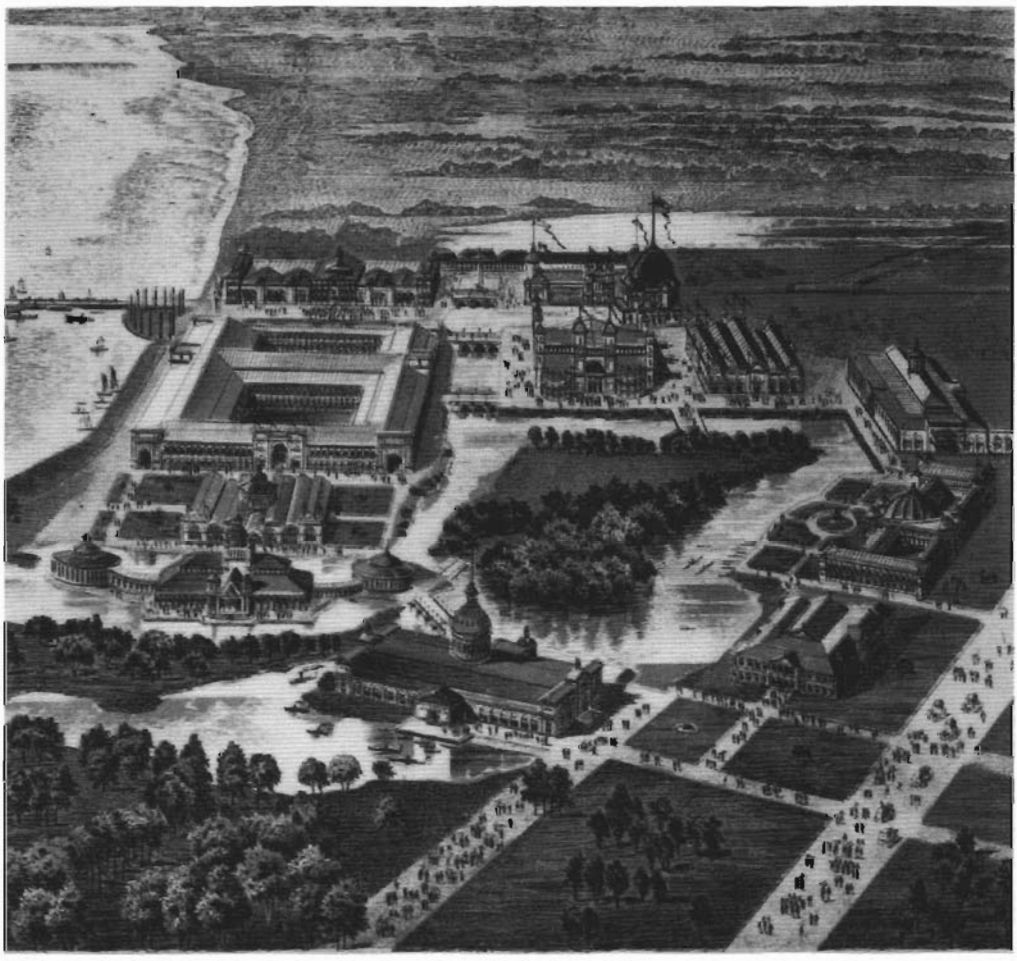
Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly



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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.

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Nevada
Historical Society Quarterly

William D. Rowley
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Michael Green
Book Review Editor

Juliet S. Pierson
Manuscript Editor

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Front Cover: Bird's-eye view of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. *(Nevada Historical Society).*

Book Reviews

NEVADA AT THE WORLD'S FAIR

Christopher G. Driggs

World's fairs, or international expositions, can be traced back to the great Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 in London. The beginnings of fairs, however, stretch further back, well back into ancient times. The Romans held festivals, usually around a religious holiday, and Europe during the medieval era also saw many fairs. The Crystal Palace fair at mid-century traced its origins to many previous fairs organized by the Royal Society of Arts, which was created in 1754.

The Royal Society put on an industrial exhibition for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce in 1761. The French had their first international exhibition on the Champs de Mars in 1791, and found it so successful that they held national exhibitions intermittently until 1849.

The Crystal Palace exposition had as its object the advancement of industrial civilization. Officially known as the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, it is considered to be the first world's fair. It ran from May to October and was visited by 6,039,195 people. It was intended by its organizers, who included Prince Albert, to demonstrate British industrial supremacy, and to comment on the gospel of free trade, peace, and the virtues of democracy and the British constitution. The outstanding success of the fair was attributed in part to the building that housed the exhibits, the famous Crystal Palace designed by Sir Joseph Paxton. It was a prefabricated structure and resembled a giant greenhouse. The outstanding exhibits inside the building included items from the United States: false teeth, artificial legs, Colt's repeating pistol, Goodyear's India rubber goods, chewing tobacco, and McCormick's reaper.

The United States found participation in this world's fair and in subsequent

Christopher G. Driggs is an archivist for the Nevada State Library and Archives. He holds a master of library sciences degree from the University of Washington, a master of arts degree in history from the University of Texas, and a bachelor of arts degree in history from the University of Nevada, Reno. His master's thesis from the University of Texas was *Governor Emmet D. Boyle: A Man of His Times*.

nineteenth-century fairs to be useful for displaying America's increasing industrial might and for providing a yardstick to how she stacked up with Europe. The motivation to participate in these fairs included the desire to publicize the nation's resources, industries, and social and economic institutions. Another motive was to increase immigration to the United States, not only of people but of capital. It was held that a worthy display of American power and wealth would enhance the value of the American bonds then being negotiated to meet the national indebtedness, and would dispel the distrust of European capitalists on whom the United States still depended for loans for the development of resources.[1]

Congressman Nathaniel Banks of Massachusetts, in a debate over appropriations and official participation at the 1867 World's Fair in Paris, argued, "it is in our power to represent the social and political character of the country in such a way as to attract the attention of other nations . . . and thus place before the world an enlarged view of the condition and the prospect of American civilization . . . . It is a duty we owe to other nations, as well as to ourselves, to show them what we are."[2] And that is what Nevadans were trying to do in their participation in world's fairs and expositions: They wanted not only to bring capital and people to Nevada, but also to show off to the country and to the world what Nevada was. As will be shown, the view of Nevada changed over time.

Nevada, which became a territory in 1861, did not participate in the Crystal Palace exhibition in London in 1851; the state did, however, participate in the London successor of this fair in 1862. Although Prince Albert once again was involved in the organization of the fair, he died in 1861 and the fair suffered as a result. The International Exhibition of Works of Industry and Art of 1862 did not measure up to the Crystal Palace fair. Two wars affected the exhibition, the Crimean, and the American Civil War. The aspect most criticized was the large exhibition building; it was described variously as "a wretched shed" and a"national disgrace." Its domes were seen as being as "useless and unsightly," and "truly ludicrous." Known for the technical innovations that it helped spread, including the Bessemer process and Babbage's calculating machine, the 1862 fair also moved the vision of world's fairs away from the world-peace optimism of the Crystal Palace exhibition and confirmed the nature of international exhibitions as vehicles of competing nationalisms.

The Pacific states and territories of the United States started planning early to display their products at the 1862 fair. California, in 1861, appointed commissioners to represent her in London. Governor James W. Nye of Nevada Territory attended a meeting at the California State Fair to help arrange for specimens to be displayed. A circular letter was sent throughout the western states and territories to solicit exhibit objects and to coordinate the West Coast display. Nevada's committee members for the Exhibition on the Pacific Coast were Governor Nye from Carson City, five persons from Virginia City, three from

Silver City, and three from Aurora.

The Nevada legislature introduced a bill in 1861 providing for the appointment of a commissioner to the 1862 World's Fair. The bill originally called for a joint session of the Territorial Legislature to appoint a commissioner, but the bill was amended to give the territorial governor the privilege of appointment. The appropriation was for five hundred dollars, slashed from eight thousand in the original statement.

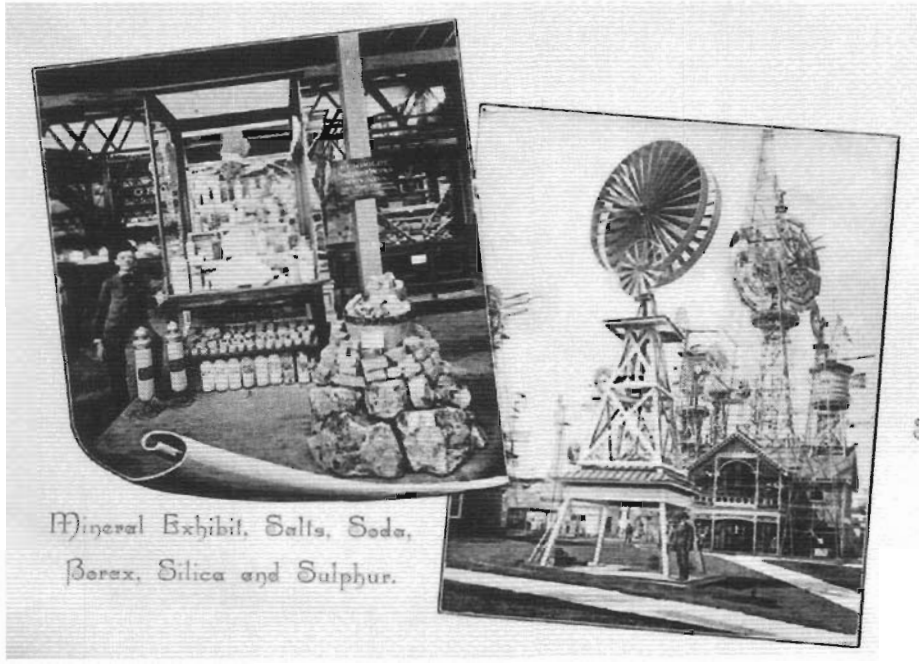
Nevada sent as its representative to London Joseph Mosheimer from Dayton. In his official report to Governor Nye he describes his experience. Mosheimer arrived in London on May 15, 1862, and the next day had an interview with the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition. The commissioners did not accept the credentials of the man from Nevada, because he did not come from a sovereign state, and because Nevada did not have diplomatic relations with the British government. The Nevada exhibit was found a place in the area designated for the United States. It consisted of ore examples from the territory. Mosheimer was pleased with the reception that the ore received from prominent people who attended the fair.

Sir Roderick Murchison, president of the Geologic Society of England, said he was astonished and delighted with the richness of the display. The Prince of Wales also examined the ore samples and thought them worthy. Mosheimer believed the specimens served to make Nevada known to those who may have been unaware of the area before. "While strenuous efforts are being made (and successfully too) to influence emigration and capital to British Columbia, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and other parts of the world, where the resources are not so rich or varied as those in Nevada Territory, would it not be well that some efforts were made to secure a portion of that emigration and wealth?"[3] The collection of ore specimens was awarded a Grand Prize Medal.[4]

The 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris was Emperor Napoleon III's response to the 1862 London fair. The French answer was an attempt to classify and organize every branch of human activity; it strove to symbolize the encyclopedic ambitions of the Second Empire. Especially favored by the fair goers were the international restaurants that circled the Palace of Industry. This innovation, of bringing a carnival atmosphere to the world's fair, would be duplicated in all subsequent fairs.

The heavy machinery section, displaying each nation's largest and most impressive inventions, was where the United States made its first showing as an industrial nation. Among the exhibits were an example of telegraphy by Samuel Morse and Chicago's Lake Water Tunnel. Grand prizes went to Cyrus Field and the Anglo American Transatlantic Telegraph Company, David Hughes for his novel printing telegraph, Cyrus H. McCormick for his reaping machines, and to the United States Sanitary Commission for the exhibit of ambulances and other materials used for the relief of those wounded in the American Civil War.

Nevada Exhibits at the World's Fair *Above - The Blue Book,* The Agriculture Booth *;Opposite Page* - Agricultural Booth and Headquarters of the Commission; The Mineral Exhibit and Mulit Meter Company Airmaster *(Nevada Historical Society).*



Mineral Exhibit, Salts, Soda, Borax, Silica and Sulphur.

Nevada's contribution to the 1867 Paris fair included once again ore specimens from the mines of Nevada. The legislature of 1866 passed an "Act to authorize the appointment of a Commissioner to represent the State of Nevada at the World's Fair, to be held in the city of Paris, in the year A.D. 1867." This act empowered the governor to appoint a commissioner to represent Nevada at the fair without cost; it also appropriated $250 to help pay the costs of collection of the specimens. Governor Henry G. Blasdel appointed state mineralogist Richard Stretch as the commissioner.

Stretch, in his 1867 report, called the small amount appropriated by the Legislature a "miserable pittance." Stretch and Governor Blasdel appealed to the miners of Nevada for mineralogical contributions. It began:

> No more favorable opportunity for disseminating correct information abroad, as to the extent and richness of our mineral resources, will probably occur for some years; and that the advantage may not be lost to us, and that we may not be behindhand with the other States on the Pacific Coast, the gift or loan of good specimens of ores and minerals from every section of the State, so that we may be able to send a collection which shall fairly represent our unrivaled wealth, and be at the same time a credit to us, is hereby earnestly solicited from all who may in any way be willing to assist us in the enterprise.[5]

Blasdel and Stretch reminded the miners that the future prosperity of the state depended upon the introduction of large amounts of capital, "and until we remove the false impressions which have most unfortunately been created abroad, we cannot reasonably expect the tide to turn in our favor." This advertisement appeared in the newspapers of the state in late 1866, and by January 1867 Stretch was reporting that his office had received no response to the request for specimens. After being appointed as World's Fair commissioner, Stretch had visited the state's mining districts in 1866. He recommended to the 1867 legislature an appropriation of $3,000 to pay for a competent commissioner, and added that if no contributions came in from around the state, the State Cabinet of mineral specimens should be sent to the exposition. Stretch also believed that a report on Nevada's mining resources should be printed for distribution in Paris. Last, Stretch suggested that a commissioner accompanying the mineral specimens to Paris should procure European minerals to be deposited in a planned, but not yet established school of mines.

During the 1867 session the legislature appropriated $180, rather than the $3,000 requested. However, the main aspect of the bill was to create three additional commissioners. The bill had to go to a conference committee, whose report stressed the importance of the Paris exposition for Nevada.

> In the opinion of your Committee, it is of the highest importance that the mineral resources of the State should be fairly represented at the Paris Exposition. A more thorough knowledge of the vast, and as yet but partially developed metalic wealth within our borders will be diffused among the great centers of European capital, than could be in any other way; and the results which will necessarily flow therefore cannot but prove

of incalculable advantage to the State . . . . That a just idea of our peculiar industry may be arrived at by moneyed men in foreign lands, it is necessary that such a showing should be made in the way of specimens as will convince the most incredulous.[6]

The bill passed, but Governor Blasdel, who did not like the provision of three additional commissioners, vetoed it. The bill had not only provided for additional commissioners, it named them: David Buel, Jacob T. Lockhart, and C.B. Brooks. Blasdel explained in his veto message that he appointed Richard Stretch as the commissioner of the state in accordance with the act of the 1866 legislature. The governor did not see the reason for three more commissioners, especially ones who could not attend the entire fair. He said, "Would it not be a useless expenditure of money to send any one there who could not or would not remain and attend to our interests . . . ? This, I think, cannot be done by sending three men with six hundred dollars each, in currency, to remain but a brief period of the Exposition, unprepared to do anything, comparatively speaking."[7] The bill passed over the Governor's veto.

Blasdel, in a letter to E.F. Dunne on April 15, 1867, said that Stretch resigned after the passage of the bill, and that he, Blasdel, wanted nothing more to do with the matter. David Buel did attend the fair, but without an official Nevada commission. The governor had hoped to see Buel, but no meeting was held. Buel did set up specimens that he collected and displayed not at the exposition but in adjoining grounds. In 1869 a resolution was introduced in the legislature to honor Buel for his work, but it was indefinitely postponed.

Richard Stretch did collect some specimens, but for want of money they made it only as far as San Francisco. He returned them to Carson City, where they were added to the State Cabinet.[8]

The United States had held its first international exposition in New York in 1853, it was not well received. In 1876 the city of Philadelphia hosted the Centennial International Exhibition, which celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The Philadelphia organizers forsook the one-large-hall model of earlier fairs and instead constructed 167 buildings on 236 acres of Fairmount Park above the Schuylkill River. The design of several main buildings and many separate pavilions spaced around beautifully landscaped grounds fixed the patterns of world's fairs to come.

Some of the major buildings were the Main Exhibition Hall and the Machinery Hall which flanked the entrance to the fair, the Agricultural Hall, Horticultural Hall, Ladies Pavilion, United States Government building, and Memorial Hall. Tourists who came to the fair, instead of seeing America's past, saw its future. The most famous exhibit was Alexander Graham Bell's telephone. Also at the fair were the Westinghouse air brake, Edison duplex telegraph, typewriter, Corliss engine, and the sewing machine.

On the west side of the grounds were twenty-four state buildings, and in the United States Government Building the Declaration of Independence was on exhibit, along with specimens from the Smithsonian Institution.

Nevada started to plan its contribution to the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 four years earlier, after the United States Congress passed a law organizing the Centennial Board of Finance. The purpose of the law was to raise $11 million by private and state subscription; Nevada's share was $11,020. Governor Lewis R. Bradley named the following Nevadans to the Nevada Centennial Board of Finance: Frederick A. Tritle of Storey County, James W. Haines of Douglas County, Charles H. Eastman of Washoe County, and Benjamin H. Meder of Ormsby County. Governor Bradley also named William W. McCoy as commissioner to represent Nevada and James W. Haines as alternate commissioner.

A Select Committee on the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 made a report to the 1873 Nevada Legislature. It urged Nevadans to contribute to the state's share of expenses:

> These national exhibitions are no longer a novelty; several projected and carried upon a magnificent scale have been held, and have had great influence in stimulating progress in all the world. Our turn as a nation has now come to inaugurate the proper steps for an exhibition upon a grander scale of proportions, more magnificent, and consequently involving the proportionate results. Of the success of the enterprise there can be no question. If Nevada stands back other states more enterprising will crowd to the front, and receive, as they will deserve, the credit to which their patriotism will give them title.[9]

The 1875 legislature took the advice of the select committee to heart and appropriated $20,000 in gold coin to go into a Centennial Fund to pay for the exhibit of specimens at the exhibition. That year Nevada was near the height of the Big Bonanza, and in one of the few eras in Nevada history that the state government was flush. According to the appropriation act, the money could be expended on the erection of a quartz mill and on the exhibition of mineral specimens.

This amount in gold was duly noted by the Philadelphia organizers, and the *Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* showed Nevada in a prominent position in the listing of appropriations by state. Only Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York had a larger outlay than Nevada's. Another work on the fair, *The Centennial Exposition*, gave the Nevada quartz mill special mention, and described its workings. The ore came from the Comstock mines: the Consolidated Virginia, the California, the Ophir, and the Belcher. It was packed in sacks and sent to Philadelphia by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The rock went into the stamps and came out in the form of a powder, which was dissolved in a small stream of water that ran through a trough. The quicksilver was added and the amalgamation process took place. The mill stood in the Machinery Hall. The state's centennial commissioners did not spend the entire $20,000, and returned $1,000 to the Nevada Treasury.[10]

The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition staged in New Orleans in 1884 and 1885 was held in response to the New South movement. This

movement's central theme was that the sectional quarrels of the past should be forgotten and the South should devote itself to commerce and industry. But the exposition had financial problems and construction delays, and when it opened December 16, 1884, the buildings were far from finished.

By the spring of 1885 things were looking up, but the attendance figures never reached the initial estimates of 4 million visitors. Only a few more than 1.1 million people came through the gates. The main building was entirely made of wood and covered more than thirty-one acres; there were also the Factories and Mills Building, Machinery Hall, United States Building, and the States Building. Although exhibits came from many countries, the participation from abroad was rather meager, especially in comparison to the foreign representation at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

New Orleans itself benefitted from the fair, as journalists, many for the first time, explored the unique culture of the area. Articles about the exotic way of life in the city helped to attract visitors.

Governor Jewett W. Adams appointed C. C. Thomas as commissioner for Nevada to the New Orleans fair. For the first time Nevada did not show off just its mineral wealth; in 1885 Nevada exhibited its agricultural resources. By the mid 1880s mining was in a slump, and Nevada was turning more and more to agriculture as its main industry. By promoting the soil, Nevadans hoped to be able to attract capital and most important, people to the state.

Five Nevada governors: Roswell Colcord, Tasker L. Oddie, Emmet D. Boyle, Denver S. Dickerson, and Jewett W. Adams *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

In his report to the 1887 legislature, Governor Adams was proud to say that Nevada had won first premium for wheat, the first and second premiums for potatoes, and the silver medal for apples. "This," Adams reported, "clearly proves the productiveness of its soil and the adaptability of the climate to the cultivation of cereals and vegetables. The fruits raised in Nevada are also justly famed for their superior flavor and quality."[11] The mineral specimens that were displayed at New Orleans were returned, and some ended up at the University of Nevada. The Board of Regents of the University thanked the state for the boxes of minerals, but said that they were a hodgepodge of rocks and the value of them lay in their use for assaying exercises.

Along with Commissioner Thomas, Nevada had at the fair his assistant, William Havenor. In 1887 the legislature appropriated $2,976 to cover Havenor's expenses. Also representing the state were women who attended the fair as part of the Women's Art and Industrial Association of Nevada. The association asked the state to pay for its expenses. In 1885 a bill to do so passed the senate, but was defeated in the assembly.[12]

The Exposition Universalle in Paris in1889 is best remembered for the Eiffel Tower. It is 986 feet tall and cost $1.5 million to build. At first it was referred to as an eyesore, and forty-seven artists and writers signed a protest claiming it profaned the city of Paris. The 1889 fair was distinguished by its national character, as France was still smarting from the Franco-Prussian War of almost twenty years before. The exhibitions were unprecedented in their display of artistic and technological achievement spurred on by fervent patriotism and national pride.

Among the exhibit buildings, the most famous was the Galerie des Machines, which covered fifteen acres. Inside were cycles, the first gasoline-powered car, and a machine that made 9,000 paper bags an hour.

One of the interesting exhibits was the one on Social Peace, and socialist congresses were held in connection with it throughout the summer. Included was a Marxist congress that formed the Second International and designated May Day as an international labor holiday. Other socialist organizations had congresses on topics such as celestial photography, alcoholism, carrier pigeons, syphilology, and dermatology. Also at the fair was the Rue de Caire, featuring the international sensation, the *danse du ventre*, or belly dance. Another attraction on the street was the Javanese dancers at The Netherlands pavilion. Americans brought to the entertainment venues Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, with Annie Oakley.

The 1889 Exposition Universalle in Paris had serious purposes that were not overshadowed by its sensual fascinations. French vitality, strength, and talent reaffirmed French self-confidence. A review of the fair stated,

> the exposition crowned a century of unprecedented scientific achievement, the last age of optimismic faith in a utopian future. The great expositions of the nineteenth century sought both to instruct and entertain, and much of the success of the Paris exposition of

1889 was that it achieved a remarkable balance between the two. Inadvertently it was a tastefully lighthearted celebration of liberalism and its economic companion, capitalism. It was therefore fitting that this was one of the very few great expositions to make a profit.[13]

Nevada's participation in the 1889 Paris fair was not so lighthearted and remarkable. On April 8, 1889, F. M. Biber was appointed commissioner to the exposition at Paris. He had been introduced to Governor Charles C. Stevenson as a wealthy mine owner and a commissioner to the exposition from California. He told the governor that he wanted to show off Nevada's minerals in order to bring in capital to the state.

After collecting twenty-eight boxes of specimens from throughout the state, Biber headed for Paris, but he first spent some time in New York. Governor Stevenson began receiving discouraging reports about him. Even though Biber was supposed to be a wealthy mine owner, he told Stevenson that he could not afford to ship the minerals to Paris. Governor Stevenson then wrote to Senator William Stewart in May of 1889, asking Stewart to use his influence with Leland Stanford to get the specimens forwarded without charge. But a letter came from David Hamilton of New York saying that Commissioner Biber owed Hamilton money, and then came reports from the Swiss Legation in Paris that Biber had also borrowed money there.

Governor Stevenson decided that action was necessary and wrote to William B. Franklin, United States Commissioner to the Paris exposition, on September 13, 1889: "Damaging reports reached me concerning Commissioner Biber, investigate and wire me." It developed that Biber had borrowed money from a hotel keeper in New York, plus numerous people in Paris. He had also disappeared and was rumored to be in Rome.

Biber had hired two deputies in Paris and promised to pay them handsomely. Stevenson wrote to the Swiss Legation, which was also investigating Biber. The State of Nevada had no intention of paying any money to the deputies. Biber had written to the governor before he vanished saying that he would bring Belgian capitalists to Nevada, and he gave a glowing report of the Nevada exhibit.

A Nevada City, California, newspaper of August 1890 reported that Biber had died in Paris. Although a couple of bills were introduced in the Nevada assembly in 1891 to pay the two deputies whom Biber had promised money, both bills died in the assembly.[14]

The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 was the most elaborate of all the nineteenth-century world's fairs held in the United States. The fair commemorated the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the New World. The United States Congress decided on Chicago as the site of the exposition, and the lakefront area beside Lake Michigan was the setting. Frederick Law Olmstead was chosen to plan the original concept, and famous American architects from around the country were brought in to design the

buildings and the grounds, including Daniel H. Burnham, Charles B. Atwood, Louis Sullivan, S. S. Beman, and other American architectural firms.

The completed fair buildings and grounds became known as the White City because the central Court of Honor had a uniform neoclassical style and a uniform color— white. A greater number of American artists were drawn to the World's Columbian Exposition than had participated in earlier fairs and, with the use of electric lighting, the visual impression of the buildings was perhaps the biggest draw of the exposition.

Susan B. Anthony played an active role in the Women's Building, which presented women's accomplishments in education, the arts, science, and industry. Women were prominent in the World's Congress Auxiliary, which provided a series of intellectual conferences. The number of these conferences reached 1,283; they addressed such subjects as temperance, music, literature, and labor, and drew scholars and intellectuals from throughout the country. One of the more significant presentations was Frederick Jackson Turner's essay on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Other conferences were the World's Congress of Representative Women and the World's Parliament of Religions.

The Midway at the Chicago fair became one of the most successful amusement areas in the history of world's fairs. Chicago was the home of the exotic dancer Little Egypt, Eugene "The Great" Sandow, and the Ferris Wheel. There were balloon rides, wild animal shows, and the World's Congress of Beauty, which featured forty women from forty nations. More than 21 million visitors attended the fair, and the Chicago corporation that ran the fair realized a profit. Also, the White City influenced American architecture for the next forty years. Urban planning at the world's fair led to a movement called City Beautiful. Because of its widespread influence the World's Columbian Exposition has been called a watershed in American history.

Nevada started to plan its participation in the Columbian Exposition in 1890, when Governor Stevenson appointed James Haines and George Russell as commissioners. The new governor, Roswell Colcord, in his inaugural address of 1891 urged a state appropriation for the fair: "[It] is a question to be met with a forethought of the depression our industries are now undergoing, and I feel confident that you, with your knowledge of the best ends and means, will meet it effectively." He realized that Nevada could not possibly compete with the wealthier and more populous states of the union, but he thought that the state could do something worthy. "Let it be a practical manifestation of our varied resources, and it will undoubtedly prove profitable to the State and of wondrous interest to all visitors." He believed Nevada should look to the future and that even "a moderate outlay will serve to maintain our good standing among our sister States and Territories, and it is certainly one of the very best methods of advertising the many industries of this State."[15]

The commissioners lobbied the 1891 legislature for an appropriation of

$25,000, but without success. With the legislature not meeting again until 1893, time was running short for an outlay of state funds to put on a worthwhile exhibit in Chicago. As it turned out, Chicago did not believe that Nevada was going to participate, and took away much exhibit space that had been allotted to her.

In his speech to the next legislature Governor Colcord posed some questions. He was compelled to admit that given Nevada's current financial condition the state probably could not mount a successful exhibit. He asked whether Nevadans could make a creditable showing at the fair, and whether the state should make the attempt. Colcord said that state pride would prompt him to be in favor of a suitable appropriation, and that he did not want Nevada to be the only state not represented. Nor did he want Nevada to have a poor exhibit. But he concluded that an appropriation would work a hardship on the taxpayers of the state, and that he was leaving the matter in the hands of the legislature.

The 1893 Nevada legislature decided to agree with the Governor and passed, "An Act to provide for the collection, arrangement and display of the products of the State of Nevada at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and to make an appropriation therefor." The appropriation was $10,000, and the act set up a Board of Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition and described its duties. The governor kept Russell and Haines on the Board and added J. A. Yerington, who became the chairman and secretary. The act allowed for ex-officio board members including lady commissioners. The additions included Enoch Strother, Richard Ryland, Mrs. M. D. Foley, Miss Lida Russell, Miss J. Torreyson, and Miss M. E. Davies.

In March of that year the Board sent out a circular asking citizens for items that could be displayed at the exposition. The response from Nevadans was positive, and by April 22 the Nevada exhibit had arrived in Chicago. Because Nevada's alloted space had by then been given to others, the state's exhibits had to be divided up among many buildings. The mining exhibit was in the gallery of the Mining Building, and Nevada also displayed in the buildings devoted to agriculture, ethnology, and women.

The mining exhibit included not only gold and silver, but also nickel, lead, copper, marble, borax, soda, and antimony. The agricultural display covered an area 30 feet square. It was decorated with grains and grasses, had large arches draped in silk curtains, and was centered by a pyramid 6 feet square at its base and rising 10 feet. Arranged around this pyramid were oats, forty varieties of cereals, twenty-nine varieties of apples, and ten varieties of pears. A corner of the booth was devoted to an exhibit of alfalfa and grasses; adjoining this were displays of potatoes, cheeses, and vegetables. Later in the summer of 1893 honey, figs, almonds, and grapes were added to the agricultural display.

In the ethnology building Nevada showed a display of footprints that were found at the Nevada State Prison quarry. They were of unknown origin in 1893,

Mining Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

and the exhibit in Chicago carried this quote from B. B. Redding: "The Carson footprints carry the mind back to the Glacial Period, and if it is ever proven they are human relics they will entirely upset all the scientific theories as to the age of man upon this earth."[16] Subsequently, the footprints were proven to be those of a giant sloth and received much attention from naturalists and museums. The women's exhibit consisted of selected pieces of hand-painted china, and point and applique lace in boxes draped in light blue silk.

For the first time the University of Nevada took an active role in world's fair exhibits. Professor N. E. Wilson, station chemist, was in charge of the exhibits for some of the time. Professor R. H. McDowell prepared the agricultural exhibits, and the mechanical and mining exhibits were prepared by Professors Richard Brown and Robert Jackson, respectively.

The Board's final report was enthusiastic about the response the Nevada exhibit received, stating that it fully demonstrated the benefits of irrigation, and offered to the other states in the union many lessons on turning a desert into an oasis. Governor Colcord proudly announced to the legislature of 1895 that Nevada had carried off thirty-three awards for honey, grains, native grasses, apples, pears, flour, borax, mineral salts and soda.[17]

Chicago's success with the World's Columbian Exposition spurred other American communities to hold world's fairs. The next to do so was San Francisco, which held the California Midwinter International Exposition in 1894. Michael deYoung, owner and publisher of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, had attended the Chicago exposition and decided he wanted a similar fair in San Francisco. By mid 1893 he had made a commitment and the fair opened on January 27, 1894. The site was Golden Gate Park, where five principal buildings were constructed around a quadrangle: Manufactures and Liberal Arts, Mechanical Arts, Horticulture and Agriculture, Fine Arts, and Administration.

The fair also had its amusement side. Included were a Japanese tea garden and a re-creation of an 1849 gold-rush camp, as well as a buffalo paddock, ostrich farm, Chinese pagoda, and a Firth Wheel, which resembled a Ferris Wheel, but was named for its developer, J. Kirk Firth.

The fine arts exhibit was especially well received and the Impressionist paintings of Auguste Renoir and Edouard Manet were first publicly exhibited in the West at the exposition. At the close of the fair, the Fine Arts Building was left as a permanent improvement to Golden Gate Park.

Governor Colcord was in contact with Michael deYoung early to determine the extent of Nevada's participation. In September of 1893 Colcord told deYoung that he hoped Nevada would be represented in San Francisco and that the Nevada commissioners in Chicago would arrange for the Chicago exhibit to be sent to the bay city. Later in 1893 Colcord assured deYoung that Nevada would be there and that a public subscription project was under way. It was hoped that $10,000 would be raised.

It was decided that the planning of Nevada's exhibit would be the responsi-

bility of the State Board of Agriculture. Once again we see a movement away from the purely mineral content of Nevada's first few fair exhibits into what the state was emphasizing in the late nineteenth-century: agriculture. J. A. Yerington, who had headed the Nevada delegation to Chicago, was named managing director of the San Francisco exhibit. Nevada was the only state to construct its own building, as the fair encouraged the exhibitors to use existing structures. The building cost $5,250, and was located near the 1849 mining camp. It was 50 by 60 feet, had two stories, and its flat roof had a cafe shaded by an awning.

The lower floor of the building housed the agricultural and public school exhibits. The second floor contained the mining and women's exhibit. The highlight of the agricultural exhibit was the display created by the University of Nevada Experimental Station. It consisted of grains, vegetables, and a chemical analysis of milk and its products. It also had insects (both harmful and beneficial for agriculture), insecticides, and weeds.

The fossil footprints were moved from Chicago to San Francisco, as were the mineral specimens. The front entrance of Nevada's building was graced with the portrait of Territorial Governor James Nye, making this the first Nevada exhibit with an historical theme. A pair of snowshoes worn by John A. "Snowshoe" Thompson as he carried the mail over the Sierra was included. The women's exhibit showed many of the items from Chicago: lace, watercolor paintings, embroidery, and hand-painted china.

In the end more than $11,000 was privately subscribed to the Nevada exhibit. Of this, $400 was raised by six performances by actor Richard Foote. The total cost of the exhibit was a little over $14,000, and the 1895 Nevada legislature passed a relief bill for $14,387.11 that provided a full refund for all private subscribers and payment of other costs The act was called, "An Act to refund the subscriptions paid in aid of the Nevada Exhibit at the Midwinter Fair, and to provide for the payment of the outstanding indebtedness incurred in making the said exhibit."

Nevada ran a successful exhibit in San Francisco, and on May 15, the fair's Nevada Day, more than 5,000 people came to hear Governor Colcord, former Governors Blasdel and Kinkead, and many other speakers as they extolled the virtues of the State of Nevada The report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture declared, "There can be no doubt that this exhibit of the products and resources of the State will eventually redound to the benefit of the State in a way that will be satisfactory to every citizen who feels an interest in the future of Nevada." Press comments were kind to the exhibit, and managing director Yerington was not hesitant to put many of them in his report to the legislature. The *Overland Monthly* in June of 1894 praised Nevada for having, "a very definite and very intelligent purpose in this display, and it has been admirably arranged to make that purpose effective." Although Nevada had been seen as a desert wasteland,

there is another Nevada, young, vigorous, growing. Those who have mourned over it as the pocket borough of American politics, and destined to remain so unless Utah could be annexed to it, may cease their lamentation. The low point has been reached—from henceforth Nevada is to take the upward path . . . the signs of this are to be seen on entering the Nevada State Building, and in such profusion that he must indeed be blind who fails to perceive it.[18]

There were other American expositions in the wake of the Chicago success: the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition in Nashville in 1897, and the Baltimore Centennial fair in the same year. Nevada appointed honorary commissioners to these expositions but sent no exhibit. Governor John Jones was asked by the organizers in Atlanta to comment on the value of expositions, specifically that in their fair city. On September 16, 1895, he wrote,

The value of the Cotton States and International Exposition to the south and to the country cannot, in my opinion, be overestimated. Take it which you will—in the exhibitions of products, of manufactures, of art and of the general immense resources of the south, and last, but not least of the era of good feelings, brotherly love, and genuine sympathetic rivalry which this exposition must produce—to my mind marks an epoch in the Nation's history, that can result only in good—of a nation vast enough to embrace every nook and corner of our whole country. It will unite the intelligence and animate the ceaseless activity, the best impulses of the people, and I can but feel that, the record made by this exposition, and the results achieved, will leave a lasting memory and most beneficial influence among all classes of the citizens of our beloved land.[19]

After Atlanta, Nashville, and Baltimore had their fairs, Omaha joined with its Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898. Omaha decided to emphasize the West, as it believed that the World's Colombian Exposition in Chicago had ignored that region in 1893. Farming and cattle raising were prominently displayed, and to complete the western flavor of the fair there was an Indian Congress with representatives from twenty-three tribes. The Indian Congress started out under the direction of James Mooney, a staff member of the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution, but when it turned increasingly to entertainment, including sham battles between whites and Indians, Mooney withdrew his support.

The Omaha organizers contacted Nevada in 1897 and urged her participation. Governor Reinhold Sadler replied that he would name honorary commissioners and then appeal to the legislature for money. In his letter to the organizers Sadler promised moral support to the exposition, but told them that the over-all business depression meant that no appropriation would likely be forthcoming from the state.

A bill entitled, "An Act to provide for the display of Nevada resources at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition to be held at Omaha, Nebraska in the year 1898," was introduced in the State Senate in 1897 and assigned to the Committee on Internal Improvements. The committee reported:

> The proposed Exposition will be entirely devoted to a display of Western resources, interests, enterprises, and developments, and will, undoubtedly, be the most successful undertaking of its character ever attempted west of the Mississippi river . . . . Many of the Western States and Territories have made appropriations for the purpose of making elaborate displays of their agricultural, mineral, pastoral, and manufactured products. Your committee regrets that the financial conditions of Nevada are such that it cannot recommend the passage of this bill in order that the manifold resources of our State may be called to the attention of the visitors at the Exposition, and that we might thereby receive our share of Western development, which will result from an increased knowledge of the vast capabilities for productive wealth in the Trans-Mississippi domain of our common country. Your committee, however, believes that in the near future, if Nevada's industries receive their share of wise, fostering national legislation, our State will be able to liberally contribute towards a great western Exposition that will follow the one to be held at Omaha. Your committee, therefore, respectfully recommends that the bill do [sic] not pass.[20]

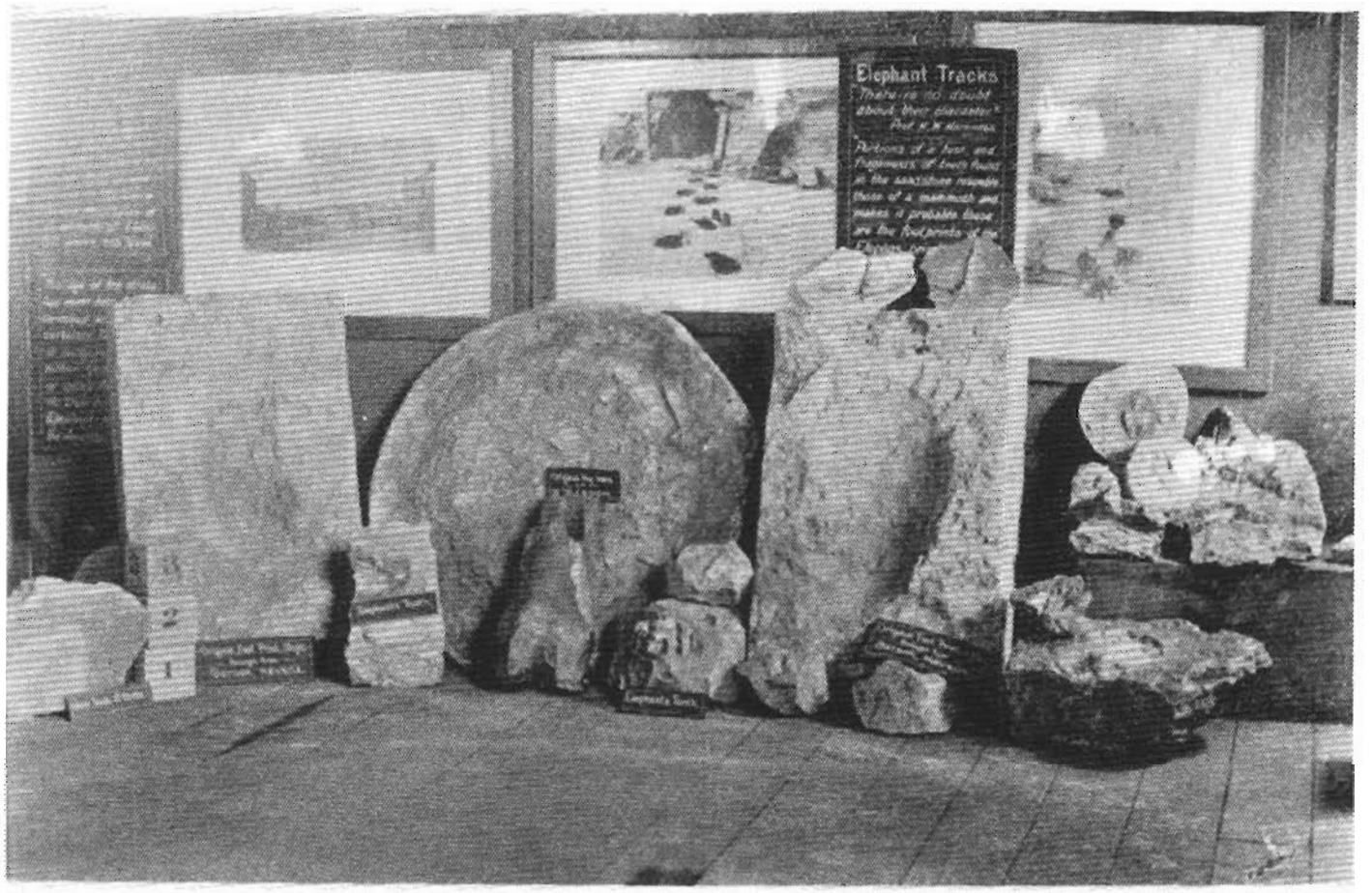
The Senate postponed the bill indefinitely. The Nevada material shown in Omaha may have been some mineral specimens from Elko County that were part of an exhibit from J. A. Bettzer of Ogden, Utah.[21]

The Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1900 came eleven years after that city's last world's fair. The French had decided that eleven years between fairs was the proper interval. Visitors to the fair found the grounds confusing as exhibits were spread out under a classification scheme that seemingly only the organizers understood. The displays were organized into eighteen subject groups, then further subdivided into 121 classes, and then ranked hierarchically.

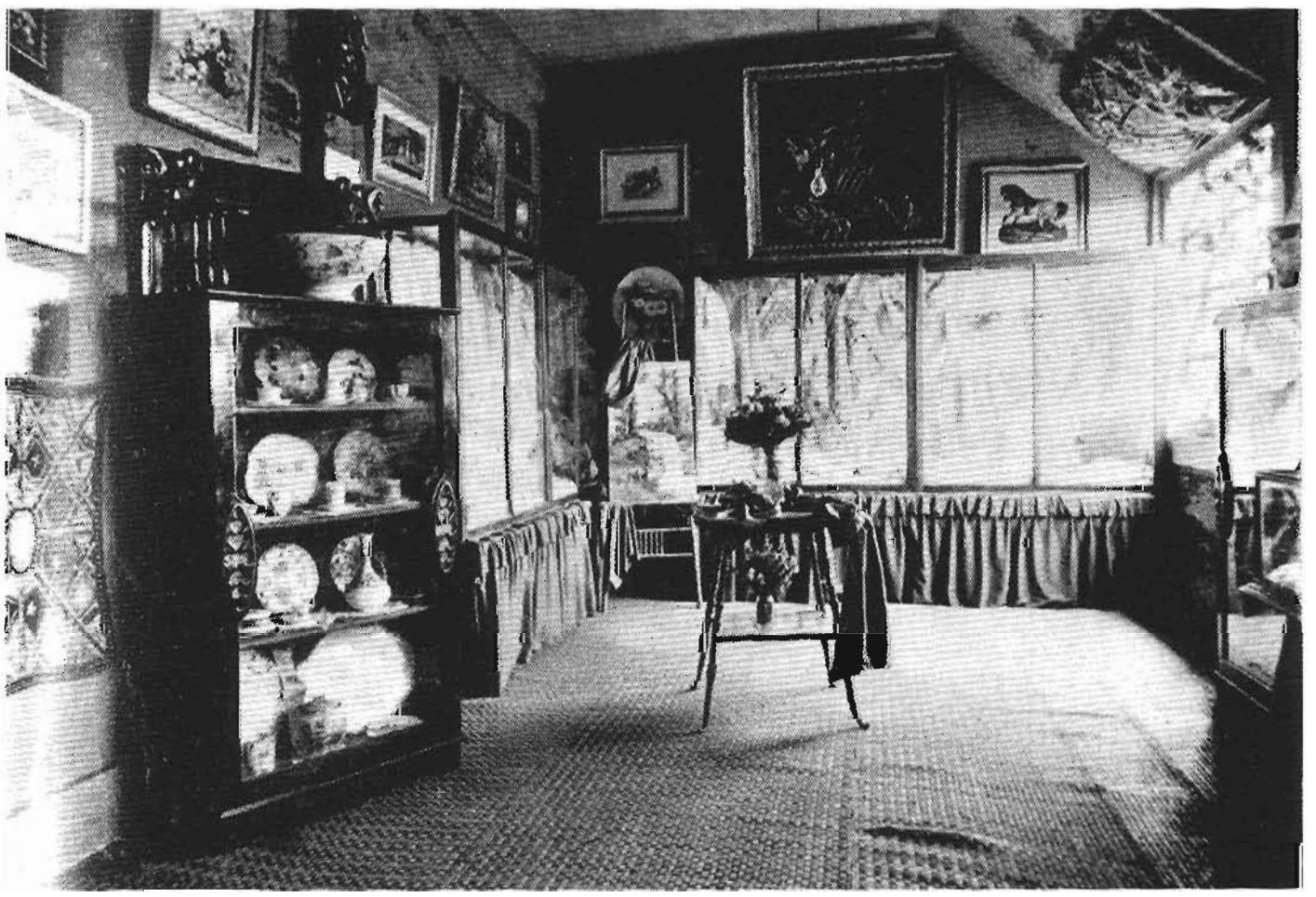
The grounds covered 279 acres and the fair was the biggest Paris exposition up to that point. What visitors marveled at was the use of electricity. Lights transformed the exposition at night and people crowded around the huge steam-powered dynamos. Other popular displays were automobiles, military arms, and the colonial exhibits, through which the French celebrated their overseas holdings with depictions of native life.

The fine arts were highlighted in Paris but the Impressionists and postimpressionists were not represented. There was, however, a retrospective exhibit of nineteenth-century French painting. The midway was scattered around the Eiffel Tower, a remnant from the previous world's fair. Popular on the midway were dioramas and re-creations of villages from around the world. This was the last world's fair of the nineteenth-century, and contemporary observers viewed it with a mixture of optimism and pessimism for the end of the century.

The Nevada legislature of 1899 passed, "An Act to provide for the collection, arrangement and display of products of the State of Nevada at the Paris Exposition in the year 1900." It authorized the governor to appoint a commission; Governor Sadler followed his predecessors and named J. A. Yerington as one of the commissioners. Also appointed were H. B. Maxson and W. J. Dooley. It was decided that there was not enough money to send a full exhibit to Paris, and in fact no money to send even the commissioners. The commissioners met



Nevada Mineral Exhibit, *The Overland Monthly*, January - June 1894 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.



The Works of Nevada Women, *The Overland Monthly*, January - June 1894 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

with a representative from the National Board of Paris Commissioners of the United States. The National Board asked the Nevada commissioners to collect an exhibit, which the Board would try to get to Paris.

The Southern Pacific Railroad came to the rescue of Nevada and offered to ship mineral specimens without cost. The state commissioners decided that the current State Cabinet of mineral specimens was not up to date and would not do for an exhibit, so a new collection was assembled from around the state. Eventually some 7,000 specimens enclosed in 107 cases and weighing 11 tons were gathered and sent to Paris.

The mineral exhibit was installed by the Southern Pacific Railroad in the Colonial Section within the exposition grounds. No one from Nevada was present, however, and the Southern Pacific representatives reported that they believed the exhibit suffered as a result. "One serious drawback to the success of your exhibit related to the absence of some one qualified by scientific attainment to answer all questions which were eagerly propounded."[22] The exhibit returned to New York at the close of the Paris exposition.[23]

The commissioners and the Southern Pacific Railroad representatives who took care of the mineral specimens in Paris urged the 1901 Nevada state legislature to use the exhibit again at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. The railroad's representative stated,

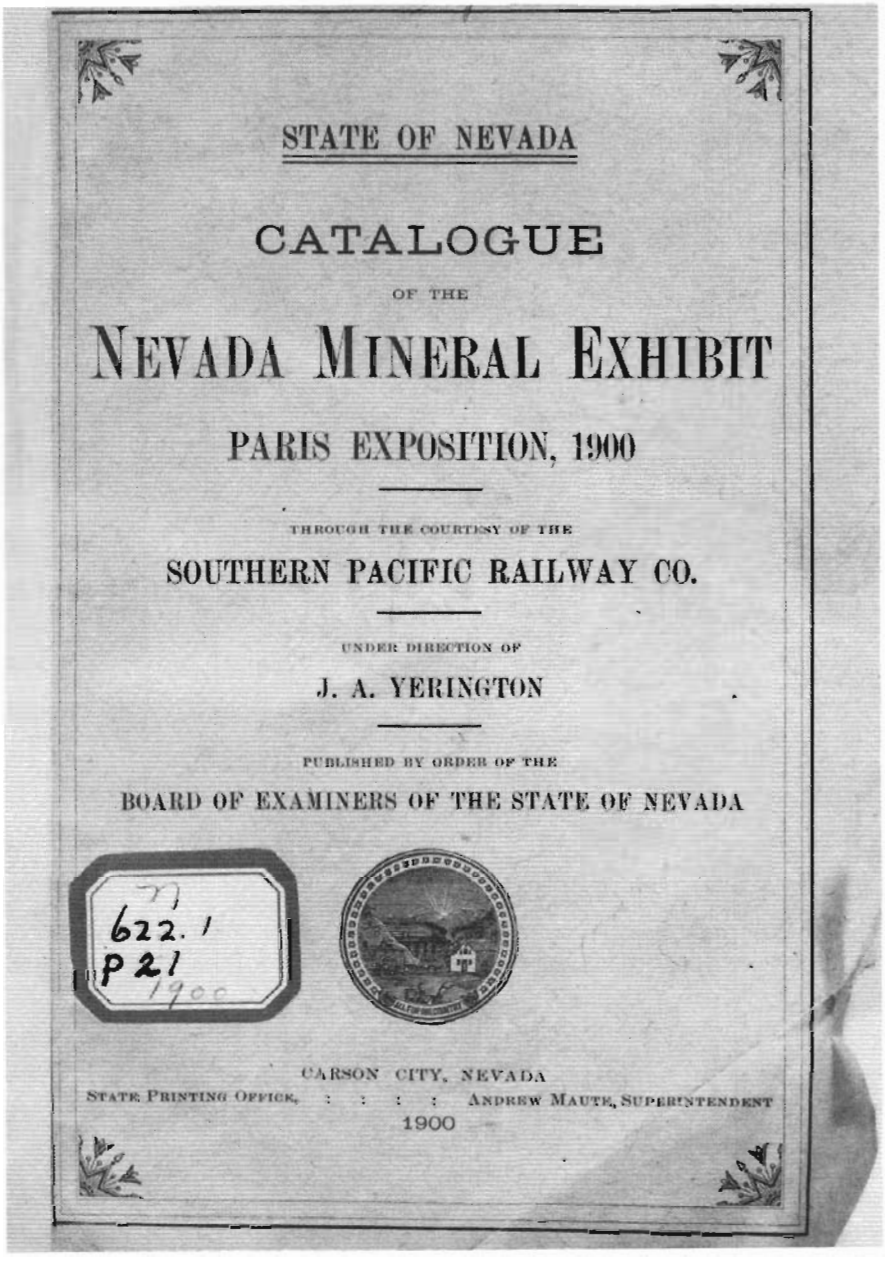
> I trust, therefore, that the people of Nevada will see to it that the splendid exhibit collected by your energy, and selected with so much intelligence and care . . . will be installed under the direction of a representative of your people, and will be accompanied through the entire time of the Pan-American Exposition by a Superintendent or Commissioner qualified to answer the interested inquiry which the vast diversity of the exhibit will necessarily attract.[24]

The legislature of Nevada did heed this advice and passed an act in 1901 to appropriate $5,000 for an exhibit at the fair in Buffalo.

The Pan-American Exposition, which is best known as the place of the assassination of President William McKinley on September 6, 1901, was designated to reflect its Pan-American theme and to be for all the Americas. The buildings were done in Spanish Renaissance style, and the sculpture and color scheme were meant to reflect the Western Hemisphere and the progression from a less civilized state to a higher one.

Again, it was the use of electricity that impressed visitors. The artificial lights' power came courtesy of nearby Niagara Falls. The principal buildings were the United States Government, Ethnology, Machinery and Transportation, Manufactures and Liberal Arts, and the Temple of Music. One of the ways the organizers wished to show the advance of civilization was an exhibit from the recently acquired Philippine Islands. They displayed a collection of Filipino cultural artifacts and a Filipino village on the midway.

The theme was not entirely successful. While there were buildings from Canada, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Hondu-



Nevada Mineral Exhibit Cover Page, Paris Exposition, 1900 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

ras, and Mexico, other Latin American countries did not participate. After the assassination of President McKinley the fair took on a gloomy atmosphere. Although it struggled on until November, the only surge in attendace came in October when merchants did a brisk business in McKinley memorabilia associated with the place where the president was shot. The fair has been considered a failure because it lost so much money, showing a deficit of some $3 million, and defaulting on various bond issues. The impact on benefitting Latin American relations, which was the purpose of the fair, was negligible.

The $5,000 that Nevada appropriated for the Buffalo fair was used to install the exhibit that had been used in Paris the year before. Nevada's exhibit was put in the Mining Building and was ready for presentation at the start of the fair in May. Besides the mineral specimens, the exhibit also had a stamp mill, a model of a twenty-mule borax team, and a statue of a prospector gripping a pick in one hand and holding the other hand outstretched.

The commissioners from Nevada to the Pan-American Exposition included J. A. Yerington, John Wagner, J. A. Miller, and Lester Bell. Yerington, with his participation in previous expositions, was becoming a familiar sight, so much so that he was elected president of the Executive Commissioners Association of the fair. The Nevada commissioners had first wanted an agricultural exhibit as well as a mining one, but they believed that there was not enough money to do justice to the farmers of Nevada. The Commissioners ended up using all their appropriation, in fact spending $381.00 more than was allocated. In their report to Governor Sadler the commissioners were proud to say that Nevada had received the only gold medal for a state exhibit by the Department of Mines and Mining.[25]

St. Louis had unsuccessfully tried to land the Columbian Exposition that went to Chicago and, in reaction, the city fathers started to plan their own world's fair. It was originally scheduled to appear in 1903, the one-hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase but was delayed a year to accommodate acquisition of more foreign exhibits. The organizers saw themselves as looking to the future and wanted the fair to revolve around a "New St. Louis." Streets were cleaned up, corruption was swept out of politics, and municipal services improved.

Another theme of the St. Louis fair was imperialism. It showed how civilization improved the lives of the people of recently acquired territories. Anthropological exhibits were a major feature of the fair, and besides the Olympic Games that went on in St. Louis, there were the Anthropological Games, in which natives competed in spear-throwing, archery, and other activities in which the organizers believed the natives were proficient. Missouri's Governor David Francis stated that the fair promoted universal peace by bringing diverse groups from around the world to St. Louis.

The fair was built in Forest Park and covered some 1,272 acres. The main buildings were in the Renaissance revival style of the Beaux Arts school, and

the foreign buildings reflected historical styles of the various countries. The fair showed human experience in life and motion, and classified man and his works into twelve categories.

The midway of the fair, called the Pike, housed some 540 amusements and concessions. Included were the Ferris Wheel from the 1893 Chicago fair, trick mirrors of the Temple of Mirth, and Jim Key, the educated horse. This fair was popular; almost 20 million people entered its gates, and it returned a profit of more than a million dollars.

Governor John Sparks of Nevada used his inaugural address of 1903 to urge an appropriation for an exhibit in St. Louis. He said, "I believe that such displays are highly beneficial in the way of attracting and interesting strangers to make investments. If individuals find it profitable to avail themselves of such methods it must certainly be of value to them, and if so it should be of much greater value to States." Sparks recommended that authorizing $10,000 or $15,000 would be appropriate.

The 1903 legislature agreed with the governor and did even more; it appropriated $20,000, and established a Board of World's Fair Commissioners for St. Louis. Governor Sparks named J. A. Yerington and C. H. E. Hardin as commissioners with Yerington once again general manager of the exhibit. This time the legislature allowed for a salary of $250 a month for Hardin. Yerington also hired a couple of assistants, Mrs. H. E. Freudenthal and C. E. Watson as well as others to be paid from the initial appropriation.

The commissioners contracted with John C. Broderick of St. Louis to design the Nevada State Building at a price of $4,783.50. The building was set on Colonial Avenue between the Mining Gulch and Commonwealth Boulevard. It was a two-story structure that resembled a typical house of 1904. There was a shady porch, and on the walls were images of Nevada. House plants were plentiful, the floors were covered with rugs, and there was an open veranda where vines and flowers entwined.

Even though $20,000 seemed like an adequate appropriation, those in charge immediately believed that Nevada would need more funds. In November of 1903 Governor Sparks wrote to Senator William A. Clark of Montana. (Clark soon would have a county in Nevada named for him. He was a railroad builder and seemed to be a budding presidential aspirant.) Sparks asked Clark for a donation, pointing out that the legislative appropriation was inadequate for a worthy exhibit. Sparks said if Clark would give $10,000, the gift would be known as the Clark Donation, and the Nevada Building in St. Louis would be available for Senator Clark's use as well as a band of forty-five musicians. Clark declined the honor.

Eventually a little more than $3,000 was raised by donations, including $1,400 from Yerington and the money ultimately realized from the sale of the building and the furniture. All during the fair the commissioners communicated with Governor Sparks on financial problems of the building. On August 30, 1904,

Yerington telegraphed to Sparks, "Can we depend on State for assistance creditors claim pressing[?]" Sparks telegraphed back, "State Board of Examiners met today. Your message considered. State Board of Examiners have no legal authority whatever to advance financial assistance." The building stayed open most likely out of Yerington's pocket.

Nevada's exhibit ran a deficit, and money was owed to creditors. The building that had cost almost $5,000 to build was sold for $400, and the furniture and booths raised another $310. Yerington informed Sparks in January of 1905 that the individual displays had been returned to their respective owners. He believed that the state's exhibit was successful even though the legislative appropriation was insufficient. Yerington wrote, "I have no hesitancy in stating that the state has not only received the benefits of favorable advertising through having made an exhibit of its natural and industrial resources, but has placed itself before the world as a state with the greatest of possibilities."[26] Yerington believed that the deficit would be covered by the Nevada legislature.

Governor Sparks, in his message to the 1905 legislature, urged the legislature to pass a bill to cover the deficiency: "The appropriation, being small, grand elaboration could not be indulged in, but State pride was sufficient incentive to bring forth our best endeavors in advertising to the world the resources and opportunities available to all who desire to engage in their development."[27] Sparks believed that there had been no misappropriation of the original grant and that the deficiency was legitimate.

The legislature responded by appropriating $8,956.44. The bill showed that the two commissioners had paid out of their own pockets while in St. Louis as it allowed $1,900 repayment to Yerington and $1,190 to Hardin.[28]

The St. Louis fair was followed by two expositions whose setting was the Pacific Northwest. In 1905 came the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair in Portland. In 1909 there was the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition in Seattle. Nevada declined participation in both. Initially, however, the Nevada legislature passed a resolution in 1903 congratulating Portland on its upcoming exposition: "the people of Nevada reciprocate the desire of the Lewis and Clark Centennial and Oriental Fair and the people of Oregon in promoting State participation, and to that end we favor and will endeavor in all legitimate ways to give the fullest display of Nevada's resources at the Portland 1905 Fair for the instruction and edification of the world at large."[29]

Governor Sparks wrote to the Portland organizers in June of 1905 and explained that no appropriation or commission had been authorized by the legislature, hence there was no organized effort for exhibits at the fair. He did, however, appoint Mrs. Key Pittman, whose husband was a United States Senator from Nevada, as a lady auxiliary. He explained that this position was honorary and contained no special privilege.

Nevada followed a similar path when it came to the Seattle exposition. In

1907, the legislators passed a resolution praising Seattle. In part it read, "we of Nevada appreciate and reciprocate the desire of the people of our sister State asking for Nevada's participation, and to the end that our State will be fully represented, we favor, and will endeavor in all legitimate ways to give the fullest exhibit of Nevada's resources at this Exposition, and we endorse the aims and purposes of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, and we most heartily recommend the participation of the United States Government."[30] The Nevada State Assembly passed an appropriation in 1909 for $15,000 to exhibit Nevada's riches before the world.

The assembly bill called for construction of a mining camp to represent the history of mining from the discovery of ore to flush times, to show the change that comes over a camp as the population rises. It also called for displays of ores and mining and milling machinery. The state senate however, indefinitely postponed the bill and so no appropriation was made for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle. The private secretary to Acting Governor Denver Dickerson wrote to the Seattle organizers that Dickerson believed that Nevada could not afford an exhibit in Seattle, but would not veto an appropriation bill if it reached his desk. No bill came to Dickerson and the only involvement Nevada had was unofficial.[31]

Earlier in 1907 the State Industrial and Publicity Commission was created. It was to "collect, prepare, and maintain . . . exhibits and displays of the mineral, agricultural, horticultural, and other material products and resources . . . of the State of Nevada." The commission was also to decide when and where these exhibits were to be displayed, and to find "proper ways to advertise, disseminate knowledge concerning, foster, encourage, promote, and give publicity to the same."[32] This commission's other function was to promote immigration to the state.

The commission was to consist of a chairman and two other commissioners. The chairman was to receive a salary of $2,500 a year; the two other commissioners were entitled only to expenses. A secretary could be hired at $1,800 a year.

In its report to the legislature in 1911 the Industrial and Publicity Commission bemoaned the killing of the appropriation bill for the Seattle Fair in 1909. The chairman, former state controller and newspaperman Sam Davis, wrote, "The action of the Senate lost to Nevada the opportunity of an advertisement at a national exposition, and Nevada was the only State in the Union not represented."[33] The commission had been intended to coordinate an exhibit in Seattle. When this did not happen, whatever plans there were for the future of the commission were discarded. In 1911 the legislature repealed the act that created the commission and it faded into history.[34]

The Panama Canal was completed in 1914, and an international exposition was suggested to celebrate the feat. San Francisco was anxious to have a fair to show the world that the city was back on its feet after the earthquake and fire

Mr. and Mrs. Key Pittman at Hoover Dam, circa 1932 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

of 1906. San Diego, the first American port north of the canal, also wanted the exposition. While the two cities battled over which would host the fair, New Orleans announced that it would stage a Panama Canal exposition. The State of California, fearful of losing out to Louisiana, worked out a compromise, with San Francisco receiving full state support and San Diego partial support. In the end New Orleans dropped out after seeing that no federal funds were forthcoming.

San Diego opened its exposition at Balboa Park on January 1, 1915. It was successful enough to run for two years and closed December 31, 1916. With the decreased state support, San Diego, instead of having a truly international exposition, had settled for a regional one, calling it the Panama California Exposition. The buildings were in the Spanish-Mexican colonial style, thought beautiful then and later. Balboa Park retained this architectural style and became the centerpiece of the city. Most of the park's large structures built in later years continued the Spanish colonial style, and the San Diego Zoo also emerged from the fair.

The theme of the San Diego fair was the progress of man and the possibilities of the human race. Regional agriculture was emphasized, and evolution was prominently displayed, with much assistance from the Smithsonian Institution. The midway was now an essential part of every fair. San Diego's, called The Isthmus, followed anthropological themes. The fair attracted more than 3.7 million visitors and made a small profit.

The San Francisco exposition, named the Panama Pacific International Exposition (PPIE), opened on February 20, 1915, and closed on December 4 of that year. More than 18.8 million visitors came to the PPIE and like the San Diego fair it made a profit, of $2.4 million. The site was controversial. The city fathers first wanted to put the fair in Golden Gate Park, location of the Midwinter Fair of 1894. But the site ultimately chosen was on undeveloped land near the Bay. That area is now known as the Marina.

The PPIE was laid out in courtyards, each designed by a different architect. The major courtyards were the Court of the Universe, the Court of Ages, and the Court of the Four Seasons. Inside these courts were the Palaces of Transportation, Manufactures, Liberal Arts, Agriculture, Social Economy, and Mines and Metallurgy. Each had a dome, and some called the fair the "City of Domes." Outside the courtyards were more buildings including the Palace of Horticulture, Palace of Machinery, and the Palace of Fine Arts. The structure that visually dominated the fair was the 432-foot Tower of Jewels. The midway was called the Joy Zone.

The grounds were full of trees—cypress, orange, and palm. Sculpture throughout the grounds was supervised by A. Stirling Calder, father of Alexander Calder. His sculptural groups included *Nations of the East*, *Nations of the West*, and *End of the Trail*. The Palace of Fine Arts housed the first international exhibition of contemporary art in the western United States. There were

Nevada Building at the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

Nevada Building at the Panama California Exposition in San Diego in 1915 *(Nevada Historical Society).*

more than 11,400 works. Some popular exhibits at the PPIE were the Ford assembly line that turned out eighteen Model T's a day; motion pictures shown in sixty cinemas; airplanes that made daily trips around the exposition grounds; and a working model of the Panama Canal that covered five acres. Visitors were transported around the canal exhibit in a moving platform and held telephone receivers to their ears to hear the details of the working model.

Nevada started to plan for the two California fairs in 1911. In his annual message Governor Tasker L. Oddie urged the legislature to help Nevada have worthy exhibits at the fairs. A bill was passed by the legislature which seemed adequate to fund an exhibit in San Francisco. It called for $150,000 to be appropriated for the PPIE. It also designated the governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state as the Board of Directors for both the fairs. The governor was required to appoint a director general, and he and the Board of Directors would appoint five citizens as honorary directors. The money was allocated over four years, with $10,000 available after January 1, 1912; $100,000 available after January 1, 1913; and another $30,000 available after January 1, 1915.

This bill, however, was vetoed by Governor Oddie, who told the legislature that the object of the bill was commendable but the cost was too great and the finances did not appear to him to be sound. "I am not prepared as Governor of this State to assume the responsibility of approving any appropriation, however meritorious, where no provision is previously provided for insuring the necessary funds in the State Treasury to meet it."[35] He was angry that the legislature had not passed his tax bill, which he claimed would equalize taxation and provide a stable tax base for years to come. Now, he was not confident that there would be money in 1915 to help pay for the fair. Oddie believed that there was time in 1913 to pass a bill that would pay for an exhibit; meanwhile he would endeavor to arrange for selection of a site for a Nevada building, and if any funds were needed he would seek them from private sources.

In 1911, Oddie appointed an honorary commission to help with exposition planning. It consisted of Oscar R. Morgan, Cleveland H. Baker, and Patrick L. Flanigan. These commissioners passed a resolution naming Frederick J. DeLongchamps to prepare and submit plans for a suitable building, and calling a meeting of all interests of the state in order to have the finest exhibits. The resolution called for those interests to include the president and Board of Regents of the University of Nevada, the director of the Experiment Station, the commissioner of Industry, Agriculture and Irrigation, the press of the state, representatives of the Nevada Mine Owners' Association, the Nevada Cattle Owners' Association, the Nevada Sheep Commission, and others.

Oddie and the honorary commission went to San Francisco and selected a site for the Nevada building. Frederick DeLongchamps was authorized to prepare preliminary sketches for the structure, whose cost was not to exceed $20,000, and submit them to the commission.

In San Diego, fair organizers broke ground in July of 1911 on the exposition

grounds. Oddie had been invited to attend; he declined the invitation but agreed to send a representative. The representative did not arrive in time for the ground breaking but paid his respects to the management of the Panama California Exposition the next day.

In 1912 the honorary commission consisted of Charles Henderson of Elko, Charles P. Squires of Las Vegas, and Governor Oddie. In 1913 Oddie again encouraged the legislators to support Nevada's efforts at the fairs. This time he recommended a special five-cent tax for the years 1913 and 1914 to go into a fund "for proper representation of Nevada and its resources at the Panama Pacific International Exposition, at San Francisco, in 1915." Oddie believed that the tax would raise $100,000 in four semiannual installments.

Oddie also told the 1913 legislature, "I think there can be no difference of opinion that we should so govern and conduct our exhibit that the State will receive benefits in excess of its cost. Our resources must be presented, not in haphazard manner, but with the same degree of technical precision which other States have adopted in their exhibit at such expositions."[36] During the legislative session Governor Oddie received an official letter from the San Diego organizers for Nevada to participate. He forwarded the invitation to the senators and assemblymen and stated that it would be advantageous to the state to have an exhibit in San Diego.

The legislature formed a committee to investigate whether Nevada should participate in San Diego. The committee reported that any appropriation should be equally divided between the two expositions, but the legislature instead followed the suggestions of Governor Oddie.

The legislature levied a special tax of six cents per hundred dollars to go into an exposition fund and be collected for the next two fiscal years. Out of this, $40,000 would be appropriated for the Panama California Exposition in San Diego, and $100,000 for the PPIE in San Francisco. The act also named Tasker L. Oddie, Gilbert C. Ross, and George B. Thatcher as the Board of Directors of the exposition fund. It allowed the governor to appoint an exposition commissioner, and the board to hire a superintendent, directors, clerks, and other necessary persons. Ross was the lieutenant governor in 1913 and Thatcher the attorney general. The state appointed these directors by name, so even after Ross was no longer lieutenant governor he remained on the Board of Directors.

In April of 1913 Governor Oddie named George T. Mills as exposition commissioner. Other appointments followed, including Zeb Kendall, state senator from Nye County, as superintendent of the PPIE building.

The year 1914 brought troubles for Nevada's effort in its neighboring state. It took a while for the exposition board to begin constructing the buildings. DeLongchamps also submitted plans for the San Diego building. It was hoped that construction costs would not exceed $15,000. But when summer came no buildings were built, and no work was being done. Finally, in June of 1914, A. S. Gough of Goldfield became the contractor of the Nevada building at the

PPIE. Gough's bid was $23,600.

The University of Nevada was supposed to be in charge of many of the PPIE exhibits, and the delays were worrisome. In August of 1914 Professor J. Claude Jones of the university's College of Engineering wrote to Governor Oddie that "The time is becoming so short that unless some definite action is taken soon in regard to the exhibits at the exposition we will be unable to make much of a showing . . . . I think it will be a great mistake to have the exhibits go by default and disappoint the many Nevada people who will attend the expositions to say nothing of losing the opportunity of educating the multitude of visitors in the progress that our State has made."[37]

The cause of delay was apparent in August of 1914 when a resolution passed by the Board of Directors asked various private organizations in the state what the Board should do in relation to the expositions. The tax that was supposed to raise $140,000 was not going to raise that much by 1915. The Board blamed it on the downturn of the economy caused by war in Europe, in particular the effect of the war on the mining industry. The resolution said,

> . . . it appears from the facts and figures ascertainable from the State Controller's office and the Nevada Tax Commission that the amount of revenue actually collected under the assessed valuation of 1913 was only slightly above the amount required for the running expenses of the State, and of the amount expended on the California Expositions but $18,000 is at present actually available: the balance, therefore, is still to be collected and can be obtained only through a large increase in the assessed valuation of the State for 1914. In addition to the increased valuation that the Exposition appropriation will necessitate, a further increased valuation will be required to make up the possible loss of revenue from bullion taxes.[38]

The Board asked the County Commissions of the State of Nevada to report before September 10 with their advice.

While the Nevada County Commissions were deciding what to tell the exposition Board of Directors, a letter came to Commissioner George Mills from the president of the Panama California Exposition. He had heard that Nevada might pull out of San Diego: "that a state with the abundant resources awaiting the home and investment seeker, such as Nevada has, would make a great mistake if she did not take advantage of what this Exposition has to offer." The letter also contended that Nevada could not afford to miss the tens of thousands of eastern and middle west people who would visit the fair. He said, "The great purpose of this Exposition is to strengthen that desire and leave us as a legacy of the Exposition a very decided increase in the population of the Western States."[39]

The majority of the responses from the counties wanted the state to continue supporting the expositions, but wanted expenses kept as low as possible. The Board met on September 20, 1914, and passed a resolution: "the Nevada Board of Directors for the said Expositions hereby agrees to limit the total expenditures at such expositions to the least possible sum consistent with a fair and

reasonable representation of the State of Nevada and its resources at such expositions."[40] The crisis passed but time was short. Although Nevada had the best of intentions, it was once again trying to mount an exhibit on the cheap.

The ground-breaking for the Nevada building in San Francisco took place on October 3, 1914. Governor Oddie was unable to attend as he was campaigning for re-election. He assured Charles Moore, president of the PPIE, that Nevada would be there: "As you know I have been a strong booster for the Exposition from the start and have personally headed off action by our board, which would have killed our State's participation. I am very proud of having accomplished this and assure you that I am continuing to do everything in my power to help this great Exposition along."[41] Oddie would not be able to help the exposition along for much longer as he was defeated in his bid for re-election. Emmet Boyle became the new governor of Nevada in January of 1915.

Oddie still had a little more than a month to serve as governor when problems arose again, this time in San Diego. Although construction had begun in San Francisco, no building yet had gone up in San Diego. With the fair opening on January 1, Nevada's prospects for representation were not good. The space originally assigned to Nevada had been taken away. On November 23 Oddie pleaded with H. O. Davis, director of the Panama California Exposition, for more time. Davis had said the building must be finished by January 1, and that there would be no extension. Charles Friedhoff was sent to San Diego in early December of 1914 and supervised the construction of the building on a new site. The Nevada Building was not finished in time for the official opening of the San Diego fair. It was finally completed in February of 1915.

Governor Oddie was succeeded in office by Governor Boyle in January 1915; Oddie resigned as exposition Board chairman and appointed Boyle in his place. Boyle tried to persuade Oddie to reconsider and stay on the Board. Oddie declined, saying he wished to return to private life. Honorary commissioner Charles Squires of Las Vegas visited the building site of the Nevada exhibit in San Diego. He communicated to Boyle his belief that the Panama California Exposition had great potential for Clark County and recommended that men from Clark and Lincoln counties be in charge of the building. Control over the building was transferred to a committee of citizens from Clark and Lincoln, with Peter Buol as chairman.

In San Francisco, as the Nevada Building was being completed, the responsibility of the exhibit was being finalized. The University of Nevada was put in charge of the agricultural, educational, and mineral portions, and the Dean of the Engineering School, James G. Scrugham, had primary responsibility. The livestock exhibit was to include a car-load each of prime steers and lambs, and other animals to be collected later.

The Nevada Building at the PPIE was officially dedicated on February 22, 1915 with the official address by Grant H. Smith. The construction of the building cost the state $28,965.10. The Nevada Building in San Diego cost $19,756.25

and was officially dedicated on April 1. Peter Buol, representing Nevada in San Diego, said the building was receiving about 200 to 350 visitors daily and stressed the need for more publications about Nevada agriculture.

Nevada's Honorary Commission for the Panama California Exposition included Buol of Las Vegas, William E. Orr of Pioche, R. W. Martin of Las Vegas, Charles P. Squires of Las Vegas, and Henry H. Lee of Pioche. All were there on April 1 for the dedication of the building and a formal dinner held on the exposition grounds. It was in San Diego that Boyle first rode in an airplane, a feat he would repeat many times as governor.

Nevada State Day at the PPIE was on July 7 with Boyle, the exposition directors, honored guests and dignitaries present. Also there were the Nevada Building employees who had been hired by the Exposition Board. Because the original legislation had named Ross and Thatcher as Board members they were still serving even though Ross was no longer lieutenant governor. At times Boyle became frustrated as he was outvoted on many occasions. Frank Perrin was appointed secretary at $200 a month. Apparently he did the work of Zeb Kendall who was the superintendent but lacked diligence. Also employed were a directress of Domestic Arts, Mrs. W. A. Massey; an assistant hostess, Mrs. Lucy Gates; a matron; and six attendants and watchmen. Salaries ranged from $75 a month to $125.

It did not take long for Nevada to reduce the expenses of the exhibits. Frank Perrin was informed on May 26 that the livestock exhibition was to be abandoned and the steers returned to their owners, and that the position of watchman would be eliminated on July 1. Good news came during the summer of 1915 as Nevada was awarded a gold medal for its mining exhibit, two gold medals for its university relief map, and gold medals for the Buckhorn Mine and Nevada Consolidated Copper Company exhibits. In San Diego Nevada also received gold medals for its agricultural and mining exhibits.

Zeb Kendall caused headaches for Governor Boyle throughout 1914 and 1915. Friends of Boyle urged him to get rid of Kendall as they thought his salary was going to a man who neglected his duties. Boyle never succeeded in removing Kendall. In 1914 Kendall sued the State of Nevada for his salary. The state controller, Jacob Eggers, had refused to draw a warrant for his salary; Eggers's logic was that since Kendall was a sitting state senator he was already being paid and could not draw two different paychecks from the state. In April of 1915 the Nevada Supreme Court dismissed Kendall's suit, ruling that the controller was able to audit all accounts and could not be compelled by mandamus. The court agreed, however, that Kendall had the right to hold the office of superintendent as that position was not considered a public office.

Kendall then took his argument to District Court. There was a jury trial, and the State of Nevada maintained that Kendall did not do any work and was not entitled to his superintendent's salary. In fact the state said it had to hire somebody else to do Kendall's work at extra expense. The jury found for Kendall

and awarded him $2,500 in back pay. The trial took place between December 27, 1915 and January 5, 1916.

In September of 1915 the state ordered the fairs to cut expenses further. Peter Buol in San Diego was told to keep expenses at $800 a month. Two employees of the Nevada Building in San Francisco were dismissed in that month, and the rest were let go on October 1. The PPIE officially closed on December 4, 1915.

The Panama California Exposition stayed open until the end of 1916, and some of the exhibits that had been displayed at the Nevada Building in San Francisco were transferred south. At the end of 1916 the building that cost more than $19,000 in San Diego was sold for $500.

The 1917 Nevada legislature passed a bill that provided for the distribution of the exhibits of both the Panama California and Panama Pacific International expositions. The furniture, cases, fixtures, booths, and ornaments had been moved to the University of Nevada after the fairs shut down. The act officially gave the university custody of these materials. It also gave the Board of Regents of the university the responsibility of distributing the materials, when possible, to their rightful owners. The departments of engineering, agriculture and mining were to receive the exhibits, furniture, cases, booths, and ornaments of the Panama California and Panama Pacific International expositions.[42]

Nevada expressed no interest in participating in the major American expositions of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Philadelphia held the Sesquicentennial International Exposition in 1926, commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The fair was not well attended and lost more than $5.6 million. The governor's private secretary wrote to the Philadelphia organizers that Nevada "definitely refused to appropriate any sum for Philadelphia Exposition and there are no other funds available."[43] Chicago held a more successful world's fair in 1933. Its Century of Progress Exposition, even though held in the depths of the depression, made money. Nevada made no appropriation for an exhibit and no commission was established. Nevada and New Jersey were the only states not to participate.

The Balboa Park buildings in San Diego were refurbished from the Panama California Exposition and a new fair was held in 1935 and 1936. Nevada once again declined to take part.

In 1939 Nevada had its last major exhibit at a world's fair. That year two fairs opened on the opposite coasts of the United States. The New York World's Fair and the Golden Gate International Exposition vied with each other for visitors, government support, and entertainment in the two years that each operated before World War II changed America and the world forever.

The New York World's Fair is remembered by more people today than any other World's Fair. Although not a great financial success, it was certainly popular. More than forty-six million people attended in the two years it was open. It is now a fair of nostalgia for men and women of the war generation, as it represents an optimistic world on the edge of world conflict. It is also remem-

bered for its attempt at futurism: the World of Tomorrow could be a better place if it is planned correctly. To that end the fair had the Futurama and Democracity. There were corporate buildings of all types where visitors could see products being made. Architecturally the fair was modernistic; many believed that the buildings were intended more to boost sales for the companies than to set trends. The theme buildings for the fair were the 610-foot-high Trylon and the Perisphere, 180 feet in diameter. They were linked by a ramp called the Helicline. The midway, as always, was popular, and the most visited attraction was Billy Rose's Aquacade.

The Golden Gate International Exposition (GGIE) was held as a celebration of the completion of two great bridges that spanned San Francisco Bay. The fair was held on reclaimed land off Yerba Buena Island near the Bay Bridge. The new area was called Treasure Island, and the fair is sometimes called the Treasure Island Fair. It covered more than 400 acres. The fair had a Pacific Basin theme, and is considered the last of the oldfashioned world fairs. The fairs held after the war became more commercial and less elaborate. As in 1915, the 1939 San Francisco exposition used courts as the classification scheme. There was a Court of Honor, Court of the Moon, Court of Reflections, Court of Flowers, Court of the Seven Seas, and the Court of Pacifica with the Fountain of the Western Waters.

As in New York, corporations had buildings at the GGIE, but usually the San Francisco buildings and exhibits were not as large as their eastern counterparts. A major art exhibit of old masters was at the fair in 1939. The midway was called the Gayway which included the Cavalcade of America. Also in the Gayway were the Diving Bell, which took passengers to the bottom of a fish tank, and Sally Rand's Nude Ranch. The Billy Rose Aquacade came to Treasure Island in 1940. The GGIE attracted fewer visitors but it was less of a financial disaster; while New York lost $18.7 million, San Francisco lost a little over a half a million dollars.

In 1937 Nevada set up two commissions to coordinate the state's participation in the two expositions. The legislature of that year passed bills to create the Nevada World's Fair Commission and the Golden Gate International Exposition Commission. The bills allowed three members for each commission, the members to be appointed by the governor. The Nevada World's Fair Commission received an appropriation of $10,000; the GGIE Commission was allowed to draw money from an exposition fund created by an ad valorem tax of six and a half cents per hundred dollars of taxable property. This special tax would run through the fiscal years of 1937 and 1938. Out of this fund the GGIE Commission was allowed $25,000 immediately.

The GGIE Commission act also empowered the governor to appoint a Board of Directors. Governor Richard Kirman did not run for re-election in 1938, but at the end of the year, he made the various appointments pursuant to the two fair acts. He appointed to the World's Fair Commission E. W. Chism, Joe F.

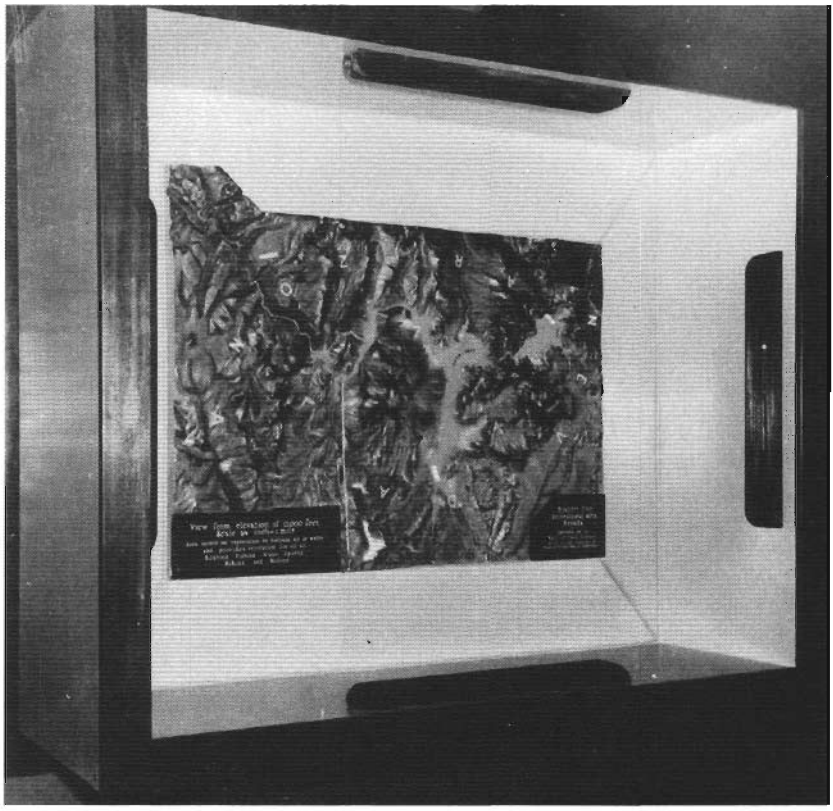
Nevada Day at the The Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 *(Nevada Historical Society).*

Nevada Exhibit at the The Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

McDonald, and John E. Robbins. To the GGIE Commission Kirman named John J. Hunter, Vida Boyle, and Edward F. Lunsford. Boyle was the widow of former Governor Emmet Boyle. For the Board of Directors the following were selected: W. W. Hopper, Howard S. Doyle, and Robert M. Price.

The Commissions decided that not enough money was appropriated by the 1937 acts, so they asked the 1939 legislature for additional funds. The GGIE Commission received $25,000 more for the year 1939, with an additional $20,000 if the fair went into 1940. The World's Fair Commission received $20,000 for 1939, and $12,000 for 1940 if needed. Also the World's Fair Commission was expanded from three to five members. Governor E. P. Carville appointed J. C. Kinnear and Robert Griffith to the two openings.

The World's Fair Commission said it needed the extra money because the rental charge was $10,000 for only a modest exhibit, and it would cost $2,000 for janitorial, water, and electrical service. In January of 1939 the commission decided to have the Highway Department design and erect Nevada's exhibit. Also, the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce helped finance the construction of a working model of Boulder Dam. Originally, the model was to be used at the GGIE, but it proved too big for the exhibit space in San Francisco. The model



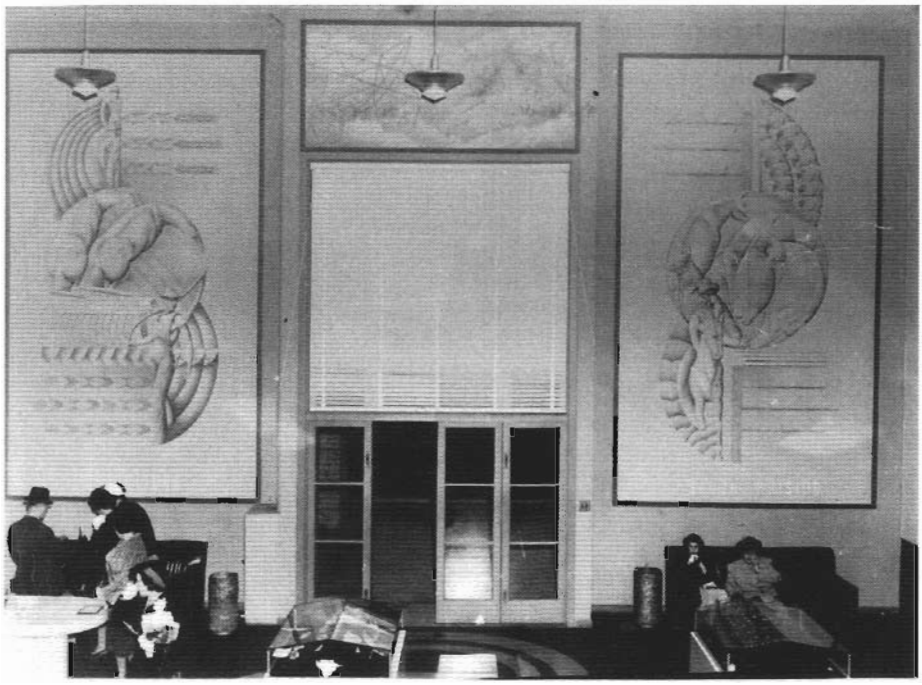
Nevada Exhibit at the The Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 *(Nevada Historical Society).*

was shipped in May of 1939 to New York.

The World's Fair Commission negotiated with the New York organizers to lower the rent an initial 4 percent, followed by further reduction to $8,000, and the budget was prepared on that basis. The New York authorities maintained later that there was no agreement beyond the first reduction. The Nevada Commission also thought that there would be no rent charged in 1940. Once again the New York organizers remembered no such understanding.

The commissioners were quite surprised when a bill for the rent came in May of 1939. It was for $9,600. Negotiations led nowhere, and the state, under protest, paid the full amount. At the same time rumors reached the state of labor difficulties and high contract costs. With rumors afloat and the rent controversy still boiling, the Commission sent H. H. Swinburne to New York. Swinburne, an architect, was mostly concerned with the labor conditions. He also discussed the labor problems with many of the other exhibitors, both foreign and domestic.

Nevada Day at the The Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 *(Nevada Historical Society)*.



Boulder Dam Exhibit at the The Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 *(Nevada Historical Society).*

Upon his return Swinburne made a report to the Commission: Rent would be $9,200 in 1939, and if the fair continued into 1940 full rent would be charged. The bids for construction and installation ranged from $5,440 to $14,955. He said that he received no assurance that Nevada's exhibit would not be sabotaged if the state refused to pay union labor's excessive overtime charges. Maintenance charges once the exhibits were installed had been found far in excess of the organizers'estimates. The electrical union demanded a standby operator for the Boulder Dam exhibit, and Nevada could not use its own workers who had come from Las Vegas and designed the exhibit. Swinburne reported that continous trouble with exhibit installations had caused the state managers of exhibits to form an Association of States to bargain collectively, and the Association invited Nevada to join.

With this report, Nevada decided to withdraw its exhibit from New York. The check for the rent was stopped and Nevada's representatives went home. Nevada's withdrawal received much publicity, this in addition to the criticism the World's Fair was receiving generally in 1939. The *Atlantic Monthly* ran a story in January 1940 about the labor troubles at the fair and highlighted the Nevada incident. The World's Fair Commission had expended a little over $10,000 of its $30,000 appropriation for 1939, and returned the full $12,000

appropriation for 1940 to the General Fund of the state.

Things went much smoother in San Francisco and Nevada always had more affinity for the Golden Gate International Exposition. The labor problems that had plagued New York were not present in San Francisco. The Boulder Dam model was moved from New York to the GGIE. It was still too big to fit into the Nevada exhibit, so it was placed in the federal exhibit at the Federal Building.

The GGIE Commission also, as in New York, used the Nevada State Highway Department to design the exhibit, and although the time was short the exhibit was ready when the exposition opened in February of 1939. The exhibit space was in the Hall of Western States and located between the Idaho and Utah exhibits. The rent was $8,750 for the year. The exhibit consisted of archeological displays relating to development of the state, traced through Lost City, Fort Churchill, and work by modern Nevada Indians. At the main entrance a mural of the Sierra Nevada was displayed, along with a 7-foot high map of Nevada outlining the paved roads of the highway system. Below the map were twenty-seven photographs of various Nevada scenes with captions describing opportunities for recreation, business and tourism.

Literature was available for the fairgoer. The highway department furnished maps; the Reno Chamber of Commerce had pamphlets; the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, courtesy of the Southern Pacific Railroad, had a publication describing the possibilities of southern Nevada; and the First National Bank of Nevada provided a pamphlet entitled *Nevada, the Cyclone Cellar for the Tax Weary*. The GGIE Commission always wanted more literature, as several hundred–thousand pieces were distributed in the two years of existence of the fair. The commissioners believed that the Nevada exhibit served its purpose. They wrote, "Thousands of inquiries were received asking for particular information about Nevada. These inquiries were all answered and material sent out to cover all subjects. In every sense, the Exhibit can be termed a success. It really presented, in a forceful manner, the soundness of the State of Nevada, with its low tax rates and opportunities for good living, good business, and good recreational facilities."[44]

The GGIE closed its first season on October 29, 1939, and Nevada considered reopening the exhibit for 1940. Governor Carville wrote to the GGIE and asked for a reduction in the rent for Nevada's exhibit. In early 1940 it was decided that the GGIE would open for a second year, and the rent would be free to all exhibitors who were there in 1939. Carville appointed Edward Lunsford to be a member of the Board of Directors, replacing Robert Price, who had died. Appointed to the commission were Hayden Henderson and John Sinai. Some changes were made to the Nevada exhibit in 1940, and once again the commissioners believed that the number of visitors to the fair justified the expense to the state. The Golden Gate International Exposition officially closed on September 29, 1940. The commissioners returned more than $13,000 to the General Fund. They were proud that the state received a refund and that they

Governor and Mrs. Carville *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

had not spent all the money that had been allocated.

The University of Nevada successfully bid on the mining exhibit from the GGIE, and it went to the Mackay School of Mines. The school's museum received murals depicting mining and 1849 scenes; as well as plaster replicas of all United States gold, silver, and copper coins and a set of illuminated Rand McNally maps showing the location and production of the chief metals and minerals of the United States.

The embryonic Nevada State Museum was promised the other exhibits that had been displayed at the GGIE. These became the nucleus of the museum. One of the arguments used by the museum supporters was that money spent on exhibits and transport to various national and international expositions could fund a good museum to maintain exhibitable Nevada materials permanently. By the use of this argument the museum received an initial donation from a wealthy resident, Max Fleischmann of Fleischmann Yeast fame, and the Nevada State Museum opened its doors in 1941.[45]

The Golden Gate International Exposition was the last world's fair for which Nevada had an extensive exhibit. For a while there were no world's fairs because of World War II and its aftermath. Brussels held an exposition in 1958, followed by Seattle (1962), New York (1964), Montreal (1967), Osaka (1970), Spokane (1974), Knoxville (1982), New Orleans (1984), Vancouver (1986), and Seville (1992). Nevada stayed out of these exhibits as the state's focus changed

from sending out material to bringing people to Nevada.

After World War II the Nevada State Planning Board did coordinate exhibits at a couple of smaller fairs: The Utah Centennial Exposition in 1947 and the Century of Progress in Railroad Transportation Exposition in 1948 in Chicago were fairs with regional or topical focus, and certainly had no expectations of achieving world's-fair status. Nevada sent to Utah a model mine exhibit developed by the Nevada State Museum, fulfilling its founders' expectation of using the museum as a resource for future exhibits.

In 1948 for the Chicago railroad fair, the State of Nevada, through the State Planning Board, sent an exhibit developed by the Union Pacific Railroad. It consisted of two photographic murals and a large outline map of the state. A large diorama of Hoover Dam (formerly Boulder Dam) dominated the Nevada exhibit. The Union Pacific handled most of the cost, but $2,000 was raised among the chambers of commerce of the state of Nevada. The Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce contributed $750 and sent its managing director to attend the opening of the fair. Nevada's official representative was University of Nevada President John Moseley, aided by two hostesses, Alice Brady of Las Vegas, and Moseley's daughter, Margaret.[46]

Governor Charles H. Russell received an invitation from Brussels for the 1958 exposition. Although Russell replied that no funds were available for Nevada to participate, he did send a state flag, a half-hour color sound film (*Land of Surprises*), and the sheet music for the Nevada state song, *Home Means Nevada*. For Seattle in 1962 the only representative from Nevada was the White Pine High School band. In 1964 Governor Grant Sawyer traveled to the fair in New York for Nevada Day, which was held on June 19 of that year. He was accompanied by the Las Vegas Rhythmettes, twenty girls from the Las Vegas High School drill-and-dance team. They wore cowboy boots, short skirts, colorful blouses, and cowboy hats. Also represented in New York were the chambers of commerce of Reno and Lake Tahoe; together they wanted an exhibit at the Transportation and Travel Pavilion.

There had been a proposal in the 1963 legislature to fund an exhibit in New York. Jack Lehman, director of the Nevada Department of Economic Development, testified against it. He reported that he had surveyed casinos and other businesses around the state and that the majority were against having an exhibit. The proposal failed.[47]

The only money spent by the State of Nevada for an exhibit at a world's fair since 1939 was for the Spokane world's fair of 1974. Its official title was Expo '74: The International Exposition on the Environment. The State of Nevada, along with the city of Reno, sponsored an exhibit with a northern Nevada theme, after the city of Las Vegas declined to participate. Governor Mike O' Callaghan led a delegation of fifty Nevadans on the fair's Nevada Day, July 25, 1974. The state's Department of Economic Development coordinated the exhibit.[48]

Economic development and tourism have played an important role in

Nevada's nonparticipation in expositions since World War II. State funds, it was believed, could be better spent on targeting specific consumers around the country and the world with advertisements in the mass media. Nevada officials thought that more people could be reached in this way than through happenstance contacts at a world's fair. Nevada Governor Bob Miller, in declining to participate at Seville in 1992, explained that Nevada had already made its commitments for international travel for the next biennium and that the commitments did not include Europe.[49]

The way the State of Nevada has participated in world's fairs and expositions has changed since the first one in 1862, but the motives have been consistent. To bring capital and people to Nevada were always the goals. Eventually the drive to acquire permanent residents decreased. Nevada did not necessarily need immigrants; tourists with money were good enough. Fair exhibits had started out as strictly mineralogical, but broadened in the last part of the nineteenth-century to include agricultural; in the early twentieth-century the emphasis was almost exclusively agricultural. As the century wore on recreation and the state's beauty were emphasized. And, as in the case of the giant sloth footprints, sensationalism was occasionally employed.

With a few rare exceptions Nevada tried to have exhibits on the cheap and usually this was all too apparent. The commissioners for the various expositions were frequently proud that they returned money to the General Fund. But the appropriations were usually not large, and sometimes, instead of returning money, the commissioners were forced to go to the legislature for relief. Nevada had a hard time finding the happy medium, either spending too much or not enough. In one case, at a Paris fair, the state was bamboozled by a shifty promoter.

The golden age of Nevada exhibits at expositions was during the time of J. A. Yerington from 1893 through 1904. He was quite a promoter, and his reports were thorough and full of outside praise for Nevada's endeavors. His records are the most comprehensive of those that have survived. Yerington used his position with the railroads to help the state, and he seemed genuine in his desire to have the best exhibits for Nevada.

World's fairs and expositions moved from being showcases of industrial progress to fairs being events that revolved around several special themes. They went from being housed in one enormous building to thematic and country buildings. As world's fairs moved on toward the twentieth-century, more non-industrial themes emerged, especially those involving fine arts and amusements; the midway became an important aspect of the fair, and it was expected to bring in revenue to help balance the books.

Fairs have symbolized national pride, and nationalism has been a constant element of expositions. Boosterism of the country, region, state, or city has been a feature of all world's fairs. These expositions are worthy of study because they give us a snapshot of the world at specific times and places. The fairs

rarely look backward; they are almost invariably focussed on the future. We should look at world's fairs and expositions as not merely past events, but should examine their visions of the future.

NOTES

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[2]Curti, *American Historical Review*, 835.

[3]Joseph Mosheimer to Governor James Nye, 20 June 1863, located at the Nevada State Library and Archives (cited hereafter as NSLA) in TERR-0109.

[4]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 24-29; *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer*, edited by Francis P. Farquhar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 188-89; William P. Blake to Nye, 27 October 1861, Royal Fisk to Nye, 18 October 1861, at NSLA in TERR-0108; HB 020 *An Act Providing for the Election of a Commissioner to the World's Fair of 1862 . . .* , at NSLA in TLEGIS-0038.

[5]Richard Stretch, *Annual Report of the State Mineralogist of the State of Nevada for 1866*, 13-14.

[6]*Journal of the Assembly of the State of Nevada*, 1867, 100-1.

[7]*Journal of the Assembly of the State of Nevada*, 1867, 136.

[8]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 33-43; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 958 ; Governor Henry Blasdel to Edwin A. Sherman, 25 April 1867; Blasdel to E.F. Dunne, 13 April 1867; Thomas Wells to W. H. Mills, 15 August 1866; Blasdel to Charles E. McLane, 21 November 1866 at NSLA in GOV0001; Stretch, *Annual Report of the State Mineralogist of the State of Nevada for 1866*, 13-14; *Laws of Nevada*, 1866, 204; *Journal of the Assembly of the State of Nevada*, 1867, 100-1, 136; *Laws of Nevada*, 1867 61-62; ACR 019 and Substitute ACR 019 of the 1869 Nevada Legislature at NSLA in LEGBILL-0046.

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[10]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 55-61; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 959-60; James McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1876), 220, 607; J. S. Ingram, *The Centennial Exposition* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros., 1876), 165-66; *Report of Select Committee on Centennial Exhibition of 1876 to the flixth Session of the Nevada Legislature*, 1873; *Biennial Message of Governor L. R. Bradley*, 1873, 12-13; *Laws of Nevada*, 1875, 139-40; Curti, *American Historical Review*, 853-55.

[11]*Biennial Message of Governor Jewett W Adams*, 1887, 24.

[12]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 86-89; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 960; *Laws of Nevada*, 1887 138; *Biennial Message of Governor Jewett W. Adams*, 1887, 24; *Report of the Surveyor-General and State Land Register*, 1887, 15-17; *Report of the Board of Regents of the State University*, 1887, 12; William Garrard to General E.A. Burke, 30 December 1884; Governor Jewett Adams to C.C. Thomas May 1885 at NSLA in GOV-0002.

[13]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 115.

[14]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 108-15; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 958; Governor C.C. Stevenson to Arthur E. Valois, 31 July 1888; Stevenson to Senator William Stewart, 9 May1889; Stevenson to William B. Franldin, 13 September 13, 1889; Edward Stevenson to David Hamilton, 14 January 1890; Edward Stevenson to K. Kloss, 20 July 1890 and 31 July 1890, at NSLA in GOV0002.

[15]*Inaugural Message of Governor Roswell Colcord*, 1891, 5-6.

[16]J.A. Yerington, *Report of Nevada State Board of World's Fair Commissioners*, (Carson City State Printing Office, 1895), 9.

[17]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 122-31 ; Curti, *American Historical Review*, 855; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 960; *Laws of Nevada*, 1893, 125-127; Governor C.C. Stevenson to James Blame, 10 May 1890 at NSLA in GOV-0002; Yerington, *Report of Nevada State Board of World's Fair Commissioners*; *Biennial Message of Governor Frank Bell*, 1891, 10-11; *Inaugural Message of Governor Roswell Colcord*, 1891, 5-6; *Biennial Message of Roswell K. Colcord, Governor of Nevada*, 1893, 25; *Biennial Message of Roswell K. Colcord, Governor of Nevada*, 1895, 46.

[18]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 135-138; *Report of the Proceedings of the Nevada State Board of Agriculture*, 1894, 3-6; Yerington, *Report of Managing Director Nevada Exhibit, Midwinter Fair* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1895); *Laws of Nevada*, 1895, 27-28; Governor Roswell Colcord to M.H. DeYoung, 23 September 1893; Colcord to DeYoung, 26 November 1893 at NSLA in GOV-0002.

[19]Governor John Jones to Mrs. Emma Thompson, 19 March 1895; Jones to Vicente R. deConnely 14 May 1895; Jones to R.H. Edwards, 16 September 1895 at NSLA in GOV-0002.

[20]*Journal of the Senate of the State of Nevada*, 1897, 127.

[21]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 152-153; *Message of Lieutenant-Governor and Acting Governor Reinhold Sadler to the Legislature of 1897*, 13-14; E. Rosewater to Governor Reinhold Sadler, 21 September 1897; H. B. Maxson to Sadler, 19 November 1897; Sadler to Governor of Nebraska, 5 January 1897;Maxson to Sadler, 11 June 1898.

[22]*Message of Governor Reinhold Sadler to the Legislature of 1901*, 18.

[23]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 155-163; Assembly Bill 76 of the 1899 Nevada State Legislature at NSLA in LEGBTLL-0127; Governor Reinhold Sadler to Governor of Colorado, 3 June 1899 at NSLA in GOV-0002; *Message of Governor Reinhold Sadler to the Legislature of 1901*, 13-18.

[24]*Message of Governor Reinhold Sadler to the Legislature of 1901*, 18.

[25]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 165-70; *Message of Governor Reinhold Sadler to the Legislature of 1901*, 18; *Laws of Nevada*, 1901, 25-27; *Message of Governor Reinhold Sadler to the Legislature of 1903*, 9-12.

[26]Yerington to Sparks, 10 January 905 at NSLA in GOV-0003.

[27]*Message of Governor John Sparks to the Legislature of 1905*, 11-12.

[28]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 175-84; *Inaugural Message of Governor John Sparks to the Legislature of 1903*, 6-7; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 960; D.F. Francis to Governor Reinhold Sadler, 17 December 1902 at NSLA in GOV-0002; Governor John Sparks to William A. Clark, 30 November 1903; J. A. Yerington to Sparks, 30 August 1904; Sparks to Yerington same date; Yerington to Sparks, 31 August 1904; Yerington to Sparks, 10 January 1905 at NSLA in GOV0003; *Laws of Nevada*, 1905 30, 276; Records of the Nevada State Board of World's Fair Commission at NSLA in FAIRS-001; *The Executive Commissioners of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition St. Louis, Mo. 1904 :A Concise Account of the Part Played by the States and Several Foreign Nations in the World's Fair. and of the Men who Directed the Same*, (Birmingham, Alabama: J.A. MacKnight, 1904), personal copy of J.A. Yerington at NSLA in FAIRS-00; *Message of Governor John Sparks to the Legislature of 1905*, 11-12.

[29]*Laws of Nevada*, 1903, 232-33.

[30]*Laws of Nevada*, 1907, 442-43.

[31]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 189-191, 206-207; Governor John Sparks to Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, 8 June 1905; Sparks to Mrs. Key Pittman, 20 July 1905, at NSLA in GOV-0003; Paul Gaston to Governor Denver Dickerson, 6 January 1909; James Finch to Gaston, January 1909; Joseph Hutchinson to Dickerson, 17 August 1909; Hutchinson to Dickerson, 13 September 1909; N.A. Schell to James Finch, 1 October 1909.

[32]*Laws of Nevada*, 1907, 408-10.

[33]*Biennial Report of the State Publicity and Industrial Commission 1909-1910* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1910), 3, 40-41.

[34]*Laws of Nevada*, 1907, 408-10; *Biennial Report of the State Publicity and Industrial Commission 1909-1910*, (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1910), 3, 40-41.

[35]*Vetoed Senate Bills of the Twenty-Fifth Session, 1911 with Accompanying Veto Messages* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1913), 2-5.

[36]*Message of Governor Tasker L. Oddie to the Legislature of 1913*, 25-26.

[37]J.C. Jones to Governor Tasker Oddie, 16 August 1914, at NSLA in GOV-0011.

[38]Minutes of Board of Directors for Nevada of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition and the Panama California Exposition, August 1914, at NSLA in GOV-0011.

[39]President of Panama-California Exposition to George Mills, 4 September 1914, at NSLA in GOV-011.

[40]Minutes of Board of Directors for Nevada of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition and the Panama California Exposition September 1914, at NSLA in GOV-0011.

[41]Oddie to Charles Moore, 11 November 1914, at NSLA in GOV-0011.

[42]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 219-25, 227-29; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 960; *Inaugural Message of Governor Tasker L. Oddie to the Legislature of 1911*, 23; *Laws of Nevada*, 1911, 445-46; Senate Bill 150 from the 1911 Nevada Legislature at NSLA found in LEGBThL-0160; *Journal of the Assembly of the Nevada Legislature*, 1913, 175-76, 261-62; *Laws of Nevada*, 1913, 169-70, 588-90; *Message of Governor Tasker L. Oddie to the Legislature of 1913*, 25-26; Frank Brown to Governor Tasker Oddie, 16 January 1911; Brown to Oddie, 12 April 1911; D.C. Collier to Oddie, May 1911; Oddie to J. W. Sefton, 19 July 1911; L. G. Monroe to Oddie, 27 July 1911; Oddie to Charles Moore, 31 May 1912; I. G. Lewis to Oddie, 11 March 1913; Oddie to Moore, 18 April 1913, Secretary of Exposition Board to Frank Gallagher, 18 May 1914; Exposition Directors to A.S. Gough, 12 June 1914; Oddie to Mrs. W.A.

Massey, 19 November 1914; Oddie to H. C. Davis, 23 November 1914; Davis to Oddie 24 November 1914; Davis to Lieutenant Governor Gilbert Ross, 24 November 1914; Oddie to D. C. Collier, 29 December 1914; Minutes of Board of Directors for Nevada of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition and the Panama California Exposition, June 1914; H. E. Freudenthal to Oddie, 22 February 1913, at NSLA in GOV-0006 to GOV-0012; Charles Squires to Governor Emmet Boyle, 13 January 1915; Theodore Clark to Boyle, 30 January 1915; Peter Buol to Boyle, 31 March 1915; George Smith to Frank Perrin, 26 May 1915; "Panama-Pacific Panama-California International Expositions" located in Governor Emmet Boyle Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-0023; *State of Nevada, ex. rel. Zeb Kendall, Petitioner v. George A. Cole, State Controller, Respondent*, 38 Nevada 215; *Zeb Kendall v. State of Nevada*, Ormsby County District Court, case number 3650 at NSLA; *Journal of the Assembly of the Legislature of Nevada*, 1915, 59, 295; *Journal of the Senate of the Legislature of Nevada*, 1915, 46; *Laws of Nevada*, 1917, 186; *Inaugural Message of Governor Emmet D. Boyle to the Legislature of 1915*, 20; *Message of Governor Emmet D. Boyle to the Legislature of 1917*, 31.

[43]Homer Mooney to Sesquicentenial Exposition, 8 February 1926 at NSLA in GOV-0048.

[44]*Final Report: Participation in the Golden Gate International Exposition,"* 1 December 1940, located in Governor E.P. Carville's Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-0099.

[45]Findling, *World's Fairs*, 293-03 ; *Message of Richard Kirman, Sr. to the Legislature of 1937*, 29-30; *Laws of Nevada*, 1937, 397-98, 406-40 ; *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 961; "Golden Gate International Exposition" in Governor Richard Kirman's Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-0083; "New York World's Fair" in Governor Kirman's Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-0090; *Message of Governor E.P. Carville to the Legislature of 1939*, 12; *Laws of Nevada*, 1939, 104, 158, 181; *Journal of the Senate of the Legislature of Nevada*, 1939 232-33; "Report of the Exposition Commissioners and Board of Directors of the State of Nevada for the Golden Gate International Exposition," 14 March 1939; *"Nevada's Participation in the New York World's Fair: Final Report,"* 1 December 1940; *"Final Report Participation in the Golden Gate International Exposition,"* 1 December 1940; *"Golden Gate International Exposition,"*; *"New York World's Fair"* located in Governor E. P. Carville's Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-0099 and GOV-0110 ; Charles Stevenson, "Labor Takes in the Fair *Atlantic Monthly*, 165 (January 1940); Harry Van Arsdale Jr.,"The Case for the Union" (May 1940); Charles Stevenson, *"The Case for the Public"* (May 1940); *University of Nevada Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIV No.7; "Report of the Regents of the State University," 36; *Nevada State Museum Board of Trustees Annual Report, July, 1965-June 30, 1966*, 1; *Nevada State Museum Annual Report 1967-1968*,2-3.

[46]"Chicago Railroad Fair" in Governor Vail Pittman's Executive Records at NLSA in GOV0132.

[47]Governor Charles Russell's Executive Papers, Governor Grant Sawyer's Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-0185, GOV-0343 and GOV-0415.

[48]"Economic Development, Dept. of, Expo 1974, Spokane, Washington" in Governor Mike O'Callaghan's Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-0599.

[49]Stephen Richter to Charles Wick, 21 December 1988 in "Tourism, Commission on—December" in Governor Richard Bryan's Executive Papers at NSLA in GOV-1294; Governor Bob Miller to John G. Keller, Jr., 27 August 1991 in "Economic Development" in Governor Bob Miller's Executive Records at NSLA in GOV-1624.

THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF BLACKS IN AN OPEN SOCIETY: The Changing Political Climate in Nevada

Earnest Norton Bracey

Although Nevada became a territory in 1861 and a state in 1864, it was not until 1966 that a black American served in the Nevada Legislature. Las Vegan Woodrow Wilson's election to the Nevada Assembly was considered a novelty, a social anomaly, and "marked the second time in Nevada history that a non-white [person] was elected to the state's legislative body."[1]

Why did blacks not seek local and state-wide public offices until after World War II?[2] Nevada did not have a discriminatory literacy test, or white primaries that would have excluded blacks from voting, as was the case in many southern states. Blacks found it extremely difficult to gain elective office because of the relatively small black population in Nevada prior to 1960. Blacks were outside the state's inner circle of political power for the first half of the twentieth century. According to Professor Elmer R. Rusco, private discrimination, to a degree, also thwarted black Nevadans' political empowerment.[3]

By the 1960s however, blacks had found their political voice and began voting en-masse as their population increased at a time when the political power of the state shifted from northern Nevada to southern Nevada, where most blacks took up residence. Moreover, after the Civil Rights Act of 1965, blacks finally gained a measure of political power in Nevada. Political historians have recognized that after the passage of these laws "there remained the harder problem of converting equal rights into truly equal opportunity."[4]

The Nevada experience is a good example. After 1966, there were still fewer than twenty African Americans elected to public office in Nevada. Yet blacks have been living in Nevada since its earliest organization and in increasingly large numbers since the 1930s.[5] Black Nevadans were marginalized and completely isolated from politics in Nevada in the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s, but they could not be permanently ignored or summarily dismissed, primarily

Dr. Earnest Norton Bracey teaches history at the Community College of Southern Nevada. He has contributed several articles on the history of African Americans in Nevada to the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*.

because of their growing numbers in southern Nevada. According to Russell Elliott's revised *History of Nevada*. "In 1980 the state population grew to 800,493 with blacks numbering 51,203. Of that total 46,232 resided in Clark County, mainly in Las Vegas, North Las Vegas, and Henderson"[6]—fully 90 percent of the state's black populace. The Nevada Bureau of the Census in 1990 shows the percentage of black residents in North Las Vegas was 37 percent.[7]

Nevada was one of the first states to ratify the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, and the first state to approve the Fifteenth Amendment, which banned the practice of denying any citizen the right to vote because of race.[8] Still it was difficult for the state to come to terms a century later with the modern civil rights movement, which would eventually spell the legal end to segregation, give equality to blacks, and drastically transform the United States political landscape in the 1950s and early 1960s.[9]

Almost all of the black elected officials in Nevada state government have come from southern Nevada. The election of blacks from northern Nevada is a recent occurrence. Two African Americans, Bernice Martin Mathews, the first black member of the Reno City Council, and the Reverend Maurice Washington from Sparks, were elected to the State Senate in 1994, and are still serving in the Nevada Legislature. Also, Thomas Batten, from the north, was elected to the Assembly in 1994 and served a full term. The elections of these black officials did not take place in predominantly black districts, which demonstrates that black candidates can be elected from predominantly white districts in Nevada today.

On the other hand, the relatively recent concentration of black Americans in southern Nevada, particularly in Clark County, has "allowed for more interaction with the dominant political system and has provided the basis for increased political, economic, and social power for minority groups."[10] To be sure, blacks have become an increasing viable political force in the state, despite the past. Historian Michael S. Coray makes the point that blacks "as much by their absence as by their presence, played significant roles in the formation of important socio-political attitudes in the minds of many white Nevadans."[11] Coray bases this observation upon his research in Nevada newspapers and concludes that blacks in Nevada have been, and continue to be, an important consideration even when they are simply ignored and excluded from the political process.

Speaking generally of the conflicting and changing political climate and politics in America, which is germane to our discussion of black politics in Nevada, political historians Lucius J. Barker, Mack H. Jones, and Katherine Tate have ventured:

> African Americans, perhaps more than other citizens, have reason to show more concern over elites and "the tyranny of the majority." They are, despite increased participation and importance in the political process, almost a "permanent minority" in

American politics. Many blacks continue to be the victims of discriminatory practices, as individuals and as a group. The notions of majority rule and agreement on values combine with the elite presence to make up a political system that African Americans view as inevitably hostile to their interests.[12]

The political status of blacks in Nevada is slowly changing and will continue to change, as "blacks have made at least some progress toward equal political opportunity" in the state.[13] The beginning of these changes in Nevada occurred on March 20, 1960, at the once-palatial Moulin Rouge casino-hotel. Hence it was decided that southern Nevada would totally integrate all public places, giving blacks at least a semblance of political power, and the right to the franchise.[14] Others would, perhaps, select a birthday for these changes at the 1961 legislative session, when black Nevadans first staged a "sit-in" at a segregated Reno hotel, "picketed banks and marched before the capitol building in Carson City."[15]

In a progressive state like Nevada, such political agitation and aggressive action by blacks was unheard of. According to the current president of the University of Nevada, Reno, Joseph Crowley, "most [white] Nevadans, sharing the view that the state had no serious racial problems, were very likely disturbed by such protest."[16] Blacks, of course, brought to Nevada "the forms of protest already familiar to much of the rest the nation."[17] Blacks were not embraced with open arms upon migrating to Nevada. Exclusion and segrega-

Moulin Rouge casino-hotel, 1960 *(Nevada Historical Society)*

tion in all aspects of Nevada's political life during the period after World War II, "became more rigid as the number of blacks increased . . . "[18] and as they began to demand their legal, civil and equal rights. For instance, in 1959, the brash, some would say defiant, Dr. Charles West, a political activist and the first black physician in Las Vegas, Nevada, decided to run for public office. In 1959 this was a bold act, a "first" event in Nevada politics.

Dr. West, testing the murky political waters for black Nevadans, sought a Las Vegas city commission post. He "emerged from the primary election in a run off with Tom Elwell, a popular (white) hotelman."[19] The ebullient West was initially able to garner 1,589 votes, because of the support he received from the predominantly black precincts in the Westside, and where he also received approximately 1,300 votes in the run-off election.[20] Unfortunately for West's bid for public office, which had become something of a rallying point for local blacks, the well-known and widely-liked Elwell gained more votes. But by being the first black American to run for a highly visible political post, Dr. West paved the way for greater black participation in politics.

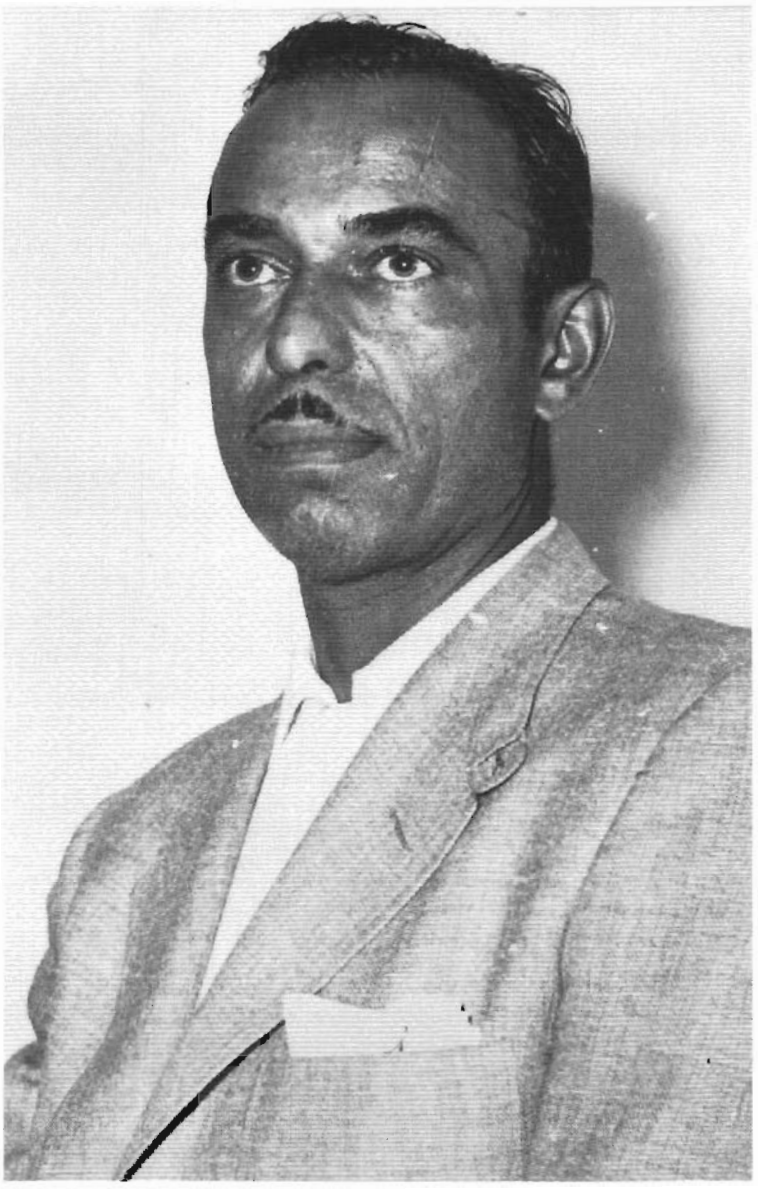
Moreover, Woodrow Wilson's run for the state legislature and successful election were revolutionary in terms of Nevada politics. Commenting on the significance of his campaign and election, Wilson stated:

> My election gave courage to the black community that they could have one of their own in the legislature. I was a Republican, and only a few blacks were Republicans; therefore, I had to be elected by the majority community, and that in itself was an important factor. It gave me the impetus and certainly the support, after I got to the legislature, that I would be able to communicate with the majority of all the legislators.[21]

Wilson waged a brilliant political campaign, with the help of important, reform-minded white supporters and benefactors, overcoming daunting odds. Furthermore, after the 1971 reapportionment of the Nevada legislature, which "changed its dynamics of power by substantially increasing the numerical strength of Las Vegas and southern Nevada,"[22] minority-majority districts were created, greatly aiding black political representation.

It must be understood, however, that at-large districts created by various other state governments actually worked against black candidates running for political office, as it diluted the voting strength of African Americans in many predominantly black communities. As the noted black American historian, John Hope Franklin has remarked: "the black vote has regularly been diluted and thus rendered powerless in at-large elections in many counties and municipalities throughout the country."[23] But this was not the case in Nevada.

In the reapportionment process the Nevada Legislature consciously insured that a percentage of elected representatives was reflective of the minority population. According to southern Nevada historian Gary Elliott, the assembly reapportionment plan for Clark County, for example, "provided for these minority majority districts: 55 percent African Americans in one district, a 47 percent African- American plurality in another, and a 40 percent plurality for Hispan-



Dr. Charles West, a political activist and the first black physician in Las Vegas, Nevada, decided to run for public office. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

ics in yet another. In the senate, one Clark county district contained a 51 percent majority of African Americans."[24]

When Woodrow Wilson initially ran for the state legislature, he thought that he could never win such a prestigious position. As Wilson once stated:

> Being a minority in this community, the odds were tremendously stacked against me being elected. No one really believed that I would be elected because of those factors: the relatively small number of blacks in the community, and the at-large voting. In other words, the total area had to vote for nine assemblymen who had to be elected, and I think at that time we had forty-three running for the legislature.[25]

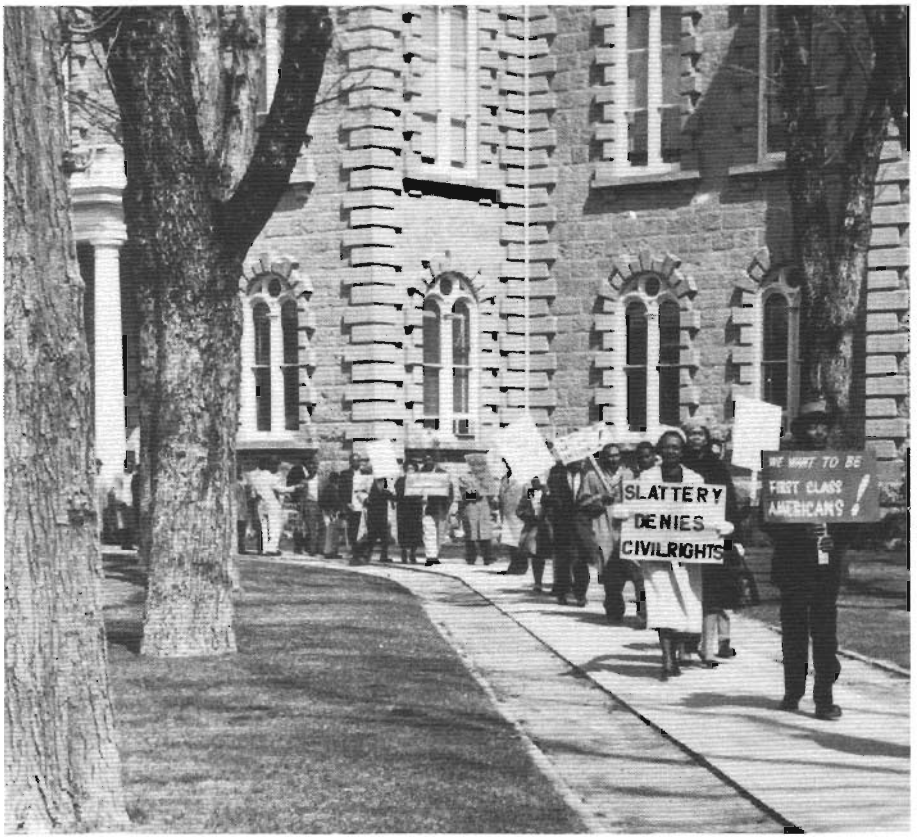
But more important, in 1966, Democrat Grant Sawyer lost to Republican Paul Laxalt for Governor of Nevada. A Republican also won the coveted Lieutenant Governor's seat. The Republican party, moreover, ran well nationally in the off-year elections. So Wilson benefited from being in the Republican Party.

Wilson, of course, went on to successfully serve in the Nevada legislature for three productive terms, and was later elected to the Clark County Board of County Commissioners in 1980 from a predominantly white district; but he resigned from the board under duress on July 19, 1984, "following accusations that he had improperly used his influence as a commissioner."[26] Still, it should be clear to all that Wilson's courageous and audacious efforts to run for public office encouraged more black Nevadans to seek elected office.

Politically, from 1966 until the present, Nevada has not been the same. Change occurred partly because of national civil rights gains, but also because of the willingness of the state's African Americans to implement change. For example, "by 1979 blacks had won five percent of the state legislative members."[27] In 1982, Westside community leader Dr. William Pearson was the first African American to serve on the Las Vegas City Commission after his appointment to a vacancy for Ward 3. Pearson, like Wilson, was later elected and also successfully served on the Clark County Commission for two terms, and was succeeded by his one-time political protege, Yvonne Atkinson-Gates, a black woman. Moreover, Aaron Williams served on the North Las Vegas City Council before being elected to the county commission.

Other African Americans have followed in Wilson's footsteps. Nevada legislators include former Assemblyman Lonie Chaney who served in the Nevada Assembly from 1975 through 1983, and the legendary first black senator, Joseph M. Neal, who has served in the state legislature for an unusually long period: twenty-seven years.[28] Some say that Neal is the most politically powerful black man in the state. His experience raises the question of whether it takes more seniority for blacks to have power in the Nevada legislature than for whites.

As he coasted to a seventh term representing State Senate District 4 in 1996, and speaking of his long-term committment to the Nevada legislature, the highest elected African American official Joe Neal pointedly stated: "It takes someone to be there that knows about the past function of that particular issue and



Picketing at the Nevada State Capitol *(Nevada Historical Society).*

Picketing at the Nevada State Capitol *(Nevada Historical Society).*

how they have worked in the past."[29]

Several African Americans had run for public office by the end of 1980, and had been appointed and elected to many important city, county and state positions. Such was the late District Judge Addeliar Guy, the state's first black district court judge and Clark County's first black deputy district attorney.[30] Later, Earle White, Jr. was elected as a district court judge in Las Vegas, Department 4, for two consecutive terms (from 1985 to 1992).

Retired professional football player Frank Hawkins served on the Las Vegas City Council from 1991 to 1995 for Las Vegas Ward 1, but he was unable to win reelection to the post. In a special election, Thomas Brown, a local community college provost, was elected as a councilman in North Las Vegas and served from 1976 to 1979, but he also failed to be reelected, which effectively ended his political career.

As more women have entered mainstream politics, so it has been in the black community. One of the first black women to hold elected office was Virginia Brewster, a long-time political leader in the black community, who sat for several years on the Clark County School Board.[31] The late Pearl Cleveland, an African American and long-time Clark County Democratic party activist, was once elected as the first state-wide treasurer for the Service Employees International Union Local in 1986, and unsuccessfully ran for a seat on the North Las Vegas City Council in 1981.[32]

Another black woman, June Whitley, was elected to the non-salaried eleven-member Board of Regents of Nevada's University and Community College System. Whitley served for two six-year terms, and became the chairwoman of the board from 1987 to 1989.[33] She was later replaced by David Phillips, a local and popular African American attorney, who was elected to the state Board of Regents in 1994, and is scheduled to serve in that position until the year 2000. His mother, Ruby Duncan, is a past president of Operation Life, a community enrichment group, and has long been active in the black community, but has never held public office.

Recent political gains and developments for African Americans in Nevada also include the initial appointment and later 1991 election of Lee Gates, "the third black [man] to serve as a district court judge in Clark County."[34] During his successful non-partisan 1996 re-election, Gates, speaking with some measure of authority after having served for the past six years, stated:

> Because of my life experiences, I have a keen understanding of people of all walks of life. I understand the problems that are facing people from all ethnic and economic backgrounds. I understand the problems families are facing related to crime, drugs, and domestic violence.[35]

Other African Americans currently serving in important political positions in Nevada are five-term State Assemblyman Wendell P. Williams (District 6), and Morse Arberry, Jr. (District 7), who serves as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the assembly. Presently, the only black woman in south-

Lonie Chaney served in the Nevada Assembly from 1975 through 1983 *(Nevada Historical Society).*

Joe Neal has served seven terms representing State Senate District 4 in the Nevada legislature *(Nevada Historical Society)*.

ern Nevada holding elected office is Yvonne Atkinson-Gates, chairwoman of the Clark County Board of Commissioners, whose district includes the predominantly black Westside in Las Vegas, Nevada. Atkinson-Gates, a dynamic and formidable politician, believes that "more minorities are needed in politics, especially African-American [women], and thinks government should reflect the cultural diversity in the community."[36] Atkinson-Gates also stated that "being a woman brings qualities to the job that men don't possess to a degree."[37]

Furthermore, there was the well-respected and late Dr. James B. McMillan, the former Clark County School District Trustee (District C). McMillan was also the first black licensed dentist in Nevada, and Las Vegas NAACP president in 1960. He was a community leader, and a civil rights veteran and brilliant tactician in the quest and struggle for equality and racial and political parity for blacks in Nevada. Indeed, the flamboyant McMillan "spear-headed the elimination of segregation in Las Vegas hotels and casinos, negotiated the placement of black teachers in white schools, and negotiated for the formation of the Las Vegas Human Rights Commission."[38]

Before his death in 1998, McMillan continued to prevail when it came to seeking equal rights and treatment for blacks in Nevada. For example, during his four-year school board term, three new schools were acquired for his district.[39] As McMillan once stated: "I've voted the proper way to get the things we need in our at-risk school [s] . . . . We have to have good teachers, small classrooms and good buildings."[40] Such dedication and commitment to excellence on the part of Dr. McMillan toward improving schools in Las Vegas for everyone showed that he played an important role in the politics of Nevada and particularly in the local black community, as he righteously protested the exclusion of African Americans from state politics.

It is also noteworthy that three African Americans—elected at-large—have served on the North Las Vegas City Council, which meant at the time that it was one of the few cities in the country where a minority was over-represented on a city council.[41] Those city council members included Theron Goynes, a veteran politician and former North Las Vegas councilman for seventeen years, who ran for mayor, but lost in a general election against a political newcomer and real estate appraiser, Mike Montandon.[42] William Robinson, a black man, has also been a member of the city council since 1983; and John Rhodes, a first-time councilman, "who began his political career in junior high,"[43] was elected in 1993. According to journalist Bill Hughes, the thirty-one-year-old Rhodes also "was recruited to run for the Clark County School Board seat Yvonne Atkinson-Gates left vacant when she left to serve on the Clark County Commission."[44] But it was perhaps a body blow to his confidence when Rhodes, having been appointed to the post earlier, lost the election by 150 votes.[45]

This potentially crushing political loss, however, did not deter the determined and tough-minded Rhodes from seeking political office again. He later

ran for the North Las Vegas City Council and won by the small margin of forty-seven votes the first time out.[46] The charismatic Rhodes now believes that he not only represents the political and economic interests of African Americans in the community at-large, but he also provides "a desperately needed voice for [all] people between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five to the North Las Vegas City Council."[47]

That blacks continue to influence politics now at the local levels in Nevada is not an aberration or just a fluke, as they run intelligently and extremely hard for many of the elected and official posts, while garnering enough support necessary to win public office. As political scientist Marcus D. Pohlmann succinctly explains:

> Electoral mobilization has led to control over some institutional levels of political power, enabling a number of blacks to improve their life situations. It has also provided an organizational structure for sustaining the vigilance and pressure needed to perpetuate those gains. In addition, the right to vote — regardless of the political-economic system — is a necessary condition for advancing the causes of equality and self-determination.[48]

City and local government is especially important for blacks in southern Nevada. It is envisioned that black politicians will continue to make important and positive gains in the future, and nowhere will this be more apparent than in Clark County, where more than 65 percent of all Nevadans live.[49]

Several first-time black candidates ran for public office in 1996 local and state elections in southern Nevada, including Anyika Kamal, a thirty-five year-old fire fighter, who ran for State Assembly, District 6. Ms. Louise Banks, a fifty-five-year-old retired police detective, Chester Richardson, a Public Affairs Consultant, and the Reverend Marion Bennett, a local minister and former Nevada state assemblyman, all ran unsuccessfully for the District 7 assembly seat, challenging incumbent Morse Arberry, Jr. As Reverend Bennett stated, "I'm not a part of any specialized group. I work for black people. I feel I can stand up and say I can vote on things. I don't have any conflict of interest."[50] The final state assembly candidate was Leon Dubose II, a computer repairman. Ms. Geraldine Lewis, a bereavement family counselor, was a candidate for the senate in District 4.[51] All of these political offices are in black districts, which might give credence to the contention that establishing minority-majority districts encourages black participation in elections and elective office; but one must be cognizant that for thirty years it has also been possible for African-American candidates to win (elections) in predominantly white districts in the state.

Among the other black political hopefuls in 1996 were County Commission District D candidates Earl Swift, a local barber, and Anthony Snowden, a black community activist. Moreover, "a bright youthful newcomer to the political scene," endorsed in 1996 by the *Las Vegas Review Journal*, was Leon DuBose, a former Army staff sergeant and an African American, who lost to the third-

longest serving assemblyman in Nevada history, Bob Price, for Assembly District 42.[52] In addition, the outspoken George Cotton, a County Affirmative Action Director, ran unsuccessfully in the Republican primary for the 1996 Clark County Commission District C position held by Paul Christensen. During his campaign, Cotton stated:

> I want to raise my level of service to the citizens of the county. I've been in government a long time, and I can provide the kind of leadership that can take the county to the year 2000 and beyond.[53]

After losing the primary, Cotton announced that he was switching to the Democratic party, believing that Republican party officials favored another candidate, possibly for racial reasons.

Some final political challengers in local and municipal elections in southern Nevada for 1996 were all African American women: Lizzie Hatcher, a local attorney who sought a newly-created Family Court position, Department G; Shirley A. Barber who challenged the late Dr. McMillan and defeated him handily in the general election; and finally, Faye Duncan-Daniels, who ran unsuccessfully for Las Vegas Constable in the Democratic primary against incumbent Bob Nolen.[54] With such a varied and large field of black candidates in 1996, and perhaps beyond, it will be extremely hard to shunt aside or brush off blacks' participation in the politics of the state and upper echelon of power for the near future, especially in southern Nevada. And perhaps this realization is the most dramatic and positive result from gaining black representation.

One of the primary reasons political change for blacks in Nevada has occurred at all is because of their ability to vote. "For nearly a century after the abrupt end of Reconstruction, the majority of African Americans were effectively denied their constitutionally guaranteed right to vote."[55] However, migrating to Nevada in the 1940s from states in the Deep South, where they had never been allowed to register and vote before, blacks were allowed to register to vote in Nevada, and even encouraged to vote in elections which might particularly benefit them, especially in Clark County.[56]

This is important to understand because even though blacks had access to the vote in Nevada, they were still excluded from the political system until recently. Indeed, as historian James W. Hulse has written in *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted*:

> The clause in the original state constitution that granted the voting rights only to white males was removed in 1880 by a popular vote of 14,215 in favor, 672 against. A companion measure granted the right to vote and hold office to all male citizens regardless of race. Yet this did not assure social or economic equality to black citizens because many carried the social scars of slavery, and because unofficial barriers existed in the major employment fields throughout the nation.[57]

According to political scientist Elmer Rusco, black males voted in the state for the first time in 1870, not 1880. And even though it is true that Nevada did

not change its constitutional restriction of voting to white males until 1880, the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution overrode this failure to act.[58] The significance of voting, therefore, if one is to believe "that power begins with the right to vote," should not be viewed lightly in black Nevadans' struggle to become equal players in the political arena, especially if we are to understand why blacks are now more willing to run for political office. Moreover, in the past, the "black vote" has been used arguably as an effective weapon or tool in influencing state politics. For example in 1944, Pat McCarran defeated Vail Pittman for Senator, because of his lack of black voters' support in Las Vegas.[59] Furthermore, Pat McCarran's biographer, Jerome E. Edwards has written, "there were charges that black voters had been paid to vote for the senior senator, and even that busloads of blacks had been imported [to vote] from Los Angeles."[60]

Although the disgruntled and bitter Pittman, a former Mississippian with a pronounced southern drawl,[61] expected the "black vote," he failed to gauge the depth of local blacks' resentment toward him. As Edwards explained:

> It is difficult to see how it was in the interest of blacks to vote for him [Pittman], although he was greatly annoyed when they did not. Furthermore, since McCarran was chairman of the important Senate Judiciary Committee, he was in an ideal position to do something about black rights. Pittman was not. Finally one must remember that the black vote was hardly large enough single-handedly to have affected the outcome.[62]

But outcomes in the future did bring in the black vote. In 1964, former Lieutenant Governor Paul Laxalt lost to incumbent Senator Howard Cannon in a close race because of his embarrassing and particularly "poor showing among the black voters in Las Vegas."[63] By the 1960s it became clear that the "black vote" did count. African Americans' struggle for a political voice in Nevada politics will be an ongoing affair. Las Vegas historian Eugene Moehring explains that despite blacks' ability to vote, and "the integration of public places, most blacks in 1963 still could not live outside the ghettos, or attend grammar schools in white sections of town, or qualify for more than a menial job in most strip and downtown resorts."[64]

After the enactment of the United States Civil Rights Act of 1964, discrimination did not end or disappear, as many blacks or African Americans had expected and hoped it would, especially in employment in the state.[65] Unfortunately in some quarters, and even with the "black vote," and affirmative action, job discrimination in Nevada still prevails.[66] Although Nevada in 1965 passed a token civil rights act, the state found it hard "to fashion a meaningful policy to discourage racial bigotry."[67]

On the face of it, black politicians have undeniably influenced the politics of the state of Nevada in recent years. For example, Woodrow Wilson won a measure of respect from whites as well as a statewide political reputation when he took the message on vital issues affecting black Nevadans to the state capital. Moreover, according to historian Russell Elliott, Wilson brought overwhelm-

ing success to the 1971 session of the Nevada Legislature by his political shrewdness and help in passing a fair housing bill.[68] In fact, Wilson "became the chief legislative proponent of the fair housing bill . . . [even though] his presence did not initially make a significant difference."[69] Wilson once commented:

> During my tenure in the legislature, I was working to pass an open housing bill and to get relief for disabled persons and women with dependent children. For most of the social legislation, I was going to be working quite a bit with Jim Gibson, who was on the Senate Finance Committee and the Judiciary Committee. With his background Mr. Gibson wasn't really aware of what was going on. I was able to get, I would say, more than what I expected to get from him. He even gave us a budget for the Equal Rights Commission.[70]

Wilson, along with other black politicians and black office seekers, underscores the importance of having an avenue for inclusion and participation in Nevada politics, and of maintaining a political voice and perspective that might not otherwise be heard or understood on the political landscape of the state. But as Wilson once stated:

> The problems of the Negro elected officials are compounded by the fact that he usually does not have the power to change the conditions of the masses of Negroes merely because he is in office in spite of the fact that he might have been elected initially because Negroes expected him to do so . . . . Even those elected to high and powerful office find that their power tends to be restricted compared to the power held and used by their white predecessors or successors. Negroes in politics can export power only through the usual processes of exerting political power — making deals and arrangements, patronage and other forms of quid pro quo.[71]

As the black population continues to grow rapidly in Nevada, the struggle for a fair share of the economic and political pie will go on. Still, "minorities are a long way from having even a proportionate share of the resources in the West."[72] But the strides blacks have made in Nevada politics are an important and vital start.

NOTES

[1]Robert Laxalt, "The Melting Pot," in *East of Eden, West of Zion*. Wilbur S. Shepperson, ed. (University of Nevada Press: Reno, 1989), 40. In 1938, a Native American, Dewey Sampson of Reno, was Nevada's first non-white legislator.

* Note that Blacks, Negroes, and African Americans are used interchangeably in this paper to reflect the terms used to describe a dislocated people whose ancestors came from Africa.

[2]Although Nevada had a poll tax from statehood until the mid-1960s, it was never a condition of voting. Nonetheless, non-white males, who could not vote until 1870 and, in the case of Chinese Americans for much longer (or until there were significant numbers of Chinese citizens), were required to pay taxes on the same basis as white males. For a full explanation, see Elmer R. Rusco, *Good Time Coming?: Black Nevadans in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1975); and *Minority Groups in Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Bureau of Governmental Research, 1966).

[3]See Elmer R. Rusco, "The Civil Rights Movement in Nevada," *Nevada Public Affairs Review*. No. 2 (1987), 75-81. This fascinating article gives an interesting discussion of the civil rights movement as it relates to black politics in Nevada.

[4]James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968), 222.

[5]Elizabeth Nelson Patrick, "The Black Experience in Southern Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. XII (Fall, 1979), 128.

[6]Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* 2nd revised edition. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 393.

[7]Christel Wheeler and Bill Hughes, "Minorities in Politics: Fighting to Be Heard," *Las Vegas New Times* (1 April 1996), 11. For information on black elected officials in the north, see Elmer R. Rusco, *Nevada Black History Project: Nevada Black History, Yesterday and Today* (Reno, Nevada, 1997), 8.

[8]Michael W. Bowers, *The Sagebrush State: Nevada's History, Government, and Politics* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1996), 33.

[9]James W. Hulse, *Forty Years in the Wilderness: Impressions of Nevada, 1940-1980* (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1986), 91.

[10]F. Chris Garcia, Christine Marie Sierra, and Margaret Maier Murdock, "The Politics of Women and Ethnic Minorities," in *Politics and Public Policy in Contemporary American West* Clive S. Thomas, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 206.

[11]Michael S. Coray, "Democracy on the Frontier: A Case Study of Nevada Editorial Attitudes on the Issue of Nonwhite Equality," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. XXI (1978), 189.

[12]Lucius J. Barker, Mack H. Jones, Katherine Tate, *African Americans and the American Political System* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999), 66-67.

[13]Ralph J. Roske, *Las Vegas: A Desert Paradise* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Continental Heritage Press, Inc., 1986), 133.

[14]Tom Flagg, "The Joint Jumped All Night - The Moulin Rouge: Harbinger of Integration in Las Vegas," *Oasis*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn, 1991), 11.

[15]Hulse, *Forty Years*, 92; Bowers, *The Sagebrush State*, 33. Professor Bowers explains that the segregated Reno hotel was the Overland as well as various other Reno casinos. Joseph N. Crowley, the president of the University of Nevada, Reno in an article entitled, "Race and Residence: The Politics of Open Housing in Nevada," explained the events this way: "In late March 1961, thirty-five black men and women conducted a sit-in demonstration in the dining room of Reno's Overland Hotel. Predictably, they were refused service. That same day blacks picketed a nearby bank, and earlier in the week they had done the same in front of various downtown casinos. They had also marched around the state capitol in Carson City. The occasion for all this activity was the action of the Nevada legislature with regard to a civil rights bill then before it. The bill, AB254, sought to establish a state Equal Rights Commission (ERC) to investigate the problems of discrimination in Nevada. The bill had inevitably encountered certain obstacles, one being the belief held by many [white] legislators that the state had no such problems." Eleanore Bushnell, ed., *Sagebrush and Neon: Studies in Nevada Politics*. (Reno: Bureau of Governmental Research: University of Nevada, Reno, 1973), 56. According to Rusco,

the point for the demonstrations was to "protest unequal treatment and to support the creation of a State Equal Rights Commission." See Rusco, "The Civil Rights Movement in Nevada," 77.

[16]Bushnell, "Sagebrush and Neon," 57.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]Patrick, "The Black Experience," 128.

[19]Perry Bruce Kaufman, "The Best City of Them All: A History of Las Vegas, 1930-1960," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974), 383; "Sunlight on Politics," *Las Vegas Sun*. 17 May 1959, 20. Perhaps West might have received more votes had there not been an ad in the *Las Vegas Sun* that he was the only African American (or colored) running for "City Commissioner, Second Class." Perhaps this even sabotaged his campaign. Later the *Las Vegas Sun* investigated the incident and discovered that the ad was placed in the *Sun* by those white candidates defeated in the primary. Ironically, Greenspun was instrumental in negotiating on behalf of civil rights. "Sunlight on Politics," 20. Hank Greenspun, "Where I Stand," *Las Vegas Sun*. 19 May 1959, 1.

[20]Kaufman, "The Best City of Them All," 383.

[21]Jamie Coughtry, and R. T. King, *Woodrow Wilson: Race, Community and Politics in Las Vegas, 1940-1980s*. (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1990), 131-32.

[22]Gary E. Elliott, "Law, Politics, and the Movement Toward Constitutional Equality in Nevada: the Revolution in Legislative Apportionment - Part I," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring, 1996), 2.

[23]John Hope Franklin, *Race and History: Selected Essays, 1938-1988* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), x. See also Robert L. Bell's discussion of the case development, "Constitutional Law - Change to At-Large Election System Which Has the Inevitable Effect of Denying or Abridging the Right of Blacks to Vote Violates the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, Paige v. Gray," *Howard Law Journal*. Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring, 1976), 177-89.

[24]Elliott, "Law, Politics, and the Movement, Part II," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Summer, 1996). p. 107.

[25]Coughtry and King, *Woodrow Wilson*, 131.

[26]*Ibid.*, 130.

[27]Roske, *Las Vegas: A Desert Paradise*, 133.

[28]Nichole Davis, "Incumbents Focus on Unfinished Business," *The Las Vegas Sentinel-Voice*. Vol. 17, Issue 20 (19 September 1996), 1-2.

[29]*Ibid*; Joe Neal won re-election with 7,582 votes, a margin of 74 percent.

[30]Caren Benjamin and Jane Ann Morrison, "Del Guy, Former District Judge, Dies," *Las Vegas Review Journal* (21 March 1997), 1A. Before Guy won election outright, he was appointed by Governor Mike O'Callaghan in 1975 to the Eighth Judicial District Court.

[31]Roske, *Las Vegas: A Desert Paradise*.

[32]"Longtime Democrat Dies at 51," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (11 October 1996), 2B.

[33]Erik Pappa, "UNLV 101: A primer in the University's power structure," *Las Vegas Sun* (20 December 1992), 4H. Note that June Whitley was appointed to the Board of Regents in 1979 by then Governor Robert List.

[34]Davis, "Incumbents Focus."

[35]*Ibid.*

[36]Wheeler and Hughes, "Minorities in Politics," 12; Clark County Commission Chair, Yvonne Atkinson-Gates, sought re-election to her seat in 1996, and won easily even while having surgery performed to remove a cancerous tumor from her thigh. "County Commissioner Undergoes Surgery," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* and *Las Vegas Sun* (2 November1996), 6B.

[37]Wheeler and Hughes, "Minorities in Politics."

[38]Clark County School District Brochure, Board of School Trustees, 1995; James B. McMillan, Gary Elliott, and R. T. King, *Fighting Back: A Life in the Struggle for Civil Rights*. (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1997).

[39]Davis, "Incumbents Focus."

[40]*Ibid.* If the late Dr. McMillan were re-elected, he stated that he would "press the Clark County School District to spend more money on assessing the needs of children and on training teachers in proven reading and math methods to increase student achievement." Natalie Patton, "Clark County School Board District C," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (28 August 1996), 22F. During the

1996 Nevada primary, an African-American woman, Ms. Shirley Barber, former principal at Fitzgerald Elementary School, captured 45 percent of the District C vote, and faced McMillan, who had 40 percent of the votes counted in the primary. Ultimately, Barber prevailed in a run-off election. "Trustee," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (4 September 1996), 8B.

[41]Wheeler and Hughes, "Minorities in Politics," 11.

[42]Deborah Robiglio, "NLV Voters Choose Montandon," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (4 June 1997), 1A; Goynes, who had held political office since 1979, believed that he lost the election because of poor voter turnout, and smear tactics. Deborah Robiglio, "Three Vying for NLV Mayor," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (26 April 1997), 1B.

[43]Wheeler and Hughes, "Minorities in Politics."

[44]*Ibid.*, 12.

[45]*Ibid.*

[46]*Ibid.*

[47]*Ibid.*

[48] Marcus D. Pohlmann, *Black Politics in Conservative America* 2nd edition (Addison Wesley Longman, Inc., 1999), 161.

[49]*User's Guide, Las Vegas, Nevada* (Las Vegas: Clark County, no date).

[50]Nichole Davis, "Challengers Gear Up Campaigns: Crime, Education and Jobs Top Black Contenders' Issue List," *The Las Vegas Sentinel-Voice*. Vol. 17, No. 6 (13 June 1996), 6-7 and 10. Arberry might have lost his election because of a damaging newspaper story that accused him of domestic violence against his estranged wife. Jane Anne Morrison, "Complaint Won't Bring Changes Against Arberry," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (31 October 1996), 6B.

[51]Davis, "Challengers Gear Up Campaigns," 1B.

[52]"DuBose for Assembly," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (18 October 1996), 14B.

[53]*Ibid.* Shortly after losing the primary election, Cotton changed his political affiliation from Republican to Democrat, to protest the political and monetary support from the state Republican Party, which he believed were racially motivated. Jane Anne Morrison, "Candidate Blames Donation for Losing Race," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (6 September 1996), 1B.

[54]Davis, "Challengers Gear Up Campaigns," p. 1B. Although Candidate Faye Duncan-Daniels, who finished second behind constable Bob Nolen, sued the Clark County Registrar of Voters, claiming that the race in the primary was "illegally designated as partisan," a new election was not conducted, nor were the results voided. "Constable Candidate Sues Registrar," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (17 September 1996), 5B; Leonard Griffin, a Democrat and assistant security director for a private company also ran unsuccessfully for the constable seat. Jeffrey Cohan, "Las Vegas Constable," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (20 August 1996), 19F-20F.

[55]Pohlmann, *Black Politics*, 160.

[56]"New Votes in Clark County," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (14 August 1944), 14.

[57]James W. Hulse, *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted*. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 306-7. One should note that there was never systematic exclusion of African-American voters after 1870, unlike the situation in the Deep South, where in the late nineteenth century, black voters enfranchised by the Fifteenth Amendment, were systematically forced out of the electorate, by various odious means, and not allowed to participate in the government again until after passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

[58]Rusco, *Good Times Coming?*, 21-42.

[59]Albert Cameron Johns, *Nevada Politics*. 2nd edition (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendell/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976), 43.

[60]Jerome E. Edwards, *Pat McCarran: Political Boss of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982), 118-19.

[61]*Ibid.*

[62]*Ibid.*

[63]Elliott, *History of Nevada*.

[64]Eugene P. Moehring, *Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930-1970* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989), 188.

[65]Bowers, *The Sagebrush State*, 34.

[66]Don W. Driggs and Leonard E. Goodall, *Nevada Politics and Government: Conservatism in an Open Society* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 11 and 119.

[67]Hulse, *Forty Years in the Wilderness*, 20. For a discussion of racially discriminatory laws in other areas in Nevada, see Rusco, "Good Times Coming?." According to Rusco, there was a systematic pattern of discrimination against three groups considered non "white," although curiously this term was never defined. A number of these discriminatory laws remained in force through the late 1950s. Nevada was reluctant to enact and repeal these laws forbidding private discrimination. For example, see Phillip I. Earl, "Nevada's Miscegenation Laws and the Marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Bridges," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring, 1994), 1-17 for an excellent account of the end of the anti-miscegenation law in Nevada.

[68]Earl, "Nevada's Miscegenation Laws." Although Woodrow Wilson was instrumental in passage of the 1971 Fair Housing Act, most of the civil rights activity had taken place before his time. See an accout of the passage of the law Wilson helped to enact in Crowley, "Race and Residence."

[69]Rusco, "Good Times Coming?," 20 and 80. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 394. According to Rusco, Wilson became the most important supporter for the fair housing bill in the legislature.

[70]Coughtry and King, *Woodrow Wilson*, 119.

[71]Elmer R. Rusco. *Voices of Black Nevada*. (Reno: University of Reno Bureau of Government Research, 1971), 111.

[72]Garcia, Sierra and Murdock, "The Politics of Women and Ethnic Minorities," 207.

"THE CAMP THAT CAME BACK" The Combined Metals Reduction Company and the Revival of Pioche 1912-1958

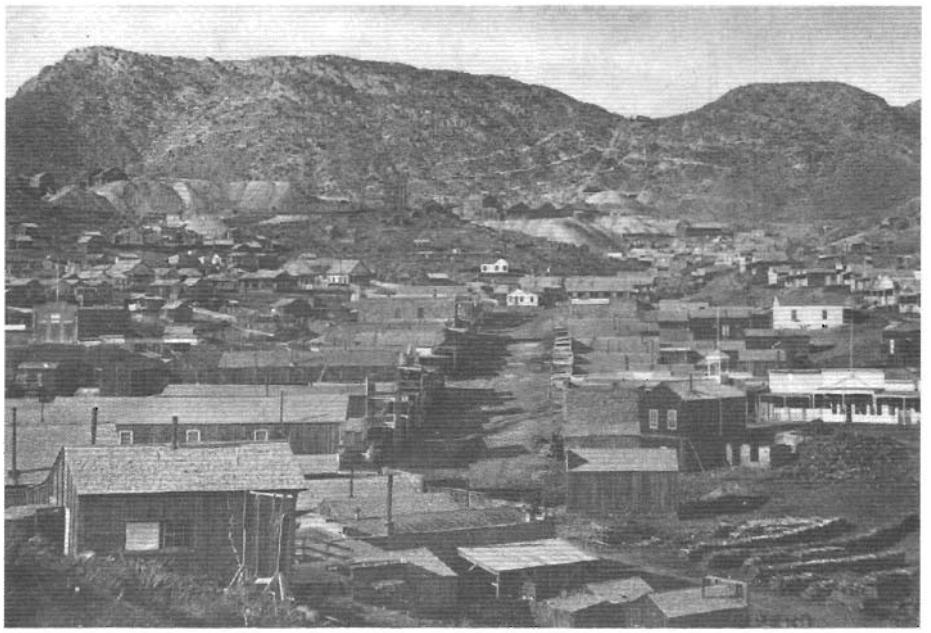
James W. Hulse

Pioche was one of the few Nevada mining camps of the bonanza era in the 1870s that survived into the middle years of the twentieth century and enjoyed a second boom during World War II. Between 1870 and 1876, it had been a highly successful silver-producing district, with a reported output of $18 million. Yet because it was so distant from the population centers of western Nevada, it received superficial notice from the historians of Nevada mining. Although it was second only to the Comstock Lode in the value of its ores in that era,[1] its notoriety came as one of the violent camps on the frontier.

Likewise, the record of the Pioche (Ely) mining district during its second boom as a significant producer of lead-zinc ores during the 1940s and 1950s received only passing notice from mining and geological specialists. Details of production and the social ramifications have not been well documented. During this revival the Pioche mines (including the nearby Highland District) produced metallic ore worth more than $90 million.[2] The Combined Metals Reduction Company was the corporate agency that gave Pioche its second chance, not as a bonanza camp but as a major producer of low grade ores.

The interlude between the first and second booms has been almost totally neglected. During those years, the more enterprising miners and cattlemen tried to pass their time and supplement their incomes by evading the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution: They made whiskey in the mountains and home brew in their cellars. When the finished product was ready, they put a crude label on the contraband bottles with the slogan "PIOCHE: The Camp that Came Back." Prohibition disappeared in the 1930s, at about the time Pioche stood poised for its second "boom." The label was temporarily prophetic. A few enterprising boosters hoped to give permanent substance to the slogan, to no avail.

A native of Pioche, James W. Hulse ia a professor emeritus of history at the University of Nevada, Reno. Among his many published works is the definitive history of Pioche in Lincoln County.



Pioche, Lincoln County, Nevada *(Nevada Historical Society).*

The Interlude

Between 1880 and 1930, scores of mining experts and investors considered and speculated on the old mines that had yielded the high grade ore in the 1870s. Pioche survived after the termination of its bonanza period because of its earlier reputation, its status as the county seat and as the commercial-distribution center for a large ranching and livestock producing region near the Utah border. Scores of large and small ranchers used the ranges of northern Lincoln County to graze their livestock, and they needed a commercial fulcrum, whether or not they were making moonshine whiskey.

Mining activity never completely ceased in Pioche, although it needed occasional transfusions to keep going. During the 1880s and 1890s, the town endured the "twenty-year depression" along with all the other mining towns of the state. A brief sparkle of hope occurred in the 1890-1892 period when a few small mining ventures opened in response to the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. With the recession of 1893, however, Pioche lapsed into hard times again. It is important that during the first four decades all investment and interest were focused on gold and silver ores.

The glimmering of a revival in 1912 was different, however, because of the experiments with non-precious metals—lead and zinc. These had been previously identified but were ignored in the bonanza days before the metallurgy

Pioche, Nevada, taken in April 1873 by John Banks *(Pioche Record 13 April 1883)*.

and technology existed for extracting them profitably. The outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 increased interest in a broader range of minerals in Nevada and elsewhere.

The Snyder Experiment

The key figure in Pioche in the twentieth century revival was E. H. (Ed) Snyder, a miner in his early twenties who had been born in Frisco, Utah, about seventy-five miles east of Pioche in 1889. Snyder had a long-standing partnership with his father, W. F. Snyder, and his brothers. A graduate of the Michigan School of Mines, Ed Snyder worked as a surveyor for a local railroad in 1911 and later took a job in the Pioche assay office.

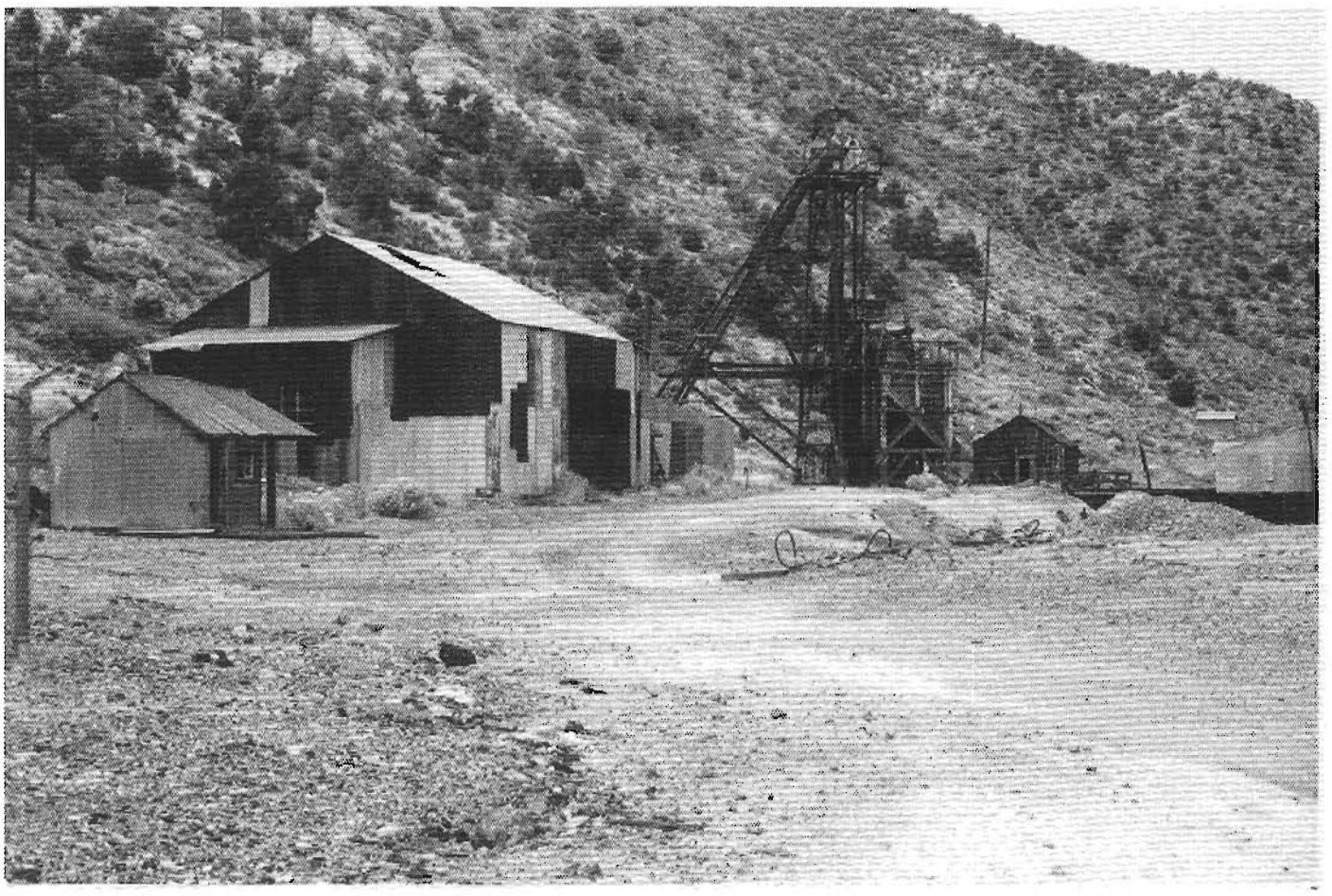
After developing an interest in the mines and tailings around Pioche, he formed a leasing company and built a small mill.[3] Together with a few partners, he leased several older Pioche properties in 1913 and began metallurgical experiments with the "combined" lead-zinc ores that had been regarded as waste material during the bonanza days. As a result of his initiative, the Pioche mines produced more than $1 annually in 1915, 1916, and 1917 — the largest output in forty years.[4]

Much of this ore came from the Prince Mining Company, located about three miles southwest of Pioche on the opposite side of the Ely range from the original mines. This company had been incorporated in Utah in 1907 and for thirty years was one of the more promising prospects in the district.[5] It had the best early evidence of deep ore bodies.

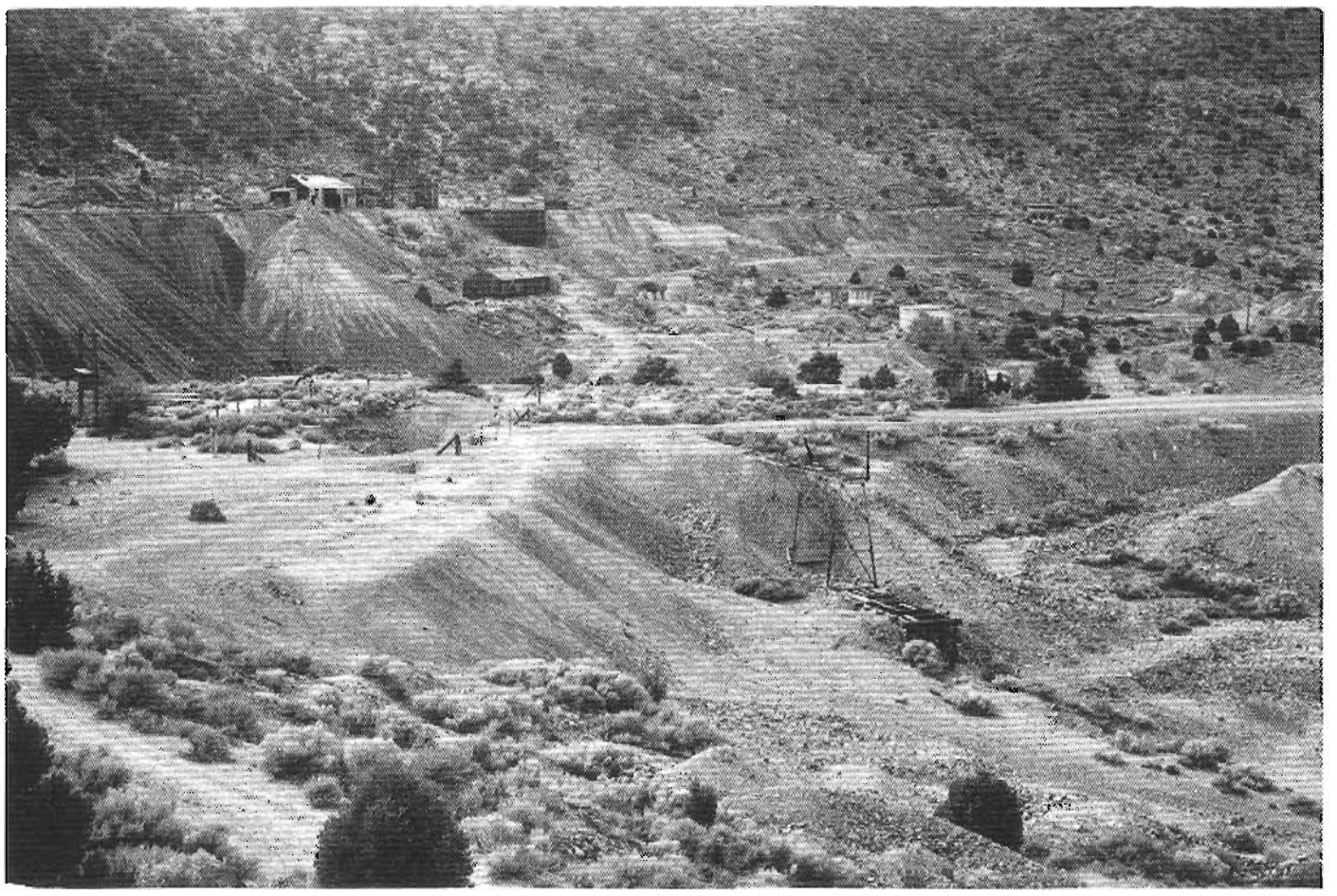
Over several years, Snyder and his associates faced a myriad of problems, including how to extract, refine, transport and market the large quantities of lead-zinc ore, with small amounts of silver and gold that existed below the 1,200 foot level. They developed a selective flotation process for separating the lead and zinc and saving both metals, as well as the small components of precious metals.

Pioche was remote from supplies of the chemicals, coal and electrical power needed for the refining processes. Much testing was done at Bauer, Utah, about 250 miles away, where Snyder refurbished a mill and smelter.[6] He was responsible for incorporating of the Combined Metals Reduction Company (CMR) in 1917, with its smelting capacities in Utah and its main mine in Nevada.

Snyder acquired a crucial backer when National Lead Company joined the enterprise in 1923. CMR undertook additional systematic geological work to learn the extent of the ore bodies; it required more than a decade to prepare for major production. The company procured property within the old town of Pioche formerly held by the Amalgamated Pioche Mining and Leasing Co., including the once-famous Raymond & Ely mine, the richest in the district during the 1870s. The Number One shaft and headframe, near the original Raymond-Ely shaft overlooking Pioche's main street, replaced the old work-



Raymond and Ely Mine, October 1978, photo by John Townley *(Pioche Record).*



Raymond and Ely ground from Meadow Valley Mine, October 1978, photo by John Townley *(Pioche Record).*

ings of the bonanza era.

One of the problems for the mining companies of the 1870s had been the excessive amounts of water below the 1200-foot level. Much of the known ore was located by drilling below that level on the south side of the range. Pumps installed in the 1870s could not handle the deep reservoirs. In addition, the old mines on the north slope were not easily accessible by road or narrow gauge railroad.

Snyder's explorations showed that large amounts of low-grade ore would have to be hoisted and concentrated in a mill to extract marketable quantities of the minerals. Beyond this, they required smelting by distinctive methods to recover the maximum amount of low grade ores.

The CMR geologists and engineers displayed greater patience and initiative than any who had probed the hills around Pioche in the previous half-century. They systematically explored the deposits above and below the 1,200-foot level by drilling and eventually sinking a second shaft, the Caselton, on the south side of the Ely range near the Prince mine, where more gradual slopes provided better access to the ore bodies. Much of the work of sinking the shaft was accomplished in 1930, giving the company better access to the mineralized beds about two miles from the original diggings in Pioche.[7]

The early years of the Great Depression were grim for the metals industry throughout the West: Little production was recorded in the Pioche district from 1930 through 1934 because prices were so low and the logistical problems so complex. CMR, however, laid the foundations for the future. It also acquired other mines such as the Comet, Pan American, Bristol and Forlorn Hope in the adjacent Highland range.[8]

As the underground exploration and surface drilling in the vicinity of the Caselton shaft proceeded, metallurgists and economists continued their analysis and decided that a millsite near the Caselton mine was preferable to a more distant location because of the high cost of shipping the raw ore over great distances. This decision was influenced by the fact that electrical power from Boulder (later Hoover) Dam 175 miles to the south became available with the building of a power line in 1936.

On the strength of these projects and smaller mining ventures, Lincoln County, and especially Pioche, began to awaken from its half-century slumber. The county authorized a new courthouse in 1938, an Art Deco building that broke with the earlier Nevada traditions in public building. Preservation historian Ronald M. James wrote, "Art Deco celebrated America's twentieth-century fascination with technology through its stylized ornamentation and structural mass. The Lincoln County Courthouse thus promoted the image of being in step with the rest of the nation and its technological revolution."[9]

The building of the flotation mill at Caselton in late 1940 and early 1941 was the most significant development in the history of Pioche in more than sixty years. This was not merely the recycling and patching up of old mines, tailings

and equipment remaining from the bonanza days; it was a bold new endeavor encouraged by the higher metal prices resulting from World War II. The investors spent $526,000 for the 800-ton crushing plant and 400-ton flotation unit to separate the ores.[10] The refined product was then shipped by rail through Caliente to the smelter at Bauer for final processing.

The CMR mill had sufficient capacity to process not only the ore from its own mines but also from adjacent mines in the district, including the Ely Valley mine about four miles to the north, owned by the colorful John Janney. He was an entrepreneur from Virginia who, like Snyder, had arrived in Pioche many years earlier and had been fascinated by the mining history and future possibilities. Snyder and Janney corresponded occasionally about the government's mining and monetary policies. Both tried to influence Nevada's political leaders relative to the metals policies of the government.[11]

The wage structure for employees of CMR reflected the peculiar situation in the precious metals markets during the 1930s. During 1937 and 1938 the wages of underground miners ranged from $4.40 to $5.80 per shift—or a total of about $30 per week. Wages were adjusted on a monthly basis, based upon the market price of silver. Several hundred men worked in the mines and mills during the 1940s.[12] Pioche boomed as it had not done for seventy years. In some years the Pioche (Ely) district was listed among the top ten lead-zinc producers in the nation.

A key figure in the CMR structure in Pioche during the 1940s was Samuel S. Arentz Jr., the general superintendent in charge of the Caselton operation. The son of Congressman Samuel S. Arentz, the younger Arentz was well connected in Nevada's Republican establishment. A graduate of the Mackay School of Mines in 1934, he arrived in Pioche in 1941 and became general superintendent by 1945. He ran for and was elected to the Board of Regents of the University of Nevada in 1948 but was unsuccessful in a bid for the Republican nomination for Congress in 1952, losing to Clifton Young.

In its heyday during the 1940s, Pioche and Caselton had visits from former President Herbert Hoover, who had financial interests in the area. On several occasions he was a guest of the CMR managers at their homes at Caselton.

With the end of the war, CMR recognized that its profitable days were numbered. In the early 1950s, as the managers of CMR understood that the easily accessible supply of lead-zinc-silver ore was being depleted, they turned their attention to carbonate manganese ore bodies north of Pioche. Because there was an under-utilized refining plant at Henderson and known resources of this metal near the railroad at Pioche, the planners shifted their emphasis and organized a new firm, the Pioche Manganese Company. This enterprise was not successful, however, because operating costs were too high. The Snyder interests, operating from Salt Lake City, were reaching out again, this time without success, for low grade minerals the world market would buy.

By the mid-1950s, after the end of the Korean war, the CMR operation in

Pioche was in trouble. Lead and zinc prices had fallen, the company was remining its "old stopes" at Caselton to recover accessible ore, and it could no longer use the mill at full capacity. The last of the major Pioche operations closed in 1958. There has been no significant metals production since.

The 1990s

For the last forty years with its mines and mills idle, the "camp that came back" has been waiting for another place on the stage of Nevada mining. It wants a rescuer like Snyder. There are still those who believe the mines will reopen, although their numbers have become fewer as the years have passed. The gold discoveries to the north and west near the towns that were the contemporaries of Pioche in the bonanza years have not been replicated here. Other Nevada towns with similar ill-fortune have found nourishment from tourism or federal government projects. Pioche has not.

The commercial center on upper Main Street still consists of a few of the typical service establishments of the former era—a small grocery, a couple of restaurants, a service station, a hardware store, a bank, a library and two or three saloons. It has two museums but no pharmacy. Two or three thrift-and-gift stores display their wares to visitors who have come from great distances. It has three churches—an Episcopal parish that dates from the 1870s, a Latter-day Saints ward founded on unfamiliar ground in the 1930s and presently the town's basic social service organization, and a Baptist congregation. Pioche's neighbors, Panaca and Caliente, have likewise fallen on hard times and struggled to remain viable on a little-traveled route. Since Lincoln County's only major highway—US 93 between Ely and Las Vegas—carries little traffic, its commercial life has been little affected by tourism.

Considering its history as a whole, Pioche has remained remarkably stable. At the beginning of its first boom in 1870, the census takers counted 1,141 people. During the bonanza years there may have been as many as 3,000 people in the vicinity; during the state sponsored enumeration of 1875 there were 2,700.[14] Between 1880 and 1930, the official figures ranged between 242 and 868. In 1940, as Snyder's CMR operations were opening their new mill, the population reached 1,605 and in 1950 there were 1,772 residents. In each of these cases, however, it appears that many who were living in the region were not domiciled in the town.

In the four decades since CMR ceased to operate, the population of Pioche has hovered around 600-800. It has never fallen to the doldrums of the 1890-1900 period, but its boosters have had little reason to hope for a revival based on the mines. If "The Camp That Came Back" is to prosper again, it may need to find another economic base or another Ed Snyder.

NOTES

[1]In the 1950s, I wrote a history of the first 40 years in Lincoln County, including a brief account of the mining enterprises. James W. Hulse, *Lincoln County, Nevada: The History of a Mining Region, 1864-1909* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1971). One reason for the lack of research in Nevada has been that many of the crucial resources are located in Utah. I have had the privilege of using the Combined Metals Company file in the Manuscript Division of the University of Utah Marriott Library.

[2]Pioche is located in the Ely Range and is officially within the Ely Mining District, which was created in the 1860s and named for John Ely. It is not to be confused with Ely, Nevada, located 100 miles north. It is common to refer to the mines in Pioche as being in the Pioche district to reduce the possibility of confusion. C. M. Tschanz and E. H. Pampeyan, *Geology and Mineral Deposits of Lincoln County, Nevada*, Bulletin 73 (Reno: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology; Mackay School of Mines, 1970), 126-27.

[3]A competent summary of Snyder's activities in Pioche may be found in David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California: Volume Two - The Southern Road*. (Reno, Las Vegas:University of Nevada Press, 1992; reprint of the 1963 edition.),719, 722, 726ff.

[4]Bernard F. Couch and Jay A. Carpenter, *Nevada's Metal and Mineral Production (1859—1940, Inclusive)*, (Reno: Nevada State Bureau of Mines and Mackay School of Mines, 1943), 91. See also W. C. Browne, "Pioche Operations During 1916," *The Salt Lake Mining Review*, 15 January 1917.

[5]Francis Church Lincoln, *Mining Districts and Mineral Resources of Nevada*, (Reno: Nevada Newsletter Publishing Co., 1923; reissued Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1982), 124-26. Interesting personal reminiscences of work at the Prince mine in the 1930s can be found in the oral history of Paul Gemmill, *Recollections of Mining Ventures, Life in Eastern Nevada, and the Nevada Mining Association*, (Oral History Project, University of Nevada-Reno, 1978), 96ff. Gemmill was a geological engineer trained at the Mackay School of Mines, graduating in 1930. He later became general superintendent for CMR at its properties in Pioche.

[6]An eight-page typescript history of the CMR operation at Bauer, written by W. H. Kelsey and dated April 6, 1968, exists in the Combined Metals collection at the University of Utah Marriott Library (Manuscript Division) Acc 493, Box 1. Kelsey was an engineer for CMR during the early period of the firm's milling operation in Pioche.

[7]*The Mining Review*, (Salt Lake City), 33, (15 January 1931), 24.

[8]*The Mining Review*, (Salt Lake City) 36, (13 March 1934), 6.

[9]Ronald M. James, *Temples of Justice: County Courthouses of Nevada*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994), 104-05.

[10]Combined Metals Reduction Co. collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Acc. 493, Box 27, "Pioche, 1924-1940."

[11]Their correspondence is in Box 26 of the Marriott Library collection.

[12]Combined Metals Reduction Co. collection, Box 26.

[13]Gemmill, *Recollections*, 283-90.

[14]Hulse, *Lincoln County*, 32.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Honesty, Simplicity, and Usefulness: The Adams House, a Craftsman Bungalow in Carson City, Nevada

Mella Rothwell Harmon

If the walls of the Adams House could speak, they would tell the story of a hardworking salesclerk in Carson City, Nevada, who built a modest little house that fully embodied the ideals of a major movement in American art, architecture, and philosophy. The Adams House exhibits all the elements that characterize the Arts and Crafts Movement as it was manifested in the United States. In recognition of its contribution to this period in our history, the Adams House has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

The Adams House is an unpretentious 1500 square foot Craftsman bungalow, located at 990 North Minnesota Street in Carson City. It was built between 1922 and 1923 by DeWitt Adams. He, his wife, Meta, and their five children moved in before it was completed. Adams raised chickens and a vegetable garden on his urban parcel, and purchased most of his necessities from catalogs. Family members assume that the plans for the new home were no exception, but that it was Mrs. Adams who picked out the design and layout of the house.[1] She chose for her family a three bedroom, one bath bungalow, which included a dining room, living room, kitchen, a small vestibule, and a definitive Craftsman porch along the front.

Entry into the home is gained through the small vestibule, used by Meta as a sewing room, which in turn opens into a bedroom to the right and the living

Mella Rothwell Harmon is the National Register of Historic Places program coordinator for the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office. She served as research assistant on the book, *Buildings of Nevada*, to be published in 2000 by Oxford University Press and the Society of Architectural Historians, and has published articles, lectured, and led historical tours. Ms. Harmon received a B.A. in anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley, and her M.S. in land use planning, with an emphasis in historic preservation, from the University of Nevada, Reno. She and her husband are avid collectors of Arts and Crafts furnishings.

The Adams House, 990 N. Minnesota Street, Carson City, Nevada *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*

room to the left. The home contains the original Craftsman features and built in elements rendered in the Arts and Crafts style. Adams, an amateur cabinet and furniture maker, constructed the built ins, wall treatments, and much of the furniture for the house himself.

The three bedrooms line up along the north side of the house. Each bedroom opens into the next, and the front bedroom can be entered from the vestibule, the middle bedroom from the dining room, and the back bedroom is accessible through the bathroom. DeWitt and Meta's second son, Maurice, reported that the front bedroom was occupied by his parents, and the back bedroom by Margaret, his only sister. The middle bedroom was shared by the four boys, although the younger boys slept in Margaret's room while they were infants.[2]

The family added a section to the rear of the house at some early time, probably during the 1930s.[3] This space included a centrally placed entry, a breakfast room, and a cold storage room. The corner encompassing the cold storage room, where all the family's food was stored, was built of rough-cut stones acquired from the state quarry. These stones are distinctive and have been used for many of the public buildings in the state's capital city, including the Capitol itself. The storage room's design achieved temperature control with several inches of sawdust in the attic above the ceiling and floor level vents in the north and west walls, that could be closed off with removable doors.

The Adams House is a rare Carson City example of the Craftsman bunga-

low, a style whose popularity spread into most parts of the United States during the first twenty to thirty years of the twentieth century. The style was so popular in Reno that a variant of the brick bungalow developed there, of which many still exist. In contrast, only a handful of Craftsman bungalows were ever built in Carson City, and even fewer remain today.

The Bungalow Phenomenon

The origin of the word bungalow is traced by many to the Bengali word *bangala* (or *banggolo*, with various other spellings), signifying a typical native dwelling found in rural Bengal. The bangala was a low structure with a sweeping roof line, and open verandahs surrounding it.[4] The building type was embraced by the colonizing British, who transplanted it from the Raj to Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. The British also transferred the bungalow to other colonies, where it was considered to be a house type "suitable for European residence in the tropics." When first introduced on the western scene, the bangala, which became westernized to *bungalow*, was an impermanent structure for use as a vacation home. In Britain, it was a single story, simply constructed dwelling at the seashore, along a river, or in the country.[5]

When introduced to America in the 1880s, bungalows served as vacation homes, as they had in Britain. Development took them in a different direction, however, becoming the preferred house type for America's burgeoning suburban neighborhoods. It is due in part to its rapid evolution in purpose that a concise definition of bungalow has yet to be made. Architectural historians do not even agree on identifying traits that indicate a bungalow. Although most people recognize a bungalow when they see one, most cannot say precisely what it is that makes it so. Therefore, the term bungalow refers more to a house type than to a style, for it has been rendered in numerous styles, including Colonial, Spanish, Classical, and Craftsman.[6] American architectural historians, in fact, do not even agree on the bungalow's origin in the United States. Some ascribe it to the famous Greene brothers of Pasadena, California, attributing to it a birth date of 1903, while others look to earlier and more distant roots.[7]

In order to place the Adams House into a context that is not easily interpreted, this article examines two aspects of the bungalow phenomenon: the Arts and Crafts Movement, which spun off the Craftsman sobriquet through its American proponent, Gustav Stickley, and the California Bungalow that spread its suburban ideals throughout the nation in the first decades of the twentieth century.

It is through the American Arts and Crafts Movement, and the popularity of a regional variant of the bungalow, known as the California Bungalow, that the identifying characteristics of the American bungalow may be drawn. These two forces served to shape the architectural manifestations of a phase in Ameri-

can history, sometimes referred to as the Bungalow Age, which alluded to a level of working class wealth and opportunity, connected to the suburbanization of American cities, the Progressive Movement, and a national ideal of "back-to-Nature," popularized by President Theodore Roosevelt, and others.[8]

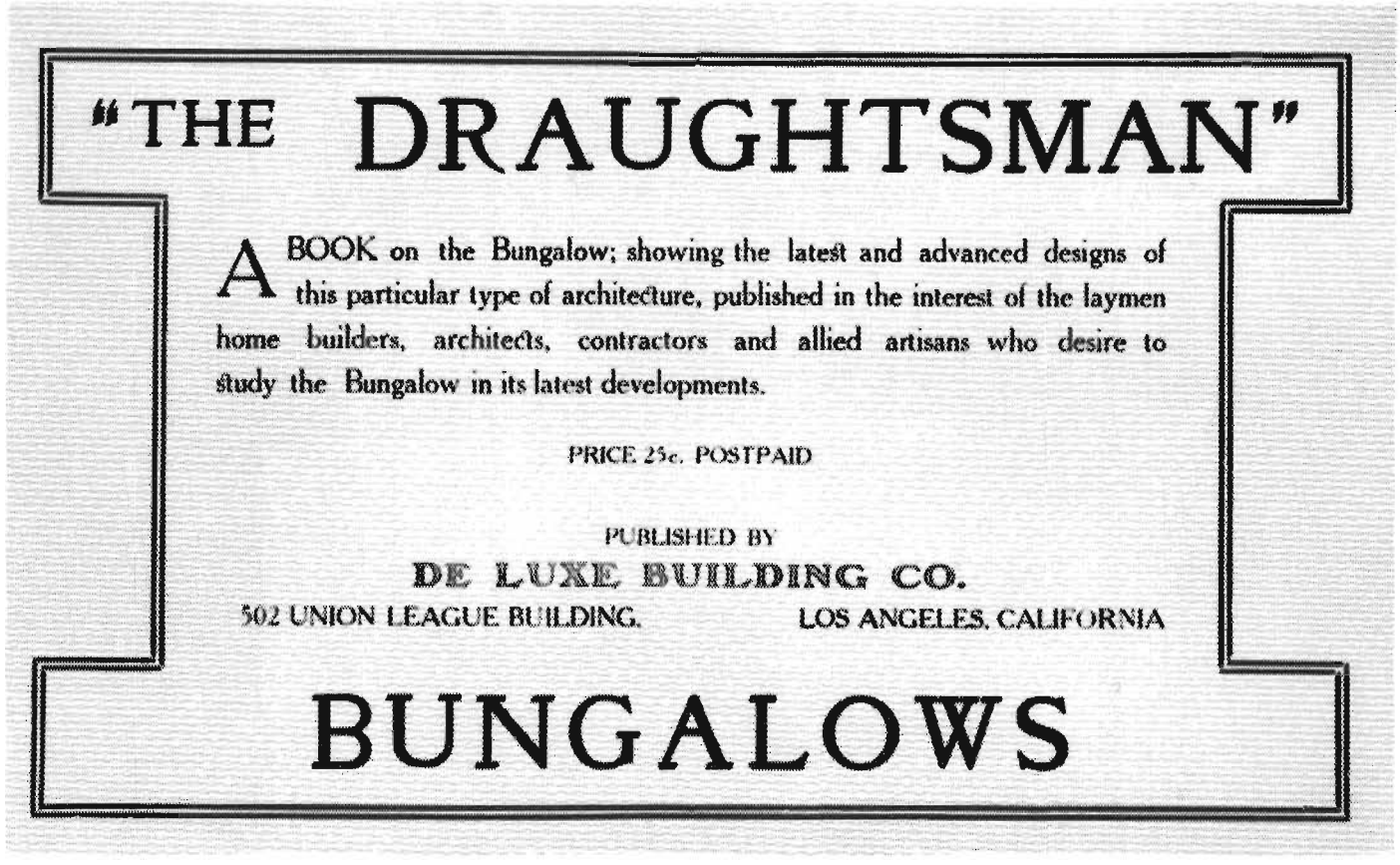
The following definition helps set the Adams House into the context of the Craftsman bungalow:

> An inexact term for late 19c [century] mid 20c [century] type of small house, borrowed from the 19c [century] British term for a one story house in India with an encircling veranda and tile or thatched roof; in North America, more a set of concepts than a building type; characterized by materials that express their natural state, interconnected interior spaces, low, broad form, and lack of applied ornamentation; often has a low pitched or hip roof and a porch with massive columns; common details include wide, overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails, projecting beam ends, and triangular knee braces at gable eaves, attached pergolas, and bungalow windows; although most often in the Craftsman style, may be any 20c [century] style or combination of styles.[9]

With the exception of the lack of a pergola, this definition fits the Adams House perfectly. The significance of the Craftsman style is tied to the American Arts and Crafts Movement, which was first introduced in the United States through a display of British Arts and Crafts works at the 1876 International Exposition in Philadelphia, and the 1893 Exposition in Chicago. The movement was founded by social theorists, architects, and designers in Great Britain in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. They were reacting to perceived ravages of the Industrial Revolution, which included low grade, poorly designed, machine produced products, and the resulting dehumanization of society. One of the British founders of the Arts and Crafts Movement summed up its ideals in his Axiom III: "The purpose of the Arts and Crafts is to set a standard of excellence in all commodities in which the element of beauty enters . . . ."[10]

The best known of the British Arts and Crafts pioneers are John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834 1893). Ruskin was a social theorist and critic who saw the medieval craftsman as the model of contentment and creativity. Morris was a designer and a writer, and like Ruskin, embraced medievalism and socialism.[11] From these perspectives came the Arts and Crafts Movement, a middle class crisis of conscience with aesthetic values and goals derived from "the conviction that society produces the art and architecture it deserves."[12] The movement sought to respond to the spread of cheap and shoddy machine-made products by imposing a high quality of architecture and design on every level. They strove to "establish a society in which creative freedom was the right of all."[13] Morris's and Ruskin's ideals harkened back to an age when craftsman and designer were one and the same, and "before the division of labour, an artefact was the product of a single individual who saw the creative process from beginning to end."[14]

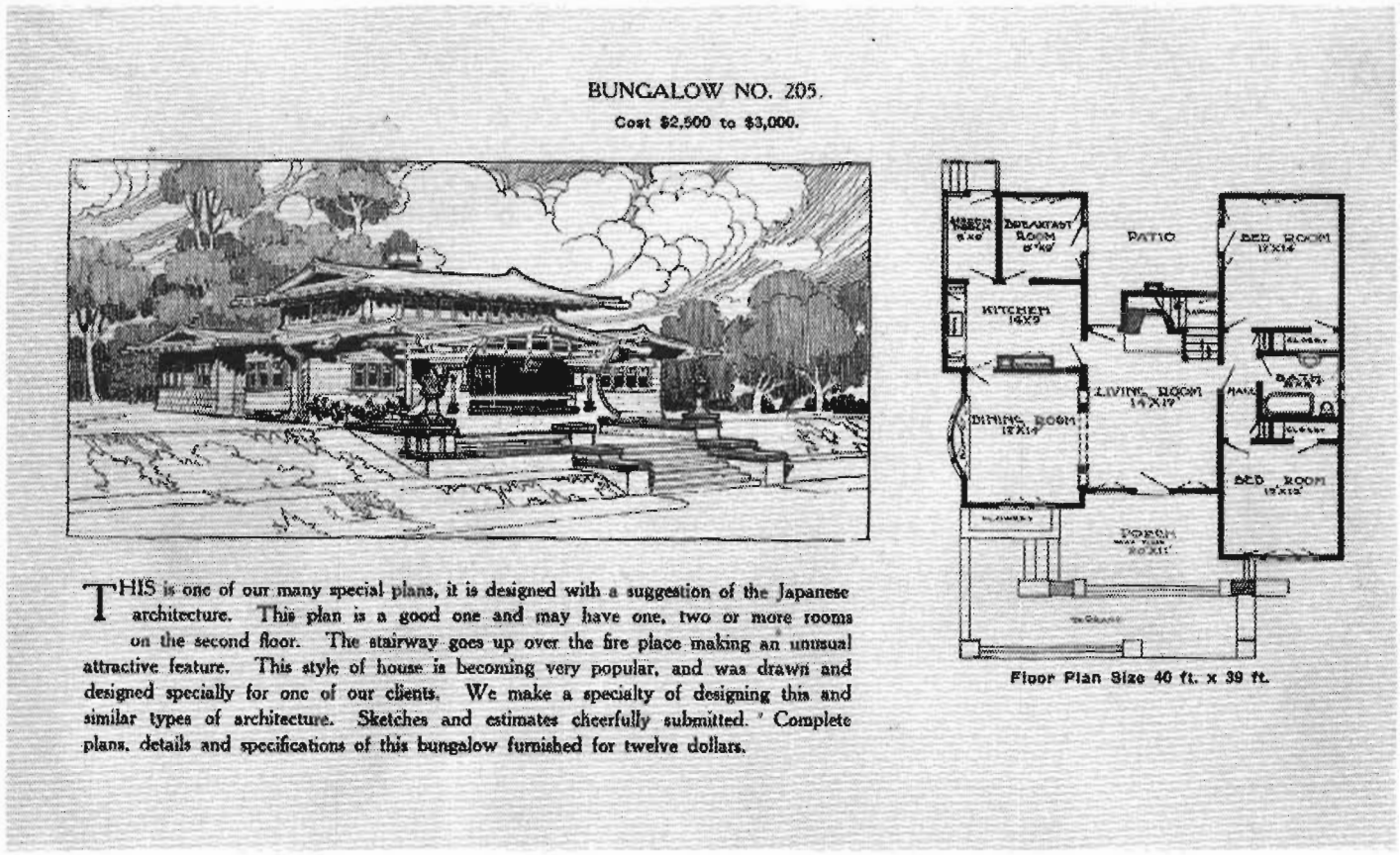
Neither Ruskin nor Morris ever visited the United States, but other British Arts and Crafts proponents did, and the movement gained followers in America.



The Draughtsman was a book of plans for Arts and Crafts bungalows published in Los Angeles *(Nevada Historical Society).*

The movement came at a time when Americans were entranced with an "Arcadian myth,"[15] the back-to-nature movement that found followers from the urban middle and upper classes, and could trace its roots socially and politically to the Progressive movement, which President Theodore Roosevelt espoused.[16] Gustav Stickley of Syracuse, New York was a major diffuser of Arts and Crafts ideals in America. In 1898 he traveled to Europe, where he met a number of Arts and Crafts practitioners. Returning home, he promptly opened his own Arts and Crafts workshop, producing a line of Arts and Crafts furniture.[17] At first it was a family concern, but later Gustav started his own company, while his brothers continued with the family business under the name L. & J.G. Stickley Furniture Company. In 1908, Gustav purchased an estate in Parsippany, New Jersey, where he planned to establish a cooperative community featuring a furniture factory, a school, cottages for friends and colleagues, and a farm to produce food for the community. Stickley intended the community, Craftsman Farms, to serve as a gathering place for champions of the American Arts and Crafts movement. Due to an ill-fated real estate investment, and indirectly to the beginning of the decline in popularity of Craftsman style homes and furnishings, Stickley lost Craftsman Farms to bankruptcy before it could reach fruition.[18] Stickley's most significant contribution, however, was his publication, *The Craftsman*, which began in 1901. *The Craftsman* did more than any–other medium to publicize Arts and Crafts ideals.

Stickley had specific ideas about home building, and what he called "right living." He referred to Craftsman architecture as "homes for the people," and



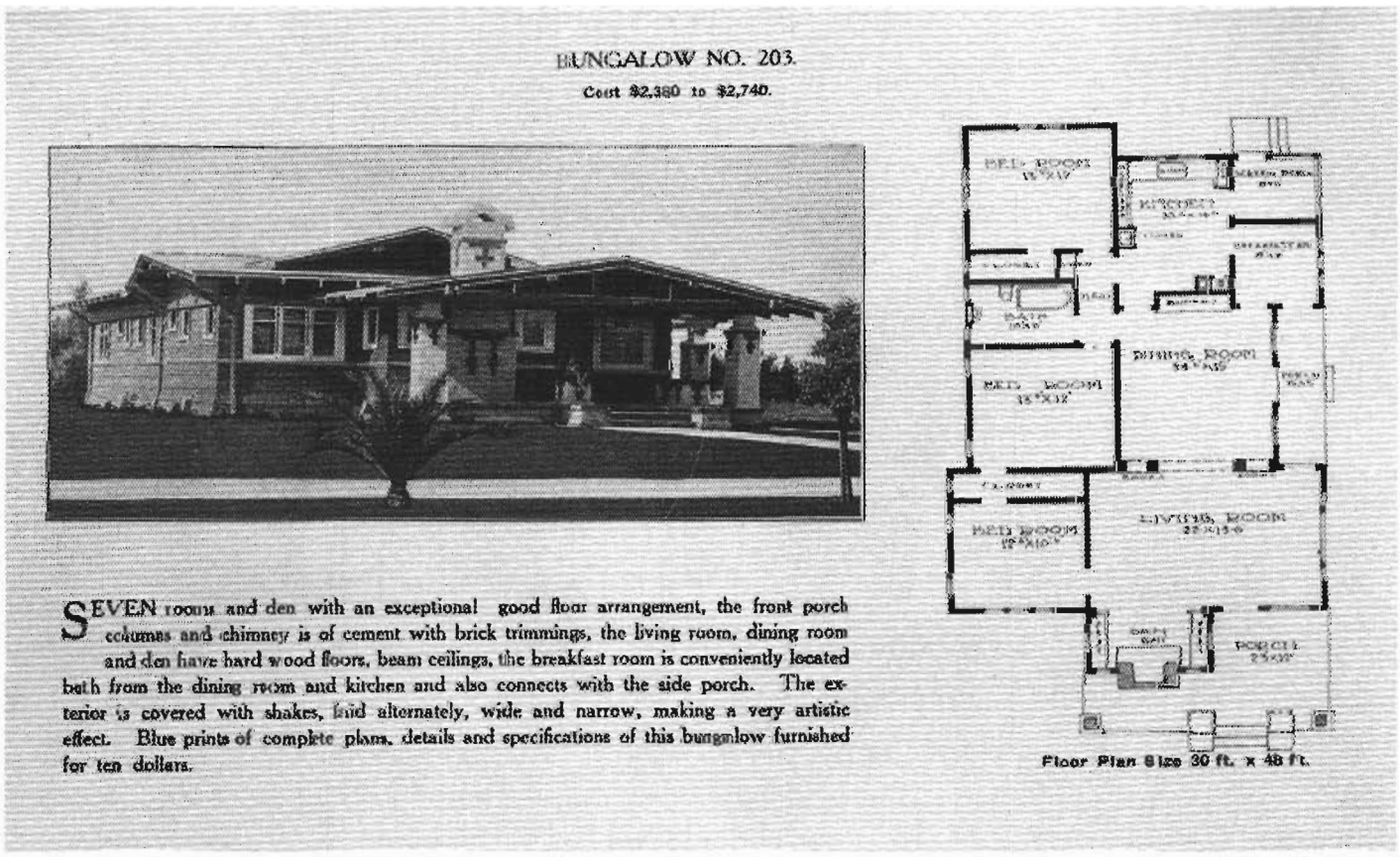
BUNGALOW NO. 205.

Cost $2,500 to $3,000.

THIS is one of our many special plans, it is designed with a suggestion of the Japanese architecture. This plan is a good one and may have one, two or more rooms on the second floor. The stairway goes up over the fire place making an unusual attractive feature. This style of house is becoming very popular, and was drawn and designed specially for one of our clients. We make a specialty of designing this and similar types of architecture. Sketches and estimates cheerfully submitted. Complete plans, details and specifications of this bungalow furnished for twelve dollars.

Floor Plan Size 40 ft. x 39 ft.

Bungalow #205 from *The Draughtsman (Nevada Historical Society).*



BUNGALOW NO. 203.

Cost $2,380 to $2,740.

SEVEN rooms and den with an exceptional good floor arrangement, the front porch columns and chimney is of cement with brick trimmings, the living room, dining room and den have hard wood floors, beam ceilings, the breakfast room is conveniently located both from the dining room and kitchen and also connects with the side porch. The exterior is covered with shakes, laid alternately, wide and narrow, making a very artistic effect. Blue prints of complete plans, details and specifications of this bungalow furnished for ten dollars.

Floor Plan Size 30 ft. x 48 ft.

Bungalow #203 from *The Draughtsman (Nevada Historical Society).*

stated that "the bungalow is planned and built to meet simple needs in the simplest and most direct ways."[19]

The Craftsman, which ceased publication in 1916, did much to spread the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement throughout the United States. Arts and Crafts guilds and societies proliferated, and Gustav Stickley's publication was a major conduit for the ideas and methods between Arts and Crafts practitioners and the general public. Stickley hired professionals to create house designs for his magazine, and in 1904, *The Craftsman* offered the first in a series of monthly house plans. Free to subscribers, Stickley's plans would eventually number more than 200, featuring open floor plans and aimed at the middle class family. Stickley offered free advice to homebuilders wishing to modify their *Craftsman* plans, and he also provided patterns for furnishings, similar to those produced by his company.[20] From this source, the simple and homey bungalow became popular across the country and with it came the label, Craftsman Bungalow. As it proliferated, however, Arts and Crafts architecture followed regional lines, with examples in the Northeast and Mid Atlantic region entwined with Colonial Revival styles. In the Midwest, Arts and Crafts styling followed the Prairie style of Frank Lloyd Wright and other Chicago School architects; and in California, which would catch its own strain of bungalow fever, Arts and Crafts ideals were strongly influenced by the California missions and the natural California environment.[21]

The Arts and Crafts movement was warmly embraced in California, where its Mediterranean climate, lush landscape, and its Mexican and Spanish past offered rich inspiration for artists and craftsmen. California's Arts and Crafts artists were "challenged by the wealth of natural subjects as close as their windows."[22] When the Craftsman bungalow was first introduced into southern California, it was not the small workers' house that it would become. Initiated around 1903 by such prominent architects as Irving Gill and the brother team of Charles and Henry Greene, the first Craftsman bungalows were commissioned by wealthy Easterners and featured rambling floor plans, extensive grounds, and multiple porches. The quality of construction and craftsmanship in these examples was exemplary, but their cost was prohibitive to most home buyers.[23] This would soon change, however, and a new middle and working class housing type, called the California Bungalow, would develop. This housing type exerted a tremendous influence on domestic architecture in America and was a harbinger of the modern post World War II house design.[24]

Since late in the nineteenth century, the advent of mass transportation, and soon thereafter the private automobile, had caused the pattern of living for American city dwellers to change. The suburbanization of American cities had begun. Southern California, particularly Los Angeles, was a prime location for the developing model of American suburbanization. It has been suggested that four related factors explain this phenomenon: the availability of resources; prevailing values (both individual and social); popular institutions; and the avail-

Clapboard Craftsman bungalow built in the 1930s, 216 N. Mountain Street, Carson City, Nevada *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*

ability of technologies, especially transportation.[25] California provided the ideal setting for all four, by offering a nearly endless supply of cheap land, accessible by interurban railway, a booming economy, and a fairly wealthy population with the ability to fulfill the Arcadian dream of owning one's own land in a rural setting. These, matched with the free operation of developers, land subdividers, and railway companies, allowed an unprecedented number of people to own homes.[26]

The opportunity for home ownership developing in southern California, coupled with the precepts of the Arts and Crafts movement, and embodied in the ideals of the Craftsman bungalow, provided the impetus for a dwelling type that would achieve immense popularity. Not only was the bungalow simple and artistic, it was also cheap, and the ideals of a simple life and back-to-nature legitimized economy. To make the bungalow available to the masses entering the home ownership ranks, magazines and plan books of bungalow designs that could cost as little as five dollars, proliferated. Hundreds of bungalow designs, many of which were pirated from Craftsman, were available. The bungalow phenomenon was noted by the publication, *Indoors and Out*, which called it a fever: "We have contracted [the fever] in daily intercourse with our friends; the germ continues to reach us through our evening mail. We want everyone of our readers to own a bungalow . . . and we shall continue to pub-

lish bungalows so long as our readers impart to us the bungalow bacillus."[27] Clearly, there was a strong nationwide demand for small, inexpensive houses, and bungalows fit the bill nicely. The editor of *Hodgson's Practical Bungalows and Cottages*, Fred T. Hodgson, called the bungalow, "the best type of cheap frame house which has been erected in large numbers in this country since the old New England farmhouse went out of fashion."[28] Explaining the building's charm, Hodgson states, "There is nothing either affected or insincere about these little houses. They are neither consciously artistic nor consciously rustic. They are the simple and unconscious expression of the needs of their owners, and as such they can be credited with the best kind of architectural propriety."[29]

So cherished had the bungalow become, as a symbol of rusticity and comfort, poems and songs emoted over it:

The Bungalow[30]

Among the shrubbery and shade trees
the brisk little bungalow stands,
Its swinging white gate speaking welcome
While its dignified doorhook commands.

Its windows so clear and so gleaming
Look out with suggestions of pride,
The walls neatly shingled and beaming
Speak well for the cosy inside.
Here neighborly spirits shine clearly
And family life is implied
From the smoke of the brick built Dutch chimney
To the billowy curtains inside.
Here the home of American manhood
Independent and true in his life
With a welcome for friends and for neighbors
To share with his children and wife.

The earthy ideals of the Craftsman bungalow emphasize the building's relationship to the land on which it sat. Besides being simple, modest, affordable, and expressing art in form and function, the bungalow was to display Nature's materials, colors, and forms, and be integrated with the natural environment.[31]

Architectural designs as well as catalog plans for Craftsman bungalows included numerous built in features. These elements fit Stickley's principles of efficiency, simplicity, sanitation, and "live in ability."[32] The interior additions reflected a philosophical change toward floor plans. Moving away from the compartmentalized and private spaces of Victorian homes, the new trend was

toward integration of space and an easier flow between rooms. Living rooms and dining rooms were separated by low walls or built-in shelves rather than high walls and doors. Built-ins became the unifying features that tied separate rooms together. Elaborate designs offered inglenooks and built-in settles. In order to facilitate housekeeping without servants, built-ins provided efficiency for the homemaker. China cabinets built in to the dining room wall stored linens, silver, and china in close proximity to the dining table. In the kitchen, the old pantry was supplanted by cabinets over the sink, and rather than storing clothing in portable armoires, built-in closets gained prominence. To emphasize the artistic nature of the bungalow, built-ins were constructed in warm wood tones to match the wainscoting and other wood trim.[33] The bungalow living unit offered every convenience and comfort for the homeowner.

That the Adams House design was obtained from a catalog is appropriate. More bungalows were built from such plans than were designed and built by professional architects. The timing of the Adams House was appropriate, as well. Although its decline was on the horizon, the biggest boom in bungalow construction in America was during the decade of the 1920s. The decline came as bungalow designs strayed from the original ideals and the name became diluted and used to describe a broader variety of residential types. By 1928, the suburban home in catalogs and magazines sported Colonial Revival traits. Also, during the bungalow boom decade of the 1920s, the glut of bungalows changed the connotation of the word from simple, rustic, natural, and charming, to cheap, small, and vulgar.[34] Regardless of its rather ignominious end, the bungalow, and particularly the Craftsman form, symbolized a period of amazing growth in America, and it served as a precursor to the fully modern period, which employed technology and efficiency to its fullest extent. The bungalow charmingly took America from the fussiness and formality of the Victorian era to the space age of the post World War II period.

The Bungalow in Nevada

Little has been written about the bungalow phenomenon in Nevada, although it manifested itself in varying ways throughout the state. Until the legalization of gambling in 1931, Nevada's early economy generally centered around the boom and bust cycles of mining and agriculture. During the 1920s, and until about 1950, Reno was Nevada's largest city, and Carson City the smallest state capital in the nation.[35] Relative local and regional prosperity, as well as the availability of building materials, dictated the level of home building that occurred at any given time. During the 1920s, Reno was booming, due in part to its lucrative migratory divorce industry, and as a result of its prosperity, Reno's neighborhoods are filled with bungalows. So popular was the bungalow in Reno, a distinctive brick variant developed. Carson City was experiencing an economic depression during this period, and home building was nearly at a

stand still. Therefore, the rarity of bungalows in Carson City was apparently a response to economic realities, rather than a reflection of architectural choice or taste.

A review of various architectural surveys conducted in Nevada communities permits a glimpse into the general distribution of bungalows in the state. Statewide survey coverage is inconsistent and incomplete, and surveys of some communities identify only a single Craftsman bungalow.[36] The bulk of Craftsman bungalows occur in the larger, more permanent communities. In a state that relied on mining booms and busts, relative size and permanence were transitory qualities, however.

Battle Mountain is a small town of approximately 4,000 persons located in north central Nevada. Established in the 1860s as a station on the Central Pacific Railroad, it was also the northern terminus of the Nevada Central Railroad until 1938.[37] Battle Mountain has eked out an existence with the help of the railroad and surrounding mines, and has always had a relatively small population.[38] The historic architecture of the town is strictly functional and vernacular, displaying little architectural detail. Battle Mountain does, however, boast six Craftsman bungalows. These bungalows, of undetermined construction dates, are mostly wood framed with minimal detailing, but identifiable as bungalows, nonetheless.[39]

Las Vegas, now Nevada's largest city, was a small railroad town in the 1920s. The three architectural surveys undertaken for the community identify only eight Craftsman bungalows. An unknown number of them have been demolished without documentation, however. The surveys list one notable 1910 example as designed by the Greene Brothers of California. This would have been during their prime California bungalow building period, although the Las Vegas house is modest in comparison to other Greene and Greene homes. Most of the Las Vegas bungalows were built from 1920-1930. Many were stucco or concrete; only the Greene and Greene house is wood. Although bungalows were popular in southern California, they were rather late and seemingly rare in Las Vegas, which is odd given the proximity. The predominant styles in the 1920s 1940s Las Vegas neighborhoods were Spanish colonial, Mission, and Tudor, the last of which was particularly popular.[40]

Sparks, a small town located just east of Reno, was established in 1905 by the relocation of the Southern Pacific Railroad's maintenance facility from Wadsworth, Nevada. The majority of residential buildings in Sparks were small and unpretentious, built to house railroad workers and their families. The earliest houses (1904-1919) were simple cottages with Queen Anne or classical elements. From 1920 to World War II, styles are derived from Period Revivals or the bungalow.[41] In Sparks, bungalows are typically sheathed in wood, in contrast to Reno versions. Architectural surveys in Sparks identified fourteen bungalows. Remarkably, one Craftsman bungalow in Sparks has been dated to 1905, a very early date for bungalows in the West.

Brick Craftsman bungalow built in 1932, Glanzmann House, 502 W. Spear Street, Carson City, Nevada *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*

Clapboard Craftsman bungalow built in 1923, Kitzmeyer House, 202 N. Curry Street, Carson City, Nevada *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*

Modest Craftsman bungalow, stucco *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*

Clapboard Craftsman bungalow with wide overhang and steeply-pitched roof *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*

Reno was Nevada's largest city in the 1920s and it was experiencing an economic boom, due in part to its growing status as a divorce colony. Many residential buildings were built in Reno during the first three decades of the twentieth century, as the surrounding ranch lands were subdivided into new additions. The bungalow was the preferred house style during this period.[42] Brick was the most common building material for Reno's bungalows, representing 66 percent of the bungalows inventoried, but examples rendered in river rock, cast cement blocks, or wood were also documented.[43] Although it is not known when the first bungalow was built in Reno, an advertisement in the 1917 city directory boasts "Bungalows Our Speciality."[44] This suggests that the style was probably embraced fairly early in its development, and it would be reasonable to assume that it initially appeared in the first decade of the century. Another common bungalow variant found in Reno is the bungalow duplex, of which a number of brick examples exist. These generally date to a somewhat later period, into the 1930s or even the 1940s.

Winnemucca is situated approximately 180 miles northeast of Carson City. Because of its location on the Humboldt River, Winnemucca has experienced steady prosperity as a transportation and supply hub. During the period of 1915 to 1940, it boasted a population larger by several hundred souls than Carson City's. From around 1914 through the end of the 1920s, there was a drop in silver prices and a general worldwide economic depression. Winnemucca, however, experienced a limited boom in residential construction at the time, and the prominent building type for this period was the bungalow. The earliest example was built around 1910, and the latest around 1935. Most of the bungalows were modest and one-to-one-and-a-half stories, but all displayed the minimum characteristics of the type. They were rendered in a variety of exterior coverings, including brick, stucco, shingle, and wood. One of the grander bungalows in town has been described as "the most architecturally significant building in Winnemucca."[45] Another elegant example was designed by Nevada's pre-eminent architect, Frederick DeLongchamps, one of the few Craftsman bungalows designed by him.[46] A 1982 survey of Winnemucca's historical resources identified thirty-four extant Craftsman bungalows.[47]

According to the architectural surveys, only a handful of bungalows were ever built in Carson City, and only two examples similar in size and style to the Adams House have been identified. These are located at 216 N. Mountain Street (ca. 1915), and 202 N. Curry Street (ca 1923). A brick version, probably built in the 1920s, is located at 502 W. Spear Street. The Craftsman style was rare in Carson City, due to severe economic problems during the bungalow's period of significance. Census data for Carson City show a population decreasing to fewer than 3,000 individuals by 1930. Beginning with the decline of the Comstock in the 1880s, Carson City residents tried to hang on, but by 1900 many had left town. It was during the period between the world wars that Carson City suffered its heaviest population decline. Out migration affected all

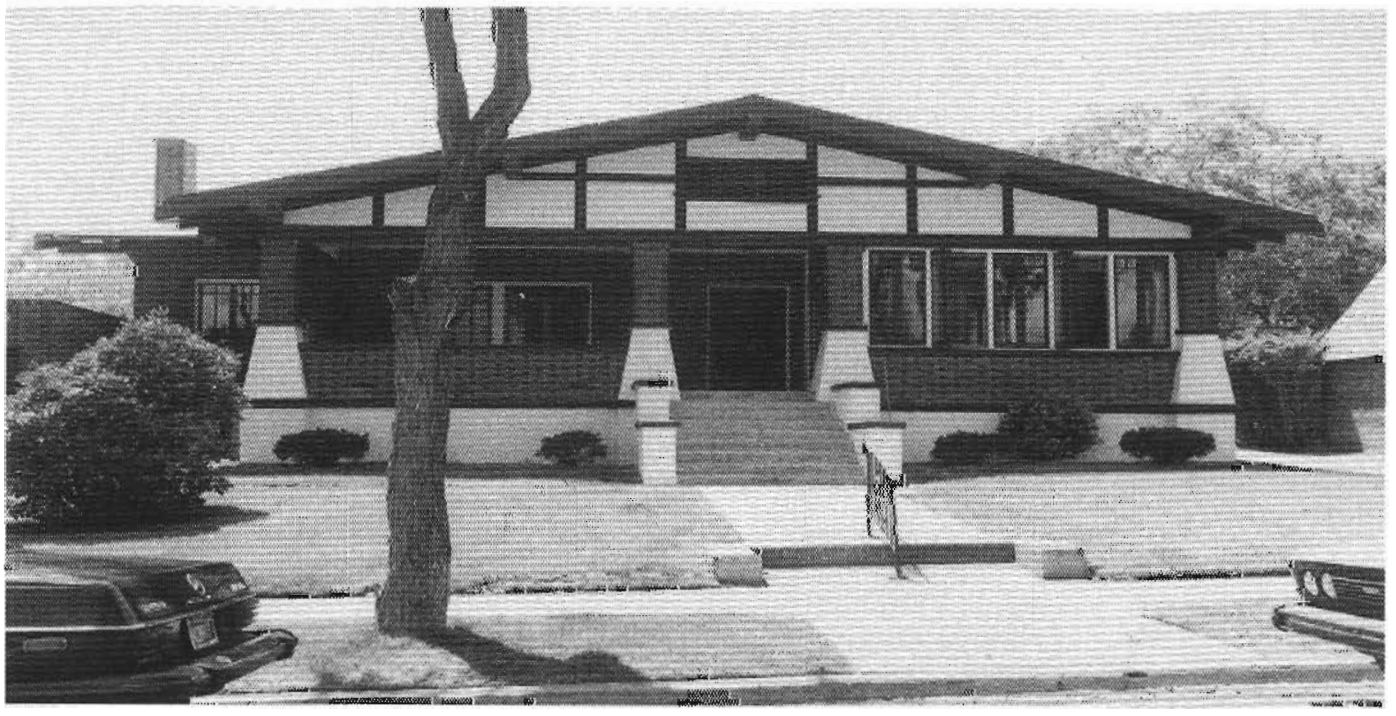
segments of Carson City society, from a number of lawyers who fled to Reno for the lucrative divorce trade, to the Chinese population that had all but disappeared by the end of the 1930s. Carson City was thought of as a sleepy little town, and had the distinction of being the smallest state capital in the country. Typical of small towns, children born and raised in Carson City sought to leave as soon as they reached the age of majority. This inter-war period saw little non-governmental construction in Carson City and many homes and commercial buildings stood vacant.[48] It was in this depressed environment that DeWitt Adams sought to build a new house of a modern design in a town where few new houses were being built at all.

The Adams House

The parcel where the Adams House was built was owned by the Phillips family and on it sat a farm house, which served as home for the two adults and six children. The head of the family was John S. Phillips, a mining engineer and speculator, and respected Carson City citizen. In July 1909, Phillips died in a mining accident, falling to the bottom of a mine shaft at the Liberty Mining Company mine at Masonic, Nevada. Although he broke only one rib, it punctured his heart.[49] Little is known of the family after Phillips's death, but in January 1915, John's wife Nina found it necessary to commit five of her minor children to the State Orphan's Home in Carson City. Again, little is known about the family until May 1922, when Nina Phillips was forced to sell her North Minnesota Street property to avoid losing it to taxes. Since the property was part of her children's inheritance, a petition on their behalf was brought before the district court in Carson City. The terms of the petition allowed for the sale of the property to DeWitt Adams for the sum of $200 (to redeem a delinquent tax bill of $127.56). Also included in the petition were conditions allowing for the release of the three youngest Phillips children, and the dismantling of the family's farm house so it could be moved to Mina, Nevada.[50] In order for the Adamses to live on their parcel, they would need to build a new home to replace the one Mrs. Phillips was taking with her.

During an interview on February 24, 1999, Maurice Adams, son of DeWitt and Meta, was able to recount details about the house.[51] He was born in 1918 at the "Noonan Hospital" (Noonan was a mid wife, apparently) on the east side of Carson City. Maurice was only three or four years old when his family moved into the Craftsman bungalow on Minnesota Street. His father, DeWitt, had left his home in South Carolina at the age of thirteen, working his way cross country. Maurice's mother, Meta, whose maiden name was Andersen, was a Carson City native. The Adamses had five surviving children, four boys and one girl; Maurice was the second oldest. Meta died in childbirth when Maurice was about 10 years old (he remembers being in the fifth grade). His father never remarried and he enlisted the boys to help with the farm duties when they

Typical Reno red brick Craftsman bungalow *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*



Two-toned brick and stucco Craftsman bungalow with low-pitched roof *(Nevada State Historical Preservation Office).*

were not in school. DeWitt's response to the boys, when they bemoaned the fact that they could not participate in school sports, was, "we have to work together to stay together." Margaret, as the only girl, took over the motherly duties and the inside of the house became her domain.

Gustav Stickley held numerous ideals about family living and the appropriate architectural style. In *The Craftsman*, he urged his readers to build their homes with their own hands, using local materials.[52] Stickley's ideals went beyond mere architecture, however, and he espoused the idea of the home farm. Stickley believed a bungalow should be "a pleasant, comfortable dwelling situated on a piece of ground large enough to yield under proper cultivation, a great part of the food supply for the family."[53] Maurice was too young when his parents built the house to have known what motivated them to choose a Craftsman bungalow, but they seemingly embraced Stickley's ideals completely. With the exception of the plastering and electrical, DeWitt did all of the construction on the house himself, including the built-ins and furniture, and he operated his own home farm, as well.[54]

DeWitt spent his entire working life with A.G. Meyer's store, located at the northwest corner of Musser and Carson Streets. Meyer's was a general store in the beginning, selling everything from hardware to food. Later the grocery half of the business was split off by a partner and located in another facility. DeWitt supplemented his income by selling the fruits and vegetables he grew in his garden, as well as chickens and eggs. He would sell his vegetables in order to buy next season's seeds, and when he had enough money, he would give away all the produce he grew above and beyond what his family needed. DeWitt kept his seed money (consisting mostly of coin) in a tin box in the warming oven of the cookstove. The children would deliver the produce and eggs and make their daily deposits to the tin box. DeWitt had a knack for gardening and his prolific garden was always in operation. He planted his crops at intervals so he would have a steady supply of vegetables throughout the growing season. His main crop was corn, but he also grew pumpkins, summer squash, carrots, peas, beets, cabbage, tomatoes, onions, string beans, lettuce, cantaloupes, and watermelons; all from seed. He also had plum, peach, and apple trees, as well as grape vines. DeWitt kept his apples fresh and crisp all winter by wrapping them individually, placing them in a barrel of sawdust and storing them in the barn. DeWitt's gardens were arranged by crop variety and separated by fences. He irrigated each plot with hoses and pipes connected to the seven artesian wells scattered around the parcel. Until the advent of the city water system in the 1950s,[55] Adam's artesian wells served the needs of his family, garden, and chicken operations without the aid of pumps.[56]

DeWitt raised fryers and layers of various varieties, but Maurice particularly remembers White Leghorns, Plymouth Rocks, and Rhode Island Reds. The chickens took up the northwest corner of the property, where there were several chicken houses and feed rooms. The chickens were separated by age in

fenced yards. Mr. Adams was apparently fond of his chickens and on one occasion the boys risked severe punishment when they got the chickens so intoxicated they were staggering around their yards. This occurred when the boys stole out to the yard to eat grapes and chew tobacco. They tossed the grape skins and spat tobacco juice into the chicken yards, and the chickens immediately gobbled it up. Fortunately for the boys, the chickens sobered up before DeWitt came home.[57]

Maurice has few early memories about the house. He has no idea why his parents chose the Craftsman bungalow style for their house or how they came by the plans. His response to a question about the building plans was that he doubted his father had used any, but rather had seen a picture of it in a magazine, liked it, and duplicated it.[58] On the other hand, Maurice's son, Ken, believes the plans were surely from a plan book, since DeWitt purchased all his seeds and other household items through catalogs.[59] Since the home's interior elements are so perfectly Craftsman, Ken Adams's supposition seems the most likely. There were multitudinous plan books available for industrious and frugal home builders, which also included plans for interior furnishings. A review of several plan books from the period did not reveal a floor plan exactly like the Adams House, but several offered similar options. The arrangement of the living room, dining room, and kitchen lined up opposite two or three bedrooms and a bath at the rear, was a common theme and plans of this type were found in the 1908 *Radford's Artistic Bungalows*, a 1914 edition of *The Craftsman*, Aladdin's 1919 catalog, and the 1927 Sear's *Honor-Bilt* catalog.[60]

Maurice's earliest memory of living in the house was when, at the age of five or six, he contracted pneumonia. It was in the early spring, and his mother wrapped him in a blanket and set him in the sun along the south side of the house. Maurice also recalled when he was eight or nine, he, his father and brothers drilled a well on their property. Initially, the only water for the household came from a dug well behind the house. Water was brought into the kitchen in a bucket and heated in the hot water reservoir in the large cast iron wood burning cookstove. The house had no interior plumbing at first, but a space had been reserved between the kitchen and back bedroom for a future bathroom. Maurice has fond memories of the early well, however, as Saturday nights his father would bring a watermelon home from work, place it in a burlap sack, and suspend it in the well. By Sunday morning it was well chilled. Maurice's father and the two older boys drilled a new 200 foot deep artesian well in the evenings and on weekends. The artesian spring was so strong they never needed a pump until the city water system was installed. Once the drilled well was put into operation, DeWitt plumbed the house and installed running water in the kitchen, and completed the bathroom.[61]

There were a number of outbuildings on the property while DeWitt was operating his gardens and chicken ranch. Besides the chicken houses and feed houses, there was a small barn and several sheds. These buildings were demol-

ished in 1998. When Maurice was a boy, the property was surrounded by ranches and Treadway Park. When asked if he and his siblings played at Treadway Park, Maurice responded that play was not something they had time for, but they would ice skate on the pond belonging to the ranch behind them. Once, while the boys were jumping over barrels on the frozen pond, Jasper caught his skate blade on the barrel and fell, nearly biting off the end of his tongue. The doctor managed to sew it back on, but Maurice never let his brother forget the incident.[62]

Although Maurice remembers his childhood as one of hard work, DeWitt managed to keep his family together after Meta's death. The youngest boy died early, but Maurice stayed on in his father's house until 1938 when he was twenty and had acquired a job as an electrician. He moved just down to the corner of the next block into an apartment building. Margaret, who never married, stayed in the house and took care of DeWitt until his death in 1969. After Margaret's death in 1997, the house was sold to Carson Tahoe Hospital, which had plans for the property to serve as parking lot expansion. Maurice admits he was resigned to this fate, but when the Carson City preservation community heard about the hospital's plans, they prevailed upon the Hospital Board to save the building for use as offices for the Hospital Foundation. The house is currently undergoing rehabilitation, which will preserve the exterior in its original state and require only minor modifications to the interior. All of the interior and exterior style-defining features of the house will be retained and it will stand in tribute to a man who lived by the Craftsman ideal.

NOTES

[1]Ken Adams, personal interview, 7 December 1998.

[2]Maurice Adams, personal interview, 24 February 1999.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]Alan Gowans, *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture 1890-1930* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1986).

[7]*Ibid.*, 75-76

[8]Gowans, *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture 1890-1930.*

[9]Ward Bucher, *Dictionary of Building Preservation* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), 72-73).

[10]Tim Benton and Charlotte Benton, *Architecture and Design, 1890-1939. An International Anthology of Original Articles* (New York: Watson-Guptil Publications, 1975), 45.

[11]Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 14.

[12]Anthea Callen, *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 2.

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]Arcadian in this sense refers to living a simple life (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, [Springfield: C. C. Merriam Company, 1977]), and "a utopian garden paradise where serene pastoral folk drink, dance and lounge around an endless summer" (Elsie Russell, *On the Arcadian Theme*, available at http://www.parnasse.comktpnt.htm, 1999).

[16]King, *The Bungalow*, 133.

[17]Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, *Arts and Crafts in Britain and America* (New York: Rizzoli and Company, 1978).

[18]Brendan Gill, "The Restoration of Craftsman Farms," *Architectural Digest*, 51(5), (May 1994), 130-40.

[19]Gustav Stickley, *Craftsman Homes* (New York: The Craftsman Publishing Company, 1909).

[20]James Massey and Shirley Maxwell, *House Styles in America* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1996).

[21]Cumming and Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, 117-39.

[22]Kenneth R. Trapp, editor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life*, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), 9.

[23]Patricia Poore, "The Bungalow and Why We Love It So," *The Old-House Journal*. Special Issue, May 1985, 91.

[24]King, *The Bungalow*, 127-28.

[25]*Ibid.*, 141.

[26]*Ibid.*

[27]*Ibid.*, 137

[28]Massey and Maxwell, *House Styles in America*, 197.

[29]*Ibid.*, 198.

[30]King, *The Bungalow*, 137.

[31]Jan Cigliano, *Bungalow: American Restoration Style* (Logandale: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1998), 13.

[32]Elliott, Lynn, "Bungalow Built-ins," *Old-House Journal*, XXII (6), 1994, 52-55.

[33]*Ibid.*

[34]Poore, "The Bungalow and Why We Love It So," 93.

[35]Guy Louis Rocha, personal interview, 16 December 1998.

[36]The surveys referred to in this section are on file at the State Historic Preservation Office, 100 North Stewart Street, Carson City, Nevada, 89701.

[37]Myron Angel, editor, *History of Nevada* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1881), 471.

[38]Helen S. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1974), 47.

[39]L.A. Wahrenbrock, *Historic Resource Inventory, Battle Mountain, Nevada* (On file at State Historic Preservation Office, 1983).

[40]Kim Geary and Jane Kowalewski, *Historic Resources of Central Las Vegas* (Las Vegas: Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, 1984); University of Nevada, Las Vegas, *Las Vegas Historic Properties Inventory* (Las Vegas: University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1982); Dorothy Wright, *The Las Vegas High School Neighborhood Survey* (Las Vegas: Nevada State Museum and Historical Society, 1988).

[41]Rainshadow Associates, *Sparks Cultural Resources Survey, Phases I and II* (Sparks: City of Sparks, Department of Planning and Community Development, 1985).

[42]Rainshadow Associates, *Reno Cultural Resources Survey, Phase* II(Reno: City of Reno, Department of Planning and Community Development, 1983).

[43]*Ibid.* Massey and Maxwell, *Arts & Crafts Design in America: A State-by-State Guide* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998).

[44]R.L. Polk, *Polk's Reno, Sparks and Washoe County Directory, 1917* (San Francisco: R.L. Polk and Company, 1917).

[45]Martin Stupnich, *Winnemucca Historical Survey Prolect, Humboldt County, Nevada* (On file at State Historic Preservation Office, Carson City, 1982).

[46]*Printed Index to Architectural Drawings by Frederick Joseph DeLongchamps at the Special Collections Library, University of Nevada, Reno* (On file at the State Historic Preservation Office, Carson City, 1987). The Special Collections Library has 550 architectural drawings by Frederick DeLongchamps rendered between 1909 and 1965. Of this total, fourteen are identified in the index as bungalow style, dating from 1914 to 1938. The vast majority of the architectural styles represented in this collection are various Period Revivals and, later, contemporary styles.

[47]*Ibid.*

[48]Guy Louis Rocha, personal interview, 16 December 1998.

[49]*Carson City Daily*, 19 July 1909,1.

[50]Carson City District Court Records, Petition of Guardian for Order of Sale for Real Property, District Court of the First Judicial District of the State of Nevada in and for the County of Ormsby, 23 May 1922; Order of Sale of Real Property by Guardian, filed in District Court of the First Judicial District of the State of Nevada in and for the County of Ormsby, 17 July 1922.

[51]Maurice Adams, personal interview, 24 February 1999.

[52]Massey and Maxwell, *Arts & Crafts Design in America*, 10.

[53]Gustav Stickley, *Craftsman Homes* (New York: The Craftsman Publishing Company, 1909), 202.

[54]Maurice Adams, personal interview, 24 February 1999.

[55]Thomas Hoffert, personal interview, 9 March 1999.

[56]Maurice Adams, personal interview, 24 February 1999.

[57]*Ibid.*

[58]*Ibid.*

[59]Ken Adams, personal interview, 7 December 1998.

[60]Gowans, *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture 1890-1930*, 83.

[61]Maurice Adams, personal interview, 24 February 1999.

[62]*Ibid.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Farewell, Promised Land: Waking from the California Dream. By Robert Dawson and Gray Brechin (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999, 233 pages, photos).

This book, blending the photographs of Robert Dawson and the text of Gray Brechin, is the product of a decade of travel and research throughout California by this writer-photographer team, supported by a grant from the Center for Documentary Studies at Duke University. It is billed, in part, as a book commemorating the sesquicentennial of California since its admission to the Union on 9 September 1850 as the thirty-first state. If this book is a sesquicentennial commemoration, then no wonder the state-sponsored sesquicentennial celebration has gone nowhere; for rarely in recent history has there appeared under the imprint of a major publisher such an unmitigated jeremiad, such an apocalyptic encounter between writer, photographer and a lost California.

Thirty and more years ago three seminal works—Raymond Dasmann's *Destruction of California* (1965), Richard Lilliard's *Eden in Jeopardy* (1966) and William Bronson's *How to Kill a Golden State* (1968)—following in the wake of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), announced to the world that California, then in its peak years of growth, was using itself up. These books also established a literary genre: the apocalyptic jeremiad, in which California was perceived and presented as an almost demonically destructive conspiracy against the natural environment. Mike Davis's *Los Angeles: The Ecology of Fear* (1998) is the most recent contribution to this literature of California apocalypse. But not even Mike Davis, either in *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (1990) or in *Los Angeles: The Ecology of Fear*, explored the depths of pessimism which Gray Brechin explores in this book and which, to a slightly lesser degree, Robert Dawson corroborates in his photographs. Never in my thirty-five years of reading and writing about California have I encountered a book so bleak, so negative, so devoid of hope regarding the past, present, and future of the Golden State.

Is it a true book? Yes and no. Neither Brechin nor Dawson, first of all, has invented that which they have seen, photographed, or amplified through research. What they record in *Farewell, Promised Land* —the devastation of the environment by the Gold Rush, the genocidal decimation of the Native American population throughout the mid-nineteenth century, the inequitable patterns of land ownership, with its structured dichotomies of affluence and poverty, the using up of the natural resources of California by both industry and

agribusiness, the sprawl that has metasticized across the landscape, the declining quality of life in the sprawling suburbs, including the risk of cancer and other life-threatening diseases from human-induced levels of toxicity, the callow disregard of developers towards the inevitabilities of earthquake, fire and flood, the deformed wildlife in the Kesterson National Wildlife Refuge, a polluted New River running into an equally polluted Salton Sea—all this is true; and Dawson photographs it and Brechin describes it with a vividness that tempts one to despair of the entire California experiment.

The question becomes, however: Is the whole truth and nothing but the truth or, as Peggy Lee once sang, is that all there is? By assembling only apocalyptic images, by refusing to acknowledge anything of value in California as an historical experiment, as a commonwealth enabling the lives of some thirty three million human beings and those who have gone before them, Dawson and Brechin—but Brechin especially—are extracting from history only that which corroborates their apocalyptic scenario. While individual instances are true—terribly, painfully true—larger patterns, however deserving of a chiarascuro of light and dark, are ignored.

Brechin frequently compares California, unfavorably, to Italy. Italy, Brechin argues, has developed agricultural, town, and city life according to the criteria of *civitas*, the Latin word for a fusion of statehood and civility, of balance and care in the midst of use. No one who encounters the 100 square miles of Fresno—in which land is wantonly wasted, in which development leaps ahead, leaving behind brown fields, in which developers have corrupted the political process and a once proud and self-regarding community has lost its finer identity as a city—can fully reject Brechin's dire, dire thesis.

In looking for possible symbols of resistance and recovery, Brechin at the conclusion of his book seizes upon a number of local minority-initiatives, including one by inmates of the San Francisco County Jail, to replant the garden of California and once again treat the land with respect. He ignores, however, very deliberately and with more than a suggestion of snobbish intent, the thousands and thousands of efforts in middle-class suburbs and cities throughout California to recover and preserve what has been lost: to build better buildings and cities, and, yes, to build better public schools and libraries, parks and playgrounds, all those instances of human culture and day-to-day life by ordinary Californians which Brechin somehow implies constitute a poison on the land.

There is, finally, a disquieting contempt for people at the core of this book, unless such people be poor minorities battling pollution or planting communal gardens (and, incidentally, God bless them for that!) . There is also more than a suspicion, revealed through metaphor and comparison, of a hatred of California itself. "If California were to be allegorically portrayed on its 150th birthday," Brechin writes, "it would look nothing like the virgin flourishing in immortal youth. Rather, it would resemble a badly used whore—chemically dependent and disfigured by abuse—who has seen and tried everything."

California, Mr. Brechin—the land of Thomas Starr King, Henry George, John Muir, Mary Austin, Josiah Royce, Isadora Duncan, Jack London, Frank Norris, Ina Coolbrith; California, the moral community in time that contains all of us; California, the sovereign emblem of our collective identity; California, whose University Press has published this book—California, a whore? Well, then, let it be the whore whom Clint Eastwood avenges in *The Unforgiven*: a good and generous woman who has been abused but who still nurtures within herself the full flame of her humanity. How ironic that one of the few notes of unmitigated optimism in *Farewell, Promised Land* should come from Raymond Dasmann of Santa Cruz, author of *Destruction of California*, who wrote the foreword. Throughout the state, Dasmann writes, Californians in both the public and private sector are rallying to the cause. "The process of recovery and restoration goes on. Admittedly, the losses still tend to outweigh the gains. But I see hope in many things." This is the very hope, I fear, that is so lacking in this book; and the lack prevents an otherwise powerful jeremiad from attaining its full level of moral power.

Kevin Starr
California State Library

The Rural West Since World War II. Edited by R. Douglas Hurt (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. x + 258 pages, photos, notes, index).

In *Some Came Running*, James Jones's novel of the post-World War II period, many returned from the war to seek their fortunes in a changed society. Nowhere was this more evident than in the traditional rural resource economies. Already agriculture had experienced the intervention of government programs into the market forces during the New Deal prior to the war. An overriding question at war's end was whether the general economy faced renewed depression and stagnation that had been prevalent in the 1930s.

A combination of events and government determination ruled otherwise. Western rural life changed rapidly in the expansion of the post-war economy. These ten essays attempt to offer glimpses of those changes down to the 1990s. A brief mention of each is in order to suggest the breadth of the collection's efforts under the able editorship of R. Douglas Hurt, who also edits the respected journal, *Agricultural History*, based now at Iowa State University. David Rich Lewis's essay "Native Americans: The Original Rural Westerners" rightly initiates the discussion. He observes that the reservation community continues despite the termination policies of the 1950s. The corporate nature assumed by the tribe and its autonomy have become an important source of identity for

native peoples. He suggests they are doing quite well, thank you, because of increasing recognition by the courts of their privileges and protection of the federal government. Not confronted in this essay is the lurking question of what gambling enterprises will do to the reservations.

Paula M. Nelson treats the long-standing problems of flight from the country in "Rural Life and Social Change in the Modern West." She tells us what we know about depopulation of the countryside, but sees encouragement with new technology in communication and even in the employment of school buses to keep children in the home instead of forcing them to board in town as was common prior to the war. A new flight into the country by those who do not make their living there has created tensions because they bring with them environmental values and causes not admired by residents who feel left out of the changing economy. James E. Sherow, in "Environmentalism and Agriculture in the American West," touches upon the sensitive subject of the alliance between government and commercial agriculture in farming, processing, and marketing. He especially singles out the extension services for prodding agriculture to accept fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides. Sherow applauds efforts of Washington State University to develop programs of environmental approaches to farming ("holistic" is the term) in the face of an unreceptive state legislature.

Thomas R. Wessel presents an excellent survey of "Agricultural Policy Since 1945." He demystifies many of the complicated programs. In the recent decade he notes a rapid movement by Congress toward the free market in agriculture. The effect is to continue the depopulation of the countryside in favor of the production for scale. Sandra Schackel addresses a perennial question of women in the rural setting. She suggests that women have gained more power as agriculture has become ever more besieged. When women go to work in town to help make ends meet on the farm, they gain decisionmaking power in the traditional patriarchal farm families. Donald J. Pisani in "Federal Water Policy and the Rural West" focuses upon reclamation from the 1902 National Reclamation Act through the gigantic water regimes of California's Central Valley. He concludes that the efforts to foster the rural small farming society through damming rivers and building irrigation delivery systems ended up subsidizing large farmers and agribusiness. More spectacularly, government reclamation provided cheap power for the growth of an urban West, and yes, the flashing neon lights and air-conditioning of Las Vegas.

Anne B. W. Effland in "Migrant and Seasonal Farm Labor in the Far West" concentrates upon California. She takes the usual look at the migrant labor beginning in the late nineteenth-century continuing through the Great Depression with Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. She approvingly notes the importation of labor in bracero programs in the 1940s and the successes of César Chavez's United Farm Workers Union of the 1960s. With the subsequent decline of unionization, the one hope for salvaging the situation may be favorable political ac-

tion from legislatures in compelling growers to abide by fair labor practices. Judith Fabry, "Agricultural Science and Technology in the West," notes the struggle that changes in doing agriculture have brought to the rural West in terms of great mechanical advances in tilling the land with and harvesting crops with the internal combustion engine. In addition she recognizes the impact of the chemical industry in agriculture in the areas of pesticides and herbicides. Both of these raise difficult environmental questions that form the battlegrounds for upcoming struggles of producers and environmentalists.

Mark Friedberger presents a troubling essay with respect to his attitude toward the public lands, "Cattle Raising and Dairying in the Western States." He sees the problems of these lands from the point of view of the users. He believes the government grazing administration has created problems for graziers that disadvantage them with their competitors in the southern cattle industry that has developed since the war's end. Also the industry has not enjoyed the fast-paced technological innovation that has revolutionized dairying in the West, especially in California, the second dairy and cheese state next to Wisconsin. Finally Harry C. McDean in "Agribusiness in the American West" presents a rather celebratory essay about the consolidation of production and distribution in western agriculture. He sees the early success of cooperatives in California agriculture as the foundation for agribusiness. His endorsement is seen in his identification of enemies of agribusiness that loom in the private sector and government. Ironically he sees hostile takeovers that result in more consolidation as one trend that might disrupt the economy of agribusiness. More traditionally he places the sporadic anti-monopoly impulses of government in the enemy column. One suspects that these essays present a too positive picture of the wrenching changes in post-war rural America, depicting them as a natural outgrowth of an industrializing society. And this comes as no surprise from authorities who hail from the halls of land-grant universities that have been partners in the mechanization and chemicalization of American agriculture.

William D. Rowley
University of Nevada, Reno

Explorations in Environmental History: Essays. By Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998, xl + 584 pages, bibliographic references, index).

Explorations in Environmental History is a collection of essays by Samuel P. Hays. Hays is a pioneer in the field of environmental history and one of its

most influential scholars. In 1959, his *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* helped pave the way for treating nature as a serious historical subject. Almost thirty years later, his *Beauty, Health, and Permanence* became the defining treatise on modern environmental politics. This new collection of essays, four of which appear in print here for the first time, is yet another valuable contribution. For readers new to environmental history, the book serves as a useful introduction to the field through the eyes of one of its founders. To those more familiar with Hays and his work, the collection will reacquaint them with ideas that still resonate with current scholarship. In fact, *Explorations in Environmental History* is less a synopsis of what the field has accomplished than a much needed reminder of what it still might aim to achieve.

Hays begins the book with an autobiographical essay charting his own journey into the field now known as environmental history. The essay is a fascinating glimpse into the values and practices of one historian, particularly his efforts to maintain the disinterested perspective of a scholar amid the complex, emotionally charged world of contemporary politics. This challenge is familiar to many environmental historians who often become involved in the field as a result of their interest in current affairs. As Hays admits, his own scholarship stems from just such an interest. Yet he cautions that history should be viewed more as "a distinctive way of looking at affairs both past and present" than a means of finding answers to current dilemmas in the past (xvii-xviii). For Hays, environmental history is best practiced as a search for context. In the case of contemporary policy debates, he seeks to describe the kinds of incremental changes in American society that led people to care about nature, an approach that is ably displayed throughout the remainder of the book. Hays divides his collection into four major sections, two considering the evolution of environmental politics, and one each devoted entirely to issues regarding forests and clean air. Readers interested in any of these subjects will find the essays invaluable.

The central theme in almost all Hays's work is the role of changing values in shaping environmental politics. By values, Hays means specifically the way people determine the meaning and usefulness of elements of the natural landscape. Environmentalism, he argues, arose because of deep-rooted changes in these values. Where most Americans had once viewed nature in production-oriented terms, as a collection of resources useful for economic gain, increasingly by the 1950s, they saw instead a set of consumer-oriented amenities: aesthetic beauty, outdoor recreation, a healthy and pleasant living environment. Forests once defined primarily by their timber resources became known instead as wilderness retreats. Rivers used mainly for power and transportation became favored locations for fishing, boating, and swimming. According to Hays, it was this shift in the way people used the natural landscape following World War II that gave rise to environmentalism. Tracing the emergence and influence of these so-called environmental values provides the thrust of many

of Hays's best essays.

It is here that Hays's work is still powerfully relevant to contemporary environmental history. Although Hays himself remains a revered figure among fellow scholars, his writings are surprisingly at odds with much of the literature in the field. While many historians are content to chart the decline of the natural environment in the face of urban-industrial expansion, Hays takes a less orthodox view. Modern environmental values, he insists, reflect the prosperity of industrial society. "They are part of the growth and elaboration of the American standard of living, of the increase in personal and social income to the extent that a larger share of it can be allocated to goods beyond necessities and conveniences." In Hays's opinion, environmentalism is less a nostalgic movement to recover a primitive, unspoiled wilderness than a forward-looking effort to secure "a more abundant future, a new choice as to what an advanced standard of living entails"(45). Environmental historians would do well to reexamine Hays's analysis. Despite thirty years of scholarship devoted to scrutinizing people's interaction with nature, the field has generated remarkably few studies that examine changes in the meaning of nature of the kind that Hays suggests. That oversight is unfortunate. It makes *Explorations in Environmental History* all the more valuable an aid in charting a future course for scholars to pursue.

Gregory Scott Summers
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Westward the Immigrants: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in an Expanding America. By Andrew Rolle (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1999, xxxiii + 391 pages, preface, forward, and introduction). Formerly published as *The Immigrant Upraised* by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1968.

Old wine in new bottles can satisfy a thirst as well as new wine in new bottles. Andrew Rolle's book, fine old wine along with a new seventeen page introduction, will particularly satisfy those historians and other chroniclers of the American West who believe that the experiences of immigrants who worked or settled west of the Mississippi River still are not given appropriate attention. Rolle acknowledges in his introduction the substantial progress toward a more geographically balanced approach to interpreting the American immigrant experience, yet hopes his book will encourage others to do more in this regard.

Rolle provides a comprehensive picture of the diverse experiences of Italians, ranging from Jesuit missionaries such as Eusibio Francesco Kino who, like Christopher Columbus, was a loyal subject of Spain, to the eccentric Sam

Rodia, builder of the Watts Towers, "a gigantic fantasy of concrete, steel and rubble." Whether discussing an Italian who gained fame as a cowboy, Pinkerton detective, and then author or recounting the hard scrabble existence of Italian coal miners in Colorado, Rolle' s prose holds the reader's attention. The extent of his research, undertaken more than three decades ago is impressive, and appropriate mention is made of the experiences of Italian immigrants in each state of the author's broadly defined American West. While readers will not be surprised to learn that the number of Italian immigrants in the Dakotas was negligible, they may welcome information about the involvement of Italian-American community leaders in Tom Prendergast's Kansas City political machine.

The reader does not lose sight of Rolle's fundamental thesis that the immigrant experience of Italians, and indeed other Europeans who went west, was on balance a positive one, better characterized by optimism, openness, and rather rapid assimilation than by grinding poverty, harsh urban ghettoes, and the sense of uprootedness that one associates with the East Coast immigrants described by Oscar Handlin. Indeed, Rolle's strong and frequently repeated emphasis on this, while quite appropriate at the time the original work was published, may appear a bit extreme to readers today for the reasons that Rolle mentions in his introduction. That is, quite a variety of scholars have vindicated his original thesis by recording immigrant experiences in the American West.

Many readers will appreciate the opportunity to learn about immigrants from all the regions of Italy who most often adapted well and quickly to American life, yet will regret that Rolle, now a Research Scholar at the Huntington Library, did not choose to update his work. He might have used research on Italians and Italian Americans which he mentions in the introduction, as well as work done by academicians associated with the American Italian Historical Association, some of which sheds new light on the rates of economic advancement and assimilation of Italian immigrants in California, to update sections of his book. Perhaps Rolle's seminal work will lead others to update the Italian-American experience in the American West.

Alan Balboni
Community College of Southern Nevada

From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet. By Valeen Tippets Avery (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998, xi + 283 pages, bibliography, index).

Valeen Tippetts Avery holds proven credentials in Mormon studies. A professor of history at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Avery co-authored *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (1984; 1994). The family of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, Jr., first with his wife, Emma and now with his son, David, has occupied much of Avery's scholarship for nearly two decades. The subject of this biography, David Hyrum Smith (1844-1904) was born some four months after his father was murdered by an anti-Mormon mob at Carthage, Illinois, in June 1844. Being the Mormon prophet's final son, David Smith was viewed by both the disciples of Brigham Young, Utah's Latter-day Saints (LDS) or "Brighamites," and those Midwestern followers of Smith's eldest son, Joseph Smith III, who founded the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (RLDS), the "Josephites," as a "son of promise."

According to his biographer, David Smith was a "brilliant and charismatic man" whose mind became clouded by mental illness when he was twenty-eight years old (ix). In 1869 David Smith accompanied his older brother, Alexander, on a proselytizing mission to Utah. Not unexpectedly, the divisive issue of polygamy marked the Smith brothers' visit to the land of the Brighamites. In Utah, David and Alexander Smith soon became the allies of the non-Mormons ("Gentiles") who vigorously opposed the all-encompassing control of Young and the Latter-day Saint hierarchy. Avery writes, "the issue of plural marriage raged in Salt Lake City" (103). Heated debates between the young Josephites and the leading men of the Utah Mormons over whether or not Joseph Smith had engaged in plural marriage captivated the inhabitants of the LDS capital throughout August 1869. The Utah Mormons rallied the young Smiths cousins, Joseph F. Smith, George A. Smith, and John Henry Smith. While the last was relatively sympathetic to the young men, Joseph F. and George A., along with Brigham Young did their best to discredit the RLDS missionaries, their theology, and, most hurtful to David, his own mother, who was an outspoken foe of plural marriage.

By 1872 David Smith had requested a second mission to Utah. Perhaps he sincerely felt that there was more good that he could do for the RLDS cause in Utah. Or it may have been an unsatiable curiosity about Utah Mormonism. He was seriously studying his father's true involvement with plural marriage—did Joseph Smith. Jr., introduce the doctrine at Nauvoo as the Brighamites claimed? David had to know, hence the desire to return to Utah. Professor Avery makes it clear that he was experiencing increasing personal turmoil over the issue in the early 1870s.

As David came to recognize, "Brighamism has a strong grip on the [LDS] people through poligamy *[sic]*" (184). Avery notes, the "[e]vidence against the

Reorganized Church's position [regarding the origins of plural marriage] continued to mount" in David Smith's mind (173). Yet he realized that by so believing, he was rejecting both his mother and his brother, Joseph Smith III. The mental and emotional anguish of his new direction led David to take drastic steps. Once more in Utah, while seeking further enlightenment on the Illinois origins of polygamy, David was embraced by the one-time LDS Apostle Amasa Lyman, who had turned to spiritualism. Lyman now believed that communication with the dead could be achieved through "seances and spiritual rappings" (185-86). Although both the LDS Church and the Reorganized Church rejected spiritualism, David now seemed to hope it might provide him with clues about his father's role in polygamy.

As he lost his faith in the RLDS movement, he began to affiliate with Mormon dissidents in Utah. By early February 1873, David was reportedly "grievously ill" with an attack of brain fever (209). Professor Avery concludes that "David almost certainly had a severe nervous breakdown, perhaps accompanied by meningitis, encephalitis or a high fever" (209). He would never again be the same man. His faith shaken and his mental health gone, David returned to Illinois early in 1873. His homecoming to Nauvoo was not gratifying. When his mother approached to embrace him, he fended her off with these words, "Mother, why have you deceived us?" (213). David Smith now realized that his father had indeed introduced polygamy into the Mormon Church. All that he had so long believed and preached was a lie.

Shortly after reaching his thirty-second birthday, David was confined in the Northern Illinois Hospital and Asylum for the Insane at Elgin. Avery's concluding chapters on David's bout with mental illness are a superior treatment of the impact of insanity within one nineteenth-century American family. David now came to fancy himself as a "famous architect," likely due to the grandeur of his new surroundings at Elgin (245). The Smith family tried to convince themselves that the young man had been institutionalized to treat an equilibrium problem. They hoped that his stay would be a brief one.

Seemingly, only Joseph Smith III realized the severity of David's problem. Unlike what many in the RLDS Church were saying, he did not "accuse the people in Utah of poisoning David," a suspicion held by some church members (246). Instead, he blamed David's association with spiritualism for his mental downfall. Joseph could never bring himself to admit that David's difficulties resulted from discovering "accurate information about the origins of polygamy" (248).

David had been mentally crippled by this new information and the realization that all he had believed for most of his adult life was mistaken. Avery concludes that while institutionalized at Elgin, David lived a life "blissfully free from the sorrows that come to others in the course of a natural lifetime" (269). His body, badly torn by physical deterioration from diabetes mellitus, Bright's disease, and kidney failure, David Hyrum Smith died at the Northern

Illinois Hospital and Asylum on 29 August 1904. His obituary read, in part, "This ends the somewhat checkered and troubled life of one of the earth's fairest and noblest sons" (283). Valeen Tippetts Avery has provided a stunning recapitulation of his disquieting life.

M. Guy Bishop
Woods Cross, Utah

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.