board (particularly with regard to his supposed leniency with student activists) and a movement developed to oust him. At the Regents' meeting in mid-November there was a discussion about the possibility of requesting his resignation or assigning him to serve in some other capacity within the University.[167] A few days later, the President submitted a letter of resignation. There was an immediate outcry from the campus and in a series of large rallies students and faculty expressed their support for the President and demanded that the Regents reject the resignation. The President of the Associated Students urged a campus assembly to work for the election of new Regents with reference to their stand on this matter.[168] Thousands of letters and petitions were sent to the Board.

As a result of this extraordinary mobilization of campus concern the Board hastily convened a special meeting at the end of the week. Testimony on the President's behalf was heard from a number of student and faculty leaders, including the President of the Black Student Union. By a vote of eight-to-two the Regents then voted to reject the resignation and to express a vote of confidence. The University President withdrew his resignation and returned to the campus.[169] It was a signal victory for the man who in 1969 — in the midst of nation-wide student demonstrations — had received a degree of fame for being the University President whose students had honored him in a special day of appreciation.[170] It was also a victory for the University as a whole, for it had weathered a period of undermining disapprobation from important forces in the state that wished to impose strict controls over policy and personnel.

But this and other events of the early 1970's also manifested the accumulating contradictions that were facing the University as an institution of higher learning and as part of a particular community. On the one hand it seemed to make little difference to its critics that the University had survived a decade or more of profound national discord and reassessment without experiencing any serious disturbances of its own. Nor did they appear to comprehend that this relative tranquility was not achieved by the repressive measures which many eagerly hoped would be instituted, but rather by the process of open discourse and advocacy generally encouraged by a perceptive university president and those faculty and students committed to necessary change. The kind of reactionary use of force and power which the former elements frequently urged upon the University administration came close to precipitating the desperately destructive crises so familiar on campuses elsewhere in the country. On the other hand, what was really needed at the time was a cooperative determination on the part of various levels of University administration and faculty to implement effectively the new programs and policies which had been projected

by federal civil rights legislation and actively promoted by student and faculty groups for the better part of a decade. Unfortunately, such a determination did not obtain and potentially ameliorative programs often were adopted cynically and administered reluctantly.

By the end of 1971 these ambivalent factors had left the University in a state of moral bankruptcy with regard to its numerous unfulfilled commitments to minority students and its apparent inability to make a meaningful reassessment of priorities. This bankruptcy was also inevitably reflected in the discomfited reaction of many well-meaning "liberals" to the ugly consequences of the unexpected crisis of October. Some felt they had been "betrayed" by the Black students who, on the one hand, had solicited their willing support and, on the other hand, had excluded and derided them as exploitable members of the white establishment. This became particularly the case when, in defeat and disillusionment, a few of the Black students expressed the bankruptcy of their own situation by engaging in bizarre and cynical acts which they referred to as ripping-off Whitey. It involved the borrowing of large sums of money from sympathetic persons on the pretext of contributing to a BSU relief fund, or of meeting some personal crisis that did not exist. It involved purposeful misuse of University property, shouting intimidating epithets at those who complained, or threatening reprisals from mysterious outside agencies. There were also indications of dissension in the ranks of the Black Student Union because of self-serving behavior of these same individuals, which contributed to the sense of disorganization and pessimism. Many whites recoiled in bitter dismay and, losing sight of the actual plight of the majority of Black students on campus and the unresolved issues that had brought about this state of affairs, they rationalized their withdrawal from responsible action as a principled answer to "hooliganism." Consequently, at the very moment when there was the greatest need for concerted pressure on the administration to implement long-delayed programs and give high priority to minority student demands, polarization became extreme and the eighty-six Black students on campus constituted more than ever an insular and alien group within a University population of over seven thousand white middle-class Americans.

The real issue was not whether the Black students had been wrong in refusing to vacate an office, or that a very few of them were resorting to acts of chicanery, or that the Black Student Union was in pitiful disarray. The real issue was the failure of the University to deal sincerely and effectively with the problems of ethnic minorities that had been brought continuously to its attention for many years. The lack of understanding of the serious nature of these problems or of their deep significance with regard to the integrity of an educational institution made for patronization and malingering in relations with minority spokesmen. Bewilderment, irritation and, frequently, fear were aroused by the unfamiliar style of behavior of Blacks and other minorities who doggedly pursued issues that seemed less than consequential from the point of

view of busy administrators and faculty carrying out traditional institutional roles. When such matters became difficult to ignore, superficial concessions were made (in much the same way as had been done with compliance with federal government civil rights programs). This process could only be corrupting, and it led to a condition where the actual issues could be disregarded as long as the most aggressive individuals were placated. Among the Black students, at least, it led eventually to the encouragement of opportunism among a few individuals who purported to speak for the group as a whole and even came to dominate the more program-oriented leadership.

Interestingly enough, one must turn to the student newspaper to find incisive comment about historical events on campus and, in this case, for an uncomplicated analysis of the above phenomenon. A few days after the arrest of the Black students the editor of the *Sagebrush* demanded to know why the University had not provided an office to the Black Student Union, though this request had been made repeatedly since the organization was formed in 1968, and though other similar organizations held offices. He went on to state:

> It is clear the administration does allow special interest groups to use university facilities, and the ASUN could have reassigned one of the vacated offices to the blacks.
>
> Why the ASUN hasn't taken such action is a difficult question to answer. Possibly student leaders have felt other considerations were of higher priority. But it is clear why the administration hasn't taken action.
>
> It has been too busy trying to buy off the blacks. The administration has been fond of granting special privileges to individual blacks—in hopes they wouldn't cause trouble .... The administration has been busy handing out candy with one hand and pushing the real issues under the carpet with the other. Last Thursday's confrontation is the result of their hypocrisy.
>
> Well, the issues are still here. And the administration had damn well better meet them ....[171]

This admonishment was obviously directed to the President of the University as well as to other officials and the student government. He had been severely criticized by some of his strongest supporters for calling in the police to evict the protesting Black students. It was pointed out that he had refused to take part in the discussions during the week prior to the confrontation, but instead had referred the entire matter to the ASUN. This was a reversal of his long standing policy of direct involvement and negotiation and many believed that his intervention during that period would have avoided the ensuing crisis. Moreover, he had immediately suspended the arrested students on his own initiative prior to any hearing of charges, and it was not until many days later that most of the suspensions were lifted at the urging of the student-faculty Hearing Committee. He nevertheless maintained the suspensions of three of the students whom he accused of violating his order that they refrain from activities on campus.

There can be little doubt that the President's actions at the time were affected by the clamor in the community for punitive retaliation against the stu-

dents, and that his decision to resign was motivated by the conflicting demands imposed upon him from the campus and the community. Nor can there be any doubt that he was shocked and angered by the charges of "racism" that were being hurled at him by Black students and their supporters. He believed that he had been foremost among those sympathetic to their interests until they had forced his hand by an illegal sit-in, and that now a crisis had been precipitated from which he could not extricate himself without either doing violence to his principles or challenging the powerful forces in the community seeking his removal. Though he had already received the Hearing Committee's recommendations concerning the charges against the Black students, he did not release his own decision until after the Regents rejected his resignation. Apparently the Committee had recommended leniency, and the state Deputy Attorney General representing the University administration in the case was even quoted as saying, "I would hate to see any severe sanctions imposed. They [the students] did commit an unlawful act. I do not condone that. But they did it for what they considered to be a noble purpose."[172]

The President's delay in releasing his final disposition of the matter was interpreted by some as evidencing a lack of courage, and by others as a necessary strategy in view of the opposition he faced in the Board of Regents. On the day after his successful confrontation with the Regents he placed twelve of the Black students on disciplinary probation and suspended two for the balance of the semester.[173] Though the actual recommendations of the student-faculty Hearing Committee were not made public, it was generally believed that the President's decision was more stringent than that suggested by the Committee. The Black students, in particular, felt that their interests had been sacrificed to the requirements of expediency, and, though they had temporarily suspended all attacks against him and had come to his defense before the Board of Regents, he had penalized them without making any public reference to the legitimacy of the issues which had provoked the situation. He, too, it seems had been caught in the liberal dilemma resulting from the making of numerous personal commitments to petitioning minority students, but without the forceful (and, sometimes, partisan) leadership necessary to translate those commitments into concrete results in the institution over which he presided. His policy of delegation of authority to committees and boards, commendable as it was, could only work effectively if he himself backed their decisions with vigor.

This vigor was generally lacking where institutional resistance was expressed against the fundamental changes in policy and procedure frequently suggested by those agencies concerned with minority problems. The continuous efforts and complaints of the Human Relations Commission, an organization which he initiated, offers a case in point (see above). Whether the kind of leadership required for dynamic and constructive change is possible at a university such as that of Reno, Nevada, in these times is a question that cannot be answered now. It was difficult enough to hold a President who came nearer to meeting

those requirements than any other before or since. When he left the University the following year, to take a more favorable position, the institution was a quite different place than when he had joined it. Many important advances were achieved during that period, some due to the quality of his role and others to general developments occurring in the society as a whole. But the University was far from an internal resolution of the problems which had dominated the social consciousness of the nation for the past two or more decades.

Epilogue for a Decade

At the end of the decade of the 1960's the *Sagebrush* had editorialized an eloquent hope that the 1970's would usher in an era free of war, political corruption, pollution and racism—an era in which youth, tempered in the crucible of the '60's, would repair the damage done by preceding generations. It concluded with the surmise that perhaps a college newspaper of the 1970's would not need to banner minority issues "to mark where it's been" (see note 85, above). But the events of the next two years—in the nation as well as at the University of Nevada—were unpromising for prospects of world renewal. At the end of 1971, the *Sagebrush* ran an eleven page supplement entitled "Perspective: Black—an in-depth report," which valiantly attempted to summarize the local and national problems of this minority group. The editors terminated the year by the following remarks:

> The biggest problem confronting the United States, the State of Nevada and the University of Nevada is not pollution, the Vietnam War or communism.
>
> Nor is it space exploration, unemployment or foreign aid.
>
> The problem of problems, the dividing line between two societies within a society is school busing, housing discrimination, 14 students seizing an office and waiting to be arrested.
>
> The problem, in short, is racism.
>
> The answer is much longer and woefully incomplete.[174]

In this simple, uncompromising declaration, the young editors of the UNR student newspaper, in the Fall of 1971, attempted to define the crucial social problem of their university and their society. In so doing, they underscored the legacy of the 1960's, a decade which had placed an immeasurable distance between them and their counterparts of the "Little Waldorf" episode of 1963. They also reflected a dominant theme of social criticism in American society throughout its history which recognizes the fundamental contradictions in a nation born in anti-colonial revolution but emerging to full statehood through the exploitation of the labor of African slaves and the ruthless subjugation of the Native American peoples. The legacy of such a history has not been obliterated by a Civil War, an Emancipation Proclamation, an Indian Claims Commission or two recent decades of a civil rights movement. Racism is a part of that legacy and, like other social problems such as chronic unemployment,

periodic economic depression, corruption in high office, control of national policy by powerful vested interests, or war, it is a symptom of a profound disorder in the very structure of society itself.

During the 1950's and 1960's millions of Americans were aroused to concerted action on behalf of civil rights reform. The magnitude of this movement and the sense of urgency throughout the nation were unprecedented, excepting perhaps for the popular uprisings culminating in the Revolutionary War and the anti-slavery movement of the mid-nineteenth century. Surely at no time, in more than one hundred years, has this nation faced so profound a moral and political crisis fomented by the desperate dissatisfaction of its own people. At no time have so many Americans examined themselves and their social system with such unrelenting clarity, or made such uncompromising demands for change. Enormous gains were made in the public consciousness about the nature of inherent social evils that so long had been taken for granted, and the federal government was forced to respond to this new awareness by legislation which will provide constructive weapons of change for generations to come.

But despite the magnitude of these events, they are already receding into the historical past, and the mood of public outrage which brought them about is rapidly turning to anxious insecurity and apathy. Increasing unemployment, inflation, and the re-emergence of conservative political forces determined to reverse the trend of social reform have created the prelude to a new era in the 1970's. The transition has been sudden and pervasive. The withdrawal from commitment is like the silent retreat of an army in the night. Hopes and goals that seemed so close to realization but a few years ago are dimmed as the most powerful forces of the society are coalesced to divert them.

In 1971, the brief statement of the editors of the *Sagebrush* caught a glimpse of this reality. They gave recognition to the fact that racism is the most glaring expression of disorder in American society, a problem which exposes in the sharpest light the inequities of social life and corollary contradictions in the social system itself. They also recognized that events taking place at their university represented a microcosm of conditions in the nation as a whole. Fourteen Black students in a university population of many thousands of whites had precipitated a crisis that struck at the roots of complacency and delusion. The intellectual community of the University had proved to be no more capable of a clear assessment of the issues than its national counterparts. These issues had been raised continually for more than a decade by ethnic minority peoples and their supporters. But the response of the institution was lethargic and resistant in the face of the perplexing demands for change. Words and promises were offered liberally, while concrete results were minimal.

In such a setting frustration becomes intense and acts of desperation are inevitable. Thus a few Black students chose to dramatize their situation by a relatively peaceful and symbolic act of rebellion. The reaction of the Univer-

sity and the local community in this case was swift and decisive. Within weeks, the issues of the 1960's had faded into the background, and excepting for the continuing pressure of new civil rights legislation, the University and the community had effectively insulated themselves from their local dissidents. In the mid-1970's the return to "normalcy" is all but complete. There remains, however, the disturbing legacy of the 1960's in the form of the distant and impersonal legislation of the federal government which must be coped with in one way or another. The basic problems are unresolved and, in this sense, the apparent quiescence of the 1970's represents an uneasy truce.

NOTES

[1]All figures with regard to ethnic minority student enrollment and continuation cited in these pages are taken from the detailed tabulations on pages 83-115 of the 1990 reprinting of the original research report — "American Indian and Black Students at the University of Nevada, Reno: 1874-1974" by Warren L. d'Azevedo. This report and the relevant research documents are deposited in the University of Nevada Archives, Getchell Library, Reno, Nevada. (Reference: AC 221.)

[2]Elmer R. Rusco, *Minority Groups in Nevada*, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Nevada, Reno, 1966.

[3]The conditions of urban life for Indian people in the Reno area during the 1950's are graphically described in the memoirs of a socially conscious participant observer of the period. Miserable housing, contaminated water, disease and unemployment were accompanied by intolerance and police brutality on the part of the local community. (See Clyde H. Mathews Jr., Oral Autobiography of a Modern-Day Baptist Minister, UNR Oral History Project, 1969, pp. 57-127.)

[4]Report of the Nevada Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, March, 1963; and, Report of the Nevada Commission on Equal Rights of Citizens to Governor Grant Sawyer and the 1965 Session of the Nevada Legislature, 1965.

[5]For a detailed discussion of the history of public accommodations legislation in Nevada, see Joseph N. Crowley, "Race and Residence: The Politics of Open Housing in Nevada," in Eleanor Bushnell (ed.), *Sagebrush and Neon: Studies in Nevada Politics*, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Nevada, Reno, 1973, pp. 55-74.

[6]Nevada Commission on Equal Rights, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[7]*Ibid.*, pp. 1-4, 9-11 (see also Appendix A); Nevada Advisory Committee, March 1963, pp. 3-6.

[8]Nevada Commission on Equal Rights, *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14; Nevada Advisory Committee, *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

[9]Student research report. (UNR Archives, AC 397).

[10]Nevada Advisory Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[12]Nevada Commission on Equal Rights, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[13]Nevada Statutes 1867, Chap. 52, Sect. 50; See also Elmer Rusco, "Race and the Nevada Legislature, 1860-1970" (unpublished MS, 1971), pp. 20-23. Throughout the 1860's groups of Black citizens of Virginia City and other towns, spurred by the Emancipation Proclamation, the passage of the 1866 Civil Rights Act by Congress, as well as the ratification of new constitutional amendments, petitioned the Nevada Legislature for legal equality. In 1865 they formed the Nevada Executive Committee which demanded that state laws be altered to give Blacks the right of suffrage, equal rights before the law and access to public school education. In 1867 the Black citizens of Carson City built a school for local Black children and initiated a legal attack on the Nevada school law. Against strong opposition from the white community and the legislature, the state supreme court invalidated the discriminatory Nevada school law as unconstitutional in 1872, some years before California integrated its schools. Blacks could not vote in Nevada until the election of 1870. (See the excellent historical account of this period in Elmer R. Rusco, *Good Time Coming?: Black Nevadans in the Nineteenth Century*, Greenwood Press, Westport/ London, 1975.)

[14]Thompson and West, *History of Nevada*, 1881 (Reproduction), Howell-North, Berkeley, California, 1958, p. 230.

[15]Elmer R. Rusco, "The Status of Indians in Nevada Law," in *Native American Politics*, by Ruth M. Houghton (ed.), Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Nevada, Reno, 1973, p. 74.

[16]Rusco, "Race and the Nevada Legislature," *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 126-128.

[17]Rusco, "The Status of Indians in Nevada Law," *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75.

[18]State Department of Education, *Indian Integration in Nevada Public Schools*, Carson City, Nevada, 1966, pp. 3-4.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 8. See also observations of the treatment of Indian school children and the prevalent white attitudes about them during this period in Clyde H. Mathews Jr., "Oral Autobiography...,"

UNR Oral History Project, 1969, pp. 72-76.

There were no Indian or Black schoolteachers employed in the area at the time. An interesting note on the difficulty of placing the first Black teacher in Washoe County (a graduate of the University of Nevada in the early 1950's) is provided by the memoirs of a prominent Nevada educator. She is referred to only as "the girl" in the account, and only after lengthy efforts was employment finally found for her. (See Earl Wooster, Memories of a Nevada Educator, UNR Oral History project, 1966, pp. 76-78.)

[20]*Nevada State Journal*, August 20, 1965; August 21, 1965; August 22, 1965; September 15, 1965.

[21]See the two reports published by the Nevada Department of Education, Fall, 1974: Nevada Public School District Equal Employment Opportunity Survey; and, Nevada Elementary and Secondary Civil Rights Survey.

[22]Apparently such data were not regularly compiled by the department, though figures on total Indian graduates from the eighth and twelfth grades occasionally appear in the Annual Reports of the Nevada Indian Education Division. If these may be taken as accurate tabulations, the total number of Indian students graduated from the twelfth grade from all the Nevada school districts in the 1950's and 1960's averaged about thirty in each reported year, with fifty reported in 1964-65. According to department sources such figures have not been compiled in recent years. Note, for example, that in the recent report of minority student enrollment prepared by the Washoe County School District no comparative graduation figures are provided ("Attendance of Minority Students at Schools in Reno and Sparks," Research and Development Department, Washoe County School District, April 1973).

[23]Personal communication—Mr. H. Steffens, Nevada Department of Education, 1975.

[24]Nevada Statutes 1865, Chap. 102, Sect. 5; See also Rusco, "Race and the Nevada Legislature," *op cit.*, p. 30.

[25]It is possible that other Indian students did attend during this period, but the compilers of this report have been unable to discover any additional persons. There is at least one indication that in the 1920's the University of Nevada had responded to appeals in this regard. In a report of 1922 the Superintendent of the Reno Indian Agency commented in passing that the University "has offered special privileges to all Indians graduated from high school . . ." but there is no indication in this or later reports of how many might have taken advantage of this offer. (See Report of Superintendent James E. Jenkins, Reno Indian Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 10, 1922, Circular 1919, Industrial 5-year Program, p. 12.)

[26]*Sagebrush*, September 9, 1920.

[27]*Artemisia*, 1922, p. 269.

[28]*Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 9-11.

[29]*Sagebrush*, May 15, 1924, p. 8.

[30]*Artemisia*, 1931, pp. 121, 212.

[31]*Ibid.*, 1943, pp. 119, 158-161.

[32]*Forum II*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1969, pp. 5-7, 13. For an extensive first-hand account of Black athletes at the University prior to 1960 and a description of some of their problems, see "Glenn J. Lawlor, Oral Autobiography of an Iowa Native: With a Close-up View of Nevada Athletics, 1926-1971," UNR Oral History Project, 1971, pp. 206-228.

[33]For a detailed first-hand account of this incident, see autobiography of Glenn J. Lawlor, above, *Ibid.*, pp. 212-215.

[34]*Artemisia*, 1957, pp. 146, 154.

[35]*Ibid.*, 1958, pp. 216-217.

[36]*Ibid.*, 1960, p. 179.

[37]*Ibid.*, 1962, p. 270.

[38]Student Research Report. (UNR Archives, AC 397.)

[39]Nevada Advisory Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[40]*Sagebrush*, March 4, 1960; March 11, 1960.

[41]*Ibid.*, April 7, 1962; April 14, 1962; April 17, 1962.

[42]*Ibid.*, April 27, 1962.

[43]*Ibid.*, February 12, 1963.

[44]*Ibid.*, September 21, 1962 (see also issues of September 25 and September 28).

[45]*Ibid.*, February 1, 1963, p. 6.

[46]*Ibid.*, February 22, 1963, p. 1.

[47]*Ibid.*, Editorial, same issue.

[48]*Ibid.*, February 26, 1963, pp. 1-2.

[49]*Ibid.*, March 1, 1963, p. 2; March 5, 1963, p. 1; March 8, 1963, p. 1.

[50]*Ibid.* (See also February 26, "Editor's Note.")

[51]*Ibid.*, March 19, 1963, p. 1; March 22, 1963, p. 1.

[52]*Ibid.*, September 27, 1963, p. 4; October 8, 1963, p. 1; February 4, 1964, p. 1.

[53]*Ibid.*, March 3, 1964, p. 1.

[54]*Inter-tribal Council of Nevada Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1964, pp. 1-2.

[55]*Sagebrush*, November 13, 1964, p. 6.

[56]*Ibid.*, March 2, 1965, p. 1; March 5, 1965, p. 2; March 9, 1965, p. 3; March 19, 1965, p. 8; March 30, 1965, p. 6; April 27, 1965, p. 2.

[57]*Ibid.*, September 20, 1966, p. 2.

[58]*Ibid.*, December 15, 1967, p. 1. (This group was known as "The Progressives," and the following year reconstituted itself as the Black Student Union.)

[59]*Ibid.*, June 22, 1967, p. 1.

[60]*Ibid.*, February 18, 1967, p. 10.

[61]*Ibid.*, February 27, 1968, p. 1.

[62]Student research report. (See UNR Archives, AC 397.)

[63]*Sagebrush*, February 27, 1968, p. 1; March 1, 1968, p. 1; March 3, 1968, p. 8.

[64]*Ibid.*, February 23, 1968, p. 3.

[65]*Ibid.*, March 1, 1968, p. 3. For complete text, see *Forum*, Spring 1968, and *Sagebrush* Supplement "Perspective Black," November 23, 1971, pp. 5, 11.

[66]*Sagebrush*, March 12, 1968, p. 2; March 15, 1968, p. 6.

[67]*Ibid.*, March 26, 1968, pp. 1-2; April 26, 1968, p. 6. In May 1968 dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of the Equal Rights Commission led to the formation of the Reno Race Relations Center by a former president of the local chapter of NAACP and a group of citizens in the community (See *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 21, 1968, p. 8).

[68]*Sagebrush*, March 18, 1968, p. 4.

[69]*Ibid.*, April 16, 1968, p. 2; April 23, 1968, p. 1; April 30, 1968, p. 7; December 17, 1968, p. 10. See also Human Relations Action Council "Statement of Purpose and Program Priorities," May 1, 1968.

[70]During this same month Black community leaders and others were calling for reappraisal of textbooks and the establishment of a civil rights division in the public school system (see *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 11, 1968, p. 8; April 15, 1968, p. 11; April 17, 1968, p. 4; April 23, 1968, p. 22; *Sagebrush*, April 16, 1968, p. 2; April 19, 1968, p. 1).

[71]*Nevada State Journal*, April 26, 1968; *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 26, 1968 and June 11, 1968; *Sagebrush*, April 30, 1968. (The refusal of the Governor to call a special session of the legislature to deal with racial discrimination aroused considerable controversy throughout the state: See *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 8, 1968; April 9, 1968, p. 4; April 17, 1968, pp. 1-2; April 18, 1968, p. 3.)

[72]*Sagebrush*, May 3, 1968. (The march through Reno was successful despite rigorous efforts of local officials to obstruct it. An officer of the State Employment Security Department warned participants that they might be faced with loss of benefits: *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 15, 1968, p. 33. The Reno-Sparks Poor People's March Committee was accused of attempting to "blackmail" Congress and of the misuse of funds: *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 10, 1968, p. 20. A request by the Committee to solicit funds in Reno was denied by the Mayor's Solicitation Advisory Committee led by the President of Sierra Pacific Power. This decision met with strong objections from the City Attorney and other community spokesmen: *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 15, 1968, pp. 1-2; May 16, 1968, pp. 1, 10; May 20, 1968, pp. 1-2; May 21, 1968, p. 8.)

[73]Though much of the pattern of Indian withdrawal from relations with other minorities may be attributed to an intense localism which often militates against their cooperation even with other Indian groups, the feeling toward Black Americans has been especially negative (as, in the West, it once was toward the Chinese who were despised and feared by the whites). Moreover, participation in the Poor People's March was avoided by most Nevada Indians not only because of the preponderance of Black involvement, but because of a reluctance to appear in the role of either supplicant or militant. The local Indian press ignored the March but, during the same

period, carried an angry article denouncing an Olympic committee decision not to allow the Indian runner Billy Mills to compete in the 5000 meter race because, the article stated, "he might win over a Negro runner." A general attitude was expressed in the following: "Just because Indians don't burn down cities, snipe at police, or mount a soapbox to spew his hatred for all whites 'all in the name of equality,' that doesn't mean he isn't aware of inequality. Too bad the Indians have long given up 'going on the warpath,' otherwise Billy Mills might have been given a fair shake." (*The Native Nevadan*, November 5, 1968, p. 1.)

[74]*Sagebrush*, March 21, 1969, p. 1; March 28, 1969, p. 1. (For reporter's copy of list and interview notes, see UNR Archives AC 92, AC 93.)

[75]*Sagebrush*, April 16, 1968, p. 2; May 3, 1968, p. 1; May 10, 1968, p. 1; *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 15, 1968, p. 20.

[76]*Forum*, Spring, 1968.

[77]*Sagebrush*, October 11, 1968, p. 1; October 15, 1968, p. 10; October 29, 1968, p. 8; November 5, 1968, p. 3.

[78]*Reno Evening Gazette*, June 10, 1968; October 1, 1968; and *Sagebrush*, October 1, 1968, p. 11; October 4, 1968, p. 1; October 8, 1968, p. 1.

[79]*Sagebrush*, September 20, 1968, p. 1; October 4, 1968, p. 11; November 19, 1968, p. 7. The constitutions of both organizations were approved by the ASUN in the Spring of 1969. The BSU applied for and received official recognition at that time, and the AIO in 1970. Other minority student organizations were formed during the next two years and received ASUN recognition on the following dates: Asian-American Alliance, October 1971; Chinese Student Association, January 1972; Latin American Student Organization (now MECHA), March 1973.

[80]*Sagebrush*, November 15, 1968, p. 2; December 10, 1968, p. 10; February 14, 1969, p. 3; March 11, 1969, p. 8.

[81]*Ibid.*, December 13, 1968, p. 3; December 16, 1968; February 25, 1969, p. 2; February 28, 1969, p. 9; March 11, 1969, p. 8.

[82]*Ibid.*, September 16, 1969, p. 8; September 19, 1969, p. 2.

[83]*Ibid.*, September 19, 1969, p. 1; September 23, 1969, p. 1.

[84]*Ibid.*, September 17, 1968, p. 10; September 20, 1968, pp. 1-2.

[85]"News Release" by Black Students' Union of the University of Nevada to *Reno Evening Gazette*, *Nevada State Journal*, KOLO TV-8, and United Press International, March 24, 1970.

[86]*Sagebrush*, March 31, 1970, p. 2.

[87]Memorandum, N. Edd Miller to Chancellor Neil D. Humphrey, May 23, 1969; Memorandum, N. Edd Miller to Deans, Directors and Department Chairmen, July 11, 1969.

[88]*Sagebrush*, July 22, 1969, pp. 6, 7.

[89]Otis V. Burrell, "Draft Interim Report and Proposal of the Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Nevada, Reno Campus," January 1972, pp. 20-24. (See also Appendix H of the report—i.e., John P. West to Dr. N. Edd Miller, President, May 22, 1970.)

[90]*Ibid.*, Appendix E.

[91]*Ibid.*, Appendices G, J, K.

[92]*Ibid.*, Appendix F.

[93]*Sagebrush*, December 19, 1969, pp. 1, 2.

[94]*Sagebrush Supplement*, "Perspective: Black," November 23, 1971, p. 1.

[95]*Sagebrush*, December 12, 1969, p. 5; January 6, 1970, pp. 1, 7; January 9, 1970, p. 5; February 27, 1970, p. 2.

[96]"Resolution of the American Indian Organization of the University of Nevada," Reno, December 2, 1970. (See "EOP Interim Report," January 1972, Appendix I, and *Sagebrush*, December 11, 1970, p. 3.)

[97]*Sagebrush*, June 24, 1969, p. 2; September 19, 1969, p. 3. (However, Talent Search—one of the potentially most effective recruitment programs on campus—was lost by the University in the Spring of 1970 due to the successful competition of a proposal submitted to the federal government by the Inter-tribal Council of Nevada.)

[98]A critical internal struggle with regard to BSU leadership and policy occurred early in the Spring semester of 1970. In February, a popular African student and athlete was elected president of the organization and immediately announced a program of coalition and conciliation in the pursuit of Black student goals at the University. "We are not a militant group," he stated, "and

we are not here to overthrow the school administration." (*Sagebrush*, February 27, 1970, p. 2.) He stressed a policy of increased political action and participation in ASUN affairs. Within weeks this policy resulted in the election of two Black members to the student senate, a successful bid for a much debated allocation of ASUN funds for a BSU-sponsored concert on campus, and BSU sponsorship of a coalition of a white and Black candidate for ASUN President and Vice President, respectively. These developments aroused vigorous criticism among the general student body involving accusations of BSU coercion and intimidation. (See *Sagebrush*, February 10, 1970, pp. 1, 3, 5; February 27, 1970, pp. 6, 7; March 6, pp. 2, 3.) The American Indian organization also took issue with aspects of the BSU program concerning student aid (*Ibid.*). Particularly significant, however, was the opposition from within the BSU itself by certain members who considered the new president too moderate. He was accused of being "too British" and "pro-white." Early in March he resigned stating that he would not be a "puppet president" and that he would not follow the more militant line urged upon him (*Sagebrush*, March 6, 1970, pp. 1, 8). A freshman student was elected chairman of the organization, and the leader of the opposition against the former president, a self-styled revolutionary and Black Panther, was appointed its "official spokesman."

[99]*Sagebrush*, February 3, 1970, pp. 1, 3.

[100]*Ibid.*, March 19, 1970, p. 3; March 31, 1970, p. 2.

[101]*Ibid.*, April 7, 1970, pp. 1, 2.

[102]*Ibid.*, March 13, 1970, p. 1.

[103]*Ibid.*, March 17, 1970, pp. 1, 3; March 19, 1970, p. 5.

[104]*Ibid.*, April 10, 1970, p. 1.

[105]*Ibid.*, April 17, 1970, p. 3.

[106]*Ibid.*, April 21, 1970, pp. 4-5.

[107]*Ibid.*, March 31, 1970, p. 2.

[108]*Ibid.*, April 3, 1970, pp. 1, 5. In March of the previous year the BSU had sponsored the campus appearance of John Carlos, an Olympic gold medalist, who had been dismissed from the Olympic team for raising his fist in a militant salute while receiving an Olympic award. Carlos urged UNR Black students to develop their program and leadership independent of whites and observed that the American flag "doesn't cover Blacks." (See *Sagebrush*, March 7, 1969, p. 8; March 11, 1969, p. 11.) Other visiting speakers on campus during the year were Julian Bond (see *Sagebrush*, November 25, 1969, p. 3), Franklin Williams, former Ambassador to Ghana (see *Sagebrush*, January 6, 1970, p. 6), St. Clair Drake, author and Director of the Ethnic Studies Program at Stanford University (see *Sagebrush*, January 13, 1970, p. 5).

[109]*Ibid.*, April 3, 1970, p. 4.

[110]*Ibid.*, April 8, 1970, pp. 2-3.

[111]*Ibid.*, April 17, 1970, p. 2.

[112]*Ibid.*, April 21, 1970, p. 3.

[113]*Ibid.*, April 24, 1970, p. 4.

[114]*Ibid.*, April 17, 1970, p. 2.

[115]*Ibid.*, April 24, 1970, pp. 1, 8.

[116]*Ibid.*, May 5, 1970, p. 1; May 7, 1970, p. 2; May 12, 1970, pp. 2, 3, 4; May 15, 1970, p. 1; May 18, 1970, p. 1; November 13, 1970, p. 8.

[117]*Ibid.*, May 15, 1970, p. 1; May 18, 1970; November 13, 1970, p. 8. Should there be any doubt that the mounting public attacks against this man were directed not only to his outspoken criticism of the Vietnam War but to his active involvement in civil rights issues, the reader is referred to the extensive newspaper comment of the period. As late as 1974 the committee to re-elect the incumbent Chief Justice of the Nevada Supreme Court ran a full page ad in which his opponent was denounced as the lawyer who had defended the dismissed professor and referred to him as "the darling of the leftist students at the University of Nevada . . . an anti-war orator and a legal defender of a black student faced with possible expulsion for alleged threats of violence to faculty members and fellow students" (see *Reno Evening Gazette*, November 4, 1974, p. 32).

[118]*Sagebrush*, September 25, 1970; and see, for example, the call for a public investigation of teaching policies and "brainwashing" of students at the University in the *Nevada State Journal*, October 16, 1970.

[119]*Sagebrush*, May 7, 1970, p. 1.

120*Ibid.*

121*Reno Evening Gazette*, June 25, 1970, pp. 1-2; *Nevada State Journal*, October 16, 1970; and *Sagebrush*, June 23, 1970, p. 1; September 25, 1970, p. 2; December 11, 1970, p. 1.

122*Reno Evening Gazette*, June 25, 1970, pp. 1-2; and *Sagebrush*, September 25, 1970, pp. 1-2; December 11, 1970, p. 1.

123*Sagebrush*, October 9, 1970, pp. 4-5.

124*Ibid.*, October 27, 1970, pp. 1, 2, 3.

125*Ibid.*, November 13, 1970, p. 8.

126*Ibid.*

127*Ibid.*, November 10, 1970, p. 1; November 13, 1970, p. 3.

128*Ibid.*, November 24, 1970, p. 1; December 11, 1970, p. 3.

129*Ibid.*, November 24, 1970, p. 1.

130*Ibid.*, November 30, 1970, p. 4.

131*Ibid.*, December 4, 1970, p. 2.

132*Ibid.*, December 15, 1970, p. 2.

133*Ibid.*, December 18, 1970, p. 1.

134*Ibid.*, April 27, 1973, p. 1. The implementation of this decision was blocked by a legal appeal on the part of the University administration. Two years later the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the previous court order for reinstatement of the professor, but at the same time ordered new testimony in the case. Thus litigation continues in a case involving fundamental issues of academic freedom at the University. (See *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 30, 1975, p. 2; *Sagebrush*, October 3, 1975, p. 2).

135See, for example, the *Sagebrush Supplement* of April 27, 1971, "The University: Where It Is," in which no reference is made to ethnic minority problems, the Governor's Day affair, or the subsequent faculty firing. The climate of confused defensiveness about these issues on campus is indicated to some degree by a report of the annual ASUNR Leadership Conference early in the Fall semester of 1970 (see *Sagebrush*, September 25, 1970, p. 6).

136*Sagebrush*, May 7, 1971, p. 3 ; May 14, 1971, p. 8; October 22, 1971, p. 1.

137*Ibid.*, October 8, 1971, p. 11; October 22, 1971, p. 1.

138*Ibid.*, October 19, 1971, p. 2.

139*Ibid.*, January 8, 1971, p. 1.

140Minutes of the UNR Human Relations Commission, December 8, 1970; December 17, 1970. (UNR Archives, AC 92).

141*Sagebrush*, February 9, 1971, p. 5; March 2, 1971, p. 8.

142Minutes of the UNR Human Relations Commission, February 4, 1971. (UNR Archives, AC 92).

143*Sagebrush*, April 16, 1971, p. 2.

144*Ibid.*, February 9, 1971, p. 4; February 16, 1971, p. 2.

145Minutes of the UNR Human Relations Commission, March 18, 1971. (UNR Archives, AC 92).

146*Sagebrush*, September 17, 1971, p. 4.

147*Ibid.*, September 24, 1971, p. 11.

148*Ibid.*, October 15, 1971, p. 3; UNR Oral History 1971-1972, "Black Student Union," UNR Oral History Project, p. 176.

149*Sagebrush*, October 8, 1971, p. 8; October 19, 1971, p. 3; October 22, 1971, p. 1.

150UNR Oral History 1971-1972. UNR Oral History Project, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

151*Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

152*Sagebrush*, October 22, 1971, p. 8.

153UNR Oral History 1971-72 (*op. cit.*), p.179.

154*Sagebrush*, October 29, 1971, pp. 1, 4. The "Sundowners" mentioned here have been a notorious and influential social club of male University students since the early 1920's. The bizarre and irresponsible conduct of its members was a continual source of controversy on campus and in the community. Despite frequent student criticism of the organization, it was staunchly defended by many leading citizens who had been members in the past or whose sons were involved. Actions which, if perpetrated by others, would have brought about demands of arrest and conviction by an irate public were often passed off as innocent pranks. In 1970 the

"Sundowners" was suspended (*Sagebrush*, February 13, 1970, pp. 2, 3) as a campus organization for the flagrant and illegal use of alcohol at their functions. They nevertheless tacitly ignored the suspension and have continued to play a raucous rightest role in campus affairs, representing a tenacious tradition of romantic rural hooliganism. (See also Coffin and Keys File, UNR Archives.)

155*Sagebrush*, October 29, 1971, pp. 1, 4.

156James Richardson, Chmn., Human Relations Commission, to Robert Kinney, Associate Dean of Students, November 2, 1971; see also BSU President's comments, UNR Oral History Project 1971-1972, pp. 180-181, and *Sagebrush*, November 16, 1971, p. 7. See also report of events leading up to the arrest in *Nevada State Journal*, October 29, 1971, pp. 1, 12.

157*Reno Evening Gazette*, November 3, 1971; *Sagebrush*, November 5, 1971, p. 1.

158*Sagebrush*, October 29, 1971, p. 5.

159*Ibid.*, November 2, 1971, p. 1.

160*Ibid.*, November 5, 1971, pp. 1, 7; and *Nevada State Journal*, November 4, 1971; November 12, 1971.

161UNR Oral History Project 1971-1972, pp. 181-184, 198-200.

162*Sagebrush Supplement*, November 23, 1971, pp. 4, 9.

163*Ibid.*, p. 1.

164*Reno Evening Gazette*, November 3, 1971, p. 4. See also *Reno Evening Gazette* editorial printed in full; and *Sagebrush*, November 5, 1971, p. 6.

165Minutes of the UNR Human Relations Commission, *op. cit.*, November 8, 1971.

166The involvement of a majority of the leading UNR athletes in the sit-in had created a crisis for the Athletics Department. Half of the basketball team was under suspension (*Reno Evening Gazette*, October 26, 1971, pp. 1-2; and *Nevada State Journal*, October 30, 1971) and the athletic program was faced with sharp criticism from the community and the University (*Reno Evening Gazette*, November 12, 1971, pp. 1-2; November 19, 1971; January 16, 1972, p. 13).

167*Reno Evening Gazette*, November 15, 1971, p. 2. See also *Sagebrush*, November 16, 1971, p. 1; November 19, 1971, p. 2; November 23, 1971, p. 4.

168*Sagebrush*, November 19, 1971, p. 2.

169*Ibid.*, p. 1.

170*Ibid.*, October 17, 1969; October 21, 1969.

171*Ibid.*, November 2, 1971, p. 3.

172*Nevada State Journal*, November 12, 1971; and *Sagebrush*, November 16, 1971, pp. 1, 7.

173*Reno Evening Gazette*, November 19, 1971; and *Sagebrush*, November 23, 1971, p. 2.

174*Sagebrush Supplement*, November 23, 1971, p. 1.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

LANDRUM'S—"THE BIGGEST LITTLE DINER" IN RENO
Art Moderne and the American Hamburger

Mella Rothwell Harmon

Landrum's Diner in Reno is small—just 240 square feet—yet it plays an unusually large role in local history. Listed in the Nevada State Register of Historic Places in 1984 and recently listed in the National Register of Historic Places, Landrum's is well known among local citizens, especially those who were around during its heyday from the 1950s through the 1980s. Few, however, may recognize its historical significance. As a hamburger diner built in the Art Moderne style, Landrum's has a connection to the broader history of architecture and the development of diners. Its tiny size belies its importance at the convergence of architecture and the American hamburger.

Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1 is located on Reno's main thoroughfare, where it occupies a tiny triangular lot at 1300 South Virginia Street. The diner sits at the extreme northwest corner of the parcel, with no setback or landscaping, and has a small parking area at the rear. Its owner intended it to be the first in a chain of Reno hamburger restaurants. The structure was ordered from Valentine Manufacturing, Inc. of Wichita, Kansas, which shipped it to Reno via flat car. It was assembled at its current location in 1947. This was Valentine's smallest model of sandwich shop, called the Little Chef, and it was designed to accommodate from six to ten customers. The restaurant was described as "absolutely the most fool proof operation in the world. The only thing the customer had to do was lay the foundation and hook up the electricity, gas, and sewer."[1] Valentine's design was intended to allow a single operator to make a reasonable living from one unit.[2]

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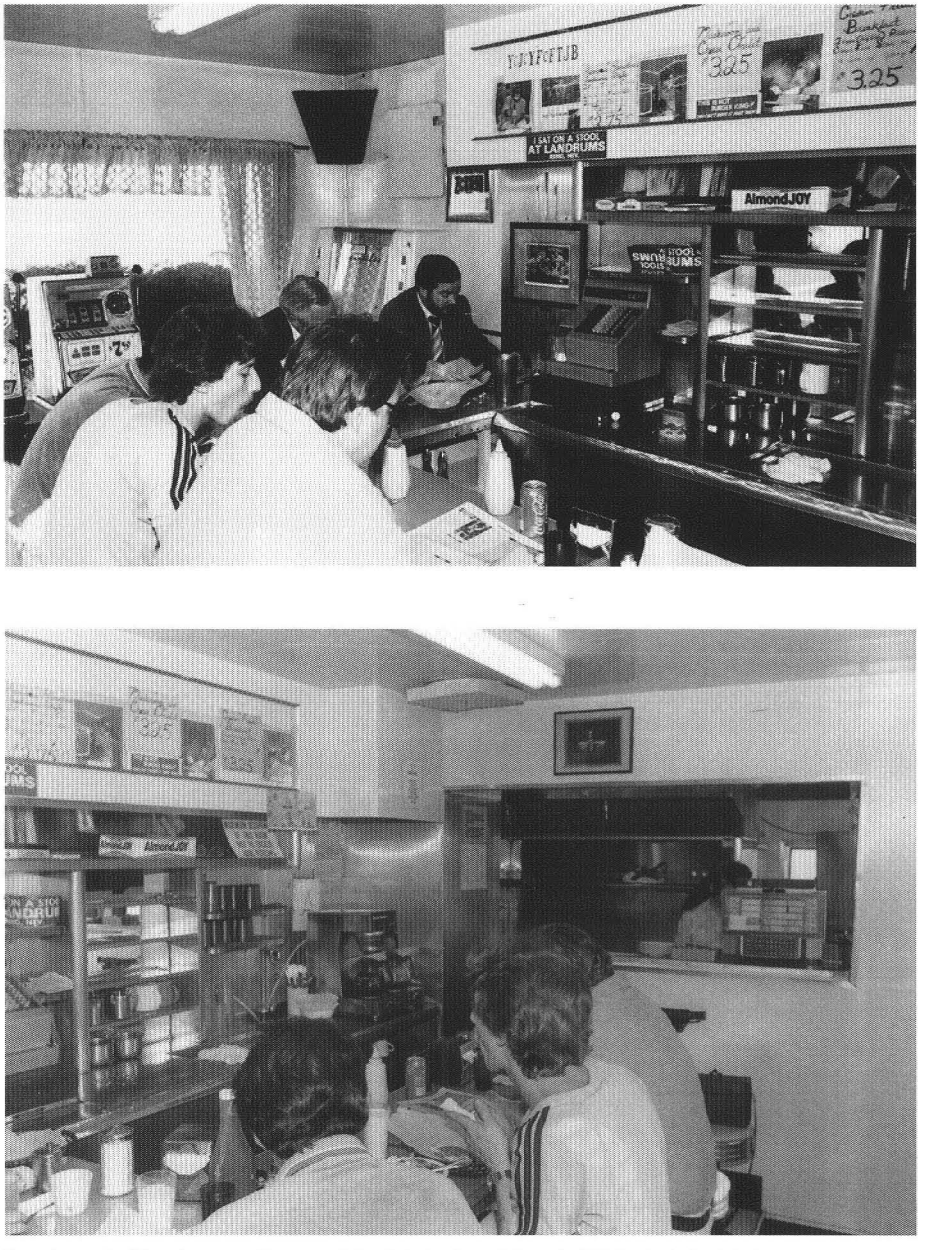
Landrum's is a small, one-story rectangular Art Moderne diner that seats eight customers at a curved stainless steel counter with a pink Formica top. Its flat roof, smooth walls, rounded corners, and horizontal emphasis give it the moderne or streamline look commonly associated with the 1930s and early 1940s. The smooth exterior envelope is composed of white porcelain-enameled steel panels with the entry pavilion and diminutive corner buttresses accentuated by green porcelain-enameled steel panels. The entryway, a vertical pavilion, has a curved upper edge that extends slightly higher than the flat roof. It has a stainless-steel door with a single glass-pane insert and a slightly protruding bull-nosed canopy above. A neon sign with the Landrum name was centered at the crest of the pavilion, but this has been removed. Immediately above the windows a neon belt wraps around the front of the building and extends halfway on either side of the entry façade. A 216-square-foot concrete-block addition, which extended the storage area, was added to the rear of the building about 1970. Original character-defining interior architectural features include the eight stools, the stainless-steel-and-Formica counter, the stainless-steel door, the front windows, and the porcelain-enameled walls. The linoleum floor, a clock replacement, and a new grill are the only visible interior changes.

Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1 is typical of the many diners built across the United States in the Art Moderne style of the 1930s and early 1940s. These diners were precursors of the fast-food franchises such as McDonald's and Burger King that became American cultural icons during the 1950s. Although its style was set by the manufacturer, Landrum's conforms to the manner in which Art Deco and Art Moderne styles were manifested in Reno during the 1930s and 1940s.

Recognized by the listing in the state's Register of Historic Places, Landrum's significance in local history can be discerned by examining Reno's growth and development. Reno initially developed in the 1860s as a mercantile center for distribution of supplies to the Comstock Lode in Virginia City, and to nearby ranches. With the 1869 completion of the transcontinental railroad, Reno grew in importance, and in 1872, it captured the seat of Washoe County government from Washoe City to the south. Reno is divided by the intersection of the Truckee River, running roughly east-west through town, and Virginia Street, running north-south. The railroad was established on the north side of the river, and the community began growing in that direction, with the earliest neighborhoods developing in the northwest and northeast quadrants. When it was decided to build the courthouse on the south side of the river, there were complaints because many believed the community would never grow in that direction. Nevertheless, that decision established a trend of eventual growth to the south.

The southeast section of town, where Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1 is located, began as an industrial and warehouse district. It was also the loca-



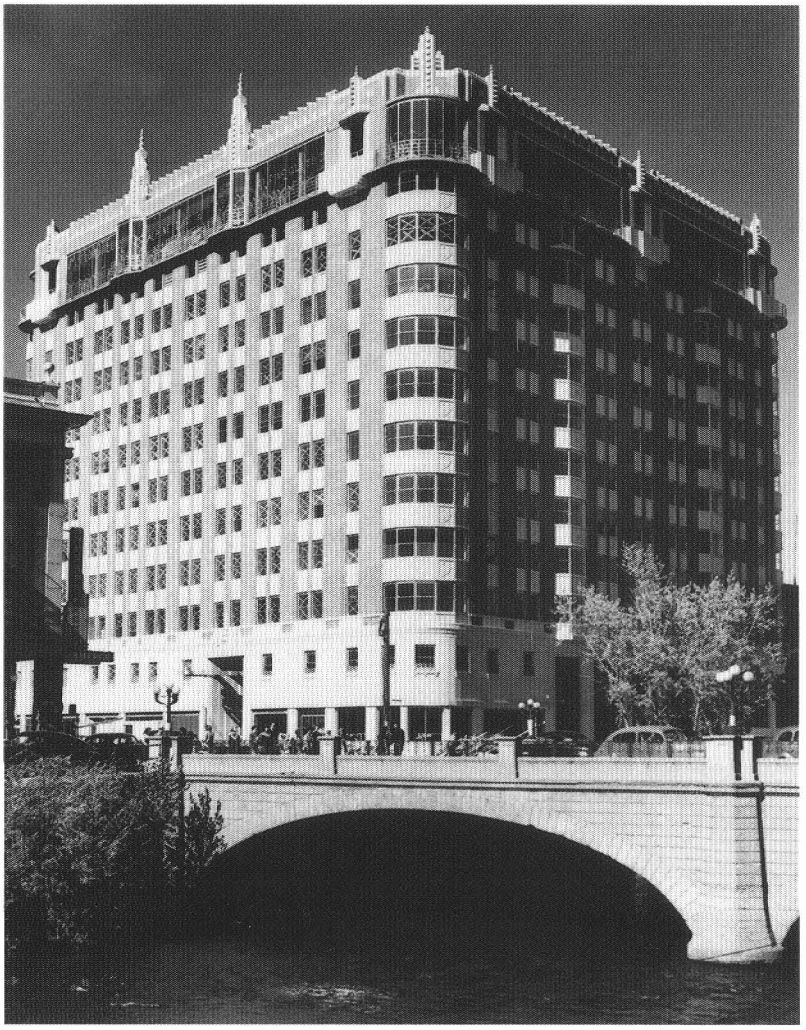
Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1 interior. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

tion of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad right of way. After World War II, however, residential growth in the southeast began in earnest. The area attracted young families, who were able to purchase contemporary ranch-style homes with the help of Veterans' Administration financing. The neighborhood grew so rapidly after the war that the southeast became the recipient of Reno's first postwar school, appropriately named Veterans' Memorial School. The school, considered ultra-modern when it opened, was built in the Art Moderne style.

In addition to being part of the rapidly growing southeast quadrant of town, Landrum's was advantageously situated along Reno's main thoroughfare, Virginia Street, which was also the highway to Lake Tahoe and the state capital, Carson City. In the 1930s, Reno's economy was driven by the divorce trade, but after World War II, Las Vegas eclipsed Reno as a divorce destination and Reno turned to automobile tourism and casino gambling (which had been relegalized in 1931) for its economic livelihood. The Lincoln Highway, which ran through Reno, opened up an active automobile-related tourist industry. According to the 1950 city directory,[3] Reno catered to the tourist trade with sixty-two hotels and eighty motels, plus numerous auto camps and guest ranches. Mid-twentieth-century commercial buildings in Reno's downtown core generally focused on the gambling industry, and a number of building projects were undertaken following the war. The most well known of the postwar hotel/casinos was the Mapes Hotel, a twelve-story Art Deco beauty that dominated Reno's skyline when it opened in 1947.

Going south along Virginia Street, between downtown and the city limits at Airport Road (now Plumb Lane), commercial activity in the 1940s and early 1950s was on a smaller scale and directed toward the surrounding neighborhoods and the automobile tourist. Motels, many of which had been auto courts in the 1930s, catered to travelers along Virginia Street. Polk's 1950 *Reno City Directory*[4] identified the following business types operating within two blocks of Landrum's: a potato chip company, a frozen-food locker, a barber shop, two beauty salons, two used-car lots, a super market, a drug store, a liquor store, two hardware stores, a variety store (Sprouse-Reitz), a dry cleaners, a bakery and candy store, a furrier, and a soda fountain. The commercial structures that housed these businesses were utilitarian, single-story "store front" buildings, generally modest in size. The commercial block immediately north of Landrum's, which exists today, was built in 1946 in a simplified Art Moderne style with green tile-covered engaged columns separating each unit. The diner, built a year later, complemented the style and color scheme of this store block.

The Landrum's building was brought to Reno on a flat car, off-loaded from the Virginia and Truckee Railroad tracks behind the property, and assembled on its present site in 1947 by Eunice Landrum, who named her new diner Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1. The system was intended to be a chain of hamburger shops, but the originally planned expansion never materialized.



The most well known of the postwar hotel/casinos was the Mapes Hotel, a twelve-story Art Deco beauty that dominated Reno's skyline when it opened in 1947. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Eunice Landrum sold the diner in 1953 to Olive Calvert, who operated it until 1986. It has had a series of owners since then, and is operated today as the Chili Cheez Cafe.[5]

Landrum's was an "all-night" diner, where a traveler or swing-shift casino worker could get a meal at any time around the clock. It was reported to have been a popular hang-out for policemen. Reno's 1950 police force consisted of seventy-six men and seven radio cars.[6] With so small a force, a restaurant the size of Landrum's was more than adequate to accommodate patrolmen on their lunch and dinner breaks. Over the years, the police used the diner as a place to sober up drunks so they would not have to be jailed.[7] Also a popular destination for teenagers seeking a late-night meal after a party or the movies, Landrum's had a good reputation and the stools were always filled.

Besides hamburgers, favorite menu items included bacon and eggs, and omelets. Landrum's famous chili-cheese omelet was created by long-time waitress Daisy Mae Wright, who explained, "A bar owner came in one day and said he wanted a chili bean omelette, so I fixed him one. He started telling everybody about it, and soon the word spread. We even had to hire somebody to come in and grate the cheese."[8] Daisy Wright introduced another element es-

Some of Reno's "finest" in the early 1950's, when Landrum's was popular with members of the Police Department. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

sential to the dining experience at Landrum's, her personal philosophy for dealing with customers: "I yell and scream at them all the time. If I am not screaming, they think I am sick or something. I really give them hell if they use bad language, especially if there are women around."[9] One waitress can handle a full house at Landrum's. Although there are eight stools at the counter, veteran customers know that only six of them will accommodate humans. "The one at the north end has no knee room, and the cigarette machine pokes you in the back, and the one at the bend in the counter wobbles."[10] The wobbly stool may have contributed to one unfortunate incident when a drunk fell off his stool and broke one of the diner's two large windows.[11]

A metal-frame roof sign announces that Landrum's is "Reno's Original Diner." Landrum's was indeed Reno's only diner of its type, which made it somewhat of a novelty and contributed to its popularity. Diners were a national phenomenon, however, and Landrum's place in their history is best seen through a review of the evolutuion of the hamburger and the hamburger diner.

The original concept for the sandwich diner is attributed to Walter Scott of Providence, Rhode Island, who began serving prepared food from his horse-drawn wagon in 1872. Because the laws of the town required that restaurants close by 8 P.M., grave-yard shift factory workers were left with no place to eat. Mr. Scott thus became an instant success with his cart full of sandwiches and coffee. Soon late-night lunch wagons appeared all over town.[12] A wagon specifically designed to be a "night lunch," where patrons could sit down to eat, was created by Samuel Jones in 1887 and built by a wagonmaker in Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1891, Jones sold his wagon to Charles H. Palmer, who took out the first patent for a lunch wagon. Before long there were three manufacturers of lunch carts in Massachusetts: Tierney, Worcester Lunch, and the Jerry O'Mahoney Company.[13] Innovations and refinements in the lunch-wagon concept developed into the stationary dining car, and manufacturers proliferated throughout the East. Inventive marketing schemes during the 1920s changed the course of lunch wagon/dining car designs and diner manufacturing spread to the Midwest.

As roadside diners became fixtures across the country, they also became a symbol of American life, which was becoming steadily more mobile. From the 1920s through the 1940s, the diner business flourished, and prefabricated, self-contained diner/sandwich shops, like the ones made by Valentine Manufacturing, became an entrepreneurial fad. But diners began to lose their desirability by the 1950s, when the concept of the fast-food franchise changed America's way of dining. Unable to compete with the low prices, quick service, and name recognition of the franchises, diners were being shut down and hauled away in record numbers by the 1970s. In the recent wave of nostalgia, however, diners are once again becoming popular, and several companies are producing state-of-the-art reproduction stainless-steel diners in the fashion of Valentine's Little Chef.[14]

Whereas the diner had its earliest roots in Providence, Rhode Island, it was Wichita, Kansas that became the birthplace of the American hamburger and the hamburger stand. White Castle Hamburger System was founded in 1921 by Walt Anderson, a Wichita fry cook who is credited with the invention of the hamburger. Mr. Anderson had ties with Nevada, having moved here while working as a cook for the Southern Pacific Railroad. He returned to Kansas in 1912, where he worked in a series of low-paying jobs before he went into the hamburger business. His original hamburger "shack," which opened in 1915, was a refurbished shoe-repair shop with three stools, a counter, and a cast-iron griddle. The sign above the door announced, "Hamburgers 5¢." By 1920, Anderson was running four stands and had adopted the slogan, "Buy 'em by the Sack." In 1921, he took on a partner, Billy Ingram, who proved to be a marketing genius. Under Ingram's direction, the partnership was legally organized under the corporate name White Castle System of Eating Houses.[15]

On the strength of standardization, quality control, a commitment to cleanliness, and conservative financial practices, White Castle is credited with engendering America's passion for hamburgers and pioneering the take-out food business. In addition, White Castle is responsible for the development of the portable all-metal building with porcelain-enamel-coated exterior, which became White Castle's architectural corporate symbol. These were built by White Castle's manufacturing division, the Porcelain Steel Building Company (PSB), which began in Wichita, but moved to Columbus, Ohio, along with White Castle's corporate offices, in 1935.[16] The first portable steel building was designed by White Castle's construction engineer, Lloyd W. Hay, and erected at the corner of Hillside and Douglas in Wichita in 1928. The building was 24 feet by 12 feet, and its standardized parts were interchangeable.[17] As a result of PSB's work, the portable-steel-building industry burgeoned in Kansas in the 1930s and the state became the home of such manufacturers as Valentine Manufacturing, Butler Manufacturing Company (known for its popular military buildings), and Beech Aircraft Company, which worked with Richard Buckminster Fuller in 1944 to develop his idea for portable, inexpensive, lightweight housing, called the Dymaxion House.[18]

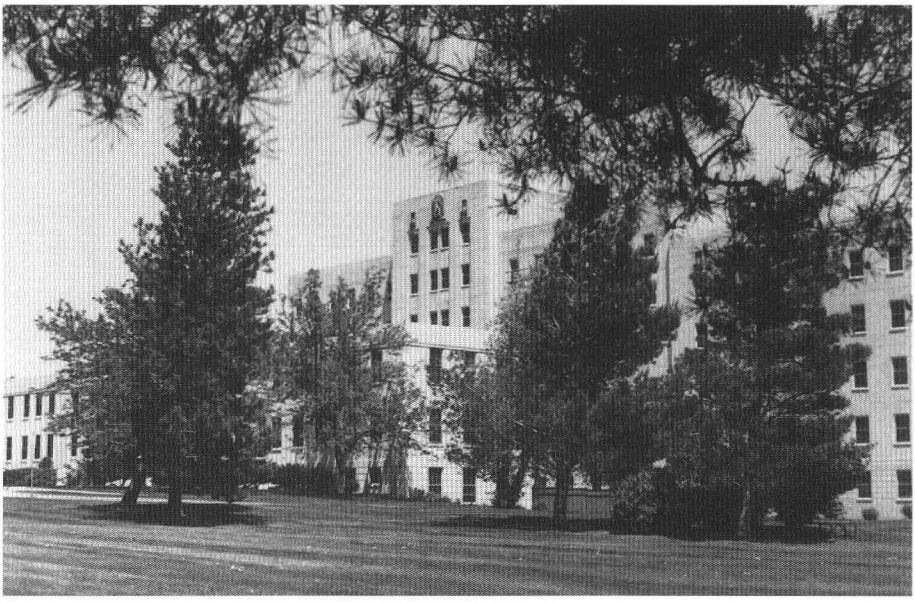
A number of "hamburger systems" copied the White Castle concept, the most blatant of which was the White Tower Hamburger System, established in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1926. White Tower was based on the same principles of cleanliness and economy, and where White Castle enjoined its customers to "buy 'em by the sack," White Tower directed theirs to "buy a bagful." Even the architectural style employed by White Tower was strikingly similar, as both companies boasted a tower and crenelated roofline. Following a trade-infringement lawsuit lodged against White Tower by White Castle, White Tower's castle design became stylized and streamlined in the Art Moderne fashion in order to distinguish it from White Castle. Most White Tower shops were small, and sited on busy street corners in urban areas. By the late 1940s, in keeping with

the general postwar trend toward architectural abstraction, White Tower buildings had developed into simple cubes that emphasized signs and glass and the pure form of the building.[20]

In their book, *White Towers,* Paul Hirshorn and Steven Izenour[21] describe the most successful of White Tower's pure cube buildings. These were fifteen prefabricated structures built by the Valentine Manufacturing Company. White Tower's chief architect, Charles Johnson, modified the basic Valentine frame into the most efficient White Tower ever built. The Valentine company built the steel shell according to White Tower's plan and window arrangement, and sent it to the site, where the foundation and utilities had been prepared. White Tower then arranged for the erection of the tower (their corporate symbol) and the porcelain-enamel cladding. Valentine offered sizes to fit the tightest urban location, as well as the visual impact needed for highway sites. Since they were prefabricated, the Valentine buildings also allowed for ease of transport to more lucrative locations. The Valentine buildings' main value to White Tower was the operational efficiency of the tight plan and the economy of construction. Originally intended to give ten years of service, many Valentine buildings lasted far longer than that.

Valentine Manufacturing, Inc. was founded by Arthur H. Valentine, a Wichita restaurant owner and promoter. He had been operating the Valentine System of hamburger stands in Wichita, and in 1933 opened a new all-porcelain structure on the corner of Beacon Lane and Market Street, which he named Valentine Lunch. Said to be the largest porcelain structure ever built, the restaurant was finished inside and out with porcelain-covered steel and consisted of sections that were bolted together. Valentine Lunch was manufactured by the Metal Building Company of Wichita and the Martin Perry Company of York, New York.[22] By 1938, Valentine had decided to manufacture his own design for small diners: He opened his plant with six employees, producing prefabricated stainless-steel buildings for a variety of uses. Valentine's most popular diner model was the Little Chef, which came in six-stool, eight-stool, and ten-stool sizes. The idea was for the unit to be complete and ready for business. All an owner needed to do was supply a piece of land on which to lay the foundation, and provide utility hook-ups. It was the perfect entrepreneurial activity for a country coming out of a devastating depression. These small diners made good economic sense, since they were one-person operations with limited menus. After World War II, small prefabricated diners offered ready investment opportunities for returning veterans.[23] Valentine's sandwich shops were stainless steel and advertised as "new and modern." Valentine Manufacturing, Inc. has been described as, "The only major manufacturer west of the Mississippi. Practically all of the surviving handful of 'real' diners located in the West were built by Valentine."[24]

Valentine Manufacturing, Inc. continued to make diners after Arthur Valentine's death in 1953, but the product line was expanded to include ice



The Art Moderne Veterans' Administration Hospital in southeast Reno. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

cream stores, liquor stores, portable dry-cleaning stations, turnpike toll booths, and filling stations. The diner design was enlarged from the original six-to-ten-stool models costing about $3,300 in the 1940s, to a forty-seat model priced at more than $30,000 in the 1960s. The company closed in 1971, having fallen victim to competition from up-and-coming fast-food chains and changes in building codes. In the thirty-three years of its operation, Valentine Manufacturing sold more than 2,200 sandwich shops to buyers in every state except possibly Washington.[25]

Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1 represents Reno's participation in the "diner fever" that swept the United States during the 1920s through the 1940s. Built in the image of the popular and successful hamburger diners of the midwest and east, it duplicated even their siting on a busy street corner with no setback or landscaping, the proven arrangements of White Castle and White Tower properties. Reno had long been known as "The Biggest Little City in the World," and with this "new and modern" stainless-steel diner, Renoites could share a cultural connection with larger urban centers. Landrum's is also one of the very few Valentine Manufacturing sandwich shops that remain intact, and as such it deserves special recognition.

As hamburger diners thrived and proliferated, their architectural styles came to symbolize the values of the operators, and by the 1930s, Art Moderne, embodying the ideas of cleanliness, efficiency, and economy, had become the de-

Other Nevada buildings constructed in the Art Deco tradition include Carson City's Nevada State Supreme Court Building, 1935, (top), built in Federal Deco style, and Las Vegas High School,1930-31, (bottom), a Mayan Revival/Art Deco design. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

finitive style for diners. In the architectural history of diners, Landrum's can be seen as representing the pinnacle of hamburger-diner design, built just before modern hamburger franchises emerged to change the direction of the industry. The "lunch wagon" diner established its place in American culture as another outgrowth of the industrialization and urbanization in the nation. It provided a place to grab a quick meal at a reasonable price, and later evolved as a place to socialize. Since it began as a mobile unit, its architectural style was utilitarian and functional. In the years following World War I, as mass production gained acceptance and workers had greater disposable incomes, these diners became fixed structures, and were mass produced and sold to entrepreneurs around the nation. New building materials, such as stainless steel and aluminum, in combination with inventive manufacturing techniques such as the use of prefabricated porcelain-on-steel panels, provided additional options for creativity and building design.

From the 1920s through the 1940s, American society became captivated with modernism and technology. The coming of the Machine Age gave rise to consumerism, as machine-made items became widely available. Between 1920 and 1930, private automobile ownership rose to more than twenty-six million, and 80 percent of American urban dwellings were electrified. Radios, washing machines, toasters, refrigerators, and the movies became part of American culture. The Art Deco/Art Moderne style of architecture was one manifestation of this interest, and not just for diners, but for other building types from schools and hospitals to government buildings and hotels.[26]

Although the Reno diner unit originated in Kansas, the modest proportions and simple applications of the Art Moderne style embodied in Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1 are consistent with the style's expression in Nevada. Several Reno structures were rendered in this style, including the store block north of Landrum's, built in 1946. The Art Moderne Veterans' Memorial School, located in the same southeast neighborhood as Landrum's, was Reno's first postwar school, built in 1949. The Veterans' Hospital, located two blocks from Veterans' Memorial School, was built in 1947 in a similar style.[27] The El Cortez Hotel (1931) and the Mapes Hotel-Casino (1947) are two excellent examples of Art Deco architecture. Other Nevada buildings constructed in the Art Deco tradition include Carson City's Nevada State Supreme Court Building (1935) built in Federal Deco style, Las Vegas High School (1930-31), a Mayan Revival/Art Deco design, the Lincoln County Courthouse (1938), and several simplified examples in Lovelock, Winnemucca, and Hawthorne.[28]

Landrum's is typical of the popular small diners of its era, which were designed to offer efficiency, cleanliness, and economy. It also incorporates the standard Valentine design that includes a two-color porcelain enamel envelope, a small yet space-efficient interior, and diminutive buttresses. Landrum's, with its fluid Art Moderne lines, rounded corners, and unique use of building materials, is the last remaining small dinette in Nevada. In addition to its asso-

Giant Shops, Inc. *(Neal Cobb Collection, Nevada Historical Society)*

The Diner. *(Neal Cobb Collection, Nevada Historical Society)*

The Coffee Cup. *(Neal Cobb Collection, Nevada Historical Society)*

ciation with Reno's post-war suburban expansion and the developing tourist industry, Landrum's is significant as the sole representative Valentine diner in Nevada, and one of but few remaining in the West.

The significance of the American diner, both architectural and historical, is being recognized today. Several have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and the American Diner Museum was established in 1996 in Providence, Rhode Island, where it and twelve other historical organizations form the Heritage Harbor Museum and Library. Landrum's Hamburger System No. 1 shares a diner heritage that dates to the 1870s and a style that was embraced by the evolving diner industry as a symbol of cleanliness, efficiency, and modernity. Landrum's has been a landmark for three generations of Reno citizens. In 1984, when Landrum's was but thirty-seven years old, it joined the Nevada State Register of Historic Places. The consensus at the time was that the diner would be eligible for nomination to the national register once it achieved age fifty. In honor of the listing by the state, Nevada's Governor Richard Bryan, a self-proclaimed hamburger aficionado, visited Landrum's and sampled the fare. He commented on both the hamburgers and the diner: Of the hamburger Bryan said, "The bun is fresh. The beef is tasty. The lettuce is crispy. The tomato is firm. And the onion is tangy." He sang the diner's praises by declaring that, "This is a Reno legend. In the 1920s and 1930s, diners like this were everywhere. This is the last of its kind. It is a part of Americana and I hope they keep it here forever." [29]

NOTES

[1]Beccy Tanner, *Wichita Eagle*, 18 August 1994.

[2]Richard Gutman, *American Diner, Then and Now* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993).

[3]R.L. Polk, *Reno City Directory* (San Francisco: R.L Polk and Company, 1950).

[4]*Ibid.*

[5]Angela Curtis, *Sparks Tribune*, 3 October 1993; Lila Fujimoto, *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 29 February 1984, p. 1-2D; *Reno Evening Gazette*, 28 May 1978, p.52.

[6]R.L. Polk, *Reno City Directory* (San Francisco: R.L. Polk and Company, 1950).

[7]Gayle Fisher, *Nevada State Journal*, 28 May 1978.

[8]Cory Farley, *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 1 August 1986.

[9]*Ibid.*

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]Gayle Fisher, *Nevada State Journal*, 28 May 1978.

[12]Deco Echoes, *American Diners: The Coffee's Hot, and So Are the Business Opportunities.* Available at: http ://www. deco-echoes. comldiners/hist.html.

[13]Paula Sacchi, *The Diner* (Spring 1997). (*The Diner* is the newsletter of the American Diner Museum in Providence, Rhode Island.)

[14]Deco-Echoes, *American Diners: The Coffee 's Hot, and So Are the Business Opportunities.*

[15]David Hogan, *Selling 'Em by the Sack: White Castle and the Creation of American Food* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]*Wichita Beacon*, 1 March 1928, p. 7.

[18]Robert Snyder, *Buckminster Fuller: An Autobiographical Monologue/Scenario* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980).

[19]David Hogan, *Selling 'em by the Sack: White Castle and the Creation of American Food* (New York: new York University Press, 1997).

[20]Paul Hirschorn and Steven Izenour, *White Towers* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1981), 20.

[21]*Ibid.*, 21.

[22]*Wichita Beacon*, 26 October 1933, p. 11.

[23]Richard Gutman, *American Diner. Then and Now* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993),105.

[24]*Ibid.*, 110.

[25]*Ibid.*

[26]Kenneth R. Trapp, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California, Living the Good Life* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993).

[27]*Nevada State Journal*, 11 September 1947, p. 14.

[28]National Register and State Register of Historic Places files are maintained at the State Historic Preservation Office, Carson City, Nevada.

[29]Martin Griffith, *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 17 May 1984.

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1997

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Roar and the Silence: A History of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode. By Ronald M. James. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1998. xxi + 355 pages, illustrations, figures, maps, tables notes, bibliography, index).

The American public has regarded the Comstock Lode from the very beginning as the quintessence of the western mining camp. It was the wild and wooly boom town, lawless and uncurried, where wealth abounded, violence dominated, whiskey flowed like the waters of the Truckee itself, and every prostitute had a heart of gold. In the public mind, in pulp fiction, and on the screen, it became a stereotype of the Old West. Serious scholars have long known better, and men like Eliot Lord and Grant Smith have done a good deal to set the record straight. Now Ronald M. James brings forth this sparkling new study—the first scholarly, comprehensive account since Lord's *Comstock Mining and Miners* in 1883.

The Roar and the Silence is a fine piece of work. James uses an interdisciplinary approach, drawing not only on written and oral history sources, but also on the latest findings of archaeologists, folklorists, geographers, demographers, and specialists in ethnic and gender analyses. The result is a fascinating history of the remarkably complex and diverse mining town and district location on the side of Mount Davidson. Its story was one of ups and downs—of bonanza and borrasca; its cosmopolitan population was part of a global community; and it was always in flux.

James's descriptions of the physical area are superb. He does a neat job of debunking—of showing how writers changed figures like James Finney and Henry Comstock from serious hard-working miners into "eccentric, devil-may-care drunks" (20) to fit the image of the Wild West; of pulling the rug from under mythmakers of lawlessness and violence by using hard statistics to show the real, much lower crime rate.

Much of the story is familiar: the discovery of silver and the rush to Washoe as the new diggings were often called; road-building; the opening of the mines, with solutions for vexing problems, square set timbering, mills to separate precious metals from the ore, techniques for ventilating and de-watering deep-level mines; litigation over claims that in five years consumed about ten percent of the total production of the twelve leading mines. There were years of depression, 1864-65, when mining throughout the West fell on slow times. Then came William Ralston and the Bank of California group, with William Sharon

as manager in Virginia City, to acquire all the leading mine and mill properties and to build the Virginia and Truckee Railroad to tie mines and mills together and link with the transcontinental line to the north. Meanwhile, the Four Irishmen—John W. Mackay, James G. Fair, William S. O'Brien and James C. Flood—would soon wrest control of the valuable mines from the bank group, and make the Comstock even more an industrial suburb of San Francisco. Then came the bonanza years, 1873-78, when the mines yielded up some $166 million, before a decline began and continued into the 1930s, when Virginia City was but a shadow of its former self.

James details the work and dangers of mining, but gives short shrift to those who manned the offices, mills, machine shops, and other business on the surface. Mining's auxiliary industries need further elucidation: litigation, chemicals, timber, even ice production, the latter for the 100 saloons in Virginia, and for cooling workers in the depths of the mines. (One company spent $22,000 one year to cool the lower workings.) It would be interesting to know more of the day-to-day occupational activities only indirectly connected with silver and gold. There is no mention, for example, of livery stables, which were as ubiquitous in the nineteenth century as gasoline stations in the twentieth.

James makes extensive use of the raw United States Census materials now entered in a computerized database to pose questions about population and come forth with conclusions about ethnicity, gender, marital status, occupation, and geographic location, many of which are represented in graphs, figures or tables. Virginia's cosmopolitan composition is treated in considerable detail, with emphasis not only on Europeans, the most prevalent of whom were Irish and Cornish, but also on such groups as Chinese, Hispanics, African Americans and Northern Paiutes.

In chapters dealing with "Moral Options," James gives equal time to "Sinners" and "Saints." On one hand, he analyzes the rowdy world of saloons, gambling houses and the red light district. On the other, he emphasizes that Virginia City was an industrial town and a family town, with a wide array of both men and women concerned about the attributes of a civilized society—schools, churches, hospitals, theaters, and law enforcement agencies among them. He notes that most residents belonged to the wage-earning middle group and were better off than industrial workers elsewhere, but he also draws compelling contrasts between those at the bottom of the heap and the wealthy elite. One of the two concluding chapters deals with the years 1877-1942, when the Comstock mining economy gradually wound down year by year. The other treats the post-mining era: the discovery of Virginia City by artists and writers in the 1930s and by national viewing audiences after 1959 thanks to *Bonanza* and the Cartwrights, which helped the town develop tourism as a new economic base.

This is a beautifully written and well-researched book, though there is no evidence that the author has utilized any of the manuscripts or photographs in

the Bancroft and Huntington libraries in California. Unfortunately, there is no area map to set the Comstock in site. There are fifty-three illustrations, but a number of the photographs are too small and too dark to show details. Still, *The Roar and the Silence* is a fine piece of work—one that is going to be the standard in its field for a long time.

Clark C. Spence
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The New Western History: The Territory Ahead. Edited by Forrest G. Robinson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999, 218 pages).

What happened? It has been 10 years since the 1989 National Endowment for the Humanities Symposium held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the question continues to beg a definitive response. What happened? Four historians who participated in that symposium, Patricia Nelson Limerick, William Cronon, Richard White, and Donald Worster, believe the answer simply to be: New Western History (NWH). In their opinion, nothing short of the creation of a new watershed in the study of regional history is what happened.

There are those who disagree, of course. And there are those who say, yes, perhaps that is what happened in Santa Fe. But it was not enough. It seems the troops are disgruntled.

So, what really happened? Did Limerick and her colleagues move the profession of history into a new frontier? *The New Western History: The Territory Ahead,* edited by Forrest Robinson, sets out to answer this question once and for all, and in the process, poses some new ones: What is New Western History? What is it not? Is it really new? Or is it old wine packaged in new skins? Does New Western History, written with the oppressed in mind, fall into the very trap of the ethnocentric politicism it claims to have left behind? Is what Robinson tags as the Limerick Maneuver little more than legitimization of the so-called victimization syndrome that has pervaded American politics and the legal system since the 1970s? Is the Limerick Theory about the American West really nothing more than the flip side of the Frederick Jackson Turner coin—opposite, yet just as myopic and imperialistic toward scholarly debate in its implementation? Or do Limerick and NWH plot out a true *kyros* for the history profession as a whole?

According to Robinson and the scholars whose works appear in his book, the answer to each of these questions is yes; and to each the answer also is no.

A collection of seven essays from scholars of disciplines ranging from American Studies to Environment Management, Robinson's book invites a critical look at the published works of NWH while it also spotlights areas of investigation that NWH is judged to have overlooked. The only link among such a disparate group seems to be complaints about NWH. And since each critical analysis is written from the perspective of a particular discipline, the reader encounters repetition in both example and solution.

Every one of the essays urges New Western Historians to break free of their rigid framework and recognize the importance of relevant work being done in other disciplines. Robinson and his colleagues also contend that the works of historians, sociologists, and writers who presaged the movement (Josiah Royce, Eugene Bolton, Leonard Pitts, Carey McWilliams, Richard Hofstadter, and Wallace Stegner, to name a few) must be acknowledged as the footings on the bridge that spans the ideological gap between the Turnerian tradition and the self-named New Western historians. This is not to say that Robinson and his colleagues necessarily deny that NWH is written from the perspective of the oppressed and conquered. Rather, Limerick and her NWH are accused of burning that bridge, footings included. The result, argue Robinson, et al, is a Limerick pyramid superimposing itself over the pyramidal construct of Turnerian history, with Limerick's defining apex usurping that of Turner. Limerick, it is oft criticized in Robinson's book, has underestimated the wealth that awaits her NWH from other fields of scholarship, as well as from within her own discipline of history.

For instance, the essays argue for more serious consideration of popular culture for its potential political impact as represented in western fiction and films. Further, two natural resource managers reason that the work of NWH should include an analysis of the treatment of nature or the physical frontier, while at the same time NWH is urged to account for a wide spectrum of feminist studies. In short, few social issues of late twentieth-century America are left out of the discussion. Indeed, an underlying message of this collection is that NWH must break free of self-induced limitations and truly challenge the writing of history to move beyond the politics of either the few or the many. Indeed, with the subtitle, *The Territory Ahead,* Robinson invites Limerick to venture past her own fenceposts.

So, what really happened in Santa Fe at that 1989 NEH Symposium? *The New Western History: The Territory Ahead* implies that a new force to be reckoned with made its appearance. In Santa Fe, the narrative position was relocated away from the political agenda of the Anglo-American male and focused toward the perspective of the conquered and the marginalized. Robinson's scholars ask the New Western historians to broaden that perspective to include even more of race, gender, and the land itself, even if it is generated outside the tight loop of NWH. Robinson and his contributors worry that NWH misses essential debate and potential sources of enrichment, and, consequently beckon

the New Western Historians (and anyone who is interested in the history of the West) to tread the territory ahead with an open mind and professional regard for all germane works.

Fran Campbell
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Disease and Medical Care in the Mountain West: Essays on Region, History, and Practice. Edited by Martha L. Hildreth and Bruce T. Moran. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1997. xix + 154 pages, photos, maps, charts, illustrations, notes, index).

The history of American science and medicine has come a long way since the postwar decades when Brooke Hindle, Richard Shryock, and Charles Rosenberg published their pioneering classics. In the past twenty years, the field has attracted the interest of many young historians, resulting in numerous publications on previously neglected topics. Medical history research, however, has focused mainly on places where epidemics were rampant: the South, Midwestern river valleys, and the big cities. There have been relatively few major works on the West, especially the sparsely settled lands between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada.

This book helps fill that void. It features contributions from a variety of scholars, most notably Ronald Numbers, whose opening essay on the significance of regions in medical history establishes a historiographic foundation for the rest of the volume. Though recognizing the recent scholarly emphasis on race, class, and gender over regionalism in American history, Numbers argues persuasively for a local approach in his field, because many nineteenth-century doctors believed that specific diseases resulted from climatological factors in a given area. Reinforcing this view is the miasmic theory of disease which, until it was supplanted by Pasteur's germ theory, attributed the cause of disease to poisonous vapors in the immediate atmosphere.

Thomas Wolfe reinforces Numbers's argument regarding the local character of nineteenth-century disease and medical care in tracing Thomsonian influence upon the Mormons. Samuel Thomson's homespun approach to treating physical disorders with herbal remedies that rekindled the body's heat appealed to fellow New Englander Joseph Smith as well as other Americans who preferred traditional folk medicine to the often ineffective modern remedies of licensed physicians. Wolfe cites the Mormons' physical and intellectual isolation in the Great Basin, the high cost of importing eastern medicines, and a folk culture that celebrated community as factors for the movement's popularity.

He attributes Thomsonian decline in twentieth-century Utah to the transcontinental railroad and other nationalizing factors.

If this anthology has any structural weakness, it is the relative lack of an interdisciplinary approach. This shortcoming is somewhat offset by an intriguing essay from anthropologist Marie Boutté. After acknowledging the contribution of Reno and Las Vegas's hedonistic casino culture to Nevada's abnormally high suicide rate, Boutté points out that, over the past century, rural Nevada has contributed "more than its share" (30) to the numbers. She studies White Pine County suicides and argues persuasively that suicide was not merely a social phenomenon but a cultural one, too. With clever reasoning, Boutté relates Jean Baechler's eleven types of suicidal meaning to White Pine suicide cases and then extends his framework to include Nevada's ranching, mining, and hunting "micro cultures" as contributing factors. While Boutté's argument is at times overly tentative, her conclusions should provoke much scholarly interest.

The failure of federal Indian policy is a well-known subject, but Diane Edwards's research on medical care at the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana adds a new dimension to the story. From 1849 to the postwar era, she exposes the Interior Department's inability to provide adequate medical treatment and preventive programs for the tribes. The real culprit of course was congress, whose white priorities in funding and staffing reflected America's continuing racist approach to problems.

Victoria Harden's somewhat technical study of Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever and AIDS examines the difference between the social and scientific construction of disease. While observing that the public popularly perceived Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever as a local condition and placed AIDS in the gay "region" of big cities like San Francisco, scientists wedded to the germ theory of disease saw both disorders in less geographic terms. At the same time, however, physicians and entomologists allowed their internecine disputes to affect the investigative process even to the point of giving different names to the Rocky Mountain wood tick in the professional literature. This reminds one of the often bitter rivalries in the 1950s between physicists at the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore laboratories who actually built two different versions of the hydrogen bomb. Harden's point touches on a recent scholarly trend in the history of science that emphasizes the conflicts between scientists, which sometimes escalated to the point (though not with these two diseases) where politics compromised objectivity and science.

Alan Derickson's essay on the rising incidence of silicosis in hardrock mining is a solid piece of scholarship that correctly attributes the problem, as the mills of Delamar first demonstrated, to technological advances in extraction and processing. In a class-based reform movement, it was the Western Federation of Miners that pushed reluctant lawmakers for legislation requiring employers to employ ventilation and wet down techniques for processing pow-

dered quartzite. Of particular value is Derickson's insistence on broadening Charles Rosenberg's narrow conception of epidemic from one that embraces a short time span to one that includes preventable industrial diseases, which continued for thirty or more years—until job safety laws finally ended it.

Pierce Mullen's study of the evolution of frontier nursing in Montana begins with the models employed by the Methodists' Deaconess nursing program and ends in the 1960s with the sobering thought that Montana's medical frontier has never ended. Indeed, inadequate funding and other pressures have closed so many rural hospitals in the state that residents in many scattered and sparsely-settled communities face a medical care emergency reminiscent of Montana's Blackfeet.

Finally, Paul Buell focuses on the issue of ethnicity and race in medicine with his study of Chinese physicians in the American West. He observes that, except for a growing acceptance of manufactured western medicines, these doctors retained most of the traditions of Chinese medicine. Their adaptation to America came in the form of attracting many white patients, especially females whose "women's problems" were largely ignored by licensed physicians.

Though the book's subject matter is somewhat eclectic, the research is solid. Aside from the informative nature of the essays, this anthology's value lies in its potential for inspiring more scholarly interest in the West and eventually leading to a comprehensive medical history of the region.

Eugene P. Moehring
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Let the Cowboy Ride: Cattle Ranching in the American West. By Paul F. Starrs. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, xx + 396 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, glossary, bibliographic essay, index).

The declarative statement that doubles as the title for Paul F. Starrs's social history of ranching also expresses his thesis with epigrammatic style. *Let the Cowboy Ride* contributes a refreshingly moderate perspective to the burgeoning discourse concerning public land use, while interposing a countervailing voice to the extreme left of environmental activism and the far right of Sagebrush Rebellion. Starrs contends that the diversely rich social fabric of extensive livestock grazing in the American West has underpinned the formation of regional, and to an extent, national culture, identity, and imagination. The cross-fertilization of African, Anglo, Hispanic, and Mediterranean pastoral traditions between the Great Plains and Pacific Slope has evolved into a unique contemporary subculture and lifestyle deserving of historic preservation. Far from an

apotheosis of the cowboy figure or romanticization of the ranching life, *Let the Cowboy Ride* advances the scholarship of Henry Nash Smith's classic *Virgin Land* by acknowledging and then exploring the significance of this exceptionally American mythology.

Starrs conveys his arguments convincingly by combining the broader context of a narrative survey with the specific comparative analysis of case studies. During the first four chapters the author sketches a descriptive overview of western ranching's origins and present morphology. Moreover, Starrs delivers a succinct historiographical review, which lucidly connects the salient theories and schools of thought in the field of public land history to his own thesis. The author applies Paul Wallace Gates's "incongruous land system" thesis directly to the experience of the range livestock industry. Starrs concludes that Jeffersonian visions of an egalitarian, fee-simple, yeoman republic blinded congress throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the realities of aridity, topography, and environment west of the hundredth meridian. Legislators' faith in the myth of the Garden coupled with their anti-feudal fervor precluded them from heeding the advice of John Wesley Powell, and granting or selling parcels of land to ranchers copious enough to sustain a livestock operation. Despite Garret Hardin's much discussed "tragedy of the commons," Starrs argues that this American land law legacy of insecure tenure, forced tenancy, and extralegal *modus vivendi* has ironically culminated in a "tragedy of the freehold farm" (238).

The second half of Starrs's work reorients the focus to five case studies of ranching culture located in the counties of Rio Arriba, New Mexico; Deaf Smith, Texas; Cherry County, Nebraska; Sheridan, Wyoming; and Elko, Nevada. Although the Silver State receives greatest scrutiny, the extensive field work and archival research invested in each vignette enables the reader to discern similarities and distinctions between relations with the federal government, land stewardship, ranching practices, and community organization. The author's knowledge of cultural geography, including such luminary expositors as D. W. Meinig and Carl Sauer, bolsters his analysis of rural settlement patterns and the effects of open space on the psyche and imagination.

Rio Arriba retains remnants of the Hispanic legal system of the *merced* and *mesta,* combining permanent, communal land grants with quasi-governmental grazing associations. The absence of federal agencies and their custodial lands, accentuated by the more congruous nature of Texas state land disposal in Deaf Smith contrasts starkly with its counterparts. The highly privatized and secure land base of Sand Hills ranchers in Cherry County—partly attributable to the Kincaid Act—demonstrates yet another wrinkle in the cultural landscape of western ranching. Perhaps rivaling the sale of beef in importance to the local economy, the carefully scripted marketing and exportation of the ranching idyll in Sheridan, from its dude ranches to apparel outfitters, has captured a unique niche for this county. Finally, the nearly colonial dominance of the federal land-

lord in northern Nevada has ensured that livestock raising in this region has conformed to the dictates of the Taylor Grazing Act and the Bureau of Land Management.

Despite the peculiarities of each case study, Starrs identifies a nearly universal theme that binds these disparate examples: a complex of values and beliefs best defined as rancher land ethic. Drawing from the literature of ranch fundamentalism Starrs claims that range livestock raisers conceptualize "land as a repository of past experience, social significance, and the individual values of their distinctive culture" (44). Unlike mining, farming, and other natural-resource extracting occupations, extensive public land ranching downplays land commodification, and "in each locale . . . is important as much culturally as economically" (221). Considering the meager profit margins generated by most ranches—whether family-owned, partnerships, or corporations—Starrs asserts that lifestyle choice supersedes remunerative rewards in motivating ranchers to perpetuate the inter-generational traditions of their calling. Although self-admittedly not an environmental or ecological history, Starrs's thesis lacks persuasiveness due to the dearth of discussion about the environment. Although the author concedes, sometimes reluctantly, that overgrazing and careless herding have damaged western watersheds, streams, and indigenous flora, his case studies devote scant attention to the variations in environmental conditions—over time or in the present.

Starrs closes his book with an unvarnished defense of public land ranching that only occasionally borders on the polemical. He criticizes the intransigence residing on both ends of the political spectrum, reflected by the sloganeering bumper stickers that proliferated after the appointment of Bruce Babbitt, antithetically touting "Cattle Free by 93" and "Cattle Galore by 94." Although refashioned under the modern rubric of multiple use instead of homesteading, the misguided programs of regulatory bureaucrats also come under fire for continuing to foster inappropriate uses for lands best suited to grazing. Consequently, the author wryly comments in parenthetic reference "wild horses and burros, however, are untouchable" (242). Neither do western historians escape complaint, as Starrs laments their increasing preoccupation with the so-called New Urban West, and calls for a refocusing on the rural West. While perhaps demographically irrelevant and economically negligible, this small population of ranchers and cowboys remains ideologically and culturally significant. Ultimately, Starrs perceives manifold threats to this unique American subculture and land ethic, and whether represented by bovinaphobic environmentalists agitating for the abolition of public land grazing, federal policy-makers relentlessly reducing permit AUMs, or academicians writing the rural West out of American history, Starrs resolves to *Let the Cowboy Ride.*

Kevin D. Hatfield
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Congressional Populism and the Crisis of the 1890s. By Gene Clanton. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998, xii +228 pages., appendices, notes, bibliographical note, index).

Gene Clanton's study of the congressmen elected on the People's (Populist) party tickets will not disappoint those who have awaited its appearance. It meets the high standards of scholarship set by his other writings on Populism. Anyone familiar with Clanton's earlier work on America's best known agrarian reformers will not be surprised that he finds much to admire and little to criticize.

The number of Populists who served in the United States Senate and House of Representatives was small, and few served more than a single term. Consequently, they had little impact on legislation. But they did vote and speak on the issues of the depression-racked 1890s. In their voting they were generally consistent and cohesive. Their words were often eloquent and telling critiques of the problems facing the nation. To find Populist voting behavior and rhetoric, Clanton went page by page through the *Congressional Record* for the years 1891-1903.

Among the major questions that the Populist congressmen and their major party colleagues addressed were bimetallism versus the gold standard, national control of railroads, the causes and cures of poverty, the power of organized wealth, taxation, race, war, and imperialism. Throughout the debates the Populists demonstrated compassion, intelligence, and courage. The remedies they proposed called for an expanded and positive role for the federal government.

Among the senators and representatives to whom the author gives special attention and high marks are William V. Allen of Nebraska, Marion Butler of North Carolina, and William A. Peffer and Jeny Simpson of Kansas. Solid facts and keen analysis add up to a convincing argument that the Populist lawmakers were sincere and articulate spokesmen not just for farmers but also for urban labor, blacks, women, and the poor. Today large numbers of Americans cling to the grotesque notion that the impoverished and powerless are responsible for the ills of society; the views of the congressional Populists offer a refreshing contrast.

Readers must not ignore the author's many explanatory notes; they are often as instructive as the main text. An appendix offers a rewarding analysis of *The Wizard of Oz*. Clanton concludes that L. Frank Baum's novel was anti-Populist rather than, as others have asserted, a pro-Populist allegory.

There is nothing here to justify populist as a term of opprobrium. Yet since the 1950s it has been so used ad nauseam. This is largely the work of liberal consensus historians such as Richard Hofstadter. They found Populism to be beyond the acceptable limits of liberalism, and with little or no research to support their position, they dismissed the Populists as bigoted provincials. The

efforts of Hofstadter and others succeeded all too well. Paul Johnson's right-wing *History of the American People* (1997) adopted this interpretation and portrayed them as xenophobic, anti-Semitic cranks. Thus the consensus liberals supplied conservatives with a weapon to attack what Clanton and many others consider a cogent response to the inequities of capitalism.

The sloppy and frequently silly employment of the term populist has led to the application of the label to such a diverse lot as Ross Perrot, Mario Cuomo, Ronald Reagan, George McGovern, Pat Buchanan, Jesse Ventura, various neo-nazis, and Prince Charles. In Nevada today, the media informs us that the new mayor of Las Vegas, former mob attorney Oscar Goodman, is a populist, and that senatorial hopeful Edward M. Bernstein, a personal injury lawyer, will seek the populist vote. The real—and only— Populists existed in the 1890s and a few years after, period. Instead of continuing to bandy the word about so indiscriminately, journalists, political scientists, and historians should study the works of Gene Clanton and other able scholars of the movement.

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Inventing Wyatt Earp: His Life and Many Legends. By Allan Barra (NY: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1998).

While this study of Wyatt Earp offers an engaging and entertaining read, it will frustrate historians. Allan Barra, a sports columnist for the *Wall Street Journal* and a western history buff, performs yeoman service in tracking down several important new sources, but the absence of citation notes means that accepting what he presents must be largely an act of faith. Unfortunately the evaluative criteria Barra employs may test the faith of many—when, for example, he quotes from a source he otherwise dismisses as unreliable and concludes that "the passage may be bogus, but the sentiment seems genuine" (114), or when, in the absence of direct testimony, he offers the novel suggestion that the dialog from a Hollywood western "sounds about right" (40). He consistently quotes directly from Earp himself without ever identifying the source. Nearly all such material comes from Stuart Lake's 1931 biography, *Frontier Marshall,* which Barra admits "contains much fiction" (14). Barra apparently consulted Lake's papers at the Huntington Library, so he must know that these quotations cannot be documented in those files.

Historical accuracy, however, is not uppermost on Barra's agenda. This book is mainly a screed against modern historians who have maligned Earp's name. He lambastes Richard Maxwell Brown and Paula Mitchell Marks for producing neo-Marxist interpretations of the conflict in Tombstone, Arizona. Most

famously Brown, in his influential *No Duty To Retreat—Violence and Values in American History and Society* (1991) proposed that Earp and his brothers represented the forces of capitalist incorporation while their cowboy opponents stood for more traditional rural values. "By reducing Wyatt to a symbol," Barra argues, "a great deal more truth is left out" (315). Instead, Barra wants us to understand the story as a simple struggle for law and order. "The Earps were the good guys," he insists, "the Clantons and the Cowboys were the bad guys" (17). In the interest of full disclosure, I must acknowledge that Barra also attacks an essay of mine in which I reiterated Brown's reading. "Had Faragher been living in Tombstone in the 1880s," Barra writes, "it's not inconceivable that he would have been as pro-Earp as other educated Republican Easterners of that period"(9).

This gets us to the heart of the problem with this book. Barra doesn't seem to understand the distinction between taking sides and making an analysis. Brown and Marks (in her insightful *And Die in the West— The Story of the O.K. Corral Gunfight* [1989]) are in pursuit of larger meanings. In fact, Barra himself cannot avoid the necessity of generalizing. He acknowledges in passing that many of the small ranchers around Tombstone saw the opponents of the Earps as "a symbol of resistance to . . . the forces of liberalism, nineteenth-century style" (106), and near the end of the book he concludes that Earp "represented the forces of liberalism that were sweeping into the West" (358). Brown and Marks are overt and explicit about their interpretations but Barra sneaks his in. The real difference here is the distinction between the historian and the antiquarian.

Another of Barra's complaints is that the historians have dismissed Earp's heroism as merely a concoction of Stuart Lake, not acknowledging how much attention the man garnered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He performs a valuable service by excavating a number of interesting early newspaper and magazine accounts. But what do those accounts reveal? In 1883 the *Police Gazette* presented the Earps as avenging angels, but the same year *Harper's* characterized them as murderers. In 1897 the *New York Call* concluded that Earp was "grim, game, and deadly" (326) and three years later the *New York Tribune* featured him in a headline as "The Arizona 'Bad Man"' (331). The invention of Earp as a champion of law and order did not begin until 1907 when Bat Masterson, who had served with Earp as a peace officer in Dodge City, wrote a laudatory piece for *Human Life.* Barra is correct in saying that in these accounts we witness the interesting and complex way in which Earp's image was constructed, but his partisanship prevents him from acknowledging that the image was notably Janus-faced. Barra wants us to hear the cheering, but his evidence includes a great deal of booing as well.

John Mack Faragher
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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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