

Nevada

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WINTER 2003



Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

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The Campaign Against Smoking Opium

Nevada Journalists as Agents of Social Reform, 1875-1882

DIANA L. AHMAD

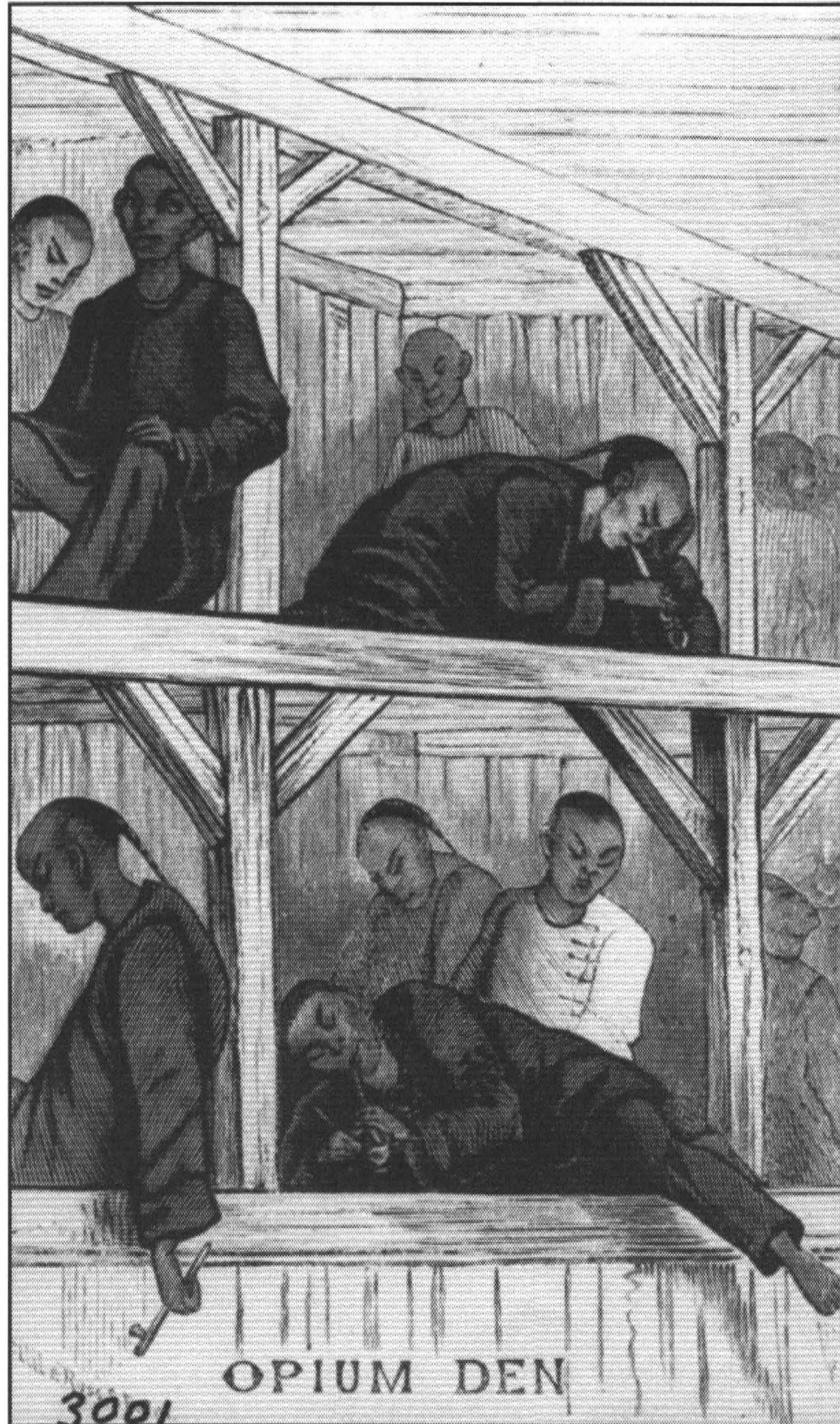
In 1879, the *Reno Evening Gazette* condemned the Chinese habit of smoking opium. Like numerous articles before in many Western newspapers, the *Gazette's* journalist decreed the habit to be a "foul cancer" and a "loathsome moral leprosy."¹ Along with his press corps colleagues, the Reno reporter took it upon himself to become a moral guardian of society by condemning the use of smoking opium. Protecting Anglo-American men and women from the alleged immorality of the narcotic became a passion for many of the West's journalists in the 1870s and the 1880s.

In 1848, the first major wave of Chinese immigrants came to the United States to participate in the California gold rush. Along with their hopes of riches, they brought with them the habit of smoking opium. Although few Chinese actually smoked the drug, the vice quickly became associated with all of them, as opium dens opened in practically every Chinatown in the West.² The Chinese established dens throughout Nevada, Montana, Texas, Wyoming, Utah, Oregon, and Idaho. The animosity of the press rose with the increasing availability of the drug. To counter the perceived problem of opium smoking, journalists campaigned for the passage of legislation to end the traffic in the narcotic. By 1877, so many dens existed in Nevada that the state legislature became the first in the nation to pass a statute banning the sale of smoking opium and the keeping of an opium den.³

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the moral system of the country's genteel classes revolved around a Victorian ideology that expected women to be attentive to their husbands' needs. American Victorians expected their nation to be better and more sophisticated than any other.⁴ In this context, journalists used their professional skills to campaign against the narcotic.

During the last four decades of the nineteenth century, hundreds of newspapers existed in the American West. Most communities possessed at least one

Diana L. Ahmad, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor of History, and University Archivist at the University of Missouri-Rolla. She specializes in History of the American West and History of the American Pacific West.



A nineteenth-century lithograph purporting to show a Chinese opium den. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

weekly or daily newspaper. One of the oldest, continuously published newspapers in the West was Virginia City, Nevada's *Territorial Enterprise*. The newspaper began in 1858 in Genoa, Nevada, moved to Carson City in 1859, and established itself permanently in Virginia City in 1860. The *Territorial Enterprise* boasted several well-known editors and reporters, including Dan DeQuille who worked for the newspaper for thirty-one years, and Samuel Clemens who worked for the newspaper in 1862 and 1863 just before changing his name to Mark Twain. Twain and DeQuille worked together during the early years of the *Territorial Enterprise*.⁵

During the first years of its publication, the *Territorial Enterprise* cleared \$1 thousand per day when Virginia City had a population of only thirty thousand, making it a larger press than any San Francisco newspaper of the same era.⁶ Although not assured of financial success, editors and reporters followed the miners to practically every boomtown in the West and set up their presses. The fledgling newspapers opened and closed as quickly as the strikes came and went. Often journalists for these newspapers were young men, such as Wells Drury who published a newspaper at the age of nineteen in Oregon and later, at age twenty-five, worked for the *Gold Hill News* under Alf Doten. Doten was the Gold Hill reporter and editor who left a detailed dairy of Nevada's social life during the last decades of nineteenth century.⁷



Alf Doten was a Gold Hill reporter and editor who left a detailed dairy of Nevada's social life during the last decades of nineteenth century. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The tasks of the journalists were defined by the era in which they wrote. From the 1830s through the 1860s, journalists began to consider themselves agents of reform, and their papers began providing information to help their readers reform government and society. During the Civil War, newspapers became vehicles of information that provided the names of relatives who had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner during the conflict. In addition, readers learned to rely on the press for information about the war, government policies, and the outcome of recent events. As a result, Americans developed the habit of reading newspapers.⁸

By the 1870s, and coincidentally at the beginning of the practice of smoking opium by the Anglo-American *demimonde*, journalists conceived of themselves as agents of moral and intellectual growth. In 1869, Richard Grant White, American author and Shakespearean scholar, wrote that the journalist's job was to speak to thousands of people and "to lay before his readers accounts of the world's doings that may be relied upon." White continued, "it is to journalism that we should be able to look for a corrective of the evils from which our society is suffering," and it is to journalists that Americans should look to find "our chastisement, our hope, and our salvation."⁹ The newspapers felt an obligation to help people decide how they should see the world and what opinions their readers should hold. Journalism, they believed, should serve as a "constant guide, a daily counselor," and as the "brain of a community."¹⁰ In other words, newspaper reporters and editorialists could use the press to encourage the progress and enlightenment they considered desirable for the United States.¹¹ Specifically, however, the reporter's job was to interest, attract attention, and "act as an appetizing tonic" for readers. The editorialist's task was to take a "decided position," tell the "truth for its own sake," and make the "assumption of authority as to forbid the suspicion that there are arguments to be urged in opposition."¹² Because of these views, late nineteenth-century journalists believed that "no literature ever was of such priceless value as the modern newspaper."¹³

With a tradition of acting as social reformers and believing that newspapers were the most valuable publication in the country, journalists felt that they had the power to protect the United States.¹⁴ Western journalists took the role of civilizing agent seriously. Some of them focused on eliminating prostitution or took up the cause of temperance, while others took on the chore of eliminating opium dens from their community's midst. The journalistic attack on the use of the narcotic began in the mid-1870s when elite and middle class Anglo-American men and women started visiting Chinatown's opium dens to partake of the product of the poppy. Calling opium vendors "barbaric Chinese brutes"¹⁵ and "soulless human reptiles,"¹⁶ reporters seemed certain the moral downfall of the United States was imminent if Americans continued using the substance.¹⁷

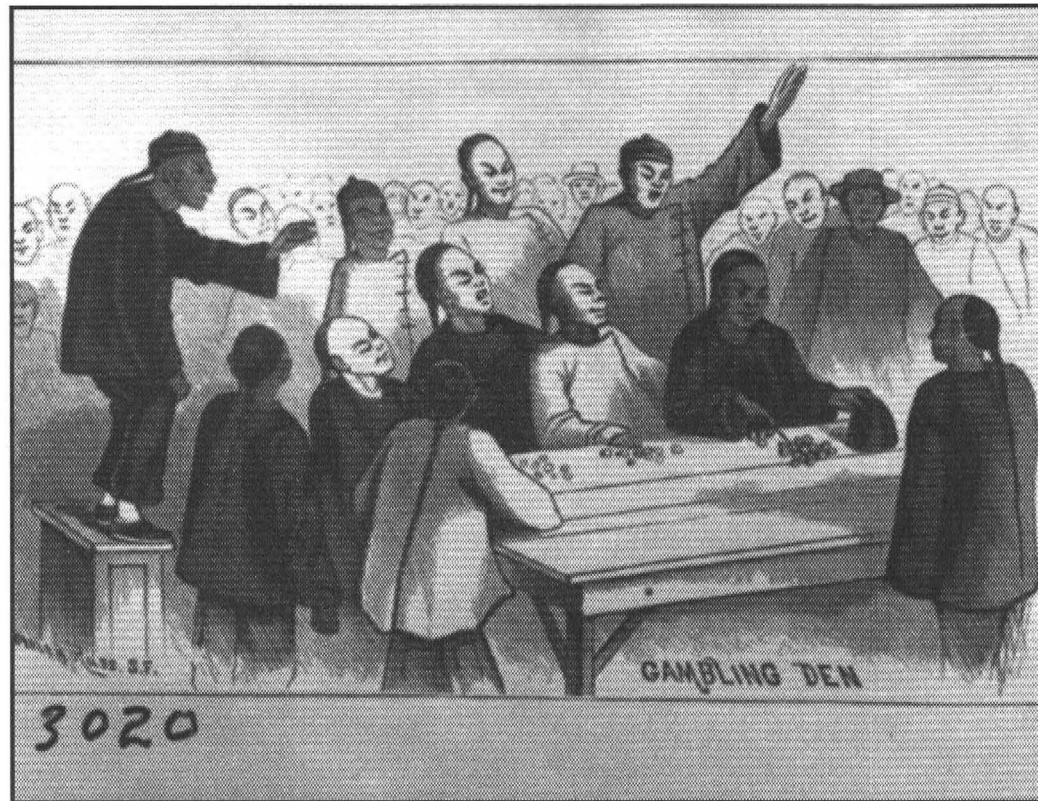
But why focus on opium smoking? What was so wrong with the substance that Nevada journalists, as well as others around the West, would attack it?

Were the attacks racially motivated or was there a perceived underlying evil to smoking opium that was so terrible journalists attacked this vice rather than crusading against prostitution, gambling, or drinking, all common features of the region?

Research conducted by nineteenth-century American physicians addressed some of these questions. Published in contemporary popular journals and magazines, the doctors' research noted one side effect of opium smoking was a heightened sexuality. According to Alonzo Calkins and Harry Hubbell Kane, the leading contemporary researchers on opium smoking, smokers were "habitually tormented with a satyriasis as abortive as it is insatiable" and that a woman's sexual appetite "sometimes approaches to frenzy" when under the influence of the narcotic.¹⁸ Armed with this information, journalists began warning their readers about the hazards of smoking opium. According to the articles, disease, loss of morality, insanity, and death could result if a person smoked opium. Journalists often chose titles for their articles on opium smoking that emphasized the evil allegedly surrounding the use of the narcotic. For example, the *Reno Evening Gazette* labeled one column "Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," while the *Tybo Weekly Sun* called its article "Asia's Deadly Drug," and the *Nevada State Journal* called its "The Death Smoke."¹⁹ Editors in Montana followed Nevada's lead, calling an article in the *Fort Benton River Press* "Demoniacal Dens: Benton the Victim of Almond-Eyed Ministers of Satan."²⁰

Whether accompanied by "nocturnal guardians of the public peace" or on their own initiative, reporters investigated the opium dens.²¹ In the newspaper columns following the visits, a reader often found directions to one of the community's dens. In Carson City, a habitué or curiosity seeker could visit a den on Nevada Street between Third and Fourth Streets or go to a Chinese washhouse in the rear of the Mint. In Virginia City, a smoker went to H Street to find the opium resort.²² Reporters outside of Nevada followed the Silver State's example and announced locations of their communities' dens. For example, in San Antonio a smoker could go to 216 Soledad Street or to 12 North Flores Street to obtain the narcotic as well as to smoke it. Other articles described the location of the dens sufficiently to allow practically anyone knowledgeable about the community to find his or her way to the den. In Cheyenne, Wyoming, a smoker could visit a den "in an alley between Ferguson and Hill Streets, south of Sixteenth," or in Fort Benton, Montana, a smoker could stop at the washhouse near the levee on Benton Street or stop at another den at Main and St. John Streets.²³ Although the addresses were probably given so readers would avoid the establishments, some people undoubtedly became intrigued enough to want to see the dens for themselves.

Western journalists carefully crafted colorful metaphors for the opium dens in their communities. Calling them "loathsome resorts of degradation," "pestilential hovels," "sinks of pollution," and "vile, pernicious dens of debauch-



A nineteenth-century lithograph showing Chinese gambling.
(Nevada Historical Society)

ery," they characterized the dens as dark and mysterious places.²⁴ Reporters claimed to have found Anglo-American smokers with "their souls wrapped in forgetfulness," "in a dreamy, semi-unconscious state, more terrible than death itself," or partaking "of a season of relaxation in fields Elysian."²⁵ They also described the smokers as "jammed promiscuously together" and claimed that they "presented an appearance of degradation [*sic*] to bring a blush of shame to the most hardened."²⁶ Journalists believed that such a situation might lead some young male smokers to find themselves "companions of harlots and leperous [*sic*] Chinese."²⁷

The editors and reporters often wrote of the alleged loss of morality that occurred in the opium dens. They especially worried, however, about the young people of their communities. In 1877, the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* commented that the Chinese "are filling the bodies and the souls of the young here with disease. They are killing self-respect in the minds of young men. They are taking away all sense of shame from the hearts of young women." Two years later, in 1879, the paper's concerns remained the same, stating that young people go to the dens "to their moral degradation and ruin."²⁸ Further, the anxiety shown in the newspapers' columns rarely altered through the many years of opium use in the West.

Worrying about the young men of the community was one thing, but Western newspapers devoted hundreds of inches of column space expressing concerns about the area's women and discussing problems they might encounter in a den. In 1883, a reporter for the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* found a white man and woman "prostrate upon the floor" of an opium den, and the reporter asked his readers "who can tell to what outrages the woman may have been sub-

jected while in such a fearful condition." The next year, a reporter for the *Ogden Daily Herald* claimed to have witnessed Chinese men enticing "little girls into their dens for immoral purposes." The journalists also warned that if such was the case, the Anglo-Americans in town would "make it tropical" (hot) for the den proprietors.²⁹ Numerous articles used such phrases as "seductive, overpowering influence," "lying about stupefied," and "lie down while smoking," to give the impression that the opium habit encouraged the sexuality commented upon in the physicians' reports.³⁰

Not limiting themselves to drawing the public's attention to the dangers of opium smoking, journalists campaigned in their columns to obtain legal sanctions against the narcotic and its users. They called upon police, city officials, and territorial or state legislatures to write laws banning the substance from their communities. In 1876, newspapers in Virginia City began calling for ordinances to suppress opium smoking. The *Territorial Enterprise* commented that even though it had called attention to the community's opium dens, the city council had not acted to pass an ordinance regulating or banning the substance. The newspaper asserted, "it is a burning shame to our civilization that there seems to be no practicable method of suppressing the nuisance."³¹ The Virginia City journalists' campaign continued and, in August 1876, the frustrated editor of the *Virginia City Evening Chronicle* complained, "it seems altogether impossible for the authorities to stop it [smoking opium] if indeed they [city council] are inclined to make any efforts in that direction."³² Other community newspapers called for anti-opium smoking laws as well, putting morality at the forefront of their demands. In 1878, the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* demanded the legal suppression of opium to keep smokers from "lying around in the most disgusting confusion, with no regard whatever for decency."³³

Taking a slightly different approach, the *Idaho Avalanche* of Silver City suggested that opium smokers be identified and boycotted. They wanted the community to know that smokers were groveling "in the lowest pools of bestial inhumanity." They suggested that if the community fathers took the newspaper's advice and identified the smokers, people would soon be able to say that "there goes a d____d opium smoker," thereby, allowing the town to ostracize the person and to show the world that opium smoking was not acceptable behavior in their community.³⁴ Reporters also believed that the process of smoking opium "carried with it more tortures of remorse than a thousand murders committed on innocent victims must" possess.³⁵ The *El Paso Times* editorialized, if people knew the consequences of opium smoking, "they would shun it as they would a rattlesnake."³⁶

In their efforts to abolish the habit, newspapers occasionally used a fire and brimstone approach to support their demands for ordinances and statutes against smoking opium. Calling itself a "moral censor," the *Reno Evening Gazette* demanded that law enforcement agencies "break up these vile resorts; arrest the Pagan vendors of the villainous stuff. Stop the traffic in men's souls,

if every heathen has got to be run into the Pacific to do it. Let us preserve our moral cleanliness at all hazards and wrench this contaminating vice from our midst."³⁷ Talking about the potential downfall of the United States due to opium smoking, the *Territorial Enterprise* claimed that the Chinese "are sowing among us vices worse than caused the decline and fall of ancient Empires" and that "the most terrible evils which Chinese immigration are bringing to this coast are not to the industries, but, through opium and lewd women, to the morals and the health of the people."³⁸ The *Helena Weekly Herald* called for public action against the narcotic stating "no evil which society has yet suffered can compare with that of opium-smoking should it once get a hold in any community. The question is, 'What are you going to do about it?'"³⁹ Even today, a reader can feel the fist-pounding, finger-shaking words of reporters on a crusade against evil.

The newspaper campaign to obtain legislation against the substance finally succeeded. On September 12, 1876, Virginia City passed the nation's first ordinance banning opium dens within its city limits. Nine months later, in June 1877, Carson City followed Virginia City's example and passed similar legislation. Within two years, other western communities, including Portland, Oregon, and Cheyenne, Wyoming, enacted similar laws in their communities. At the state or territorial level, the Nevada legislature, as noted above, passed the nation's first opium smoking statute in 1877, making it a leader in the nineteenth century's anti-drug campaign. By 1899, at least ten states and territories had followed Nevada's lead and passed anti-opium smoking statutes.⁴⁰

With the legislation in place, journalists envisioned the end of opium dens in their communities. To pursue this goal, they turned their attention from petitioning for legislation to demanding that police departments raid opium dens and arrest the culprits running the establishments. They even went so far as to suggest that better educated detectives raid the opium dens and that "raids should be made at irregular and unexpected times" in order to most effectively apprehend the violators of the ordinances.⁴¹ In Carson City, the *Morning Appeal* wanted a police officer stationed in Chinatown around the clock to apprehend transgressors.⁴² The newspaper also suggested where police might go to find opium smokers, such as the "back slums" of Carson City, where they could "make a haul of law breakers."⁴³

Once the raids began, the press expressed enthusiasm for the laws and the police's activities. The *Territorial Enterprise* announced the new ordinances "will put an end to opium smoking and opium dens provided our officers do their duty." A week later, the paper followed up and noted the raids had, indeed, begun.⁴⁴ The press sometimes took credit for providing the police with information necessary for successfully breaking up the resorts. In 1879, the *Salt Lake Tribune* claimed that its exposure of local dens resulted in a police raid.⁴⁵

When the raids were successful, the newspapers cheered that Anglo-American smokers "were rescued from the habit," or that Chinese dealers known to

sell large amounts of opium to whites had been arrested.⁴⁶ The *Portland Oregonian* suggested that young people arrested in an opium den "should take warning and in the future desist from indulging in the baneful practice of smoking opium."⁴⁷

Often, however, the hopes of the press for an opium-free community were dashed, and the press lashed out at local law enforcement agencies for not pursuing after the opium dens with more vigor. The *Reno Evening Gazette* was upset because it had called the matter of opium dens to the attention of the police, and the officers had yet to act. The article angrily expressed frustration at the lack of enforcement, stating, "Why this traffic is not suppressed is a mystery. The *Gazette* called attention to the matter some time ago, and pointed out the baleful effects of the vice." At the end of the column, a question laced with animosity toward the opium situation and the law enforcement officials was posed: "Is the opium smoking clause of our statutes a dead letter, or are the Chinese of Reno above the law?"⁴⁸ In 1879, the *Evening Gazette* found it "strange that the officers do not take some steps to enforce the law against the Pagan dealers in this living death."⁴⁹ In 1883, the *El Paso Lone Star* expressed similar frustrations noting, "the opium dens in this city are still openly running. Why does not this city council take some action in this matter?"⁵⁰ When a den reopened after a raid, newspapers sometimes campaigned to close it again. The *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman* of Boise claimed credit for a second raid on a den that had been reopened. It believed the police raided the den again only due to pressure from the press.⁵¹

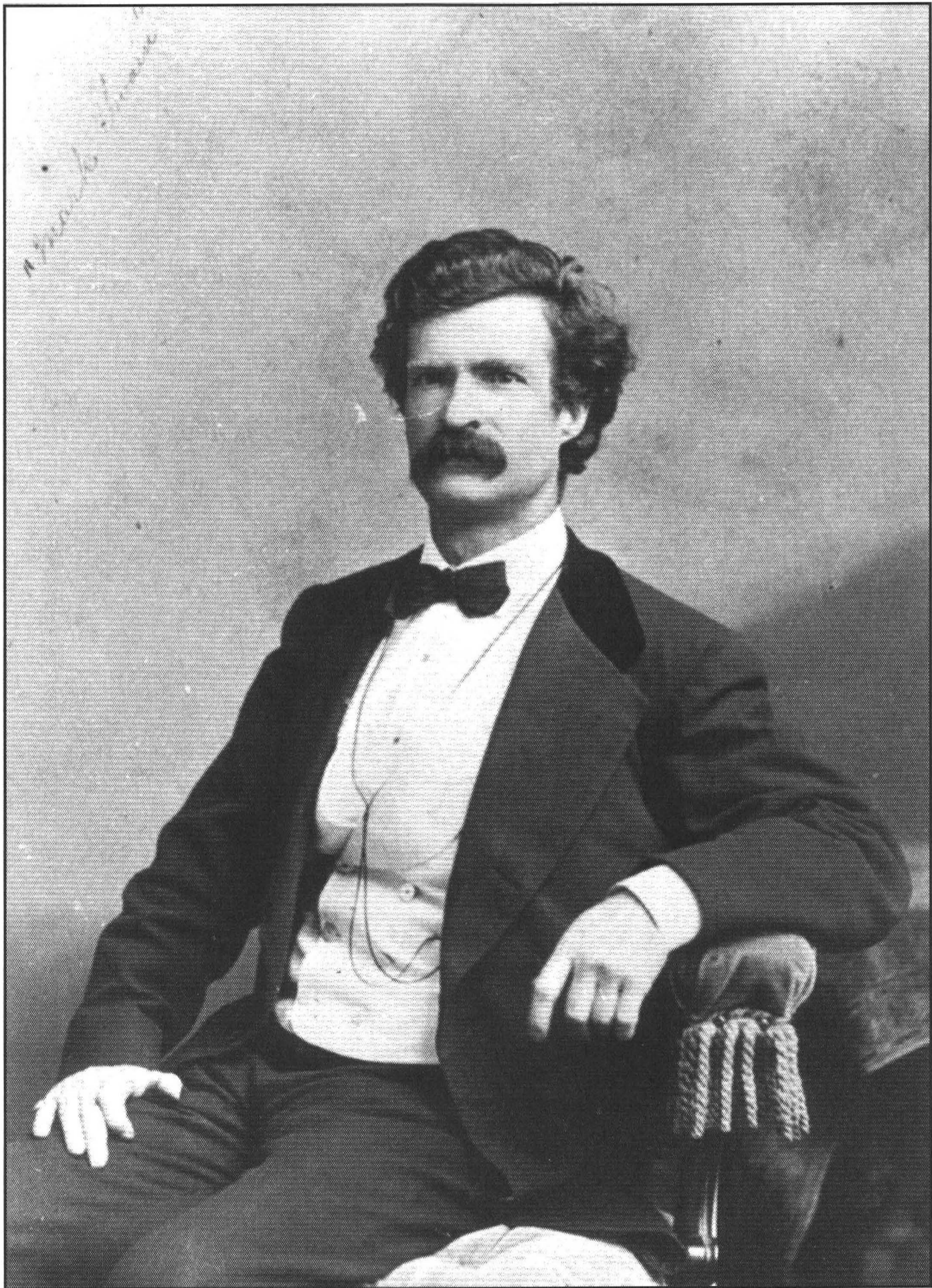
Journalists occasionally came to the defense of the beleaguered law enforcement agencies and their attempts to raid opium joints. The *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* claimed den operators learned of coming raids "through their spies," and the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted "it is almost impossible to catch" den keepers because of an early warning system developed by the Chinese community.⁵² The *Territorial Enterprise* also complained it was difficult to convict Chinese arrested for dealing in the narcotic because of the "perjury of their countrymen."⁵³

During successful raids, police arrested Chinese and Anglo-American dealers and smokers alike. For the most part, however, only Chinese den proprietors and habitués were arrested, jailed, and/or fined.⁵⁴ The police sometimes used white smokers as witnesses against the Chinese.⁵⁵ An arrest by a law enforcement agency did not guarantee jail time or even a fine for Chinese or Anglo-Americans unlucky enough to be arrested. Further, in some cases the judicial branch of the government freed those accused of running an opium den due to a lack of evidence, or a judge found that a community did not possess the authority under its charter to pass an opium smoking ordinance.⁵⁶

With the uneven success of the anti-opium smoking campaign, the press began to suggest extraordinary ways of handling the situation. In 1879, the *Reno Evening Gazette* suggested den proprietors "ought to be hung, but the law

does not admit of it."⁵⁷ In an effort to remind readers that they believed opium smoking threatened the morality and health of the community, the *Territorial Enterprise* wrote, "while we would not advise violent measures, we should not object to a peaceful but determined course outside of the strict letter of the law for the attainment of the end in view."⁵⁸ Frustration with the spread, use, and inability to enforce legislation clearly showed in the columns of Nevada and the West's newspapers.

In spite of the journalists' efforts to abolish opium dens, the reporters recognized that "even the great penalty attached to opium smoking will not deter the white habitué from satisfying his fearful appetite."⁵⁹ Despite that, the West's newspapermen remained dedicated to reminding their readers of the dangers of the narcotic, appealing to law enforcement agencies to be vigilant in their work, and faithfully reporting the arrests, trials, and convictions of those found in opium dens. The journalists continued to believe they acted as moral guardians for their communities. Their campaign to abolish the narcotic was unrelentless as well as fruitless because physical addiction to opium went beyond the newspapers' demands for laws or law enforcement. By the mid-1870s, bureaucrats and physicians joined the journalists in their demands against Chinese immigration. Smoking opium combined with Chinese labor competition and Chinese prostitution added weight to the call for Chinese exclusion. By 1882, the anti-Chinese forces succeeded with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act.⁶⁰ As with the campaign against smoking opium, Western journalists kept the debate against Chinese immigration alive in their newspapers' columns. Their desire was not to prohibit the Chinese from moving to the United States so much as attempting to keep America free from immorality.



Mark Twain. (Nevada Historical Society)

Notes

¹"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879) p. 3, col.4.

²H. H. Kane, *Opium-Smoking in America and China* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882), 2, 3, 8; Ronald M. James and C. Elizabeth Raymond, eds., *Comstock Women: The making of a Mining Community* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998) 97; Sharon Lowe, "Pipe Dreams and Reality: Opium in Comstock Society, 1860-1887," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1860-1887," 36(Fall, 1993) 178-193.

³"An Act to regulate the sale or disposal of opium, and to prohibit the keeping of places of resort for smoking, or otherwise using that drug," February 9, 1877, *Statutes of the State of Nevada*, 8th sess., 1877, 69-70.

⁴Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer 1986), 152, 174; Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1891), 44; Josiah Strong, *The Times and Young Men* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1901), 121.

⁵Dan DeQuille, *The Big Bonanza* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, n.d.; originally published by Hartford, Conn: American Publishing Company, 1876), 157, back cover page.

⁶Wells Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984; reprint of 1936 edition), 182.

⁷Robert W. Davenport, Foreword to *An Editor on the Comstock Lode*, *Ibid.*, viii-b, 3-4; Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 376.

⁸Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 40-41, 51.

⁹Richard Grant White, "The Morals and Manners of Journalism," *The Galaxy*, 8:6 (December 1869), 841, 847.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 840.

¹¹Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, 159, 161; Alexander McClure, Foreword to *Journalism: Its Relations to and Influence upon the Political, Social, Professional, Financial, and Commercial Life of the United States of America* (New York: New York Press Club, 1905), ii, iv.

¹²Augustus A. Levey, "The Newspaper Habit and Its Effects," *North American Review*, 143:358 (September 1886), 309.

¹³*Ibid.*, 308.

¹⁴Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, 171; Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 1st ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 369.

¹⁵"Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal*, (2 April 1879), p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁶"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁷Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, 171; Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 1st ed., 369.

¹⁸Alonzo Calkins, *Opium and the Opium-Appetite* (New York: Arno Press, 1981, reprint of 1871 edition), 71; H. H. Kane, "Opium Smoking: A New Form of the Opium Habit Amongst Americans," *Gaillard's Medical Journal*, 33:2 (February 1882), 112. See, also, Diana L. Ahmad, "Opium Smoking, Anti-Chinese Attitudes, and the American Medical Community, 1850-1890," *American Nineteenth Century History*, 1:2 (Summer 2000), 53-68.

¹⁹"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3; "Asia's Deadly Drug," *Tybo Weekly Sun* (3 May 1879), p. 1, col.1-2; "The Death Smoke," *Nevada State Journal* (8 August 1876), p. 1, col. 1.

²⁰"Demonic Dens: Benton the Victim of Almond-Eyed Ministers of Satan," *Fort Benton River Press* (19 January 1881), p. 8, col. 3-4.

²¹"A Ramble Through Chinatown," *Pioche [Nevada] Daily Record* (4 December 1872), p. 3, col. 3; "Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3.

²²"Arrested for Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (1 June 1879), p. 3, col. 1; "Belligerent Opium Smokers," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (21 October 1879), p. 3, col. 1; "An Opium Den Raided," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (1 April 1879), p. 3, col. 4.

23"Karber Kant Kome It," *San Antonio Express* (27 April 1883), p. 4, col. 3; "Oriental Dreamland," *Cheyenne Daily Leader* (25 August 1878), p. 4, col. 5; "Demoniacal Dens: Benton the Victim of Almond-Eyed Ministers of Satan," *Fort Benton River Press* (19 January 1881), p. 8, col. 3-4.

24"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3; "Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (2 April 1879), p. 3, col. 2; "Opium Smokers," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 March 1876), p. 2, col. 3; "Opium Dens and Their Habitues," *San Antonio Express* (17 August 1883), p. 4, col. 4.

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⁵⁰Editorial, *El Paso Lone Star* (23 May 1883), p. 2, col. 1.

⁵¹"Opium Joints Pulled," *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman* (29 August 1885,) p. 3, col. 2.

⁵²"The Opium Dens," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 April 1879), p. 3, col. 4; "The Chinese Scourge," *Salt Lake Tribune* (16 November 1879), p. 4, col. 2.

⁵³"It Should Be Stopped," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (24 November 1880), p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁴See, for example, "The Opium Cases," *Winnemucca [Nevada] Silver State* (25 October 1879,) p. 3, col. 2; "Arrested for Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (1 June 1879), p. 3, col. 1; "An Opium Den Raided," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (1 April 1879), p. 3, col. 4; *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (16 July 1880), p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁵"The Opium Dens," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 April 1879,) p. 3, col. 4.

⁵⁶"The Opium Smokers," *Winnemucca Silver State* (7 October 1879), p. 3, col. 2; "Exeunt Chinamen," *Salt Lake Tribune* (25 November 1879), p. 4, col. 4; "Justice Boreman Decides in the Case of the Park City Chinamen," *Ogden Morning Herald* (27 October 1887), p. 1, col. 1.

⁵⁷"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3.

⁵⁸"It Should Be Stopped," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (24 November 1880), p. 2, col. 3.

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⁶⁰Ahmad, "Caves of Oblivion."

Plane Politics

Lyndon Johnson, Howard Cannon, and Nevada's 1964 Senatorial Election

JOHN GILBERTSON

Nevada's 1964 November election broke new ground. For the first time, it featured Presidential campaign appearances in the state's two major cities; a hotly contested race for the U.S. Senate, complete with a first ever statewide recount, and the reelection of a maverick Democratic congressman, who survived a tough primary in which the governor supported his opponent. It also marked a sign of things to come for the Silver State. Although it remained the smallest of the states in population with an estimated 408,000 people, Nevada's rapid growth, particularly in the south, changed the state's political dynamics. Clark County was now a significant political force.

Nationally, the Civil Rights Act passed in June after an unsuccessful seventy-five day Senate filibuster, and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed it into law on July 2, ending decades of Jim Crow laws in the South. Just four days before the November 3 election, Nevada celebrated its centennial with an outpouring of pride and festivities. It was also the last year that American troops in South Vietnam would be classified as advisors. Only four months after the election, the Administration deployed America's first combat troops. When the war ended for the United States in 1973, 151 Nevadans were among the dead.

But that was in the future. In the 1964 political season, Nevada and the nation were still reeling from the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. In September of 1964 the assassination, which had occurred the previous November, was brought to the forefront again with the publication of the Warren Commission's controversial report. Amidst all of this, Nevada and the nation prepared to elect a president and the Eighty-Ninth Congress. The next four years brought to a close the era of the New Deal and Democratic dominance of

John Gilbertson teaches U. S. history and Advanced Placement (AP) American History classes at Reno High School. This paper is an outgrowth of his work with the Teaching American History Program Grant in partnership with the U.S. Department of Education, the Washoe County School District, and the University of Nevada History Department. Mr. Gilbertson often teaches larger themes in American history through the use of state and local history.



Paul Laxalt. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

the executive branch. Lyndon Johnson's presidency failed in the face of the Vietnam crisis and rising opposition on the domestic scene to his Great Society reforms.

In 1964 Nevada was a Democratic state. Party registration was solidly two-to-one in favor of the Democrats, and in Clark County the margin was greater than three-to-one. All of the state's constitutional officers were Democrats with the exception of one, Republican Lt. Governor Paul Laxalt. In 1960, Nevada and New Mexico had been the only Western states to award their electoral votes to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. Nevada's governor, Grant Sawyer, had been an early supporter of the candidacy of Massachusetts Senator John F. Kennedy, while the state's two senators, Alan Bible and Howard W. Cannon, initially supported the candidacy of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas.

Cannon was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1958 at the age of 46, after serving as city attorney for the city of Las Vegas. John Cahlan, a former executive of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, states that Cannon came to Carson City that year intending to file for attorney general but was talked into filing for the U.S. Senate by Jack Conlon, the man who would serve as his administrative assistant in the Senate.¹ Cannon defeated Republican Senator George (Molly) Malone that year and was rewarded with appointments to the Armed Services Committee, the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, and Rules and Administration. In February 1963, he received an appointment to the Commerce Committee. Cannon's position on Armed Services was a natural fit for the World War II pilot and hero who survived being shot down over Europe, and who was currently a general in the Air Force Reserve. The first southern Nevadan elected to the Senate, Cannon gained a reputation as a tireless worker, and there was even talk in 1963 of grooming him to be the next Majority Leader. Richard Russell, a Democrat from Georgia, was leader of the Senate Southern Democrats and chairman of the Armed Services Committee. He was promoting Cannon as a means of preventing the liberal Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota from assuming the leadership.²

Despite all of the accolades Cannon had earned, he was still challenged in the 1964 Democratic primary. Sparks City Councilman William (Bill) Galt, Las Vegas attorney Harry Claiborne, and Dr. James McMillan also of Las Vegas filed and ran aggressive campaigns. Although Cannon easily won the nomination, both Galt and Claiborne raised an issue his Republican opponent would later seize upon and effectively employ, particularly in Washoe County. He charged that Cannon's friendship with former secretary to the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, Bobby Baker, involved a host of nefarious connotations.

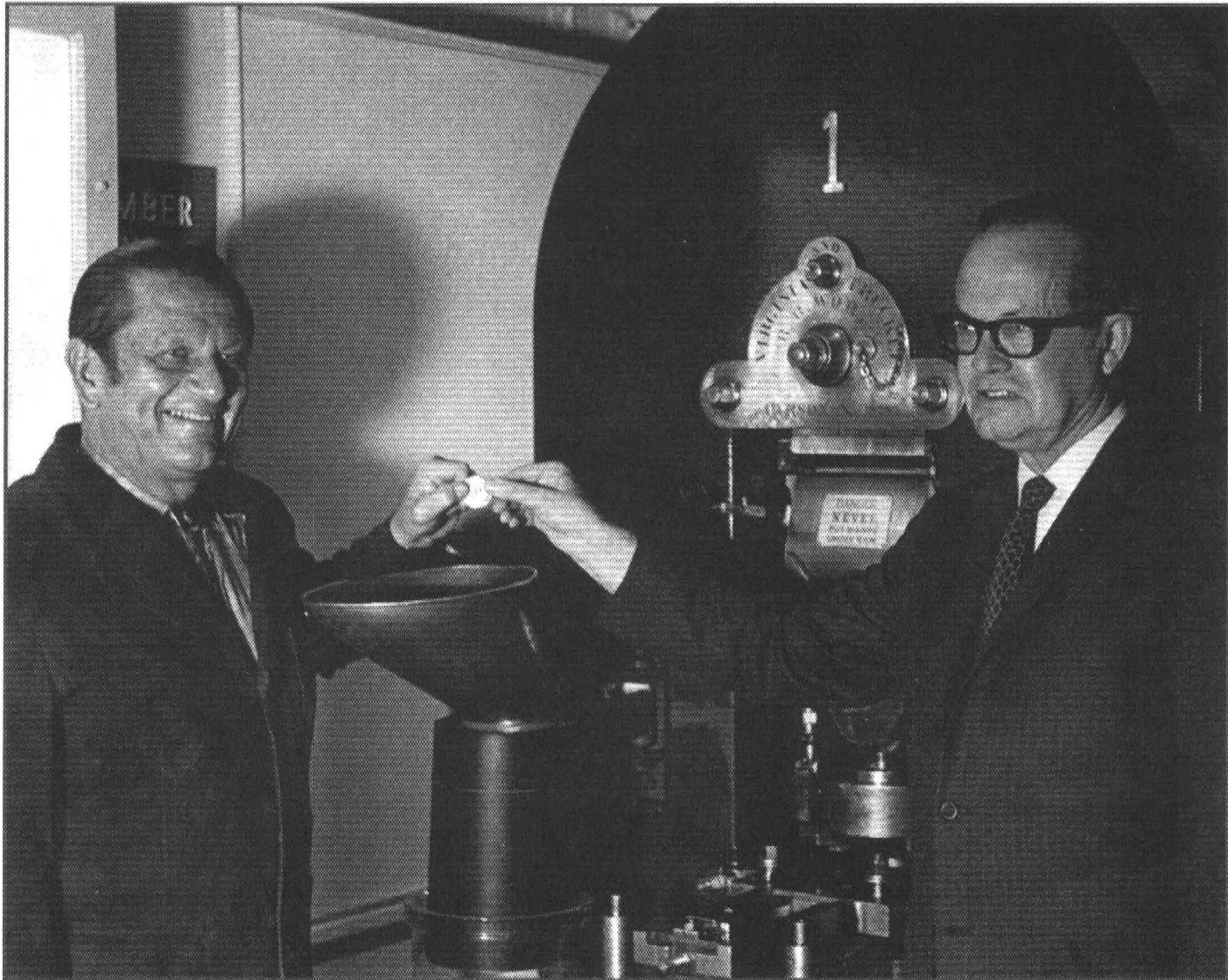
Cannon's Republican opponent in the 1964 contest was the forty-two year old Lt. Governor Paul Laxalt. First elected to statewide office in 1962, Laxalt maintained that he entered the race only because the party's first choice, Washoe County District Attorney William (Bill) Raggio, declined at the last minute to



Allen Bible, Grant Sawyer, Eva Adams, Howard Cannon, and Walter Bering at the unveiling of the State of Nevada's Centennial medallion in Las Vegas. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



Howard W. Cannon, planeside. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



Howard Cannon and Alan Bible in front of Carson City Mint coin press. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

file.³ Feeling compelled by his party to enter, Laxalt filed on July 3rd. He had no serious challenge for the September 1st primary and was able to use his time to develop a campaign strategy for the fall contest. At least one astute Nevada political observer believed that Laxalt had overplayed his hand. Nevada newspaperman John McCloskey said years later:

And two years later when Laxalt jumped into the big one against Howard Cannon, I thought he was bitin' off a lot more than he could chew, I honestly did at the beginning. But when I saw the campaign he put together and the way he was going, why I said to many people, I said, that this could be a horse race yet. And it was surprising, I think, to a lot of us that did not think Paul could give that kind of a run. And of course Cannon had been through a rough primary too. He won handily against several opponents, but he had Harry Claiborne in that race against him from the South and Bill (William A.) Galt from the North. And either one of those guys is enough to keep you awake at night (chuckling), shouting at you or sharpshooting at you⁴

Laxalt did have one significant handicap, however, that proved to be a formidable issue: his early endorsement and support of the Republican presidential nominee, Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater. Goldwater, the unquestioned champion of the nascent conservative wing of the Republican party was nominated in July in a raucous convention at the Cow Palace in San Francisco.

Believing they had been ignored, or at best contemptuously tolerated, in Chicago in 1960, the conservatives mobilized their forces after that convention and vowed to be in the majority the next time. Working diligently, they were able to pack the convention in 1964 and easily nominated Goldwater. Assuming the mantle left void since the death of Senator Robert A. Taft in 1953, the Goldwater conservatives turned the party sharply to the right and vilified the eastern, liberal, Rockefeller wing. The delegates could hardly contain their hubris when Goldwater delivered his signature line, "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice and moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." A man and a cause ahead of his time, Goldwater and his running mate New York Congressman William Miller were destined for political annihilation. With a fractured and deeply divided party, many Republican candidates avoided connection with the party's standard bearer. Paul Laxalt, however, did not. He *was*, in fact, one of these new conservative Republicans, and one of the few along with Ronald Reagan to achieve any degree of success in the 1960s.

Laxalt formally launched his fall campaign on September 8 at the Elks Club in Reno. Attempting to walk a political tightrope, he classified his speech as a "Declaration of Independence." He added, "I am still a staunch Goldwater supporter, but I am running as an independent." Acknowledging that the role of the federal government would be an issue in the campaign, Laxalt added, "The big issue is the danger that Nevada will become a branch office of Washington, D.C." Although he never mentioned Bobby Baker by name, the inferences were clear with the repeated references of "honesty" and "integrity."⁵ Moreover, Laxalt charged throughout the campaign that Cannon was beholden to Lyndon Johnson and big government, and he could not independently, therefore, represent the state. Cannon countered that Laxalt was tied to the Goldwaterites, the obsessively anti-Communist John Birch Society, and extremism. Cannon also stressed his accomplishments in bringing federal dollars and jobs into the state particularly at the Nevada Test Site and at McCarran Field.

Bobby Eugene Baker was the former secretary to the majority leader of the U.S. Senate. He resigned his position on October 7, 1963, amid allegations that he used his office to peddle influence for personal financial gain. The Senate Rules Committee, under increasing pressure from the Republican minority, conducted an investigation. It was in the process of writing its report when on September 1, 1964 (primary election day in Nevada), Sen. John J. Williams, a Republican from Delaware, charged that the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in 1960 had received an illegal \$25,000. contribution from a Philadelphia contractor through Bobby Baker. Faced with this new charge, the Democratic leadership agreed to reopen the investigation, insuring that the Baker issue would remain controversial throughout the fall campaign. After the election, the Committee reported that Baker's actions were "highly improper" but contained no recommendation for prosecution.⁶

Howard Cannon admitted to knowing Bobby Baker socially, but that

was not unusual, since Baker was well acquainted with many members of Congress. As Ralph Denton (Congressman Walter Baring's 1964 Democratic primary opponent) observed, "Senator Cannon and Paul Laxalt ran against each other for Cannon's Senate seat in 1964. That race was controversial-Cannon was attacked because of his association with Bobby Baker. It was alleged that Baker and Cannon were close friends, which was true. Hell, Bobby was a good friend of everybody."⁷ The source of Cannon's difficulty on the Baker issue was a testimonial and fund raising dinner for Cannon that was held in Las Vegas on April 19, 1963. The \$100 a plate affair held at the Hotel Flamingo, included many Washington notables such as Senate President Pro Tempore Carl Hayden of Arizona, Air Force Secretary Eugene Zuckert, and Nevada's senior Senator Alan Bible. Controversy erupted when it was revealed that the \$16,000 tab for the flight from Washington to Las Vegas on Riddle Airlines had been sent to Bobby Baker. Cannon claimed that this was simply an error and hoped that the issue would die during the hearings. It remained an issue in the primary, however, and was the source of a political bombshell only thirteen days before the general election. Cahlan insisted it was really Cannon's administrative assistant, Jack Conlon, who was chummy with Baker. He maintained that Baker was one of the first people Conlon had met when he went to Washington in 1959 with Senator Cannon. Cahlan, who knew both men, referred to them as "kindred souls." He also indicated that Conlon knew and understood the significance of developing a relationship with someone as well connected and influential as Bobby Baker. It was Cahlan's contention that Cannon and Baker were only linked as far as Conlon linked them. He added:

It was Jack Conlon who was the close associate of Bobby Baker. I was back in Washington one time, and I think that Jack Conlon probably knew as many key club operators in Washington, D.C. as Bobby Baker did. Because at one—in one evening we went out to about five key clubs and everybody greeted Jack Conlon like he was President of the United States. So he knew these swinging people, and it was Jack Conlon and Bobby Baker who were close friends and not Cannon.

Don't misunderstand me, Cannon, I am sure knew Bobby Baker. When they had a testimonial dinner for Cannon in Las Vegas, Baker reportedly arranged for a plane load of congressmen and senators to fly out for the dinner. As I say, I think that Cannon, at that time was not an astute politician. Cannon was a little dazed by the glamour of the fact that he was a United States Senator and wasn't—didn't inquire into the methods or madness of people like Bobby Baker. He let Conlon do that. I think, as far as Cannon is concerned, he was caught in a trap not of his own making. That doesn't excuse the man because he certainly was responsible for Conlon's acts, but as far as wrongdoing is concerned, I don't think that Cannon had any idea that there was anything wrong."⁸

On September 21, 1964, Governor Sawyer after consulting with Senator Bible and Senator Cannon wrote to president Johnson responding to the president's interest in scheduling a campaign appearance in Nevada. The trio concluded that it would be in the best interests of both the President's campaign and Senator Cannon's if Johnson would "address a major rally in Reno and plan at least

an airport stop in Las Vegas."⁹ Sawyer's letter was forwarded to Presidential Assistant Kenneth (Ken) O'Donnell who was handling the scheduling, and he replied to the governor on October 3, that the president had directed him to plan a stop in Nevada as part of a Western campaign swing. O'Donnell tentatively mentioned that the likely date would be on Monday, October 12, in Reno.¹⁰ In an undated memo that had to have been written sometime between October 7 and October 11, however, O'Donnell wrote, "President told me to have him overnight in Las Vegas."¹¹ Knowing that the presidential party would be flying directly from San Francisco to Las Vegas the evening of October 11, it is apparent that the campaign was following advice contained in a memorandum dated August 8 and written by presidential advisor James H. Rowe. It stated in part:

You will note that we have carefully used the technique of pulling you out of a big state at night, after you have finished your campaigning, and dropping you into a small state where you spend the night and have breakfast with the leaders the next day. This has two important advantages; it gets you away from the politicians and others who would want to talk to you all night, and it puts you in a state where you will get state-wide press by merely being there—which is difficult to get in the big states.¹²

Lyndon Johnson was the first president to campaign using jet aircraft. The U.S. Air Force acquired three jets for transport service in 1959, and Dwight Eisenhower was the first president to fly on the new four engine Boeing 707s. However, presidential flight on them, however, was sporadic, since the Military Air Transport Service (MATS) still had a large inventory of piston powered propeller planes, which remained in use into the Kennedy years. But, on October 21, 1962, all of that changed. John F. Kennedy was the first president to have an Air Force jet built and customized for presidential travel. The new Boeing 707, the first presidential aircraft to be referred to as Air Force One (AF1), was blue, silver, and white and did not resemble a typical Air Force transport plane. Written along the top of the exterior fuselage were the words "United States of America," and the presidential seal was emblazoned on the exterior. The tail rudder was distinguishable with an image of the American flag and the aircraft number 26000. It was at President Kennedy's during his last thirteen months in office.

On November 22, 1963, when Lyndon Johnson assumed the presidency after Kennedy's assassination, Air Force One served as a backdrop to two searing images symbolically depicting the transfer of power. The first was Johnson taking the oath of office from Judge Sarah T. Hughes in the cramped main cabin of the plane on the tarmac at Love Field in Dallas. The second was at Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland, the home base of AF1. After landing and the removal of Kennedy's casket, Johnson spoke before a bank of microphones with klieg lights reflecting off the fuselage of Air Force One.¹³ The inveterate campaigner, Lyndon Johnson, used this symbol of American power and prestige as he traveled across the country seeking votes in 1964.

Any candidate that was invited by the president to accompany him on that aircraft benefited from its aura and mystique.

The president's itinerary for October 11, 1964, called for an early morning departure from the LBJ Ranch and a campaign stop in Phoenix, Arizona. After that were two California stops at Long Beach and San Francisco. At 6:55 P.M., with Senator and Mrs. Cannon aboard, Air Force One left San Francisco and headed for Las Vegas, Nevada. Touching down at McCarran Field at 8:10, the presidential party was met by Governor Sawyer, Senator Bible, Congressman Baring, and a crowd of about two thousand that had been forming since around 3 P.M.. The president was one-and-a-half hours late.¹⁴ As the Basic High School band played "Hail to the Chief," Johnson greeted the crowd. Attired in a blue suit with his ubiquitous Stetson hat in hand, the president continued to shake hands until the motorcade began forming and headed north up Paradise Road to the Las Vegas Convention Center. Enthusiastic crowds lined the street cheering and waving as the president sped by. Although he didn't travel up Las Vegas Boulevard (the Strip), the marquees there read, "Hello Lyndon" or "Welcome LBJ."¹⁵

Arriving at the Convention Center at 8:30 P.M. the presidential party made its way inside to a crowd estimated at 7,500. Five minutes later, the Las Vegas, Sen. Howard Cannon, introduced the president. As reported in the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, the president had the crowd, "in the palm of his hand" from the outset. After thanking the audience for their support in the 1960 campaign, and after apologizing for being late, the president hailed Nevada's governor and its two Democratic senators, adding, "I need your help because I need Howard Cannon in the Senate to help me with my program." Additionally, in an address tailored for southern Nevada, he noted that as Chairman of the Space Committee when he was in the Senate, he and Cannon had brought 9,500 federal jobs to Nevada at the Nevada Test Site.¹⁶ Stressing the need to continue the bipartisan foreign policy that had served the nation well in the postwar years, he claimed that a Goldwater victory would lead America to "chart an unknown course that leads you to know not where." There was also an ominous reference to America's role in South Vietnam. Noting that we have "had problems there," Johnson insisted U.S. policy was to preserve freedom and that no country had fallen to the Communists since Cuba in 1959.

Yet, the most notable thing about President Johnson's address was what wasn't said. At no time during the proceedings did he acknowledge the presence of Nevada's lone congressman, Democrat Walter Baring, who was seated on the dais. Further, Baring had not been offered an official seat in the motorcade from the airport to the Convention Center. In all probability, this was Johnson's way of reprimanding the wayward Baring. He had been one of two northern congressmen to vote against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and he had opposed Kennedy-Johnson legislation on other occasions.¹⁷

The president concluded his thirty-six minute address at 9:26 P.M. and

departed for the Sahara Hotel. His visit was the second recent major event for the hotel. Just weeks earlier, it had survived hosting the Beatles after their Las Vegas performance. Three major considerations were given to the selection of the Sahara by the campaign staff. First, it was one of the few Vegas hotels that could be accessed without walking through the casino area. Second, it did not feature a nude show. And third, it was a Del Webb hotel, and Webb was a friend of Lyndon Johnson. The presidential party reserved the top two floors and approximately 100 rooms. Johnson was staying in owner Del Webb's suite on the twenty-fourth floor. According to the president's daily diary, the president had dinner, a rub down, and after watching the eleven-o'clock news, went to bed.

Monday's presidential itinerary revealed a busy, hectic day of campaigning which was made possible only by the advent of the jet age. The president's schedule called for speeches in Reno; Butte, Montana; Casper, Wyoming; Denver, Colorado; and Boise, Idaho, before returning to Andrews Air Force Base in the wee hours of Tuesday morning. Monday morning witnessed yet another presidential snub of Congressman Baring. According to the *Las Vegas Sun*, Baring arrived about ten minutes before the president at McCarran Field at 7:47 A.M. Johnson shook a few hands with the sparsely populated crowd and then posed for a final picture with Governor Sawyer, Senator Bible, and Senator Cannon. Afterward all boarded the plane for Reno, including Baring. As the president's diary states, Air Force One was "wheels up" for Reno at 7:50.

Shortly before 9:00, the sleek Boeing 707 began its descent into Reno. As Johnson stepped off the aircraft, the Wooster High School band broke into "Hail to the Chief." Johnson was met at the foot of the ramp by Governor Sawyer, Senator Bible and Senator Cannon, Congressman Baring (who had deplaned before the president), and several local and state dignitaries. Reno Mayor Hugo Quilici presented the president with the key to the city. Johnson then made his way to greet the large crowd assembled behind the fence of the Reno Municipal Airport. After shaking many hands and speaking with many well wishers, the presidential party made its way to the fleet of limousines. The president's limousine was a black 1961 Lincoln Continental- the same car in which President Kennedy had been assassinated. Recently returned to service, it was completely refurbished. Ninety percent made over from 1963, it featured a permanent bulletproof top, 1,500 pounds of armor plating, and a 500 horsepower engine.¹⁸ The motorcade departed the airport at 9:05 and traveled west on Plumb Lane to Virginia Street and then moved north on Virginia to Powning Park and the State Building. Large enthusiastic crowds lined the streets as the president's party made its way toward the downtown area. Along the parade route were positioned bands from Reno and Sparks High Schools allowing them to perform for the president. For days, they had been practicing "Hail to the Chief" and the campaign's theme song, "Hello Lyndon."¹⁹ The president's limousine stopped twice during the motorcade. The first stop on South Virginia was at



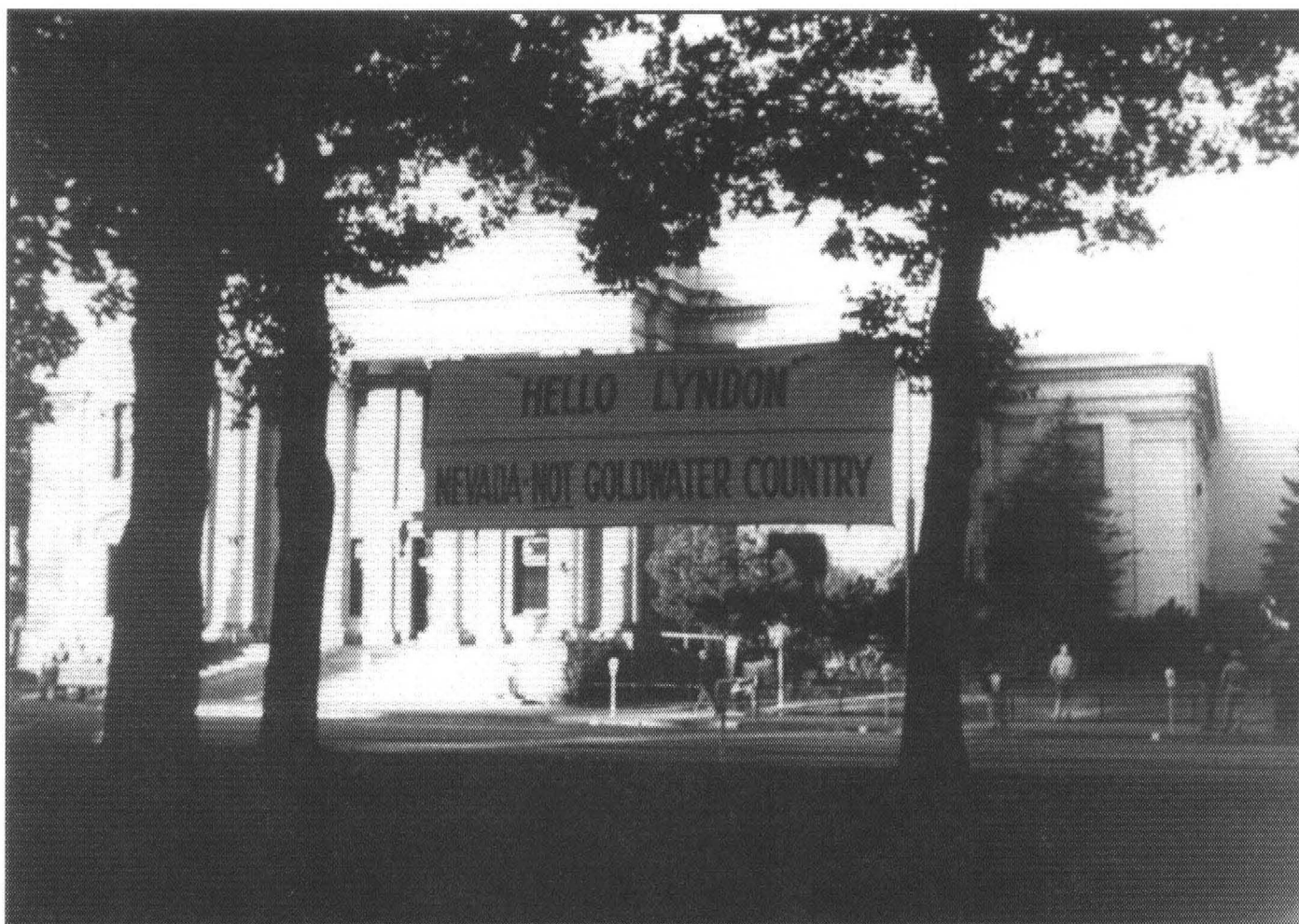
Air Force One (National Archives, College Park, MD)



President Lyndon B. Johnson visits Reno, 1964. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



President Lyndon B. Johnson speaks in Powning Park, 1964. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



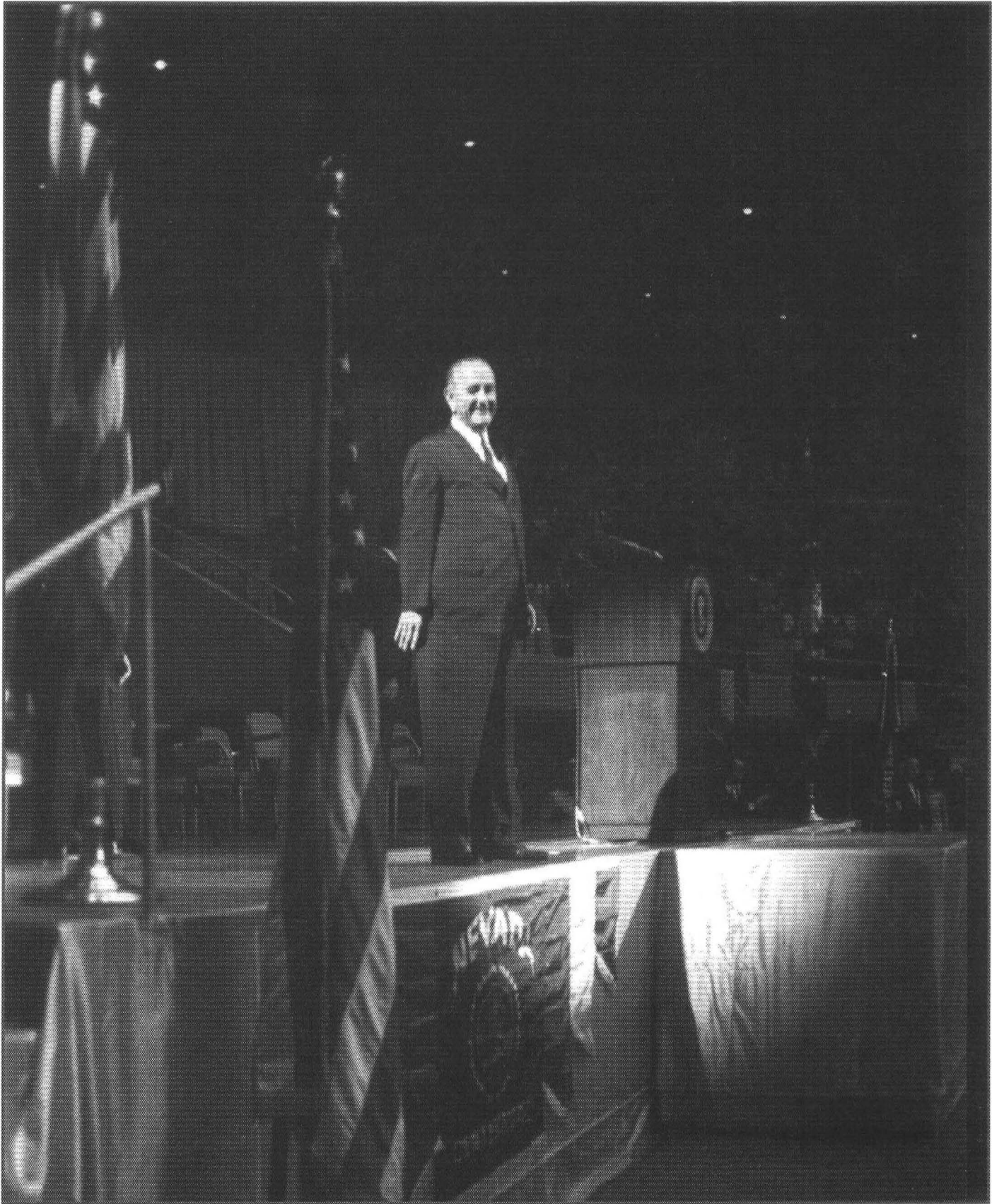
The State Building in Powning Park. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



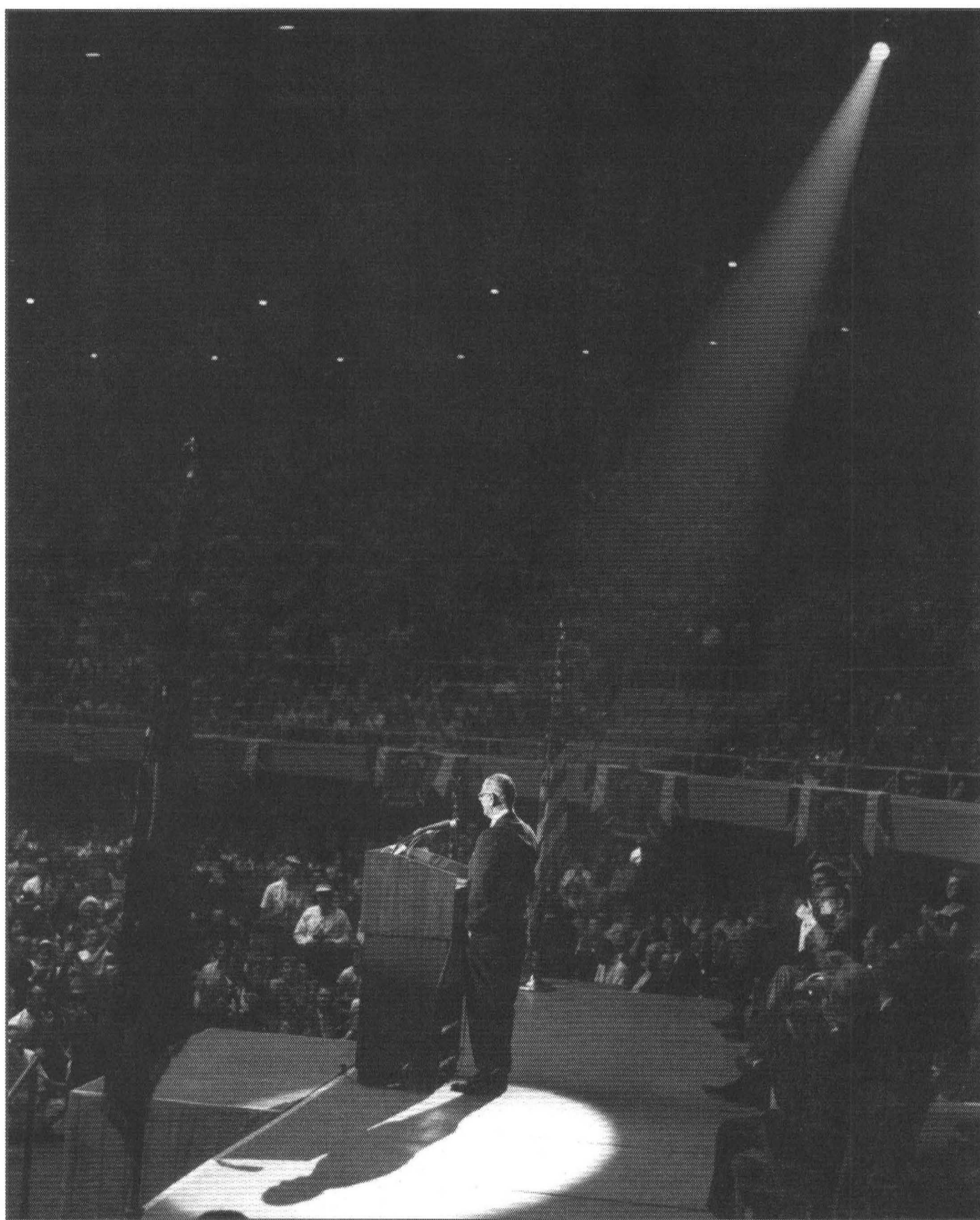
In front of State Building, Powning Park Reno, October 12, 1964. (Left to Right) Senator Howard Cannon, Reno resident Frank Yparraguirre (who turned 100 years old two days prior), President Lyndon B. Johnson, Governor Grant Sawyer. (*Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas*)



Reno, October 12, 1964. (Left to Right) Senior Senator Alan Bible, President Lyndon B. Johnson, Senator Howard Cannon, Governor Grant Sawyer. (*Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas*)



President Lyndon B. Johnson at the Las Vegas Convention Center, October 11, 1964.
(*Las Vegas News Bureau*)



President Lyndon B. Johnson at the Las Vegas Convention Center, October 11, 1964.
(*Las Vegas News Bureau*)



President Lyndon B. Johnson delivering his Reno address Powning Park, October 12, 1964. Congressman Walter Baring is visible in the foreground. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



In front of State Building Powning Park, Reno. October 12, 1964. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



Chief Gary Cypher (Center) offers the Paiute blessing in sign language at the State Building, Powning Park. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

the Democratic Headquarters where Johnson stood on the runningboard, took a bull horn, and addressed the crowd. At the intersection of South Virginia and California Avenue, the president stopped again, took the bull horn, and invited the crowd to look at a large billboard which read, "Hello, Lyndon, Nevada Not Goldwater Country."²⁰

The presidential party arrived at the State Building at 9:30 where the fifty-piece University of Nevada marching band welcomed him with "Hail to the Chief" and "Hello, Lyndon." One person Johnson visited with prior to being seated was former boxing heavyweight champ Jack Dempsey, who was seated with the dignitaries. The event began with Senator Cannon, as Master of Ceremonies, introducing Senator Bible, who in turn introduced the President. Johnson began his twenty-three minute address at 9:57. In bright, warm sunshine, he began by telling his Reno audience that "Nevada needs Howard Cannon, the U.S.A. needs Howard Cannon, and LBJ needs Howard Cannon." Lauding praise on Senator Bible as well, Johnson remarked, "No two men from any state have worked more, have been of more help trying to do what was best for America than these two stalwart sons of Nevada." He also reminded his audience of Governor Sawyer's accomplishments for Nevada and for the nation. Then looking toward another figure seated on the dais, he said, "I hope the people of Nevada will return Congressman Baring who sits here as the Democratic nominee. I need Walt Baring to help with my program," The statement that saved Baring from being humiliated by the President in his hometown.²¹

Before he began his remarks, Johnson was advised that the police estimate placed the crowd at 15,000 people. Now well into his speech, Johnson joked, "I don't know who your chief of police is and I do want to stay on the good side of him- at least until I get out of his jurisdiction. But I want him to come up here and take off his Goldwater glasses. This is the largest crowd of 15,000 that I have ever seen."²² At that, Reno Police Chief Elmer Briscoe handed a note to the Secret Service revising the figure to 50,000. In reality, however, it was probably closer to 20,000.²³ The bulk of Johnson's speech addressed the idea that "Government can be progressive and compassionate on one hand and prudent on the other."²⁴ Labeling this theme as a "Bill of Responsibilities," Johnson said it must be the role of government to do what the people want it to do, while being judicious in its expenditures. Promising a progressive administration, the president indicated his first budget would call for a spending reduction of \$1 billion. He also indicated that his Republican opponent seemed to be "running against the office of President rather than for it." And Johnson reminded his audience that "Nevada has more people working for the government than any other state, per capita, in the union. And I hope you like your employer." He closed by invoking a familiar Democratic theme. He reminded his audience of what things were like in 1932 under Republican rule and asked them to join him in moving the country forward.

The presidential motorcade returned to Reno Municipal Airport at 10:30.

Johnson shook hands with well wishers once again before boarding Air Force One to head to Butte, Montana. Those close enough could witness the toll of physical campaigning. Johnson's large, swollen hands were covered with bandages. At 10:40, Air Force One was airborne, and the first presidential campaign event in sixteen years in Reno was over.

In 1964 it was still common for candidates for statewide office to travel throughout rural Nevada. All of the candidates for federal office that year did so, but it was becoming increasingly evident that elections were now being decided in the two metropolitan areas. Indeed, Washoe County accounted for 28 percent of all registered voters, while Clark County totaled a whopping 49 percent.²⁵ Accordingly, both Howard Cannon and Paul Laxalt developed strategies reflecting these demographics. Cannon needed a large majority in the Democratic stronghold of Clark County and needed competitive numbers in Washoe and the "cow counties" to win. Laxalt's plan was to solidify his northern and rural bases and then attempt to chip away at Cannon's strength in Clark.

Laxalt opened his Clark County campaign on October 6 with an address at the Eagle's Hall in Las Vegas. Speaking before a crowd of about 400, people Laxalt hammered away at the "encroachment of the federal government on state and individual rights and questioned whether Cannon's record as a U.S. Senator warranted his reelection."²⁶ It was a speech that involved enormous risk. In attacking the federal government in Clark County where it was a major employer, Laxalt was allowing his political ideology to confront the economic reality of many southern Nevadans. He needed something dramatic to deflate the "bounce" Cannon was certain to obtain as a result of the president's visit. Accordingly, his campaign produced lengthy televised addresses projecting Laxalt's image in a positive vein and going on the offensive against Senator Cannon. Several spots were filmed, but one, in particular, resonated well outside of Clark County.

On October 21, in an address entitled "The Baker-Cannon File," Laxalt again invoked the name of Bobby Baker. By obtaining a passenger manifest of the Riddle Airlines flight, Laxalt added a new twist to the controversy. He claimed that Cannon had attempted to block a Senate investigation of Bobby Baker. In its October 21 afternoon edition, the *Reno Evening Gazette* sensationalized Laxalt's charges with a page one banner headline that read: "Laxalt Charges 'Cover up' by Cannon on Baker Issue." Laxalt maintained that he was providing Cannon with a two week window to respond to his allegations. Cannon called Laxalt's charges a "smear," and claimed that he was engaging in "half truths and distortions." He reiterated that he "never had any business or financial dealings with Mr. Baker." He also added that he was the first senator to call for a code of ethics for congressmen, senators and their employees.²⁷ On October 22, a *Gazette* editorial entitled "Smear or Proper Question," defended Laxalt saying that the voters of Nevada, "want a straight answer on this one." It also

opined that Laxalt had not smeared Cannon but had raised a legitimate issue. A *Las Vegas Sun* editorial on October 25, castigated Laxalt and accused him of fermenting "guilt by association." It also stated: "Surely Laxalt does not mean to imply that Cannon is a bad man because of the people who attended a dinner in his honor." It concluded by saying, "the broadcast by the Lt. Governor did not, by any means reach a high water mark in political ethics." But as events proved, it attracted far more scrutiny in the north than in the south.

In a memorandum dated October 27, from John F. Kraft (president of the New York public opinion and research firm, John F. Kraft, Inc.) to Jack Conlon, Kraft provided encouraging numbers. His most recent polling indicated that in Clark County, Cannon had a 55 percent to 34 percent edge with 11 percent listed as "not sure." In Washoe County, the numbers were Laxalt 49 percent, Cannon 42 percent, with 9 percent undecided. Kraft also noted that Cannon "had made progress in Washoe since the President's visit."²⁸ Only seven days from the general election, it appeared that, although it would still be a close contest, Cannon would pull through. Indeed, on November 3, noted Las Vegas handicapper, Jimmy (The Greek) Snyder made Cannon a "solid 7-2 favorite" over Paul Laxalt.²⁹

Of the four metropolitan daily newspapers in Las Vegas and Reno, both Las Vegas papers and Reno's *Nevada State Journal* supported Cannon and Johnson. Laxalt and Goldwater had the support of the *Reno Evening Gazette*.³⁰ But, there were also a couple of bizarre incidents involving the fourth estate and publisher Donald W. Reynolds. On October 5, *Las Vegas Review-Journal* editor, Robert L. Brown, abruptly "resigned" over what he said were "irreconcilable differences over editorial policy of the *Review-Journal*." Brown, a Laxalt supporter decried the paper's overtly biased coverage of Howard Cannon and offered his services to the Laxalt campaign for the final four weeks, which were immediately accepted.³¹ Hank Greenspun, publisher of the rival *Las Vegas Sun* weighed in on the matter in his column, "Where I Stand," on October 9. Greenspun, mindful that he was attacking a rival publisher, maintained that Brown was fired and accused the Reynolds organization of similar tactics throughout its media empire. Greenspun added:

Only puppets or mealy-mouths could last with him, because he himself is a power mad individual who has long attempted to take over the state. Anyone, even in supposed top policy-making positions who does not kiss his foot is thrown out on his back. And if there is any doubt about what I say, ask the men who have worked there. And Don Reynolds should be exposed, for not only does he force his lopsided ideas upon his staff and can not tolerate opinions other than his own, but he also attempts to impose his will on the entire state. And with the amount of media in the communications field he controls in the state, we are dealing with a most sinister force.³²

The second incident occurred at the Reynolds owned *Nevada Appeal* in Carson City. Editor Ed Allison wrote a column on Friday, October 23, endorsing Paul Laxalt. When the paper went to press at 2:15, he went home and notified the wire services of the Laxalt endorsement. Later, a friend phoned and told him

that there were fourteen column inches of blank space where his endorsement should have been found. Understandably upset, Allison resigned his position with the paper.³³ As Ralph Denton states in his oral history, Reynolds, who was seeking an appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Australia, was strongly supporting the candidacies of Lyndon Johnson and Howard Cannon. There is evidence that Cannon interceded on Reynolds's behalf. In a letter dated December 28, 1964, from the Senator to Don Reynolds, Cannon informed the media magnate that he had, "been in contact with the White House and the State Department on the matter about which you wrote, and have urged favorable consideration of your request. It is my intention to speak personally with the President concerning your interest as soon as he returns to Washington."³⁴ Reynolds never received the appointment.

On November 3, 1964, Election Day, there were few surprises. Lyndon Johnson soundly trounced Barry Goldwater in both Nevada and the nation. Indeed, Johnson's margin of 61.1 percent nationally remains the greatest popular margin in history. In Nevada, although the president's margin at 58.6 percent was impressive, his was not the highest. That accolade fell to Congressman Baring who defeated his opponent, George Von Toble by a whopping 63.2 percent.

The race for the U. S. Senate, however, was far from being decided. Early in the evening as precincts from Clark County were being tabulated, Cannon jumped to a 6,600 vote lead. As the night wore on and returns from around the state began to be counted, Laxalt began to chip away at Cannon's lead. Shortly before midnight, on the basis of a 2,300 vote lead, however, Cannon claimed victory. Cannon's decision to make that statement can be understood when one analyzes his polling data and the pundits' prognostications. The numbers coming out of Clark County were very close to what the John F. Kraft Company had reported on October 27. It would have been logical to assume that the data, particularly from Washoe County, would also be as reliable. But, as Cannon came to understand, that was not the case.

In the early morning hours of November 4, Laxalt built an unofficial lead of approximately 800 votes. That lead proved to be tenuous, since, it later dissipated to ten votes, increased to eighteen and then finally evolved into Cannon retaking the lead by a margin of 115 votes. The major factors in this switch were differences between the night and morning counts in Clark County and late reporting precincts in Clark, Gerlach, and Battle Mountain.³⁵ But that too was an unofficial count. Nevada law required that the county commissioners canvass each county's vote and then send abstracts to the Nevada Supreme Court before a certificate of election signed by the governor could be issued. Accordingly, Cannon's margin fluctuated as Nevada's seventeen counties conducted their canvasses. On November 13, Clark County became the final county reporting the results of its canvass. Howard Cannon had maintained his lead with a reduced margin of forty-eight votes over challenger Paul Laxalt.³⁶

Because it was such a close race, the Nevada senatorial election attracted national attention. It was the final race in the nation to be decided, and it would also determine if the entire Democratic "class of '58" would win reelection. The U.S. Senate Privileges and Elections Subcommittee, at Cannon's request sent a bipartisan team of investigators from Washington on November 6 to Nevada to determine if there were any "irregularities" involving the election. Although the Democratic investigator did have some initial concerns, no charges were filed. The chairman of that committee, ironically, was Cannon who recused himself for obvious reasons and was replaced by Senator Claiborne Pell, a Democrat from Rhode Island.³⁷

But for Howard Cannon, the central question of this election was the conundrum of the Washoe County vote. As earlier noted, his pollster assured him only six days before the election that he could expect approximately 42 percent, of the vote, Laxalt 49 percent and 9 percent still undecided. The reality, however, was that Laxalt garnered 60.3 percent to Cannon's 39.7 percent. The percentages produced another piece of irony in that Cannon defeated Laxalt in Clark by the same 60.3 percent to 39.7 percentage. In a letter to Jack Conlon from John Kraft, dated November 6, the pollster was apologetic for his error on the Washoe vote and was clearly baffled by what had happened. He indicated his determination to provide Senator Cannon with the reason(s) why this occurred. On November 11, in another letter to Conlon, Kraft offered his analysis. He indicated that in the closing days of the campaign in Washoe and in Clark, he had the president winning by significant margins in each county. In Washoe, he had Cannon actually up to 44 percent and Laxalt at 48 percent with 8 percent undecided. He detected a drift towards Cannon but also a rising tide of "not sure" voters. His analysis concluded by indicating that his firm had not given enough credence to the "not sure" category and had gotten carried away by the large numbers emanating from Clark County. He also felt that ticket splitting was a major problem in Washoe, while it was not in Clark. Finally, he admitted that he was "shocked" by Cannon's performance in the other counties.³⁸ In fact, Cannon carried only Clark, Nye, Lincoln, Mineral and White Pine counties and, with the exception of Clark, only by modest margins.

In retrospect, Kraft failed Cannon in two specific areas. First, he failed to detect the ephemeral effect of Johnson's endorsement of Cannon in Washoe County. And, second, he never understood the nature of the Bobby Baker issue in the north. The *Reno Evening Gazette* was especially helpful to Laxalt during the closing days of the campaign. By keeping focus on Baker, it raised doubts about Cannon, and that skepticism made many Democrats in the north more comfortable with Laxalt. Sectionalism, too, played a role in Cannon's disappointing showing in the north. Ed Oncken, a friend and supporter of Howard Cannon, wrote a personal letter to the senator expressing his dismay that a the strategy he had helped formulate in 1962 was not implemented. Oncken had warned Jack Conlon and Cannon of the growing resentment toward Clark

County from other parts of the state. At that time, he suggested utilizing the files of the Nevada Department of Economic Development to identify the needs and priorities of the other counties. It was his belief that Cannon could then introduce legislation to assist those counties, and this would prevent him from being viewed solely as an agent of Clark County. It was now Oncken's contention that Cannon's inability to remove that perception was responsible for his poor performance outside of Clark County.³⁹ In addition, with reapportionment of the state legislature looming on the horizon, it was understood that southern Nevada's influence would be greater than at any other time in the state's history.

Paul Laxalt was equally mystified by his inability to attract greater support in Clark County. On November 14, he announced that he was hiring handwriting experts from Los Angeles to examine poll books from the predominately Black Westside of Las Vegas.⁴⁰ Laxalt's interest was understandable when one considers that the vote there went 3,178 for Cannon to 127 for Laxalt including one precinct where Laxalt was shut out at 137 to 0.⁴¹ Laxalt's feckless performance there should not have been a surprise. Throughout the campaign, he boasted that he was 100 percent for Barry Goldwater, who as a U.S. Senator spoke out against the Civil Rights Act and voted against it. Laxalt also, maintained that if he had been a senator he would also have voted against it, although he now claimed he would support giving it a chance to work.⁴² And, on October 30, in front of a crowd of 5,000 in Las Vegas, Laxalt appeared at McCarran Field with Senator Barry Goldwater.

Civil rights was an issue that had given Howard Cannon problems in the past. Civil rights activist Dr. James McMillan opposed Cannon in the 1964 Democratic primary based on his conviction that Cannon had provided only tepid support for Blacks in Las Vegas during the course of his political career.⁴³ But, on June 10, 1964, Senator Cannon, in an act of enormous political courage, voted for cloture on the civil rights filibuster in the Senate. The filibuster or the threat of its implementation had historically been the great equalizer for the small states and the South against unfriendly legislation. Accordingly, senators from those states opposed cloture on principal. In voting for cloture, Cannon, who represented a state with a small Black population, bucked many of his colleagues and senior Senator Alan Bible who voted against it.⁴⁴ Senator Cannon's vote for the Civil Rights Act on June 19 and his unwavering support of President Lyndon Johnson gave him solid civil rights credentials. Paul Laxalt's investigation of the Westside vote produced no irregularities.

On November 25, the day that the Nevada Supreme Court conducted its vote canvass and upheld Howard Cannon's forty-eight vote margin, Paul Laxalt formally petitioned for a recount at 9:30 P.M. Laxalt had been expected to wait until Friday the 27th to formally demand a recount. He accelerated the process to prevent Governor Sawyer (who was out of the state at the time) from issuing a certificate of election to Howard Cannon.⁴⁵ Cannon countered by appealing

to the Nevada Supreme Court to issue a writ of prohibition that would have prevented a recount and to issue a writ of mandamus to order Lt. Governor Laxalt, as acting Governor, to issue a certificate of election. The court demurred and the recount began.⁴⁶

In most of Nevada's larger communities, mechanical voting machines were used to tabulate votes. An important exception would be a vote by absentee ballot. But, in rural Nevada voting was conducted almost exclusively by paper ballot. The recount demanded that every voting machine and paper ballot that had been placed under lock and key since Election Day be retabulated. Nevada State Law stipulated that the "county clerk of each county employ a recount board to conduct the recount and that the clerk act as chairman." Furthermore, it stated that "at least one member of the county commissioners be present and that each candidate or their representative may be present at the recount." It also provided wide latitude to each board by directing that the board must "count all ballots, including rejected ballots, and shall determine whether such ballots are marked as required by law," obviously allowing for a degree of subjectivity. In conclusion, it stated that the cost of the recount shall be borne by the challenger (unless the recount is decided in his favor) and that it must be completed within three days after demand, excepting weekends and holidays.⁴⁷

As in the hours after the polls closed on November 3, the numbers fluctuated. At no time, however, did Laxalt reclaim the lead. Indeed, Cannon scored a major gain when it was discovered that in Clark County machine number 778 in precinct 85-A on the Westside was misread on election night. Clerk Helen Scott Reed reported that on election night the machine was counted as reading Cannon 86; Laxalt 5. It should have read Cannon 186. Obviously disappointed, Laxalt's observers were convinced it was a legitimate error. It was a crushing blow, nonetheless, to Laxalt's hope of overtaking Cannon.⁴⁸

On Wednesday, December 2, the completed recount determined that Howard Cannon was the winner by a margin of eighty-four votes. The recount erased his two vote victory in Mineral County, but it provided him with an additional thirty-six votes. On the basis of the recount, Cannon carried only Clark, Lincoln, Nye, and White Pine counties, yet it was enough to win the election. But, the subjectivity in the arcane methods of counting the paper ballots was an issue for both camps. In a revealing letter to Cannon, D. Francis Horsey, a Las Vegas attorney representing the senator at the White Pine Recount Board, indicated that if they had not convinced the Board to count ballots that were marked properly in the senate race but improperly in the presidential contest, it could have been disastrous even "to the point of losing the election."⁴⁹ In addition, Stan Jones, a member of the Recount Board of Washoe County stated that it was his belief that anyone marking a paper ballot had a 50 percent chance of that ballot not being counted. In a fascinating description of the human factor involved in counting paper ballots, Jones offered a step by step scenario to support his conclusion. In summary, it was his belief that from the mailing of

the ballot to the voter to its actual tabulation, the possibility for its rejection is enormous. He concluded his remarks by stating that he believed anyone who could produce a legitimate reason for being absent on election day should be allowed to use a voting machine.⁵⁰

On December 3, attorneys for Paul Laxalt filed a statement of contest with the Nevada Supreme Court contending that several recount boards rejected lawful Laxalt ballots, and in many cases, counted ballots for Cannon that should have been rejected. The following day, Governor Sawyer signed a certificate of election, making Cannon the senator-elect and Cannon countered Laxalt's appeal to the Supreme Court by filing his own motion for dismissal of the contest. And, in another twist of irony, the same man who oversaw the Cannon interests in the recount now headed Cannon's legal team before the court- his former primary opponent, Harry Claiborne of Las Vegas. Cannon contended in filing with the court that the court lacked jurisdiction in the matter and that only the U.S. Senate could decide the issue. The court, responding to the timeliness of the request, agreed to hear arguments on December 10.⁵¹

On December 10, 1964, more than one month after Election Day, the Nevada Supreme Court granted Cannon's motion for dismissal. The court concurred with Cannon's motion that it lacked jurisdiction in the matter. The only recourse remaining for Paul Laxalt was a direct appeal to the U.S. Senate. With a solid Democratic majority in that body, he stood virtually no chance of prevailing. He conceded the election to Howard Cannon.⁵²

Telegrams and letters of congratulations were sent to Senator Cannon from friends, senate colleagues and Paul Laxalt. Two telegrams received special attention. The first, dated November 6, was from Vice President-elect Hubert H. Humphrey. It read: "Delighted to add to my phone message of congratulations. You won a stirring victory. Your new mandate is fitting recognition for your dedicated service. Looking forward to continued teamwork with you. Best personal regards. Hubert H. Humphrey." The second, dated December 2 and sent from the White House said: "Have just received outcome of official recount, am delighted, Lady joins me in extending heartiest congratulations and good wishes. Looking forward to seeing you in Washington in near future. Lyndon B. Johnson."⁵³

On February 26, 1965, Senator Cannon directed his aide Chet Sobsey to write to Reno attorney William C. Thornton to determine if Thornton was comfortable in speaking informally with Nevada Secretary of State John Koontz. Cannon was curious about the actual costs of the recount. Sobsey added, "you may have a pipeline to old Koontz that will not involve any formal request for the information."⁵⁴ On March 8, 1965, Thornton replied to Sobsey. Thornton calculated that based on all of the material he could obtain that the cost of the recount was \$4,140. He added, "my calculation is that it cost Laxalt approximately \$115 per vote to buy those 36 'landslide' votes for us."⁵⁵

In 1966, Paul Laxalt defeated Grant Sawyer who was seeking a third term as

governor. Laxalt, however, declined to seek reelection and bowed out of politics for four years. In 1974, he again ran for the U.S. Senate and, in that year of Watergate and the Nixon pardon, narrowly defeated his Democratic opponent, Lt. Governor Harry Reid, who like Laxalt in 1964, demanded a recount. He won reelection in 1980 and continued his friendship with Ronald Reagan, who was elected president that year. Their relationship earned him the moniker, "first friend." He chose not to seek reelection in 1986, and, after an abortive presidential bid in 1988, retired from elective politics.

While Laxalt's political career as a northern Nevadan benefited from the conservative backlash in American politics during the Reagan era, the future of northern candidates in statewide races became ever more problematic as southern Nevada grew in population. Howard Cannon's reelection in 1964 was a harbinger of things to come on Nevada's political landscape. Beginning in 1970 and continuing to the present day, all of Nevada's governors, with the exception of Robert List's four year term, (1979-1983), have hailed from southern Nevada. And, since 1987, its two U. S. senators have also been residents of Clark County.

Howard Cannon easily won reelection in 1970 and 1976. He represented Nevada in the United States Senate for twenty-four years and eventually served as Chairman of the Commerce Committee. Only three men in Nevada history served longer in that body than Howard Cannon. He was defeated for reelection in 1982 and died in Las Vegas in March 2002. He was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

NOTES

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²Evans and Novak column, *The Washington Post* (27 May 1963).

³Paul Laxalt, *Nevada's Paul Laxalt: A Memoir* (Reno: Jack Bacon and Company, 2000).

⁴John R. McCloskey, "Seventy Years of Gripping: Newspapers, Politics, Government" (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1982).

⁵*Reno Evening Gazette* (9 September 1964).

⁶Baker would eventually be convicted of tax evasion and fraud in 1967 and serve seventeen months in prison.

⁷Ralph Denton, "A Liberal Conscience: The Oral History of Ralph Denton, Nevadan" (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 2001).

⁸Cahlan, "Reminiscences."

⁹White House Central Files TR, Ex TR 1/ST 28, Box 6, Lyndon B. Johnson Library (LBJL), Austin, Texas.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹President's Appointment File (Diary Backup) Box 10, LBJL, Austin, Texas.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³For more information on the development of Presidential air travel see J.F. terHorst and Col. Ralph Abertazzie, *The Flying White House: The Story of Air Force On* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1979).

¹⁴*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (12 October 1964).

¹⁵*Las Vegas Sun* (12 October 1964).

¹⁶White House Central Files SP Ex SP 3-50/ST 25-ST 32 Box 166.

¹⁷*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (13 October 1964).

¹⁸*Reno Evening Gazette* (10 October 1964) and *Nevada State Journal* (12 October 1964).

¹⁹"Hello Lyndon" was a takeoff on the Broadway hit musical "Hello Dolly."

²⁰President's Daily Diary and *Reno Evening Gazette*, (12 October 1964).

²¹*Reno Evening Gazette* (12 October 1964).

²²*Nevada State Journal* (13 October 1964).

²³*Reno Evening Gazette* (12 October 1964).

²⁴President's Daily Diary (11 October 1964).

²⁵*Nevada State Journal* (14 October 1964).

²⁶*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (7 October 1964).

²⁷*Reno Evening Gazette* (21 October 1964).

²⁸John F. Kraft to Jack Conlon memo, Box 31 File 315, Howard W. Cannon papers, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

²⁹*Las Vegas Sun* (3 November 1964).

³⁰The *Gazette* endorsed Laxalt on October 15 and Goldwater on October 19. The *Review-Journal* endorsed Cannon on October 18 and Johnson on November 1. The *Sun* had two endorsements for Cannon and Johnson. Publisher Hank Greenspun, a professed Republican, endorsed LBJ and Cannon on October 30 and the regular editorial endorsement for Johnson came on October 31 and on November 1 for Cannon. The *Journal* endorsed Cannon on October 18 and Johnson on November 1.

³¹*Reno Evening Gazette* (5 October 1964).

³²For a discussion of Reynolds's attempt to purchase the Reno papers, see John Sanford, "Printer's Ink in My Blood" (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1972).

³³*Nevada Appeal* (23 October 1964) and *Nevada Appeal* (26 October 1964).

³⁴Howard Cannon to Donald Reynolds, Cannon papers, Box 31 File 314.

³⁵*Reno Evening Gazette* (4 November 1964) and *Las Vegas Sun* (4 November 1964).

³⁶*Reno Evening Gazette* (14 November 1964).

³⁷*Las Vegas Sun* (12 November 1964).

³⁸John F. Kraft to Jack Conlon, Cannon Papers, Box 31 File 315.

³⁹Ed Oncken to Howard Cannon, November 20, 1964, Cannon Papers, Box 32 File 324.

⁴⁰*Reno Evening Gazette* (14 November 1964).

⁴¹*Las Vegas Sun* (14 November 1964).

⁴²*Las Vegas Review-Journal* (1 November 1964).

⁴³James McMillan, "Fighting Back: A Life in the Struggle for Civil Rights" (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1997).

⁴⁴*Las Vegas Sun* (5 October 1964).

⁴⁵*Nevada State Journal* November 26, 1964).

⁴⁶*Ibid.* (28 November 1964).

⁴⁷Statement of a Member of the Special Recount Board, Stan Jones of Washoe County, Cannon Papers Box 31 File 317.

⁴⁸*Nevada State Journal* (1 December 1964).

⁴⁹D. Francis Horsey to Howard Cannon, Cannon Papers, Box 31 File 315.

⁵⁰Statement of a Member of the Special Recount Board, Stan Jones of Washoe County. Cannon Papers, Box 31 File 317.

⁵¹*Paul Laxalt v. Howard Cannon*, copy of the majority opinion, Cannon Papers, Box 32 File 321 and *Reno Evening Gazette* (3 December 1964) and *Reno Evening Gazette* (5 December 1964).

⁵²*Reno Evening Gazette* (10 December 1964).

⁵³Cannon Papers, Box 31 File 315.

⁵⁴Chet Sobsey to William C. Thornton, Cannon Papers, Box 31 File 314.

⁵⁵William C. Thornton to Chet Sobsey, Cannon Papers, Box 31 File 317.

Notes and Documents

For Nevada Only:

The Friendship and Merci Trains in Nevada, 1947-1949

DOROTHY R. SCHEELE

"I urge all Nevadans to give their share of required food" Governor Vail Pittman declared in a proclamation dated November 1, 1947.¹ This exhortation launched Nevada's participation in the Friendship Train, a fascinating story of warmth and generosity which involved not only Nevada, but every state in the country. The story focuses on America's majestic contribution of food to the starving people of France and Italy following World War II. The Friendship Train was not the Marshall Plan, which was an official effort of the United States government. The train was, instead, a grass-roots movement of the American people giving from their own kitchens and grain fields. Their generosity would give rise to one of the greatest humanitarian movements in history.

The Friendship Train crossed the country in just eleven days in 1947. It left from Los Angeles and arrived in New York where freighters waited in the harbor to begin the transatlantic journey. Every state contributed. The number of cars of donated food totaled approximately 270.

How did this enormous feat of generosity originate? The Friendship Train appeared on the American historical landscape as a response to the economic conditions in Europe after World War II. Following the war, much of Europe was flattened and most of its population was left without the basic necessities. The most serious deprivation was a grave shortage of food. The severe drought of 1947 compounded the misery of a continent already made chaotic and bereft by the war. Flour to bake bread, foremost in a European's diet, was restricted daily to six ounces. If a family wanted a few more ounces to bake something else, it was taken off their rations.² Americans who had been abroad

Dorothy R. Scheele, a former English teacher, is a free-lance writer and researcher living in Philadelphia, PA. She has graduate degrees from Penn State University and Beaver College. She became interested in the Friendship and Merci trains while visiting the Arizona Capitol Museum in Phoenix. Several of her articles have appeared in journals and magazines in Pennsylvania.

publicized the stark needs of the Europeans. George Welsh, president of the United States Conference of Mayors, returning from a conference in Paris described conditions as serious. Twenty Iowa farmers, who traveled to Europe at their own expense to assess the situation, corroborated Welsh's observation.³

Learning of the misery of the Europeans and hearing that Russia had sent tons of free grain to France, Drew Pearson, columnist, broadcaster, humanitarian, and one time nominee for the Nobel Peace prize, saw no reason why America could not make a similar contribution. Thus, the crystallization of the Friendship Train. By the end of its cross-country odyssey, the train had collected \$40 million worth of food to send to Europe.⁴

Publicizing his idea in his syndicated column and weekly radio broadcast, Pearson and others developed a plan of action within less than a month. The collection and shipment of food to France and Italy was not carried out by the United States government, and it had no connection to the \$12 to \$16 billion Marshall Plan being discussed in Congress at the same time.⁵ In an effort to help the French and the Italians, the people of the United States, the ordinary, everyday John and Mary Citizen, donated this enormous amount of food. The people gave with generosity and enthusiasm. They gave as if they were contributing to their own hungry grandchildren.

Giving to the Friendship Train exploded into a national passion. Cities and counties competed to see which could give more. Many citizens in towns not on the train route were indignant at the perceived sleight and made plans to have their contributions included. Money to buy food was collected in churches, at football games, and in movie theaters. In some towns barrels were placed in stores or on corners for people to throw in money. Individual stories abound about collecting for the food campaign. In Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a ten-year old boy spent his day off from school collecting food. When his wagon was full, he took it to a collection point and then went back for more. In Spencer, Iowa, an engineer on the Milwaukee line stopped his train so the crew could trudge through the snow to give money to a radio station having a fund drive. Washington state, fearing that the Northwest would be left out of the process, had a boxcar ready to meet the train at Ogden, Utah on November 5.⁶ When presenting their gifts, Sioux Indians in Nebraska, carried a sign saying, "Tell Europe we want peace."⁷ Those towns not on scheduled railroad stops also insisted on giving, an occurrence causing many unscheduled stops.

Businesses and industry gave as unstintingly as private citizens. The railroad companies donated their boxcars and the use of their rails, and United States Lines and American Export Lines donated their ships and manpower to transport the food across the Atlantic. Members of the local teamsters unions loaded the boxcars at their own expense.⁸ Without charge California Eastern Airways flew the food, which had been collected too late to meet the train, across the country to New York.⁹ Goodyear Tire and Rubber donated pliofil, a material used for waterproofing the packages.

Children were also touched by the spirit of giving. A picture in the November 5th *Los Angeles Times* showed the daughter of actress Eve Arden holding a toy Friendship Train. Certainly many children had this toy.

Within only a few weeks after Pearson had announced his idea of the Friendship Train, it became a reality. On November 7, 1947, it left Los Angeles. Movie stars and other celebrities attended its departure, which was the most extravagant event Hollywood had seen to date. The stars had to request permission to participate in the event from the Screen Actors Guild. The president, Ronald Reagan, immediately assented.¹⁰

The warm evening in Los Angeles began about 9:00 P.M. with a parade. Fanning the sky were 160 searchlights, forming the letter V. Lauritz Melchior opened the ceremony by singing "The Star Spangled Banner." The actors and actresses entertained for two hours. The list of celebrities was impressive. Eddie Cantor was master of ceremonies; Margaret O'Brien spoke on behalf of the occasion; Lionel Barrymore emceed the program on coast-to-coast radio. Other celebrities present included Mickey Rooney, Elizabeth Taylor, Red Skelton, and John Wayne.¹¹ The ceremony, staged for national publicity and intended as a kick-off rally, ended about 11:00 P.M.

Thousands of people witnessed the send-off of the Friendship Train. America's forgotten contribution to France and Italy constituted one of the greatest humanitarian movements in history. According to Drew Pearson, each package of the Friendship Train would carry this message: "All races and creeds make up the vast melting pot of America, and in a Democratic and Christian spirit of good will toward men, we, the American people, have worked together to bring this food to your doorsteps, hoping that it will tide you over until your own fields are again rich and abundant with crops."¹²

Governor Pittman held profound pride in Nevada and seriously believed that it was the state's patriotic duty to fulfill its obligation to the Friendship Train. In an article in the November 3, 1947 *Nevada Appeal*, the governor stated:

Nevada has a very definite place and responsibility in this program and every individual citizen in Nevada has an urgent duty to perform. Nevada's obligation is plain—for her citizens to provide sufficient food to fill one car of the long train with flour, wheat, oats, barley, rye, corn, spaghetti, macaroni, canned milk, dried beans and peas. As Governor of Nevada, I cannot impress too strongly upon our loyal, kind-hearted citizens the vital importance of wholeheartedly meeting their obligation in this respect. Failure in this instance is unthinkable—it would place the great state of Nevada in a very bad light, which would reflect ever lasting discredit.¹³

To accomplish this goal, Governor Pittman relied heavily on the schools throughout the state and on Mildred Bray, Superintendent of Schools. In a letter to all the school administrators, Bray instructed them to take charge of the project. She also told them to involve the adults in the community as well as the children. Bray further observed that the food collection drive would be a wonderful opportunity to develop altruism in the students. She wrote to all

the 4-H Clubs, the Future Farmers of America (FFA), and all teachers telling them which foods were needed. She was confident the drive would succeed because the Nevada school children had responded admirably during the war to salvage campaigns and to the stamp and bond sales. "I have assured Governor Pittman they will rise to this occasion and make the necessary sacrifices now to help others."¹⁴

Some of the governor's other appointees included Margaret Griffin, who chaired of the Nevada Citizens Food Committee, and Lloyd Dowler, the state supervisor of vocational agriculture, who was in charge of collecting food from the state's large rural area.¹⁵ The only city where the Friendship Train would stop was Reno, and all the food was taken there. William T. Holcomb, chief engineer of the highway department, permitted the department's trucks to be used for that purpose.¹⁶

After traveling north through California and stopping at seven California cities, the Friendship Train entered the Silver State. It raced into Reno on Sunday, November 9. Despite the frigid weather, four thousand eager Washoe County residents, most of them having arrived nearly an hour ahead of time, greeted the train upon its arrival at the Center Street crossing. Three Klieg lights brightened the dark sky and intensified the excitement, as did the presence of cameras recording the event for newsreels. Music provided by the Stewart Indian School Band opened the short ceremony.¹⁷

State and local officials also greeted the train. Governor Pittman and Reno city manager Emory Branch flew from Carson City to Sacramento in order to board the train and to arrive in Reno. Governor Earl Warren of California and Mayor Romney of Ogden, Utah, were present. It would become a custom for the governor of the state from which the Friendship Train was leaving to deliver it to the governor or another official of the state it was entering. Also composing part of the official delegation was George Welsh, Mayor Smith, and Drew Pearson. George Vargas, a Reno attorney, were master of ceremonies. Jean Dupard, head of the French Food Mission to the United States, represented the French Republic, and Signor Juili represented Italy.¹⁸

As railroad workers attached Nevada's two cars to the train, Mr. Vargas opened the ceremony by leading the crowd in singing "God Bless America." Governor Pittman told the spectators that he was very proud of Nevadans for contributing more than their quota to the effort. Mayor Smith stated he felt certain that "the people of Nevada have provided more food per capita, than any state in the Union." The mayor's statement reflects people's desire to give food to the hungry Europeans. As the train traveled through the states, crowds frequently heard similar boasts about how much their communities had given.

Despite the fact that the food drive was statewide and urgent, Nevada newspapers did not as a rule report extensively on contributions from various towns or on the local leaders in charge. The scarcity of coverage can possibly be accounted for by the fact that the population was small and that many

newspapers were weeklies, perhaps resulting in erratic coverage. Although Reno was not a small town, its contributions are barely noted. William R. Beemer chaired the committee handling the cash donations, which were used to purchase food wholesale. The Nevada Relief Shop bought \$200 worth of food.¹⁹

In the adjacent city of Sparks, Mayor Vern Hursh designated the Lions Club to lead the drive. Its president, Ben Dawson, told its members to make signs and to personally solicit for food and cash donations. Schools gave Senior Boy Scouts time off to pack foodstuffs that had been stored at the Sparks fire house on Twelfth and C Streets. Some of the city's organizations donated money, but the amount of money and food collected was indeterminable.²⁰ The townspeople, even though they believed they had given generously, lamented that if they had had more time, they would have been able to give more.

Other towns and areas in proximity to Reno sent food, among them Carson City, Gardnerville, Yerington, Verdi, and Virginia City.²¹ Their contributions were not cited. Lyon County and Smith Valley FFA sent a truck load of food to Reno.²²

In Mineral County, boxes were placed at the Mineral County High School and at the Hawthorne Elementary School for people to leave their donations. Cub Scouts in Hawthorne and Babbitt went door to door to collect contributions.²³ In Tonopah, which was one of the designated collection points, high school teachers and students checked in and packaged all of the contributions for shipment to Reno.²⁴

Residents of Las Vegas, North Las Vegas, Henderson, Overton, and other cities in Clark County contributed 7,000 pounds of foodstuffs.²⁵ Students of the University of Nevada hauled wheat 700 miles to give it to the Friendship Train,²⁶ and the staff of the *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal* collected cash to send to the state committee for purchase of food.²⁷ Walter D. Johnson, superintendent of Las Vegas schools and chairman of the local committee, stated that the drive had been satisfactory.²⁸

The FFA, sponsors of the food drive in Lincoln County, collected and repacked the contributions. Their collection point was Ely.²⁹ In White Pine County, the high school was the area's collection point, and its principal, Chester Davis, was in charge of the food campaign.³⁰ The truck from Ely picked up contributions from Eureka and Austin, as they headed west to Reno.³¹ Austin citizens lamented that they had not had enough time to contribute a sufficient amount. Boxes left at the Austin Mercantile Company's store, the Francis Store, and the Austin schools amounted, nonetheless, to a sizable gift.³² After leaving Elko, the highway trucks stopped at Lovelock, Winnemucca, Battle Mountain, and other towns.³³ Colonel L. M. Bricker, commanding officer of the Sierra Ordnance Depot in Herlong, reported Fire Chief Lester G. Lindsay would take the three tons of food collected there to Reno.

Winnemucca's paper *The Humboldt Star* noted in its November 7, 1947 edition that the Friendship Train was leaving Los Angeles. The article noted the

dignitaries present and stated that the train would "tour" American cities. No mention was made of Nevada nor of any local food campaign. Further, the paper did not refer to local donations to the train. Despite this fact, Winnemucca did contribute.

Wells citizens, under the chairmanship to George Wittemeyer, contributed generously. High school boys packed the food which would be trucked to Elko and then to Reno. Ranchers in the Starr Valley donated two tons of food and supplies, mostly grain, and the pupils of Boulder schools sent a large box of food and soap.³⁴

Governor Pittman's belief in Nevadans was certainly justified. Although he had hoped that they would fill one boxcar, the state's 150,00 residents filled two and regretted that they had not had time to do more. Despite their regrets, they had earned the gifts that the French would bestow upon them when the Merci Train arrived sixteen months later.

THE MERCI TRAIN ARRIVES

The story of the Friendship Train's marvelous odyssey across the United States is only the first part of an amazing two-part story. Sixteen months after the Friendship Train departed for Europe, the freighter *Magellan* started its journey from Le Havre across the Atlantic. On February 2, 1949, the *Magellan* arrived in New York harbor. Greeted by bombers and jets from the First Air Force flying overhead, city fireboats sending powerful sprays of water into the sunlight, and thousands of spectators, the *Magellan* sailed majestically into the harbor. In huge letters on each side were the words, "Merci America."³⁵ Later that day the freighter docked at Pier Eleven in Weehawken, New Jersey.

The cargo of the *Magellan* was one million gifts from six million French families, who were saying thank you to America for the food. The gifts were in forty-nine boxcars, one for each state, and one to be shared by Washington, D.C. and Hawaii. The boxcars, smaller than American rail cars, were known as Forty and Eights [40 et 8s]. Built in France, they were so named because they were intended to carry either forty men or eight horses. Emblazoned on one side of each of the Merci's cars were the words, "Train de la Reconnaissance Francaise." On the other side were the words, "Gratitude Train" and also reproductions of the coats of arms of France's forty provinces."³⁶

The forty-nine boxcars were also called the "Merci Train," and its story remains as obscure in American history as its predecessor, the Friendship Train. Andre Picard, a French railroad worker, engendered the idea for the Merci Train. Knowing the appreciation of his fellow countrymen, Picard must have thought: "We must thank America. We must let them know how grateful we are for their help. Let's give them something back." Recognizing the complete of his countrymen, Picard and the French Railway War Veterans, who were the

sponsors of the Merci Train, asked the French people to give anything they could spare to the Americans.³⁷

The response was immediate and sincere. The French gave from their hearts as sincerely as the Americans had given. The gifts were simple: a doll, a pick or shovel, the uniform of a dead son, a drawing or painting. They were also magnificent: specially made doll costumes depicting French attire through the centuries; General Lafayette's walking stick; the bugle which sounded the end of World War I; an original bust of Benjamin Franklin; one of the first petroleum-operated cars made in France; one silk dress made in Lyon for each state; forty-nine types of French trees, one for each state.³⁸

Italy also sent gifts in appreciation. The only ones the writer knows about are four massive sculptures in Washington, D.C. Two of these are at the Washington end of the Arlington Memorial Bridge, and two more are at the Washington end of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge.

Among American military veterans there is a Forty et Eight Society, which is described as a fun branch of the American Legion. Officially known as *La Societe des Quarante Hommes et Huit Chevaux*, it was originally composed of World War I and World War II veterans who were often transported around the European theater in the boxcars. The society now consists of Korean and Viet Nam veterans also.³⁹ In most states the 40 et 8 societies were chosen to welcome the Merci car, or to be the cars' honor guards, or to receive some other laudatory recognition for their association with the boxcars. In many states, the 40 et 8 societies were also in charge of the cars' disposition and maintenance. In Nevada, William Crabtree was the *Chef de Guerre* of the state's 40 et 8.⁴⁰

Like all Merci boxcars destined for the western states, Nevada's car was delayed by extreme winter weather. Fierce blizzards crippled life in many states for weeks at a time, and all types of transportation were delayed. The weather was so deadly that cattle had to be fed with grain dropped from airplanes.

At 11:00 A.M. on February 23, 1949, hundreds of Carson City residents stood in the sun at the Virginia and Truckee Railroad depot. School bands from Carson City High School and the Stewart Indian School enlivened the already jovial mood. Schools dismissed students for the occasion. The American Legion, the Veteran of Foreign Wars, the Boy Scouts, and the Cub Scouts were among the organizations in attendance. All were awaiting the arrival of Nevada's boxcar from France.⁴¹

The depot's platform was decorated in red, white, and blue, and flew the French tri-color. Crabtree, head of Nevada's 40 et 8 Society, welcomed the dignitaries, including M. T. R. Trocme, attaché to the San Francisco French consul general; French railroad representatives M. Artiguenave and Mlle. Anna Marie Marx, a representative of France who had traveled with the Friendship Train in France; and M. LaPuyade, French representative in Reno.⁴² Governor Pittman and other state and local officials were part of this unique occasion.⁴³

Trocme officially presented the car to Governor Pittman.⁴⁴ In his speech he stated, "We thank you, friends of Nevada, for the help you have given us. We can't give you material goods equal to what you have given us, but we can show our gratitude in this way." Governor Pittman accepted the car, noting the long friendship between the two countries: "The very symbol of America, the Statue of Liberty is a gift to the United States from the people of France."⁴⁵ Miss Jean Elizabeth Weir of the Nevada Historical Society accepted the car on behalf of that institution, which was entrusted with the thirty-eight cartons and the distribution of the gifts.

Following these initial welcoming remarks, a parade moving to the music of the Stewart Indian School Band proceeded down Carson Street to the Capitol, where the Nevada Legislature and the state's Supreme Court judges formally accepted the *Merci* car. The ceremony opened with an invocation by Rev. J. L. Harvey. Senator Baker read the resolution, which was translated into French by Assemblyman Don Crawford. Immediately following the ceremony, Henry De Paoli, state secretary of the American Federation of Labor, entertained twenty-five French and Nevada officials at a lunch at the Carson Hot Springs.

On March 5, 1949, the State Museum in Carson City displayed the gifts. A room had been prepared for the display.⁴⁶ Museum director J. E. Green said that the exhibit would remain open as long as people were interested in it. France sent some identical gifts to each state: trees and shrubs; an album of children's drawings; a wedding gown from Lyon.⁴⁷ Some of Nevada's special gifts included a bust of Voltaire, a cord woven from French and American flags flown from the Eiffel tower the day Paris was liberated,⁴⁸ and a small chocolate pot that was 309 years old.⁴⁹ Governor Pittman received a personal gift of a map showing the routes the Allied Forces took during the liberation of Paris and the repatriation of France. In a letter to Governor Pittman the museum director asked if the museum could keep the map on display until the exhibit changed, since so many people were interested in it.⁵⁰ Notes accompanied many of the gifts. A woman from Nancy sent a sincere and moving letter.

Dear Friends of U.S.A. We send to you a little thing that will prove to you how very thankful we are to you for all that the U.S.A. make for France. I was prisoner of war. American troops make me free. My family in Alsace was delivered by American troops. Now the U.S.A. protect us against the barbarity of the bolshevists. For all, we like the Americans. I cannot write many things. I learned alone without teacher, the American language. My family and I wish very great happiness to you and to U.S.A.⁵¹

In a special ceremony on May 10, 1949, Jean de Lagarde presented "The Children's Book of France" to Governor Pittman. Similar presentations would be made to the governors of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. The pictures in the books, which also contained letters of gratitude written by the children, were chosen from a nationwide contest held in France. Lagarde said that he wanted all the Nevada school children to see the book, and he hoped it would ultimately remain in the state museum.⁵² Smaller gifts, such as toys, games,

and dolls, were given to needy children and orphans.⁵³

Newspapers in Nevada's other towns barely mentioned the arrival of the Nevada boxcar, sometimes referred to as the French Friendship Car. For example, the February 23, 1949 *The Sparks Tribune*, noted on page one that Governor Pittman and representatives of the French government would participate in a special ceremony welcoming the boxcar. The article also noted that it would tour Nevada's seventeen counties. *The Ely Daily News* of February 10, 1949, reported similar information and referred to the state tour. The only reference made about the Merci Train in *The Humboldt Star* was a tiny article on page one of the November 7, 1949, issue stating that Governor Pittman had received a book compiled by French children in a special ceremony.

The Merci Car was supposed to tour the state. Crabtree of the Nevada 40 et 8 Society announced the tour at the official reception at the Capitol.⁵⁴ The following day William T. Holcomb announced the tour would start shortly. "After the tour of the state, the freight car will be returned to the museum, and probably kept permanently there on a siding next to the locomotive Glenbrook. Most of the articles will remain in the museum. I think they would be worth more in the museum than given away."⁵⁵

Specifics of this tour are extremely difficult to confirm. If references do occur in the local papers, they merely cite the arrival of the boxcar and a pending ceremony. There are no reports on the train. Although never mentioning the Merci car, the March 5 1949, *The Reese River Reveille*, printed an interesting article on the relations between France and the United State. The author declared that the Friendship Train (albeit he referred to it as the Freedom Train) and the Merci Train might serve to "establish the real Franco-American affection that should have come into existence long ago."⁵⁶ This point of view is as timely now as it was in 1949.

The Nevada State Museum in Carson City has over 200 of the Merci Train gifts. Although most of the gifts are stored, many are used in exhibits at various times.⁵⁷ Seeing the gifts is like touching history and feeling the friendship of a grateful people thousands of miles distant.

The boxcar, like almost all of the other states' boxcars, was forgotten and fell into disrepair. In 1995 Grand Chef de Gare David Parsons of Sparks, Nevada, and Sous Chef de Chemin de Fer Don Quesinberry of Forestville, California, decided that Nevada's car should be restored. The Forty and Eight Society agreed to raise the money. The Friends of the Nevada State Railroad Museum made generous donations, and ordinary citizens also contributed. In the fall of 2002, the restoration was completed.⁵⁸

The car is on permanent display at the State Railroad Museum in Carson City. It is an exciting and tangible reminder of Nevada's and America's compassion for Europe and Franco-American friendships. Pictures of all the extant Merci boxcars are available on the web at <http://www.rypn.org/merci/>. The site is rich in information about the boxcars, and it has many pictures of the gifts.

NOTES

¹Vail Pittman, Proclamation, 1 November 1947, Nevada State Archives, Governor Vail Pittman's Papers, GOV-0146.

²Tania Long, "Pictures of an Average French Family," *New York Times Magazine* (14 March 1948), p. 13.

³Drew Pearson, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round," *Illinois State Register* (18 November 1947), p. 1.

⁴Pearson explicitly stated some of his thoughts regarding the founding of the Friendship Train in the "Merry-Go-Round" column appearing in Tulare, California's the *Advance Register* 27 October 1947 "...the people of western Europe [will] get the full significance of this American generosity, [sic] there won't be any doubt as to whose side they will be on. That, of course, is one big reason for the Friendship Train, and why newsreels of the train will be shown in European theaters, and why the French and Italian embassies are working on the ideas of meeting the food shipments on the other side with two European 'Friendship Trains to carry the cargoes from the French and Italian seaports through Italy and France.'"

⁵A very loose connection with the United States government existed in that President Truman heartily endorsed it. "'Friendship Train' to Roll Out of Valley' Washington Merry-Go-Round," *Advance Register* [Tulare, Calif.] (27 October 1947), p. 1.

⁶"Seattle's 'Friendship' Car of Food Departs," *Seattle Daily Times* (6 November 1947), p. 20.

⁷"City Awaits Arrival of Friendship Train," *Evening Bulletin* (17 November 1947), p. 1.

⁸"Good Will Train Grows," *York Dispatch* (10 November 1947), p. 1.

⁹Drew Pearson, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round," *Intelligencer Journal* (1 November 1947), p. 10.

¹⁰Drew Pearson, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round," *Nevada State Journal* (9 November 1947), p. 4.

¹¹"Film Stars to Aid Food Train Parade Tomorrow," *Los Angeles Times* (6 November 1947), p. 6.

¹²Drew Pearson, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round," *Gazette and Daily* (7 November 1947), p. 28.

¹³"'Friendship Train' to Gather Food for Europe's Needy, in Reno Nov. 9," *Nevada Appeal* (3 November 1947), p. 1.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵"Vegas to Contribute Food for U.S. Friendship Train," *Las Vegas Evening Review* (3 November 1947), p. 4; "Loading of Two Cars Will Begin Here Today; Ceremony Set for Sunday Evening," *Nevada State Journal* (8 November 1947), p. 1.

¹⁶Minutes of the Meeting of the Nevada Citizens Food Committee, 21 November 1947, Nevada State Archives, Governor Vail Pittman's Papers, GOV-0146.

¹⁷"Big Sendoff to Friendship Train Given," *Nevada State Journal* (11 November 1947), p. 1+. [Hereinafter referred to as "Sendoff."]

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹"Program Set for Arrival Sunday Night," *Nevada State Journal* (7 November 1947), p. 16.

²⁰"Donations for 'Friendship Train' Being Planned by Sparks Organizations; Food Is the Main Item Sought by Committee," *Sparks Tribune* (4 November 1947), p. 1; "Sparks Contributions Pour in for 'Freedom [sic] Train' With Deadline Set for Saturday Noon at Local Fire Station," *Sparks Tribune* (7 November 1947), p. 1.

²¹"Program Set for Arrival Sunday Night" (7 November 1947), p. 16; "Big Ceremony Planned Here This Evening," *Nevada State Journal* (9 November 1947), p. 12.

²²*Ibid.* (7 November 1947), p. 1.

²³"Friendship Train Given Support Here," *Independent News* (5 November 1947), p. 2.

²⁴"Tonopah Assists Freindship Train," *Nevada State Journal* (12 November 1947), p. 6.

²⁵"Friendship Train Gets Over 3 Tons From Vegas Area," *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (7 November 1947), p. 2. Pioche was closer than Ely, but for unknown reasons Ely seems to have been the collection point.

²⁶Pearson, Drew. "Letter to Gov. Pittman," 26 January 1948. Nevada State Archives, Governor Vail Pittman's Papers, GOV-0146.

27"Vegas to Contribute Food for U.S. Friendship Train," *Las Vegas Review Journal* (3 November 1947), p. 4.

28"Friendship Train Gets over 3 Tons from Vegas Area," *Las Vegas Review Journal* (3 November 1947), p. 4.

29"Lincoln County Does 'Bit' for Friendship Train," *Pioche Record* (6 November 1947), p. 1.

30"Friendship Train Drive Adopts County Slogan," *Ely Daily Times* (4 November 1947), p. 1. The slogan was, "Get your package on the Friendship Train."

31>Loading of Two Cars Will Begin Here Today; Ceremony Set for Sunday Evening," *Nevada State Journal* (8 November 1947), p. 1.

32"Austin Makes Contribution of Food for Nevada's Cars in the Friendship Train," *Reese River Reveille* (15 November 1947), p. 1.

33Unless otherwise stated, nearly all the information about the smaller towns is derived from this article. "Loading of Two Cars Will Begin Here Today; Ceremony Set for Sunday Evening," *Nevada State Journal* (8 November 1947), p. 1.

34"Ranchers Assist 'Freedom' Train," *Nevada State Journal* (9 November 1947), p. 10. Occasionally speakers and newspapers referred to the Friendship Train as the Freedom Train. Both trains toured the country at the same time but had no connection. The Freedom Train displayed historical documents about our country's history.

35"N.Y.C. Welcomes French Gift Train," *Wilmington Morning News* (4 February 1949), p. 3. Myriad newspapers and magazines ran stories about the Merci Train's arrival. It should be noted that the Merci Train in the United States was not a train because the couplings of the boxcars were incompatible with American couplings, the cars were shipped individually to the states.

36Lt. Col. Manuel A. Conley, "WhatEver [sic] Happened to Those Forty and Eights?" *Retired Officer* (January 1983), p. 34-38.

37Bill Gorman, "The P.R.R. Helps France Say 'Thank You,'" *Mutual Magazine* (March 1949), p. 3+. Picard is usually given the most credit for the idea. Naturally, many French officials and laborers worked to make the train a reality.

38"What Ever [sic] Happened to Those Forty and Eights?" 34-38; "Inventory," Pennsylvania Museum Harrisburg, Pa.; and Delaware State Museums, Dover, Del. Newspapers across the country published the arrival of the *Magellan* and the arrival of the boxcar in their respective states. Many listed some of the gifts.

39"What Is the Forty Et Eight?" Unidentified pamphlet.

40"40 et 8 Welcomed by Cardon," *Nevada Appeal* (23 February 1949), p. 11.

41*Ibid.*

42Audrey E. Bell "French Show Gratitude by Merci Train Gifts to Nevada," *Nevada Highway and Parks* (June-Sept. 1949), 21-31. This article provides superb information about the arrival of the Nevada boxcar, the people involved, the exhibit in Carson City, and the gifts.

43"Gratitude Train Due Here Feb. 16," *Nevada Appeal* (8 February 1949), p. 6.

44"French Gratitude Car Arrives in Carson at 11:15 Today," *Nevada Appeal* (23 February 1949), p. 1.

45"40 et 8 Welcomed by Cardon," *Nevada Appeal* (23 February 1949), p. 11.

46Bell, "French Show Gratitude," 21-31.

47Drew Pearson. Letter to Food for Friendship, Inc., (12 January 1949); Joseph M. Carrierre, Letter, (14 March 1949), Nevada State Archives, Governor Vail Pittman's Papers, GOV-0146.

48Bell, "French Show Gratitude," 30.

49*Ibid.*, 27.

50J.E. Green, Letter to Vail Pittman, 8 March 1949, Nevada State Archives, Governor Vail Pittman's Papers, GOV-0146.

51"Museum Finds Wide Variety of Gifts in French 40 et 8 Car," *Nevada Appeal* (1 March 1949), p. 6.

52"French Consul Gives Pittman Picture Book," *Reno Evening Gazette* (10 May 1949), p. 11.

53Alice C. Maher, Letter to Frank O Sether, 11 April 1949, Nevada State Archives, Governor Vail Pittman's Papers, GOV-0146.

54"40 et 8 Welcomed by Cardon," *Nevada Appeal* (23 February 1949), p. 11.

55"40 et 8' Boxcar Contents Given to State Museum," *Nevada Appeal* (24 February 1949), p. 1.

56"France and the United States," *Reese River Reveille* (5 March 1949), p. 6.

⁵⁷Officials at the museum have provided this information.

⁶¹Tod Jennings of Carson City, Nevada has kindly provided the information regarding the refurbishing of the Merci car.

Book Reviews

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee. By Dee Brown (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001).

Documents of United States Indian Policy. Edited by Francis P. Prucha (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000)

It was 1970 and the civil rights movement of the preceding decade had swept through urban America. Despite growing awareness of ethnic issues, few in American society considered Indian issues as central to the contemporary scene. A year earlier, pan-tribal activists had drawn national media attention as they occupied Alcatraz, the vacated federal prison in San Francisco Harbor, but somehow their actions failed to ignite much public response. Dee Brown's book, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, appeared and almost immediately drew nationwide attention to Indian grievances and the history of tribal relations with the federal government. Given the divisiveness of the Viet Nam era and the growing public suspicion of federal actions, the book's negative portrayal of American Indian policy struck a responsive chord. Almost overnight it sold tens of thousands of copies and, from that day to this, has shaped public opinion about the issues it discussed.

This new edition celebrates the book's thirtieth year in print, and, if my students are a valid sample, it continues to persuade readers despite its one-sided and unbalanced style and scholarship. Brown's thesis is simple. When it came to dealing with the West's Indian tribes during the last half of the nineteenth century, the federal government could do nothing that one might consider to be right, honest, or decent. Rather, it stole land from, lied to, and murdered tribal people through design or incompetence for decades. The author develops this framework through his selection of incidents, his reading of only part of the evidence, and his insistence on seeing only the darkest and most negative motivations of the government. As disorganized, underfunded, and incompetent as the United States government proved to be during most of the nineteenth century, it would have taken an almost unbroken string of miracles for it to have succeeded at all of the crimes Brown claims it committed. In its own way this book is as one-sided and inaccurate as the film *Dances With Wolves* was several decades later. There is no doubt that the events he narrates so movingly occurred. There is much doubt that the government actively sought the results the book presents!

Brown's study represented a semi-scholarly effort to cash in on the bitter

anti-government attitudes of the Viet Nam era, and it succeeded brilliantly. Much of the middle class tended to see federal officials as responsible for the war, the riots that tore through major cities, and the bitter ethnic hatred searing the land. *Bury My Heart* benefited from those feelings while at the same time providing more fuel for the anti-government fires. In many ways it was an updated version of Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor*, which was published in 1881 and was written to generate sympathy for the tribes and to cause the government to change its policies toward the reservation dwellers. Her effort did just that, supplying ideas and examples for social reformers of the time. Brown's work had a similar impact on society and brought the full glare of public attention to the past relations between Indians and the government at a time when the Red Power movement had begun to attract national attention. There can be little doubt that its message had an impact on social thought at the time of its publication, and that Brown's ideas continue to influence how some people view the past right down to the present.

The second book, Francis P. Prucha's *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, represents something entirely different. Rather than focusing on government misdeeds, it offers a look at national policies through an extensive listing of federal documents related to Indian affairs. Stretching from the era of American Independence to 2000, it presents 238 documents. These documents range from a letter written by George Washington in 1783 to a March 2000 list of the 556 federally recognized tribal groups. Prucha, the dean of American scholars working on federal-Indian relations, has a different motive for his book than Brown. The compilation of what he describes as "official and quasi-official records" includes treaties, laws, court decisions, investigative reports, presidential speeches, and policy statements. That being the case, it does not include statements from Indians on their views about dealing with the government.

There is no discernible thesis here. Clearly the documents that make up the collection are there to present the multifaceted actions and statements of U.S. officials as they dealt with tribal people. Many of the items appear in their entirety. Most of those that do not are from the most recent past when legislation often runs to fifty or more pages in length. This new edition contains all but one item included in the two preceding editions and has added forty new documents. It is designed for use as an instructional tool in college and university classes in American Indian relations or related courses. It makes no overt effort to influence the reader's opinion. At the same time, a critic might complain that this is as nearly one-sided as Brown's book because it shows the government as more neutral than it was, while Brown depicts federal officials as more evil than they probably were. Most instructors and many students today are too sophisticated, however, to accept federal documents at face value, so they provide excellent tools for generating effective discussion. The documents here impel the reader to compare what the government said it was

doing with the actual record of events. As a group, they are a convenient reference collection of primary source material. Prucha's documentary edition is for teaching, Brown's rhetoric is for influencing opinion. Whether new or thirty years old, both succeed.

Roger L. Nichols
University of Arizona

I'll Go and Do More: Annie Dodge Wauneka, Navajo Leader and Activist. By Carolyn Niethammer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001)

In clear and lucid prose, biographer Carolyn Niethammer documents the life of the well-known Navajo leader and activist, Annie Dodge Wauneka. From her childhood as the daughter of Navajo leader Chee Dodge to her career as the longest-serving woman on the Navajo Tribal Council, Annie Dodge Wauneka distinguished herself in both the Navajo and the American worlds through which she traversed in her life. Niethammer treats Wauneka as being what Margaret Szasz and others term a "cultural broker" someone who negotiates and navigates between two cultures. Annie's Navajo name translates, in fact, as "going in-between."

Wauneka had an unusual childhood by both Navajo and white American standards. Although most Navajos lived in matrilineal family units, Annie's father took her away from her mother's hogan and into his own home when she was about eight months old. Annie's mother had been "drafted by her family as a fill-in wife for Dodge when . . . his wives had left him temporarily" (p. 4). When Dodge's wives returned, Annie's mother, now pregnant, went back to her hogan. Yet, when Dodge learned of Annie's birth, he took her back to live with him.

This proved to be a mixed blessing for Annie. On the one hand, her father was a powerful political figure and a successful rancher and trader whose home was a central hub of the Navajo reservation. Annie appears to have developed her intense interest in political life by watching her father at work. On the other hand, Dodge and his wives treated Annie differently than her half siblings. He gave his other children less work to do than Annie, and sent them to private Catholic schools for their education. When she turned eight, Annie was sent to Fort Defiance boarding school, a government-run school for Indians. The year was 1918, and a deadly influenza epidemic was sweeping the country. While Dodge pulled his other three children out of their private schools and took them safely to his home, he left Annie at Fort Defiance, where 250 children and twenty employees had contracted the flu. Later, Annie's half-sister was given a *Kinaaldá*, or puberty ceremony, but Annie was not. And, Annie was never in-

structed in how to take part in Navajo dances.

At nineteen, Annie left her father's home to marry George Wauneka, but the couple lived on some of her father's land and managed part of his huge sheep operations. Occasionally, Chee would hold meetings at Annie's home. After finishing chores, she would "come in and sit in the corner" in order to learn more about Navajo political issues. The Navajos faced a major crisis in the 1930s when the Bureau of Indian Affairs under John Collier introduced the stock reduction program. Annie became involved in translating and interpreting government messages for the Navajos, and then she was elected to the Grazing Committee. During those same years, up to 1950, Annie had ten children, one of whom died in infancy, and several of whom had multiple disabilities.

At age forty-one, in 1951, Annie won her first term on the Navajo Tribal Council. She was the second woman ever to do so. From the beginning, Annie asserted her opinions forcefully, ignoring protocol for newly elected tribal council members. Annie immediately began working on the severe problem of tuberculosis on the reservation. Navajos suffered from the disease at a rate nine to ten times that of the larger American population. After studying the causes and treatment of tuberculosis with Western doctors, she developed innovative ways of blending Navajo and Western health concepts in order to ensure that tuberculosis was eventually eradicated on the reservation. Annie also became involved in disease prevention efforts, even holding forth on public health issues in a weekly radio program on KGAK in Gallup. Later in her life, she also tackled alcohol abuse and peyote use, but she was never as successful in this work as in her efforts to abolish tuberculosis. Her work caught the attention of state and national officials, culminating in 1963 in a Presidential Medal of Freedom and in 1984 with a Navajo Medal of Honor.

Given her outspokenness, Annie Wauneka often found herself enveloped in conflict. Niethammer details the disagreements that arose within tribal government over such issues as peyote, the presence of white lawyers, and Peter McDonald's chairmanship. Annie is well remembered, in fact, for hitting a white lawyer on the head and face during a tribal council meeting.

Niethammer captures the complexity and charisma of Annie Dodge Wauneka. She conjures up some memorable scenes: Annie's love of speeding in her car; Annie's close friendship late in her life with a young white former sociology professor, Ron Faiche; and Annie's demonstration of how to butcher a sheep, Navajo-style, when she visited China.

One weakness in Niethammer's biography is her decision to use a Western psychological idea, the Jungian concept of the "father's daughter," to explain Wauneka's drive and motivation. Niethammer intimates that Wauneka was spurned as a child by her famous father and not equally treated with her siblings. Thus, Niethammer suggests, Wauneka was driven by a desire to prove herself to her father. Although Niethammer is careful to suggest that there might be other explanations for Wauneka's drive, she chooses to highlight this one

throughout the book. It might have done more justice to Wauneka to look for Navajo explanations of her motivations.

Niethammer also applies Western gender concepts to Wauneka's life. She comments repeatedly on Wauneka's supposedly unconventional marriage, in which she travelled constantly from her home to stump for herself or other Navajo candidates or to campaign for effective health care, while her husband, George, stayed home and took care of the household and the children. (Wauneka later put nearly all of her children in boarding school.) Niethammer comments that George's "willingness to be both mother and father to the children for periods of time" had, at that time, no "sanction in either the white or Navajo culture" (p. 83). Yet, such a marriage may only have been unconventional in Western eyes. There may have been other precedents within Navajo society that better explain George and Annie's gendered division of labor.

These slight shortcomings should not deter readers from Niethammer's book. It joins a growing number of biographies and autobiographies of Native American women that are gradually building a fuller picture of the experiences and perspectives of Native American women in history.

Margaret Jacobs
New Mexico State University

The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century: American Capitalism and Tribal Natural Resources. By Donald L. Fixico (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1998)

Donald Fixico's *The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century* uses the story of capitalist exploitation of Indian resources as an allegorical warning to all inhabitants of the earth about the dangers of continued environmental abuse. Ever since the Columbian exchange brought two world views into collision, Native Americans, Fixico asserts, have watched as "greedy" Europeans "victimized" them by violently usurping most of their lands, and then during the twentieth century, by attacking their "traditional" culture. Forced to adapt to the ways of capitalism, many Indian communities were overwhelmed during the last century. Capitalists seized on this advantage to go after what remained of tribally controlled resources. The implications of this Indian experience are global. The author believes that the level of international environmental abuse has become so serious in terms of global warming, the stripping of farm lands, and the ravaging of rain forests that the survival of mankind hangs in the balance. The air we breathe, the water we drink, the foods we eat are all polluted by the effects of capitalism and industrialism. Fixico seeks answers to several perplexing questions: "What is happening [to the earth] and Why?

Where will it end? How can this wastefulness . . . be stopped (p. ix)?" The answers, he contends, can be found in the wisdom of his ancestors and in their relationships to other humans and to the earth.

Fixico presents several case studies from various regions of the United States during the twentieth century illustrating how capitalism and European institutions allowed non-Indians to exploit Native resources and forced Indian leaders to incorporate capitalist elements into their strategies protecting the interests and cultures of their peoples. The book is organized into two parts. In the first, the author employs what he describes as an "internal model of analysis" that asserts six key elements to Indian society: person, family, clan, community, nation, and spirituality (p. x). Six chapters provide separate case studies to demonstrate how each of these internal elements of society came under attack as a result of "the external forces of American capitalism and federalism" (p. x). For example, chapter one looks at the impact of allotment on individuals through the story of Jackson Barnett, a Muscogee Creek elder, who became instantly wealthy as a result of the discovery of oil on his allotment. The "traditionalist" Barnett was overwhelmed by the manipulative efforts of non-Indians to get his money, including his wife who apparently got him drunk against his will and tricked him into getting married. The next chapter highlights the impact of white "greed" on an extended Osage family that was murdered for its oil, in order to reveal how capitalism undermined the interdependence of Indian families. Subsequent chapters look at Pueblo communities and water, the termination of the Klamath tribe, and the lack of court recognition for Chippewa and Lakota spirituality in land and resource cases.

In the five chapters of part two, Fixico addresses Indian efforts to craft strategies defending tribal lands and culture. He focuses here on the demands capitalism makes on reservation resources, the Council of Energy Resource Tribes' (CERT) attempts to foster tribal self-sufficiency through management of tribal resources, the use of the court system by Indians, Indian criticism of CERT, and Indian leadership. He concludes with a polemic against capitalist values in favor of a collective, "traditionalist" approach to resource use as a means of saving the earth and humanity.

While the perspective offered by Fixico is a welcome addition to the literature, it is unfortunately too often based on problematic assumptions limiting the effectiveness of an otherwise important message. For example, the study rests largely on the notion of a pristine precapitalist environment with Native cultures living in perfect harmony and balance with nature. As Shepard Krech's *The Ecological Indian*, the most recent rebuttal to this model demonstrates, precontact Native relations to the environment were far more complex. Fixico also seems to accept without question the notion of a progressive/traditional dichotomy. David Lewis's landmark study of the Ute leader, William Wash, convincingly illustrates the problems of this approach. Finally, Fixico's Indian environmentalist model is at times inscrutable, such as when he applies funda-

mental capitalist concepts to his description of Native wisdom. Consider, for example, his discussion of a Native wise-use land ethic in which he asserts that pre contact Indians pragmatically reasoned resources were finite and "that life would be difficult if the balance of *supply and demand* was disturbed" (p. 205 reviewer's emphasis). These concerns notwithstanding, *The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century* makes important contributions to our understanding of the Indian experience, the development of the West, and the debate over current resource use and abuse.

John W. Heaton
University of Alaska Fairbanks

Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations. By Vine Deloria, Jr. and David E. Wilkins (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999)

Few questions have consistently and enduringly vexed policy makers and scholars so much as the legal status of American Indians. From the beginning of the Spanish and Portuguese invasions of Indian communities to the most recent conflicts over casino gambling on Indian reservations, an incongruous body of constitutional, statutory, and case law has confounded national Indian policies already snarled by disparate presidential and congressional views on Indian priorities. In *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations*, Vine Deloria, Jr., a Standing Rock Sioux, and David E. Wilkins, a Lumbee, address constitutional issues related specifically to Indian affairs. Vine Deloria needs little introduction. Few names in Indian country over the past forty years are as immediately recognizable as his. Since the original publication of *Custer Died for Your Sins* in 1969, Deloria has established himself as a no-holds-barred, sometimes idiosyncratic, but solidly scholarly voice for American Indian rights and recognition. David E. Wilkins, Associate Professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Minnesota, is a leading scholar of American Indian law.

While those who enjoy Deloria's usually peppery prose will not be disappointed, *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations* is by no means a diatribe against the white majority on behalf of a red minority. Rather, it is a thoughtful, point-by-point analysis of how the Constitution's articles and amendments have been applied (or not) to American Indian communities. The Constitution itself, the authors imply, was not at fault for the plight (a word Deloria discusses extensively in *Custer Died for Your Sins*) of American Indians. In point of fact, those who worked toward a national policy regarding Indians in the writing of the Constitution and in early Congresses appear to have done so in good faith (p. 73). Perhaps too good. The original United States Indian policy was based mainly on the Constitution's Article 1 Section 8, which gives Congress the power

to "regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." In other words, the Founders clearly intended to base Indian policy on commercial relations. Yet by 1819, a humanitarian impulse propelled Congress beyond the bounds of the commerce clause with an act "making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements" (p. 72). As the authors point out, the "desire to civilize cannot be logically and clearly tied to the exercise of power under the commerce clause" (p. 73). Although one may concede the kindly intentions of the law's supporters, the ultimate result was a shift in federal policy away from commerce with Indian tribes, the direction of which would be based on contract or, in the context of Indian affairs, on treaty, to actually governing Indian tribes. By 1871, Congress was so intent on governing tribes that it declared them to be eligible for contract by treaty with the United States. In 1903, the Supreme Court affirmed Congress's "plenary" power over Indian tribes in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. By shifting government relations with Indian tribes from treaties, as specified in the Constitution, to governance, the United States has effectively deprived them of their original constitutional rights. "The Constitution provided a form of protection to Indian tribes because it identified tribes as having a particular political status that demanded treaty (bilateral) relationships and not simply legislative (unilateral) deliberations" (p. 70).

The inconsistency of federal policy and case law relating to Indian affairs is exacerbated by a tradition of capricious decisions based less on legal precedent and logic than on asserting non-Indian political power over reservations and related lands, and providing access for non-Indian entities to Indian resources. In *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, the authors argue, "the reasoning . . . is spurious and fictional, but because it is a Supreme Court decision, it is regarded as good law" (p. 69). And, even if it is not good law, it establishes Congress' overlordship of Indian country. Similarly, in *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's majority decision assigned a Forest Service road-building plan priority over American Indians' First Amendment right to free exercise of religion in a sacred area.

Deloria and Wilkins meticulously cite both case law and legislative deliberations in their study, which differs from other ponderous volumes on the subject, particularly Felix Cohen's venerable *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1942), in its concise and lucid discussion. There are, to be sure, a few places in the book which may be a little too concise; more detailed background and description of a few of the cases and events would make this book easier to use in an undergraduate course. The authors' emphasis on the relationship between the Constitution and Indian country would also be enhanced with a discussion of constitutional and policy inconsistencies within the reservation environment itself. This is not a popular subject. Writer Fergus Bordewich, in *Killing the White Man's Indian* (New York: Anchor, 1997), incurred the wrath of some in Indian academia by dis-

cussing constitutional tribulations on reservations. I regret that Deloria and Wilkins chose not to address this problem, since their insights would have provided a valuable contribution to an immediately pressing issue.

Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations is more than simply appropriate for undergraduate courses in American Indian studies; it should be one of the first books the teacher of such a course considers using. Because of its clarity and brevity, it would also be particularly useful to educators, employees of state and federal agencies, and, yes, even congressmen and state legislators.

David R. Wilson
Utah Valley State College

Portraits of Basques in the New World. Edited By Richard W. Etulain and Jeronima Echeverria (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999)

A hard-bound volume of 305 pages with endnotes and an index, *Portraits of Basques in the New World* contains thirteen contributions arranged in three categories: The Basque Diaspora in the New World, Immigration and Assimilation, and Modern Basques. The subjects covered are mostly male, and the topics follow the pattern of Basque settlement in North America, beginning five centuries ago in old Mexico and proceeding northward to the western United States. There is some truth to the long-held assessment that the Basques went from being the elite in the Spanish colonies to ranking near the bottom of society as sheepherders in the United States.

Part I begins with Juan Zumarraga (1476–1548), the first bishop of Mexico. The article was written by Ralph Vigil. Zumarraga, a major figure of colonial history, was a protector of the Indians, the first publisher of books in America, and the author of the earliest letter written in Basque. While Zumarraga did not operate in U.S. territory, the editors may have included him in the volume, because he owned a sheep ranch, which is not mentioned. Juan de Oñate (1552–1626) was a founder and colonizer of New Mexico. His activities may appear to be failures, but, Marc Simmons points out that he left an enduring legacy in ranching and mining settlements. We owe Oñate for the introduction of sheep, cattle, and European agriculture into the Southwest. Juan Bautista de Anza, father (1693–1740) and his son, also Juan Bautista de Anza (1736–1788), operated in northern Mexico and the Southwest as governors, military commanders, and entrepreneurs. Donald Garate is a specialist on northern Mexico Basques and has researched the Anzas extensively. Both were true frontiersmen, and the author calculates that the younger Anza may have ridden sixty thousand miles during his lifetime, whether fighting the Apaches or twice blazing the trail from Sonora to San Francisco.

Part II begins with a photographic essay of five families of sheepherders in

the high desert by Robert Boyd. The author discovered that the photographs held in family archives tell a story of their own.

The biographies of the Altube brothers, Pedro and Bernardo, by Carol W. Covey is similar to that of John B. Archabal, written by John Bieter. Both narratives describe archetypal success stories in the American West. The Altube brothers came to California lured by the discovery of gold. They ran cattle there, until they felt pressured by the Miller and Lux empire. In the early 1870s, they moved to northern Nevada and built a huge ranching operation. Archabal immigrated to Idaho and through shrewd business practices and frugal living came to own eighty thousand sheep. Though Pedro "Palo Alto" Altube is a Nevada Hall of Fame Cowboy, Archabal had a bigger impact on Idahoan society. Proof of this statement is that, when he died, the Ada County (Boise, Idaho) district courts closed to allow people to attend the funeral mass.

"Confessions of a Basque Shepherd," by Rene Tihista is a memoir of his teenage years in a northeast Montana sheep ranch. This rare, first-person narrative by a shepherd in the 1950s is a humorous account of fighting the woollies and the elements. Tihista tells a parallel story, too, that of the stern yet loving figure of his *ama* (mother), which transports the reader's imagination to the warm kitchen of a Basque farmstead in the Pyrenees.

In "Santi's Story," William A. Douglass reviews Santi Basterrechea's life. He came to Idaho to herd sheep in 1957 and was able to stay in the country because his father was an American. He moved to Reno, Nevada, where he drove trucks and took citizenship classes at night. He also went home and brought back a wife, raised a family, became involved in the Basque club, made money, and semi-retired at the age of fifty-five.

Jerónima Echeverría writes about "Lyda Esain: A *Hotelera's* Story" and also about six or seven other hotel-keeping ladies. Although Echeverría is not explicit, she concludes that in a boardinghouse venture the woman's work is decisive to the success or failure of the business. I boarded in one for over a year, and I can vouch for the dedication of these women and the endless hours that they worked. There was also a seedier side to every busy hotel, however, and that story remains to be told.

Part III analyzes four American-born Basques. Three achieved prominence on their own, and one, a woman, was instrumental for the reawakening of the Basque community, which, gratefully, raised her to prominence. J. Patrick Bieter looks at the remarkable figure of "Pete Cenarrusa: Idaho's Champion of Basque." He is a politician, rare for a Basque sheepman, and he has never lost an election in forty-five years, being Idaho's Secretary of State since 1967. In 1972, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution, introduced by Senator Frank Church of Idaho, which, as Bieter says, favored Basque "insurrectionists" over Spain, a Cold War ally. Cenarrusa was instrumental in the approval of the resolution. In March 2002, along with David Bieter, he repeated the performance by pushing a bill through the Idaho legislature that advocated independence for the Basque

Country. This controversy drew the attention of the Bush administration. Yet, given his modest demeanor, one would have never guessed Cenarrusa's influence.

The most significant story in this collection is that of Juanita "Jay" Uberuaga Hormaechea. According to Angeline Kearns Blain, Jay had no special training, but she was concerned that the Basques, particularly the children, could not dance the traditional dances. In 1948, when she decided to offer free dance classes, the community of Boise, Idaho, realized the significance of her gesture and supported the effort wholeheartedly. Within a year her troupe, 150 strong, scored a smashing success with "Song of the Basque" in the Boise Music Week. Three thousand people were turned away from the packed auditorium. The following year, she produced "Basque Festival," and five thousand people from all over the American West attended it. What would Basque- American culture be today without these festivals that are held throughout the West?

Richard W. Etulain delivers a penetrating essay on "Robert Laxalt, Basque Writer of the American West." Laxalt achieved fame with *Sweet Promised Land*, a story about his father told in "lean" and "limpid" prose. Almost overnight Laxalt emerged as the spokesman of the Basques, though he preferred to be known as a Western writer. Etulain says that the Basque label hung heavily on him since the land—whether it was the Sierra, the desert, or the Pyrenees—was pervasive in Laxalt's novels, and that is a Basque trait. I agree. When Basques meet, the first question is not, "What's your name?" or "What do you do for a living?" but, "Nongoa zara?" (Where are you from?).

In the last essay, William A. Douglass looks at ethnicity and assimilation as he tries to understand Robert Erburu's case. Erburu was a part-Basque Californian, but that fact meant little to him until adulthood. A graduate of Harvard Law School, in 1961 he joined The Times Mirror Company, which published the *Los Angeles Times*, and by 1981 he was its CEO. Erburu was and is a very active and dedicated citizen, serving in dozens of highly visible boards from museums to banks to chambers of commerce he has received numerous awards for his activities. While becoming a public man, he also became more and more interested in his Basque roots. So the question is: was he or wasn't he Basque?

The volume contains some misspellings, incorrect usage of the Basque language, and a few dubious statements. This native-Basque speaker also wishes the authors had differentiated Basque terms from Spanish ones, lest the readers think there is no difference. All in all, the array of figures in all walks of life studied here underscores that the Basques left the sheep camps rather quickly. Basques and their descendants, or anyone who still thinks that Basques are just shepherders, should read these stories, which will benefit students of ethnic and minority studies as well.

Jose Mallea-Olaetxe
University of Nevada, Reno

Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus. By Rick Perlstein (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001)

Rick Perlstein's book entitled *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* goes a long way toward filling an important gap in the historical literature of the early 1960s. Perlstein, a free-lance journalist, tells the story of how supporters of the New Right managed to gain control over the organization of the national Republican Party in 1964. *Before the Storm* is, in essence, an updated version of Theodore White's *The Making of the President 1964*, which focuses on the loser of the election rather than its winner. In so doing, Perlstein sheds light on the reasons behind the conservative Republican revolt that began in the late 1950's and explains why it failed to seize the day during the ever more polarized decade that followed.

Before the Storm is divided into four parts of roughly equal length. The first introduces the leaders of the New Right and their early efforts from 1958 through the end of the presidential election of 1960. Part two deals with the crucial transitional period from 1961 to 1963, when grass-roots conservatism took a more extreme direction, as manifested in such organizations as the John Birch Society and the Young Americans for Freedom. Part three tells the story of Barry Goldwater's successful campaign for the 1964 Republican presidential nomination, and part four describes Goldwater's dismally unsuccessful effort to defeat incumbent Lyndon Johnson later that year.

Of the book's four parts, by far the most interesting are the first two because they deal more broadly with the rise of the New Right, and not just Goldwater's presidential campaign. Perlstein is a gifted writer, who manages to bring alive the intensity and excitement many conservative Americans then felt. Much of this intellectual vitality, as Perlstein makes clear, stemmed from their increasing sense that the United States was an endangered society in need of rescue by the Right. In part, such conservatives worried about threats from abroad, such as the spread of communism in Southeast Asia, Fidel Castro's Cuban revolution, Soviet advances in rocket and satellite technology, and the risk that arms control agreements could turn out to be a trap if the Russians cheated.

Before the Storm suggests, however, that domestic problems worried the creators of the New Right at least as much, if not more than foreign ones. The area of greatest concern in this realm was the loss of freedom, especially for entrepreneurs, posed by strong labor unions, high taxes, and ever greater federal government intrusion into the free enterprise system. Exacerbating those long-standing concerns on the Right were increasing inflation and ever more foreign competition beginning in the late 1950s. These related trends, which business executives recognized sooner and understood better than most other Americans, posed a serious long-term threat to the health of the nation's economy. Not all of the New Right's domestic concerns lay, however, in the realm of economics. Many highly conservative people, as Perlstein makes clear,

then also worried a lot about the threats to a free society posed by an increasingly activist Supreme Court, rising crime (especially urban riots), a decline in traditional morality more generally, and the nation's peacetime draft law, which even the hawkish Goldwater saw as unnecessary. Many staunch segregationists also found themselves drawn toward the New Right camp because it opposed Supreme Court rulings as the way to end Jim Crow.

Having laid out the essentially (but not entirely) libertarian vision of the New Right, Perlstein proceeds to explain how its adherents came to settle on Goldwater as their leader in the early 1960s. *Before the Storm* is also very interesting in this regard, because it reveals that "movement conservatives" found Goldwater, rather than the other way around. Goldwater's background, basic philosophy, and temperament made him a good fit for the New Right. Perhaps most importantly, he came from the American Southwest, which was far from the financial and political centers of the East. In that environment, suspicion of eastern financiers and supporters of a big federal government never vanished, even during Eisenhower's moderately conservative presidency. Other factors leading New Rightists to Goldwater were his business background (he had inherited a chain of department stores), his lack of the kind of personal ambition that led to compromises with moderates, and his independent, forthright style.

Perlstein tells the familiar story of how the New Right recruited a reluctant Goldwater to advance its cause, and then won the GOP presidential nomination for him in parts three and four of his book. Intense, grass-roots struggle of the sort common on the far Left during the 1930s and 1940s, combined with the advent of direct-mail fundraising techniques that would eventually revolutionize American politics achieved this goal. Perlstein also recites the various weaknesses of the more moderate candidates in 1964, such as New York's Nelson Rockefeller, Michigan's George Romney, and Pennsylvania's William Scranton, and he explains why they failed to block Goldwater's nomination. *Before the Storm* concludes by recounting the organizational disaster that was Goldwater's general election campaign. The candidate's maverick tendencies so weakened the conservative cause many pundits misinterpreted the election's outcome. Rather than a decisive rejection of the New Right, Goldwater's embarrassing defeat merely signaled, Perlstein suggests, a setback for a movement that had tried to come too far, too fast.

Before the Storm does have a few flaws. First, it contains several factual errors. For example, on page 27, Perlstein writes "In 1957 the Democrats began control of the [U.S.] Senate" when that had happened two years earlier. On page 41 Perlstein listed among "conservative stalwarts" in the U.S. Senate "Malone of California," but George Malone hailed from Nevada. On page 262 Perlstein refers to Maryland Governor Theodore R. McKeldin as the "Baltimore mayor." On page 283 he identifies the leading character in *Seven Days in May*, the popular novel made into a movie about an attempted military coup in

the United States, as "William Maltoon Scott" when the correct name was "James Mattoon Scott." Perlstein writes on p. 493 that in the fall of 1964 "Harold Wilson was ousted as British prime minister" when he was then elected to that office. These kinds of mistakes are troubling not so much in themselves as for what they suggest about the care with which Perlstein did his research and writing. *Before the Storm* can also be faulted for failing to delve more deeply into the economic changes at work that energized libertarian conservatives in the early 1960s. Despite these flaws, Perlstein's book is a fine one, and will be of interest not just to the scholar, but also to the educated general reader and political activist.

David L. Stebenne
Ohio State University

Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America. Edited by Shelley Barnaowsky and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001)

The essays in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* look at how image and identity emerged in connection with the tourist industry. Editors Shelly Baranowski and Ellen Furlough have brought together an array of studies as revealing as they are diverse. The book has three sections. The first section explores the social, economic, medical, and religious forces at play when the bourgeoisie first engaged in tourism. Selections start with a discussion of spas in France and go on to detail the stories of Lourdes as a pilgrimage site, urban festivals in the United States, and the infant tourist industry in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The second section arranges chapters around the theme of tourism as a form of mass consumption in the early twentieth century. Here topics include the development of tourism in Sweden, marketing U.S. National Parks as uniquely "American" icons, the influence that the Depression had in ironically stimulating the tourism industry, and the experiences of Nazi Germany's "Strength Through Joy" program. The final section looks at tourism after World War II as tourist sites struggled to reconcile their society's emphasis on being modern and "up to date" with tourists' demands for the quaint, the traditional, and the unique. Authors note France's convoluted attempt to discuss the Second World War through tourist sites, the development of seaside beaches in Britain and Spain, the development of national tourism promotion in Britain, the attempts of the Canadian government to attract American tourists, and a program of large-scale tourist development in Languedoc sponsored by the French government.

The most intriguing point these essays cover is the extent to which the general public had to be introduced to the concept of travel as a worthwhile way to spend free time. A century ago, social reformers worried that workers with paid vacations might just use the time to moonlight at other jobs or waste it on drinking and sloth. During the early twentieth century governments launched programs to teach their working class and middle class populations that they, too, can (and should) be tourists. As Karen Dubinsky's chapter on Canada put it "consumers, like tourists, are made, not born" (p. 332). Today's association of "vacation" with taking a trip to another place was the result of nearly two centuries of marketing, official policy, social change, economic trends, and developments in transportation technology.

Tourism scholarship, such as Hal Rothman's *Devil's Bargains*, tends to center on the role of commercial interests. This book, by contrast, reveals the role that governments play in the process. Sometimes government policy reinforces commercial interests, as in the case of civic celebrations in the United States. Sometimes, however, it has the opposite role of curbing or challenging businesses, like along the beach in Blackpool. Sometimes, as in Sweden's promotion of internal tourism, ideological ideals drive the process with the business interests struggling to catch up. Britain's program to develop international tourism features pastoral images that clashed dramatically with British industry's attempts to depict Britain as a forward-looking technological society. In places such as Lourdes, government officials find themselves caught between commercial interests and those believing that the sacred should not be cheapened through mass-produced trinkets.

Taken together, these articles also show how many of the images we have of countries or specific locations emerged in response to the tourist industry and government policy emphasizing certain features and downplaying others. For example, the association of Austria with the Tyrol or Canadians with being friendly emerged when government-sponsored publicity campaigns promoted those images. In postwar France, how (and even if) communities remembered the Vichy era has varied from place to place, depending on public memory and local politics.

Equally revealing were the almost humorous ways that tourist facilities never quite lived up to their creators' exaggerated expectations. Tourists at early spas seemed intent on having a good time in spite of attempts by local physicians to establish spas as serious, legitimate medical treatments. The "Strength Through Joy" movement featured a leisure program supposedly accessible to all workers, but in reality it tended to cater to a specific segment of the workforce. In Languedoc, a massive resort intended to draw tourists into a supposedly backward region ended up catering to local people. In Canada, even the most sanguine officials had to carefully craft tourist promotions in the face of what their neighbors to the south generally considered substandard accommodations.

Among the more interesting chapters are those featuring places often over-

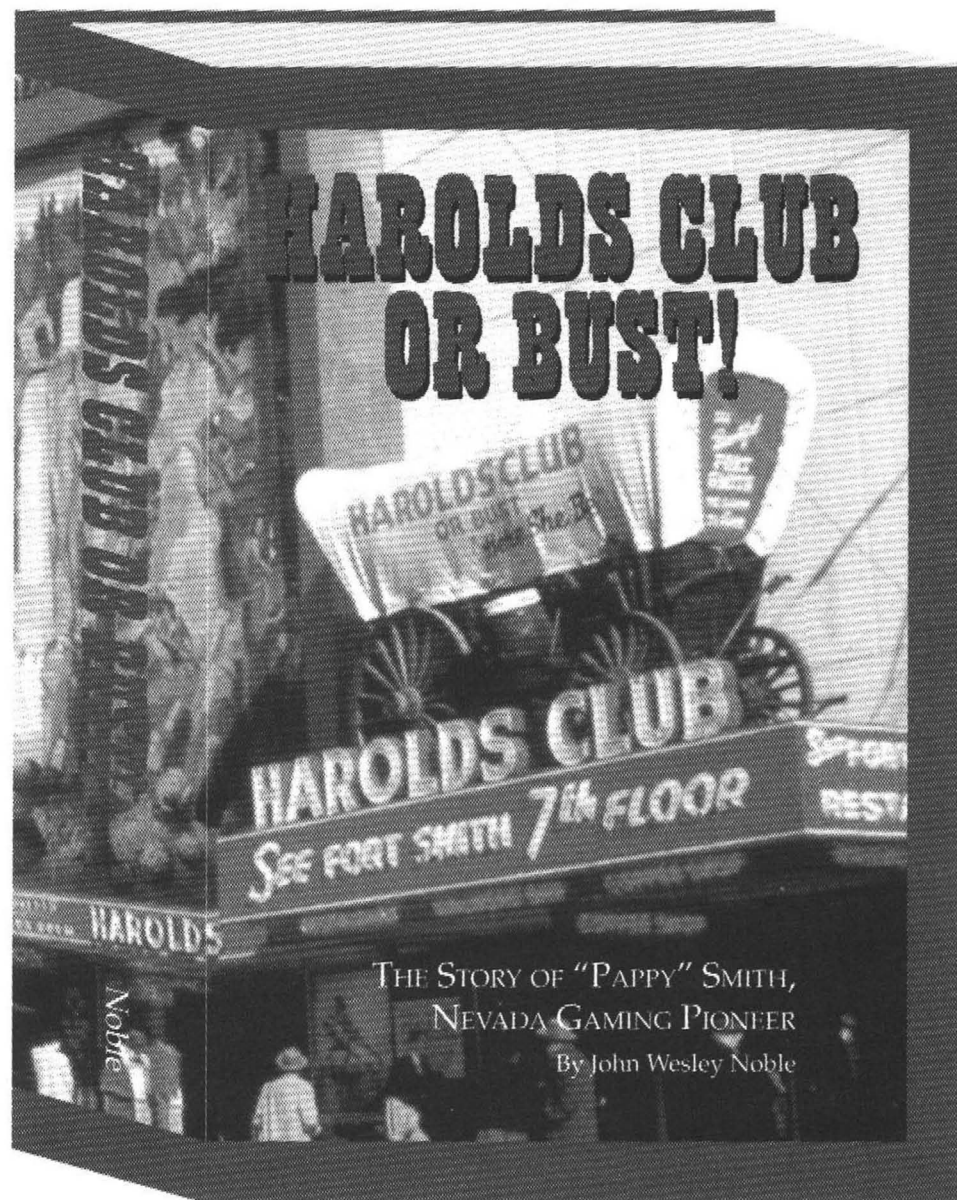
looked in the larger literature, which tends to focus primarily on the American and British experiences. By covering Sweden, Spain, and Austria, for example, *Being Elsewhere* provides a more balanced picture than one that focuses just on the major destinations. Even the chapters on France and Britain looked at places outside of Paris and London. Given the wide range of topics, there are naturally issues that could stand clarification, such as the exact function of a nineteenth century "bathing machine," or how Quebec figured in tourist campaigns as opposed to Anglophone Canada. Overall, however, the arguments are intriguing and the texts well written. Each piece is filled with little "aha" moments that either point out issues not otherwise covered in the literature or else make new connections on certain topics. This is a book that is easy to recommend because it brings so many insights into so many different areas.

Jay Price
Wichita State University

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Submission deadline is February 28, 2004. As usual, all authors accepted for the conference program will be invited to submit their papers for publication in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*.

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May 31, 2004 marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Nevada Historical Society on the campus of the University of Nevada in Reno. To celebrate the remarkable occasion the Historical Society will host a year-long series of events. The following are some of the highlights. Mark your calendars and please join us in celebrating our Centennial Jubilee:

- January 16 Annual Mid-Winter Gala: Opening of exhibition, *One Hundred Years of History in Nevada: The Story of the Nevada Historical Society*
- February 11 "The History of the Nevada Historical Society," Peter Bandurraga, Director
- March 2 Workshop: "Doing Your Family Genealogy," Michael Maher, Librarian, (9 to 11 a.m.)
- March 30 Workshop: "Preserving Your Family's Treasures," Lee Brumbaugh, Shery Hayes-Zorn, Eric Moody, Curators, (9 to 11 a.m.)
- April 14 "Collecting Antiques," Howard Rosenberg
- May 23 Centennial Garden Party Extravaganza
- May 25-26 Biennial Conference on Nevada History: "Out of the Past, Into the Future"
- June 16 "Collecting Nevada Art," Jim McCormick
- July 15 Opening Exhibition Reception: *Jeanne Elizabeth Wier and the Nevada Historical Society*
- July 17 Family Fun Day, a free event to include children's activities, music by the Rubber Chicken String Band, book signing by local authors, ice cream and lemonade
- Sept 18 Centennial Jubilee Extravaganza Street Fair (in collaboration with the Washoe County Library System, also celebrating their centennial in 2004)
- October 5 Workshop: "Doing Your Family Genealogy," Michael Maher, Librarian, (9 to 11 a.m.)
- October 26 Workshop: "Preserving Your Family Treasures," Lee Brumbaugh, Shery Hayes-Zorn, Eric Moody, Curators, (9 to 11 a.m.)
- October 29 Dinner of the Century
- Nov 24 *Deck the Halls Wreath Extravaganza* Silent Auction Opens
- December 11 *History for the Holidays*—a free event to include children's story hour, book signing by local authors, end of *Deck the Halls Wreath Extravaganza* silent auction, homemade cookies and punch

The Nevada Historical Society is located at 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, NV 89503.

For more information, please call 755 688-1190.

Galleries are open Monday – Saturday, 10:00 AM to 5:00 PM.

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Nevada Historical Society Quarterly



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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.