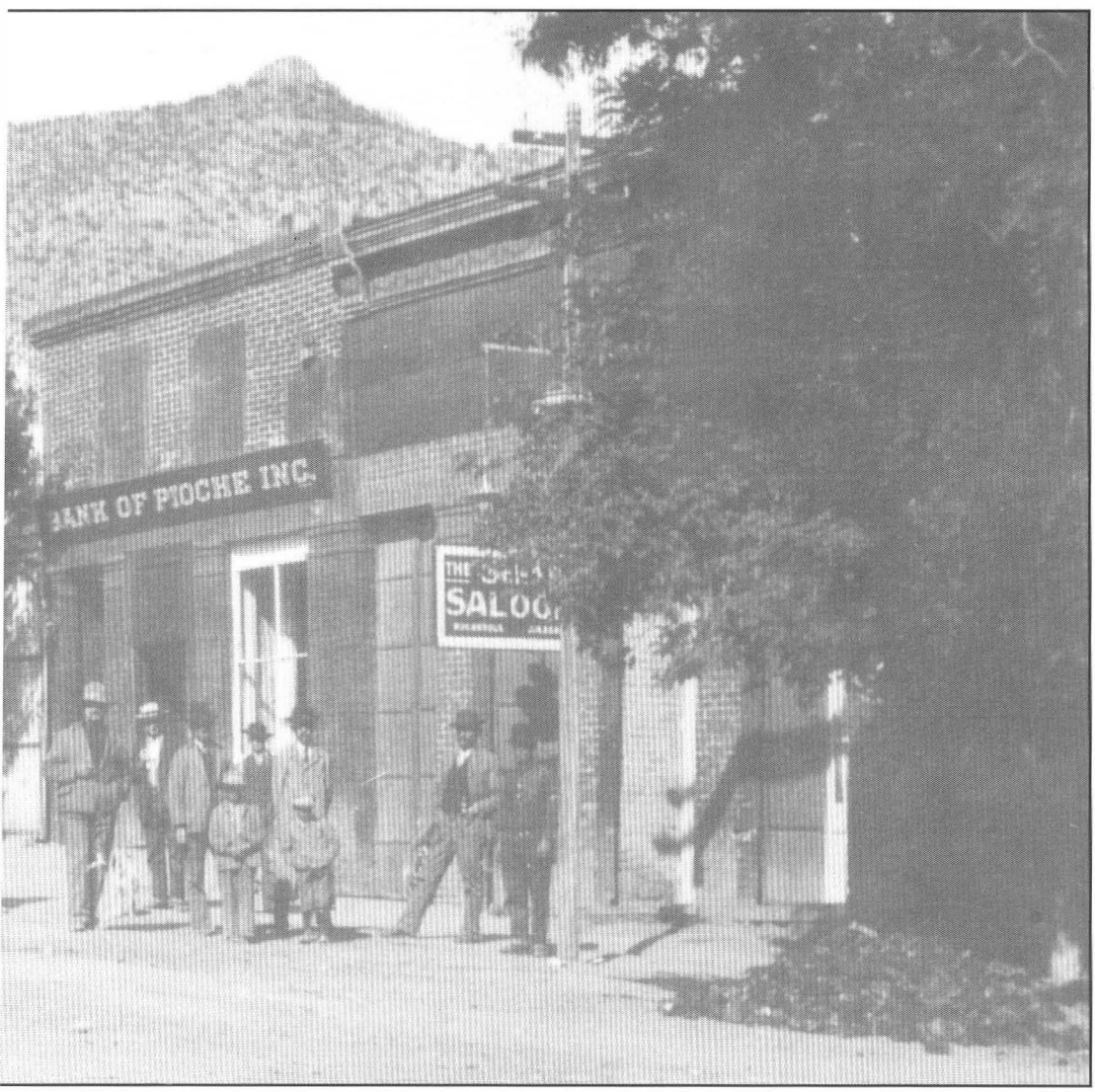
Nevada

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, along with a copy on disk (in MAC© or IBM© compatible form-WordPerfect© 5.1, 6.0, or Microsoft Word©). 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. Submission guidelines are available on request. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor.

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Nevada
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Front Cover: Pioche, Nevada, c. 1906. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Book Reviews

Anatomy of Second Baptist Church
The First Black Baptist Church in Las Vegas

EARNEST N. BRACEY

The fifty-five-year-old Second Baptist Church is Las Vegas's first and oldest African-American Baptist Church.[1] The magnificent church stands at 500 West Madison Avenue in historically black West Las Vegas, which is blighted by many of the social ills of modern American society such as crime, drugs, and unemployment— this in a town often described as the gaming and entertainment capital of the world.[2] In such a prosperous city with a thriving gaming industry, the question arises, why do such patterns of misery and poverty persist? To understand the significance of Second Baptist Church and its locale, one must recognize that the McWilliams Town site, established in March of 1905[3] and is now called the Westside, became "the hub of the black population of Las Vegas by the mid 1940s," and continues beyond.[4] However, in a former incarnation, the area "had a predominantly white population, with a small percentage of Hispanics, which was not receptive of a black population."[5] But, the racial demographics quickly changed because of the housing needs of blacks. African-Americans virtually had no other place to locate when they decided to permanently settle in the glittering city of Las Vegas after working on the Boulder Dam, later named Hoover Dam. The dam was completed in the 1930s, and blacks actively, for the first time, competed with whites for jobs in Nevada on the famous project. It was an economic shock for African -Americans when the Basic Magnesium Corporation plant—near Henderson—closed its doors in 1944, eliminating the lucrative jobs that blacks needed to effectively survive in the desert community.[6] Black workers lived at the job site in the new town of Henderson, Nevada, but were "restricted to a section of the northeast side of the highway called Carver Park."[7] As the late Nevada African-American historian, Roosevelt Fitzgerald, explained, Carver Park

developed into a self-contained community within the larger Henderson, Nevada. It provided most of the basic needs of its black population. It did not, however, provide

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for the social needs, and blacks who lived there did so only out of necessity. Even though living conditions on the Westside were much harsher, they made every attempt to move there.[8]

Moreover, Las Vegas had the dubious distinction of being one of the most racially segregated cities outside the deep south, and the city and Nevada were often characterized as the "Mississippi of the West."[9] Nevada, of course, has always had "an overwhelmingly negative image, resulting largely from a perception [that] the state is controlled by mobsters."[10] The city's questionable reputation as another Mississippi is important to note because as Fitzgerald further observes, "Following the beginning of the dam project, what had been reasonably good race relations in Las Vegas metamorphosed into something more closely akin to those found in Mississippi during that era."[11] With the influx of blacks, southern Nevada communities drew stricter racial lines although some sources suggest that this did not occur on a large scale until the war years of the 1940s.[12]

The result was an iniquitous system of Jim Crow and private discrimination in which blacks in Las Vegas felt dehumanized and hopeless. "Confined to the Westside ghetto," as Eugene P. Moehring points out in *Resort City in the Sunbelt*,

blacks quickly built the foundations of a community. Physically and *spiritually* united by the growing tide of Jim Crow, blacks patronized their own merchants who now thrived with the trade of a captive market. Overnight, the demand for black barbers, waitresses, and salesgirls boosted the community's economy just as it had in the black, Irish, Jewish, and other ethnic enclaves throughout the country.[13]

Current view of the Second Baptist Church in Las Vegas, Nevada. *(Earnest N. Bracey)*

Moreover, decades of economic repression and discrimination forged the black community of Westside into an almost separate society that was, and is, well acquainted with survival.[14] "Historically, much of that will to survive has come form the [black] church."[15] The black community in Las Vegas has developed a dependence on its black ministers for guidance and the church for survival. American historian, Benjamin Quarles noted in 1971:

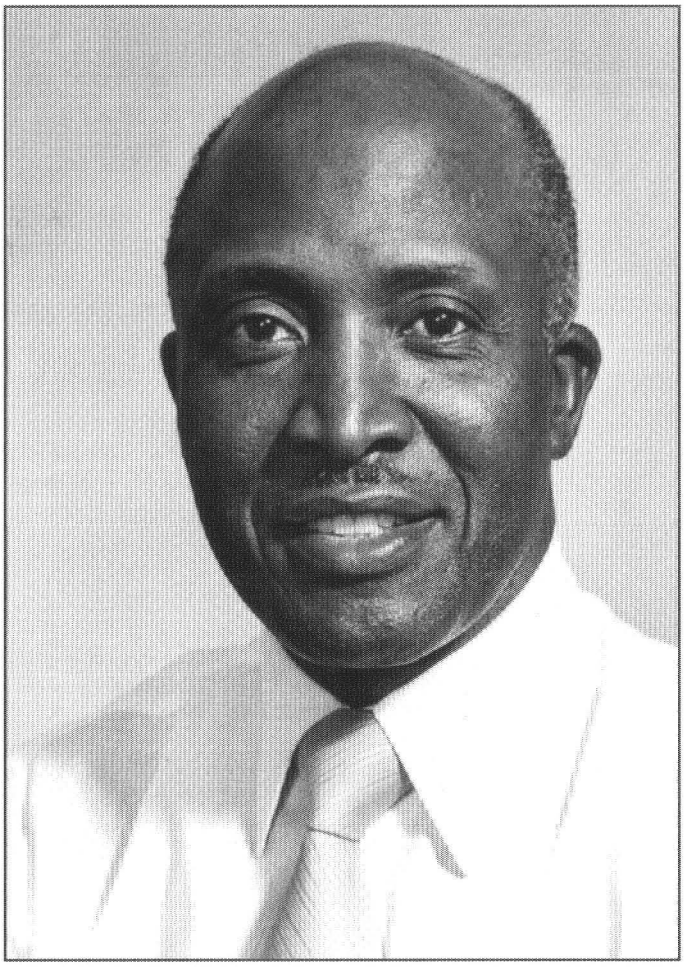
> The role of the Negro church, like that of its pastor, did not stop with Sunday service. The Negro's church was a highly socialized one, performing many functions. The church served as a community center, where one could find relaxation. It was a welfare agency, dispensing help to the sicker and poorer members. It was a training school in self-government, in the handling of money, and in the management of business. The Church was a Negro's very own, giving him the opportunity to make decisions for himself, which was seldom available elsewhere.[16]

For many similar reasons, as well as spiritual necessity, the Second Baptist Church was established on February 22, 1942, in a 20-foot by 40-foot canvas tent with no central air-conditioning or plumbing.[17] "The first [black] church in Las Vegas had been founded in 1905 and was of necessity ecumenical,"[18] and the first black Baptist church in Nevada, of course, was that established in Virginia City during the 1800s. The Virginia City church was even attended at one time by white Baptists, who lacked a church of their own.[19] However such intermingling of congregants was quickly to cease, as black and white followers were later forbidden to carry on religious services together. Moreover, in Las Vegas, many of the black churches conducted independent religious meetings or chuch services in private homes until after 1917.[20] And as noted in a recent recounting of Second Baptist Church history, in 1942, "prayer services were [also] held each Wednesday night [at different homes] and Reverend B. T. Mayfield [the Second Baptist Church's first pastor] would bring the lesson."[21]

The establishment of the independent Second Baptist Church is described by Woodrow Wilson, Nevada's first African-American assemblyman:

> Reverend Mayfield and his wife started the Second Baptist Church . . . . The church was organized in the home of a local black policeman. They were having prayer meetings and services there. It was organized in the house, and then they bought this lot and [erected] a tent. Reverend Mayfield did very well, and he moved out of the tent. The tent was where the church building presently stands . . . . It had wood about four feet off the ground, then it had a canvas top over it. It had a wooden floor. Holding church in a tent or a home was not unusual.[22]

Unfortunately, the churches in Las Vegas were all-white bastions of segregation, particularly in business and residential areas that were strictly off-limits to blacks. This policy posed the haunting question: Could white Las Vegans, through a shared spiritual life and Christianity conquer or subdue their seemingly fixed and insurmountable racial fears and, perhaps, their feelings of hostility and repugnance toward the wholesale emigration of black workers from



Woodrow Wilson, Nevada State Assemblyman, 1967-1971, Republican, Clark County. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

the south during that period of southern Nevada's history? Apparently not, since the Protestant churches in Las Vegas in the 1950s and early 1960s were not interracial. Facing racism as well as a lack of capital and jobs, blacks embraced evangelicalism, and establishing their own churches, like Second Baptist, was considered an essential part of the black Las Vegan's cultural development and spiritual life. Indeed, Las Vegas was a racially segregated and polarized city until the 1960s brought the modern-day civil rights movement.

Even though the African-American population was steadily increasing at the time, the white churches in Las Vegas made no effort to draw in black members. In fact, blacks were barred from worshipping at white churches; when they tried to attend white church services during that era, they were politely but pointedly turned away. As early as 1916, for instance, Las Vegas's first white Methodist Church discouraged black membership, which prompted local blacks "to form their own Home Mission."[23] This began the separation of the protestant churches, which essentially meant all-white and all-black denominations. Like many of the later discriminatory practices during Las Vegas's years of racial injustice—in the local hotels, restaurants and casinos—the self-separation of whites in their church congregations or houses of worship, continued to increase, further limiting intermingling of the races.

Ultimately, black people had no choice other than to attend the city's black churches on the Westside. As late as 1983, there were more than sixty of these sometimes pathetically constructed and dilapidated churches scattered throughout the depressed area.[24]

Although the media and academic establishment have often touted the virtues and social efficacy of Las Vegas's black churches and the importance of their homogeneous congregations, this strict religious segregation would later change, especially within religious denominations. In 1979, for example, Mrs. Arlone Scott, a long-time resident of Las Vegas, commented on the changes that had occurred among the black and white Baptist churches and their parishioners:

> Back when I first came here [to Las Vegas], churches didn't unite together too much. Blacks mostly held their services, but now we're beginning to unite religiously. I am very happy for that because that brings about a better relationship between Blacks and Whites . . . . I was a member of Second Baptist church [and] I can remember when I visited on West Charleston at First Baptist. We took a young adult choir and rendered the program out there. The following Sunday they came over and brought their young and they rendered a program with us at Second Baptist.[25]

The relationship between the Second and First Baptist Churches is important because the two congregations have similar religious and even secular concerns. Although there had been little contact between the two groups prior to that time, these exchange programs and the affiliation between the two churches have now continued for years. Furthermore, when the Second Baptist Church was being organized, "the question of a name for the church came

up."[26] Church literature reports that since the white Baptist Church across town was named the First Baptist Church, someone suggested "that the black church be called the Second Baptist Church."[27] And this is how the church was named.

Like many black Baptist churches since the dark days of slavery, the Second Baptist Church of Las Vegas has served as the hard anchor and glue that has firmly held the black community together. This was true even with the de facto discrimination in the local job market and housing, which restricted blacks in Las Vegas and kept them in subservient roles, especially in employment. Indeed, Second Baptist Church "has been, and is still, the heart and soul of black life, the brick and mortar of black hope" in the Westside.[28] This church is the strength of the black community in Las Vegas.

Second Baptist Church has also been an agent for social change in Las Vegas, as well as elsewhere in the state, and, like other African-American churches, it has played a pivotal role at the forefront of the perpetual black struggle to achieve equality and secure those rights guaranteed to them by virtue of their American citizenship. In fact, Second Baptist Church became a hotbed of social activism during the height of the civil rights revolution of the 1960s; it played an early and integral part in the fledgling, but powerful movement that was to change the course of Nevada history. The church provided shelter and refuge for demonstrators and civil rights workers, and was also the site of many NAACP rallies and other political meetings that protested racial segregation in the city. It must be understood that, although vocally heated sometimes, these were peaceful meetings. They were never designed to spill into the streets or to erupt into violent demonstrations or riots. Neither were they intended to provoke confrontations between the local black and white population. In other words, these gatherings posed no threat of violence. Indeed, they were specifically conceived to plan strategy for voter registration activities, as well as to confront local businesses and the city government to demand equal treatment from government and proprietors of local accommodations. The planners also hoped to raise public awareness as to the state and city's unfair and exclusionary policies with regard to African-Americans. In fact, because of these discriminatory policies, black Las Vegans, through the many local African-American churches, began the "forms of protest already familiar to much of the rest of the nation."[29] According to one Nevada political scientist, an understanding of this period of time is important because most white Nevadans shared "the view that the state had no serious racial problems [and they] were very likely disturbed by such protest."[30]

Moreover, Bob Bailey, the first chairman of the Nevada Equal Rights Commission, attested to the importance of Second Baptist Church in the state's civil rights struggle when he stated in that "It was mostly the NAACP which did the lobbying for civil rights, but we had help from the churches. We held community meetings in various churches, but mostly Second Baptist."[31]

For the local government, and perhaps members of the gaming and casino

industry, just the thought that blacks were meeting to contemplate demonstrating on the Strip and downtown was enough to shock them into deciding that something had to be done about the deplorable lives and treatment of blacks in Las Vegas. In the past, the terrible conditions under which the city's blacks existed had simply been ignored.[32]

Second Baptist Church and other black church leaders changed all that. Leading members of other denominations often attended the meetings and rallies, such as the well-respected black clergyman Clyde Carson Cox, a "pastor and founder of the Upper Room Church of God in Christ."[33] Although not a Baptist, Cox often presided over substantial portions of the Second Baptist Church's congregation during the civil rights crisis of the 1960s.[34] He was often called upon by both black and white clergymen for advice, a role he readily accepted as a prominent leader in the black community.[35] Under the auspices of Second Baptist Church on the Westside, blacks—who had been denied a political life in Las Vegas and in the state—now found a definite political voice, as well as an almost unrestricted social platform and a spiritual life.

The importance of Second Baptist Church in the history of Las Vegas is thus undeniable. And it must also be understood that "because of the church's significant social function among blacks, ministers [like the late Reverend B. T. Mayfield, and now the Reverend Davis] most often represent the real power, influence and leadership in the black community."[36]

It was no accident, for instance, that it was a Baptist preacher, Martin Luther King, Jr., who stood at the forefront of the black civil rights movement.[37] Moreover, as Duke University's C. Eric Lincoln has written,

> It was within the institutional Black Church that confusion and discord first developed and, perhaps prophetically, within the huge Baptist denomination (to which King himself belonged), where the traditions of autonomy and individualism were precisely the features that were to give the Black Baptist clergy an unmatched prominence in the Freedom Movement of the fifties and sixties."[38]

Black American religious ministers have always been important sources of political leadership in fighting discrimination, political disenfranchisement, and inequality among blacks in institutions throughout the United States. Historically and equally important,

> because of the local autonomy in the Baptist churches . . . the Negro preacher was free to exercise his gifts and to direct his followers. This also accounts in part at least for the larger number of slaves who were attracted to the Baptists. The leadership of the preacher was recognized by his "congregation" and by these white masters willing to recognize this role among slaves."[39]

Julian Bond, black civil rights activist and former Georgia state legislator, confirmed the power of the Baptist preacher as political leader when he eulogized the most famous Baptist preacher of that era, Martin Luther King, Jr.

The man was black American's most articulate advocate, one of the bravest warriors in Freedom's army; he was also an advocate for peace, an antagonist of war on an enemy of economic inequality. He knew he stood on history's shoulders, and he knew others would follow when his time was past.[40]

Many baptist preachers, of course, have stood and are still standing on the shoulders and legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. Former pastors at Second Baptist Church were and are no exception, as they always believed in the politics of visible protest to effect change. This philosophy is carried on by the Second Baptist Church's current minister, the Reverend Willie Davis. He has been Second Baptist's pastor since 1978. The Reverend Davis had earlier served at New Zion Baptist Church in Laramie, Wyoming, and at New Zion Baptist Church in Ogden, Utah.[41] And also in the tradition of those black Baptist preachers by whom he was preceded, Davis believes that the Christian Ministry should always be about serving the people.[42]

Before Davis's appointment, several other African-American ministers served as principal religious leaders of the Second Baptist Church. For instance, the first pastor of the church, the Reverend B. T. Mayfield, who had never lived in a place without a church, was succeeded by Reverend C. H. Haden. Haden, who was assigned to the pulpit of the Second Baptist Church, served for two years as pastor. And it was during Haden's tenure that Mayfield died in Reno, in relative obscurity, never having served in the state of his birth, Texas.[43] The Reverend I. H. Lewis quickly followed in Haden's footsteps, but served at Second Baptist Church for only one year. At that time, however, the church established a successful general building fund, which culminated in the construction of the present building.[44]

The church subsequently found its greatest period of growth under the pastorate of the Reverend V.C.I. Coleman, who assumed the post in 1949. Indeed, during 1950 the evolution of Second Baptist Church in Las Vegas paralleled that of its denomination nationally. A surge in the black population increased Second Baptist's membership, and the church was able to buy new church furniture and central air conditioning. It also laid plans for an educational building.[45]

After an usually long period of service, the Reverend Coleman retired because of failing health, and was replaced by the Reverend Joseph Jefferson, an assistant pastor who became the temporary leader of the church for approximately one year. Coleman died in August 1980.[46] William C. Webb served as the minister of the church during the turbulent early 1970s. Second Baptist Church now has a well-qualified and permanent pastorate in the Reverend Willie Davis, sixth pastor of the church.[47]

Some of Second Baptist Church's prominent visitors and alumni were and are among Las Vegas's black elite, such as Mrs. Arlone Scott, Dr. Bob Bailey, North Las Vegas City Councilman Thereon Goynes, and many of the first Africans-Americans to serve in the state and local public offices, both elected and

appointed. These include former politician Woodrow Wilson, who recalled:

> There weren't that many churches in Las Vegas when I joined Second Baptist. I joined the tent. When I was a kid, I was baptized in the Baptist Church. Then I went over to boarding school [and] joined the Lutheran church, but it was in discrimination. I didn't want to be involved fighting discrimination every day and on Sundays, too, so I joined the Baptist Church. It was close and I liked Reverend Mayfield.[48]

When it comes to black politicians and elected officials, especially in Las Vegas, it appears that "no matter how high most blacks rise in the work place or in politics, rarely do they place their accomplishments above the cross "[49] or the sacred black church.

Second Baptist Church's congregation, to say the least, is intimately close, like a big family, where every member can be spiritually nurtured, provided comfort and companionship. Many members were active in the civil rights struggle of the 1950s and 1960s, and being part of a powerful black church today is also perhaps a way to achieve political satisfaction and empowerment. Accordingly, many Baptist churches—like Second Baptist—have developed complex social and political structures which continue to thrive as "black churches remain the central institutional sector in most black communities."[50]

On any given Sunday, Second Baptist's congregants fill the beautiful oak pews under the watchful eyes and oratorical eloquence of the pragmatic Willie Davis, who "has a particular interest in the physical, spiritual and social well-being of the church,"[51] and of the entire Westside community. Members interested in the community-conscious misson of the church can be as active as they are willing and able to be. Even more important, "1,000 souls [belong or] have been received as members of Second Baptist Church."[52] Because of its growing number of communicants, the life blood of the church, tithes and offerings have tripled since the 1980s.[53]

Second Baptist Church is now a beautiful contemporary-style sanctuary, is financially healthy, and in its role as civil rights advocate it has continued to have a positive effect on the black community and its surroundings. Under an extensive construction program, the church also has a new main building. The old structure serves now as a banquet hall. The church also has extensive facilities, such as a parsonage, "a pastor study, seven Sunday school rooms, Superintendent's room, ladies lounge, choir room, finance room, three storage rooms, a food storage room for the poor and needy, and a kitchen and dining room."[54] This expansion was an important turning point, resulting not only in improvements, but making it possible for the church to accept and accommodate the growing number of new parishioners. Nonetheless, one of the future concerns of Second Baptist Church must be how to maintain its active membership, and thus prevent the demise of the institution or the dwindling of its congregation. Lawrence H. Mamiya and C. Eric Lincoln have written on this point:

> There is some evidence that the present and past central importance of the Black Church may be threatened by the virtual explosion of opportunities, which are now becoming available to recent black college graduates. An officially segregated society contributed to the dominant role black churches were able to maintain as one of the few cohesive black institutions to emerge from slavery . . . [Therefore] how black churches and their leadership grapple with this challenge will determine whether they will be faced with the same problems of attrition and decline now affecting several white mainstream denominations.[55]

For the forseeable future, however, the black church in Las Vegas, and Second Baptist in particular, will survive and adapt to its constantly changing and growing community, because not all places of worship have totally integrated.

The Reverend Willie Davis will play a critical part in the survival of Second Baptist Church. He remains an effective leader, a dedicated preacher, teacher, counselor and friend, willing to work and serve the black religious community as he continues "to put Christ first in his life."[56] For instance, Davis "has managed to find something ironically positive about the rash of suspicious fires that have destroyed 33 black churches in the South since 1995."[57] Noting that the fires are "part of a trend that lets us know we are not free from racism, not free from hate," he adds that the effect can be positive in that it "serves to remind our young people of who they are and how they're looked upon in this country by a certain set of people."[58]

Davis has served as devotion leader at the Las Vegas convention of the National Association of Black Judges and on the Executive Board of Las Vegas's 1980 Billy Graham Crusade. He was also instrumental in bringing the National Board of Evangelism to Nevada in November, 1988.[59] That Willie Davis has been successful and is a prominent leader in the black community "can be attributed to his beliefs and practices to win the lost to Christ and the concentrated teaching and preaching development of the Word of God so that the lives of his people may be enriched."[60]

Blacks have been indelibly affected and influenced by churches like Second Baptist. Retaining an historical and religious heritage, these independent churches also served as the crucible of the civil rights movement. Religion, of course, has always shaped the spiritual life and culture of the black community in Las Vegas. But it must be recognized that the black church, and Second Baptist in particular, has never depended on the mediation and good graces of the political and religious elites of the city. The efforts to maintain the course and thrive have always come from within.

Anne H. Martin, president of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

NOTES

[1]Jamie Coughtry and R. T. King, eds., *Woodrow Wilson: Race, Community and Politics in Las Vegas, 1940s-1980s* (Oral History Program: University of Nevada, Reno, 1990), 67.

[2]Roosevelt Fitzgerald; "Black Entertainers in Las Vegas, 1940-1960," manuscript, in author's possession, 26.

[3]"Historic Preservation Inventory and Planning Guidelines: City of Las Vegas" (prepared by Charles Hall, Page and Associates, Inc., San Francisco, 31 May 1978), 42.

[4]Fitzgerald, "Black Entertainers," 3, 12.

[5]"Historic Preservation Inventory," 3.

[6] Michael Coray, "African-Americans in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 35:4 (Winter 1992), 250. It must also be noted that blacks, of course, were competitively at a disadvantage as only *eleven* workers were on the force at any given time in the 1930s. See Roosevelt Fitzgerald, "Blacks and the Boulder Dam Project," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 24 (Fall, 1981), 255-60.

[7]Roosevelt Fitzgerald, "The Demographic Impact of Basic Magnesium Corporation on Southern Nevada," *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, No.2 (1987), 30.

[8]*Ibid.*, 33; West Las Vegas still has the highest concentration of African-American residents in the city.

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

[10]Gary Elliott, "Hang Tough!" *Silver and Blue* (March/April 1994), 43.

[11]Fitzgerald, "Demographic Impact," 30.

[12]John M. Findlay, *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 190.

[13]Eugene P. Moehring, *Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas 1930-1970* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1989), 177.

[14]"Black Pride: Rich Culture, History, Legacy of Southern Nevada Black Community," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (7 February 1983), 1B.

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), 162.

[17]"A Brief History of Second Baptist Church" (official church brochure, nd).

[18]Roosevelt Fitzgerald, "The Evolution of a Black Community in Las Vegas: 1905-1940," *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, no. 2 (1987), 23.

[19]Elmer R. Rusco, *Good Times Coming? Black Nevadans in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), 174.

[20]Fitzgerald, "The Evolution of a Black Community," 23.

[21]The original members of Second Baptist Church included "the Robinsons, Reverend and Mrs. B. T. Mayfield, Brother Verinette Anderson, Sister Helen Polk, Brother F. L. Wilson, Brother Willie Harris and Sister Iola Hayes." See "Brief History of Second Baptist Church." 1-2.

[22]Coughtry and King, *Woodrow Wilson*, 67; For instance, an unpublished church flyer indicates that in the beginning nine people met, "at the home of Brother and Sister H. R. Robinson [at] 625 Jackson Street" in West Las Vegas.

[23]Moehring, *Resort City*, 174.

[24]"Black Pride," 2B, It should be noted that many of these dilapidated churches have been rebuilt.

[25]Elizabeth Nelson Patrick, "Black Experience in Southern Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 12 (Fall 1979), 138-39.

[26]"Brief History of Second Baptist Church."

[27] *Ibid.*

[28]"Black Pride," 2B.

[29]Joseph N. Crowley, "Race and Residence: The Politics of Open Housing in Nevada," in *Sagebrush and Neon: Studies in Nevada Politics*, Eleanore Bushnell, ed. (Reno: University of Nevada, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1973), 57.

[30]*Ibid.*

[31]William "Bob" Bailey, interview by Elmer Rusco, (2 August 1993), 6 in Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno.

[32]Findlay, *People of Chance*, 191.

[33]Bishop Clyde Carson Cox, biography file (no date), Special Collections, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

[34]Coray, African-Americans in Nevada, 253.

[35]Bishop Cox, biography file.

[36]"Black Pride," 2B.

[37]C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Church since Frazier* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 119.

[38]*Ibid.* For a discussion of blacks in the historical churches of the United States, see George Eaton Simpson, *Black Religions in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), esp. ch. 7.

[39]E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 25.

[40]Julian Bond, "Where We've Been, Where We're Going: A Vision of Racial Justice in the 1990s," *Harvard Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review*, 25 (1990), 275; Martin Luther King, Jr., of course, was "the principal religious figure in the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and until his death in 1968." Simpson, *Black Religions*, 241.

[41]The Reverend Willie Davis, biographical sketch (no date), Second Baptist Church, in the author's possession.

[42]*Ibid.*

[43]Country and King, *Woodrow Wilson*, 68.

[44]"A Brief History Second Baptist Church."

[45]*Ibid.*

[46]*Ibid.*

[47]*Ibid.*

[48]Country and King, *Woodrow Wilson*, 67.

[49]Claude Lewis, "Burning of Black Churches Will Rally Community Support," *Las Vegas Review Journal* (11 June 1996), 9B.

[50]C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), 382.

[51]Reverend Davis, biographical sketch.

[52]"A Brief History Second Baptist Church."

[53]*Ibid.*

[54]*Ibid.*

[55]Lincoln and Mamiya, 383.

[56]"A Brief History Second Baptist Church."

[57]Caren Benjamin, "LV Minister Says Arson a Reminder," *Las Vegas Review-Journal and Las Vegas Sun* (15 June 1996), 6A.

[58]*Ibid.*

[59]"A Brief History Second Baptist Church."

[60]Reverend Davis, biographical sketch in the author's possession.

Nevada Among the States

Converging Public Policies

RICHARD LEWIS SIEGEL

Introduction

Long known for unusual approaches to governance and lifestyle, Nevada became a more typical American state between 1985 and 2000 in relation to various governmental programs and public policies. This transition has been uneven, as the Silver State continued largely to neglect evidence that it trailed virtually every other state in numerous areas of societal and individual health.[1] But between 1985 and 2000 Nevada made significant strides in public higher education, and its programs for the mentally ill and developmentally disabled began to improve significantly. During the same period many other states became more like the Silver State in such respects as extensive use of incarceration, restricted availability of cash public assistance, and the acceptance of casino gambling. The combination of these developments made Nevada's public policy at the close of the century more typical of the nation than in any previous period.

Being more typical or normal in terms of governmental programs does not in itself mean that a state has achieved a mix of public policies more deserving of commendation or condemnation. But Nevada's governmentally expressed priorities do increasingly match the state's evolving public opinion and approach more closely than ever before the needs of its exceptionally urbanized and increasingly diverse population. Both its voters and elected officials now have a more realistic sense of the state's economic and social needs, and are therefore less content with mediocrity (or worse) in public programs.

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This study focuses on the trends toward the convergence of Nevada's public policies with those of other states that have been most evident since 1985. Toward that end it presents a series of case studies concerning major state and local government programs. These studies depend greatly on available quantitative data, analyses provided by state and local government agencies, academic and press commentaries, and other sources. It has proven very useful for the present writer to have worked both as an academic and as a politically active citizen in relation to many of the policies reviewed here. While some objectivity may well have been sacrificed, it is in the political trenches that one learns what matters most to real people and how policy is changed.

This study also intends to contribute to the public's understanding of the forces that shape continuity and change in policy at the state level. Although Nevada shares a great deal with most other American states, it continues to have many distinctive cultural, economic, social, and political attributes that influence public policy. Some of these continue from earlier decades and others primarily result from the recent extraordinarily rapid changes in the Silver State's demography and economy. The latter include the state's nation-leading position in rate of population growth for the past four decades and the huge gains in business investment and jobs that have propelled that growth. In addition, women accrued more political power, as have southern Nevadans, older residents, some ethnic minorities, and particular labor unions.

The over-all themes of the essay are those of convergence and adaptation, concepts that have been applied more frequently in studies of nation states than of the United States of America. Some experts anticipated decades ago that the political systems and public policies of Communist-ruled and capitalist states would converge in the sense of becoming increasingly similar,[2] and others continue to expect convergence as the inevitable result of economic and political development in countries deemed of the Third World. Adaptation of communities is a concept with deep roots in anthropology and other social sciences. The present writer has been influenced by the effort of James Rosenau to analyze the ways that policy choices can help nation states adapt to changing internal and external conditions.[3] Such adaptive policy changes are viewed by Rosenau as critical for the preservation of societies' "essential structures."

The identification of Nevada as an abnormal place, one that long set a poor example for the nation, is embedded in a variety of journalistic commentaries on the state and in various books written by Nevadans and non-Nevadans alike. Numerous quotable journalistic aspersions are collected in major books about the Silver State.[4] Negative depictions of the state are perhaps best captured by the following titles of books on Nevada published in the past forty years: *Morals Legislation without Morality: The Case of Nevada*,[5] *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough 1859-1964*,[6] *Bombs in the Backyard: Atomic Testing and American Politics*,[7] *The Green Felt Jungle*,[8] and *Forty Years in the Wilderness: Impressions of Nevada 1940-1980*.[9] In addition, it bears noting that television and film images

almost certainly shape public and elite attitudes and perceptions more powerfully than publications. Vastly more Americans have seen a fictional United States senator from Nevada mingle with mobsters in *Godfather II* than have read any of the books noted above. Hollywood's fascination with the profitable gangster genre and the casino setting have clearly hurt the Silver State's efforts to change its image. Yet such slings and arrows have been offered less frequently of late, and this may reflect in part the demographic, economic, and political convergence discussed in this article.

There are many reputable nonfiction books on Nevada's evolution from the mining, ranching, and gaming heritage of a sparsely populated state to the present realities of an increasingly diverse population of about two million people and the excitement of this nation's leading resort city. The year 1985 is chosen as a benchmark in part because two interesting and informative books produced in the mid- to-late 1980s tend to confirm the uniqueness of various major public-policy choices made and directions taken. One, *Forty Years in the Wilderness: Impressions of Nevada 1940-1980*, was written by James Hulse, a native son from Pioche who recently retired from the Department of History at the University of Nevada, Reno. The other is a report written jointly by analysts at the Urban Institute and the Price Waterhouse Company, under contract to the Nevada Legislature, entitled *A Fiscal Agenda for Nevada: Revenue Options for State and Local Governments in the 1990s.*[10]

Hulse's book is extremely critical of a host of policy choices made by the state's business leaders and public officials between about 1940 and 1980. He writes with a perspective that emphasizes morality and conscience, in some ways emulating Russia's Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in decrying those whom he views as the corruptors and despoilers of his native land. He stresses the enormously negative impact of Nevada's gaming economy, and the public policies that sustained it, in such areas as environmental and natural resources protection, civil rights, education, and social services. Perhaps his most memorable words are the chapter heading "Beyond the Glitter: A State without a Conscience," in which he focuses on Nevada's perceived failure to fund public assistance for its poor, transcend racial segregation, or create adequate systems of taxation or education despite high levels of per capita income.

In Hulse's view, Nevada's leaders long sought to serve the gaming industry and the tourist economy at the expense of the real needs of the state. Few states have had to endure such words as these from one of their most informed and respected citizens, especially in a book published by its state university press:

> We have spent many of our spiritual and natural resources playing Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and we have paid all homage to the Queen of Hearts. But we have paid little mind to the worlds that may lie beyond our borders, and we have assumed very little of the responsibility that America requires in the century of challenge. For all its cosmopolitanism, Nevada remains, at heart, a parasite and a provincial backwater, contributing little of its social or material energy to the problems of war and peace, human

rights, or protection of the environment. It has submerged its social conscience and sense of duty to the effort to keep the gambling business, and the fantasy that surrounds it, "healthy."[11]

While Hulse's volume is a highly subjective set of essays, that prepared by the Urban Institute and Price Waterhouse is a rather objective and quantitative analysis of the state's revenue, debt, and spending record together with recommendations for reforms. (This work is henceforth referred to as the Price Waterhouse study and cited under the name of its editor, Robert D. Ebel.) This analysis, initially presented to the Nevada Legislature in November 1988, provided ammunition to those holding a variety of perspectives on needed changes in state policies. At the core of its recommendations on taxation are calls for a system that is less rigidly circumscribed, more broadly based, less regressive, and better capable of providing predictable and growing revenue flows to meet the state's anticipated needs for services to a rapidly growing population. This report argues that the state's revenue structure was exceptional in its inability to meet each of these tests. On the expenditure side, it notes that the state's over-all outlays were above the national average on a per capita basis but that—confirming Hulse—"the state ranks low in providing education, health, and welfare services."[12] Seeking to point the state toward "a rational fiscal policy of which Nevada can be proud,"[13] the report clearly finds the state's choices up to 1988 lacking in rationality and fairness but generally quite supportive of business investment. Its authors express doubt about Nevada's ability to deal with significant economic downturns or the burgeoning costs of such state and local government programs as education at all levels, prisons, and medical assistance. Such concerns were borne out by the state's fiscal experience through the remainder of the century, particularly the early and late 1990s.

The Price Waterhouse study supports the above generalizations with thorough and authoritative analyses of each area of state tax policy together with a more cursory review of spending practices. It offers useful presentations of the combined levels of particular state and local taxes and expenditures as a share of over-all budgets and in comparison to all other states in per capita terms. For example, Nevada's "actual direct expenditures" by state and local governments for 1986-87 are compared to the national average, as shown in Table 1 on the next page.

TABLE 1
Actual Direct Expenditures by Nevada State and Local Governments as a Percentage of Representative Expenditures, by Function, Fiscal Year 1986-87

Function	Percentage
Total spending	108.2
K-12	93.1
Higher education	80.7
Public welfare	67.0
Health and hospitals	91.0
Police and corrections	151.6
All other	135.4

Source: Robert D. Ebel, ed., *A Fiscal Agenda for Nevada: Revenue Options for State and Local Governments in the 1990s* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1990), 128, Table 4.6.

Note: These figures relate actual spending to spending needs. Nevada is compared with the average spending by function in fifteen states and the United States average.

This sophisticated analysis considers factors that contribute to potential spending "needs."[14] It should be understood as a measure of how well Nevada was meeting its residents' needs for services in various areas and not as a direct comparison with other states.

The Price Waterhouse study makes evident the state's apparent reluctance to fund public welfare, health and hospitals, and both levels of education as well as its relative generosity regarding criminal justice and highways. These findings are confirmed by the data presented in the same study based on per capita spending on the same functions (see Table 2). Table 3 shows Nevada's rankings among the fifty states for taxing and spending in various categories in 1985. It should be understood that the Price Waterhouse study found Nevada's system of public finance to be more centralized than in the average state. Therefore the state's rank in all or most categories would have been at least somewhat lower had combined state and local comparative figures been available.

TABLE 2
Per Capita State and Local Combined Revenues and Percentage Distribution among Expenditure Functions, 1986

	United States Average		Nevada	
Primary and secondary education	$ 602	23.9 %	$ 550	20.6 %
Higher education	235	9.3	198	7.4
Direct public welfare	318	12.6	155	5.8
Health and hospitals	222	8.8	184	6.9
Highways	205	8.1	289	10.8
Police and fire	134	5.3	211	7.9
Other	800	31.8	1,079	40.5
Total per capita	2,516	100	2,666	100

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, 1987; Robert D. Ebel, ed., *A Fiscal Agenda for Nevada: Revenue Options for State and Local Governments in the 1990s* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1990), 122, Table 4.2.

Note: Dollar figures are per capita amounts. The percentage figures indicate each function's share of total spending.

TABLE 3
Nevada's Ranking among the Fifty States in Selected Areas of State Level Per Capita Taxing and Spending, 1985

Area	Rank
Total tax revenue per capita	14
K-12 and higher education combined	34
Higher education	41
Public welfare	50
Highways	12
Corrections	8
Hospitals	48
Health	45

Source: United States Department of Commerce, 1986.

Toward Convergence: 1985-2000

The changes in Nevada's revenue, spending, and other policies since the 1980s do not reflect political reversals on the part of state leaders or even conscious efforts to respond to Hulse's normative rebuke or the Price Waterhouse prescriptions for public finance. The January 1999 State of the State speech by Nevada's newly inaugurated Governor Kenny Guinn emphasized the need to attend to the same basic fiscal issues noted by Price Waterhouse eleven years earlier.[15] This is not surprising given the fact that Guinn participated in the state's formal review of that study.

Clearly, global and national factors influenced the policy convergences as much as forces originating within Nevada. The federal government actively promoted increased state spending on prisons as well as alternatives to traditional public assistance. The need for economic competitiveness was increasingly recognized at the national and state levels, creating pressures to bolster the quality of education at all stages. An exceptional level of migration into the Silver State from other states and countries reflected Nevada's rapidly changing place in the national and global economy.

The Bureau of Economic Analysis recently reported that Nevada led the dynamic southwest region of the country in rate of growth of gross state product between 1900 and 2000.[16] Its 65 percent increase in the monetary value of the goods and services produced compared to the national average of 43 percent.

Changes as well as continuities in the make-up and priorities of Nevada's public officialdom from the early 1980s to the late 1990s were especially important in shifting the state's priorities. Continuity was embodied in the leadership roles of the Democrats' Speaker Joe Dini in the assembly and the Republicans Majority Leader Bill Raggio in the senate, these men perpetuating the political strength of northern Nevada. It was also evident in the continuation of a system in which one or two "advertising" firms maintained remarkably strong roles in campaign finance collections, legislative lobbying, political campaigns, and gubernatorial policy making. And there was also continuity in the ways that several of the state's leading economic stakeholders constrained and influenced (and sometimes dictated to) the officials whose electoral futures they largely controlled, as well as in the exceptional rates of re-election of legislative and gubernatorial incumbents.[17] These patterns contributed to predominant Democratic control of the assembly and governorship as well as to Republican control of the state senate between 1987 and 2000. Democratic governors reigned from 1985 until January 1999—this potentially very important for the present study given the Nevada governors' leadership in biennial tax and spending policies.

But there were discontinuities as well, even though the awaited decisive shift of political power from northern Nevada to the south remained limited in

practice because of the long-term lock of northerners on key legislative leadership posts as well as the divisions and discontinuity in southern political leadership. The Republicans took over the Nevada Senate in 1987 after a lengthy period of control by mostly conservative Democrats. Although little ideological change could be detected immediately as a result of this reversal of party control, in the course of the 1990s the two legislative parties reflected various of their national parties' ideological and policy differences. Nevada was less of a bipartisan state in policy terms in the 1990s than at any time since World War II, particularly with respect to the legislature's consideration of such issues as employee rights, social spending, campaign financing, and sexual orientation.

Other new realities could be observed from a close study of legislative group photos taken and biographies written between 1985 and 1999. The state legislature that had joined a dozen others to kill the Equal Rights Amendment for gender equality in the late 1970s had, by 1999, the second largest proportion of women among the fifty state legislatures. Whereas Latter-Day Saint (Mormon) elders had held several of the most influential legislative positions in the 1970s and 1980s, their power was far less visible beginning in 1989. And in 1999 an openly gay assemblyman managed to help ensure that Nevada became the twelfth state in the union to prohibit employment discrimination based on sexual orientation. This came six years after the legislature repealed its law that criminalized sodomy.

One of the most interesting critical changes was the emergence of a liberal-to-moderate group of mostly Democratic members of the assembly, some of whom attained leadership roles by the late 1990s in a house that the Democrats firmly controlled. These assemblymen—disproportionately female, career public employees between legislative sessions, and labor supported—worked to have governors' budgets regularly adjusted upwards in the 1990s in favor of education and social and health services. Before this transformation was evident, a smaller number of assembly Democrats, most notably Clark County's Marvin Sedway, had succeeded in moving the state's priorities toward greater educational and social spending by skillfully using such power bases as the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee. But the Democratic progressive group in the assembly grew substantially in the 1990s, and support for particular social, health and educational programs increasingly also attracted key Republicans—not least Majority Leader Bill Raggio, such moderates as Washoe Senator Randolph Townsend, and a growing number of southern legislators who sought to meet the exploding needs for government programs generated by Clark County's growth.

The factors that facilitated the emergence of a liberal-to-moderate group in the assembly include the tendency of voters and contributors to support incumbents even if their legislature voting is to the left of their districts. Also, the Democratic majority's influence on the reapportionment of seats helped both incumbent and nonincumbent Democrats running for the assembly in

each election through the year 2000. Trade union support has recently made a real difference for Clark County Democrats, through contributions of money, campaign workers, and voter turnout efforts. On the other hand, the power of the Democratic majority in the assembly will be worth less during the next reapportionment with a Republican governor, and the loss of that majority in November 2000 would reverberate against Democrats throughout the subsequent decade.[18]

Prospective reapportionment advantages will help maintain the Republican edge in the Nevada Senate, this working together with the party's growing ability to generate funds for its entire senate field. However, the scandalously low legislative pay and the rather onerous working and living conditions continues to militate against the Republicans in both houses. Private business and professional people (who are disproportionately Republican) are, more than some other occupational groups, increasingly avoiding legislative service. Democrats have often turned to government employees, retirees, and others to help fill the resulting vacuum of candidates.

The crucial factors shaping policy change within Nevada since 1985 include (1) the state's ability to sustain growth in its gaming-based economy and to lead the nation in rate of population growth for four consecutive decades,[19] (2) pre-existing laws and budgetary policies that protect certain programs but leave others vulnerable to sharp reductions during economic downturns, (3) the ability of the state to limit eligibility and spending for some government-paid services and not others, (4) ongoing realignments of political forces along party, regional, cause-related, demographic, industrial, and other lines, (5) successful efforts to link certain governmental programs and not others to such favored goals as protection from crime and economic diversification, (6) the continuing ability of most sectors of Nevada's economy and society to prevent or limit increased tax burdens on their activities, (7) the carrots and sticks incorporated into federal law in order to promote or deter various policy responses on the part of state and local governments, (8) global and national economic trends, including the protracted economic booms and the expansion of international tourism, and (9) policy decisions of other states that affect the competitive position of the Silver State in areas ranging from gaming to education. These factors and forces shaped change between 1985 and 2000 and continue to affect Nevada at the start of the new century. A new factor that will have significant impact on the state's politics and policies in the coming decades is legislative and executive term limits.

New Priorities

By the 1990s Nevada's leaders had come to understand several basic points not widely comprehended as late as the mid-1980s. Democrats and Republi-

cans increasingly recognized that the state's gaming-based economy and tax revenue were vulnerable to such threats as Indian gaming in California and elsewhere in the West as well as the spread of other legal gaming throughout the country. Some also focused their concerns on renewed threats of federal interventions against gaming, these relating to taxation and regulation. Mining, the state's other long-term mainstay, had become less critical to Nevada's over-all economy by the 1990s. But it again demonstrated its vulnerability to downturns in prices and production, was also threatened by federal tax and regulatory initiatives, and remained critical to many of Nevada's rural counties that depended on its tax payments for the core operations of local government.

Pressures grew by the late 1980s for altered state policies that would respond more effectively to a rapidly changing economic and political environment at the national and regional levels. This involved a search for a revised strategy to adapt the state to current realities. The strategies created between 1930 and 1970, which had served the Silver State quite well in economic terms, had generated high social overhead costs.[20] These occurred in such forms as crime, family instability, and severe impacts on physical and mental health. The policies of mid-century were also increasingly viewed as leaving the state vulnerable to recessions or weakness in the gaming sector. At periodic conferences on economic development held in Reno and Las Vegas it was argued that some elements of the established but unstated economic and political strategy must be altered or at least reformed. It was contended, with growing effect, that higher education would have to be brought up to the level of the stronger offerings in surrounding states. Acknowledged for the first time was the role of higher education in research, attracting private firms to the state, assisting businesses in product development, and training skilled workers and professionals. Although the relevance to new economic strategies of K-12 educational reform was slower to be understood, national debates and policies forced changes in this area as well by the late 1990s.

Another aspect of a possible new strategy was the institutionalization of economic-diversity initiatives. Other states had shown the way with well-supported economic-development offices at the state and local levels, these often given such tools as financial subsidies and tax waivers to be offered to potential corporate investors. State governments were also supporting more national and international efforts to attract tourism and trade with public dollars.

Nevada's previous economic strategy had not depended on a strong system of higher education. It was based on such policies as maximizing federally financed infrastructure projects, particularly those related to water and transportation.[21] It also involved the promotion of military and nuclear-related federal activities in the state, the use of geographic position and low taxes to attract warehousing and distribution operations, the protection of the mining and gaming industries from targeted federal taxes and strict national

regulation, and the provision to certain gaming operators and financial backers with shady reputations and records of access to the state's primary industry.[22] These strategies presumed an economy with limited need of college graduates or highly skilled workers and the unavailability of normal channels for the financing of gaming. Further, although its K- 12 educational programs were considered important, they were not subjected to systematic evaluation of outcomes or comparison with other states' performances.

Nevada's strategy was modified in the 1970s and 1980s, primarily by attracting notable individual and corporate investors to Clark County's hotel-casino industry. They were encouraged in the 1980s and 1990s to create constantly upgraded, more family friendly, centers that offered leisure, recreation, shopping, dining, and entertainment in addition to the allures of sex and gaming. Indeed, the explosion of financial resources available to Las Vegas, Laughlin, and other parts of the state in the 1980s and 1990s blunted the perceived need for greater change in the state's economic strategy in the 1990s and limited the resultant political response. Nevada's effort at economic diversification was given inadequate resources, and the results, particularly in southern Nevada, were generally viewed as disappointing. Further, no major economic actors offered to lead a major restructuring of the state's tax system, one that had served most of those interests extraordinarily well for more than fifty years.

Nonetheless, the major economic interests were coming to accept the need for a more "normal" level of educational results and some improved social services. If they were not prepared to sacrifice for such objectives, they were no longer as inclined, from about the early 1980s, to stand in the way of pressures from others to make Nevada a better educated and healthier state or to resist the entry of new industries. Such pressures were ever more supported by the nonprofit sector, business executives and economic professionals committed to diversification, government at all levels, university faculty and alumni, public employee and other labor unions, and a less conservative legislature. These trends were also sustained by ordinary Nevadans' growing support for needed public services that coincided (ironically) with increased ideological rejection of liberalism and big government. Whether individuals identified themselves as conservatives or moderates, they wanted better education, greater access to health care, and improving employment opportunities for themselves and their children. Elected officials increasingly responded positively to their demands within the constraints set by the slowly changing tax system. Simultaneously, the state's business sector as a whole was recognizing the need to respond more effectively to such issues as homelessness, crime, substance abuse, mental illness, and illiteracy. There was now less toleration for the impacts of such conditions, as well as a greater awareness that at least some of these problems could be ameliorated with better funded and better conceived public policies and programs.

Nevada knew that it wanted to become a more ordinary state in terms of key

public-policy inputs and outcomes. Even without major changes since 1985, Nevada's tax system has made progress possible in most of these areas through the 1990s. Yet the constraints of revenue policy make further advances less likely unless major changes are adopted early in the new millennium. Without a revenue system that more fully keeps up with growth in population as well as personal and corporate incomes the state will be forced to continue with stop-go patterns of reform, sharpening competition among the advocates of popular governmental programs, and limited economic diversification.

In the following three sections key areas of the state's adaptation efforts are reviewed historically and evaluated qualitatively and quantitatively. Revenues, K-12 education, and public university and community college programs are critical elements in any economic development strategy and are vital to the citizenry's aspirations for improved educational and employment opportunities together with a better quality of life.

In relation to these and other public programs it is important to emphasize that higher per capita or per recipient spending allows for improved program quality but does not ensure superior results. Government spending can be wasted through fraud; this is most likely to occur when the state is the third-party payer for contracted services to individuals. Funds are also wasted when discredited approaches to government programs are continued, and when new approaches are adopted without adequate evidence of their value. We do not miss the old "insane asylums" or approaches to poverty and disability that failed to emphasize independence, education, training, and work with dignity. And there is no added value when citizens are locked up in prison without opportunities for work, education, and treatment of substance abuse—obvious long-term needs of inmates and the citizenry alike.

It is also essential that we improve the evaluation of important government programs so that the best possible judgments can be made concerning the distribution of available resources, as well as about related policies. In the remainder of this article emphasis is placed on quantitative evidence that compares Nevada with all other states for the years since 1985. When data conflict, several different sources are noted. This evidence is combined with judgments by various experts. Although numbers tell much of the story, other kinds of evidence must be used to study levels of professionalism, standards, and program quality.

Taxation

By the late 1980s Nevada was already a typical state in terms of overall tax collections as measured on a per capita basis. It combined this with the nation's most distinctive mix of taxes. This duality continued into the new century, and is not likely to be greatly changed in the near term. Nonetheless, much depends on the state's willingness to accept at least moderate steps toward more predictable and more adequate revenues, these to be derived from a broader

range of sources. In the 1990s the Silver State did buck national trends by forgoing tax reductions and, instead, adopting incremental tax increases. These steps helped make possible the state's gradual progress in public-sector programs ranging from higher education to mental health.

The tax shift approved in 1981 reduced Nevadans' property taxes and placed greater reliance on sales and use taxes. This plan was designed in part to head off a California-style taxpayers' revolt (manifested there as Proposition 13). But its principal result was to make the state's revenues more responsive to both the ups and downs of business cycles. Since those cycles were more favorable than unfavorable between the mid-1980s and the late 1990s, the state presumably gained revenue, on balance, from a tax shift that was said to be revenue neutral.

Further, Nevada benefited during that fifteen years from a willingness on the part of its elites and public to spend the greater part of each budget surplus, if only for public works and other one-shot projects, and not reduce tax rates or return money to taxpayers. These uses of existing and expected surpluses contrasted with the decisions of thirty-one states to cut major taxes by a total of $4.6 billion in 1997 alone.[23] This pattern of tax reductions has continued in many other states.[24]

Indeed, Nevada's governors and key legislators creatively managed to expand the state's tax sources and rates moderately but repeatedly between 1985 and 1997 despite mounting constitutional, political, and other restrictions. Nevadans accepted this partly because various upward revisions were ostensibly targeted at tourists or at perceived vices other than gambling. But the state also adopted a new tax applicable to most businesses and augmented revenue from mining and various other sources in the decade of Bob Miller's governorship, 1989-98.

There is a major difference in approach when decisions on tax policy are shifted from legislative control to voter determination through the initiative and referendum. The public has demonstrated a greater willingness than the politicians to close off tax-source options (i.e., personal income) and to require supermajority legislative votes for tax increases. A requirement that each house of the legislature approve new taxes by a two-thirds vote was placed in the Nevada Constitution in 1996.

It is highly ironic that some intended restrictions on taxation have actually led to revenue increases. The 1997 legislature authorized county-option tax increases in Washoe County largely to assure such an increase for Clark County. This was because the votes of the Washoe legislators were needed to achieve the newly necessary two-thirds margins in each house, and the gaming industry sought publicly funded infrastructure projects in both of the two largest counties. Notably, the state's dominant industry periodically supports new and increased taxes on various sources in order to deflect pressure to increase or broaden gaming taxes. This explains the small new-business tax, approved in

1991, based on the number of employees, as well as an earlier increase in mining taxes.

Because of major gaps in available comparative state and local finance data for the mid-to-late 1990s it is not yet possible to fully assess Nevada's public finance decisions made between 1985 and 1999. Nonetheless, it is known that Nevada's tax sources produced sufficient revenues to sustain modest over-all real increases in state programs in the seven biennial budget periods ending in June 1999. The state's Legislative Counsel Bureau reported in 1997 that general fund revenues grew by 110 percent between 1987-88 and 1995-96, an average annual increase of 9.7 percent. The bureau termed this growth "among the fastest in the nation."[25] The same report indicated that, for those eight years, real per capita revenue gains were 0.4 percent per year after factoring in the rapid population growth and the declining inflation rates. The revenue stream faltered somewhat beginning in fiscal 1997-99 biennium, leading to frozen positions in much of state government that continue in place at this writing as well as constraints on salaries and many key state programs in the 1999-2001 biennium. From FY 1996 to FY 1999 Nevada's per capita general fund revenues declined in real dollar terms and as a share of personal income.[26]

Nevada's revenues in 1996 were sufficient to allow it to be ranked twenty-first among the states in per capita general expenditure by state and local governments. Yet a Las Vegas family of four faced state and local taxes in 1997 that were lower than those paid by comparable families in all twenty-nine other cities across the country that were reviewed in a federal study.[27] Las Vegans earning $25,000 to $150,000 in family income paid 4.2 to 5.8 percent of total family income that year, the proportion declining as incomes rose. This compared with a national average of 7.9 to 9.7 percent paid to local and state governments by urban families of four that increased progressively as incomes rose. Gaming taxes, which changed little between 1985 and 2000, continued to be largely responsible for the discrepancy between the low taxes paid by families and the average level of total Nevada revenue.

The fact that Nevada's taxes have long been and continue to be regressive reveals only part of the story concerning tax fairness. The Las Vegas family of four with a modest $25,000 income pays a significantly larger share of its income to state and local governments than do wealthier residents of that city. Yet it still pays a much smaller share than the family of four with the same income in the average American city. Thus Nevada taxes are very generous to wealthier families without being highly burdensome to poorer ones.

The most obvious negative finding of any review of the state's tax system is the failure to generate sufficient revenues to fund the state's extraordinary growth and needs in education, Medicaid, and other critical programs. Advocates of education began in 1999 to promote ballot questions to ensure that additional total revenue is available in the coming decade. While one proposal looks to more broadly based business taxes to accomplish this, another seeks to

achieve the same end by raising the taxes on gross gaming revenue paid by larger casinos. Both proposals are opposed by business interests seeking to retain profits and maintain the state's comparative advantage over other states in tax policy, and at least one major Nevada trade union has joined the gaming industry in opposing substantially increased gaming taxes.

A new concern of informed Nevadans is the threat posed by e-commerce to the state's sales-tax revenues. Since Nevada's sales-tax rate is higher than the national average, the likely loss of substantial revenue to untaxed e-commerce will have serious impacts. However, this issue is complicated in Nevada by the Silver State's improving position as an e-commerce distribution center.

At this writing the state is embarked on a major review of its revenues and programs in relation to explosive population growth and changing demand for services. Tax policy was almost entirely frozen at the 1999 legislative session, but this was done with the understanding that the state's revenue structure had failed to keep pace with the need for critical services at the peak of a national economic boom. Although the post-session "fundamental review of state government" has been asked to take a zero-based look at all state programs as well as taxes, the revenue side probably requires the most attention.[28] The 1999-2001 state budget was put together with finesse, as more than $184 million was taken from reserves (intergovernmental transfers) to cover rising Medicaid costs alone. Responses to urgent needs requiring additional revenue were postponed, explicitly or implicitly, in such other areas as Medicaid, K-12 and higher education, and public employee salaries. Nevada appears to have a narrow range of choices for tax reform, as personal and corporate income taxes as well as a state-mandated estate tax are among the sources clearly off the table. Nonetheless, there is little sign of public support for major curtailment of any of the big-ticket spending programs. State salaries for many positions have been falling behind those in Nevada's major county governments as well as those in other states and the private sector even as many state regulatory programs clearly lack the staffing needed for even minimal effectiveness. Mounting numbers of state prison and technical jobs are going vacant.

The state will explore opportunities to privatize additional services and shift some to counties as well as review possible tax changes as it proceeds with the fundamental policy review during 2000-2001. New committees will also consider ways to slow rapidly growing demand for services.[29] Governor Guinn noted in March 2000 that, despite an 8 percent yearly rise in tax revenues over the previous decade and good prospects for maintaining that pace, "support for public schools could eat up nearly all of the budget in the next eight years if there's no change in tax receipts."[30] At the May 2000 Forum on Fiscal Affairs in Las Vegas the governor informed government and business leaders that his experts anticipated a revenue shortfall for the coming decade that could grow as high as $640 million by FY 2009, this largely dependent on levels of new gaming investment and growth of demand in costly programs. Revenue growth

failed to match population growth coupled with inflation from 1995 to 1999.[31] Guinn and Raggio appeared to be preparing the state for new and/or increased taxes to be proposed to the 2001 legislature or a subsequent session.

The positive news is that the state certainly has the high and growing levels of business profits, property values, and other sources of revenue to increase tax revenue as required. Legal or economic constraints will thus not be as important as political will in the construction of a tax blueprint for the early part of the new century. Although gaming and many other industries have considerable ability to pay at least moderately increased taxes without unacceptable impacts on business viability or new investment, it remains to be seen whether the necessary small to moderate tax increases and/or broader range of taxed sources will be approved.

Higher Education

Improvements in the quality and variety of higher education opportunities and research activities constitute the most significant area of progress since 1985 in Nevada's efforts to adapt its government programs to foster economic and greater individual opportunity. Given the growing size of the state budget pie, even programs that did not increase their shares of the Nevada general fund since 1985 were able to progress relative to counterparts in other states. As Table 4 reveals, neither K-12 nor public higher education augmented its share of general fund appropriations from the mid 1980s to the late 1990s. Yet at least part of the state's higher education system can be said to have come of age in this period even as Nevada colleges faced accelerating demands for services, strains on faculty staffing, and other severe problems.

In contrast with public K-12 education, higher education in the Silver State has achieved major measurable gains in outcomes as well as inputs. This is most evident in regard to salaries of full-time instructors, decisions to broaden student access, and the emergence as nationally recognized centers for research as well as teaching, of the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR), the Desert Research Institute, and the medical school at the University of Nevada, Reno, which increasingly recruits from and serves the entire state. The University of Nevada, Las Vegas, (UNLV), is seeking to expand its research program in similar ways.

Although the University and Community College System of Nevada (UCCSN) has long benefited from its unified governing structure and constitutional independence from the legislative and executive branches, this unified system may now be losing some of its utility because of internal conflicts. For the first time in many years its elected Board of Regents became sharply divided on regional lines beginning in January 1999. A struggle commenced, ostensibly to ensure that the campuses in populous Clark County would catch up to their northern counterparts in various disputed measures of academic quality and invested resources.

It is surprising that this competition for resources between north and south took until the late 1990s to fully develop. The delay was largely caused by the relative slowness of public opinion and public officials in southern Nevada to place higher education, and particularly university research, on a par with infrastructure and other needs.[32] UNLV therefore failed to make steady progress in key measures of research investment and productivity even after formal political representation had shifted decisively to southern Nevada. It has been set back relative to northern Nevada by leadership weaknesses in both lobbying representation at the legislature and in the Board of Regents, and its financial and administrative support for research has lagged behind its northern competitor.

The University of Nevada, Reno, was helped by its much earlier start in establishing professional schools and Ph.D. programs in diverse fields as well as by its advantages in political and administrative experience.[33] Since there are no comprehensive assessments of the quality of teaching in American higher education, the comparisons offered here are based primarily on hard evidence concerning grants and research. Trailing the campus in Reno in "research and other sponsored projects" by about a 1:3 ratio in the 1990s, UNLV did not register major growth in research grants until the 1999 fiscal year. And UNR has also maintained a strong lead over UNLV in the number of Ph.D. degrees awarded.

Yet by the late 1990s these patterns were challenged in important ways as Clark County positioned itself to move forward at the community college, state college, and university levels. For UNLV, the availability of substantial funds to hire a growing number of new full-time faculty members in a buyers' market provided an opening to achieve excellence as well as growth. This advantage can be built upon further if and when UNLV and the other southern campuses experience continuity in academic leadership, and focus on quality as well as quantity. It is also important that Clark County upgrade its K-12 education outcomes as measured by test results and other indicators. Taken as a whole, Clark County's public schools have long had higher dropout rates and lagged behind schools in Washoe, the home county of UNR, in K-12 test results, number of advanced placement classes, and college entrance scores.[34] On the other hand, Clark County stands poised to increase its political advantages with the legislative reapportionments of 2001, and hopes to utilize this edge more effectively after the north's perennial legislative leaders retire. The University of Nevada, Reno, in turn, needs to be perceived even more than at present as a statewide institution, especially in terms of drawing students from Clark County and serving southern Nevada through its research and statewide programs, in order to maintain sufficiently strong legislative support for its ambitious goals.

Partly because of historically low statewide demand for full-time higher education as well as the late establishment of community colleges, state

TABLE 4
Nevada General Fund Appropriations, Percentages of Total by Function, 1983-87 and 1995-2001

	Biennium				
	83-84	**85-87**	**95-97**	**97-99**	**99-01**
K-12	35.7%	36.1%	34.82%	33.3%	35.0%
University system	18.9	20.1	18.6	19.7	19.4
Human services	23.0	20.7	25.8	26.0	24.5
Public safety	9.0	8.8	10.9	11.0	11.6
Commerce, industry			2.3	2.4	2.4
Infrastructure			1.4	1.4	1.3
Constitutional agencies			3.0	3.2	3.4
Finance, administration[a]			2.6	2.3	1.8
Special purpose agencies			0.1	0.2	0.3
General government	5.8	5.3			
Conservation, minerals, agriculture	2.0	2.2			
Regulatory	3.5	3.3			
Miscellaneous	1.1	2.2			
Other education	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.5	
Highway, motor vehicles	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	

Source: Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report*, (Carson City: Fiscal Analysis Division, Legislative Counsel Bureau, 2000).

[a]Includes salary increases in various functional areas.

colleges and diverse professional schools, Nevada has long been able to maintain relatively generous per student appropriations for its campuses. Data collected by the authoritative Research Associates of Washington indicate that Nevada's per student allocation from state and local government fell from 140 percent of the national average in 1972-73 to 106 percent in 1985-86. It then rose to 113 percent by 1996-97 even though the UCCSN lagged consistently in some measurements of over-all spending for colleges.[35] Per student UCCSN general fund expenditures peaked in FY 1998 before falling in the face of an enrollment growth that outpaced state funding.[36] And in the 1990s the Silver State charged some of the lowest tuition rates in the country for in-state students, this being a highly progressive means to enlarge access for working and low-income students.[37] The low-tuition policy will be greatly enhanced by the Millennium Scholarship program established in 1999.

Compensation of faculty improved in absolute and comparative terms through 1998, though the state's failure to provide cost-of-living increases for this set of state employees at the 1999 legislative session threatens this progress. According to the Faculty Salary Surveys of the American Association of University Professors, professors' salaries at UNR improved from about the midpoint for comparable institutions in 1986-87 to a position in the second highest quintile (twelfth and eighteenth by two criteria) by 1996-97.[38] A generous merit pay system initiated in 1985, together with efforts by campus officials to upgrade starting salaries and offer equity adjustments, helped to achieve these critically important results. Between 1985 and 1999 UNLV and the community colleges placed slightly less emphasis on the raising of faculty salaries, and this has contributed to their current sense of being behind UNR in key allocations.[39] Exploitative rates of pay for part-time instructors, especially at the state's community colleges, remain a serious failing that limits the over-all gains in compensation.

It was not only UCCSN faculty compensation that improved between 1985 and 2000. Formula-based funding that helped assure growing appropriations for needs ranging from library books to support staff was also implemented. Support for these formulas by key legislators (including Jim Gibson, Marvin Sedway, and Bill Raggio) as well as three governors has been crucial to the overall gains achieved. These formulas, and also the salary models for university employees, were formally reviewed in 1999-2000 in order to assure that base funding would remain predictable and respond to increased graduate student enrollments, the growing need for educational technology, and other critical realities.

At the close of the century Nevada's system of higher education had some key positive rankings (e.g., salaries, tuition level) and some important unfavorable ones (e.g., low enrollment of recent high school graduates, high student-faculty ratios, and a relatively incomplete set of institutions and programs). In combination, such patterns were quite favorable to its full-time instructors

and administrators and to the students who did enroll. The low participation rates are influenced by the ability of many without a college degree to earn decent incomes in and around the gambling industry and the preferences of many such workers for part-time college enrollment. But for those directly involved with public higher education in Nevada it is clear that the highly negative portrayals of the state's support of that system in Hulse's *Forty Years in the Wilderness* and other works are no longer applicable. The University of Nevada, Reno, with its head start in research and graduate programs, has surprised many by meeting the standards for a Carnegie Research Level II designation and is rapidly moving to the higher status of Research Level I. Although UNLV has set similar goals, the south's later start contributes to Nevada's weak position in important interstate comparisons of research universities. The two universities taken together awarded only eighty-six Ph.D. degrees in 1998, seventh from the bottom among the states, and ended the century without many of the professional schools common in states having a similar size population.[40] By 1999 Nevada ranked thirty-fourth among the states in population but lacked the broad range of higher education programs of each state that it had passed in terms of population size in the 1990s, these including New Mexico, Nebraska, Hawaii, and West Virginia. Of course, it would have been almost impossible to have caught up with each of these states in breadth of offerings while at the same time struggling to accommodate Nevada's huge growth in enrollments.

The leading position of the University of Nevada, Reno, in the Silver State's higher education system was challenged in the 1980s and 1990s primarily by the great ability of campus administrators to stimulate additional enrollment at the Community College of Southern Nevada (CCSN) and UNLV. This nation-leading effort generated controversy within the statewide system and helped to produce the 1999 convulsion in Nevada's higher education politics. A surge of regionalism, bitterly personal at times, began to dominate the UCCSN Board of Regents when three new members from Clark County and one from Washoe took office in January of that year. Although large gaps in per student funding between the universities in Reno and Las Vegas were alleged, the most pressing issue was whether the state would fund all or most of the enrollment growth in the southern institutions. Nevada's difficulty in keeping up with this growth seems likely to be exacerbated by the Millennium Scholarship program adopted by the legislature in 1999, which will offer free tuition at the state's colleges and universities to most post-1999 graduates of Nevada high schools whose high school averages are grade B or higher. This program promises to help the state move out of its last-in-the-nation position regarding the proportion of high school graduates who go to college, and will severely strain existing resources on all the campuses.

The 1999 Nevada Legislature went beyond even the improved estimates of general fund revenues provided in May 1999, working largely with increases in student fees, the recent tobacco settlement, and estate tax funds, to move the

state toward a significantly different higher education system for the new century. The legislature will likely soon fund Nevada's first comprehensive four-year state college in Henderson (now the state's second most populous city) and add new programs in dentistry and pharmacy. These steps follow the opening in August 1998 of UNLV's Boyd School of Law and, most important, the funding in 1999 of a major part of the southern institutions' extraordinary enrollment growth. The regional redirection was evident in the 1999 legislature's campus construction priorities, its endorsement of a committee to review formulas for funding higher education, and its steps to advance the Henderson campus. The southern campuses gained most of the 647 new positions appropriated to UCCSN for the 1999-2001 biennium.

Although total funding for the state's higher education system increased by "only" 15.1 percent for the 1999-2001 biennium, this less than the rate of gain approved in 1997, the new budget significantly augmented resources for most campuses.[41] But much of this utilized funds from outside the state's general fund, and the higher education faculty was denied the small cost-of-living raises extended to state classified workers. Even as the universities and community colleges advanced they faced such serious problems as the absence of a state legal obligation to fund all or most student growth, the failure of the legislative budget to cover significant parts of their technology and research needs, and the likelihood that the governor and legislature would continue to limit increases in professional compensation given the ongoing need for many new staff positions. A 1999 report from State Policy Resources, Inc., ominously projects a structural deficit of 18.3 percent in state funding of Nevada's higher education needs by 2008, this the largest percentage deficit projected for any of the fifty states.[42]

Yet higher education retains a strong position in Nevada because of ever more broadly held perceptions that it must develop the state's future public-sector workers, provide increasingly more diverse opportunities to gain degrees within the state, serve economic diversification, and bring large research grants into the economy. A highly developed higher education system is inherently valuable to all states given the fierce competition for new investment and growing needs for qualified personnel in social services, education, and industry. In Nevada, the minimal development of private colleges forces the state to depend almost entirely on public higher education to deliver the needed graduates in sufficient numbers. It is also the indispensable partner of firms requiring technical assistance and campus-based job training. The state is moving rapidly to meet its needs for a broader and deeper higher education system even as the sources to fund them remain largely unknown. Unfortunately, such progress is not nearly as evident for K-12 public education and in some other critical public programs in the Silver State.

Public Elementary and Secondary Education

That the tone of this analysis is less positive with regard to public elementary and secondary education in Nevada reflects the nation's sense of frustration with that area. While the world generally views American higher education, public and private, as stellar, that perspective blinds many observers to the deep failings of many parts of America's highly differentiated system of colleges. The problem is perhaps the opposite for public K-12 schooling. The United States political system is increasingly focusing on the weaknesses and failures of public K-12 schooling even as examples of excellence are discoverable in every state. But, on balance, a great deal of good can emerge from a view of K-12 public education in Nevada, and the nation as a whole, that is highly critical when such a posture is warranted.

The political base needed to improve schools in any American state includes the heavily unionized teachers and their lobbyists, politically astute bureaucrats and members of district and state school boards, parent groups, elected officials who focus on K-12 education, and business-based and other forums that help alert the public to the dangers of educational business as usual. In Nevada, as in many other states, such supporters are often fragmented regarding specific proposals. Sometimes key actors are absent from the most important showdowns in the legislature. Nevada has had no Ross Perot to mobilize statewide business support for truly major change. Its college of education faculty members and administrators typically avoid public discourse on K-12 issues, giving priority to cooperative relationships with school personnel despite their superior knowledge of the school systems' strengths and weaknesses. All too often the various constituencies seek to protect turf or concentrate on peripheral battles. As a result, major reforms appear to occur only when the examples of other states combine with federal carrot-and-stick legislation to leave Nevada with little choice but to move ahead on various fronts.

The Silver State's system of public elementary and secondary education does not appear to have advanced significantly between 1985 and 1999 as measured by available test scores or the ability to attract and maintain the desired pool of professional personnel. The national debate on public school reform moved toward a consensus in support of such critical needs as higher academic standards in teacher education and certification as well as higher standards and expectations for students at all levels. Broad support also exists for better facilities, more teachers and smaller classes in the early elementary grades, the availability of remedial programs, universal opportunity for preschool and kindergarten learning, additional charter schools, and better compensation, training, and professional status for instructors. There is widespread recognition of the need to increase the supply of teachers, especially in rapidly growing sections of the country, and to increase resources and programs for at-risk students and their families. Finally, support has also coalesced on the need to hold teachers and schools publicly accountable for the progress of their students

andto allow assumption of responsibility at the state level if failure persists.

Public elementary and secondary education's share of Nevada's general fund appropriations pie was largely unchanged between 1985 and 2001 (Table 4), dropping from 36.1 percent in the 1985-87 biennium to 33.3 percent for 1997-99 before recovering to 35.6 percent for 1999-2001.[43] On the other hand, funding from sources other than the general fund grew steadily in the 1990s in both real and nominal terms.[44] Nevada's public schools gained in comparison to most other programs in the 1999-2001 biennium primarily because per student or per client funding is legally mandated for K-12 and not for most other state-funded services.

Led by Governor Bob Miller and Senate Majority Leader Bill Raggio (who disagreed on areas of emphasis), Nevada began in the 1990s to seek improved K-12 results through such approaches as smaller classes in the lower elementary grades and the promotion of more explicit content and performance standards for teachers and students. But the impacts of such programs largely remain to be experienced and studied. Many critical reforms have yet to be fully implemented or were first proposed at the 1999 legislature.[45] The statewide teachers' union, the Nevada State Education Association, as well as key school administrators, has endorsed only marginally stronger standards for teacher recruitment and initial certification, though in 1999 the union did propose improved in-service training and rewards for teachers earning national certification for excellence in teaching. The lack of assurance that teachers are fully prepared in the subjects that they teach remains a chronic problem in the Silver State despite the recent funding of four regional professional development programs.

Although teacher salaries in Nevada grew by 10 percent in real terms between 1984 and 1999, the state still ranked only twenty-first in average teacher pay and thirty-fifth in average current expenditures per pupil for 1996-97.[46] The American Federation of Teachers placed Nevada teachers fifteenth in the nation in combined salary and benefits for 1996-97.[47] This compared with a rank of eighteenth in average classroom-teacher salary and thirty-first for per pupil expenditure in 1988-89.[48] Thirty-six states exceeded Nevada in percentage increase of average teacher salary in the decade 1986-87 to 1996-97.[49] These data on salary and compensation suggests a paradox insofar as the state's competitive position appears to be problematic despite the fact that Nevada teachers' salaries and compensation have been and remain well above average. It does not help very much to be fifteenth to twenty-first in the nation if most of the school districts in bordering California pay at least 20 percent more, and Nevada school districts refuse to offer market-based salaries to out-of-state teachers who might consider moving to the Silver State. Further, K-12 teachers' salaries are falling ever further behind those for most other professions nationally as well as in the Silver State.

In January of 1998 *Education Week* rated Nevada schools, with Las Vegas the

focus of its attention, at D on an A-F scale on quality of teaching, adequacy of resources, and allocation of resources. Standards of assessment and equitable distribution earned a B– rating from that source.[50] In January of 2000 the Silver State was rated a C– grade, the average rating for all states, for academic standards in basic subjects.[51] Most troubling, Nevada scored fourth from last among thirty-nine states in reading proficiency of fourth graders in a national comparison.[52] Governor Guinn stated in October 1999, "Let's stop talking about Silicon Valley until we get an educated work force," noting that only 37 percent of Nevada's high school students were proceeding immediately to college compared with a national average above 60 percent.[53]

The ACT and SAT college entrance test scores of recent Nevada high school seniors have generally remained slightly better than national norms.[54] These statistics appear worse when analyzed together with evidence of Nevada's dismal high school dropout rates and the relatively small proportion of the state's high school graduates taking such tests in order to proceed directly into higher education.[55]

In the 1990s many of Nevada's countywide school districts struggled mightily to keep up with needs for new teachers and schools, maintain and expand facilities, and find room for the extra teachers funded by the state's class-size reduction program for the lower grades. In recent years various schools were publicly assigned to a "needs improvement" category as a result of their test scores, most of these having a large proportion of students designated as "at-risk" or the equivalent. Although Nevada is only beginning to address seriously the need of these and other schools for state assistance in such areas as school construction, added teacher training, and remedial education, some surprisingly good results have been produced in particular schools with poor initial test results.

How good were Nevada schools when Hulse wrote his condemnation of the state, and how much has changed since the mid 1980s? *Forty Years in the Wilderness* does not so much criticize education in Nevada in the 1970s and 1980s as it condemns public expenditure limitations during those years. Between 1950 and 1980 Nevada's high per capita level of income and relatively low proportion of the population below official poverty levels helped sustain reasonably good outcomes on the then available standardized tests and other measures despite comparatively weak over-all state and local funding. Since 1985, pressures on the system have grown as a result of such factors as greater cultural and linguistic diversity, growing income inequality, Nevada's declining rank in per capita income, the state's low proportion of parents with a college education, the unprecedented increases in student numbers, and extraordinary patterns of family transiency. The educational tasks clearly have become much more complex and difficult since the 1980s.

The state's public schools have benefited during the past fifteen years from the added resources directed through the higher education budget for teacher

education, and school leaders now understand better than before that they are accountable for student test performances. State officials have recently acted to raise the minimum score needed to pass the basic skills Pre-Professional Skills Test (PPST) that future teachers take in order to begin teacher education. But many observers continue to see inadequacies in the certification and testing of teachers in both methodology and subject mastery.

Governing bodies such as Nevada's school boards and legislature were not prepared before 1997 to initiate many of the most-needed educational reforms. In higher education the state has, by and large, offered the salaries and working conditions needed to attract many of the finest instructors from the graduate schools and faculties of respected universities. Its public colleges and universities retain most of the faculty recruits that survive their serious probationary reviews. But for K-12 the state has been less willing to upgrade teacher compensation and status to the extent necessary to achieve better hires both from within Nevada and through national recruitment. Further, too many of the best elementary and secondary school teachers leave the classroom early for positions in school administration or other fields. Nevada has numerous superb teachers, school administrators, and excellent schools. But its yearly efforts to attract thousands of highly qualified instructors (most of these for Clark County) are clearly inadequate. As noted recently by the *New York Times*, a bidding war for good teachers is spreading across the country.[56] Nevada's need to compete effectively in this contest is all the more intense because the gap between the number of credentialed new graduates of its colleges of education and the number of new teachers needed annually is probably larger than anywhere else in the country.

There is abundant research and a growing consensus about the ingredients of truly fine schools.[57] Sometimes these elements come together in particular Nevada schools as a result of superior educational leadership, parental involvement, socioeconomic advantage, and other factors. But for broader advancement to excellence the solution must include teachers who are well-grounded in subject matter as well as in educational methodology, recognition of high-quality teachers with generous compensation, a system of effective mentoring, excellent working conditions, truly professional status, full pay credit and bonuses for experienced teachers drawn from other states, and the social services, educational aides, training, and other resources necessary to meet the social and educational needs of the entire range of Nevada's families. Many argue that a longer school year is also a key to improving student performance and gaining better compensation for teachers.

Nevada has finally embarked on a course that should ensure sound results with its more demanding standards for testing students, its substantial support of smaller classes in the early grades, remedial education in schools with low performance, the first charter schools, and some improved professional development programs. The Millennium Scholarship program is already

increasing the proportion of students who continue their educations beyond high school, and it may help reduce the percentage of high school dropouts. Yet various issues discussed above have yet to be adequately addressed in Nevada.

To continue to seek the needed teachers primarily from the traditional curriculums of colleges of education would be a great mistake, as would a parochial emphasis on recruitment of teachers primarily from Nevada. Radically new approaches are required to meet both the qualitative and quantitative needs, and these must address health and family development needs as well as those more directly related to educational policies. Some other states are currently more open than Nevada to major changes in regard to finding, judging, training and rewarding teachers, one such being neighboring California.[58] Although California is playing catch-up with most of the country in terms of educational outcomes, such increased responsiveness in nearby states will add to the pressures on Nevada to be even more open to major change in its approaches to public schooling. This competitiveness is a further indication that Nevada must keep up with changing national standards and professionalization in all areas of public policy in order to achieve its economic and social goals and adapt to "new economy" needs for educated workers and citizens.

Public Safety and the Social Safety Net

Nevada's efforts to achieve excellent educational results and economic diversification in pursuit of adaptation depend on more than its decisions concerning revenues and schools. Its pursuits and goals unfold in a context that includes crime rates that remain higher than in most other states, a growing percentage of new immigrants and older residents, and its residents' widespread disdain for healthy lifestyle choices. Rapid population growth, weak communities, a culture that supports high rates of gun ownership, and the casino-based economy have all contributed to Nevada's relatively high incidence of violence. This context, as noted earlier, is strongly influenced by the state's policy choices. The social overhead costs of a gaming-based economy continue to be great even if some studies have failed to find definitive associations between gambling and particular social pathologies.[59] Nevada continues to rank at or near the bottom in a wide array of social and health comparisons with other states, and the causes lie primarily in the broad context of the twenty-four-hour lifestyle rather than in gambling viewed narrowly.

The issues and programs addressed in the remainder of this study relate to the underlying security of individuals, communities, and the state as a whole. They involve in part the state's needs to prevent and treat medical and psychological disorders, minimize and punish crime, and offer care and subsistence for dependent residents. From a demographic or social perspective, the Silver

State is clearly not an ordinary one, and it consequently faces exceptional personal-security issues. It has comparatively large proportions of unmarried and divorced adults, single parents, and residents who are employed outside the conventional work hours. All of these factors, and the impacts of problem gambling and extensive access to drugs and alcohol, contribute to stress and resultant illness, addiction, violence, and delinquency.

Nevada ranks very high as a location for new business investment when selected economic factors and the natural environment are the primary criteria utilized.[60] Yet it is deservedly slammed by raters of business climate who note its "lack of economic diversity, weaknesses in work-force skills and innovation assets, and troubling social conditions."[61] These comments were offered by the Corporation for Enterprise Development, which noted the Silver State's rankings in the top 20 percent of all states for teen pregnancy, and crime, and in the bottom 20 percent for home ownership, and voting. A broader search for rankings in social and health areas brings equally bad news regarding suicide, high costs of health care, domestic violence, prenatal medical care, immunization, substance abuse, and problem gambling.[62]

Nevada's provision of public assistance in terms of cash benefits for the state's poor and its public health responses to such issues as smoking have lagged behind most of the country since the 1930s. Although the state's very restrictive approach to welfare became much more typical of the country during the 1990s, its policies regarding most other social issues remain notably less responsive than those of most other states. Its 1999 decision to divide tobacco-settlement funds between higher education and health needs, and the increasing strains on the services offered through its Medicaid program, indicate a continuing mixed and nonurgent response to most health and related needs.[63]

In contrast, Nevada officials have clearly placed crime near the top of their agenda since about 1970. Indeed, the Silver State took a leading position among the states in the 1970s and 1980s in regard to prison construction and longer criminal sentences. It has also made halting but significant progress since 1980 in addressing its responsibilities for the mentally ill and developmentally disabled.

The following sections discuss recent developments affecting some of the state's largest programs addressing social and health needs. They reveal Nevada's progress in some areas and the tendency of most other states to move closer to the Silver State regarding such other priorities as prisons and public assistance.

Sectoral growth in the state's general-fund allocations between 1985 and 1999 are evident in the broad categories termed human services and public safety (see Table 4). However, those areas' significant increases in share of the state appropriations pie reflect distinct experiences with Medicaid, prisons, juvenile justice, mental health, public assistance, and other programs. Each human-service and public-safety program has its own history and a unique set of

dramas and actors. A major part of each story can be told in terms of the political environment and the ebb and flow of state revenues and funding decisions. Yet, as in public education, dollars alone do not decide outcomes. The synergy of sufficient funds, intelligent choices, public support, and effective implementation together makes the difference between inadequate and sound public programs.

Medicaid: Health Care for Nevada's Poor

The Medicaid program, jointly supported by the state and federal governments, is the principal source, in Nevada and the nation, of health-care funds for those who qualify on the basis of low incomes, physical condition, and/or very limited assets. The program assists persons ranging from poor parents and children on state public assistance (now Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) to categorical programs for the aged, blind, and severely disabled. Eligibility for Medicaid and these welfare programs, substantially defined by each state, determines whether otherwise uninsured persons will receive appropriate medical and other care as well as the means of subsistence. Some 37.5 million Americans were projected to receive Medicaid benefits in 1999, this constituting an increase of some 74 percent since 1980.[64] Most Medicaid benefits are paid directly to hospitals, nursing homes, and physicians at rates determined by each state government. The program has been one of the fastest growing in dollar terms for both states and the federal government since it was put into place in 1967.

There are numerous reasons to expect a generous approach by Nevada for this crucial program. One is that key constituencies that receive Medicaid funds, particularly organized physicians, hospitals, and nursing homes, are generally quite influential and contribute significantly to political campaigns. In Nevada's 1996-98 election cycle, the health-care industry (both state and national contributors) provided at least $381,472 to winners and losers in the 1998 election for the state legislature alone; this placed the industry seventh among major contributor groups according to the Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada (PLAN).[65] The largest of the health industry donors gave between $10,000 and $43,700 each to legislative candidates, and some twenty-two elected legislators collected at least $5,000 each from such sources.[66] On the other hand, no single health industry donor placed among the top twenty contributors to legislative campaigns for 1996-98.

It could also have been expected that the rising power of legislators with close professional ties to health providers and to groups of potential recipients would benefit the Medicaid program. This industry certainly enjoys considerable influence in Carson City on such issues as the regulation of medical insurance and health maintenance organizations (HMOs). And it might also be expected that middle-class Nevadans, who collectively and individually have a vested interest in the program for themselves or for elderly parents, would

help make the program accessible and generous.

Nonetheless, Medicaid spending in Nevada actually became even more tightly restricted in the 1990s than it was in the early to mid 1980s. When the present writer reviewed the program for the *Nevada Public Affairs Review* in 1981-82 he found that the state maintained a very tight approach to eligibility, offering few options or waivers, capping budgets to prevent unexpected spending, and tieing access to its exceptionally restrictive public assistance programs. However, when compared with other states on a per recipient basis, Nevada's Medicaid payments were then exceptionally generous to health-care providers, and indirectly to individual participants.[67] These high per recipient rankings resulted from payment schedules for major health-care providers that were, in the aggregate, among the highest in the country.[68] But changes designed to help bring the program under fiscal control began in earnest in 1979 and accelerated after the budget crunch that followed the state's 1991 legislative session. Both federal and state initiatives forced changes, but the decisive factor was that key actors in Nevada's executive branch were determined to control Medicaid costs in order to sustain more popular programs and avoid new taxes. In 1983 only Minnesota exceeded the per recipient Nevada Medicaid allocation. By FY 1991 the state's rank fell to nineteenth, and by FY 1997 Nevada was twenty-fifth in per recipient spending. It was still another public policy response that placed Nevada at the nation's midpoint.[69]

A state can lower its per recipient benefits by changing the mix of recipients (i.e., adding relatively low-cost poor children), by cutting reimbursement rates to providers, and/or by reducing optional services. Nevada changed course primarily by seeking to limit increases in "vendor payments" to care-providing institutions. However, growth in the number of recipients also was contained after FY 1996, and eligibility for benefits remained among the most restrictive in the country for the entire life of Nevada's program.[70] Optional programs and waivers were occasionally dropped, and these were added primarily when they facilitated additional federal funding of such existing state programs as those for the developmentally disabled. Per recipient payments for the aged poor on Nevada Medicaid were more than 25 percent less than the national average in 1998.[71] The state was more than holding the line on home care, hospital inpatient costs, nursing homes, and other obligations. As a result, in 1998 Nevada ranked last in the nation for total Medicaid expenditures per capita ($222) and for annual per capita nursing facility expenditures ($42).[72]

Recent data on the state's Medicaid funding, which covers less than half of total program costs, reveal annual dollar increases of about 8 percent during the period 1998-2001. Total state expenditure grew from $199 million in FY 1995 to $277 million appropriated for FY 2001, despite the leveling off of over-all caseloads since FY 1996. The 1999 legislature is paying for the 1999-2001 biennium's current program costs in part with $184 million from its intergovernmental transfer account in order to save general fund expenditures for

other programs. Because such large transfers are unprecedented, comparisons of general fund spending for Medicaid and all other state programs in the 1999-2001 budget with allocations of prior years can be made only by adjusting for these transfers. Further, as a result of depending on these transfers the state will have to find substantial "new money" for Medicaid to cover the necessarily increasing demands that it will face after June 2001.The Silver State's ability to hold the line on Medicaid spending in recent years also reflects the sharp reductions in the proportion of its residents who receive cash assistance as discussed below.

The state of Nevada, largely through its new Division of Health Care Financing and Policy, the Budget Division, and the Office of the Governor, maintains tight control over the Medicaid program with surprisingly little regard for input from most of the political constituencies noted above. This is fostered by the highly technical and legalistic nature of this policy area and the potentially high costs of liberalizing any of its major program components. Legislators are usually unable and/or unwilling to make major budgetary enhancements in this budget given the short time frame of their now four-month biennial sessions and the risks to other favored programs should major increases be made in Medicaid. Higher priority for K-12 and higher education, mental health, and prisons helps ensure that Nevada Medicaid stays among the most restricted such programs in the country.

Analysis of Nevada's Medicaid politics reveals the continued political weakness of the program's largely unorganized potential clients—though this is beginning to change in the case of the disabled. In 1999 and 2000 the Nevada Forum on Disability pressured the state's Department of Human Resources to extend home-based and group medical services in the wake of the United States Supreme Court's 1999 decision in *Olmstead* v. *L.C. Ex rel. Zimring*.[73] The state has long been widely criticized for its lack of support for home care.

The inability of Nevada's health-care provider groups to have a strong impact on the state's increasingly restrictive policies bears analysis. This acceptance has not been absolute; the nursing-home industry filed suit in relation to reimbursement formulas in 1986, and won a short-term victory in 1992. Yet the provider organizations usually failed to generate effective opposition at crucial junctures as the state and federal governments tightened policies in the 1980s and especially in the 1990s.

The hospital and physician sectors could rely on the fact that Medicaid provided a small part of their total revenue and costs insofar as Medicare, HMOs, and individuals collectively paid much more. They long relied on the rather more generous Medicare reimbursements (paid wholly through the federal government) to balance lower Medicaid rates, the latter based on the state's decision to pay at no more than the sixtieth percentile of providers as ranked by costs. The nursing home industry, increasingly controlled by national companies that own numerous facilities throughout the country, was always more

dependent on Medicaid. Yet it also benefited from the higher Medicare charges and attempted to force individuals and families in nursing homes who were not yet eligible for government assistance to carry a major part of their costs for Medicaid-funded residents.[74]

On the whole, Nevada's hospitals remain highly profitable to this day, though the rural facilities have struggled financially and increasingly are being swallowed up by urban-based national or Nevada corporate conglomerates. The fates of the hospitals rest largely on Medicare reimbursements and the payment agreements they negotiate with the state's HMOs. They have long reported some of the nation's highest over-all per patient charges as well as profits, and in 1998 Nevada hospitals led the nation in charges per Medicare patient admission.[75] A 1996 American Hospital Association study ranked Nevada hospitals' billed charges second in the country. Billed charges do not necessarily translate directly into profits. Yet, as noted in 1997 by Christopher Thompson of Nevada's Division of Health Care Financing and Policy, "The combination of managed care and state regulation has served to control hospital costs . . . but [Nevada] hospitals have been able to adjust their business practices to ensure continued success."[76]

Nevada's uninsured and underinsured residents have not fared nearly as well as the hospitals or physicians. In 1997, Medicaid participation per 1,000 people in Nevada was half the national average. For those needing long-term care, the state ranked low in provision of both nursing facilities and home care. Only a small part of these differences derived from demographic factors or ability to afford private care. Most of the variation resulted from the deliberate decisions of Nevada executive branch officials (with the concurrence of the legislature) to restrict eligibility primarily to the poorest of the poor or to those who had spent down almost all of their assets. Waiting lists for some of the waivered optional programs compound the problem of home-based care, as does the policy of limiting the costs of home-based care to what Medicaid is willing to pay for nursing homes. (Such costs can be greater at home than in facilities when continual and/or skilled care is required.) As Thompson noted in 1996, "We, for the most part, are at the absolute federal minimum in terms of who we cover."[77]

No cheap way has emerged to change this minimal enrollment even as the state continues to experiment with creative financing as well as with HMO and University of Nevada School of Medicine service options. The greatest unmet needs include funded Medicaid-waiver programs to provide alternatives to nursing home placements as well as in-state help for specific populations in the care of the Division of Child and Family Services and the Division of Mental Health and Developmental Services. Beyond this, most low- income working individuals continue to be excluded because the state refuses to adopt eligibility for most "medically needy" persons who have incomes above the poverty level.[78] This occurs in a state in which a large proportion of hotel-casino,

nursing home, and other jobs pay low wages, a state whose employers are increasingly interested in gaining coverage for low-income workers through Medicaid.

The newest, and perhaps most serious, result of the state's tight-fisted approach to Medicaid is the nursing-home bankruptcy crisis of 1999-2000. The triggering event appears to have been federal cuts in Medicare reimbursements authorized by Congress in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. With two thirds of nursing home patients dependent on Medicaid, the two programs inevitably combine to generate worsening bottom lines for this largely corporate-controlled industry. The Nevada Health Care Association, the political arm of the nursing home in the Silver State, rang the alarm in 1999 and 2000 as firms owning twenty-two of the state's forty-seven skilled nursing facilities declared bankruptcy. This is one of the highest such bankruptcy rates in the country, though the problem is clearly nationwide. The state appears to be faced with a crisis of retention, much less growth, in nursing home beds at a time when its need for such facilities is growing rapidly. However, given the growing public perception of neglect and greed in this industry, the political barriers to improved funding remain strong.

Nevada is increasingly outside national norms in Medicaid—except for reimbursement rates for its care providers. These anomalous public policies result in considerable hardships for tens of thousands of residents who would be eligible in most other states. Nevada is seeking to fill the gap in part by taking advantage of new federal medical insurance programs for children. But it is actually supporting such core government responsibilities as education and prisons at the expense of residents who require access to Medicaid, the poorly paid individual care providers who deserve decent compensation, and the hospitals and nursing homes that require increased payments.

The question remains, why has this program fared so poorly in Nevada compared with various other state responsibilities discussed in this study? The answers involve Medicaid's direct connection with Nevada's tightly controlled cash-public-assistance programs, the absence of mobilized grass-roots constituencies, and the health providers' ability to find offsetting sources of revenue until recently. When the last of these factors changed in the 1990s, it became necessary for both the service-providing corporations and the advocates for medically needy residents to step up their lobbying and other efforts. This intensification of political effort does not appear to have occurred to a sufficient extent.

Welfare: Cash Public Assistance

Nevada's highly restrictive approach to cash-public-assistance has long epitomized the state's ungenerous and unresponsive social policies. In 1980 Elmer Rusco noted, in an article that has earned considerable attention, that for the period from 1935 to 1980 "Nevada is clearly among those states in which

support for welfare is weak"[79]. He supported this conclusion with evidence of the state's longstanding rejection of Aid to the Permanently Totally Disabled and the Aid to Families with Dependent Children-Unemployed (AFDC-U) program that provides benefits to intact families with unemployed male heads of households.[80] Rusco also noted that the state has assisted relatively few recipients through its major income-maintenance program, and has also provided low payments to the families helped.

Rusco offered several tentative explanations for Nevada's constrained approach to welfare since 1935, emphasizing changing patterns of religious affiliation and economic activity. In his view, welfare received less support from a population that was increasingly Protestant and Mormon after 1935 than from the earlier strongly Catholic population. Further, he associated restrictive policies with the gambling-based economy's emphasis on individualism and cynicism as well as with its discouragement of labor unions and other groups of blue-collar workers or the lower class. Rusco's hypotheses were merely suggestive, based on limited empirical investigation of key factors. These views meshed with and influenced those presented by Jim Hulse in *Forty Years in the Wilderness*.

There are reasons for Nevada's longstanding tightfistedness in public assistance that were not emphasized by Rusco or Hulse. First, an ungenerous attitude toward the state's poor adults served to pressure that population to accept low-paying jobs in the state's labor intensive hotel-casino and other industries. Nevada's leading industry clearly preferred that as many adults as possible seek employment. And for those who could not or would not work, the much less narrow approaches to welfare in neighboring California and elsewhere offered the clear alternative of leaving the state and removing the need for government aid in Nevada.

Nevada's approach to welfare also reflects the interrelationships among the various federal-state programs for cash public assistance, food stamps, and Medicaid. The state, by declaring that it would pay only a limited proportion of the established minimum standard of need for poor people, reduced the number of applicants eligible for cash public assistance as well as for Medicaid. Others would be dependent on county or charity aid. Critics pointed out that this policy punished children in need and prevented the state from taking advantage of all available federal public assistance and Medicaid funding. Yet Nevada's goal was to cut down on state spending on the poor and thereby force this largely unskilled adult population to work. Unfortunately, the state did not effectively address the many needs of the working and nonworking poor for services that enabled them to work until the federal government provided greatly increased funding to facilitate the transition from welfare to work beginning in the 1990s.

When Nevada set the Aid to Families with Dependent Children payment levels at less than half the grant levels in California, as it did in FY 1984,

applicants earning significantly more than those amounts could not qualify for either AFDC or Medicaid in most cases.[81] A similar logic operated to dissuade the state from adopting the Aid to the Permanently Totally Disabled and other programs as long as there was a requirement for state sharing of the costs. The Supplementary Security Income (SSI) program, paid by the federal government, also allows options that expand or limit state Medicaid costs. The level of Nevada's maximum payment to needy families on AFDC and its successor program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), changed little through the 1990s even as the amounts deemed necessary for the subsistence of welfare families necessarily rose significantly. And Nevada continued to cap its budget for most cash welfare programs as well as Medicaid in order to ensure that there would not be major unanticipated increases in the Welfare Division's total actual spending.

Facing rapid growth in the impoverished segment of its population in the early 1990s, the state allowed its welfare rolls to expand during the first half of the decade. It then joined the rest of the country in moving to abandon welfare "as we know it" for a large portion of those previously covered. The nation acted in 1996 to require most public assistance recipients to move toward paid work as soon as possible, and to finance assistance for their transitions. Thus, public assistance was to a large extent converted from a traditional welfare program to one that focuses on employment and training and is backed up by social services and transitional cash and medical assistance. Such an approach is highly constructive for families if prospects for work are plentiful, if Medicaid is maintained through a transitional period, and if the jobs prove continuous and have potential for advancement above the lowest levels of compensation. The new approach can be highly punitive for poor children and their parents when its often arbitrary rules lead to suspension or termination of welfare benefits.[82]

As was also true in regard to increased spending on prisons, most other states moved much closer to Nevada's policies on public assistance in the 1990s. All states sharply reduced welfare rolls and lowered monthly allowances as measured in relation to inflation. From January 1993 to September 1998 the number of families on state cash-welfare programs dropped 42 percent nationally, a trend that continued after that period.[83] Nevada was able to decrease its TANF rolls to 16,610 in December 1999, this a 61.1 percent decline from March 1995.[84] And in March 1999 the state ranked thirty-third in the nation in per recipient level of welfare grant, a ranking that had changed little over several decades. The state allocated only a bit more than $14 million general fund dollars to the TANF welfare program in 1998-99, and a bit less for each year of the subsequent biennium.[85] Although Medicaid remains a major and growing financial obligation, the Silver State's general fund appropriations for its single largest cash-assistance program was only slightly greater for the year 2000-2001 than it had been for 1988-1989.[86] And the number of Silver State food

stamp recipients fell almost as much as the number of recipients of cash public assistance in the 1995-98 period.[87]

It is important to note that the welfare restructuring plan approved in 1997 Nevada's legislature was not as draconian in some key respects as those adopted in various other states. The Welfare Division, Governor Bob Miller, and the legislature took a generally moderate approach to such areas of state choice as the treatment of legal immigrants and the control of recipients' behavior (other than work requirements).

These decisions reflected the way in which an increasingly moderate Nevada government and a strengthened group of advocates for the poor interacted with one of the most radically "conservative" federal policy initiatives of the decade. The state's public assistance and Medicaid programs were affected by the growing professionalization in the 1990s of the welfare and health advocacy activities of nonprofit organizations through such seasoned lobbyists as Jon Sasser (Washoe Legal Services), Jan Gilbert (Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada), and Bobby Gang (Nevada Women's Lobby).

The representatives of the poor flexed their muscles during the 1993 legislature session when Governor Bob Miller's Nevada Independence Project was shot down.[88] These proposals had included client control's in relation to school attendance and other matters. Between the 1995 and 1997 legislative sessions welfare policy was agreed to by "a select task force which included representatives of advocacy organizations, state and local government agencies, and nonprofit groups."[89] It was this inclusive approach that produced the crucial *1997* package that combined a strong emphasis on job training and placement with some restraint on social control and a policy of continuing benefits for qualified legal immigrants.[90] In 1997 Nevada had few options concerning many key aspects of welfare policy given the specificity of the federal Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. The state approved significant investment in employment and training opportunities, in support services such as child care, and in improved case management. The fifty states would become far more similar regarding cash welfare than ever before as a result of the 1996 federal initiative and the efforts of the state governments that foreshadowed those changes in national law.

The state's Welfare Division has received federal financial bonuses and other recognition for its success in assisting the transition of welfare recipients to jobs, although its job retention rate has not been viewed so positively.[91] This program has been supported enthusiastically not only by Democratic Governor Bob Miller, who advanced such welfare reform as a leader of the nation's governors and as a close associate of President William Clinton, but also by his successor, Republican Kenny Guinn.

There is no obvious antiwelfare or anti-Medicaid lobby. However, the more generalized opposition to public spending by fiscally conservative legislators and many interest groups has had a strong impact on these programs. In

Nevada a coherent lobby for restrictive policies affecting the poor is not necessary in order to pass punitive legislation. Silver State public opinion remains far less supportive of public assistance than of virtually any other state program.[92] Although a few politicians call attention to the dismal level of state payments to recipients, few advocate broader eligibility. Like Medicaid, cash public assistance is an arena in which several state bureaucrats and the governor can largely call the tune. The resultant policies appeal to most supporters of tax restraint, education, and other causes with highly mobilized constituencies. The welfare family remains neither mobilized nor popular, though the public does support better treatment of the obviously disabled and others deemed "truly needy." All of these groups depend for their political support on a small group of professional advocates within and outside state government.

Mental Health and Developmental Services

The story of Nevada's efforts since 1985 to create the necessary public mental health and developmental services for its rapidly growing population involves the conversion of exceedingly weak human service programs into ones that increasingly meet public needs.[93] Readers can review the history of the Silver State's longtime backward, institution-dominated, and centralized mental health system in Ellen Pillard's 1979 study.[94] Assemblywoman Sheila Leslie and Brian Lahren, former administrator of the Mental Hygiene and Mental Retardation Division, have documented the start-stop budgeting that alternately propelled the state's programs toward late twentieth-century national standards and forced retreats when political leaders felt the need to contain overall expenditures in response to budgetary shortfalls.[95] Lahren asserts that the state's mental health programs made substantial progress beginning in the late 1960s, this largely due to federal initiatives. Gains made in deinstitutionalization, case management, and community-based treatment were subsequently disrupted by budget cuts absorbed by the division between 1981 and 1985. As would again be demonstrated in the 1991-93 period, this unit of state government was exceptionally vulnerable to the inclinations of governors and others who looked to its nonmandated, labor-intensive programs for savings when state revenues fell or flattened out. Partly in response to the programmatic impacts of these actions and the resulting political outcry, a political sea change of major proportions eventually took place, one that would finally establish public mental health and developmental services as a relatively high priority for Nevada by the late 1990s.

It is striking that Lahren incorporates a Hulsean phrase when writing about developments in the state's mental health politics at the time when *Forty Years in the Wilderness* was published. He notes that when the legislature took a fresh and concerned approach to the division's mental health programs in 1985, "by the end of these contentious hearings it had become apparent to both

Assembly and Senate leadership that inadequate mental health services were a black eye to state government in general."[96] This black eye was the mental health component of Hulse's "state without a conscience."

The 1985 hearings, together with 1987-89 and 1989-91 legislative interim studies, again set the state on a more progressive course. As viewed by Lahren, who served as administrator of the division in that period, the years roughly from 1988 to 1991 were "the best of times for Nevada's mental health services."[97] Programs benefited from improved staffing ratios and pay, a stronger association with the University of Nevada School of Medicine, newly available medications that were more effective and less toxic, and a return to a community-based-service focus. Although the division did not before 1990 achieve overall real gains in funding in relation to the combined impacts of inflation and population growth, it was able to improve services with a more appropriate delivery system.

Beginning soon after the end of the 1991 legislative session, the division was hit by budgetary, staff, and program cutbacks that arguably represented the least defensible political decisions of the ten-year Bob Miller governorship. It took a 12 percent budget hit for 1991-93 that required it to absorb nearly half of the 270 positions cut by the entire state government in 1992.[98] This devastated the community-based-service system that had been emerging since the 1970s but also activated a statewide political constituency for mental health that may well ensure that the division and its clients will never again be singled out for such severe treatment.

By the 1997 legislative session it was evident that mental health had won a more important place in the state's priorities than ever before. The reasons included a strong reaction in the state's press—and even within the Miller administration—to the 1992 budget decisions, and an increased awareness of the effects of these actions on clients, families, and state employees. Jails had filled with untreated mentally ill persons, and the part of the homeless population that was psychotic became increasingly visible. By 1994 an impressively broad-based and politically astute statewide coalition of advocates emerged, with legislators Randolph Townsend and Jan Evans playing catalytic roles, to try to place mental health programs at or near the top of the executive and legislative agendas.[99]

Although the danger certainly existed that advocacy for mental health and developmental disability programs would be as fragmented as the support for K-12 educational reforms, recent efforts to coordinate the needed lobbying were arguably more effective in the former case. Public and private service providers, board members and other volunteers for local developmental disability programs, parents of clients, the Nevada chapters of the National Association for the Mentally Ill (NAMI), the American Civil Liberties Union of Nevada, the Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada, sheriffs and other law enforcement personnel, key legislators, and several prominent business leaders were among

those who produced the remarkable gains of 1995-99. This coalition, organized on a statewide and regional basis, fought for increased resources for inpatient and outpatient treatment that were much more than incremental, and also worked hard to minimize differences on such other matters as medical insurance coverage and the policy on involuntary commitment. This produced an exceptionally good response from both the Miller and Guinn administrations as well as from various legislators who were in a position to augment the governors' relatively generous proposed increases.

For the 1997-99 biennium alone the then titled Mental Hygiene-Mental Retardation Division's general fund appropriations grew by 35 percent and total resources committed to the division increased some 48.1 percent. Division leaders expressed confidence in 1997 that with these increases they could progress in terms of staffing, facilities, and case management needed for institutional and community-based outreach and treatment. Such optimism and political support were then severely tested after the 1998 gubernatorial election as a new governor presented his proposals to the 1999 legislature amid tight budgetary constraints and position freezes in state government. Yet the division was able to avoid substantial cuts in ongoing programs in 1998 and won Governor Kenny Guinn's support for a further 20.4 percent increase in funding for the 1999-2001 biennium.

The 1999 legislature continued its recent tendency to increase the governor's recommendation for the Division of Mental Health and Developmental Services, making the division's total gain over the previous biennium more than $45 million. This increase was more than 32.6 percent in total funds and 24.7 percent in state general funds. The impacts of advocates and supportive legislators at this session were most evident in developmental services, which benefited from an increase of more than one third in general fund support and even more in total appropriations.

Lahren compares the state's funding of mental health programs between FY 1991 and FY 1999 in terms of unadjusted dollars and as adjusted for inflation and population growth, discovering a loss in constant dollars of 13 percent.[100] He also identifies Nevada as still in the lowest quartile among the states in per capita mental health expenditures (though he does not provide the year selected for this comparison). Lahren made a strong case in 1999 that the state's programs could still be seen as a glass much less than half full.

There is substantial evidence in the *2000 Mental Health Needs Assessment*, prepared by the division, that reinforces Lahren's cautionary conclusions. Together with proud summaries of recent gains in major program components, this study suggests the huge size of remaining unmet needs and the still sizable waiting lists for both residential and outpatient adult services.[101] In addition, the division's assessment concluded that "there are many services that have continued since 1998 to be needed by our consumers."[102] This report also emphasizes the underlying reality of a state that has extraordinary needs relat-

ing to mental health and substance abuse. Regarding Washoe County, it notes, "In addition, a large number of people who are struggling to reach a self-sufficient lifestyle are also coping with crisis situations relating to dysfunctional behavioral patterns (e.g., substance abuse, physical/mental abuse, etc)."[103] It adds that Clark County has "the highest poverty and prevalence rates" in the state, indicating the greatest needs for services.[104]

My discussions in May 2000 with division administrators and various other people with large stakes in the evolution of these programs revealed that the public adult programs face great difficulties in terms of program integration and breaking with some outdated practices. In many cases the new programs have been tacked onto older ones. The linkages between inpatient and outpatient services are faulty, some facilities are antiquated, and technology is scarce. In some ways one is reminded of the struggles to transform key practices and personnel in K-12 education.

A recent federal government monitoring report addresses both the great needs and the progress made in the juvenile mental health services provided by the state's Division of Child and Family Services since 1991-92. This area suffers from the lack of mandated funding of most services, continuing gaps in state funding, and underutilized federal Medicaid dollars.[105] The new division, which integrated children's mental health with juvenile justice and child welfare, has developed a strategy of combining children's services in community settings and has sharply reduced out-of-state placements. The 1999 federal monitoring report states that the division has been innovative in such areas as early identification and intervention. But it has long been unable to provide sufficient acute care and rural services, has had waiting lists, and faces other difficulties. The 1998 opening of a sixty-eight-bed acute care hospital in Clark County is an indication of progress in that area. Although it is quite difficult to isolate the division's funding for mental health because of its integration with juvenile justice and welfare functions, it has been reported that funding of its major programs for emotionally disturbed children and adolescents almost doubled from FY 1996 to FY 2001.[106]

The state's adult and childrens' services are far from complete or adequate, and it has not yet responded adequately to judicial mandates to provide services in less restrictive community-based settings. Nevada may not yet have become even an average state in mental health and developmental services, yet these programs have gone from pariah to favored in the Executive Budget and in legislated appropriations. They have garnered a constituency with enough breadth and clout to make it likely that this favored political status will continue in the foreseeable future, and that these programs will continue to advance as public responsibilities even as additional private initiatives are explored. This is indeed a political sea change since 1991-92 that can be expected to increase national respect for these Nevada programs and further increase expectations of favorable outcomes for clients.

Prisons and Public Safety

As Nevada struggled to catch up with national standards for mental health and developmental disability programs, the rest of the country spent dearly in the past decade to approach Nevada's extraordinary rates of incarceration and spending on prisons. The Silver State's prison system, which was rather limited as late as the 1960s, expanded at a nation-leading rate during the 1970s and 1980s. Between 1980 and 1990 the number of prisoners in Nevada grew at about three times the growth rate of the state's overall population and double the national pace of incarceration increase. Then, as noted in 1997 by Robert Bayer, director of the Nevada Department of Prisons, another shift began to develop:

> From 1982-1989 Nevada ranked first among all the states in the highest incarceration rate but by 1993 had dropped to fourth position. During the last five years, although Nevada had been the fastest growing state in the nation, the incarceration rate has declined 10 percent while the national trend for both state and federal institutions was to increase during that same span of time 28 percent and 32 percent respectively.[107]

Bayer and others have pointed out that prison trends are subject to serious errors in projections as well as to dramatic shifts in policy. For Nevada, the 1995 murder of police officer Larry Johnson by a paroled prisoner appeared to reset the state on course for longer sentences served and even more prisons after the state dropped to as low as ninth in per capita incarceration rankings in the mid 1990s. It has also become much easier since 1995 to incarcerate the state's juveniles in adult prisons.

The growth of the public safety portion of Nevada's general fund appropriations, which is dominated by prison costs, inevitably placed burdens on all other state-funded programs. Public safety's share of general fund expenditures grew from 6.1 percent for the 1979-81 biennium to 9.8 percent for 1989-91, and is slated to reach 11.6 percent in 1999-2001.[108] This growth derives more from decisions to build new prisons, expand existing ones, and lengthen periods of incarceration than from choices about current operating needs. The 1999 legislature committed funds for the addition of 924 prison inmates during the 1999-2001 biennium. Despite per inmate spending maintained at nearly 30 percent below the national average, each such large increase is a claim on either increased taxes or the future general fund share of such other major state programs as Medicaid, K-12 education, the community college and university system, and mental health. It is not clear whether all legislators understand this larger picture when they vote for prison construction or ensure future prison expansion by lengthening sentences served.

In Nevada the economic desperation of rural counties interacts with local television news centered on sensationalized crime reporting to shape public opinion on crime and punishment. Elected district attorneys and sheriffs regularly mobilize the public against crime and heavily influence state sentencing

commissions. Judges are condemned for sentences deemed lenient, and candidates for office frequently seek the endorsement of police unions as well as sheriffs and district attorneys. Public opinion, the voices of victims and their relatives, and the strong presence of police and district attorney representatives at the legislature clearly intimidate almost all liberal to moderate legislators, judges, and state constitutional officers.[109] In contrast, the constituency for moderation in criminal penalties is strikingly weak. The American Civil Liberties Union of Nevada, the state's public defenders, the private defense bar, and sympathetic churches and religious groups do not yet maintain the regular presence at the legislature that is needed to match that of law enforcement organizations and restrain punitive policies. In addition, these and other groups are often forced to focus on less fundamental criminal justice battles that they have some chance to win. Thus, public policy on criminal penalties and prisons often proceeds largely unconstrained in Nevada except for the expressed concerns of some politicians, as well as of state budget and prison officials, about the financial impacts of some retributive policies.

America created a "prison-industrial complex" in the last quarter of the twentieth-century. It was created by the prison boom and ensures future growth in prisons and inmate populations in the years to come. Eric Schlosser defines this complex as

> a confluence of special interests that has given prison construction in the United States a seemingly unstoppable momentum. It is composed of politicians, both liberal and conservative, who have used the fear of crime to gain votes; impoverished rural areas where prisons have become a cornerstone of economic development; private companies that regard the roughly $35 billion spent each year on corrections not as a burden on American taxpayers but as a lucrative market; and government officials whose fiefdoms have expanded along with the inmate population.[110]

The prison boom in America and Nevada has continued in the past quarter century as crime rates and arrests moved both up and down. It was a revolution that largely ignored the preponderance of research that shows no positive correlation between over-all incarceration rates and crime rates in various states.[111] Most such studies recommend general restraint in rates of imprisonment together with severity toward carefully targeted categories of offenders. But politics and business as usual drove Nevada and the nation to levels of incarceration unknown outside the world's historic gulags and apartheid camps.[112] As of July 1,1999, Nevada's state prisons housed 9,719 men and women, a total that exceeded the numbers in various countries having ten to twenty times the total population of the Silver State.

The inmate population of the nation's state and federal jails and prisons grew from 744,208 inmates in 1985 to 1.86 million by mid 1999.[113] The national incarceration rate reached 1 in 147 United States residents in 1999, a much greater percentage than the 1:218 ratio of 1990. Some states that incarcerated at barely half Nevada's rate in 1985 (e.g., Arizona) had caught up to the Silver State by the late 1990s. This occurred despite the fact that Nevada continued to increase

its inmate population at a rate exceeding its growth in total population. In 1997 Nevada incarcerated at a rate of 517 per 100,000 residents, ranking it seventh in the country. The state maintained extraordinarily high incarceration rates for African-American men, and the imprisonment of women grew faster than for men in recent decades.[114] At this writing Nevada remains a national leader for rate of incarceration but has much more company at the front of the pack than it did twenty years ago.

Nevada has made decisions since 1985 that alternate between intensifying and moderating its policies regarding criminal penalties, time served, granting of parole, and other elements that help determine incarceration rates. In 1997 its average prison term served, 34.6 months, was almost 7 months longer than the national average.[115] But during that year its state government, taking the advice of Robert Baker, director of the Department of Prisons, turned down considerable federal funding under the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, resources meant to help states build additional prison and jail facilities. Bayer convinced the governor and key legislators that the federal legislation's requirements for certain new court commitments and higher percentages of sentences served would not benefit Nevada's prison budget or its prison security.[116] As a result, Nevada did not join the twenty-seven states that received additional federal support under the 1994 act, grants reserved for "truth-in-sentencing-states."[117] These decisions slowed Nevada's rate of increase in incarceration and reduced the resources available for new prison construction. With truth-in-sentencing policies in place, and criminal penalties hardened, a group of mostly southern states passed Nevada in rate of incarceration in the late 1990s. Such nearby states as Arizona and California drew closer to the Silver State in this regard.[118] Nevada's use of incarceration was no longer extraordinary in comparison with other states, though its effort to imprison "on the cheap" in terms of per inmate spending continued to be exceptional.

Conclusion

A strong pattern of public policy convergence has occurred since about 1985, one that has left Nevada a far less unusual state than before. The nation has increasingly emulated certain "southern" patterns of public policy that long characterized Nevada as well as many states of the Old Confederacy. These tendencies, which include high rates of imprisonment and low levels of public assistance, are lately becoming more characteristic of the Sunbelt states that extend from Florida to California. Nevada, in turn, has used its average overall tax revenues to accelerate the building of a highly respectable (if still incomplete) system of higher education and set itself on a course to meet some of its most pressing needs regarding mental health and developmental disability. Reinforcing the case that Nevada is becoming a more typical state are the find-

The changes described in this study reflect the ability of the state's leading politicians and civil servants to learn and grow. Adaptation requires both new political blood and the ability of a state's old guard and economic elites to adjust to new competitive and other needs. Nevada has recently secured some important new blood in its legislature, and it has developed some astute leaders in its administrative agencies. Governor Guinn is taking a more active part in governmental and public policy reform as compared with most of his predecessors. Even before term limits entered the picture, new legislators, particularly the liberal-to-moderate Democrats in the assembly, have assumed significant power rather quickly. In turn, they have had to compromise with some surprisingly adaptable old hands in both houses.

The extent of adaptation by the Silver State's leaders and activists is reflected in the major programs adopted and the decisions deferred to the new century. The major recent decisions in educational policy included the costly addition of new teachers for the lower grades and the acceptance of an emphasis on research in higher education. Nevada's government also decided to try to keep up with, and even stimulate, increased enrollment at its community colleges and universities, and acted to offer a more progressive and enlarged mix of inpatient and outpatient services in its public mental health programs.

These advances have been paid for in part by incremental tax increases and by further restricting public assistance and Medicaid payments to poor residents as well as to care-providing organizations. The state has also contained costs by failing to improve significantly the levels of compensation and professionalization in elementary and secondary education.

As to unfinished business, politically active Nevadans must fully understand that the future of their economy, as well as the provision of maximum individual opportunities, increasingly depends on K-12 as well as on higher education. Perhaps Nevada does not need to create its own Silicon Valley, but it certainly needs to attract various industries other than gaming, mining, financial services, and warehousing if it is to achieve its own goals for economic diversification, offer the range of jobs and careers that will satisfy its residents, and further stabilize its revenues.

The future of the Silver State also depends greatly on its willingness to align its tax policies with its aspirations and to continue to expand its economic, social, and cultural horizons. Although the Price Waterhouse study indicated in 1988 that a structural deficit existed, it was the weakness of the revenue stream at the close of the 1990s, a time of explosive population growth and great prosperity, that forced state leaders to begin to re-evaluate taxes and spending after the 1999 legislative session. Existing legal constraints, the enormous power of business interests, and an aging electorate make increased taxes problematic. Yet ways must be found to at least partly close the gap between the costs of meeting the exploding demands for key services and the shortfalls in currently anticipated revenues.

NOTES

[1]Andrei Sakharov, *Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968).

[2]"Nevada's Poor Health Profile", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, Nevada Living Section, 23 April 1999, 99; Nevada Division of Mental Health and Developmental Services, *2000 Mental Health Needs Assessment*, Carson City, 2000.

[3]James Rosenau, *The Study of Adaptation: Essays on the Analysis of World Politics* (New York: Nichols Publishing, 1981); Eugene Moering, *Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930-1970* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989).

[4]Gilman M. Ostrander, *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough 1859-1964* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966); Elizabeth Raymond, *George Wingfield: Owner and Operator of Nevada* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1993); Wilbur Shepperson, *Mirage-Land: Images of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992).

[5]John F. Galliher and John R. Cross, *Morals Legislation Without Morality: The Case of Nevada* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983).

[6]Ostrander, *op. cit.*

[7]A. Costadina Titus, *Bombs in the Backyard: Atomic Testing and American Politics* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986).

[8]Ed Reid and Ovid Demaris, *The Green Felt Jungle* (New York: Trident Press, 1963).

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

[10]Robert D. Ebel, ed., *A Fiscal Agenda for Nevada: Revenue Options for State and Local Governments in the 1990s* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1990).

[11]Hulse, *op. cit.*, 112.

[12]Ebel, *op. cit.*, 11.

[13]*Ibid*, 4-5.

[14]*Ibid*, 125.

[15]Bill O'Driscoll, "Guinn Vows Another Look at 1981 Tax Shift", *Reno Gazette- Journal*, 26 January 1999, A1; Kenny C. Guinn, *State of the State Address*, 18 January 1999, Carson City.

[16]The Economist, *The World in 2000* (London, 32).

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

[18]Nevada Democrats took back the Nevada Senate in 1990 for one session only. During the 1991 session they were able to dominate the redistricting process.

[19]"Nevada Still Fastest-Growing", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 29 December 1999, 1C.

[20]Hulse, *op.cit.*; Moehring, *op.cit.*

[21]Moehring, *ibid*, 12-18, 211-222.

[22]Jerome H. Skolnick, *House of Cards: The Legalization and Control of Casino Gambling* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978).

[23]"Nevada and Other States Find Financial Shape Good", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 8 December 1997.

[24]"State Budgets", *The Economist*, 23 January 1999, 25; Michael Janofsky, "States Continuing in Robust Fiscal Shape," *New York Times*, 31 December 1998, A11.

[25]Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Legislative Fiscal Report, 69th Nevada Legislature* (Carson City, 1997), 1.

[26]Nevada Department of Administration. *General Fund Long-Range Forecast* (Carson City, 2000), 8-9.

[27]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1999, 319, 332.

[28]The 1999 Nevada Legislature also created a bill sponsored by the late Jan Evans that created an Office of Financial Analysis and Planning within the Legislative Counsel Bureau as well as a Task Force for Financial Analysis appointed by the Speaker, Senate Majority Leader, and the governor. The Task Force is charged with developing long-term forecasts and recommendations concerning future state revenues.

[29]Kenny Guinn, "Budget Talk Must Await Fiscal Review", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 8 March 2000, 9A.

[30]"Guinn Urges End to Trend to Spend", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 15 March 2000, 7C.

[31]Jennifer Crowe, "Guinn Paints Gloomy Budget Picture", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 5 May 2000, IC; Nevada Department of Administration, *op. cit.*

[32]Moehring, *op. cit.*, 223-29.

[33]Such advantages are difficult to explain. Perhaps the experience of chaos in campus leadership in Reno in the 1950s and further instability there in the 1970s set UNR on a course for ultra-stable leadership after 1977-78.

[34]David Smith, *Overview of Nevada School Accountability System and Review of School Year 1997-98 Reporting* (Carson City: Nevada Department of Education, January 2000), 38.

[35]Kent Halstead, *State Profiles: Financing Public Higher Education, 1978 to 1997 Trend Data* (Washington, D.C.: Research Associates of Washington, September 1997), 58.

[36]Nevada Department of Administration, *op. cit.*, 41.

[37]Kent Halstead, *State Profiles: Financing Public Higher Education, 1997 Rankings* (Washington, D.C.: Research Associates of Washington, September 1997), 30; Halstead, *op. cit.*, 59.

[38]Nevada ranks considerably lower for overall faculty compensation than for salaries, this largely because the state is one of six that does not participate in the federal social security system. It is also notable that public university salaries are rapidly falling further behind those of major private universities. American Association of University Professors,"Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession", *Academe*, March-April 1987, 18-79, and March-April 1997, 36-88.

[39]The average UNLV academic salary was about $5,200 less than that at UNR in 1999-2000. Much of this difference is explained by the lesser seniority of the average UNLV professor. However, UNLV is ranked by the American Association of University Professors at the top of its designated category of universities while UNR is ranked towards the middle of its higher category. UCCSN community college faculty salaries in 1999-2000 were near the average for all two year colleges with ranks in 1999-2000. "The Annual Report of the Economic Status of the Profession 1999-2000," *Academe*, March-April 2000, 27, 60-61.

[40]Denise Magner, "Universities See Slight Increase in Number of Doctorates Awarded", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 26 November 1999, A18, 19.

[41]Nevada Legislative Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report*, 1999, 116.

[42]"Growth in State Spending", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 6 August 1999, A8. Such a deficit is projected by anticipating the state's growing higher education demands and relating them to resources that can be anticipated in the absence of policy changes.

[43]See the discussion on Medicaid in this study regarding the limited validity of comparisons of general fund allocations between FY 1997-99 and the following biennium, this because large transfers of reserve funds were added to the Medicaid budget for 1999-2001.

[44]Nevada Department of Administration, *op. cit.*, 38.

[45]Jennifer Crowe, "Grades Mixed to Upgrade Education", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 8 January 1999, ID; Crowe, "State Cuts May Harm Education Reform", *Reno Gazette- Journal*, 17 January 1999, IA.

[46]National Education Association, *Rankings of the States 1997* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 23, 62. For that year the National Center for Education reported that Nevada's per pupil spending was $839 below the national average of $5,923. Jennifer Crowe, "Guinn Blasts Agency Budgets", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 19 May 2000, 3A.

[47]Bill O' Driscoll, "Nevada Teacher Pay Ranks Number 15th in Nation", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 30 April 1998, ID.

[48]Nevada Department of Administration, *Nevada Statistical Abstract 1990* (Carson City, 1990).

[49]National Education Association, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[50]Benjamin Grove, "Nevada Handed Barely Passing Grades on Education", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 16 January 1998, 1D.

[51]Jennifer Crowe, "Nevada Goals", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 7. January 2000, 1.

[52]Randal Archibold, "Score on Reading Holds Steady as Connecticut Leads Gainers", *New York Times*, 5 March 1999, A12.

[53]Guinn Ready to Tackle Duplication of Services", *Reno Gazette Journal*, 17 October 1999, 4C. Although the present writer considers estimates of percentages of high school graduates proceeding directly to higher education to be "soft data" that should be treated skeptically, the very low Nevada proportions are striking.

[54]Nevada Department of Administration, *Nevada Statistical Abstract 1996, op. cit.*, 37,41,43; Washoe County School District, Testing Services, *College Entrance Exams and Advanced Placement Results, Class*

of 1996-97 (Reno: March 1998), SAT- 18 and ACT-13.

[55]Nevada has recently adjusted its methods for calculating dropout rates in order to make them, as well as the results found, fit closer to national norms.

[56]Jacques Steinberg, "A Bidding War for Teachers Spreads from Coast to Coast", *New York Times*, 7 January 2000, A1, 18.

[57]Linda Darling-Hammond, "Educating Teachers: The Academy's Greatest Failure or its Most Important Future?", *Academe*, January-February 1999, 26-33.

[58]"State of the State", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 7 January 2000, 2C; "California Ranks High on Teacher Ratings", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 16 November 1999, 4C.

[59]"Social Impact of Gambling", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 29 April 2000, 1A.

[60]Steve Smith, "Nevada Ranks No. 7 of Cities Best for Business," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 8 January 2000, 1A.

[61]"Nevada Gets Poor Grade", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 7 December 1999, 1D.

[62]Bill O'Driscoll, "Medicaid Challenges Remain Ahead for Nevada", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 1 January 2000, 19G; "Nevada's Poor Health Profile", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, Nevada Living section, 99; Warren Leary, "Child-Neglect Deaths Found Highest in South and West", *New York Times*, 6 February 1994, Y13.

[63]The allocation of tobacco settlement funds for the 1999-2001 biennium requires that about half of the funds are provided to "The Fund for a Healthy Nevada," and "The Trust Fund for Public Health". About ten percent of the total settlement funds are committed to tobacco-related programs. Nevada Legislatiure Counsel Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report*, 70th Session, 1999, 39-40. These decisions were made in the context of dismal Nevada rankings for the percentage of residents who smoke and who contract smoking-relating illnesses.

[64]U.S. Health Care Financing Administration, *1998 Data Compendium*(Baltimore, M.D., 2000), 44.

[65] *Jackpot! Campaign Finance in Nevada–The 1998 Elections* (Reno: Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada), 1999, 71.

[66]*Ibid.*, 54.

[67]Richard L. Siegel, "The Politics of Medicaid in Nevada: Program and Power", *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, 1982, No. 1, 19-20.

[68]U.S. Health Care Finance Administration, *Data on the Medicaid Program: 1979 Revised Edition* (Baltimore, MD., 1979), 77.

[69]U.S. Health Care Finance Administration, *Health Care Financing Review* (Baltimore, MD, 1992), 328, and 1999, 277.

[70]Nevada Department of Administration, *General Fund Long-Range Forecast, op. cit.*, 45.

[71]U.S. Health Care Finance Administration, *op. cit.*, 1992, 320-21.

[72]Some Nevada-specific data cited here is from unpublished reports compiled by Nevada's Division of Health Care Financing and Policy provided as information to legislative committees.

[73]119 U.S. 2176 (1999).

[74]U.S. Health Care Finance Administration, *1998 Medicaid Compendium, op. cit.*, 21.

[75]Barbara Anderson, "Nevada Hospital Costs High, But Not All Patients Are Affected", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 15 November 1998, 6E.

[76]Brendan Riley, "Report Shows Nevada Hospital Revenues Dropping by $8 Million", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 7 October 1997, 2B.

[77]"Governor's New Task Force", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 14 July 1996, 6C.

[78]Elmer Rusco, "Welfare in Nevada: The Great Anomaly", *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, 1980, 1, 19.

[79]The Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled was made available to Nevadans only when the federal government accepted full responsibility for the program's base funding as part of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) in 1974.

[80]U.S. Health Care Financing Administration, *Health Care Financing Review, op. cit.*, 1986, Table 4.2.

[81]"Citing Drops in Welfare Rolls, Clinton to Seek Further Cuts", *New York Times*, 25 January 1999, A12.

[82]*Ibid.*

[83]Nevada State Welfare Division, *Welfare Reform Quarterly Information*, 24 January 2000.

[84]Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report*, 1999, 181.

[85]*Ibid*, 1989, 140.

[86]"Nevada Welfare Cases Down 46 Percent Since 1995", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 22 January 1999, 6A.

[87]Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report, op. cit.*, 1995, 133.

[88]*Ibid*, 1997, 141.

[81]"Citing Drops in Welfare Rolls, Clinton to Seek Further Cuts", *New York Times*, 25 January *1999*, A12.

[82]*Ibid.*

[83]Nevada State Welfare Division, *Welfare Reform Quarterly Information*, 24 January 2000.

[84]Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report*, 1999, 181.

[85]*Ibid*, 1989, P. 140.

[86]"Nevada Welfare Cases Down 46 Percent Since 1995", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 22 January 1999, 6A.

[87]Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report, op. cit.*, 1995, 133.

[88]*Ibid.*, 1997, 141

[89]The Nevada Legislature did approve screening of all applicants for domestic violence and for testing on an "as-needed basis" for drug and alcohol dependency together with follow-up services for these conditions and situations.

[90]Brendan Riley, "State Awarded $2.2 Million for Welfare Reforms", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 7 December 1999, 4C.

[91]Jill Winter, Judy Conger Calder and Grace Woo, "Public Opinion on Selected Legislative Issues", *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, No. 1, 1999, 9.

[92]In 1999 the state agency changed its name from the Division of Mental Hygiene and Mental Retardation to the Division of Mental Health and Developmental Services.

[93]Ellen Pillard, "Nevada's Treatment of the Mentally Ill, 1882-1961", *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1979, Vol. XXII, 2, 83-99.

[94]Brian Lahren, "Nevada's Mental Health System, 1960 to 1994, with Recommendations for Improvement", *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, 1995, No. 1, 30-6; Lahren, "Mental Health at the Crossroads: Isn't it Time to Ask for Directions?", *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, 1999, No. 1, 39-46; Sheila Leslie, "Developing a Public-Private Partnership Approach to Improving Nevada's Mental Health System", *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, 1997, No. 1, 12-9.

[95]Lahren, 1995, *op. cit.*, 31.

[96]*Ibid.*, 32.

[97]*Ibid.*, 33.

[98]Leslie, *op. cit.* Lahren 1999, *op. cit.*

[99]Lahren *Ibid* ,42-3.

[100]Nevada Division of Mental Health, 2000 Mental Health Needs Assessment, *op cit.*, 8-18.

[101]*Ibid.*, 38.

[102]*Ibid.*, 26.

[103]*Ibid.*, 32.

[104]Nevada Division of Child and Family Services and Division of Mental Health and Mental Retardation, *Monitoring Visit Report, November 30-December 4, 1998*,1999, 13-6.

[105]Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report*, 1999, 185.; also data supplied to the author by the Division of Child and Family Services.

[106]Robert Bayer, "Corrections Institutions and Policies", in Dennis Soden and Eric Herzik, eds., *Towards 2000: Public Policy in Nevada.* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt, 1997, 258.

[107]Nevada Department of Administration (1990). *Nevada Statistical Abstract 1990, op. cit.*, 56; Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, Nevada Legislative Appropriations Report, 1999, *op. cit.*, 13.

[108]From 1989 to January 1999 the two most powerful political figures in Nevada, Bill Raggio and Bob Miller, were both former prominent district attorneys.

[109]Eric Schlosser, "The Prison-Industrial Complex", *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 1998, 54.

[110]Ellen K. Coughlin, "Throwing Away the Key", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 26 April 1996, A8; "Go Directly to Jail", *The Economist*, 16 March 1996, Review Section, 3-4.

[111]On Studies of incarceration in Nevada see Richard L. Siegel, "Nevada's Prisons: Studies and Politics", *Nevada Public Affairs Review*, 1990, no. 1, 50-3. For cross-national comparisons see Warren Richey, "Bulging U.S. Prisons Prompt Cross-cultural Comparisons", *The Christian Science Monitor*, 26

June 1997, 1.

[112]Steve Gettinger, "U.S. Prisons Set Records; 11% of Young Black Men Jailed", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 21 April 2000, 3A.

[113]"The Case for Emptier Prisons", *The Economist*, 9 December 1999, pp. 25-6; Fox Butterfield, "More Blacks in Their 20s Have Trouble With the Law", *New York Times*, 5 October 1995, Al.

[114]Criminal Justice Institute, *Corrections Yearbook 1998*, Middletown, CT, 1998.

[115]Authors Interview with Robert Bayer, 13 March 2000.

[116]Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, Report on Grants Under the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. Washington, D.C., 30 September 1998, unpublished, 84

[117]One reason California and some other states had such rapid prison growth was the use of ballot questions to toughen criminal penalties. Nevada has not used ballot questions for significant changes in criminal penalties.

[118]"State Salaries Ahead of Other States, Behind Some Nevada Governments", *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 27 January 1999, 6A.

[119]Driggs and Goodall, *op. cit.*, 12-4; Sam Howe Verhover, "Record for Women in Washington Legislature", *New York Times*, 4 February 1999, A14.

[120]It is persuasively argued by Galliher and Cross, among others, that Nevada's severity in the use of criminal law against marijuana and "hard drug" violators was developed, at least in part, to mitigate the damage to the state's public image from its liberal policies regarding gambling, prostitution, alcohol and other "vices." See James F. Galliher and John R. Cross, *Morals Legislation Without Morality: The Case of Nevada, op. cit.*, 125.

Notes and Documents

Recollections of a Lincoln County Doctor

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY ERIC N. MOODY

Because memoirs by Nevada's early physicians—those active during the state's nineteenth and early twentieth century mining eras—are quite rare, the Nevada Historical Society is fortunate to have acquired recently a lengthy, reminiscent letter written by Willard Willis Stockham.

Stockham, who was born in Ohio in 1870 and graduated from the Medical College of Chicago in 1902, lived and practiced medicine in Lincoln County, in eastern Nevada, for a quarter of a century. He and his wife, Margaret, arrived in Pioche, a faded but still active mining town, in 1906 and remained there until 1920. Initially, he was in private practice and operated a drugstore, the Pioche Drug Company; eventually he also became county physician and medical officer. In 1918, Stockham purchased a private hospital in Pioche. He had nearly completed a sale of the building to Dr. John H. Hastings when the hospital, the only one in Lincoln County, was destroyed by fire in October 1919. The following January, the Stockhams, whose household now included a young daughter, relocated to the nearby railroad town of Caliente, where they lived, on and off, for a dozen years. During most of that time, he was employed as a physician and surgeon by the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1932 he retired and the family moved to southern California.

It was from his home in Pasadena in 1946, that Stockham composed the present letter to Harold H. Bennett, whom he had known during his years in Pioche, and who was then living in New York City. Painstakingly typewritten by the physically infirm, though still good-humored old doctor, the detailed and colorful communication discusses former residents of Pioche, Stockham's life and career in Nevada, and, most poignantly, his own courageous battle with a host of debilitating medical problems.

Willard Stockham's letter is presented here just as it was written. Typographical errors and misspellings have occasionally been indicated where they affect

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readability but are not corrected in the text, and some additional information has been supplied in notes.

655 Magnolia Ave.
Pasadena 5 Calif
March 15 1946

Mr. H. H. Bennett
Harvard Club
New York N.Y.

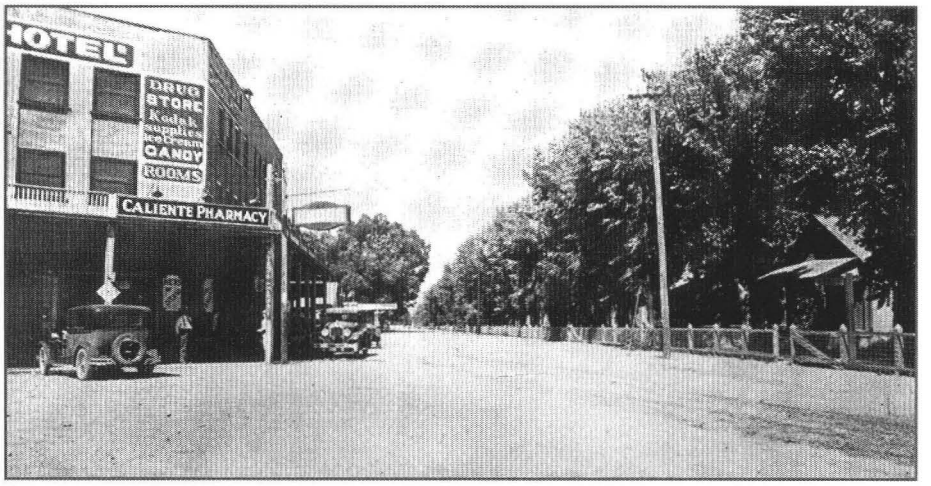
Dear Mr. Bennett:

It was indeed a surprise to receive a letter from you after all these years. Have thought of you a lot and have wondered what ever became of you but never a word did I hear until a letter came from Mrs. Lindsey of Marshalltown, Iowa telling me that you had been staying at their home and that I would probably receive a letter from you as you seemed rather anxious to hear something concerning the old town. Well I am not the best informed as we left there about 26 years ago but I do know a few things so lets fill up our pipes lean back in our easy rockers and as the lights burn low lets take a stroll down memory's lane, visit a few of the places we would like to hear about but lets not forget our dust mops for the dust of time has been gathering for some 40 years. Hope this will be as interesting to you as it will be pleasurable to me for I know that in my digging and scratching around will uncover many things that I though[t] was burried forever.

Perhaps a good starting point would be from the doctors hitching post. You remember Old Dr. Campbell[1] the one arm doctor. When you were there he was physically a husky man. But he amputated a squaws breast and the only pay he ever received was a nasty infection and the loss of his left arm. Game to the last he remained in practice until his death about 1919. His wife died last year . . . Dr. T.O. Duckworth[2] located there in 1907. He was quite a surgeon and could have made good had he kept his mouth shut and played fair. Both of which he could not do. I bought him out in 1916 and he moved to Salt Lake City. I met him in that city in 1919 and he told me he had become very wealthy and was beginning to take life easy. He looked very prosperous and when I asked for the secret for his fabulous wealth he said "Doctor I have begged, borrowed yes and stolen every dollar I could get in this world even selling my watch and my car for a few more dollars that I could buy stock in The Cook Oil Syndicate of Fort Worth Texas. Ye Gods. I had visited that syndicate in Fort Worth just two weeks previously and decided the only way I could ever have

any of that stock was to have someone make me a free will offering. Well you know the rest in The Books You Have Read. Poor Cuss. He lost every one of those dollars he had begged and borrowed. Well that feeling of GREATNESS soon faded. He resumed practice and in desperation did a lot of things the law says you shall not do. He was always in a squabble with the law and in 1931 the medical board revoked his license and he was DONE. He had nothing and now could do nothing. After brooding few weeks he told his wife one Sunday morning he would go to the office and do a little book work. Mrs. D soon discovered he had left his watch at home and as he had never done this before she took it down to him. As she opened the door she found him stretch[ed] out on a davenport breathing his final and last breaths. Mrs. D. is now living in Los Angeles.

Think perhaps you will remember that in the afternoon of one of the closing days of the last month of the year 1906 another unobtrusive sort of a fellow and his pretty young wife unloaded from one of the Denton four horse carryalls and parked their baggage at the Price House for an indefinite stay. His name was Stockham. He was a benedict and life was rosy as they strolled through the streets and aves of the city. They soon spotted an old shack where they were quickly located as snug as a bug in a rug and the practices of medicine and surgery began at once. Before the end of the winter they had establish[ed] the Pioche Drug Co and had it in operation and it has continued through the years. As the years went by and the metal markets changed the old town was first prosperous and in a short time was away down in the dumps because the metal market had gone glimmering. Nothing of any importance appeared on the horizon until November 30th 1914 when a baby girl was born who has since grown into a fine young woman. a few more years went by all uneventful —they might as well slept the entire time. In 1919 a Dr. Hastings[3] came along and mercifully bought them out. The new doctor was even more unobtrusive more modest than Stockham but he though[t] he saw something worth while, but he kept his mouth shut and just sawed wood. Now after 26 years of hard work he too sold out last month and started on a trek for California taking with him as traveling companions his car, his wife and $100,000. Stockham moved to that rag dump town by the side of the road known as Caliente. It sure was rags back in 1906, as many tents as there were buildings. It sure was a conglomeration of rubble looking as though it had been kicked off a fast moving train when you had to pass through the places. Since then the RR has become a part of the Union Pacific System. They built a $150,000 hotel and depot and a few years later a $75,000 RR clubhouse having about 30 or 40 sleeping rooms. Dr. Smith[4], there when you were, built a 30-room hotel s-o-o most of those who sleep now can find place[s] to crash their boots to the floor when they think its time to "crawl in". This town has progressed at a snails pace and now is the only incorporated city in the County— about 1600 people. This Dr.



Street scene of Caliente, Nevada. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

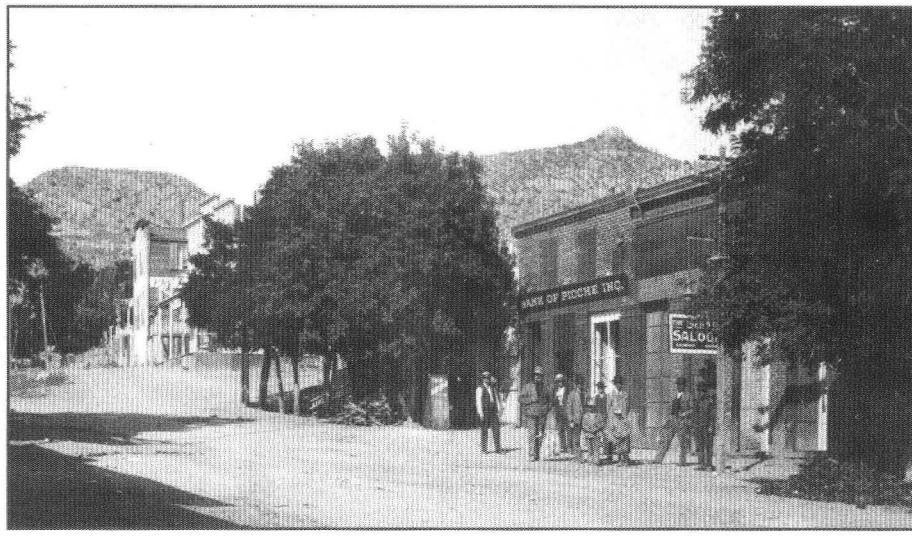
Stockham was hired to operate the Caliente Drug Co., was soon appointed RR surgeon and had a growing general practice. All went well until 1922 when bingo a reoccurance of an old gall bladder trouble sent him quickly to a Los Angeles hospital where an attempt to remove that long troublesome gall bladder was made. They never knew how much they scraped out as it was completely "rotten" but he was put to bed where for two weeks [he] made wonderful progress when bingo No. 2, another pain became rampant in its savage attack and for more than a week he did not know how, which, when or where he was. He soon found, however, that a thrombus had formed in the artery of the right leg. That the fore leg had died and that the leg had been amputated leaving a nine-inch stub. He was soon on the table again for removal of appendix. Healed slowly but after 7 1/2 months was allowed to go home and go to work. He carried on very well but was slowed up considerably and in 1925, feeling rheumatic pains occasionally was again on the train for LA where removal of tonsils had been advised. This proved to be a huge frost with no beneficial results. He was becoming a guinea pig for experimenters. A harder attack of rheumatism sent him to a Salt Lake City hospital in 1927. There another racketeer convinced him all his troubles were caused from his teeth and proceeded to extract 24 good masticators. If the tonsil operation was a frost this last affair was a genuine freeze out and has been bothering ever since. From that saintly town he was hied away to Hot Springs Ark where after 30 days he was recalled by the RR Company before he could learn the value of those wonderful springs. Arriving home he went into the old shoe with the other kids, closed and locked the door from the inside and declared that his itinerant traveling searching for something to give him relief did not exist. A few days later the Chief Surgeon of the UP System dropped in for a chat, a check up and an inventory. As he sat back in his easy chair, puffing away at his

cigar this is the story he heard: At 11 years had a hard attack of typhoid fever. Another attack at 23. A lingering attack of smallpox at 30. A desperately severe attack of jaundice at 34 and 20 years fighting, fighting a cruelly behaved and over worked gall bladder. They had finally lost the gall bladder, then lost the appendix then the right leg next the tonsils, then the teeth, then most of his hair, then part of his disposition and lastly all of his money. He nearly swallowed his cigar as he jumped to his feet and bellowed out "You'[v]e got atrophic arthritis and you will never be cured". I agree exclaimed the doctor and would like to be relieved. "You may go in 6 months" exclaimed the grouch and ats all again. Now Harrold lets rest and get clean brooms cause the dust continues to settle.

John Ewing always a peace officer born and always lived in Pioche lost his wife in 1915 was a lonely, unhappy man for two years then ended it all with a gun. Found dead in sheriffs office gun in his hand. His family – 3 boys — two dead the youngest a carpenter in Pioche.

Jim Nesbit[t] a saloon and storekeeper dropped dead in front of his store about 1916. The family soon scattered but think most are now in California. The old home is now another of the has beens going into ruin and decay from non use. There are many of these and the number continues to grow in the old town.

About 1915 we had rather a disasterius fire originating in the rear of the only barbershop in town. It was next to the Angelo Clark saloon. I was on[e] of the first to see the smoke and the first to attach myself to a firehose wagon. We soon had two streams of water flying toward the blaze when Lo' the nozzle plugged. We quickly took it off finding a small stone in the nozzle. The same experience with stream No. 2. We tried it again with same results. Guessing what the trouble was we took off the hose and turned on water full force. The spatter of small rocks was like the rat a tat tat of several machine guns. The hydrant was soon cleaned and hose attached but all too late 20 streams could not have checked that inferno. After the smoke of destruction had cleared away only a few smouldering and steaming fragments of the following buildings remained to mark the spots where stood the barbershop, Hotel Cecil, Angelo Clark saloon, the large general store of the A.S. Thompson Co., the XYZ saloon, the John Brown saloon and turning the corner toward the court house a garage building not then occupied. Practically nothing was saved from any of these buildings. Most of these places have been rebuilt but none of these new buildings can ever attain the vast storehouse of historical knowledge as possessed by these old buildings that went into oblivion in a few short moments. You see the kindergarten kids had unscrewed those hydrant caps and filled the hydrants with the small rocks the outcome of which so completely disrupted the old town for a long time.



Pioche, Nevada, c. 1906. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Following the fire Angelo Clark drifted about for years finally dying in Los Angeles. His son and daughter now living in L.A. His wife passed away before he left Pioche. His brother a wealthy banker has lived in Los Vegas for years.

That little sawed off nosegay Dikel[5] lost his all in the big fire bough[t] a house about 100 feet back of where his hotel was. He was living there when I left in 1920 but passed on soon thereafter. With little to do he became stouter and more curious concerning the affairs of others.

The Thompson Brothers Chas. and Frank, kept the store going until the time of the fire. Chas. rented the large brick building nearly across the street from [the] old place and started up again but w[it]hout brother Frank. Chas and wife operated the store until last year. They had both grown old and gray in their close and constant application to the business. They were eager to sell Mrs. T. wanted to devote her time to her home & church, Chas to give his entire time to operating his the only picture show in town. A happy change for both.

The big new store known as Hodges, Cook and Co., built in 1906 is still in successful operation. Hodges[6] a rather big business man soon grew tired of the lonely life in a rough mining camp and sold out to a young mining man, Bill Pitts by name, whose funeral was held in a neighboring town two days ago. Old Pat Christian passed on several years ago and his boys are now carrying on the business. Mr. Cook[7] another partner has been sleeping for at least a dozen years.

Am not particularly anxious to brush the dust from the last few years of the life of Al. Carman the Post Master and his family. I considered them one of the very fine families of the old town but I knew he was quite a bully around his home. Well for no particular reason he seemed to grow tired of the town, the people and especially of being P.M. He sold out moved to Salt Lake C, and opened a grocery store. Carried on for about 2 years then decided to quit and move back to Pioche. Mrs. Carman did not so decide and the home broke in two right there and poor old Al went back alone, but he did not find a job and after a time returned to Salt Lake only to learn his wife had divorced him and that the Al Carman home was hopelessly disrupted. Returning to his old and long time hometown – Pioche—he went to live with the very fine family the Delmues of Round Valley – 11 miles from Pioche. There he lived for several months helping do a little farm work until one morning Mrs. Delmue found him dead in bed. A sad ending to the career of a fine citizen. His brother Will passed away a few years later. Mrs. Carman made a home for herself and the two children, quickly got a job for herself in a laundry where she has worked for more than 25 years.

You must remember Harry W. Rand, from Portland Oregon. He was very busy there as a mining man, 1906-7-8 and frequent visits thereafter for many years. In a partnership with Wm. Wheatley they promoted and worked the California-Pioche on top of the summit. It after many years of working proved to be a wildcat. He next formed a partnership with Chas. Lee Horsey and by some hook or crook got possession of the Virginia-Louise mine adjoining the Prince mine. They were soon in an apex litigation with the Prince Min. Co. I being a friend of both bought $3,000 worth of stock to give them money enough to fight the battle. They won the suit and were soon in operation. He transferred his activities to Los Angeles after being divorced by Mrs. R. He visited me frequently while I was in the hospital in 1922. I learned later; the object of those visits was not my physical condition but rather to cast a spell of gloom over me regarding the Virg.-Louis[e] stock. Well it worked. I asked him to sell the stock for 15 cents. He took it and sold the same day for 12 cents spent all the money within a week, promptly took the flu and was dead and burried before I knew he was sick. Thus closeth the chapter.

Chas Lee Horsey was a successful attorney, was elected Circuit Judge of the 9th district composed of Lincoln and Clark counties. He held this one term and having become well acquainted in Las Vegas he moved to that city where he practiced until last year. Think he has quite recently been appointed Supreme Judge of the state of Nevada. He is a good man in anything pertaining to the law but his mining ventures have all been fizzles the last being in opening up a borax mine. He did sting me good and propper on this. This was a colossal fizzle.

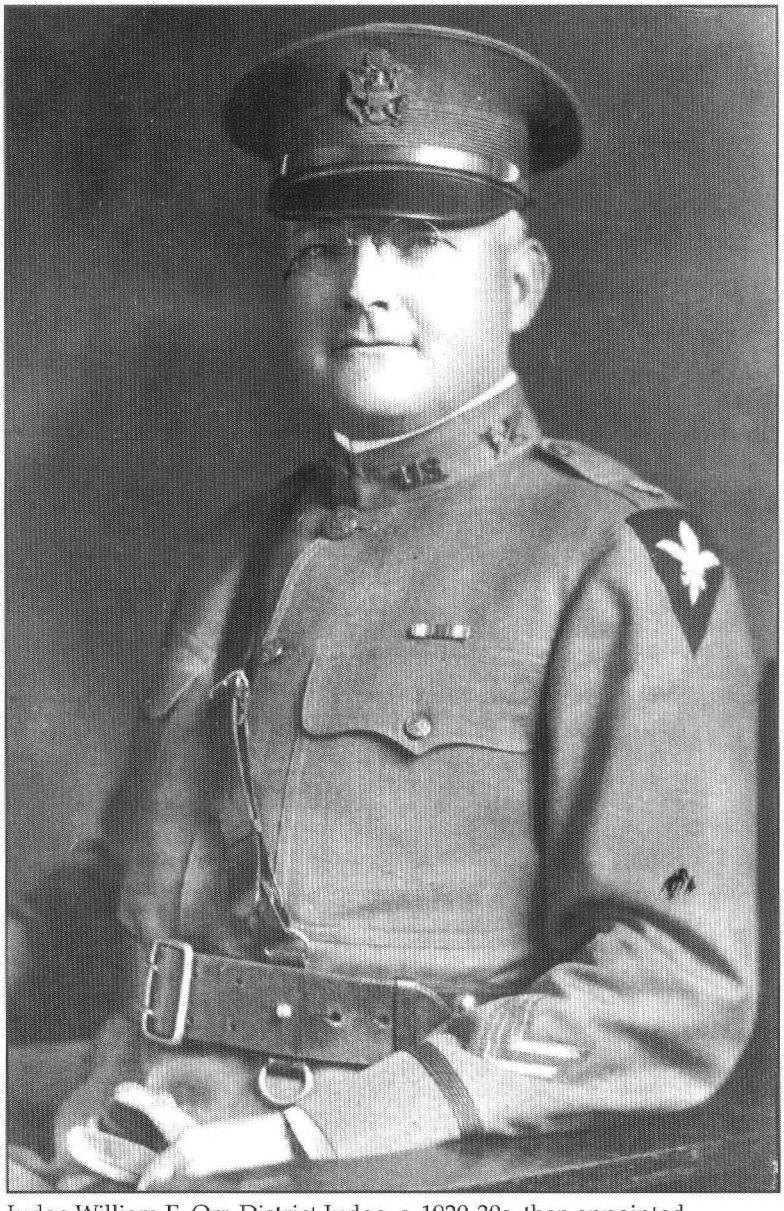
Henry Lee was for several years our banker or rather cashiere of the Bank of Pioche. He resigned to lead a more active life in the open air. He did various things for a number of years or until he was appointed Travelling Auditor of the Nevada Industrial Commission a position which he still continues to hold —a good man for the position and a good position for the man. His health is not good – was having serious eye trouble the last I heard. His brother Milton was cashier of the bank for a number of years then moved to Salt Lake City where he was a partner of a Rock Wool concern. Last year he returned to his hometown—Panace[8]—for a short visit. A sudden heart attach while there ended his days in the town of his birth. Chas. Lee, a younger brother, became a dry farmer some 35 miles from Pioche. He made a living as long as he did not eat too much.

The Swantons[9] left Pioche many years ago and I never did hear what became of them. I considered them in the Class A group and now would like to know their where-a-bouts.

Just wonder if you have forgotten W. E. Harrison A quite Class A man and one of our very particular friends. He had some claims high on top of the mountains near the town. He had a beautiful and talented daughter, a music teacher but of course could do but little in the old town so they both moved to Los Angeles where Mr. Harrison soon passed to his reward. The daughter Ruth married a merchant, now lives near Hollywood. They have a grown daughter and all continue to be our very good friends.

The Wm. Orr family were there when you cam[e] hurrying in and had been many years before. They were a Class A Morman family and their good deeds were many and are continuing to be felt throughout the state but the old man becoming tired of the monotonous life of a notorious mining camp ended it all with a gun. He left a fine progeny such as his eldest son Judge Wm. E. Orr who took Horseys place as Circuit Judge, which he held for many terms, then was appointed Supreme Judge and just recently has been appointed a federal judge. The next boy Roy has stuck by the ship and continues to live in the old town where he has quite a larg[e] garage business. The girls are in California.

The Jim Price family, operating the Price Hotel, surely must not be slighted as they belonged to that long list of honorable citizens then inhabiting the Old Town and known as The Salt of the Earth. Jim, in poor health because of miner's consumption, never able to work, could only tell the others what to do. Mrs. Price made the living in the hotel besides caring for 6 children. They have gone to rest long ago, as did the eldest daughter.



Judge William E. Orr, District Judge, c. 1920-30s, then appointed Supreme Judge and then a federal judge. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

John Roder[10], county office holder most of his life, never a friend of mine is now county auditor and recorder and has been for years. They live in the same house they did 50 years ago. The Middletons[11] were there during your time, lived out on the Point of Rocks. Both dead. — Frank Walker County Surveyor, nothing interesting.— Old Henry Wellan[d] kept store in the Rock building that had two small windows. He passed away. The family sold the s[t]ore and moved to Los A. Have located part of them today. — Suppose there are a few others there that you knew but I venture to say that there remain not 5% of the people you knew and I am sure you would not be willing to bestow upon the present generation 5% of your affections as compared with those of the long ago, for they made life endurable with their own existence.

The town flourished for a number of years. After I left in 1920 they bega[n] to build in the lower part of town, down near the cemetary. There they built a new courthouse and a number of houses. When the war broke loose and the government was sure they needed the mines of that district they built many more rather modern places – a good many of them have never been used. Main Street is now a part of the very modern highway No. 99[12], I believe which extends cornerwise across the county and joins the Las Vegas road. Since you were there have been 4 or 5 new houses built in the old town that you knew and for everyone built there have been 3 torn down.

"I should like to go back and see what the old town looks like now" you say. Wouldn't advise it and perhaps after you have read and thought over this conglomerated descriptive lingo you will not want to go back unless you buzzed through town in a fast car or flew overhead and looked down. It's a sleepy old place with all of those hustlers gone that you knew. There is a limited amount of mining but none right near town. Ed Snyder had some good claims on the Prince side. He sold a half interest to a Joplin Mo. Crowd and they built a fine mill close to the mine and it is in steady operation. The Ely Valley Mine 4 miles north west of Pioche, is now worked by John Janey[13] of New York City and I hear it has developed into a big mine. They ship their ore to the Snyder mill near the Prince. Think the Bristol mine out beyond Jack Rabbit Mine is working. Ore is trammed over the mountain to narrow gauge RR. — Wen Free[14] there in your time waited until he grew a family of boys then leased the Old Poorman Mine down below the Boston-Pioche and opened up the body of ore rich in gold. They say that Wen and all the boys have become wealthy and are still digging away.

E.C.D. Marriage the assayer remained at this post until about 1918 then moved to Caliente where he and Mr. Alquist[15] the merchant founded the Caliente Herald with Marriage as editor. He printed a very good paper for a country town and after a few years sold out to a Pioche boy, Phil Dolan and moved to Carson

City where he was appointed State Librarian a position he still holds.

Could ramble on a few hours longer but what's the use. I'll tell you of one other notable figure that helped to put the old town on the map again then a few more words about myself and I'll call it a day. Of course you remember Ed Freudenthall and his brother Herman.[16] They both continued to call the old place home until their last fatal illness. Both were away when the last call came – one in Los A. and the other in Salt Lake City. Ed continued to bring lots of money to Pioche in his various promotions but nothing has ever worked out or proven to be of any value. Against my strict orders, because of a very bad heart, he never ceased to climb hills and mountains and do other things he should not do. A bad attach sent him to hospital where he quickly passed on. Herman, dead for years and history forgotten.

I left Pioche in January 1920 intending to specialize in medicine. Was quickly hired to take charge of a drug store until a pharmacist could be located, was soon appointed RR surgeon and within 6 months was so tied up that had to stay. Losing my leg in 1922 gave up all thought of trying to better my position. Travelled most of 1924 and until May of next year when being recalled by RR Co had to hurry back and take up the work or lose the job. We decided to go back to Caliente and make it our permanent home. In 1927 had a light attack of rheumatism. The next y[e]ar it was a little worse and had to get my first assistant. As each succeeding year went by and each of five assistants proved to be most disastrous was glad to give up the work as I was then on crutches whenever I moved around. Laid down my tools Sept. 1st 1932 and the next day was in Calif. By this time that case of rheumatism had blossomed out into a well-defined case of arthritis the first such case had ever treated. The treatments did me no good – neither has any treatment been successful and the arthritis goes merrily on. Each succeeding year finds me a little worse then the year before and this has continued for 19 years. For 13 years have been unable to walk or even stand up. Hands very much deformed and both arms almost completely useless. This letter is pecked out under great difficulties – can use only the first finger of right hand on which must wear a thimble to hit the keys with – every peck means a pain either in finger, hand, arm or shoulder and occasionally all at once. We are living in the finest home we have ever owned but must keep a few guests to be able to survive. Spent a small fortune before learning that to date arthritis is incurable. We are leading an easy life and try to be happy. Enjoy good company but tire so easily I know I am not very interesting to others. Was glad to hear that you was a friend of the Lindseys. They are very fine people and would like so much to see them often but am beginning to feel that will never again travel eastward for you know that at 76 and with such a constitutional disease the sands in the hour glass of life are running low however, in every conceivable way am always trying to lessen their speed. Mrs.

Stockham has always had very good health, much better than it should be for one having so many worries and for so many years. Mildred, our daughter lives at home but works out most of the time but is much interested in the outside appearance of our old home.

It is useless to tell you there are many mistakes, grammatical errors, misspelled words and many repeats in this wee bit of a letter but kindly overlook all these deviations from the right and just remember that each mistake represents an interruption by the door bell, telephone or some member of the house or that a nights sleep has interrupted a chain of thought that do not wish to continue.

Am sure by this time you have firmly decided that I am the old pill peddler you once knew in the old mining camp and I do hope you will get as much pleasure in reading this as I have inputting it on paper. Fully intended to re-write these few pages but its raining this morning and I believe my right arm is trying to growl out the works "Don't Do It" so you must take it as is.

I will be extremely delighted if you will tell a little of your life down through the years and while you are on the subject of telling will you say something concerning the Boston Pioche Mine of Old Pioche. To me it has always been rather a mystery as it snuggled by itself up there on the side of the mountain.

Well I think we have just about gone the length of Memory Lane for the present, lets leave the rest for a later date. You ask the questions and I'll find the answers.

Sincerely, yours,

W.W. Stockham, M.D.

Notes

[1]John D. Campbell, born in 1853, received his medical training at the University of Michigan and was in Nevada by the 1890s. He was practicing medicine in Pioche as early as 1905.

[2]Theophilus O. Duckworth, graduated from American Medical College in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1905, and came to Nevada the next year. His private Duckworth Hospital in Pioche later became Stockham's hospital.

[3]John Henry Hastings, born in Missouri in 1887, received his medical degree from the Georgia College of Eclectic Medicine and Surgery in 1916. He was in Searchlight, Nevada, before coming to Pioche.

[4]John Wesley Smith, an 1895 graduate of the Denver College of Medicine, was in Caliente by 1906.

[5]Fredrick W. Dickle was proprietor of the Hotel Cecil.

[6]Ernest A. Hodges served as treasurer and manager of the company.

[7]Waddington L. Cook was president of the company.

[8]Panaca, a farming community some ten miles south of Pioche.

[9]Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Swanton. He was superintendent of the Nevada-Utah Mines and Smelters Corporation's operation at Pioche when Stockham came to town.

[10]John F. Roeder, Lincoln County Recorder, 1927-1947.

[11]Elmer and Ethel Middleton. He was a stationary engineer, operating the hoist at one of the local mines.

[12]Actually U. S. Highway 93.

[13]John Janney was a prominent Pioche mining and business figure for many years. Late in life he moved to Las Vegas, where he died in 1967.

[14]Apparently Joseph S. Free, mining engineer and mine operator.

[15]Carl Alquist, who was also proprietor of the Blue Front Mercantile Company in Caliente.

[16]Edward F. and Herman E. Freudenthal. Older brother Herman represented Lincoln County in the state senate during the 1901 and 1903 legislative sessions.

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Compiled by MARTA GONZALEZ-COLLINS

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Book Reviews

The Maverick Spirit: Building the New Nevada, edited by Richard O. Davies (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1999)

In this recent addition to the Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities, the University of Nevada Press, and editor Richard O. Davies, a professor of history at the University of Nevada, Reno, have provided biographical sketches of fourteen individuals who "have had a substantial impact upon the economic, cultural, social, and political development of the New Nevada," that is, the Nevada that has developed since World War II. The biographies, each by a different author, run from twelve to twenty pages and provide readers with an incredible wealth of information about not only their subjects, but also other prominent Nevadans of this period, including some who are covered by other chapters of the book and some who are not. Indeed, one of the great pleasures of this work is to read how a particular figure is perceived by two or more authors whose subjects cross paths on the road to forming the New Nevada.

Among the "ambitious individuals" included in the book are political figures Maude Frazier (James W. Hulse), Alan Bible (Patricia Andrew), Grant Sawyer (Jerome E. Edwards), Molly Flagg Knudtsen (Don D. Fowler), Paul Laxalt (Richard L. Spees), William Raggio (Robert E. Dickens), and Sue Wagner (Patricia Ferraro Klos), and business/community leaders Moe Dalitz (Alan Balboni), James McMillan (Gary Elliott), William Harrah (William A. Douglass), Hank Greenspun (Michael Green), and Steve Wynn (William Thompson). Rounding out the fourteen are two individuals who fit neatly into neither category: Robert Laxalt (Cheryll Glotfelty) and Jerry Tarkanian (Richard O. Davies).

The stories of these fourteen individual Nevadans are similar in many ways. Many, if not most, of them are the children or grandchildren of immigrants who came to the United States for a better life. All of them helped steer the state in one way or another through the post-World War II years into a more modern place and a place where dominance by the northern part of the state has been diminished by the rise of Las Vegas and Clark County. Although they were clearly guided by ambition, it is also clear that these fourteen did what they did in order to make Nevada into a better place, or at least into their individual visions of a better place. And, that they were able to accomplish what they did is, in no small part, due to the uniqueness of a wide-open state in which the absence of an ensconced elite allowed them to not only dream big

dreams but to achieve them.

There is much to commend this work to academic and general readers alike. For those who live in Nevada, where a large majority has been resident for less than a decade, it is woefully easy to know little about the state's history and the significant individuals who have made it what it is. The sketches provided by Davies and his authors are not only easy to read but also informative about the major events and individuals that have shaped the New Nevada. It is unlikely, for instance, that most Nevadans at the turn of this century know much about the state's transformation from the sawdust-floored gaming and whiskey saloons of 1931 to the modern day hotel-casinos that currently dot the skylines of Las Vegas and Reno. Nor are they likely to understand the roles played by giants such as Grant Sawyer, Paul Laxalt, Moe Dalitz, William Harrah, and Steve Wynn or the importance of the federal dollar investment that ultimately advanced that metamorphosis, tax dollars corralled for Nevada by Alan Bible, among others.

Although, as in any edited work of this type, the quality is variable and some chapters are better than others, all of the fourteen sketches and Davies's introduction are highly worth reading for what they tell us about the Silver State and its mutation from the Old Nevada of mining and agriculture to the New Nevada of high-rise hotel-casinos, tourism, a fledgling film industry, and attempts at economic diversification. Of particular note is the chapter on Grant Sawyer by Jerome Edwards and one on Jerry Tarkanian by editor Davies.

What separates these two sections from the others is that they provide a balanced view of their subjects, examining their successes and failures, their talents and foibles. For example, Edwards notes Sawyer's failure to control organized crime in the gaming industry when he writes that "the market forces of capitalism, more than state regulation, destroyed the mob in Nevada, and Sawyer was involved with none of it." At the same time, the author praises the "crowning glory" of Sawyer's record—his commitment to civil rights—although, even there, the record appears more mixed than Edwards conveys. Similarly, Davies notes the fact that Tarkanian furnished UNLV with important national exposure by providing a winning basketball team that garnered support for the university around the country. Yet, Davies is also mindful of and discusses the darker side of the UNLV basketball program under "Tark the Shark" and his eventual resignation after losing the support of the university's president and faculty.

Unfortunately, the other twelve chapters provide less balanced presentations of their subjects. For the most part they are entirely positive, verging on hagiography. Although there is no doubt that the articles are, indeed, accurate, it would be helpful if they, like the Edwards and Davies pieces, presented a less uncritical view of the individuals they describe. Surely all twelve of these remaining subjects fall somewhere short of sainthood, as does this reviewer. Yet, whatever faults and foibles they may have and whatever wrongs they may

have done simply go unreported or are excused. Certainly no one wants scandalmongering in works from an academic press, but at the same time, it is hoped that the New Nevada will someday bring with it a more critical academic scholarship.

Nonetheless, this book is incredibly interesting, informative, and readable. It is highly recommended for general and academic readers. Based as they are on large numbers of primary sources, including oral histories and interviews, these biographies have much to teach even the most knowledgeable among us. Indeed, the work is so enjoyable to read that it is to be hoped that Davies will soon produce *The Maverick Spirit, Part II*, and will include other notable figures in the New Nevada such as Howard Cannon, Mike O'Callaghan, Charles Russell, Patrick McCarran, Howard Hughes, Kirk Kerkorian, Mary Gojack, and any number of others. I, for one, strongly encourage him to do so.

Michael Bowers
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Las Vegas: The Social Production of an All-American City, by M. Gottdiener, Claudia C. Collins, and David R. Dickens (Oxford, England, and Malden, Mass.: Blackell Publishers, Inc., 1999)

This book represents the first in-depth analysis of modern Las Vegas from the perspective of urban sociology. The over-all theme is that the "normalization" process, reflected in part by the growing litany of complaints about traffic, crime, zoning, schools, libraries, and other services, is daily making the resort city more like other metropolitan areas. At the same time, the authors note that many American cities are becoming more like Las Vegas with their emphasis on tourism, self-advertising, and the pursuit of casino gambling. One might suggest that, as Las Vegas becomes more like other cities and they in turn become more like Las Vegas, the term *convergence* might also be used in conjunction with *normalization* to refer to this phenomenon.

In 1991, M. Gottdiener used the concept of polynucleated metropolitan regions in his insightful analysis of Orange County's postwar growth.[1] He does the same here for Las Vegas, crediting the town with becoming a multinucleated region early in its history. More specifically, he argues that Las Vegas's development can best be explained not by the traditional ecological, growth-machine, or globalization theories, but by the "socio-spatial" approach, which he and other urban sociologists have been formulating for more than a decade.

Unlike other hypotheses that overemphasize the role of the dominant business elite, this one factors in the influence of groups connected to what Henri Lefebvre has called "the second circuit of capital," real estate. While no doubt controversial, Gottidener's approach is nevertheless useful because it focuses attention on the developers and homeowners who have contributed so much to Las Vegas's recent growth. This is evident in chapter 5, which traces the history of large residential clusters such as Spring Valley, as well as master-planned communities in Green Valley and Summerlin. The interviews with Mark Fine, who played a pivotal role in developing both Green Valley and Summerlin, are revealing, as are the authors' comparisons of the two suburbs, especially their explanation of how special improvement districts (SIDs) benefited from Summerlin. Equally significant is the mediating influence of municipal government demonstrated by the city of Las Vegas's Department of Neighborhood Services. Since 1996, this agency's efforts to promote neighborhood identity by encouraging homeowners' associations to register and work with city planners and other officials on zoning and other government matters is a process that merits the attention it receives. Ten years ago, in his influential book *Magic Lands*,[2] the historian John Findlay argues that despite all of their sprawl, commercial strips, and seemingly chaotic subdivisions, western cities were just as legible as their more traditional, core-periphery counterparts in the East and Midwest. This book reinforces his thesis.

It does so by exploring a wide range of topics. For example, the authors offer the best coverage so far of the Clark County Library and School districts' building agendas and revenue sources, which are vital to understanding the political dimension of urban growth. Supplementing this are the book's demographic maps, which illustrate the uneven patterns of growth that have left many black, Hispanic, and longtime white residents behind in declining neighborhoods near downtown Las Vegas, North Las Vegas, and Henderson. These maps also reflect how recent senior arrivals and more affluent residents have flocked to the periphery. Even more ominous, their movement has lured chain grocery stores and other commercial businesses from old neighborhoods to Green Valley, Summerlin, and other communities on the urban perimeter. A similar tendency has also marked the distribution of such public amenities as new schools, libraries, and roads, prompting charges of favoritism from residents in older areas.

While the book covers a wide variety of issues relating to Las Vegas's recent development, the treatment of some important subjects is too brief. For instance, the authors correctly observe that Nevada's suicide rate is the highest in the nation, and later report that Las Vegas leads or almost leads in teen pregnancies, babies born out of wedlock, and, one might add, teen suicide, business bankruptcies, alcoholism and other dubious categories, but too little space is devoted to an analytical assessment of these problems. How much can they be attributed to affluence, and how much to the influence of a casino economy?

To their credit, the authors do answer these questions in places. Thus, with regard to Las Vegas's embarrassing high school dropout rate, Gottdiener, Collins, and Dickens properly fault the resorts for not requiring a diploma for many jobs. One might also point an accusing finger at the city's fast-food chains and other service-sector businesses that routinely appoint twenty-year-old "managers," a practice that only encourages young people to cut short their schooling, get married, and have families.

Although the text is both informative and convincing, one might quibble with a few statements. The correlation of the Strip's 1950 building boom with a national recession and the downturn of wartime industrial expansion is too simplistic. The socio-spatial assumption that "each expansionary phase came as a result of a downturn in primary-circuit investment activity in industry" (p. 21) ignores the fact that the 1950s casino boom was really a function of the undersupply of hotel rooms relative to spiraling tourist demand. And, as the authors themselves recognize, much more of this early construction money came from the underworld, the Teamsters, and other sources than from major banks and other institutions directly tied to industrial investment and the larger economy. In addition, the statement that "during the famous recession under the Eisenhower Administration in the late 1950s, casino construction in Las Vegas also increased dramatically" (p.21) is also in need of revision. The Stardust Hotel was the only major resort of that period to be built after 1957. If anything, the Eisenhower recession slowed tourism in Las Vegas. It was during the Johnson-Nixon years, when war production boomed, that Strip construction resumed in earnest with the first major resorts at Caesars Palace (1966), the International-Las Vegas Hilton (1968), and the MGM Grand (1973), among others. In a similar vein, one might also question the somewhat loose statement that "historically, Nevada has been ruled by Democrats" (p. 221). While true of the modern era, this was not the case for most of the state's earlier history.

For the most part, however, the book's problem is not accuracy but space. The authors should consider expanding this work in its next edition or writing a new companion volume that examines some issues more fully. For example, the book's section on taxation should also assess the consequences of the 1981 tax shift when Governor Bob List and state legislators reduced the property tax and made the state more dependent on the volatile sales tax. Flood control also requires more coverage than a brief mention of the problem and one sentence on the Regional Flood Control District. The authors need to discuss the process which in 1986 led to the creation of this district, one of the few instances in Las Vegas history where political fragmentation gave way to unified metropolitan action. Flood control, like highways, and school and library expansion, is significant because it reinforces the authors' normalization-convergence thesis.

Similarly, the authors' suggestion that real estate spawned the emergence of a new "civic culture" (p. 179) is another point in need of more refinement. The

authors have to account for more of the contradictions. Indeed, if Las Vegas residents have been so politically conscious, then why in a recent municipal election did only 15 percent of eligible voters cast their ballots compared to the 60 percent turnout in the state's 1994 nonpresidential contest? Such statistics cast doubt on one of the book's major contentions that casinos, while still important, exert less political influence than a decade ago. One might just as easily argue that, with the exception of the heavy-handed Sheldon Adelson, the resort industry, when led by Steve Wynn, Sig Rogich, and other formidable figures, exerts more influence upon the Bob Millers and Kenny Guinns, and even on the local politicians than do homeowners and developers. To confirm the growing power of residents, the book needs to focus more on neighborhood turnouts for City Hall rezoning debates and similar grassroots activities between elections.

These reservations, however, in no way detract from the significant contribution this volume makes to the growing literature on Las Vegas. The book goes beyond the usual resort chatter to emphasize the social production of the real city that lies beyond the glitter. The authors' findings lead to a series of judicious recommendations among them a recognition that the growing complexity of Las Vegas's social problems requires full-time officials and a unified —not politically fragmented—government. Also convincing is the view that Las Vegas needs more home rule and less state legislative meddling in the form of spending caps and other oversight measures. Taken together, these observations, along with the range of data presented and the authors' insightful policy analysis, make for an enjoyable account of America's fastest-growing metropolitan area.

Eugene P. Moehring
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

[1]M. Gottdiener and George Kephart, "The Multinucleated Metropolitan Region: A Comparative Analysis," 31-54, in *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II*, Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, eds. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991)

[2]John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 277-84.

Watchable Birds of the Great Basin, by David Lukas (Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1999)

This book serves as an excellent introduction to some of the common birds of the vast area known as the Great Basin. Since only seventy species are covered by the text (although eighty are illustrated), this book does not represent a field guide to the birds of this region, but will serve as an excellent supplement to any of the standard field guides covering western birds.

Lukas arranges the species into three general habitat types: marshes, lakes, and streamside corridors; deserts and open country; and mountains and foothills. A page is devoted to each species with an explanation of the scientific name, the identifying features of the species, comments on the species' natural history, and when and where examples may be seen. The information is concise and accurate and conveys a sense of enthusiasm which is contagious.

On the pages opposite the text are excellent photographs by Brian Small and Don Baccus. The photographs are remarkably clear and crisp, and typically show the identifying features of each species mentioned in the text. With few exceptions, the color reproduction is good. In a few instances, additional species, not covered in the text, are illustrated for comparative purposes.

Since several hundred species of birds can be found in the Great Basin, Lukas must have had a difficult time selecting the seventy included in this book. Why not include, for example, the Lark Sparrow, one of the commonest birds of the deserts and open country? Or why include the Gray Flycatcher in a book intended for beginners when this species is difficult even for a professional ornithologist to identify if the bird is netted and held in the hand? On the whole, however, the seventy species are well chosen and are characteristic of the Great Basin.

The northern, eastern, and western boundaries of the Great Basin are easily identified. The southern boundary is arguable. I agree with the description of the boundaries for this region presented by Lukas in the first paragraph of the introduction. However, the map of the Great Basin presented on the page facing the Table of Contents and on the back cover extends the southern boundary far to the south of the actual area defined by Lukas. The map shows vast regions of the Mohave Desert as being in the Great Basin including the Las Vegas Valley, all of Lake Mead, and even a part of the Lower Colorado River south of Hoover Dam. This region has its own avifauna which differs significantly from that of the Great Basin.

By writing this book, David Lukas has filled a void in the literature of the birds of the Great Basin. This vast, sparsely populated region has never been extensively studied by ornithologists. Many travelers passing through the area view it as a wasteland. A book such as this should help inform visitors and residents that the Great Basin is a vibrant set of ecosystems teeming with life. The more we know about it, the more we appreciate it.

I recommend this book to anyone who has even the slightest interest in the natural history of the Great Basin. I fully agree with Lukas when he states in the introduction, "The Great Basin offers some of the most stunning wildlife experiences in the western United States .... Those who take the time to get to know this region will be richly rewarded."

Donald H. Baepler, Executive Director
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

A Doctor's Gold Rush Journey to California, by Israel Shipman Pelton Lord (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999)

Many books on the gold rush days in California, like books on the Civil War, add little to what we already know about that period of time; however, Dr. Israel Lord's journal of his journey west in *A Doctor's Gold Rush Journey to California* gives refreshing insight into life on the trail and in the mining camps of the West. He also was well educated and had the ability to put his thoughts and opinions in writing.

In the mid nineteenth century many doctors were uneducated, but Dr. Lord was an exception. He graduated from an academy in Middleburg, New York, and studied for two years as an apprentice under a practicing doctor. This was an accepted way to gain entry to the profession as few doctors graduated from a medical school. For example, a survey of doctors practicing in 1850 eastern Tennessee revealed that only 35 of 201 had graduated from a regular medical school. Fewer graduated from an eclectic medical school that emphasized herbal medicine, and even fewer went to a homeopathic school that stressed the dilution of medicine to the point where it had no pharmacological action. In opting for regular, or allopathic, medicine, Dr. Lord was in the majority. For example, records in nineteenth-century Nevada reveal that 59.8 percent of physicians were regular, 13.5 percent were eclectic, 7.1 percent were homeopathic, and the rest were foreign graduates. (Of the 641 physicians who practiced in nineteenth-century Nevada, 311 listed their school of graduation or philosophy of practice.)

In 1842 Dr. Lord abandoned regular medicine because of its harsh remedies—blood letting and salivating, i. e., the use of mercury compounds to the point of poisoning—and became a homeopathic physician, but he wasn't completely adverse to regular medicine. He notes that cholera is controlled with laudanum (an opium compound) and other additives (p. 15). Homeopathic medicine was unscientific, but it was a viable alternative to regular medicine, which often did as much harm as good. At least treatment with homeopathic medicine did not harm the patient, which is the first precept of the Hippocratic Oath.

The first 160 pages of Dr. Lord's book detail his days on the trail to California and are steeped in diary talk—what direction they took when leaving camp, how many miles they traveled, and the sights along the way. In fairness to him, he was trying to provide an accurate description for those who followed. His diary is more interesting after he arrives in California, and it rises to the level of a journal. He then expounds on morals, his disapproval of alcohol, the life of the Indian, religion, and other items that spark his interest. His views are biased and sometimes superficial, but his powers of observation are keen. In one passage he notes that the difference between a wild Indian and a tame one is that the latter wears clothing (p. 182).

When one reads the account of the ill-fated Donner party that went to California three years before Lord's party, one is struck by the lack of making the right decision when adversity strikes. In Appendix C (p. 425) is copy of a letter that Dr. Lord wrote to his brother; it describes interpersonal problems similar to those experienced by the Donner party, demonstrating the stress from the many months on the trail to land of promise.

Dr. Lord's journal was well edited and his life well researched by Necia Dixon Liles, but there are a few omissions that would increase the value of the book. The table of contents does not list the maps or the illustrations provided in the text. Even though the illustrations don't add much to the story, they do add to our impressions of California in the nineteenth century. More important, the book suffers from a lack of medical comment and editing. The editor misses a chance to educate nonmedical people about nineteenth-century diseases. For example: What is the difference between common diarrhea and cholera? Most everyone had diarrhea in early California and it caused debilitation, but cholera caused rapid death by dehydration from loss of fluids in watery stools. What is hepartization of the lungs (p. 211)? It is a form of pneumonia. What is the difference between ague (p. 259) and remittent fever (p. 267)? They are both malaria, a disease common in early America. What does it mean to be salivated (p. 430)? It means treatment with mercurial compound to the point of marked salivation from the mouth. What is scurvy and why was it prevalent in the gold fields of California (p. 208)? Scurvy is a disease caused by the lack of vitamin C, which is found in vegetables and fruit. The disease becomes symptomatic in about four months on a diet lacking vitamin C. This means that the symptoms appeared when the poorly nourished traveler on the Overland Trail reached the Great Basin. By the time he reached California the disease was full blown. Many a doctor made a living treating miners afflicted with scurvy. This is the classic example where a lesson from history was not learned and the mistake was repeated. The prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of scurvy had been described in England in the eighteenth century by Dr. James Lind (1716-1794), physician to the Royal Naval Hospital.

One final critique of the book is that many of the diseases mentioned by Dr. Lord do not appear in the index. These minor criticisms aside, the book is a fine

addition to the lore of early America and the mass migration to California.

Anton P. Sohn
University of Nevada School of Medicine

Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin, by Gray Brechin (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999).

As one Comstock editor complained in *1875*, "The Bay City is standing with her mouth open . . . in the expectation of swallowing all the millions of the big bonanza as fast as they are taken out." Many Nevadans felt the same sense of outrage. But there was little they could do. As Gray Brechin observes, like Rome and Venice before it, San Francisco ruthlessly pursued its own interests, devouring San Mateo County's water sources, deforesting the Tahoe Basin, and threatening the lake, all in a determined effort to enthrone itself as the master of the Pacific Basin. The driving force behind San Francisco's actions was a narrow elite of merchants, industrialists, and newspaper editors who realized how the city's imperial expansion could enrich themselves and their families.

Brechin cleverly employs Lewis Mumford's "megamachine" characterization of cities as a framework for interpreting San Francisco's imperial history. The book's opening chapter, "The Pyramid of Mining," credits the bayside metropolis with possessing all five I points on Mumford's pyramid of vital urban activities: mechanization, metallurgy, militarism, and moneymaking, with mining serving as the apex. Gold profits financed construction of the Union Iron Works and other foundries that manufactured the equipment for later phases of hard rock, hydraulic, and dredge mining. It also funded the later development of an industrial belt along the Carquinez Strait capable of building not only mining and agricultural machinery, but also metal warships for foreign and American navies.

The gold and silver kings, like William Ralston, who directed their mining profits into city real estate, waged a continuing battle to secure enough water for the little peninsula to support a population of several million. Ralston, in particular, dreamed of creating "a Paris on the Pacific" with parks and elaborate landscaping. To this end, he hired Central Park designer Frederick Law Olmsted and later William Hammond Hall to devise a method for anchoring trees on the windswept sand dunes along the ocean where he and other luminaries owned real estate. But Golden Gate Park and other beautification efforts required lots of water, and magnates like Michael de Young (who also owned entire blocks on the dunes) skillfully exploited memories of the 1906 earthquake and the fires it ignited to convince voters and politicians to build a controversial aqueduct at public expense. Ultimately, the line delivered Hetch

Hetchy water not only to the metropolis but to Hillsborough, Burlingame Park, and the plutocracy's other San Mateo properties. The project was part of an even grander, though abortive, campaign to force Oakland, Alameda, and other Bay Area cities to follow Brooklyn and New York's example by consoli~ting into a greater San Francisco. From William Ralston to Michael de Young to James Phelan and William Randolph Hearst, Brechin demonstrates how the city's elite quietly manipulated Californians, Nevadans, Filipinos, Mexicans, and even American presidents to achieve its ends. Nevada readers will enjoy the sections on how California power brokers expropriated Francis Newlands' reclamation service to build an aqueduct for Los Angeles (where San Francisco's elite owned land and oil fields) rather than an irrigation system for Owens Valley farmers, how William Stewart struggled in vain to make Lake Tahoe a national park to protect it from San Francisco's water czars; how Hermann Schussler's inverted siphon for Oroville's hydraulic mines became the prototype for his engineering masterpiece on the Comstock, how Andrew Hallidie modified his woven wire for pulling Mount Davidson's ore wagons to create San Francisco's cable car system; and how Dan de Quille related Philip Deidesheimer's square-set method for bracing mines to Chicago architect Louis Sullivan's use of girders for building America's first skyscrapers.

Of course, San Francisco's imperial activities extend beyond this nation's borders to foreign lands as well. Recounting San Francisco's unofficial motto, "Gold in Peace, Iron in War" (p. 143), he traces the local media's (and particularly William Randolph Hearst's) support for the Hawaiian annexation, Woodrow Wilson's get-tough policy with Mexican reformers, and elite-sponsored civic monuments to honor veterans of the Spanish-American War, the Filipino Rebellion, and World War I. At the same time, San Francisco supported the subjugation of Mexico, the Philippines, and Japan. It gladly offered its iron works to build the nation's two-ocean, steel-armored navy, and later offered its university to build Edward Lawrence's cyclotron that helped end World War II. With these victories, San Francisco's fortunes (and those of its aristocracy) followed the flag, as America's empire marched inexorably across the Pacific Rim.

Unlike many current western historians, Brechin does not overemphasize the role of capitalism in San Francisco's emergence. Instead, he recognizes that, from ancient times to the present, cities have always been imperial. In addition, Brechin makes other important observations. For example, he correctly asserts that California's Judge Lorenzo Sawyer's famous 1884 ruling against hydraulic mining was not, as many historians insist, the first great environmental victory "in an era of free enterprise run amok," but rather a decision that "merely confirmed the rights attached to one form of real estate over another." (p. 51) Indeed, floods spawned by tons of mine debris threatened Central Valley farmlands as well as valuable properties in Sacramento and other river cities, while also preventing the War Department from moving its warships to and from the Mare Island Naval Yard. As Brechin points out, even

though hydraulic mining had to retreat from the Sierra, it quickly migrated to the more pliable Klamath and Siskiyou districts and overseas, with San Francisco's foundries still supplying the destructive equipment.

Gray Brechin has written an informative book for anyone interested in San Francisco's exploitation of Nevada and other hinterlands in its ruthless quest for empire. The book's strength lies not so much in its new revelations, but in its over-all structure, which ties a lot of familiar history into a compelling argument. Brechin's exceptional prose, illustrative maps, and wealth of visual materials further contribute to the book's appeal. In terms of explaining how one great entrepôt can transform the people, the economy, and even the biology of vast tributary regions, *Imperial San Francisco* does for its city what *Nature's Metropolis* did for Chicago.

Eugene P. Moehring
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Irrigated Eden; The Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West, by Mark Fiege, foreword by William Cronon (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999)

Irrigated Eden offers historians a new model for an old project. Like Richard White's *The Organic Machine* (1995), a book it resembles in both method and purpose, this book takes as its central proposition that the environment we find around us today, in this case in the Snake River valley of southern Idaho, is a product of both nature and culture. Simply stated, that is little more than a truism. What elevates this book to the first rank, and invites the comparison to White, is the elegant way in which Mark Fiege traces out the interrelations between the visions and energies of men and the persistent, frequently intractable characteristics of the environment in which they work. At the end of the book, when Fiege pulls together his account of the creation of the "hybrid landscape" of the valley, the reader sees the valley whole, as an intersection of geology, biology, sociology, and history. It is truly a *tour de force.*

Irrigated Eden is not exactly a narrative. A more traditional irrigation history, like James Sherow's *Watering the Valley* (1990), an account of the development of irrigation institutions along the Arkansas River from 1870 to 1950, develops an argument about the use of that river through study of the organizations and legal controversies that controlled its management. Fiege is more concerned with presenting a dense description of the way the valley as a whole works. He does not by any means neglect the human element, but he allows it to express itself in ways less concerned with legal and political action, more attuned

to the problems of work and economic relations with nature. His accounts of life along the Snake emphasize the cooperative nature of irrigation farming, revealed in things as disparate as rabbit drives and marketing cooperatives. He pays careful attention to instances of conflict over water and the difficulty of organizing the management of a system as complex as the Snake River system. He presents his observations of human activity along the river like the brush-strokes of a painter, and the picture is of irrigators working with and against the myriad forces of nature along the Snake in the early twentieth century.

The old project for which this is a new model is the history of the irrigation project. Fiege's work bears very little resemblance to the work of previous historians of irrigation in the Snake River valley like Hugh Lovin or Charles Coate. Although he offers clear accounts of the many varieties of irrigation companies, from Mormon cooperative ditches to Federal Reclamation projects, that coexist along the Snake, this is not primarily a story of water rights, dam building, drainage districts, and the like that go into traditional accounts. It is, instead, a look at the life of a watershed, a moment in both natural and human history. At all times, whether speaking of the genesis of irrigation projects, of the apportionment of the water, or of the augmentation of the resource through damming, Fiege's questions are aimed at elucidating the role of nature in shaping the outcome. He rejects the metaphor of irrigation as a giant plumbing system; the geology and the hydrology of the Snake are powers beyond the reach of men who dream of controlling that water.

The heart of the book is the discussion of modes of production, which he calls family production and industrial production, that existed side by side in the valley, each contributing its own particular elements to the creation of the landscape. Fiege calls this the human ecology of the valley. He shows how labor changed over time and in response to larger social, economic, and biological conditions: immigration restrictions, migrant labor, new farming technologies and new varieties of seed that were less vulnerable to plant disease. The chapter on the effects of the wider market on Snake River valley crops, particularly the stories of the alfalfa seed and potato crops, reveal that environmental and economic forces were as important as farmers' choices in creating the landscape. "Accident and failure" were as much a part of that creation as "planning and orderly progress." (p. 170) The book concludes with a discussion of the mythology of the irrigated landscape, "Industrial Eden" as he calls it, weaving the contrary visions of people who lived and worked there into a more or less coherent whole.

Finally the picture is rather roseate, with a soft glow of success around the edges. That probably makes it unworkable as a template for many irrigation project histories. The western landscape is littered with places where the imposition of dams and canals has scarred the landscape to the point that "hybrid" is too neutral a term to describe the result. Historians of irrigation will

continue to find legal, political, and institutional questions more central to particular projects than they appear in this book, but this book will change the way irrigation history is written . No historian henceforth will embark upon this special kind of western historical project without considering the full range of questions that Mark Fiege has asked in this landmark study.

Robert Bonner
Carleton College

Letters to the Editor

ED. NOTE: Following a review by John MacFaragher of the book *Inventing Wyatt Earp* by Allen Barra, a lively correspondence ensued. The letters are printed here as sent.

August 21, 2000

Sirs,

Regarding the review of my book *Inventing Wyatt Earp* by John Mack Faragher, I wish to take issue with the following comments:

— I don't know why Mr. Faragher applies the silly term "western history buff" to me. *Inventing Wyatt Earp* no more makes me a "western history buff" than his fine biography of Daniel Boone makes him an "eastern history buff."

— Mr. Faragher writes that "the absence of citation notes means that accepting what he presents must be largely an act of faith." In fact, it's an act of concentration; I chose not to constantly interrupt my narrative with footnotes—a peculiarly American academic practice I loathe—and instead cite sources in each chapter as I go along.

— Mr. Faragher objects to my commentary about a quoted passage that "the passage may be bogus, but the sentiment seems genuine." If Mr. Faragher had paid closer attention, he would have understood that the passage in question was from a hugely controversial book, *I Married Wyatt Earp*, which was not then fully understood to be the fraud we now know it to be. (It has since been dropped by the University of Arizona Press.) Since the book contained some genuine information from verifiable sources, I was forced to deal with that oft-quoted passage in the only manner I could, acknowledging that in this instance there was other evidence to corroborate it.

— Mr. Faragher writes that I "apparently consulted Lake's papers at the Huntington library." I didn't consult them apparently, I consulted them in person.

— He says I "consistently quote directly from Earp without ever identifying the source." This is absolutely untrue. All the Earp quotes are from Stuart Lake's *Frontier Marshal*, except where noted. I didn't think it necessary to keep pointing this out. When a quote from *Earp* appears to have been connected to Lake, I identify it as such.

— Faragher writes that Barra "wants us to understand the (Earp) story as a simple struggle for law and order." Absolutely wrong. I do contend that it was a struggle for law and order; I never said that a struggle for law and order was simple.

— Mr. Faragher contends that the heart of the problem with my book is that I do not understand "the distinction between taking sides and making an analysis." I'm afraid what Mr. Faragher really doesn't like is that after making an analysis I took a different side than his associates, Paula Mitchell Marks (*And Die In The West – The Story of The O.K. Corral Gunfight*, which Mr. Faragher calls "insightful") and Richard Maxwell Brown (*No Duty To Retreat*). "The real difference here," he writes, presumably meaning the difference between myself and Ms. Marks and Mr. Brown, "is the distinction between the historian and the antiquarian." I would rather suggest that it's the difference between a historian who checked primary sources rather than accepting secondary ones. The failure of both Ms. Marks and Mr. Brown—and Mr. Faragher, too, for that matter—to discern that Glenn Boyer's *I Married Wyatt Earp* (which I am happy to say has now been dropped by the University of Arizona Press) and Frank Waters' *The Earp Brothers of Tombstone* are fraudulent and their use of both books as primary sources has undermined the work of all three writers on this subject. If seeking out the original manuscripts in order to expose the fraud makes me an "antiquarian," then so be it.

— Mr. Faragher notes that an 1883 issue of *Harper's* characterized the Earps as "murderers," but apparently does not know that the source of the quote was John Behan, the corrupt Cochise County Sheriff and Wyatt Earp's political and romantic rival.

— He contends, against all evidence, that "the invention of Earp as champion of law and order did not begin until 1907" with Bat Masterson's profile for Hearst's *Human Life* magazine. Faragher thus ignores Earp's reputation among the leading citizens of Wichita and Dodge City, Kansas, the life long support of *Tombstone Epitaph* editor John P. Clum, the mention of Earp's cowtown exploits in *Police Gazette*, and scores of other lawmen, politicians and journalists, all recorded and documented by me. Did he simply skip the last quarter of my book?

Inexplicably, Faragher writes that my "partisanship" prevents me from acknowledging that the image (of Earp) was notably "Janus-faced." In point of fact I *did* acknowledge it; I used precisely that image in my book. I suggest instead that what he calls "partisan" is in fact my undermining of the assumptions he brought with him when he approached my book.

Sincerely,

Allen Barra
South Orange, New Jersey

P.S. Let me take this occasion to say I will be happy to debate these issues with Mr. Faragher in this or any other forum he chooses.

RESPONSE TO MR. BARRA'S LETTER FROM JOHN MACK FARAGHER

I don't want to pour salt on Allen Barra's wounds by repeating the criticisms I detailed in my review of his book *Inventing Wyatt Earp: His Life and Many Legends* (*Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* Winter 1998). Most of the points in his letter defend his use of the evidence, and they deserve comment. He claims to have cited his sources at the end of his chapters. That is not true. His endnotes comment on other sources and add additional bits of information, but they do not lead us to the source of his quotes or the source of the evidence upon which he makes his judgments. He claims to have provided corroboration for the use of the "bogus passage" from *I Married Wyatt Earp.* There is none (Barra, 114). He rejects this source and others as unreliable when he doesn't like the implications of a particular passage, but he is willing to make exceptions when it suits him (see Barra, 152 and 252 for two examples among many). As the historian, he has the burden of proof for explaining why we should accept material from sources he says are "highly fictionalized," such as the memoirs of Earp's wife or the biography of Stuart Lake (which he calls a "terrific novel"). He does not offer such proof. Instead, he quotes Lake's book and tells us that "this sounds very much like something Wyatt would say, and the way he would say it." This is typical. Criticizing Paula Mitchell Marks for relying on what she takes to be the views of Earp's sister-in-law in another suspect source,

Barra writes, "one wonders precisely how Marks knows what statements in the book were actually made by Allie Earp, since no one else does" (Barra, 283). Precisely.

John Mack Faragher
Yale University
New Haven, CT

MR. BARRA'S SEPTEMBER 25, 2000 RESPONSE TO DR. FARAGHER.

The following is my reply to the comments of John Mack Faragher regarding my book, *Inventing Wyatt Earp*: I have read and reread Mr. Faragher's comments and I am afraid I still do not understand them." I did not, as Mr. Faragher says, claim that I cited my sources at the end of the chapters, I said that I cited them their when I did not mention them in the text. I did not "claim to have provided corroboration for use of the "bogus passage from *I Married Wyatt Earp*; what I say on p.114 is that "the passage may be bogus, but the sentiment seems genuine", and then I explain why. Nor do I know what to say to Mr. Faragher's statement that I reject sources as "unreliable" when it suits me. I'm afraid Mr. Faragher will have to be more precise than simply "see pp. 152-252 for proof"; that's a lot of pages.

I fear that at least part of Mr. Faragher's confusion is the result of misreading. For example, he objects to my saying about a particular passage that "This sounds very much like something Wyatt would say, and the way that he would say it." He apparently missed the next line which reads "It also sounds very much like something Bat Masterson would say, and he did say it." The point was not to attribute the quote to Earp, but to imply that Earp's biographer, Stuart Lake, stole the quote from Masterson and attributed it to Earp.

I'd like to make a final comment on the books *I Married Wyatt Earp* and *The Earp Brothers of Tombstone* and their use by other historians sources. When I began work on *Inventing Wyatt Earp* in 1994, the extent of the fraud concocted by Glenn G. Boyer in *I Married Wyatt Earp* and Frank Waters in *Earp Brothers* wasn't fully known. All I could do at the time was imply that the works were suspect and that many of the claims made in them—and, thus, many of the conclusions reached in them by legitimate historians such as Paula Mitchell Marks and Richard Maxwell Brown—were also suspect. I think I have been vindicated on this count. I am happy to say that my public comments on Boyer's book led to investigative stories in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Salon.com*, *The Phoenix New-Times*, and *Library Journal*, and that the University of Arizona

Press has recently ceased publication of the book. As for Waters, the discovery of the first version of his manuscript, "Tombstone Travsety", has pretty much exposed what was long suspected by many researchers, namely that Waters simply made up most of the quotes attributed to Wyatt Earp's sister in law, Allie. Dr. Gary Roberts has done much to expose this hoax, which is now well documented.

Sincerely,

Allen Barra

Nevada 2001: A Photographic Odyssey

Devil's Gate, c. 1889, James H. Crockwell, photographer. In this classic image, a stagecoach and wagon team pose for the photographer in the Devil's Gate, a high-walled section of canyon on the road between Gold Hill and Silver City.

January 19 - April 28, 2001

Changing Gallery, Nevada Historical Society

Gala Exhibit Opening
Friday, January 19, 2001

5:30 to 7:30PM

A photographic survey of Nevada from 1870 to the present.
Including the photography of:

Carlton Watkins
James H. Crockwell
Al Smith
E. W. Smith
P. E. Larson
Northeast Johnson
Roy Curtis
William Cann
Oakes
Don Dondero
Eric Lauritzen
Peter Goin
William Binzer

A seven-part lecture series on photography in Nevada is planned.
Please call the Nevada Historical Society for details

The Nevada Historical Society is located at 1650 North Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada 89503.
The Museum Gallery is open Monday through Saturday, 10:00AM to 5:00PM. Admission is $2.00.
For more information please call 775 688-1191.

Nevada Historical Society Membership Information

Memberships help support the costs of special exhibitions, educational projects, and the publication of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly.* With your assistance we can continue the excellent work that the community and our visitors expect.

Benefits:

Nevada Historical Society Quarterly.
Free admission to the museum.
Free admission to the Division of Museums and History museums.
10% discount at NHS and divisional gift shops.
10% discount on the purchase of photographs.
10% discount on tours to historic sites.
Special invitations to openings and events.
Advance sales of occasional publications.

My check for membership is enclosed for:

____ Regular	$25	
____ Family	$35	
____ Student	$15	
____ Senior	$15	*(60 and over-no Quarterly)*
____ Sustaining	$50	
____ Contributing	$100	
____ Departmental Fellow	$250	*(receives publications of all divisional museums)*
____ Patron	$500	
____ Benefactor	$1000	
____ Life	$2500	
____ Regular	$1000	
Corporate		
____ Regular	$250	
____ Contributing	$500	

Contact the Nevada Historical Society at 775 688-1191 for more information.

Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

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.