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

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Book Reviews

Front Cover: Glitter Gulch in 1948, reflecting the success of the town's promotion. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Selling "Sin City"
Successfully Promoting Las Vegas during the Great Depression, 1935-1941

LARRY GRAGG

In 1987, reflecting on the work of "city boosters" in the late 1930s, veteran Las Vegas journalist John F. Cahlan concluded that they did little more than let "people know what kind of a climate we had out here" and try "to bring in the retirement people."[1] Some historians have tended to offer a similarly dim assessment of boosters' efforts between the completion of Boulder Dam in 1935 and the opening of the Las Vegas Army Air Corps Gunnery School six years later. They argue that promotional efforts suffered because boosters had too little experience in promotional work, too few members of the Chamber of Commerce were willing to devote the time essential to the task, and chamber meetings were largely venues for extended, windy debate. When chamber members and other boosters did seek to sell Las Vegas, the argument goes, they devoted too much time to an unimaginative effort to promote a frontier theme and occasional sporting activities on Lake Mead when they should have focused on gambling and promoting a more sophisticated theme for their gambling venues.[2]

The issue raised by Gary E. Elliott, John M. Findlay, and Perry Bruce Kaufman, especially, is an important one for a community evidently so dependent upon what Eugene Moehring has called the "Federal Trigger"—that is, federal spending on Boulder Dam, a variety of New Deal programs and the extraordinary military expenditures during World War II and the Cold War.[3] Yet, a close examination of the years between 1935 and 1941, when federal spending dropped appreciably, reveals that town boosters enjoyed remarkable success: members

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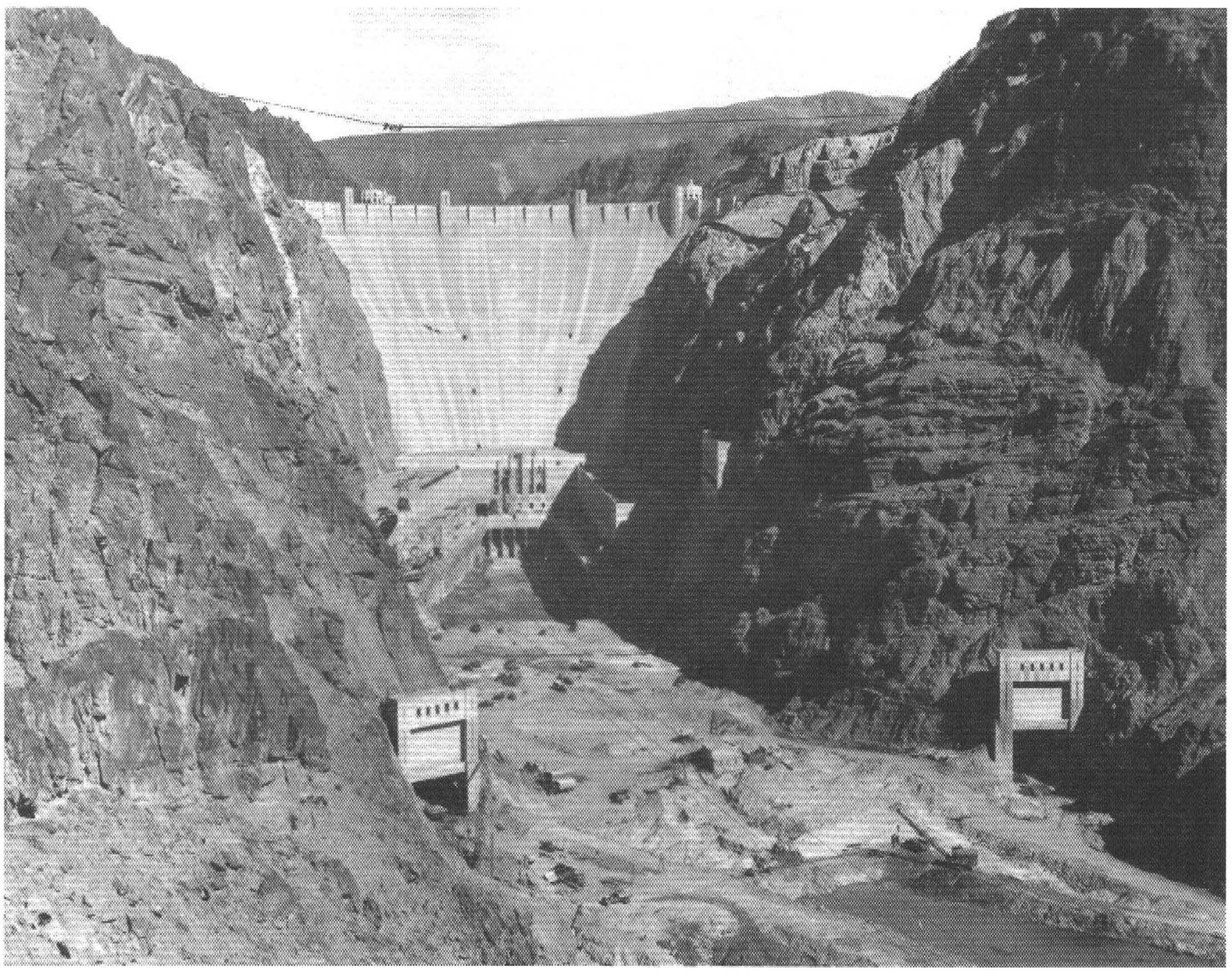


The construction of the massive Boulder Dam attracted thousands of tourists, many of whom stopped for a time in Las Vegas. (*University of Nevada, Las Vegas Special Collections*)

of the Chamber of Commerce as well as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Elks, and the Rotarians; journalists like Cahlan and "Pop" Squires; the Union Pacific Railroad, Western Air Express, and Greyhound Bus Lines. A few key individuals not only boosted the tourist traffic to Las Vegas, but also developed an image of the community as a hospitable and fun last frontier town.

Town boosters appreciated the impact the construction of Boulder Dam had on their community. The Hoover and Roosevelt administrations spent $19 million to build the engineering marvel and nearby Boulder City to house many of the construction workers. This money, along with New Deal programs that funded streets, sewers, and other infrastructure improvements, increased the town's population, land values, and new construction of businesses and residences. In the peak construction months, more than 5,000 Boulder Dam workers collectively earned $750,000 a month, and they spent a great deal of that in Las Vegas on gambling, drinks, food, and prostitutes.[4] Besides the construction workers, a slowly increasing stream of tourists had begun to stop and spend money in Las Vegas before or after visiting the dam.

As the massive construction project neared completion, some anticipated a grim future for Las Vegas. They variously predicted "decline and disaster for

Las Vegas" or that it simply would "collapse."[5] Community leaders likewise were concerned. In December 1934, Walter Bracken, the Las Vegas agent for the Union Pacific Railroad and its subsidiary, the Las Vegas Land and Water Company, reported, "It seems as though the Chamber of Commerce has taken on new life in the way of advertising, preparing now for the slump which we really look for and which is coming very shortly."[6] Two months later, on assuming the presidency of the chamber, longtime Las Vegan Albert S. Henderson expressed the hope of a growing number in the community when he said he believed, "the tide of tourist travel would . . . go far toward replacing the declining payroll of Boulder Dam construction." Within three years, chamber members agreed that the local economy had become almost entirely dependent upon tourists. They had become the life-blood of business in Las Vegas.[7]

Contrary to the recollections of some contemporaries and the assessment of some historians, the Chamber of Commerce took the lead in a vigorous campaign to boost tourism. Founded in 1911, the chamber had spent nearly two decades struggling to promote the agricultural prospects of the Las Vegas area with its numerous artesian wells and, as the center for tourism in the scenic Southwest.[8] The Chamber of Commerce had actually begun to take steps to increase tourism in 1932, when members voted to place a two-page advertisement about the community in the All-Year Club of Southern California tourist guide and persuaded the city government to pay the $2500 fee. This gave Las Vegas exposure in a booklet produced by southern California's leading booster club, which distributed more than a million copies of the publication throughout the nation by 1935.[9]

Besides continuing to run ads in the All-Year Club's booklets, the Chamber of Commerce became more active over the subsequent decade. It distributed hundreds of thousands of promotional folders, paid for road signs and billboards advertising Las Vegas throughout the Southwest, and placed displays of Las Vegas area attractions in department store windows, as well as in Trans World Airlines ticket offices and in travel bureaus in the Midwest and East. It conducted extensive newspaper and magazine advertising campaigns, distributed booster license plates and windshield stickers, assisted journalists writing newspaper and magazine stories, sponsored a tourist school to educate local residents on selling the community, and subsidized a model of Boulder Dam exhibited at the National Orange Show in San Bernadino, California.[10]

Other civic and service organizations in Las Vegas joined in the promotional efforts. The Junior Chamber of Commerce, which focused its efforts on favorable publicity for the area, distributed promotional pamphlets, staged a winter sports carnival at Mt. Charleston, attracted a regional Jaycee convention to Las Vegas, sponsored an annual horse race, and produced a float for the 1940 Tournament of Roses parade in Pasadena. Beginning in 1935, the Elks staged the annual Helldorado rodeo and parade. The Rotarians also pitched in, sending a delegation in western garb to their district conference in Hollywood in 1937

to promote the upcoming Helldorado events.[11]

The Union Pacific Railroad, a key player in Las Vegas development and eager to increase passenger traffic, also contributed. The rail line distributed several hundred thousand folders that included street scenes of Las Vegas, subsidized the taking of color promotional photos of the Boulder Dam area, put a window display of "Las Vegas Features" in its Los Angeles ticket office, placed ads in eastern newspapers for trips to the "romantic Old West city of Las Vegas," and produced and distributed a photo book entitled "Why Conventions Come to Las Vegas."[12] Greyhound Bus Lines and Western Air Express, likewise in hopes of increasing passenger traffic, also played a role. The former placed folders about Las Vegas in its 28 branch offices across the country. The airline helped pay for color photos of the Boulder Dam area in 1936 and, through United Air Lines, distributed more than three and a half million folders that featured the Las Vegas area as a tourist attraction.[13]

Las Vegas journalists were invaluable in boosting the town. Al Cahlan, editor and business manager of the *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, championed the tourist business in his editorials and "From Where I Sit" columns. His brother John, the managing editor, and reporter Florence Lee Jones developed the knack of spinning stories to make the town look good. John Cahlan later recalled that he was a correspondent for United Press and Jones reported for the Associated Press. "Anything that was favorable to Las Vegas," he explained, "we sent out over the wire; anything that was unfavorable we kept it right in the newspaper office." "Maybe we weren't doing the news justice," he acknowledged, "but it was for the benefit of the city of Las Vegas." The growth of the town, Cahlan argued, had a great deal to do with controlled news going out of the community. In his judgment, newspapermen had a critical civic function: an obligation to promote the community. Consequently, the Cahlans believed their paper should be close to the Chamber of Commerce. Indeed, four of the paper's staff became chamber members.[14]

Charles P. "Pop" Squires also was a constant supporter of Las Vegas's development as a tourist center. The long-time publisher of the *Las Vegas Age*, Squires had helped draft the city charter, been a tireless advocate through the 1920s for a dam on the Colorado River, and embraced virtually every opportunity to improve the town.[15] In his editorials, "Observations" columns, and choice of news stories, Squires always offered warm greetings to visiting groups, extolled the area's scenic wonders, boosted Las Vegas as a convention town, faithfully reported the chamber's promotional efforts, frequently touted the town's growing prosperity, provided extensive coverage of major tourist events like Helldorado and the annual fall horse races, and repeatedly pointed out the need for a major resort hotel.[16]

Radio slowly became an important tool of promotion. In April 1929, Las Vegas realtor T. J. Lawrence sponsored a three-hour program broadcast on fifteen California radio stations. Most of the air time featured musical

Charles "Pop" Squires, publisher of the *Las Vegas Age* and tireless town booster, as he appeared in a photo taken at about the time of his arrival in the new community in 1905. (*University of Nevada, Las Vegas Special Collections*)

performances by students from the University of Southern California, but interspersed throughout the program were "talks . . . descriptive of Las Vegas and vicinity."[17] Because the community advertised with the All-Year Club of Southern California, its managing director, Don Thomas, broadcast promotional programming for Las Vegas on Los Angeles radio stations. In October 1938, the CBS weekly series "City Salute" featured Las Vegas, along with Boulder City.[18] Finally, in fall 1940, Maxwell Kelch and George Foster started a Las Vegas broadcasting station with the call letters of KENO. The station quickly realized boosters' hopes of spreading the fame of Las Vegas. Within weeks of going on the air, listeners in Arizona, Utah, and California, as well as Nevada, were tuning in. Tourists within a hundred miles of Las Vegas also found the station and, according to the local press, had "their interest in our city aroused."[19]

As promoters of Las Vegas developed different techniques to sell their community to tourists, they sought to craft an appealing message. Given that the construction of Boulder Dam had attracted many tourists, they clearly understood the remarkable advantage in having the "greatest engineering wonder of the world" and Lake Mead nearby.[20] Indeed, the community's booster license plates featured a color picture of the dam. In 1935, Squires even predicted that "the completion of Boulder Dam will bring more thousands to us than when it was in the course of construction."[21] He was right. In late 1938, the National Park Service declared the "Boulder dam recreational area . . . one of the leading tourist centers in the United States." Fortunately for Las Vegans, most tourists who visited Boulder Dam also stopped in their community. There were other important nearby attractions, notably the Grand Canyon and Zion and Bryce canyons. The Chamber of Commerce and the Union Pacific rarely failed to exploit these scenic wonders in promotional material, and KENO adopted the slogan "Las Vegas, Hub of the Scenic Southwest" in its announcements.[22]

Squires also argued that "the future of Las Vegas rests to a considerable extent upon the success we achieve in building Las Vegas into a sports center."[23] To that end, boosters promoted a number of sporting events: an annual Lake Mead Regatta that attracted nearly 100 speed boats by 1938; annual horse racing meets with as many as 170 entries; a winter sports carnival at nearby Mt. Charleston; and an annual air show that was drawing 5,000 spectators by 1939. The community even persuaded the University of Nevada and the University of Arizona to play a football game in Las Vegas in 1938. The completion of a municipal golf course with greens was "instrumental in keeping some of our visitors here a day or two longer than they expected."[24]

The community also tried to promote itself as a convenient and welcoming place for quick divorces and marriages. Las Vegas, unlike Reno, had done little to attract divorcees after the state passed legislation in 1931 reducing the residence requirement to six weeks. The northern Nevada community had become a divorce mecca and the business was truly lucrative. Court costs, filing and lawyers' fees, along with housing, meals, and entertainment expenses,

averaged about $1500 per divorcee.[25] By 1933, Reno had almost six times as many divorces as Las Vegas. Lawyer Paul Ralli felt that Las Vegas began only in 1937 to become the foremost divorce colony of Nevada. Despite promotional efforts by all the civic organizations of Las Vegas, the national press remained stubbornly uninterested.[26]

That all changed in early 1939 when Ria Gable, wife of Hollywood's leading box office draw, Clark Gable, came to Las Vegas to establish residency for her divorce from the film star. Staying at the home of her attorney, Frank McNamee, she became a familiar face in and around town, skiing at Mt. Charleston, boating on Lake Mead, horseback riding in the desert, and spending a great deal of time at the roulette wheel, all the while complimenting the local folks on their hospitality. Charlie Phillips, an out-of-town journalist also in town to establish his residence, saw the potential and persuaded the *Evening Review-Journal* to write a feature story on Ria Gable's experiences in Las Vegas. He also persuaded the Chamber of Commerce to underwrite the production of the story and send it to newspapers across the country as a way to get instant national recognition. Many papers, including the New York and Chicago dailies, used the story as a Sunday feature with the headline "Gable Divorce Booms Las Vegas."[27] While it did not lead to a dramatic rise in the number of divorces (738 in 1939 to just over 1,000 two years later), the story did help promote Las Vegas's image. A *Look* magazine article in 1940 explained that it offered "all the easy divorce terms that can be had in Reno, plus a wider variety of horseplay and friendlier atmosphere."[28]

Through strong promotional efforts, Las Vegas had greater success persuading Americans, particularly Californians, that it was the best place to get married. In 1935, the Chamber of Commerce distributed folders with cupids, bows and arrows, hearts, and other love symbols to urge Southern Californians to be married in Las Vegas.[29] The city put up large billboards directing people to the Clark County Courthouse, "For Authentic Wedding Information," and the Union Pacific agreed to house a marriage license bureau in its depot's waiting room "to accommodate elopers." The chamber issued a folder explaining, "Marriage licenses are issued immediately upon application to the county clerk, 24 hours a day, Sundays and holidays. No delay is required." Because Nevada required neither a waiting period nor health certificates, airlines in California, Utah, and Arizona advertised quick flights to Las Vegas promising couples that they could be married within an hour of arriving at one of the wedding chapels, and the entire process would cost only $12.[30] These efforts produced a dramatic increase in marriages in Las Vegas. The 5,305 licenses issued in Clark County in 1939 represented an increase of more than sixty percent over 1938. By 1941, the county was issuing over 21,000 licenses.[31] While less lucrative than the divorce business, quick marriages did mean about $1,000 per month in county license fees in 1939 and an additional expenditure of about $20 per couple while in Las Vegas. As *Colliers* magazine pointed out in a 1941 article, "high speed hitchin' with a lot of showmanship is bringing in the money."[32]

"Gable Divorce Booms Las Vegas" was reprinted across the nation and helped promote Las Vegas as a popular locale for divorce. (*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*)

As the Ria Gable example illustrates, celebrity divorces and marriages helped make Las Vegas attractive. Due to its proximity to Hollywood, Las Vegas had begun to attract film stars. Those who came between 1929 and 1939 to marry or see the area's scenic attractions included Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, Lillian Gish, John Gilbert, Gary Cooper, Clara Bow, Rex Bell, Rex Lease, Loretta Young, John Wayne, Nelson Eddy, and William Powell.[33] Some of the Chamber of Commerce's promotions sought to entice tourists with the possibility of seeing movie stars, and hotel owners like Tom Hull persuaded stars to visit Las Vegas as, "an excellent place to relax."[34] By the early 1940s, it was "mouth-opening" to see all the stars in hotels like the new Hotel Last Frontier, where patrons could hear practically all of the movie stars being paged to the telephone.[35] Local papers gave front-page coverage to surprise visits by Hollywood's elite, as when Clark Gable made a quick visit to town in February 1939. During a brief lull in the filming of *Gone With the Wind*, Gable flew to Las Vegas. Whether he came to deal with his pending divorce or simply to have a fling at "lady luck," Gable dropped by a casino, where he soon began winning. When he had to leave to catch his return flight, he was up over $600 in chips and left the money with the admonition that "everybody in the casino and outside drink and be

merry as long as the money" lasts.[36] Divorce lawyer and one-time actor Paul Ralli argued that such episodes were critical to Las Vegas's appeal. The town owed "much of its 'discovery' to Hollywood film stars who have come here to divorce, to wed, to frolic or just to rest."[37]

Promoters also sought to sell Las Vegas as a good convention town. In the 1930s, they could not promise great accommodations: All the community could offer were two substantial hotels, the Apache and the Sal Sagev, along with some smaller hotels and motor courts (twenty-six of them by 1941). For some conventions, the Chamber of Commerce had to solicit home owners to provide rooms, and for a 1938 convention, it used side-tracked Pullman cars.[38] The completion of the American Legion War Memorial Building in 1936 permitted the community to offer a hall that could accommodate more than 1,000 conventioneers. Smaller conventions often used the El Portal Theatre.[39]

Thus, the appeal for conventions to come to Las Vegas was not resort facilities, but what one could do before and after the business of the convention. Convention planners almost always included time for trips to Boulder Dam and Lake Mead. They frequently planned jaunts to Mt. Charleston, the Grand Canyon, and even Death Valley.[40] More tantalizing, promoters understood, was the opportunity for convention delegates to "enjoy playing about with us a little" in Las Vegas. Their meaning was not obscure; they meant "robust entertainment," and that is evident in the promotional material the Junior Chamber of Commerce produced for its 1938 regional convention. At "America's newest playground," the Jaycees promised to "provide for all the needs and pleasures of the serious-minded and the play-boys of the convention." There would be a stag party and a tour of the town's hot spots, all in the pursuit of "uncensored recreation."[41] Boosters quickly saw results from their efforts. In October 1937, the *Evening Review-Journal* reported that six conventions with approximately 3,000 delegates would meet in Las Vegas over the next six months.[42]

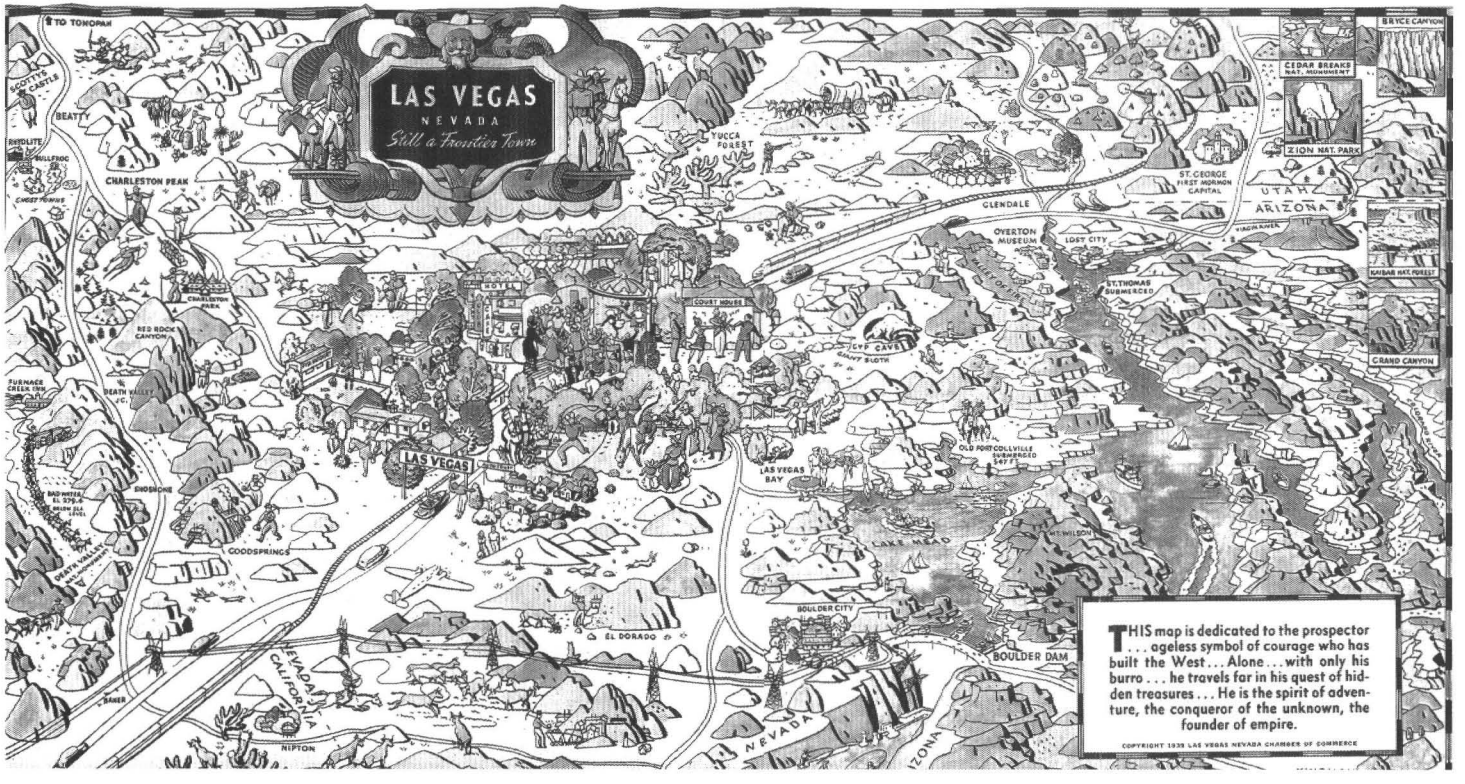
Chamber of Commerce efforts to encourage stop-overs paralled its approach in attracting conventions. The chamber mailed invitations to delegations heading to West Coast conventions, suggesting they "stop over here either to or from their respective meetings."[43] It worked. Many delegations—Kiwanis, Rotary, American Legion, Elks, and Shriners—traveling to or from conventions in California scheduled stops of nine to ten hours in Las Vegas for excursions to Boulder Dam and Lake Mead and to fill the casinos, which were within easy walking distance of the train depot. In addition, the community benefited from a steady stream of stop-overs by individual train passengers and the sizable number of drivers in summer who escaped the "desert heat of daytime frequently by resting until evening in Las Vegas air-conditioned hotels and auto courts."[44]

While town promoters succeeded in persuading Americans, notably southern Californians, that Las Vegas was the gateway to Boulder Dam and the scenic attractions in the vicinity, a place for quick marriages or divorces, and a good location for conventions, they devoted most of their energies to crafting an

image of Las Vegas as a vacation destination recreating the Old West. Promoters understood the American fascination with the Old West and its associated mythology. Through copiously illustrated fiction in popular magazines like *Colliers* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, pulp magazines, the works of Owen Wister and Zane Grey, "Wild West" shows and rodeos, western movies and cowboy music, and the proliferation of dude ranches, Americans had come to see the West, inhabited by tough and courageous cowboys, as a wide-open place of raucous excitement, justice, independence, freedom, and opportunity.[45] Because travelers expected "to see things typically western" when in Nevada between 1935 and 1941, Las Vegas diligently marketed itself as the "Last Frontier."[46]

First impressions for tourists were critical. "You should adopt the policy of putting on a show at all times here in Las Vegas," Tom Wolfe, the traffic manager of Western Air Express, advised the Chamber of Commerce. "You should all wear colorful, western costumes, with broad brimmed hats and cowboy boots" because tourists expect it and tourism is "your biggest industry."[47] This was particularly important during Helldorado Days each spring. The Chamber of Commerce urged all citizens to put on their duds. "Visitors," it explained in 1939, "are attracted because we publicize this as 'STILL A FRONTIER TOWN,' and are disappointed when they arrive and do not find the cowboys, prospectors and general western atmosphere."[48] When delegates arrived in 1938 for the Regional Jaycee convention, promoters ensured that a bevy of "Glamour Girls" clad in cowgirl outfits greeted them at the train station.[49] Delegations from Las Vegas even took their western garb to out-of-town conventions to attract favorable publicity to Las Vegas.[50] Several hotel and casino owners felt it important to play the part of the welcoming cowboy proprietor well into the 1940s. For example, Bob Russell, who ran the Apache Hotel, was "a re-incarnation of that beloved frontier hero, 'Buffalo Bill' Cody," according to a visiting journalist. His "thick, bobbed, corn colored hair; flowing, handle-bars mustachio; and close cropped goatee" persuaded hotel guests that he was either Buffalo Bill or Kit Carson. Given to sharing tall tales, Russell even began speaking with a drawl.[51]

Promoters understood that western attire alone would be insufficient and promised visitors Old West hospitality in their last frontier town. An excellent example of this was a program broadcast on KHJ radio in Los Angeles in December 1938, sponsored by the All-Year Club of Southern California. The announcer explained that although Las Vegas was a roaring frontier town, it exuded a "carefree ... 'howdy stranger' atmosphere." The residents were "open-handed and open-minded westerners with their 10-gallon hats, their loud shirts and tri-cornered neckerchiefs."[52] Visitors could expect a tourist destination with no class divisions, reminiscent of the mythological West. Along the streets they would see a "motley assortment of cattlemen, railroad men, desert rats and prospectors." At the gaming tables, "white tie and tails sit next to flannel shirts and dungarees." While visitors could expect this hospitable and egalitarian experience every day of the year, they were promised even more



This 1939 Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce brochure illustrates the many attractions that boosters hoped would bring more tourists to the community. (*Author's collection*)

during Helldorado.[53] The inspiration of roving carnie-barker Clyde Zerby, this four-day event, began in 1935 and was sponsored by the Elks Club. It featured a parade, rodeo, and kangaroo court to try men who had not grown a beard to commemorate the festivities. Helldorado provided an opportunity for tourists to enjoy "the experiences which can only be found in one of the pioneer cities of the old west."[54]

The epitome of the boosters' efforts to project the image of Las Vegas as the last frontier town can be found in a 1939 Chamber of Commerce color brochure entitled "Las Vegas, Nevada: Still a Frontier Town." It includes the many scenic attractions of the area—Boulder Dam, Lake Mead, the Grand Canyon, Zion and Bryce Canyons, Kaibab National Forest, Red Rock Canyon, and Death Valley. The recreational opportunities are all there—boats on Lake Mead, skiing on Mt. Charleston, a rodeo, a golf course, and dude ranches. There are cowboys and prospectors throughout. In fact, the "map is dedicated to the prospector . . . ageless symbol of courage who has built the West . . . Alone . . . with only his burro . . . he travels far in his quest of hidden treasures . . . He is the spirit of adventure, the conqueror of the unknown, the founder of empire." All the ways to reach Las Vegas are depicted—planes, trains, and buses, as well as cars. One can see a horse race, hotels, restaurants, and a couple getting a divorce, and even a red-light district with an alluring woman in a doorway. Most important, however, at the center of the brochure is a gambling hall, the chief attraction of Las Vegas.[55]

From 1931, legal gambling was the biggest draw Las Vegas offered tourists because it was what most people associated with the community. Some historians argue Las Vegas not only lacked the capital and expertise to operate large-scale gambling operations, but also that the town was too timid to promote gambling aggressively.[56] Some local leaders, like the *Evening Review-Journal*'s Al Cahlan, wanted to limit the number of casinos in Las Vegas, fearing it might become a "rowdy little community like Tijuana."[57] Yet the evidence is clear that most Las Vegas businessmen wanted open gambling and embraced it when the legislature approved it 1931. In early 1929, with Boulder Dam construction clearly about to proceed, many proprietors expected a substantial Saturday-night business from the construction workers, and various card clubrooms were being installed. Nevada law already permitted low stakes card games like poker and bridge.[58] Indeed, in July 1929, the city commissioners granted licenses for twenty-eight gaming tables.[59]

Las Vegas real estate developer Thomas Carroll, however, had a grander vision than just attracting locals and construction workers. Through full-page ads in the local papers, Carroll urged voters to elect legislators who would support wide-open gambling and horseracing, which would make Nevada "the playground of the United States." State-controlled, honest gambling, in his view, would attract tourists who would otherwise go to Mexico, Havana, or Europe.[60] A survey of Chamber of Commerce members in 1930 revealed

overwhelming support for wide open gambling.[61] Once the state legislature had approved the bill in March 1931, Pop Squires declared, "We are now ready for the influx of easy money millionaires who want to wager their money on the turn of a card or the roll of a die," and Clark County and Las Vegas quickly began issuing licenses.[62]

During the next decade, gambling operations expanded. In April 1931, the city commissioners licensed sixty-six slot machines. A decade later, the number of machines licensed in Las Vegas had increased five-fold, and in 1942 there were 560 slot machines. The number of licenses for table games, wheels of fortune, and keno also increased.[63] While liquor stores, bars, cafes, hotels, and drug stores did have slot machines, most were in gambling clubs and casinos. The largest of these were the Northern Club, Boulder Club, Frontier Club, Las Vegas Club, and Apache Casino. When casino gambling was made legal, several of these establishments upgraded their exteriors. The Boulder Club and Las Vegas Club streamlined their facades . . . using plate glass window, chrome trim, and black Vitrolite. The Apache Casino was the plushest casino in town, with its own neon sign and terra-cotta facing.[64] The last offered a standard range of gambling options: about thirty slot machines, three roulette wheels, a craps table, two poker tables, two twenty-one tables, a wheel of fortune, and a room for keno with about one hundred chairs.

There were also several casinos and gambling clubs outside the city limits. The most notable, the Meadows, was located on the highway to the dam just beyond the city limits. With its large casino, the Meadows began operation soon after state approval of gambling, survived a fire, and remained in business until the dam was completed. The Pair-O-Dice's opening on the Los Angeles highway in 1933 clearly was a response to demand.[65] Visiting journalists consistently noted the various gambling establishments and how busy they were. For example, Wooster Taylor, a correspondent for the Hearst newspapers writing in the summer of 1931, described the Las Vegas gambling clubs as "crowded day and night with men and women."[66]

Historians critical of Las Vegas boosters for not emphasizing gambling in their promotional efforts are ignoring the obvious. Virtually all newspaper and magazine articles, travelers' accounts, and pieces of fiction on Las Vegas in the 1930s devoted considerable space to the legal games of chance and the players drawn to them. The WPA guide to Nevada, published in 1940, acknowledged that most Americans associated only two things with the state, legal gambling and quick divorce. In an autobiographical travel journal published in 1937, J. B. Priestley was more specific, identifying Reno with divorce and Las Vegas with all-night gambling.[67]

Writers who spent time in Las Vegas invariably saw it as essential to write about gambling. Popular author Zane Grey is a good example. Fascinated by accounts of the dam's construction, Grey visited the site. He stopped first in Las Vegas and was taken with "the tarnished glitter of the place." To Grey it had

This shot of the Boulder Club illustrates the popularity of the larger gambling clubs soon after the 1931 passage of Nevada's "wide-open" gambling law. (*University of Nevada, Las Vegas Special Collections*)

that boomtown feel with "bootleggers, gamblers, white slavers, prostitutes and drifters."[68] Although it was not published until 1963, Grey wrote *Boulder Dam* in 1933. In it, his hero, Lynn Weston, spends a good deal of time in Las Vegas casinos and describes one as a "glaring hall . . . full of a blue haze of smoke, the sound of men's voices, the clink of silver coins and the rattle of roulette wheels. Men stood ten deep around the gambling games."[69] Because of the weight of this writing, most people who knew of the town in that decade already associated it with gambling. In the *Desert Pine News*, which Las Vegas Jaycees prepared for delegates to a 1938 regional convention, the powerful lure of gambling over sightseeing was explained. "Las Vegas has been swarmed with tourists, bent on seeing" Boulder Dam, the engineering marvel, but ended up "spending most of their time at the gambling tables and taverns."[70]

Both within the state and across the nation, the promotional efforts of Las Vegas boosters earned praise. Journalists characterized the Chamber of Commerce as clever and "enterprising."[71] Newspapers in Reno, Las Vegas's most important competitor for divorce and gambling business, were particularly complimentary in 1939. They praised boosters for their successful promotion nationally "in attracting new tourists and new residents." In particular, they called the progressive Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce "one of the liveliest in the entire west." "Aided by virtually every other organization" in the community, the chamber "has indeed been accomplishing miracles during the past

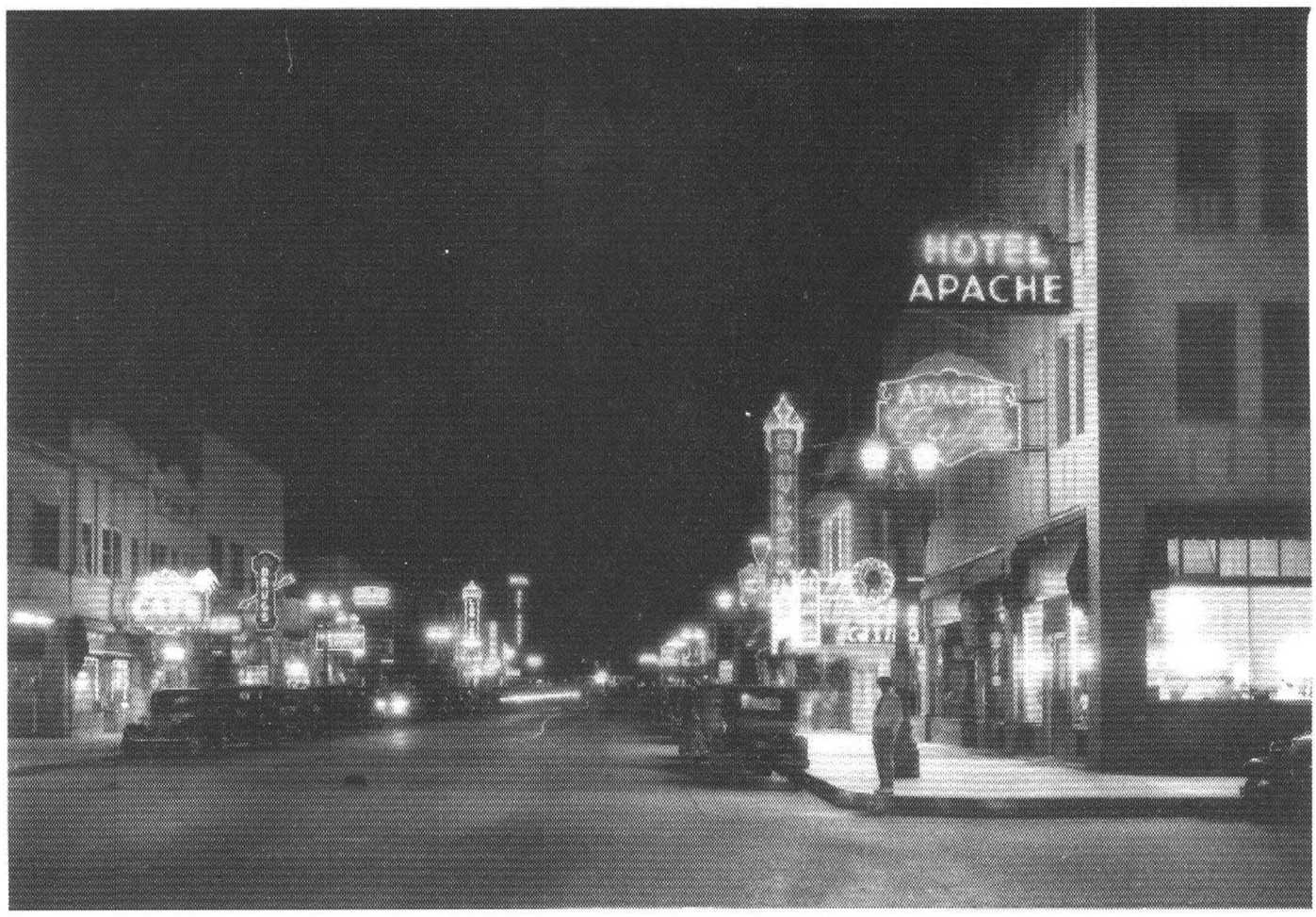
year or so."[72] In 1940, the authors of the WPA guide for Nevada argued that the chamber's efforts served as a model: "The policy and practice of this Chamber of Commerce are worth study by those interested in publicity techniques."[73]

Beyond the praise of contemporaries, there is an excellent measure of the success of Las Vegas boosters. Virtually all the reports filed by visiting journalists, as well as those in the local papers, reveal a lively and growing tourism business. During the dam's construction, Las Vegans expected, particularly on weekends, to find hotels filled to capacity, a steady stream of automobiles on Fremont Street, packed sidewalks and crowded casinos.[74] Even as the Great Depression deepened, tourists continued to pack the town, surprising car dealer and chamber leader Archie Grant. "This tourist business for the past month," he wrote in spring 1933, "has been heavy. You would not think that anyone could get people out to spend any but we are getting them out here."[75] As the dam neared completion, observers claimed that tourism increased, especially on holidays. In February 1935, Chamber of Commerce secretary Oliver "Dutch" Goerman expected several thousand people for Washington's birthday weekend. Every hotel, rooming house, and auto court was reserved and scores of rooms in private homes were placed at the disposal of the Chamber of Commerce. During Memorial Day weekend the following year, not only were all hotel rooms occupied, but many establishments took in twice their normal capacity. Similarly, three years later on Labor Day weekend, all available rooms were filled, and "many people were forced either to sleep as best they could in their cars or stay up all night."[76]

The impression from this anecdotal evidence is that Las Vegas enjoyed sustained growth in tourism after the legalization of gambling in 1931, an impression confirmed by the available numbers on the tourist trade. In 1930, 125,000 people visited Las Vegas. Three years later, the figure was 318,075, and by 1939, it was 539,000. The most complete set of tourist numbers is for what the community considered its slow month, July: [77]

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
17,097	27,268	27,410	30,361	31,180	42,575	49,401	66,434	70,419

In 1941, two developments, in addition to the establishment of the Gunnery School and word of plans to build a gigantic magnesium plant, boded well for Las Vegas's long-term future. In April, Paramount studios released *Las Vegas Nights*, the first major motion picture featuring Las Vegas, and Tom Hull opened the first resort casino on the Los Angeles highway later to become known as the Las Vegas Strip.



The Apache Hotel has the "plushest" casino in Las Vegas in the 1930s. (*University of Nevada, Las Vegas Special Collections*)

A handful of movies had been shot in Las Vegas before 1941. Four episodes in the movie serial *The Hazards of Helen* and six episodes of the serial *The Girl in the Game* were filmed in Las Vegas in 1915 and 1916. Real estate developer T.J. Lawrence made a sales pitch using free performances of a film entitled *The Pot of Gold*, about a desert community learning that the soon-to-be constructed Boulder Dam would provide the irrigation essential to agriculture. The 1938 film *Frontier Town*, starring Tex Ritter, was partially filmed during Helldorado Days, but no identification of Las Vegas appeared in the movie. While the community had hoped to benefit from the publicity about the town in films like *The Hazards of Helen*, none of them had really provided an opportunity to showcase the increasingly popular tourist destination.[78]

Two Chamber of Commerce members, Bob Griffith and Robert Kaltenborn, played critical roles in persuading Paramount to make the movie featuring Las Vegas. It was not the first time the Chamber of Commerce had tried to lure Hollywood to Las Vegas. In 1935, representing the chamber, actor-turned-attorney Paul Ralli met with studio heads, including Walt Disney, hoping that "free studio sites, cheap power from Boulder Dam, low local taxes, and natural scenic and climatic conditions" would attract them.[79] While Ralli was unsuccessful, Griffith used his personal friendship with Paramount president William LeBaron to persuade him to make a musical featuring Las Vegas. When

Paramount announced the film project in early September 1940, Griffith, speaking on the chamber's behalf, offered LeBaron its facilities and that of the entire community if Paramount officials wished to come to Las Vegas for scenes in the picture. The offer worked: LeBaron and other studio officials made several trips to Las Vegas over the next several weeks and, after checking out the area, decided to use street scenes of Las Vegas and a shot of Boulder Dam in the movie. Kaltenborn spent several days in Hollywood conferring with Paramount officials and he persuaded them to release the film just before the annual Helldorado celebration and to spend a week shooting scenes in Las Vegas.[80]

Most important to town leaders, Paramount decided to make a movie reflecting the images they had been promoting. In announcing the project, Paramount officials explained it would be a musical comedy with a wild-west flavor and it would feature the last frontier as its background.[81] Upon the release of the film in the spring of 1941, boosters were ecstatic because the film reflected their effort to sell Las Vegas as an exciting yet hospitable last frontier vacation spot. The ad placed by the El Portal Theater exclaimed: "We're on the Screen Now! The Lid's off . . . in America's last and wildest Frontier Town." According to the review of the film in the *Evening Review-Journal*: "The last frontier town in America came to life . . . all the gay color and glamour of Las Vegas is not only captured in the film but is amplified." The paper's April 7 editorial was enthusiastic: "The city of Las Vegas owes Paramount a debt of gratitude for the film." Despite the fact the film was a "B" picture, the editorial found that it certainly ranked an "A" as far as publicity for the city of Las Vegas went. The film "is a million dollar publicity drive in itself." The scenes shot on Fremont Street were particularly important as they would attract thousands of tourists to Las Vegas just to see the sights.[82]

The hoopla in the newspaper accurately reflected the images the movie fan saw in *Las Vegas Nights*. It opened with a shot of Fremont Street at night, flashing neon lights, and under the title, "The Last Frontier Town." The credits rolled in front of shots of what made Las Vegas truly distinctive: various games of chance—roulette, wheel of fortune, and horse race betting. At the end of the credits the viewer reads:

Las Vegas
The Last Frontier of the Old West
Where you do as you please
From Sunrise to Sunset
After that anything Goes!

The first scene features singing cowboys on horseback, riding in front of the Northern Club and the Las Vegas Club, among others. The cowboys enter a large casino where patrons are dressed in cowboy and cowgirl outfits. Most of the scenes show a more sophisticated club, the fictitious Club Nevada, in which almost all patrons are in elegant evening dress, and the Tommy Dorsey

Orchestra provides the entertainment. Frank Sinatra, in his first film role, sings "I'll Never Smile Again." All this was a precursor to the Hotel Last Frontier's slogan of the "Old West in Modern Splendor." One could enjoy gambling, cowboys, the old West, and remarkable elegance all in one vacation destination. The promoters could not have written a better script. To top it off, several lines in the movie emphasize the hospitality that boosters had promoted in the print media. Explaining to a newcomer why he had stayed in Las Vegas, one of the characters says, "You know what they call this place? The friendliest little city in the world. And, it really is. Why, even I know everyone in town by his first name."[83]

Since the late 1920s, Las Vegas boosters had argued the town needed a resort hotel to become an important tourist destination that could appeal to a wealthier clientele. Pop Squires repeatedly called for a hotel comparable to those in Palm Springs, and outsiders and consultants agreed that Las Vegas, though it had much to offer in the late 1930s, was "still sadly lacking in high class tourist resort hotels."[84] To address this problem, key Chamber of Commerce members, in this case James Cashman and Bob Griffith, took the initiative. They approached Tom Hull, who operated several El Rancho hotels in California, and encouraged him to build one in Las Vegas. Hull sent a representative to assess the area's possibilities and accepted an invitation from Cashman and Griffith to visit the town. Although they encouraged him to locate it within the city limits, Hull decided to build his hotel south of town on the Los Angeles highway.[85]

As Hull made the final preparations for the opening on April 3, 1941, Squires could barely contain himself, exclaiming that it, "will provide a most attractive place for wealthy tourists with all the pleasures, amusements and entertainments which the great resort hotels of the country offer elsewhere."[86] To be sure, it was more luxurious than anything Las Vegas had seen, yet Hull designed the El Rancho Vegas to comply with what the western theme boosters had been promoting for years. With its Spanish mission style bungalows, wagon wheels and hitching posts, wagon wheel chandeliers, and a dining room designed like a corral, the resort was, according to historian George Stamos, straight off a Hollywood backlot. Hoping to promote the concept of wide-open western hospitality, Hull—like Bob Russell at the Apache Hotel—wore boots, jeans, a cowboy shirt, and a ten-gallon hat and spoke in a western drawl.[87] The hotel's promotional material featured cowboys, cowgirls, lariats, and "Buckaroo Buffets." Brochures assured prospective guests that it was the resort where "The Old West Lives Again."[88]

The release of *Las Vegas Nights* and the opening of the El Rancho Vegas dramatically reflected the successful effort to sell Las Vegas as a hospitable and fun last-frontier town. They were also precursors of important trends that extend into the twenty-first century. Las Vegas quickly learned the publicity value of movies. Between 1941 and 2000, more than 250 films were either shot in Las Vegas or had a storyline dealing with the city. The glamour, possibilities, fun,

The El Rancho Vegas, completed in 1941, was the community's first resort hotel. (*University of Nevada, Las Vegas Special Collections*)

adventure, and sleaze, and the town's not so subtle association with organized crime long have tantalized moviegoers. Producers have often portrayed it as a "place to realize dreams," a "magic city; a city where, according to Hollywood, anything can happen."[89] More important, Hull's idea of a self-contained, themed suburban resort, as historian David Schwartz has shown, "set the rough pattern for Strip casino resorts until the high-rise era, with a central structure housing the casino, restaurants, and theater surrounded by motel wings."[90] Others who observed Hull's success with the El Rancho Vegas soon would emulate his idea. William Moore, who designed the Hotel Last Frontier; Benjamin Siegel, who completed the Flamingo; Marion Hicks, who opened the Thunderbird in 1948, and Wilbur Clark, who began construction on the Desert Inn, all were in Las Vegas in 1941. They saw, using the Hull model, the possibilities for expansion along the Strip. Indeed, Siegel attempted to buy into the El Rancho, but Hull did not want to be associated with a gangster.[91]

The promoters of Las Vegas, notably the Chamber of Commerce, did have setbacks. Their efforts never received sufficient funding, and they never achieved sustained, well-coordinated promotional campaigns. Another man present in Las Vegas in 1941 addressed those deficiencies. After World War II, Maxwell Kelch, who started radio station KENO, took the lead in the Chamber's remarkably successful Live Wire campaign. The chamber raised enough funds to hire

a series of publicity firms—the J. Walter Thompson Agency, West-Marquis, and Steven Hannagan and Associates. Hannagan created the Desert Sea News Bureau, which soon became the Las Vegas News Bureau, and was instrumental in publicizing Las Vegas to the world. Though more broadly based, better funded, and coordinated, these post-war efforts nonetheless mirrored the successful selling of Las Vegas in the late 1930s.

Notes

[1]John F. Cahlan, *Fifty Years in Journalism and Community Development* (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1987), 312. Some contemporaries of Cahlan's had similar views: *An Interview with William J. Moore* (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1985), 82, and Interview with George (Bud) Albright, 1972 and Interview with Bob Cannon, 1972, Interviews Folder, Box 2, Perry Kaufman Collection (2000-07), Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, hereafter cited as Perry Kaufman Collection.

[2]The harshest critics are Gary E. Elliott, *The New Western Frontier: An Illustrated History of Greater Las Vegas* (Carlsbad, California: Heritage Media Corp., 1999), 48; John M. Findlay, *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society From Jamestown to Las Vegas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 114-121; and Perry Bruce Kaufman, "The Best City of Them All: A History of Las Vegas, 1930-1960" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974), 45. Eugene P. Moehring and Michael S. Green are less critical, but they do not see a coordinated, vigorous promotional campaign until after World War II. See their *Las Vegas: A Centennial History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005), 91-92 and 115.

[3]Eugene P. Moehring, *Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930-2000*, 2d ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000), 13-40. Also, see Robert V. Nickel, "Dollars, Defense, and the Desert: Southern Nevada's Military Economy and World War II," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2004), 303-327.

[4]Moehring, *Resort City*, 14 and Nickel, "Dollars, Defense, and the Desert," 308.

[5]*Las Vegas Age*, 25 September 1936, 4 and 6 January 1940, 2; *Los Angeles Times*, 23 May 1939, reprinted in *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 23 May 1939, 1; and Wesley Stout, "Nevada's New Reno," *Saturday Evening Post*, 31 October 1942, 12.

[6]Walter R. Bracken to F. H. Knickerbocker, December 12, 1934, Walter Bracken / Las Vegas Land and Water Company Files, Box 11, Chamber of Commerce Folder, Union Pacific Collection (97-19), Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, hereafter cited as Union Pacific Collection.

[7]*Las Vegas Age*, 8 February 1935, 5 and 18 March 1938, 7 and Chamber of Commerce Monthly Report, February 1938, Walter Bracken / Las Vegas Land and Water Company Files, Box 11, Chamber of Commerce Folder, Union Pacific Collection (97-19).

[8]Moehring and Green, *Las Vegas*, 41 and 46-47; *Las Vegas Age*, 11 March 1911, 1 and 16 December 1911, 1; and Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce Minutes, August 11, 1925, 308, Box 1, Folder 3, Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce Collection, Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, hereafter cited as Chamber of Commerce Collection.

[9]Charles P. Squires, "Early History of the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce," (1940), 6, Special Collections; Kaufman, "Best City," 42; and *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 8 December 1936, 1.

[10]*Las Vegas Age*, 8 November 1935, 1; 29 May 1936, 7; 6 November 1936, 1; and (3 June 1938), 12; Chamber of Commerce Monthly Report, February and May, 1938, Walter Bracken / Las Vegas Land and Water Company Files, Box 11, Chamber of Commerce Folder, Union Pacific Collection (97-19); "The Bell-hop Goes to School," Robert Woodruff Collection, Box 1, Personal Business: Riddle Scenic Tours Folder; Interview with Robert Kaltenborn, 1972, Interviews Folder, Box 2, Perry Kaufman Collection; and Squires, "Early History of Chamber," 7.

[11]Florence Lee Jones, "History: Las Vegas Junior Chamber of Commerce," (1940), 2-5, Las Vegas Junior Chamber of Commerce Folder, Pamphlet Files, Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas; Cahlan, *Fifty Years*, 116; *Desert Pine News*, 16 March 1938, 1; *Las Vegas Age*, 12 March 1937, 4; 16 April 1937, 1; 1 October 1937, 1; 1 April 1938, 1; and 2 December 1938, 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 9 May 1948, 1b; and *Rodeo Week*, (1977), 4-5, Promotions and Publicity Material, Helldorado folder, Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

[12]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 7 November 1935, 1; *Las Vegas Age*, 6 November 1936, 1; 11 December 1936, 1; and 3 June 1938, 12; and *Washington Post*, 15 November 1937, 9 and 15 December 1937, 19.

[13]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 23 May 1939, 1 and 5 February 1938, 1; and *Las Vegas Age*, 6 November 1936, 1 and 4 February 1938, 2.

[14]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 21 March 1938, 6; Cahlan, *Fifty Years*, 180; and John F. Cahlan, *Reminiscences of a Reno and Las Vegas, Nevada Newspaperman, University Regent, and Public-Spirited Citizen* (Reno: University of Nevada, Reno Oral History Program, 1969), 78, 94, and 96.

[15]K.J. Evans, "C.P. 'Pop' Squires," *The First 100: Portraits of the Men and Women Who Shaped Las Vegas*, eds. A.D. Hopkins and K.J. Evans (Las Vegas: Huntington Press, 1999), 36-39, and Moehring and Green, *Las Vegas*, 33.

[16]*Las Vegas Age*, 26 April 1935, 4; 5 June 1936, 4; 25 September 1936, 4; 1 January 1937, 4; 25 March 1938), 4; 29 April 1938, 4; 3 June 1938, 12; 16 September 1938, 4; 2 December 1938, 1; 31 March 1939, 1; and 6 January 1940, 2.

[17]*Ibid.*, 20 April 1929, 1.

[18]*Ibid.*, 14 May 1937, 7 and 2 December 1938, 12, and *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 22 October 1938, 2.

[19]*Las Vegas Age*, 9 August 1940, 1; 1 November 1940, 8; and 22 November 1940, 4.

[20]*Ibid.*, 8 November 1935, 1 and 5 June 1936, 4.

[21]*Ibid.*, 3 June 1938, 12 and 26 April 1935, 4.

[22]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 28 October 1938, 9; Ray Lyman Wilbur, *The Memoirs of Ray Lyman Wilbur, 1875-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 456, 11; Ralph J. Roske, *Las Vegas: A Desert Paradise* (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1986), 88; *Las Vegas Age*, 1 November 1940, 8.

[23]*Las Vegas Age*, 2 December 1938, 1.

[24]*Ibid.*, 20 March 1936, 4; 6 November 1936), 4; 7 October 1938,1; 18 October 1940, 4; 25 October 1940, 1; and 22 November 1940; *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 4 April 1936, 1; and Jones, "Junior Chamber of Commerce," 2-4.

[25]Mella Rothwell Harmon, "Getting Renovated: Reno Divorces in the 1930s," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 42:1 (Spring 1999), 50.

[26]Paul Ralli, *Nevada Lawyer: A Story of Life and Love in Las Vegas* (Culver City, CA: Murray & Gee, 1949), 27 and 6.

[27]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 7 March 1939, 5; Cahlan, *Fifty Years*, 309-310; and *Las Vegas Review-Journal* 6 December 1959, 37-38.

[28]Roske, *Las Vegas*, 88 and "Wild, Woolly and Wide-Open," *Look*, 14 August 1940, 21.

[29]Kaufmann, "Best City," 45.

[30]Richard English, "The Boom Came Back," *Collier's*, 22 August 1942, 37; *New York Times*, 11 March 1940, 12; Richard G. Lillard, *Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 368; Jim Marshall, "To 'Vegas, Darling," *Collier's*, 25 October 1941, 72.

[31]*www.co.clark.nv.us/recorder/years.htm*(August 9, 2005).

[32]*Las Vegas Age*, 6 January 1940, 2 and Marshall, "'Vegas Darling," 72 and 85.

[33]*Las Vegas Age*, 26 March 1929, 1; 9 May 1929, 1; 7 April 1931, 1; and 20 January 1939, 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 19 January 1935, 1 and 20 January 1939, 1; and Donn Knepp, *Las Vegas: The Entertainment Capital* (Menlo Park, CA: Lane Publishing Company, 1987, 27.

[34]Findlay, *People of Chance*, 124 and Cahlan, "Reminiscences," 121.

[35]Robbins E. Cahill, *Recollections of Work in State Politics, Government, Taxation, Gaming Control, Clark County Administration, and the Nevada Resort Association, III* (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1977), 739-740.

[36]*Las Vegas Age*, 24 February 1939, 1.

[37]Ralli, *Nevada Lawyer*, 29.

[38]Moerhing, *Resort City*, 22; Alan Hess, *Viva Las Vegas: After-Hours Architecture* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993), 21-22; and Cahlan, *Fifty Years*, 116-117.

[39]*Las Vegas Age*, 22 May 1936, 4 and 28 October 1938, 1.

[40]*Las Vegas Age*, 13 March 1936, 4; 1 April 1938, 12; 3 June 1938, 12; and 16 December 1939, 1.

[41]"California, Arizona, Nevada JCC's Gather at Las Vegas April 8-10," *Trend*, February 1938, 15 and *Desert-Pine News*, 16 March 1938, 1.

[42]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 7 October 1937, 1.

[43]*Las Vegas Age*, 3 June 1938, 12.

[44]*Las Vegas Age*, 26 June 1936, 1; 3 July 1936, 1; 11 March 1938, 12; 22 July 1938, 4; and 16 September 1938, 4.

[45]Anne M. Butler, "Selling the Popular Myth," *Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 771-801; Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of* the *American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 613-632; and Bernard Drew, "Nevada as

the Pulps Saw Her," *Nevadan* in *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (23 July 1978), 26-27J.

[46]*Las Vegas Age*, 29 April 1938, 4.

[47]*Las Vegas Age*, 4 February 1938, 2.

[48]Chamber of Commerce Monthly Report, April 1939, Walter Bracken / Las Vegas Land and Water Company Files, Box 11, Chamber of Commerce Folder, Union Pacific Collection (97-19), Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

[49]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 9 April 1938, 1.

[50]*Las Vegas Age*, 16 April 1937, 1.

[51]*Ibid.*, 21 October 1938, 10.

[52]*Ibid.*, 2 December 1938, 12.

[53]*Ibid.*, 14 May 1937, 7 and 2 December 1938, 12.

[54]*Ibid.*, 21 February 1936, 1 and *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 23 April 1936, 1.

[55]Reproduced in Knepp, *Las Vegas*, 28-29.

[56]Roske, *Las Vegas*, 87 and Findlay, *People of Chance*, 121.

[57]Quoted in Findlay, *People of Chance*, 121.

[58]Magner White, "The Boom at Boulder," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 23 March 1929, 146 and Roske, *Las Vegas*, 86.

[59]Las Vegas City Commission Minutes, Vol. 3, July 2, 1929, 17-18, Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

[60]*Las Vegas Age*, 19 July 1930, 6.

[61]Eric N. Moody, "Nevada's Legalization of Casino Gambling in 1931: Purely a Business Proposition," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 37:2 (Summer 1994), 87.

[62]*Las Vegas Age*, 24 March 1931, 2 and Commission Minutes, Vol. 3, April 17 and April 22, 1929, 162-166.

[63]Commission Minutes, Vol. 3, April 17 and April 22, 1929, 162-166 and Vol. 4, October 4, 1941, 376, and Stout, "Nevada's New Reno," 68.

[64]Hess, *Viva Las Vegas*, 22.

[65]Commission Minutes, Vol. 4, October 4, 1941, 376; Roske, *Las Vegas*, 85 and 87; and Moehring and Green, *Las Vegas*, 88.

[66]Taylor's article was in the *San Francisco Examiner* and reprinted in *Las Vegas Age* (12 June 1931), 2.

[67]*Nevada: A Guide to the Silver State* (Portland, OR: Binfords & Mort, 1940), 3 and J.B. Priestley, *Midnight on the Desert: A Chapter of Autobiography* (London: Heinemann, 1937), 109. Also, see Basil Woon, *Incredible Land: A Jaunty Baedeker to Hollywood and the Great Southwest* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1933), 266-268; and *New York Times*, 23 August 1936, section 10, 10.

[68]Stephen J. May, *Maverick Heart: The Further Adventures of Zane Grey* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000), 69.

[69]Zane Grey, *Boulder Dam* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), 5.

[70]*Desert Pine News*, 16 March 1938, 1.

[71]Chapin Hill writing in the *Los Angeles Times*, reprinted in the *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal* (23 May 1939), 1 and "Wild and Wide-Open," 21.

[72]*Nevada State Journal*, 24 February 1939, reprinted in *Las Vegas Age*, 3 March 1939, 1 and 16 March 1939, reprinted in *Las Vegas Age*, 17 March 1939, 4.

[73]*Guide to Silver State*, 190.

[74]Article from the *San Francisco Examiner* reprinted in *Las Vegas Age*, 12 June 1931, 2 and *Las Vegas Age*, 10 June 1931, 2.

[75]Archie Grant to Mother and Helen, April 14 , 1933, Archie and Zora Grant Collection (T-25), Box 1, Folder 1, Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

[76]*Las Vegas Age*, 22 February 1935, 1 and 8 September 1939, 1, and *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 1 June 1936, 1.

[77]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 30 November 1935, 1; *Las Vegas Age*, 24 May 1931, 1; 25 January 1935, 1 and 2 September 1938, 1; and "Wild and Wide-Open," 21.

[78]Gary DuVal, *The Nevada Filmography: Nearly 600 Works Made in the State, 1897 Through 2000* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 72, 73, 82, 83, and 140, and *Las Vegas Age*, 20 February 1915, 1.

[79]*New York Times*, 24 March 1935, N8.

[80]Robert Kaltenborn Interview, Interviews Folder, Box 2, Perry Kaufman Collection (2000-07), Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas and *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 4 September 1940, 1; 4 November 1940, 1; and 13 November 1940, 1.

[81]*Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, 4 September 1940, 1.

[82]*Ibid.*, 3 April 1941, 3; 2 April 1941, 7; and 7 April 1941, 8.

[83]*Las Vegas Nights*, directed by Ralph Murphy, 1941.

[84]*Las Vegas Age*, (29 April 1938, 4.

[85]James Cashman Collection (T-41), Box 1, Biographical folder, Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas; Moehring, *Resort City*, 43; Moehring and Green, *Las Vegas*, 109; and Cahlan, *Fifty Years*, 315-316.

[86]*Las Vegas Age*, 21 February 1941, 6.

[87]A.D. Hopkins, "Thomas Hull," *First 100*, 122; Cahlan, *Fifty Years*, 317; and George Stamos, Jr., "The Great Resorts of Las Vegas: How They Began!" *Las Vegas SUN Magazine*, 1 April 1979, p 6.

[89]Hotel El Rancho Promotion and Publicity Material, Box 3, Special Collections, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

[90]Duval, *Nevada Filmography*, pp 205-213; Francisco Menendez, "Las Vegas of the Mind: Shooting Movies in and about Nevada," *The Grit Beneath the Glitter: Tales from The Real Las Vegas*, Hal K. Rothman and Mike Davis, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 30-58; Candace C. Kant, "City of Dreams: Las Vegas in the Cinema, 1980-1989," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 33:4 (Winter 1990), 1-12; and David Krauss, "Hollywood Cashed in on Vegas Glitz, Grime," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (16 December 1990), 7.

[91]David Schwartz, *Suburban Xanadu: The Casino Resort on the Las Vegas Strip and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 35.

[92]John L. Smith, "The Ghost of Ben Siegel," *The Players: The Men Who Made Las Vegas*, Jack Sheehan, ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1997), 85 and *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 4 March 1943, 3.

Icon of Community
The Manhattan Schoolhouse

Elizabeth Safford Harvey

Students of the mining frontier sometimes note the important role local schoolhouses have played in fostering mining communities. In addition to supplying settings dedicated to the education of their youth, local schoolhouses also provide such communities with public spaces, allowing them to enhance and develop their social and cultural lives.[1] Recent studies focusing on the role Virginia City's Fourth Ward School played in the social and cultural life of the Comstock support these ideas.[2] Virginia City was the largest and most prosperous community on the Comstock, and the Comstock was one of the richest mineral strikes the world has ever seen. It is not clear, therefore, that observations about its culture and the role that Virginia City's schoolhouses played in it can be generalized to other mining camps. Little research has been done on the social and cultural contributions Nevada's local schoolhouses have made to the development of its more modest, and perhaps more typical, mining communities.[3] A study focusing on the part the Manhattan Schoolhouse played in the community of Manhattan, one of Nevada's smaller mining camps, could enhance our understanding of the contributions such buildings made to the social and cultural lives of these communities.[4]

An Overview of Manhattan: Its Setting, History, Society, and Culture

Manhattan, in Nye County, Nevada lies about 13 miles southwest of the old silver camp of Belmont. Perched on the western slope of a group of low-lying hills known locally as the Smoky Mountains, the community stands about 7,250 feet above sea level. The Smoky Mountains connect the Toquima Range, rising on their north, to the San Antonio Mountains standing to their south. As such, they separate Big Smoky Valley, lying to their west, from the "northern arm" of Ralston Valley, stretching to their east. Running along an east-west axis, the narrow valley sheltering the town of Manhattan extends well into the Smoky

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Mountains and provides a natural passageway through the low-lying hills. In the 1860s, the Belmont-to-Cloverdale wagon road followed this route through the mountains. Linking eastern and western Nevada, it was one of the desert's principal highways during the last half of the nineteenth century.[5]

Nestled in the forks of two gulches in the Smoky Mountains, Manhattan inhabits one of Nevada's most picturesque town sites.[6] Flanked by rounded hills rising from 200 to 500 feet above the valley floor, the area possesses abundant (at least by Nevada standards) vegetation. The surrounding hills are dotted with scrub pines and cedar[7] and the Smoky Valley boasts a breath-taking display of wild flowers each spring.[8] Emphasizing the scrub conifers common to the region, Nevada's miners sometimes refer to Manhattan as the "Pine Tree Camp."[9]

While present-day Manhattan was founded in the wake of a 1905 gold strike, the community derived its name from a mining district established in the area in the nineteenth century. Like many of central Nevada's mining districts, Manhattan was discovered in the great wave of mineral exploration that the discovery of gold and silver on the Comstock in 1859 set into motion. The quest for riches in central Nevada began in the Reese River area. In May 1862, William Talcott, a former Pony Express rider seeking stray horses near Jacob's Station, noticed an outcropping of greenish-colored rock along the Pony Express trail that stirred his interest. Noticing a resemblance to ore-bearing outcroppings he had seen on the Comstock, Talcott took some samples and sent them to Virginia City to be assayed. He also alerted several friends to his discovery, and, before long, news of the strike at "Pony Ledge" was spreading throughout Nevada. The "rush to Reese River" had begun.[10]

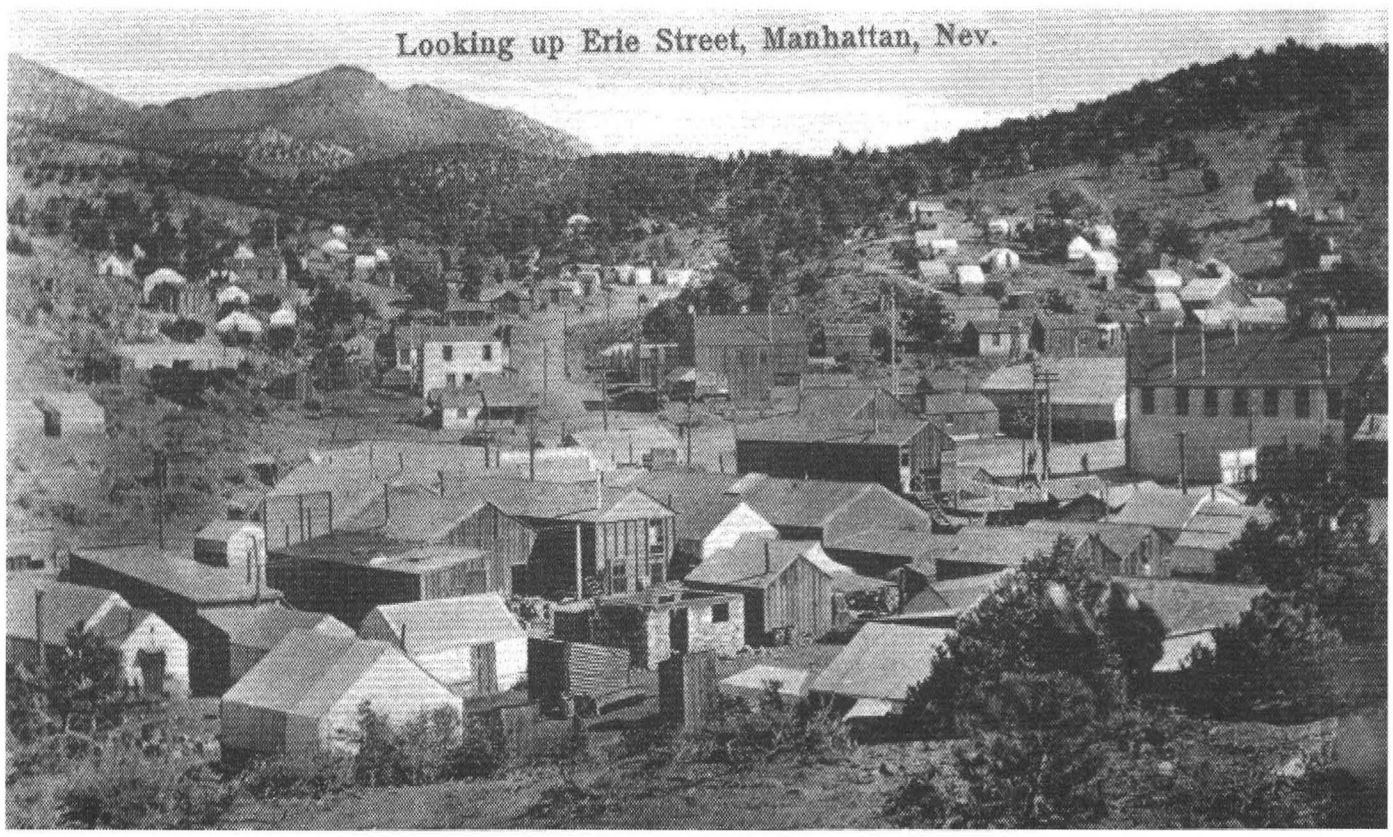
By July 1863, the population of the Reese River area had risen from a handful of Euro-Americans and a few local bands of Native Americans to 4,000 fortune seekers of various stripes. Two mining camps, Austin and Clifton, had been established,[11] and from these bases prospectors fanned out across central Nevada, exploring the canyons of the Toiyabe, Toquima, and Shoshone mountain ranges for precious minerals. Many of these men had learned their trade in California goldfields and on the slopes of Mount Davidson, and they were good at their craft. They discovered numerous promising ledges throughout central Nevada, and established mining camps to develop some of these sites.[12] While they made money at many of these camps, and some even developed into full-fledged towns boasting bars, churches, stores, and the like, few yielded enough precious ore to sustain them for more than a few years. Hence, communities rose and fell in central Nevada throughout the 1860s and the 1870s. By 1880, only a few, like the town of Austin, remained.[13]

One of the ledges discovered at this time was near the future site of the town of Manhattan. In 1866, George Nicholl was prospecting in a canyon in the Smoky Mountains about ten miles southwest of the newly established mining town of Belmont, when he discovered a pocket of silver.[14] The Irish-born Nicholl[15] seems to have been in the Manhattan Mining Company's employ when he made the

discovery. A year later, when he established the claim, he named the area the Manhattan Mining District.[16] Although fifty mining claims were ultimately located within the Manhattan District, little work was done in the district after 1869.[17] Nicholl remained in the area, nonetheless, serving for a time as Nye County District Court clerk and then as county superintendent of schools.[18]

A flurry of interest in the Manhattan area broke out again with the discovery of silver ore near Manhattan Spring in 1877. The Eagle Mining District was organized, and a small town, Old Manhattan, was established.[19] The strike was not rich enough, though, to sustain the town through the decline in silver prices that followed the 1873 devaluation of silver and the resumption of the gold standard in 1879. Hence, Manhattan Gulch was "strangled by the slump of the 1880s and the 1890s," as was much of Nevada. Even the mighty Comstock, the pride of Nevada's mining frontier, wasted and waned in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Yet, as one of the community's historians once claimed, Manhattan was "a spunky old gal," and she would rise again from Nevada's desert wastes.[20]

The Manhattan Mining District won a new lease on life when John C. Humphrey and his partners discovered gold in April 1905 "near the southern base of April Fool Hill, about 100 feet from the Belmont [to] Cloverdale wagon road." While the first assays were not promising, by July they obtained specimens of high-grade ore showing an abundance of free gold and a small rush to Manhattan ensued.[21] Although this first rush was ephemeral, since the allure of other strikes drew away the area's miners, a shipment of rich ore in January,



Manhattan in 1909. Effie Mona Mack sent this postcard to her family in Reno on September 14, 1909. School had opened the day before with 13 pupils. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

1906, created a new rush.[22] By March 1906, about 3,000 people lived in Manhattan and in its immediate vicinity. Two observers associated with the U. S. Geological Survey, W. H. Emmons and G. H. Garrey, reported at this time that the community was "agreeably located, well laid out, and ha[d] many wooden buildings, while some of stone" were under construction. They also noted that Manhattan was already equipped with a post-office, numerous stores, banks, newspapers, assay offices, telegraph and telephone services, and stage and automobile lines.[23] Supporting these diverse stores and services were "thirty working properties . . . producing a tremendous output of high-grade milling ore."[24] By the close of its first year, then, Manhattan had become a thriving little community in the Smoky Mountains.

Early in 1906, Manhattan attracted the attention of San Francisco capitalists who began investing in the community. The San Francisco earthquake ruined many of those who had invested in Manhattan, however, and for a time the camp's development was put on hold.[25] Nonetheless, Manhattan came back as it had done before. Hardrock mining had originally prevailed in Manhattan, but, in 1908, a placer miner from California, William McDonald (some say his name was actually William Alexander Donald), started working the gravel on the Nellie Grey Claim. After he cleared several thousand dollars, others took interest in Manhattan's placers.[26]

The man primarily responsible for establishing placer mining in Manhattan was Thomas "Dry Wash" Wilson. Wilson installed placer mining equipment that could handle large quantities of water and gravel, and he began turning a tidy profit. In 1912, the value of Manhattan's gravel ranged "from $8 to $30 per yard, and many large nuggets ha[d] been found." Due in part to Manhattan's placers, the Pine Tree Camp probably attracted more attention and recorded greater progress than any other district in Nevada that year.[27] Manhattan's history was now dovetailing with the general history of Nevada, and the small community had become an important mining town in the state.

The last decades of the nineteenth century had been rough on the Silver State, as depleted mines, declining silver prices, and increasing production costs conspired to decimate the state's mining industry. For a quarter of a century it appeared as though nothing would stem Nevada's decline. Livestock production became increasingly important to the state's economy, and even it encountered problems as harsh winters and low cattle prices plunged the industry into crises during the 1880s and the 1890s. Some even suggested that Nevada be deprived of its statehood since it had so few people and so little economic reason to keep it in the Union.[28] Then, in the spring of 1900, rancher and part-time prospector James Butler discovered gold at Tonopah, and an era of bonanza rekindled the state's economy and revived its social and cultural life. Historian Russell Elliott christened this event "Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom."

In scope and in significance, Nevada's second great mining boom was almost as critical to the state's history as were the events associated with the discovery

of the legendary Comstock Lode. Like the rush to the Comstock, it attracted thousands of people to Nevada, encouraged further mineral exploration and discovery, increased the state's prosperity, stimulated the development of new railroad lines, and led to the establishment of a plethora of new towns and mining camps. Further, while it did not create Nevada as a social and a political entity—that was the work of the Comstock—it did revitalize the state's economy and elevate it, once again, into the "mining limelight."[29] Finally, in certain parts of the state, the strikes of this era proved longer-lived than those of Nevada's nineteenth-century mining boom. Their sustainability was most evident in White Pine County's copper industry, which survived for three-quarters of the twentieth century. While not as large or as prosperous a community as those associated with White Pine County's copper industry, Manhattan also persevered for much of the twentieth century.

One bonanza followed another during the first decade of the twentieth century, as an army of newly-inspired prospectors spread over the regions surrounding Tonopah, "hammering and chipping at every likely ledge."[30] While gold and silver discoveries at such places as Goldfield and Rhyolite continued to excite the imaginations and buoy the spirits of Nevada's prospectors, the discovery of copper—a base metal essential to the modern electrical industry—at Ely also contributed to the revival of Nevada's economic life. A network of mining camps and boomtowns spread throughout southern and central Nevada, and the windswept mountains and desert wastes of these regions began to boast small enclaves of human life. Almost overnight schools, churches, and stock exchanges materialized, and oases of refinement and culture dotted the Nevada wilderness. Manhattan was one of these oases.[31]

Manhattan's mines were flourishing as the first decade of the twentieth century came to a close. In 1911, its hardrock mines reached their height, producing just over 20,000 ounces of gold, and its placer production peaked in 1912 and 1913, contributing 8,000 ounces of gold annually to the community's total production.[32] During these years, Manhattan's standard of living reflected its prosperity. In 1907, the town was three miles long and 1,000 feet wide.[33] The fledgling community journalists W. H. Emmons and G. H. Garrey had described in 1906 had grown to include two hospitals (the Nye County hospital and the Miners Union hospital), a "good water system," a stock exchange, a school, a blacksmith shop, and a corral. In addition, the number of businesses in Manhattan had increased since Emmons and Garrey had first seen the town, with more hotels, saloons, cafes, and restaurants added to the rich mix that they had observed.[34] Despite the ups and downs characterizing the town's early history, the number of businesses in Manhattan actually increased over the years. Further, in 1909, the California-Nevada Power Company extended a line into Manhattan. This event sparked a community celebration because the town had been without electricity since its first electric light company had failed a few years earlier.[35]

Another sign of the area's growth and prosperity was reflected in other mining camps springing up in the lands adjacent to Manhattan. East Manhattan, Palo Alto, and Centralia, for example, were established within five miles of Manhattan in 1905 and 1906. The quality of life in these communities, as in Manhattan, benefited from the ranchers of the Smoky Valley, who were providing a plentiful supply of fresh fruit and vegetables in season to their residents,[36] as well as offering them home-raised beef at the Union meat market.[37] In addition, in 1912, a dairy opened in Manhattan.[38] and the community passed a bond supporting the construction of a new school for Manhattan's children. The building, which opened in 1913, became the hub of the town's social and cultural life, serving as the site of local dances, basket socials, and card parties.[39] It also hosted programs for the community that required a large assembly hall, since it had been designed with a removable wall between two of its classrooms.[40] In sum, between 1906 and 1913, Manhattan ceased to be simply a mining camp. It became a full-fledged town boasting all the amenities. While it was not one of Nevada's most important mining towns during this era, it was prosperous enough to support a vibrant social and cultural life.

The town of Manhattan developed a lively community life between 1906 and 1913. At the center of society were fraternal organizations and voluntary associations, including the Miner's Union, the Toquima Aerie of the Eagles Club, the Manhattan Athletic Club, a town band, the Manhattan Gun Club,[41] a Volunteer Fire Department, a town baseball team,[42] and the Toiyabe Literary Club—a ladies organization affiliated with the National Association of Women's Clubs. These organizations and voluntary associations sponsored annual festivals and charitable events that set the temporal rhythms of Manhattan's social life. Key among these annual events were the New Year's Eve Masquerade Ball, the Fireman's Ball in April,[43] the Fourth of July Celebration,[44] and the Labor Day festival in September.[45]

The parades, dances, games, sporting competitions, and banquets normally accompanying these events also testify to the community's vitality. In 1912, for example, the Miner's Union sponsored a Labor Day Celebration that began at 8 a.m. with a barbeque hosted by Manhattan's local Indian community. A parade, set for 9 a.m., followed the barbeque. According to the *Manhattan Post*, the parade was "gorgeous and won the admiration of residents and visitors alike." The Miner's Union led the parade, followed by the Firemen and the Eagles. The Eagles' contribution was especially notable, featuring a float filled with children and an accompanying escort marching both ahead of it and behind it.[46] An "industrial float" sponsored by local merchant W. M. Veith,[47] came next, then Clark James's bare-boned exhibition of old and new consisting of a new automobile pulling an old wagon. Finally, local Indians riding their horses closed the parade. Various athletic competitions and contests followed the parade, including assorted races (foot, horse, cart, and motorcycle), pie-eating competitions, greased-pole climbing contests, and a double-handed drilling

contest. A water fight (which was ruled a draw) helped cool everyone down in the afternoon and prepare them for the grand ball that evening.[48]

Manhattan also boasted a lively political scene during this era. In 1912, the community had 511 registered voters,[49] and, if the numerous articles touching on political matters appearing in the local newspaper are indicative of the community's political leanings, the Pine Tree Camp, politically speaking, tilted left. In 1912, the *Manhattan Post* published articles supporting a wide variety of progressive causes. The feminist movement, [50] the labor movement,[51] direct primaries,[52] and issues related to the hygienic movement[53] were among the various causes it championed. In addition, announcements of women's suffrage meetings at local venues, as well as around the state;[54] notices of socialist lectures to be delivered at the local Bronx Theater and at the Athletic Hall;[55] and news items discussing the local Miners' Union[56] testify to the presence of a progressive political culture in Manhattan. While supportive of progressive causes, the local newspaper tended, nonetheless, to champion such mainstream politicians as Senator William A. Massey and Congressman E. E. Roberts in its editorials and political articles.[57] Also, the editor was capable of making quite bigoted statements about the "heathen Chink" and "the little yellow people," revealing that he and perhaps the community shared the progressives' blind spot on racial matters, as was typical in the early twentieth century.[58]

While Manhattan prospered during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of World War I, by 1915 there were signs of decline. In that year, Manhattan's hardrock ores produced fewer than 8,000 ounces of gold, and its placer production also slowed.[59] Many of those who had moved to Manhattan during the boom years of 1906 and 1907 left in 1914 or 1915.[60] Yet others remained. Those who chose to stick it out supported themselves and their families primarily by working the placers in Manhattan Gulch, or by getting a job at one of the area's lode mines or at one of their mills.[61] Symbolic, perhaps, of the community's malaise, the 1920s opened with a couple of fires that devastated much of the town,[62] and, in 1922, its last newspaper, the *Manhattan Magnate*, closed its doors.[63] The community's misfortune continued throughout the decade, in part because during the 1920s the price of gold was arbitrarily set at $20 per ounce.

Nonetheless, the Manhattan Consolidated and the White Caps mines continued to operate—albeit with starts and stops—into the 1930s,[64] so the community survived. Its stalwart mining families, diminished in number, continued to enjoy active social lives. During the 1920s, community members celebrated the Fourth of July at Darrough's Hot Springs in Smoky Valley, arranged community dances, picnics, and card parties, and even sponsored a men's and ladies' basketball team. The venerable Toiyabe Literary Club, established during the camp's first years, continued to play an important role in the community's cultural life, hosting dances at its clubhouse and arranging to show motion pictures at its facilities.[65] Finally, the Manhattan School remained a focus of the

community. Despite a few stormy times, the local P.T.A. sponsored successful fundraisers for the school, and residents continued to dig into their pockets to help support it.[66]

While Manhattan struggled during the 1920s, better days were in store for it when Franklin Roosevelt became president in 1933. The Roosevelt administration raised the price of gold to $35 per ounce, and this price increase rejuvenated Manhattan. Placer mining resumed on small claims in the Manhattan Gulch. The White Cap mine, which had been shut down for a short time, resumed operation, and a new mine, the Reliance, soon opened.[67] Given the Depression's stark economic realities, life in Manhattan looked relatively good to the region's miners and their families. The town's population was close to three hundred, the highest it had been in many years, and the tight-knit little community had sustained its vibrant social life.[68] Dances, wedding parties with their attendant shivarees, Thanksgiving feasts celebrated with neighbors and family,[69] and locally staged theatrical performances sponsored jointly by the Toiyabe Club and the teachers and students of the Manhattan School brightened the community's social and cultural life.[70]

In 1938, a major technological innovation restructured the productive lives of many of Manhattan's placer miners. After an intensive study of Manhattan's placers, a combination of capital and experienced engineers introduced an "ultra-modern bucket line floating dredge" into the Manhattan Gulch. This dredge, one of the largest that the world had ever seen, could process thirty-seven 10-cubic-foot buckets per minute, or about 6,580 yards of auriferous gravel per eight-hour shift.[71] The enormous dredge, which was said to have dimensions of 180 feet by 60 feet, was expensive to install, costing approximately $1 million, but it was inexpensive to run, since it required only six men per shift to operate it.[72] Thus, while the gigantic machine allowed fewer miners to process more gold ore per day than had ever been processed in Manhattan before, the machine's very productivity threatened the livelihood of many in the community. When the dredge was first introduced into Manhattan, in fact, considerable local opposition greeted it and the Manhattan Gold Dredging Company. Over time, however, the community adjusted to the dredge, while the taxes the company paid to Nye County augmented its treasury and, no doubt, improved the quality of life for many in the vicinity.[73]

It was not the dredge, therefore, that caused Manhattan's near demise in the 1940s,[74] but the outbreak of World War II.[75] Believing the war effort would be better served if gold miners worked in nonferrous metal mines, in 1942 the War Production Board (WPB) decided to halt all gold mining in the United States.[76] Although Senator Pat McCarran managed to persuade the WPB to approve the Manhattan Gold Dredging Company's request to continue work on "a one-shift daily scope" with employees the War Manpower Commission deemed not vital to the war effort,[77] the small community sustained its downward spiral into the 1940s.

The situation went from bad to worse in 1946 when the Manhattan Gold Dredging Company terminated its operations and, a year later, moved the dredge to Cooper Canyon, 170 miles north of Manhattan. "When the dredge and its subsequent payroll [were] removed" the town "was finished . . . . Every business house closed up shop . . . . Even the Catholic Church closed its door[s]," and several of the town's buildings were moved to Round Mountain where placer operations were in full swing.[78] The town's school remained open, however, and a few intrepid families remained.

In 1955, the Manhattan School, the pride of the community, was finally forced to close its doors—its student body had dwindled to only three.[79] The town was plunging toward its lowest point . During the mid-1950s, Manhattan was assuming the appearance of a ghost town. Nell Murbarger, a Nevada writer who visited the community at this time, reported that the old stone post office and the Toiyabe Club were now closed. Yet the town was not entirely dead, for one of its bars was still open, and aged prospectors still reminisced with its bartender about the strikes (or near strikes) of their youth. There was little life elsewhere, however, in Manhattan.[80]

The town's silence was no surprise to Murbarger. She knew that the 1950 census enumerators had managed to count only ninety-five people "in all the thirty-six miles of the Manhattan township," and, "no matter how optimistic and charitable one may choose to be, ninety-five citizens is a far leap from the frontier metropolis that filled" the Manhattan ravine when Teddy Roosevelt was president.[81] By the time writer Doris Cerveri visited Manhattan in 1965, only one store—a food and dry goods establishment—remained. A few prospectors living in weatherbeaten houses still managed to eke out a modest living reworking old slag piles, and periodically bottle hunters in search of sun-colored purple glass would visit the area.[82] At that moment, however, even the most determined among Manhattan's remaining residents were about to abandon hope and admit the Pine Tree Camp had become a ghost town.[83]

In the late 1970s, however, gold prices shot up to more than $400 per ounce and Manhattan—like many of Nevada's other ghost towns—revived once again. The turnaround in the late 1970s was so great, in fact, that Governor Robert List referred to this reversal of the state's mining fortunes as the "third renaissance of mining in Nevada."[84] Partly because Nevada's economy was no longer dependent on its extractive industries during the last half of the twentieth century, the state's third mining boom was less significant than its first two had been. Nevada's third wave of miners still played a crucial role, nevertheless, in revitalizing the state's nearly moribund mining communities.

Nevada's third mining renaissance was especially important to Manhattan's survival. In 1978, there were only twenty-eight people in the entire town. Yet, within two years, forty new families had moved into the community, and Manhattan had come back to life. Drawn by the high gold prices of the era, Houston Oil and Minerals Corporation bought "a stack of mining claims" from Howard

Hughes' Summa Corporation and then moved into Manhattan. The corporation set up a new mill south of town, and it began opening a series of small open pit mines.[85] Symbolic, perhaps, of the community's renewal during the 1980s, the Manhattan Schoolhouse, functioning now as the Manhattan Library, opened its doors once more.

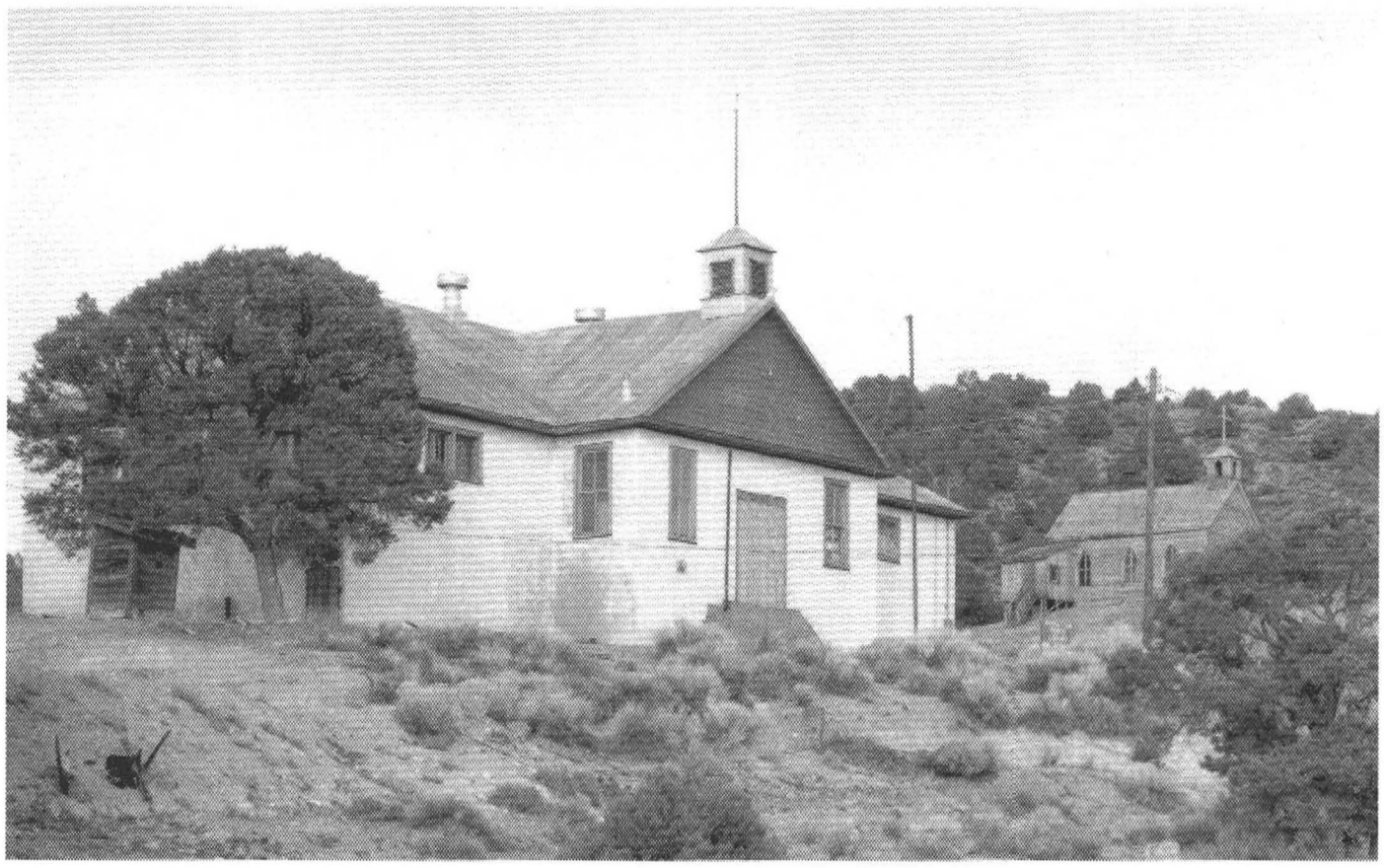
Although the 1980s mining boom subsided during the 1990s, mining continues in the region around Manhattan. In 2004, Manhattan could still claim a population of 128,[86] and good news was sweeping through the community's mining families once again. On November 3, 2005, Royal Standard Minerals, Inc. announced it had entered into a five-year purchase option with a private individual allowing it to secure more than 700 mining claims in the Manhattan Mining District. This "land package" totaled around 1,600 acres and included a number of "exploration targets" that were of interest to the company. Manhattan may be on the rise, once again.[87]

THE HISTORY OF MANHATTAN SCHOOL

Recognizing the pivotal role a nation's schools play in establishing and sustaining representative forms of government, in 1785 the United States Congress passed a Land Ordinance decreeing land in each territorial township be set aside for the support of public schools.[88] In conformity with the spirit of this ordinance, when Nevada became a territory in 1861, its first territorial legislature established the offices of Superintendent of Public Instruction and County Superintendent,[89] and enacted a procedure for establishing and funding public schools in each territorial county. Although the legislature set aside land in each township for the support of education, it assigned financial responsibility for these schools primarily to local governments.[90] Ten percent of all monies paid into the country treasury were to be held in reserve for the hiring of school teachers. When Nevada became a state, the Nevada Constitution refined these procedures. It provided for electing [later appointing] the superintendent of public instruction and levying a state school tax. Despite these provisions, the financial burden for education still remained with the local communities.[91]

While Nevada's mines prospered, this system worked well. The economic vagaries of the mining industry made it difficult, however, for local communities to sustain their long-term financial commitments to their schools when the industry was in a downward trend. In an attempt to economize during the late nineteenth century mining slump, the legislature made county district attorneys *ex officio* county school superintendents schools at no extra pay. Since the district attorneys were already overworked, this legislation effectively removed all local supervision of schools for the next twenty years.[92]

In 1907, the legislature, responding to the pleas of educators and inspired



The Manhattan Schoolhouse as it appeared in March 2004. Architecturally, the school is vernacular, but it exhibits elements of the Colonial Revival style popular at the time of its construction. (*Photo by Tom Perkins, Nevada State Historic Preservation Office*)

by the progressive spirit of the early twentieth century, reorganized Nevada's school system. It created five supervisory districts, with each to be governed by a deputy superintendent who would be a professional educator.[93] This legislation placed the oversight of Nevada's schools in the hands of educational professionals. Under its provisions, the schools at Manhattan were under the Fifth Supervision District.[94]

The primary responsibility for funding the schools, and thus for overseeing their quality, remained in local hands. While entrusting Nevada's schools to their local communities might have presented problems in some areas, this was not true of its mining communities. Since the days of the Comstock, Nevada's miners and their families had taken pride in their schools and were willing to invest the capital, labor, and time necessary for them to flourish. Manhattan was no exception. Interest in the town's schools and a willingness to support them was one of this community's most outstanding characteristics.

Unlike many mining camps, from its outset Manhattan boasted the presence of children. The community's founding family, the Humphreys, had school-age children. Soon after the famous April Fool's Day strike giving rise to Manhattan occurred, the Humphreys brought their children—along with the family's house—to the newly emerging town.[95] Soon children of other mining families joined the population. In 1906, the community established its first school on upper Main Street, with Laura Grace Dillon as the teacher. As a memento of

The interior of the main classroom at the Manhattan Schoolhouse in August 2005. The use of ornate pressed tin on the ceiling reflects the importance of the school to the community. (*Photo by Elizabeth Safford Harvey, Nevada State Historic Preservation Office*)

the school's first year, she gave a booklet to each of her pupils. It indicates that she taught thirty-three pupils that year in Manhattan.[96]

Manhattan's second school was established in 1908. It was located on Erie Street and its teacher was Miss Veronica Leehy. The Erie Street School may have replaced the one on Main Street, or simply augmented it.[97] In 1909, Ida J. Fischer began teaching in Manhattan. Popular with her students, she remained in the community until 1924. Effie Mona Mack, one of Nevada's best known educators, also taught Manhattan's children. After graduating from the University of Nevada, she came to Manhattan to serve as its school principal in 1909. While in the community she lived with the Humphrey family and remained close to them throughout her career.[98] She remained in Manhattan for only one year, however, before resuming her studies at Smith College. The time she spent in this lively mining town may have influenced her intellectual development, since her major works, "The Life and Letters of William Morris Stewart" (a 1930 doctoral dissertation) and *Mark Twain in Nevada* (1947),[99] focused on subjects relating to the state's nineteenth-century mining history.

By 1911, the number of children enrolled in Manhattan's schools had grown

to sixty-five, and they were attending school in the Palace Building, one of the community's largest structures. R. S. McGinnis, from Goldfield, was now teaching the higher grades in Manhattan, while Fischer continued to teach the town's younger students.[100] In 1912, the school board decided it was time to build a new schoolhouse. It asked Manhattan citizens to support its decision in a special election, centering on bond funding for constructing and furnishing a new school.[101]

The *Manhattan Post* enthusiastically supported this proposal, noting that the community was six years old, and the number of school age children living in Manhattan had never been as great as it was at that moment. Hence, it urged every voter in Manhattan to turn out on election day and cast a ballot for the school children. It also called voting for the measure "an act of justice" for the community's students.[102] On Monday, June 17, 1912, Manhattan voters unanimously passed the School Board's bond proposal. The *Manhattan Post*, pleased with the election's outcome, announced the vote was 137 to nothing and noted the election was "the most decisive . . . ever held in Nye county."[103]

Armed with an overwhelming endorsement for its proposal, the school board moved forward and, by mid-August 1912, was running notices in the *Post* announcing that it was receiving bids for the school bonds.[104] On September 7, 1912, the *Post* declared the First National Bank of Plainville, Ohio, had purchased the bonds at their premium value, paying $5,026 for them.[105] In February 1913, the board awarded the construction contract for the new school to local contractor and builder Angus McDonald.[106] The *Post* reported the plans for the structure called "for three school rooms, an office and hallway." The exterior and school rooms were to be finished in pressed steel, and the building, which was to open in time for the 1913 fall term, would be erected on Chipmunk Hill.[107]

In July, the *Post* announced Manhattan's "fine new school house" was nearing completion, and noted interest in holding a house-warming there.[108] Although the school board had originally planned to use its bond funds to pay both for constructing the school building and furnishing it, the construction costs had eaten up most of these funds. Money was still needed, therefore, to purchase additional school furniture.[109] Once again, Manhattan citizens rallied to support the school with plans for a school benefit dance and card party on August 19, 1913. Men would pay $1 for their tickets and ladies would be admitted free. The proceeds were to be used to purchase a new piano for the school and additional classroom furniture.[110]

Another benefit for the school was scheduled for November 13, 1913. This time the event, held at the Bronx Theatre, featured a program of fourteen numbers, including "selections by the Manhattan orchestra, several songs by the Manhattan male quartette, a delightful little sketch entitled 'Taming a Husband,' . . . four animated songs, each with a different young lady in the pose, [and] vocal solos" by community members. Local residents conceptualized, organized, and carried out the benefit, and the local paper urged others in the community to let

the participants know how much they enjoyed their performances.[111] These two events established a tradition in Manhattan. The town was proud of its school and determined to support it, despite the hardships that it might face.

The new schoolhouse opened on September 2, 1913, with Professor Berryessa and Ida Fischer as its first teachers.[112] Situated on Dexter Avenue, overlooking Main Street, the handsome building reflected the community's optimism and confidence. The Manhattan School was a 2,816-square-foot, single-story building, rectangular in shape with an eight-foot-by-twenty-five-foot entry foyer projecting south. The foyer was symmetrically centered on the building's south side. The building supported a hipped roof with an intersecting gable over its entry,[113] and included double-hung windows. Additionally, the foyer featured a bell tower, and a flagstaff stood on the roof ridge.[114] The rectangular shape, symmetrically centered foyer, hipped roof, and double-hung windows suggest the Colonial Revival movement influenced McDonald when he built the school.

Since the Manhattan School appears to have been created without the assistance of an architect, architectural historians would categorize the building as a form of vernacular architecture. Its Colonial Revival characteristics link the schoolhouse, nonetheless, to one of the era's most important cultural movements. Introduced during the 1876 Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia, the Colonial Revival style was popular in the United States early in the twentieth century.[115] Scholars of the movement link the style's popularity to the era's intense nationalism, belief in scientific progress, and faith in the "manifest destiny" of the American people. By resurrecting elements of the Georgian, Federal, and Greek Revival styles that had dominated colonial American architecture, the Colonial Revival style commemorated America's pre-industrial roots and eulogized the cultural norms and standards of its founders. At the same time, by celebrating the nation's origins, it also expressed the American people's pride in their past accomplishments and faith in its future progress. In many ways, then, the Colonial Revival style ideally suited Manhattan's citizens, for it expressed their dreams and aspirations, and their pride in the community.[116]

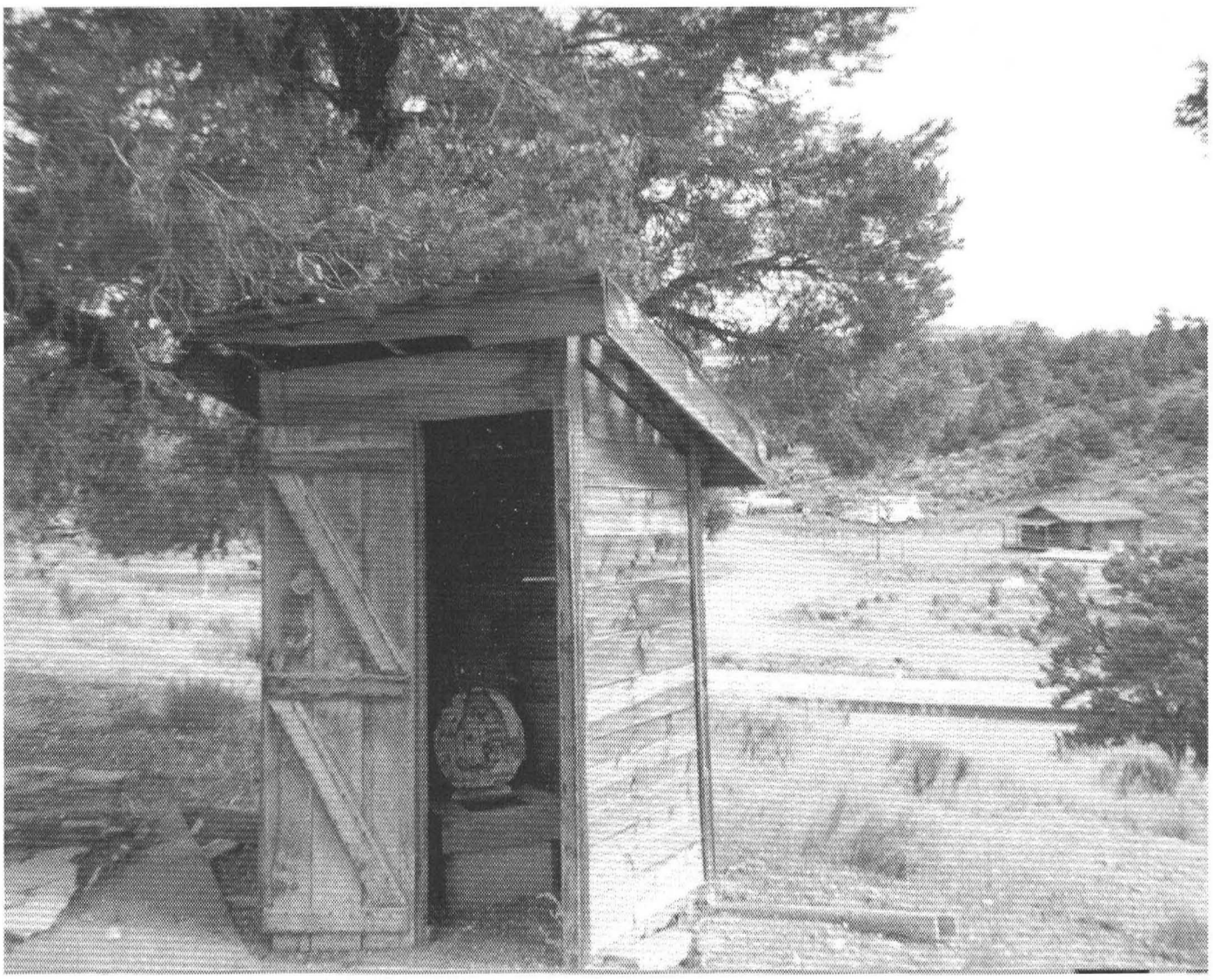
While numerous characteristics of the building associate it with the Colonial Revival style, one of its most prominent features is not typical of that movement or of any other specific architectural style: the metal panels adorning the schoolhouse's interior and (at one time) exterior surfaces. Since they were durable, transportable, and adaptable to a wide variety of architectural styles, metal panels were popular with the nation's middle-class consumers during the first decades of the twentieth century. When the schoolhouse was constructed in 1913, it was entirely covered, both inside and out, with pressed metal panels decorated in various patterns corresponding to the function and location of their surfaces . On the exterior, ashlar stone patterned panels covered its walls, and shingle and cornice patterned panels bedecked its roof. In the building's interior, wainscoting, wall, frieze, and ceiling patterns prevailed on the panels.[117]

The innovative use of the metal panels distinguishes the Manhattan Schoolhouse from other Nevada schoolhouses of its era. While whose idea it was to use the metal panels is unclear, a newspaper article suggests that they were part of the building's plan since its inception.[118] Architectural historians have long believed that imitative building and decorative materials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were popular among America's common people at that time because they were cheap, quick, and easy. More recently, they have noted that such building materials as concrete block, pressed metal ceilings, linoleum, and embossed wall coverings were popular because they allowed average people to include decorative details in their construction projects that otherwise would have remained the prerogative of the wealthy. Hence, the use of imitative building materials during the Progressive Era was as much an expression of the democratic ethos and cultural aesthetic of the nation's middle classes as it was a means of cutting costs.[119] The Manhattan school board's use of pressed metal to cover its school testifies as much, to its *bricoleur* spirit as it does to its desire to cut costs. Their efforts won the admiration of the deputy superintendent of schools, who called the schoolhouse the "biggest value for the money" he had ever seen.[120]

The 1920s tested Manhattanites' faith in their community, as were their commitments to their school and their children. Educating the community's youth while the mines were in *borrasca* placed a tremendous economic burden on local citizens. Yet, despite economic woes, community fundraisers continued, the Toiyabe Literary Club continued to work with Manhattan's school teachers to plan cultural events for the children,[121] and the school board continued to hire excellent teachers and pay respectable salaries.[122] Nonetheless, the number of school children in Manhattan, like the number of residents, continued to decline. Jim Boni, a student at the Manhattan School during the 1920s and the early 1930s, remembered that when he started school in the 1920s, thirty or forty children attended its classes. When he graduated in the 1930s, however, only three or four other students were in his class.[123]

Despite its declining numbers, the school remained a vital part of town life during the 1930s. Elizabeth Roberts, who taught there during these years, recalled its "rooms were always warm and clean," she had all the supplies she needed, and community spirit was high among Manhattan's residents. She also recalled that the children put on three to four theatrical performances a year.[124] Evidence of the school's continuing vitality during the 1930s is also found in the fact that the high school's students were publishing a school annual, *The Pine Tree*, at this time,[125] and the Manhattan School boasted its own newspaper, *The Toiyabe*.[126]

During the 1930s, the school's facilities also benefited from the introduction of a Works Project Administration's (WPA) "fly proof privy." The WPA built nearly 1,100 outdoor privies in Nevada during this decade.[127] Those who used them considered them a remarkable advance over the pit privies that had dominated



The WPA privy at the Manhattan Schoolhouse. The fly-proof privy program provided sanitary facilities at a nominal charge during the Great Depression. A number were installed at schools in Nevada's rural communities. (*Photo by Frank Woodliff, Nevada State Historic Preservation Office*)

in the state, since they were set on concrete slabs, were covered with horizontal tongue-and-groove boards, and featured a regular door lock, replacing the old nail and string.[128] Manhattan's schoolhouse privy is remarkable because it was one of three erected in southern Nevada.

The school continued to educate Manhattan's children during the 1940s. Attendance by several Native American children enhanced its student body.[129] Nonetheless, after the dredge closed down, the number of children attending school declined. By 1955, that number had fallen to three and the school was forced to close its doors. It began to appear as though the Manhattan School was at the end of its distinguished career. In 1968, Virginia Stewart, one of Manhattan's residents during the 1930s, reported that when she revisited the town, the schoolhouse had boarded up windows and was falling into decay.[130]

The old schoolhouse, like the town of Manhattan, would receive a second lease on life during the 1980s mining boom, when Nye County reopened the building and used it as a community library. As the Manhattan Library, the schoolhouse remained a focal point of the community. It hosted meetings by

the Chit Chat Club, housed the volunteer fire department's annual fundraising event, and—due primarily to the efforts of Linda Hansen, the librarian during much of this era—offered a story time for the community's children.[131]

The Manhattan Schoolhouse continues into the twenty-first century. In 2002, Nye County transferred ownership of the building and much of the surrounding land to the Smoky Valley Library District. At present, the district is working with the State of Nevada's Commission for Cultural Affairs in order to restore the old schoolhouse and to use it as a community cultural center. This center will house a museum, as well as a library. In 2006, recognizing the important role the Manhattan Schoolhouse has played in its community was recognized by the federal government, when it was placed in the National Register of Historic Places, a fitting reminder of the vitality and joint survival of the building and the community it serves.[132]

NOTES

[1] Paul H. Landis uses a mining community's interest in constructing a schoolhouse for its children as a key variable when charting its cultural life cycle. See "The Life Cycle of the Iron Mining Town," *Social Forces*, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1934, 253-255. Derwent Whittlesey notes that in company towns, the "vital interrelation between company and community life" is reflected in the quality of the schoolhouse the company constructs for the community. See "A Locality on a Stubborn Frontier at the Close of a Cycle of Occupance," *Geografiska Annaler*, Vol. 12, 1930, 182. An excellent overview of the place of the schoolhouse in all types of communities in the United States, not just mining communities, is found in William W. Cutler, III, "Cathedral of Culture: The Schoolhouse in American Educational Thought and Practice since 1820," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Spring, 1989, 1-40.

[2]Susan A. James. *Virginia City's Historic Fourth Ward School: From Pride to Glory* (Virginia City: Fourth Ward School Museum), 2003; Ronald M. James, *The Roar and the Silence: A History of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 191-197, 267.

[3] Exceptions to this statement would include Mella Rothwell Harmon's discussion of the Midas Schoolhouse in a National Register of Historic Places Nomination, "The Midas Schoolhouse," 8 June 2004, on file at the State of Nevada's Historic Preservation Office in Carson City, Nevada; passing references and photographs of the McGill Schoolhouse in Russell R. Elliott, *Growing Up in a Company Town* (Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1990), 34-35, 43, 88, 156; and comments on the role Nevada's local schools played in their communities by Elizabeth Raymond in "Country School Legacy: Nevada's Educational Heritage," *Halcyon: A Journal of the Humanities*, 1983, 107-118.

[4] While Manhattan has never attracted the kind of scholarly attention that such mining communities as Virginia City and Goldfield have over the decades, an extremely thorough discussion of its history, along with a discussion of its mineral wealth, its mines, and its neighboring communities, can be found in Robert D. McCracken, *A History of Smoky Valley, Nevada* (Tonopah: Central Nevada Historical Society, 1997).

[5] W. H. Emmons and G. H. Garrey, "Notes on the Manhattan District," in *Mines of Goldfield, Bullfrog and other Southern Nevada Districts with Notes on the Manhattan District*, by F. L. Ransome (1907; Las Vegas: Stanley Paher, 1983), 84. [A photographic reproduction of the 1907 U. S. Geological Survey Bulletin 303 entitled *Preliminary Account of Goldfield, Bullfrog, and Other Mining Districts in Southern Nevada*.]

[6] P. E. Keeler, "Chapter 55: Nye County," in *The History of Nevada*, ed. Sam P. Davis (1913; Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1984), 971.

[7] Emmons and Garrey, "Notes on the Manhattan District," 84.

[8] Virginia M. Stewart, *Golden Gravel: Manhattan, Nevada in the 1930s* (Morongo Valley, California: Sagebrush Press, 1992), 63.

[9] Keeler, "Nye County," 971.

[10] Oscar Lewis, *The Town that Died Laughing: The Story of Austin, Nevada, Rambunctious Early-day Mining Camp, and of its Renowned Newspaper, The Reese River Reveille* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986), 7-10.

[11] *Ibid.*, 10-12.

[12] McCracken, *A History of Smoky Valley*, 126-128.

[13] James W. Hulse, *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted* (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 101, 108-109.

[14]*Tonopah Times—Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.

[15] Nicholl's nationality was ascertained by consulting the State of Nevada's Department of Cultural Affairs Online U. S. Census.

[16] Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Oakland, California: Thompson and West, 1881), 518.

[17] *Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977; Angel, *History of Nevada*, 518.

[18] *Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.

[19] McCracken, *A History of Smoky Valley*, 1997, 172.
[20] Nell Murbarger, *Ghosts of the Glory Trail* (Palm Desert, Calif.: Desert Magazine Press, 1956), 51.
[21] Garrey and Emmons, "Notes," 85.
[22] Keeler, "Nye County," 968.
[23] Garrey and Emmons, "Notes," 85.
[24] Willis George Emerson, "The Nevada Bonanzas of Today," in *Out West*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1907, 120-121.
[25] Keeler, "Nye County," 968.
[26] McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 209-212.
[27] Keeler "Nye County," 967-969.
[28] Russell R. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 4.
[29] *Ibid.*, 299-306.
[30]Murbarger, *Ghosts*, 51.
[31]Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom*, 300.
[32] McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 213.
[33] Emerson, "Nevada Bonanzas," 120.
[34] *Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.
[35] Phillip I. Earl, "The Days of a Popular Power Company," *Nevada State Journal*, 21 December 1980; Earl, "When the Power Company wore a White Hat," *Central Nevada's Glorious Past*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 28.
[36] McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 200-202.
[37] *Manhattan Post*, 22 March 1913.
[38] *Manhattan Post*, 17 August 1912.
[39] *Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977; *Manhattan Post* 2 August 1913.
[40] *Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.
[41] *Manhattan Post*, 10 August 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 7 September 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 22 March 1913; *Manhattan Post*, 17 May 1913.
[42] *Manhattan Post*, 26 April 1913.
[43]*Tonopah Times—Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.
[44] *Manhattan Post*, June 28, 1913; *Manhattan Post*, 5 July 1913; Cornell H. Vander Meer, "McEarl Alexander Family: A Geneology," Nevada (?): C.H. Vander Meer, 1980. [In Special Collections at the University of Nevada, Reno, Library.]
[45] *Manhattan Post*, 10 August 1912.
[46] *Manhattan Post*, 7 September 1912.
[47] Veith's occupation was ascertained by consulting the State of Nevada's Department of Cultural Affairs Online U. S. Census.
[48]*Manhattan Post*, 7 September 1912.
[49] *Manhattan Post*, 26 October 1912.
[50] *Manhattan Post*, 2 November 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 1 November 1913; *Manhattan Post*, 22 November 1913.
[51] *Manhattan Post*, 31 August 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 7 September 1912.
[52] *Manhattan Post*, 5 October 1912.
[53] Ibid. Specifically, in this regard, the *Manhattan Post* was championing the therapeutic nature of open air schools for all children and, in particular, children suffering from tuberculosis and anemia.
[54] *Manhattan Post*, 1 November 1913; *Manhattan Post*, 22 November 1913; *Manhattan Post*, 3 May 1913.
[55] *Manhattan Post*, 26 October 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 26 April 1913; *Manhattan Post*, 3 May 1913.
[56] *Manhattan Post*, 17 May 1913; *Manhattan Post*, 6 December 1913.
[57] *Manhattan Post*, 6 July 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 12 October 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 2 November 1912.
[58] *Manhattan Post*, 6 December 1913. It should also be noted, however, that the editor's

treatment of Native Americans was generally much more positive than it was of Asian Americans. The Native Americans living in the Manhattan area, many of whom apparently resided in an Indian colony separate from the actual town, regularly participated in community events. *Manhattan Post*, 8 June 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 7 September 1912.

[59]McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 213.

[60]Vander Meer, "McEarl Alexander Family," 11-13; Production statistics reveal that 1913, 1914, 1917 and 1920 were extremely poor years for the Manhattan mines. In 1918 and 1919, however, they produced a great deal of ore, as indicated by its dollar value. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Boom*, 310.

[61]Elsie Humphrey, "Life on a Reese River Ranch, 1903-1915; Manhattan and Tonopah, 1920-1945," in *Women, Children and Family Life in the Nevada Interior, 1900-1930s*, interviews conducted by Elizabeth Patrick, ed. R. T. King (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1987), 85; McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 203-207.

[62]*Fallon Standard*, 31 May 1922.

[63]*Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.

[64]McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 203-207; Stewart, *Golden Gravel*, 20-21.

[65]Humphrey, "Life on a Reese River Ranch," 85-87.

[66]*Tonopah Times—Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.

[67]McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 204-207, 221.

[68]Stewart, *Golden Gravel*, 20-21

[69]*Ibid.*, 40-42.

[70]Elizabeth Roberts, "Memories of Tonopah, 1916-1970s," in *Women, Children and Family Life in the Nevada Interior, 1900-1930s*, 119; *Tonopah Times—Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.

[71]*The Goldfield News and Weekly Tribune*, 4 January 1946.

[72]*The Goldfield News*, 18 December 1939.

[73]*The Goldfield News and Weekly Tribune*, 4 January 1946.

[74]McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 232.

[75]Roberts, "Memories of Tonopah," 121.

[76]*New York Times*, 7 October 1942.

[77]*Tonopah Times—Bonanza*, 6 August 1943.

[78]Doris Cerveri, "Manhattan Still Has Life," *The Nevadan*, 12 December 1965, 3.

[79]*Tonopah Times—Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.

[80]Murbarger, *Ghosts*, 51-55.

[81]*Ibid.*

[82]Cerveri, "Manhattan Still Has Life," 3.

[83]Doug McMillan, "A Town that Won't Give Up," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 5 October 1980.

[84]Norman Cardoza, "Gold Mining Booms Again," *Reno Evening Gazette*, 8 November 1979.

[85]McMillan, "A Town that Won't Give Up."

[86]Nevada State Demographer, "Certified 2001 to 2003 Draft 2004 Estimated Population of Nevada's Counties, Cities and Towns w/ 200 Prior Estimates Based on Census 2000 for 1986 to 2000," http://www.nsbdc.org/demographer/pubs/images/NVpopul04.pdf, downloaded 3 February 2004.

[87]Royal Standard Minerals [RSM], "RSM Options Land Package Adjoining Its Goldwedge Mine," *Business Wire*, 3 November 2005.

[88]"An Ordinance for Ascertaining the Mode of Disposing of Lands in the Western Territory," U. S. Congress, 20 May 1785, in *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution 1764-1788 and the Formation of the Federal Constitution* , ed. S. E. Morison (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 204-206.

[89]James Garrison, James Woodward, Jr., and Patricia Osmon, "Survey of Historic Schools in Southern Nevada" (Phoenix: Janus Associates, Inc., August 1990), 15. On file at the State of Nevada's Historic Preservation Office, Carson City, Nevada.

[90]Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973) 73.

[91]Garrison, "Survey of Historic Schools," 15.

[92]*Ibid.*, 17.
[93]*Ibid.*, 16.
[94]*Ibid.*, 17.
[95]*Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.
[96]*Ibid.*
[97]*Ibid.*; McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 262.
[98]*Tonopah Times—Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.
[99]*Nevada State Journal*, 2 February 1964.
[100]*Tonopah Times-Bonanza and Goldfield News*, 13 May 1977.
[101]*Manhattan Post*, 8 June 1912.
[102]*Ibid.*
[103]*Manhattan Post*, 22 June 1912.
[104]*Manhattan Post*, 10 August 1912; *Manhattan Post*, 17 August 1912.
[105]*Manhattan Post*, 7 September 1912.
[106]*Manhattan Post*, 8 February 1913.
[107]*Ibid.*
[108]*Manhattan Post*, 12 July 1913.
[109]*Ibid.*
[110]*Manhattan Post*, 2 August 1913.
[111]*Manhattan Post*, 15 November 1913.
[112]*Manhattan Post*, 30 August 1913.
[113]Frank Woodliff, "Architectural Analysis Manhattan Public Library," (an architect's analysis of the Manhattan Schoolhouse), supporting materials for the National Register Nomination for the Manhattan Schoolhouse, currently on file at the State of Nevada's Historic Preservation Office, Carson City, Nevada.
[114]Garrison, "Survey of Historic Schools," NC1.
[115]Beverly Gordon, "Spinning Wheels, Samplers, and the Modern Priscilla: The Images and Paradoxes of Colonial Revival Needlework." *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 33, No. 2/3, 163-194.
[116]Mell Simmons, "The Colonial Revival Style," http://www.mel.simmons.org/realityplot/chap4.htm. downloaded 9 December 2004, copy on file at the State of Nevada's Historic Preservation Office, Carson City, Nevada. The progressive spirit of Nevadans in the early twentieth century and its reflection in the people's commitment to its schools is underscored in the "State of Nevada Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1911-1912," 16-17, *in Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly of the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada*, Vol. 1 (Carson City, Nevada: State Printing Office, 1913).
[117]Garrison, "Survey of Historic Schools," NC1. The Manhattan School's appearance has changed over the decades because its exterior metal panels were covered with metal lath, paper, and exterior stucco. It is possible, however, to get a feel for what the building was like when it was new, since the gable over the foyer still displays the schoolhouse's original panels. As time progressed, several modifications were made to the building: A restroom and a storage room were cut out of the entry foyer, and the building's entry was moved to its north side. In addition, stairs and a small ramp were added to the new entrance, connecting it to a parking lot. Woodliff, "Architectural Analysis Manhattan Public Library."
[118]*Manhattan Post* 8 February 1913.
[119]Pamela H.Simpson, "Substitute Gimcrackery: Ornamental Architectural Materials, 1870-1930," http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us:8080/ideasv51/simpson.htm, downloaded January 30, 2006, copy on file at the State of Nevada's Historic Preservation Office, Carson City, Nevada.
[120]*Manhattan Post* 1 November 1913.
[121]*Tonopah Times—Bonanza and Goldfield News* 13 May 1977.
[122]Humphrey, "Life on a Reese River Ranch," 81-84.
[123]James Boni, *An Interview with James Boni*, an oral history conducted and edited by Robert D. McCracken (Tonopah: Nye County Nevada, 1990), 7-8; McCracken, *History of Smoky Valley*, 263.

[124]Roberts, "Memories of Tonopah," 119.

[125]A copy of *The Pine Tree*, 1936, is among the current holdings of the Manhattan Library. Many of the old school texts, teaching materials, and administrative documents were stored in the section of the building not used by the Library. In 2005, Andrea Johnson documented these materials.

[126]*The Toiyabe*, 11 November 1937.

[127]Mella Rothwell Harmon, "Progressive Privy Program Proved Popular," http://dmla.clan.lib.nv.us/docs/dca/thiswas/thiswas07/htm, downloaded 23 January 2006.

[128]*Las Vegas Review Journal*, 3 March 2000.

[129]"Teacher's Monthly Report on Attendance of Indian Pupils in Public Schools," State Department of Education, October 1947-March 1948. These documents are currently among the holdings of the Manhattan Library.

[130]Stewart, *Golden Gravel*, 149.

[131]Linda Hansen, Interview with Author in Manhattan, Nevada, 14 July 2005.

[132]The Manhattan Schoolhouse was placed on the National Register of Historic Places on 8 March 2006. This article is a revision of the narrative portion of the nomination that secured the schoolhouse its place on the National Register.

Notes and Documents

Uranium for Atom Bombs: MIT 1946-1951

EUGENE J. AND SARA B. MICHAL

Eugene Michal and Sara Bailey were both graduate students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1946. Gene was a metallurgical engineer from the University of Nevada, and Sara, a laboratory technologist from Auburn University.

By different paths both became involved in a project at MIT, sponsored by the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, to find the best method for recovering uranium from South African gold ores. The project was Top Secret at the time.

GENE BEGINS

I was discharged from the Navy in 1946 and returned to Round Mountain, Nevada for a visit with my parents while I awaited word from MIT on my graduate school application. It was the dawn of the Atomic Age, and every prospector with a serviceable burro and a Geiger counter was out in the hills looking for uranium.

One of these prospectors was Charles Zuzallo, a rough-and-tumble jack-of-all-trades who mainly built cabins that he rented to miners. But Charlie was also a prospector, and my father had become a partner with him on a mining claim a few miles from town. The claim included a narrow tunnel that had been dug into a small quartz vein, many years ago, for the gold it contained. Charlie discovered that the vein also contained autunite, a uranium phosphate mineral that produced a great display of blue-green fluorescence under an ultraviolet light on a dark night.

I joined Charlie in extending the tunnel into the hard rock and hoping with every blast that we would strike a bonanza of uranium. It didn't happen, but I well recall the bruised fingers and sore muscles I endured that summer pounding a rock drill with a four-pound singlejack to place the dynamite charges.

Eugene Michal retired from a career in the mineral industry, most recently as president of AMAX Research and Development. He has been the recipient of six United States patents, and is a past chairman of the Colorado Section of the Society of Mining Engineers.

Sara Michal, in addition to bringing up their family of four, has been active in civic affairs through the non-partisan League of Women Voters, is a watercolor artist, and is a past president of the Colorado Watercolor Society.

At the same time, another miner by the name of Johnnie Hennebergh owned a mine nearby. He had a better "showing" of uranium than Charlie and I, and we occasionally examined his workings with great envy. Unfortunately, neither of these mines was rich enough to provide the minimum two-tenths of one percent uranium oxide in ore acceptable at the Utah purchasing station of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Thus, with my acceptance as a graduate student at MIT, I pocketed a few specimens of ore to take with me to Cambridge, Massachusetts, thinking I might somehow be able to test the ore and find a way of concentrating it to a grade acceptable to the AEC buying station. Soon after I enrolled at MIT, and in my quest for equipment to evaluate my sample, I was introduced to Professor A. M. Gaudin, head of the Mineral Engineering Department. I didn't know it at the time, but Gaudin was director of an AEC uranium project underway at the Watertown Arsenal under MIT's Division of Industrial Cooperation. I discreetly asked Gaudin if I might use one of the Department's radioactivity counters to evaluate my ore sample. Gaudin quietly shut his office door, quizzed me at length on the Round Mountain ore deposits, and finally asked me to get in touch with Hennebergh and have him send a fifty pound sample of his ore to MIT by Railway Express collect. He gave me permission to work on the ore in the Institute laboratory on my own and in my spare time.

Johnnie's sample arrived, but unfortunately, radiometric assays showed it was much lower in uranium content than one would imagine from the brilliant fluorescence of the uranium mineral under ultraviolet light. From these measurements I could see immediately that the ore was not rich enough to support even mining costs, let alone the cost of processing. Nevertheless, for the next six months, between classes, I ran tests on concentrating the ore. I was only partially successful. I could recover the autunite by flotation, but not to a grade acceptable to the AEC. Acid leaching dissolved the uranium, but the leach solution contained silica and alumina, and when the metals were precipitated, gave an unfilterable sludge. Much more work would be needed to develop a satisfactory treatment method.

The Round Mountain ores were not rich enough to be commercially valuable, and to my regret I had to report that to Charlie and Johnnie. However, like true prospectors, they never lost faith in their properties. They kept on digging for richer ore, for years afterward, to no avail.[1]

The following year, in 1947, after I had repaired my deficiencies—advanced physics and differential equations—(no one got through MIT without passing differential equations), and completed my class work, I obtained my master's degree. The effort on Hennebergh's ore earned me an offer of a job on Gaudin's project at the Watertown Arsenal. I had to be cleared for access to Top Secret information, so the offer was preceded by an investigation of my background by the FBI. They actually sent an agent to Round Mountain to interview the locals. People wondered what kind of trouble I was in. The Top Secret part of

the job was that the South African gold ores contained uranium, and that was not public knowledge. Many millions of tons of ore in the form of cyanide mill tailings from past operations were readily available, and Gaudin's laboratory had been assigned by the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission the task of developing a process for its recovery.[2]

The Watertown Arsenal

The Watertown Arsenal was an extensive complex of foundries, machine shops and assembly plants for war-related activities that still continued at a high pitch. It had, of course, restricted access that required showing an official badge. The uranium project was housed in a long narrow building in one corner of the arsenal grounds next to the foundry where they made naval cannons. Those buildings had even further restricted access.

I joined five other metallurgists working on uranium. We occupied one large office, along with a slender young lady I first considered a bit out of place among us. That is, until I found out that she was also an MIT graduate and furthermore could diagram the atomic structure of almost every organic chemical known to man. I could hardly even draw a benzene ring. My view of her changed quite abruptly. She was talking about things I didn't understand and I fear never will. She had been quickly accepted as an equal among the investigators.

Unlocking the Uranium

Our work area was a long wide area holding rows of laboratory benches supplied with the necessary utilities. The work was focused on ore samples from famous African gold mines—primarily the Blyvooruitzicht and Western Reefs. Both of these ores, and ores from at least twenty other African mines, had been found to contain a small amount—less than 0.2 percent (four pounds per ton) of uranium. We were testing every metallurgical route known to the trade to concentrate the uranium, including flotation, gravity concentration, and leaching.

In 1946 and 1947, much of the work was focused on froth flotation of a carbonaceous material in the ore with which the uranium was known to be associated. The hope was that a small amount of high-grade concentrate could be removed and processed more economically than by treating the whole ore. While work continued on the flotation process, I and several others were trying to dissolve the uranium directly from the gold tailings with sulfuric acid. The uranium mineral was proving very resistant, and we usually recovered only about half of it. We knew that there were benefits in the use of chemical additives to the acid, such as ferric chloride and even elemental chlorine. Presumably these helped

to convert the mixed-valent uranium in partially oxidized uraninite, U_3O_8, to soluble six-valent uranium in solution as UO_2^{++}. Unfortunately, ferric chloride was not commercially available and was difficult to manufacture, and the chloride ion, and particularly elemental chlorine, was corrosive to equipment. We doggedly persisted with a variety of tests trying to avoid these complexities and comply with the requirements for commercial operations.[3]

One day in 1948, one of my associates, Robert Porter, and I were discussing aqueous oxidation when we struck on the possibility that manganese dioxide ore, which was readily available in Africa, might be added to a sulfuric acid leach to generate ferric sulfate, *in situ*, and take the place of ferric chloride. I ran a few tests, and the results were successful. Manganese dioxide added to the sulfuric acid leach gave good uranium extractions and reproducible results. Concentration of uranium by flotation was soon abandoned, and acid leaching of the whole ore for commercial operations was adopted. My test results became the basis of a patent application credited jointly to Porter and me. More importantly, it gave impetus to the construction of pilot plants at Watertown and in Africa. The essential procedure for large-scale uranium production in South Africa had been put in place.

It was important to keep the use of manganese dioxide in uranium metallurgy secret, as the concept of the in-solution oxidation state of metals as defined and measured by chemists under the term "redox potential" had not been fully appreciated by metallurgical investigators. Research at the Government Metallurgical Laboratory in Teddington, United Kingdom, later reported that the vital function of MnO_2 was that it maintained the ratio of ferric to ferrous iron in solution higher than 4.0, and that assured good extraction of uranium. We didn't know that; we just knew it worked.[4]

The process was made public in a patent issued in 1959, but by that time the secret of manganese oxidation to dissolve refractory uranium minerals had long since leaked out.[5] Professor Taverner, who was commissioned to write the history of South African uranium metallurgy in 1957 summed up our discovery as follows: The addition of various oxidizing agents had been previously tested both at the MIT and GML (the South African Government Metallurgical Laboratory), the choice falling on manganese dioxide as the cheapest and most readily available material."[6]

RECOVERY OF URANIUM FROM SOLUTION

The next question assigned to me was how to remove the dissolved uranium from impure leach solutions. I made an initial attempt to electroplate uranium out of leach solutions onto a uranium metal cathode, under the mistaken impression that the uranium existed in leach solutions as a cation. Actually it was an anion, but I didn't know that and eventually abandoned the approach and

went back to selective precipitation. Selective precipitation was the method I had tried earlier on the Round Mountain ore in the MIT laboratory. Metal hydroxides precipitate from solution according to a rather well recognized sequence, depending upon the relative acidity of the solution. Theoretically, by correctly adjusting the acidity, one should be able to remove most of a particular metal from solution as a precipitate while leaving most of the other metals behind.[7] But it isn't as simple as it sounds. The precipitation ranges overlap and it is exceedingly difficult to get a clean precipitate of any one particular metal. I launched into a study of the types of alkali and conditions of its addition that would make possible a clean and effective separation of uranium from all of the other metals. The work became an obsession with me, but I never found the answer.

One day the project director, John Dasher, called me into his office and said, "Michal, you're beating a dead horse on selective precipitation." He was right. I had come to the same conclusion some time earlier, and with the offer of a teaching assistantship, had already submitted my application to MIT to pursue an advanced degree. I left the project in 1949. My associate, Robert Porter, went on to participate in building and operating uranium plants in South Africa and later in the western United States. Work on selective precipitation of uranium had been eclipsed by success in recovering uranium from solution with anionic ion exchange resins, an effect first observed in late 1948 and again in 1949 in the laboratories of the Battelle Memorial Institute and almost simultaneously in laboratories of the Dow Chemical Company.[8]

Sara Continues

My first job after graduation from Auburn University with a degree in Laboratory Technology was at the Lawson General Hospital in Atlanta, where I was assigned to draw and examine blood samples from Army veterans of the war in the South Pacific. My specialty was hematology and I spent most of the day before a microscope looking at blood samples. The men were most often suffering from malaria and other blood-related maladies, for which there was usually no simple treatment or promise of a permanent cure.

The work was essential, of course, but I found it depressing, and in the hope of furthering my knowledge of chemistry, I applied for admission to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In due course I was accepted, with the provision that I first survive make-up courses consisting of the junior and senior years of physics, engineering drawing, differential equations and physical chemistry. I had always received good grades in college, but was in for a rude awakening on the reality of MIT's academic standards.

I was no less awakened by the reality of Massachusetts's weather as I got off the train in Boston in a blinding snowstorm and hailed a taxi to a brownstone

on Bay State Road, which was the MIT women's dormitory. Twelve of the thirty women enrolled at MIT lived at the dorm under the eye of a housemother. We were provided breakfast and dinner at the dorm and walked across the Charles River Bridge to classes.[9]

THE MIT EXPERIENCE

My first semester was very exciting. I had a roommate who was a pianist from Pennsylvania who could play Tchaikovsky, I thought, like Paderewski. For Christmas vacation our housemother asked a Chinese girl and me to go with her to her summer home in Maine, where we went sledding and enjoyed, among other things, codfish with seaweed pudding. The highlight was a church service with a parade of men bearing incense burners.

The second semester I was nearly overwhelmed by courses in physics, physical chemistry, and differential equations. I could do well with memory courses, but at Auburn I had not developed the reasoning process essential to problem solving. Near the end of the semester I was running out of money and was very discouraged. The dean of the chemistry department came to my financial aid. He knew I had analytical chemistry experience so he called Dr. Reinhardt Schuhmann, a consultant to MIT Division of Industrial Cooperation Project 6282, the uranium project. He knew the project needed an analytical chemist. I was successful in getting the job and worked part-time with other chemists in MIT's main building. There I could use the Margaret Cheney room where women had access to lockers and could prepare snacks for lunch or dinner when working late. My financial problem had been taken care of, so I moved from the women's dorm on Bay State Road to a small room in Cambridge, nearer the Institute.

Between work and studies my time was now fully occupied, although the work extended the time necessary to get my degree. In the fall of 1946, our project moved to the Watertown Arsenal for security reasons. Also, I had to go through an intensive background investigation by the FBI to obtain Top Secret government clearance.

PROJECT 6282

I continued with both studies and work and in 1948 received my degree and an offer by Professor Gaudin to join Project 6282 as a professional investigator. The pay seemed as great as the challenge, which, as given to me, was to find a way to recover a purified uranium concentrate from the impure sulfuric acid solutions used in leaching the ore.

At the Arsenal we had a large room with six laboratory workbenches

furnished with all manner of metallurgical equipment and the necessary utilities—electricity, gas, water, compressed air, and vacuum. Our office had desks for myself, Norman Schiff, Jake Brunner, Edmund Brown, Bob Porter, and Fred Oberg. John Dasher, later with Bechtel Corporation, was chief of the Laboratory (government format), and Bob MacDonald was his assistant. Professors Gaudin and Schuhmann often dropped by to give us encouragement and advice on our projects. Gaudin even gave a lecture on how to write technical reports, although we did have an editor who reviewed them prior to publication. We were also honored by a visit in late 1946 by South Africa's Prime Minister, Field-Marshal Jan Smuts, along with General Leslie Groves, head of the USAEC.

I had a desk next to Edmund Brown, an older gentleman—a veteran of many mining and metallurgical operations—who was in charge of laboratory security. He had lived and worked in Russia and married a Russian woman whom he brought back to the United States. He was a very fastidious worker, kept a clean workbench, and to his credit kept the cabinets filled with reagents arranged in alphabetical order. I got along well with the men, but Mr. Brown smoked a pipe and the office was usually filled with smoke, so I stayed at my workbench most of the time.

In the fall of 1948, a young man from Nevada, Gene Michal, also arrived in our office, and occupied a workbench near mine in the laboratory. I noticed how industriously he worked, minding his own business, but helping anyone who asked questions. Being very timid, I didn't say much, but I did ask him to tell me about his project. He was working on the recovery of uranium from solution by selective precipitation. At the Christmas party we both had a glass of wine, or maybe two, and all barriers were broken.

Our sample preparation staff and technical assistants provided us with ore samples, did leaching tests, and processed the products of the tests according to our instructions. They also provided much of the humor lacking in professionals. One technician, Chuck Jackson, rigged up an air hose near his bench and several times invited a lady of the secretarial staff over to view his experiment, whereupon he would turn on an air blast and blow her skirt over her head. Bystanders usually howled with glee. Some of the ladies even succumbed to that stunt more than once!

Success with Sodium Pyrophosphate

In 1948, I started experiments using sodium phosphate on reduced uranium solutions containing ferrous iron, in the hope of dropping out a purified uranium phosphate concentrate. When this work did not go well, I switched to sodium pyrophosphate and was much more successful. Although our Analytical Department manager, David Kaufman, disclosed the chemistry of my work in a technical journal in the early 1950s, the patent application applying it to

the African ores was a government secret until final publication of the patent in 1957.[10]

Professor Taverner described my work as follows: "The most successful method [for recovering uranium from solution] then available [in 1949] involved the precipitation of uranium in a reduced condition as phosphate, the process having been originally developed at MIT," but he continued, "later tests indicated certain difficulties in its application which were never completely explained or overcome by the time the process was superceded by anionic exchange."[11] Laxen also described my procedure: "At this time [1948] one of the most promising precipitation procedures, developed at MIT, involved the reduction of ferric and uranyl ions to ferrous and uranous and the precipitation of uranium as uranous phosphate by the addition of a slight excess of phosphoric acid with the adjustment of pH to 4.0. Extractions of over 90 percent of the uranium were obtained in the laboratory with good grades of precipitate."[12]

By 1950, the focus of my work had shifted to anionic exchange, not to recover uranium, but to recover gold from the cyanide solutions at Blyvooruitzicht. I would not be long on that work. Gene had received his doctorate and we were married in the Presbyterian Church at Harvard Square and off to Gene's new position in New Jersey with the Titanium Division of National Lead Company.

I enjoyed working with the MIT group at the Watertown Arsenal, but for the first few weeks after leaving I felt lost, having to give up the daily contacts with so many interesting people. It was an experience to remember.

ADDENDUM

The sulfuric acid leaching procedure using MnO_2 was quickly proven in pilot plants in Watertown and in South Africa, and with financial support from both the U. S. and U. K. governments, the construction of commercial plants proceeded with great haste. Plant designs were based on a nominal content of 0.03 percent (0.6 lb/ton) of uranium in the gold cyanide mill tailings. Gold values paid the cost of mining and milling the ore and the cost allocated to uranium was only that of processing the tailings.[13]

By June 1953, the Blyvooruitzicht mine was treating 162,000 tons per month of gold tailings, and by 1955 there were fourteen uranium plants in operation treating ores from twenty-one South African mines.[14] By 1956, uranium oxide output from South Africa had reached 4,400 tons, contributing 38 million pound sterling (more than $50 million) to the South African economy. Production was slated to reach a goal of 40,000 tons of uranium oxide per year, and South African ore reserves were estimated to hold 370,000 tons of uranium oxide available at a delivered price of $11 per pound.[15]

The need for such large tonnages of uranium can be appreciated from the fact that the essential component of the earliest bombs was the uranium isotope

U_{235}, which occurs only to the extent of 0.7 percent in natural uranium, which is 99.3 percent U_{238}. The enormous facilities at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, were built to separate the two isotopes by gaseous diffusion and electromagnetic forces and concentrate the U_{235}, an extremely tedious and costly process.

Almost simultaneously it was found that depleted U_{238} could be irradiated in nuclear reactors to yield a new fissionable material, Plutonium$_{239}$, hence the name "breeder reactors." The massive works at Hanford, Washington, were built to produce plutonium. Because only a small fraction of the uranium could be converted to plutonium at any one time, this also was a tedious and costly process. The unreacted U_{238} and a number of highly radioactive byproducts were separated from the plutonium by wet chemical methods.[16]

The experiments recounted here represent only a small part of the investigative work carried out at the MIT laboratory and do not adequately express the depth and intensity of the work. More than one hundred technical reports covering analytical methods, mineralogy, comminution, flotation, flocculation, gravity concentration, leaching, thickening, filtration, precipitation, and the specification of engineering parameters for plant design, all now declassified, reside in the files of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory.

NOTES

[1]Uranium is widespread in granitic rocks, but in extremely low concentrations. Presumably occurring as uraninite or other complex reduced oxides in the original magma, natural near-surface oxidation creates minerals such as autunite (a calcium-uranium phosphate) or torbernite (a copper-uranium phosphate) in the weathered rock formations. Autunite is readily acid-soluble, and in the writer's opinion, most likely was the source of the uranium in the secondarily precipitated roll-front ore deposits of Wyoming.

Shoshone Mountain, a quartz-monzonite stock southeast of Round Mountain, is one such intermediate source of autunite. Autunite is also found on the eastern margin of the same mountain in the vicinity of Belmont, twelve miles southeast, directly over the crest of the mountain, from Round Mountain. While the content of uranium in these rocks is low, on the order of 0.01 percent (0.2 lb/ton), the economies of large-scale mining and the need for nuclear energy will likely one day make it economical to mine these ores. The Rossing uranium mine in Namibia, with similar geology and without credits from gold, has successfully mined ores of about 0.035 percent uranium (0.7 lb/ton).

[2]Ores from the Congo, Great Slave Lake in Canada, and the Colorado Plateau were a principal source of the uranium for the first atomic bombs, but these ore deposits, while rich, were of limited size, and the AEC early in the 1940s established exploration programs to find more ore.

As a mining college graduate in 1943 I was offered a draft-deferred position as a junior agricultural engineer in the four-corners area. I couldn't imagine working on how to grow corn on sand dunes, or whatever else I imagined an agricultural engineer might do in that area. I chose instead to work for the U. S. Navy as a physicist, degaussing ships on San Francisco Bay. One of my fellow graduates did accept a position as an agricultural engineer and found himself and others assigned not to agriculture, but to mapping geological formations in the Four Corners Grand Canyon sedimentary rock sequence. They were part of a team looking for uranium in the Chinle Formation. Such was the secrecy of the uranium search.

[3]The leaching difficulties we experienced were most likely caused by a part of the uranium being psuedo-chemically bound in a carbonaceous mineral, thucholite, found in the "Carbon Leader" Section of the South African underground ore strata.

[4]*Uranium in South Africa, 1946 - 1956.* Proceedings of a Symposium sponsored and published by the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa, in Johannesburg in 1957 (in Two Volumes). Volume I, Paper No. 6, 315: P. A. Laxen, *The Development of the Acid Leaching Process for the Extraction and Recovery of Uranium from Rand Cyanide Residues.* Also see: *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy,* Vol. 57, No 6, January 1957.

[5]Eugene J. Michal and Robert R. Porter, *Recovery of Uranium from Uranium-Bearing Raw Materials,* United States Patent No. 2,890,933 (1959).

[6]*Uranium in South Africa 1946 - 1956.* Volume I, Paper No.1: Taverner, Professor L. *An Historical Review of the Events and Developments Culminating in the Construction of Plants for the Recovery of Uranium from Gold Ore Residues.* - Also see: *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy,* Vol. 57, No. 4, November 1956.

[7]The acidity of a solution is measured by a numerical quantity known as the pH. (pH is the negative logarithm of the hydrogen ion concentration.) Beginning with an acid solution, the addition of an alkali will cause the pH of the solution to rise with continuing additions of alkali, from pH numbers one (strongly acid), to two, to three, and soon, to seven (neutral) and all the way on up to ten or higher (strongly alkaline).

Along the way, at pH 3, ferric iron will precipitate from solution as a flocculent mass and can be filtered out. At a pH of about 4, uranium will begin to precipitate and it can be removed, and at pH of four and a half, aluminum will precipitate, and at five, ferrous iron, and then at 5.5 silica. Most of these precipitates are flocculent and with the help of other addition agents can be filtered out of the leach liquor. The silica precipitate, however, is gelatinous and defies filtration.

[8]*Uranium in South Africa*, 17

[9]As encouragement to the relatively few women at MIT, Mrs. Karl Compton, wife of MIT's president, had made it her special interest to plan the women's facility. It was rumored that she was seen washing the kitchen floor soon after a new stove had been installed.

[10]David Kaufman and Sara E. Bailey, *"Recovery of Uranium from Ores"*, United States Patent No. 2,780,519 (1957).

[11]*Recovery of Uranium*, 17.

[12]*Uranium in South Africa*, 323.

[13]*Uranium in South Africa, 1946 - 1956*, Volume I, Paper No.10, 413: Craib, S., *Basic Principles of Uranium Plant Design*. Also see: JSAIMM, Vol. 57, No.10, May, 1957.

[14] *Ibid.*, 388: Dolan, J. J. *Cooperative Construction of Uranium Plants.* Also see: *The South African Mechanical Engineer*, Vol. 6, No. 7, February 1957.

[15]*Uranium in South Africa, 1946 - 1956*, Volume II, Paper No. 17, 444; Hagart, R. B., *National Aspects of the Uranium Industry.* Also see: JSAIMM, Vol. 57, No. 9, April 1957.

[16]Smyth, Henry D. *Atomic Energy for Military Purposes,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946).

New Acquisitions at the Nevada Historical Society

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY STAFF

LIBRARY

Some yearbooks have recently been donated to the Nevada Historical Society library. We have now added to our collection the Las Vegas High School's *Boulder Echo* from 1940-43 and the Douglas County High School yearbook, "the Orange and Black," for the years 1917, 1921, and 1924.

Yearbooks have a wonderful historical value because they are a snapshot of a period of time. Many contain photographs of local establishments and prevailing clothing styles, and some have cartoons demonstrating the humor of the day. They are also a valuable resource for those doing family genealogies.

If you have any Nevada yearbooks and don't know what to do with them, think about making a donation to the Nevada Historical Society.

Michael Maher
Research Librarian

MANUSCRIPTS

Among the manuscript collections recently acquired or cataloged in the research library are a number of organizational records that may be of interest to researchers. A substantial group of records documenting the activities of the Sagebrush Chapter of the Model A Ford Club of America, 1961-2004, has been received from Thomas T. Young of Carson City, while the Nevada Division of Archives and Records has transferred a smaller amount of documents relating to the Adelphi Club, a Carson City social club that was active at the end of the 1860s. Dieter Krewedl, president of the Geological Society of Nevada, is overseeing the transfer of that organization's records to the historical society; a journal containing records of the Carson City Circle of King's Daughters during the period 1896-1900 has recently been cataloged and made available to researchers; and the records of the Alliance for Workers Rights, founded and led by Tom Stoneburner from the alliance's inception in 1997 until his death in 2005, have been donated by Kathleen Stoneburner. Included in this last group are many video tape recordings of programs produced by Tom Stoneburner and the Alliance for public access television in Reno.

Other new collections of organizational records are a volume from 1866 that contains minutes of meetings and lists of members of the Ormsby County Union Club, and a large journal kept by the Capital Hunting and Fishing Club, a private association of Carson City that maintained a clubhouse and excursion

boat on nearby Washoe Lake. This fascinating volume from the period 1892-1910 records the names of members who hunted, fished, or otherwise took part in club activities (swimming and ice-skating parties, as well as special dinners), the number of waterfowl and fish taken daily by members, and weather and water conditions at the lake. The lists of members and guests read like a Who's Who of Carson City and Reno society and politics.

Eric Moody
Curator of Manuscripts

PHOTOGRAPHY

The single most important recent donation to the photography section at the Nevada Historical Society is an album of several dozen photographs of Jarbidge between 1913 and 1920. The owner of the album is not identified, but the album contains photographs of the Fulsom, Baker, Benson, and Glarius families. It includes professionally made prints and postcards, as well as family snapshots. Needle-sharp, bird's-eye views of the whole town, as well as close-up shots of identified residences and businesses are present. The album more than doubles the number of photographs of Jarbidge held by the Society and shows many subjects not previously known. The latter include views of the Elkora Mines Company's offices and worker residences, the Jarbidge bottle house when it was a meat market, the Bear Creek Flood, and the 1917 Fourth of July horse races.

One spectacular image shows town residents and a Red Cross information table in front of the Jarbidge Community Center. Another group of images documents the 1919 Jarbidge fire, including the rubble of the town's movie theater. The family snapshots, many of which are of near professional quality, document everyday life in Jarbidge. One clear and well-lit shot shows a group of eight men and one woman at a dinner party in a log cabin. The photographer's caption reads, "All sober, even if they don't look it." Clear views of people at home are exceedingly rare for this time. A remarkable pair of photographs shows first the future site of the Elkora Mine and then the completed mine buildings, both taken from exactly the same vantage point. The images are thus among the earliest known examples of a before and after "rephotographic project" in Nevada.

Lee P. Brumbaugh
Curator of Photographs

Museum

In recent months, the Nevada Historical Society has acquired a number of important artifacts through generous donations. Without funds to purchase artifacts, the Historical Society must rely on the generosity of the public. Obtaining artifacts from historic Nevada families is a crucial part of the Society's collecting mission. These items represent important aspects of Nevada's history that might be lost to future generations.

Recent donations from Carol Mousel procured two historically-significant textiles for the Society. The first is a fundraiser quilt created by Sierra Arts Foundation during America's bi-centennial celebration of 1976. The quilt is an excellent patchwork with individual squares created by notable artists such as Craig Sheppard, Gloria Mapes Walker and Helen Mapes, Lisa Scott, Margaret Craven, Beverly Horton, Edna Houghton, Lise Mousel, Barbara Murdock, Sonja Foss, Elaine Colgan, Barbara Goff and Amy Gilling, Barbara Wright, Sister Mary Margaret McCarran, Clare Elia, Dorothy Newburg, Margie Foote, Carol Mousel, Barbara Heisler, Yolanda Sheppard, Pat Hardy Lewis, Susan Morrison, Joan

Arrizabalaga, Linda Madeen, Pat Birgstrom, Julie Moore, Barbara Mello, Janet Irvine, Judy Fermoils, and Marge Means. Mrs. Paul Flanagan won the quilt.

The second textile is associated with a presidential visit to the Silver State in 1911. State senator P. L. Flanagan purchased a tablecloth and 14 napkins when he visited Beijing, China around 1900. The five-toed Imperial Dragon is hand-embroidered in two shades of blue on crisp, cream-colored linen. The senator and his wife hosted a dinner at their Reno home for former President Theodore Roosevelt. Both artifacts mentioned above were given to Carol Mousel in 2000.

The Society has gone wild with its recent natural history donation. The estate of Walter D. Brown contacted the Society and the Nevada State Museum with a collection of Nevada animal mounts. Upon reviewing the photographs, the society has added a coyote skin to the educational hands-on cart for school tours and a Gadwell Duck in flight for the permanent collection.

Sheryln Hayes-Zorn
Registrar

Book Reviews

Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows. By Will Bagley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002)

In the first major reinterpretation of the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre in fifty years, Will Bagley has set a new standard of scholarship regarding the annihilation of the Fancher wagon party in 1857, an event resulting in the costliest act of violence in the history of the overland migration. Exhaustive research, meticulous documentation and a flowing narrative characterize this most welcome addition to the historical literature concerning a story that continues to cloud the history of Mormonism and the state of Utah.

Central to Bagley's study is the culture of violence inherent in the theology of Joseph Smith and his early followers, especially the Mormon emphasis on blood vengeance. Exacerbated by the many attacks on Mormon communities in Missouri and Illinois, early church teaching emphasized vengeance against those even suspected of violence against the Saints. A necessary context of the attack on the Fancher party was the murder of revered Apostle Parley Pratt in Arkansas by an enraged husband of a woman Pratt took as one of his wives. The Fancher party's Arkansas origins seem to have sealed its fate well before the actual attack, though the emigrant party had departed from Arkansas before Pratt's murder.

The title *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* aptly describes the author's contention that Young was deeply involved in the unfolding of events that led to the deaths of 120 emigrants. He takes Young to task for a cover-up of the crime lasting until his death and sacrificing his devoted follower John Lee for carrying out the wishes of the president of his Church. Bagley builds upon earlier studies that contend that Young was indeed an accessory to murder after the fact. Drawing upon church documents, diaries and newspaper accounts not consulted by earlier scholars, the author concludes that Young was also an accessory *before* the fact. Acknowledging the Mormon prophet's political sagacity, Bagley emphasizes the ambiguity of some of Young's communications relating to the attack, ambiguity that allowed him to claim ignorance of events until long after they transpired.

One of the more engaging facets of Bagley's study is his assessment of Lee, the psychologically complex Saint who spearheaded the attack on the Fancher party and was instrumental in involving local Paiute bands in the attack. Bagley constructs a frightening portrait of a religious zealot, profoundly committed to a religious community deeply wounded by the violence and bigotry inherent in

the American society of the time, and fiercely devoted to the prophet Brigham Young, to whom he had been sealed as a son. The gradual realization that Lee was to become the sacrificial lamb to extricate the Church from persistent charges of involvement in the massacre is a fascinating aspect of the study. Lee's eventual condemnation of Young, while remaining committed to the major tenets of his church, as well as the condemned man's eloquent acceptance of his fate, culminating in his execution years after the attack, provides a touching aspect of an otherwise horrific chapter in the history of Mormonism and of westward emigration.

Bagley readily acknowledges an enormous debt to the work of previous scholars, in particular the pioneering work of Mormon historian Juanita Brooks, whose courageous study of the massacre placed this shocking act of violence in the forefront of emigrant trail literature once again. Though Bagley takes issue with Brooks's wholesale acceptance of Lee's accounts of the massacre and of her overly sympathetic portrayal of an unrepentant murderer, *Blood of the Prophets* is as much a tribute to Brooks, who worked against significant obstacles and endured tremendous pressure from those who shared her Mormon heritage, as it is a study of the massacre. Though his study stands as a correction and extension of her work, he pays tribute to her unrelenting search for a true account of the violence perpetrated at Mountain Meadows.

Over and above his conclusions relating to the Mountain Meadows Massacre and Brigham Young's role in authorizing it, Bagley makes an eloquent call for pursuing historical truth. He vociferously attacks persistent folk traditions that cast aspersions on the character of the members of the Fancher party and strives to place the role of the Paiutes, one of manipulation by the Church, in its proper context. The evidence implicating the Mormon Church in altering and destroying records pertinent to the investigation of the attack has haunted the church to the present. The questions surrounding Mountain Meadows continue to resurface because the Church, though it has made strides toward recognizing the human dimensions of the tragedy, still refuses to acknowledge direct involvement or assume responsibility for the massacre. Until the day arrives when that assumption of responsibility arrives, Bagley believes, the ghosts of the murdered will continue to haunt the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Doris D. Dwyer
Western Nevada Community College

Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930-2000. By Eugene P. Moehring (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2000)

At the dawn of the age of the New Urban History, historians hotly debated whether urban biography was an appropriate form of urban history. As late as the 1980s, Jan de Vries argued that only statistical comparative urban history, the study of urban networks, could do the job. Eugene Moehring's works have now proven the compatibility of the two kinds of studies, first with this urban biography of one of American's most unusual cities, originally published in 1989, and then with his more recent study of urban networks in the intermountain area. De Vries's believed that only by comparing cities can we understand how unique or commonplace an individual urban entity was or is. That contention seems true in part, but no amount of comparisons could bring out the unusual qualities of Las Vegas's development. It is a fascinating subject: a desert community, but one with an extremely high water table; a city founded by rugged individualists, yet nurtured into existence in large part by a paternal federal government; a totally out of the way place for most Americans, yet one of the central cities in the nation's recreational life; an urban area far from the centers of American culture in California and the Northeast, but an even more dramatic cultural icon; a place with exceptionalism stamped all over it, yet one with the typical, galling growing pains of other, more staid cities. That is why the appearance of this urban biography in paperback edition is such an important publication event for western urban history.

Only an investigation of a single city evolving over time could explain such a place. Whether we ultimately decide that Las Vegas is exceptional or merely in the forefront of other cities headed in the same direction is a question that only the passage of time will definitively decide. There are many seemingly unique cities in the modern West: naval San Diego, automobile Los Angeles, Mormon Salt Lake City, and gay San Francisco. Yet even in this crowd, Las Vegas stands out.

In many ways, this is a classic urban study. The author has mined the primary sources exhaustively, especially newspaper ones, yet placed his study in the largest possible western history context. Moehring is familiar with the high rolling studies of Las Vegas, like Ed Reid's and Ovid Demaris's *The Green Felt Jungle* and comparable books; yet he is faithful to the work of more mainstream urban historians like Carl Abbott, John Findlay, and Bradford Luckingham. He is especially careful to point out the many similarities between his city and the western cities portrayed by these latter three. One of the book's greatest strengths is its length. Despite the dates in its title, 1930-2000, for all intents and purposes *Resort City in the Sunbelt* covers Las Vegas from its inception to the present. It does so in commendable detail and breadth. Moehring includes the metropolitan area's spatial evolution, the governmental structure and history, the rise and fall of gambling moguls, the federal government's crucial contributions, the

pursuit of industry, city services, civil rights, and above all, politics. Few urban political histories tell the story from beginning to end, as this one does. Unlike other western and southwestern cities, a good government, business elite did not dominate Las Vegas. They played a role, but unlike Phoenix, San Antonio, and other sunbelt cities, the shaping of public policy lay mostly in the hands of the mayor and his commissioners. Businessmen exerted influence, but had less of a formalized role in Las Vegas.

Since politics was mostly about growth, that quality too makes this work especially important. A small town of a few thousand in the early 1930s, metropolitan Las Vegas reached the 1,200,000 mark by century's end, making it one of the outstanding growth stories in American urban history. The city's boosters wanted growth and certainly got a handful, as well as the commensurate problems to go with it. One of the most important spinoffs of this growth and one of Moehring's most original insights into city politics grew out of the urban rivalries of the metropolitan areas. Las Vegas developed as a dominant center city, but spawned suburban progeny—North Las Vegas, Henderson, Boulder City, and unincorporated townships in Clark County—to compete for land, federal resources, tax bases, state revenues, water, and casinos. One of the book's most fascinating findings concerns the use of infrastructure in metropolitan rivalries, with cities creating or extending their sanitation districts to thwart other cities. Unlike those critics who indict urban growth as fragmented and irrational, Moehring feels that the condition evolved naturally out of the history of and choices available to the cities and county at the time. Each grew independently of the others, which did not prove to be a serious problem until they began to abut in the 1960s.

Moehring's treatment of gambling is also revisionist. Urban development seldom turns upon the creation of new hotels and resorts as this one does—the Flamingo, Sands, Dunes, Caesars Palace, Riviera, MGM, and so forth. In Las Vegas, they influenced everything: land use, metropolitan fragmentation, politics, intergovernmental relations, the environment, and above all, growth. Nor does organized crime play such a large role in other cities, at least as far as we know. In Las Vegas, gamblers and organized crime figures lent money, built resort hotels and casinos, and fought annexation to the city. Some got shot for their trouble, but most survived. Benjamin Siegel, Moe Dalitz, Gus Greenbaum, Sam Giancana, Tony Cornero, Jimmy Hoffa, and Guy McAfee flit through these pages, leaving casinos in their wake and taking profits. Moehring does not hide their presence; in fact, he highlights it. Neither does he moralize about it, pointing out that one of the reasons for the high visibility of mobsters in Las Vegas was the unwillingness until the 1980s of conventional banks to lend to Las Vegas developers, thus leaving a partial financial vacuum that organized crime was only too happy to fill. Of course, Howard Hughes, Kirk Kerkorian, the Hilton Hotel Corporation, and other high rollers played a part too, often an outsized one. At one time, Hughes was the largest casino owner in Las Vegas

and would have been larger still, had federal anti-trust activities not reined in his ambitions.

The federal government had a very substantial role in creating this gamblers' mecca in the desert. That story is one of the book's most fascinating and significant parts. Bugsy Siegel is often called the builder of Las Vegas, but he was not around that long after building the Flamingo. Uncle Sam was, before and after. Through Boulder/Hoover Dam, World War II, the gunnery school that became Nellis Air Force Base, the Atomic Test Site, and the interstate highway, the government played a part alongside the gangsters in creating this unique place. Senator Pat McCarran had an especially heavy role in alliance with local politicians.

The study lacks a full discussion of World War II, especially the gambling and partying, but one can suggest no other lapse in this model book. The boosters recognized early on that Las Vegas did not have the makings of a Pittsburgh and opted instead for a resort city economy—gambling, recreation, tourism, and conventions. If the city's partnership of government and gangsters, boosters and billionaires, fallout and federalism is not unique in American city building, it certainly must be the next closest thing.

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American Indian Intellectuals of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. Edited by Margot Liberty (West Publishing Company, 1978; Reprint Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002)

Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences. Edited by Margaret Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 2000)

American Indian Intellectuals and *Away from Home* highlight two areas of Native American history that need more research, but each book displays this problem in different ways. *American Indian Intellectuals*, a reprint of an earlier book, illustrates how little progress historians have made in understanding American Indian leaders and intellectuals since the late nineteenth century. *Away from Home* provides a fascinating example and overview of the wide variety of topics related to residential schools that future research could explore. Both books subtly raise an interesting issue: How did American Indian leadership change during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as radical social changes redefined leadership within Indian groups?

Liberty originally compiled her work after a symposium sponsored by the American Anthropological Association, which is noteworthy because the field of anthropology shapes both the definition of an American Indian intellectual implicit in the book and the choice of intellectuals. She credits William Sturtevant with the impetus for the symposium when he surveyed scholars for a list of American Indian intellectuals. According to Liberty, his survey brought in more than one hundred suggestions of names of American Indian scholars and intellectuals from respondents all over the world (p. vii). In 1992, with discussions of revising the book underway, the AAA sponsored a second session, but in the end, the University of Oklahoma Press simply reprinted the first volume. This story is telling. After close to thirty years, little new research has emerged on American Indian intellectuals and scholars from the 1880s until the present. Hopefully, the reprinting of this work will spur more research into this area, which requires biographical and theoretical studies.

Because it is and was a groundbreaking effort, its scope is justifiably limited. Liberty states, "The present volume represents an effort to bring together biographical sketches . . . individuals who for the most part made lasting contributions to the enterprise of anthropology, although a few were more involved politically, or as writers, than they were as scientific scholars" (p. 1). Therefore, the book spends almost no time examining bicultural political leaders who arose during this period, an area begging for future research. The anthropological focus includes intellectuals who wore many different hats during this period: Ely Parker, Francis La Flesche, and Charles Alexander Eastman.

Overall, Liberty's book presents a balanced and consistent set of essays describing the role of various American Indian intellectuals and their contributions to anthropology and ethnology. The essays follow a basic formula of creating critical biographies of people and placing them within their historical context. The biographies include some obvious choices like Arthur C. Parker and some surprises, like Lester Long Lance. Because they have not revised these essays, they do not represent new interpretations or understandings about the subjects here. This problem affects only the chapters on Sarah Winnemucca, Long Lance, and La Flesche.

Several essays provide insightful comments on the tenuous role many intellectuals played in their own societies. In describing James R. Murie, Douglas Parks points out that "his accounts were derived primarily from observation and not from the introspection of a believer" (p. 97). While anthropologist/historians such as George Stocking and Curtis Hinsley have explored issues of agency among informants, more needs to be done to better understand the pressures or rewards that may have shaped how interpreters, informants and native ethnographers portrayed their cultures and whether contemporary anthropologists understood these issues.

Only one problem shades this book. Liberty never explicitly defines the term "intellectual." She refers to a definition mentioned in Margaret Mead and Ruth

Bunzel's work, but the lack of a specific definition leaves the impression that only those who worked as anthropologists qualify. That said, this book clearly shows an area that needs more exploration and research. As Liberty states, "There is in fact no more poignant record of the pressures of acculturation than some of the personal vignettes presented here" (p. 1-2).

Archuleta, Child, and Lomawaima present another "poignant record of the pressures of acculturation" in the presentation of the effects of American Indian boarding school experiences. Based on an exhibit at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, the book seeks "to address the fundamental lack of knowledge and understanding of the role that Indian boarding schools played, and continue to play, in the lives of America's Native populations" (p. 9). Because it is based on a museum exhibit, it does not read as a straight scholarly text, a great advantage in this case. The book incorporates photographs, reproductions of documents, poetry, and stories from students. Visually, the book overwhelms the reader with the diversity of experiences found within the populations that attended boarding school. Textually, it provides the basics without much analysis, summarizing previous research and making it accessible to undergraduates and other interested readers. Additionally, the authors included small vignettes of specific natives and their experiences or of administrators and officials. In some ways, they represent both sides of the story and the book attempts to balance the upsetting with the empowering.

The authors divide the book into two parts: life at school and life beyond school. They include a variety of subjects by a strong team of writers. In the first section, they examine arrival at the schools, academic and vocational instruction (often the same), health and homesickness, connection to family and home, and rebellion. Throughout the first part, the authors carefully portray the experience as varied. Some students hated school, but some embraced it. Some parents fought the schools, but some used them in difficult times to protect their children.

Part two looks at the long-term effects of the boarding schools in an area that few scholars have examined in-depth. Thus, they raise many subjects that they could pursue in the future. Rayna Green's and John Troutman's "By the Winds of the Minnehaha," which discusses music and dance, pageants and princesses, demonstrates how these pursuits often became careers for students. The photographs in this section are particularly striking. The photograph entitled, "Columbia's Roll Call," where native students dressed as famous "Americans" such as George Washington, John Eliot, John Smith, and Priscilla Alden, rattles one's conception of the traditional narrative of American history. These chapters on art education and sports also provide surprises. According to "The Indian as an Artist," Angel de Cora revolutionized art teaching at residential schools by focusing on native methods and visions, raising interesting questions about the definition of art and art education in this period.

The chapter on sports discusses Jim Thorpe and the legacy of boarding school

football and baseball teams. Even sports histories often ignore the dominance and influence of schools like Haskell in the creation of college sports programs. This chapter, in particular, proves the long-lasting effects of the boarding schools, both positive and negative.

Away from Home visually and intellectually challenges and enlightens the reader. It cries out to be used in the classroom and raises important issues that need scholarly research: What are the long-lasting effects of the boarding school experience? Did these experiences differ by region? In what ways did native peoples shape and change boarding schools over time? Finally, how did boarding schools and scholarly interest in native communities create a new form of native leadership, one that included vocal and visual women? While both books represent valuable additions to the Native American history list, they also underscore how much more needs to be done and done well.

C. L. Higham
Davidson College

Imagining Wild America. By John R. Knott (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002)

America's wilderness has often been the target of attacks by politicians and various economic interests, but in recent years the very idea of wilderness has been challenged in intellectual circles, most notably in William Cronon's essay, "The Trouble with Wilderness," and in an expansive anthology, *The Great New Wilderness Debate*, edited by J. Baird Callicott. John R. Knott's study is, in some measure, a response to such recent critiques. In *Imagining Wild America*, he seeks to rehabilitate a vigorous tradition of writing about wilderness and to make the case for its enduring value in American culture. Knott identifies six individuals—John James Audubon, Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, Edward Abbey, Wendell Berry, and Mary Oliver—whose works best exemplify the literary imagining of wilderness and wildness in America. They embrace, he writes, a vision of an ideal nature and find satisfaction in their intimate understanding of particular environments.

The six writers also had to confront the tensions between the wild and the domestic in American culture, but all share a heightened awareness of the other world of nature. Among the nineteenth-century writers, John James Audubon's *Birds of America* and his *Ornithological Biography* reflects the author's passion for the birds he hunted and then painted, but he acknowledged that he was recording a wilderness that was clearly receding during his own lifetime. Thoreau, too, understood the wilderness in relation to the encroaching civilization that would soon replace it. While he recorded the human impact on the New

England landscape, he also was a precise naturalist who sought an intimacy with wild nature beyond that of an observer. Knott points out that Thoreau's practice of walking was an expression of faith in the potential of engagement with wild nature to revitalize the spirit and liberate the mind (p. 191). Late in the century, John Muir invariably couched his descriptions of Yosemite Valley and the Sierra Nevada in uncritical religious language in his way of praising the divinity he believed acted through nature. Moreover, Muir sought to experience, not just describe, the dynamism of nature.

In the twentieth century, Edward Abbey experienced wilderness as the desert Southwest, which he regarded as a world beyond—mysterious, boundless, and ultimately unknowable. In answer to the question, "Why wilderness?" he answers, "because we like the taste of freedom, because we like the smell of danger." Wendell Berry, like the others, stressed the interdependency of nature and culture and urged a life based on harmony between the two.

Wilderness was not so much an escape from ordinary life, he wrote, as it was a "sense of illumination, order, peace, and joy that helps me understand and sustain and finally leave this life." Preservation of wild places within the human order was important to him. "To go into the woods with Berry," Knott writes, requires an intense awareness of the natural world and its processes" (p. 161). Mary Oliver's Pulitzer Prize-winning book of poetry, *American Primitive*, identifies a contemporary kind of primitivism based on empathy with wild nature. The otherness of nature constitutes for Oliver a real world of "energies and a contagious joyousness."

Imagining Wild America is the work of an imaginative and sophisticated scholar who has carefully analyzed the ways in which his six writers visualized and wrote about American wilderness. Knott's chapters on Thoreau, Muir, and Abbey provide a thoughtful look at writers who regularly show up in anthologies of nature writing. But in his essays on Audubon, Berry, and Oliver, the author has written knowledgeably about individuals who often are overlooked among wilderness writers.

This important volume successfully affirms the enduring literary and cultural value of wilderness in the American experience. At a time when Americans are debating and redefining the meaning of wilderness, John Knott makes a strong case for continuing to read the works of writers from Audubon to Oliver who encourage us to think about the natural world. Their books, essays, and poetry provide us with a broad intellectual context for understanding wilderness and wildness in modern America.

George Lubick
Northern Arizona University

The Columbia Guide to Environmental History. By Carolyn Merchant (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)

During the past three decades, environmental history has coalesced into a vibrant field with an impressive roster of dedicated practitioners and a solid base of institutional support. Since broader political and social movements have often led to fundamental new approaches to history, it should come as no surprise that a substantial interest in examining the place of nature in human history came on the heels of the modern environmental movement. By 1976, proponents of this nascent enterprise established *Environmental Review*; a year later, they founded the American Society for Environmental History (ASEH). In 1982, the ASEH began holding biennial meetings that attracted a diverse body of enthusiastic scholars. During the mid-1990s, a rival journal, *Environment and History*, which focused on non-American contexts, was successfully launched in England. Now, at the beginning of the new millennium, the field seems to be thriving: *Environmental History* (the original journal's most recent name) boasts a regular circulation of nearly 2000 subscribers, the ASEH has begun convening annually, numerous institutions of higher learning offer undergraduate and graduate courses in the area, and a handful of increasingly popular doctoral programs are churning out Ph.D.s who specialize in environmental history. At the core of this flurry of activity is a growing mound of scholarship, a daunting prospect for anyone new to the field and interested in exploring its contours.

Precisely to meet this demand, Carolyn Merchant created *The Columbia Guide to American Environmental History.* In the author's words, the goal of this ambitious volume is to provide a concise "first-stop" reference book on the history of the North American environment for high school and college students, teachers, researchers, and readers (p. xvii). A leading scholar who has made important contributions both to the history of science and to environmental history, Merchant is well positioned to achieve her goal.

The book begins with a brief introduction that defines the field of environmental history, reviews the kinds of questions its practitioners attempt to answer, and delineates its basic approaches. Part I, the longest of the book's four major sections, contains ten chapters presented in roughly chronological order. Taken together, these chapters offer an impressive overview of major topics and themes in North American environmental history. The first chapter covers the natural environment and patterns of Native American settlement, while the rest span the period following European arrival to the modern environmental movement. Each chapter is brimming with insight and highly readable. Even those already familiar with the field of environmental history are likely to stumble onto new discoveries and fresh perspectives here. Part II is an alphabetically arranged mini-encyclopedia with brief entries covering the major institutions, ideas, laws, and individuals important to the environmental

history of North America, while Part III presents a timeline placing much of the same information in chronological order. The final section, Part IV, offers a handy listing of useful resources including films and videos, websites, and publications. The bibliography in this section, compiled by Jessica Teisch, is also available on the web (http://www.cnr.berkeley.edu/departments/espm/env-hist/).

Readers familiar with the complex and often contentious field of environmental history will undoubtedly find various sins of commission or omission in this volume. But to dwell on the inevitable and generally minor shortcomings of a challenging project like this is really to miss the point. In crafting *The Columbia Guide to Environmental History,* Merchant provides an invaluable service, one that we should all celebrate. Together with Ted Steinberg's highly readable text, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (Oxford University Press, 2002), Merchant's book offers a convenient entry point for anyone trying to get a quick handle on the vast, expanding body of scholarship exploring the relationship between humans and the North American environment.

In closing, I am glad that its publisher has issued an affordable paperback edition to make the volume more accessible to students and others on limited budgets. I came close to adopting the book for my graduate environmental history class, but the hardback's hefty price tag dissuaded me. I also would really love to see a volume of this type for other regions of the world. Merchant's book has set a high standard for anyone who might be tempted to take up this challenge.

Mark V. Barrow, Jr.
Virginia Tech

Brigham Young's Homes. Edited by Colleen Whitley (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2002)

Although entitled *Brigham Young's Homes,* this book offers much more. With the exception of a chapter on his wives, the text follows chronologically the residences of the much-married second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Instead of simply providing lists or even short vignettes, however, the authors discuss such aspects of Young's life as the situation of his families, his travels, and his principal occupations. Some of the homes he lived in are more than 200 years old, and most no longer stand.

Born in 1801 in Whitingham, Vermont, to itinerant farmer John Young and Abigail Howe, Brigham Young lived in several residences in Whitingham until 1804, when the family moved to Sherburne (Smyrna), Chenango County, New York. Young's birth home no longer survives, though three markers

purportedly identify the site. In an inaccurate though entertaining epigram—probably a double entendre—one says: BRIGHAM YOUNG, BORN ON THIS SPOT, 1801, A MAN OF MUCH COURAGE AND SUPERB EQUIPMENT.

The John and Abigail Young family lived in a number of places in western New York, including Smyrna, Cold Brook, Cayuga, Tyrone, Genoa, and Auburn. Due to Abigail's death and extreme poverty, the Young family split several times, and members lived with relatives or boarded with and worked for nearby families. In Auburn, apprenticed to cabinetmaker, painter, and chair manufacturer John C. Jeffries, Young became "a skilled artisan . . . [and virtually] every old home in Auburn claims the distinction of owning . . . [a mantel] crafted by Brigham" (p. 25).

He practiced his trade through various moves. At Port Byron, where Brigham married Miriam Works, he worked as a pail maker. The Youngs lived in a home at Haydenville near Port Byron. Later, they moved to Oswego, Mendon, and Canandaigua. In the meantime, Young fathered two daughters and developed a lifelong friendship with the Heber C. Kimball family.

After Miriam's death from tuberculosis in 1832, Young's life changed. Along with his extended family and the Kimballs, Young joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Young moved to Kirtland, Ohio, the church's headquarters, where he married Mary Ann Angell. Then he moved with the church to Missouri and Illinois. As he served proselytizing missions, he left his family in homes he rented or built.

Some of the homes from Young's pre-Utah life remain intact. Matthew and Genevieve Uglialoro live in Young's home at Port Byron, New York; Charles and Lucy Wellhausen live in a home he is supposed to have constructed in Chillicothe, Ohio; and visitors can tour Young's brick home in Nauvoo, Illinois.

Following Joseph Smith's teachings, in Nauvoo Young entered into plural marriage. Thereafter, his residential situation became complicated since he provided separate homes for some of his families, while others lived in cooperative housing. In Winter Quarters near Omaha, Nebraska, Young constructed a log home, but some of his wives lived elsewhere, a number with their birth families.

By 1848, the year after the first Saints arrived in Utah, Young had thirty living wives. To accommodate some, he constructed a cluster of homes between South Temple and First South and West Temple and Second East in downtown Salt Lake City. Others spread south and east to the Forest Farm in Sugar House. Four of Young's Salt Lake City houses stand today: the Lion and Beehive Houses on the north side of South Temple between Main and State Streets, the Chase Mill in Liberty Park, and the Forest Farm, which was moved to This is the Place Heritage Park. Young also maintained homes in St. George, Utah, one of which remains standing; in Provo, Utah; and in Soda Springs, Idaho.

As an aid to readers, the authors have provided an appendix with a list of the houses "built, owned, and/or occupied by Brigham Young and his family"

(p. 215). A second appendix lists his wives and children.

Readers will find this book interesting, in large part because the authors did not confine themselves to a simple listing of homes and addresses. I recommend it both for the specialist and for the lay reader.

Thomas G. Alexander
Brigham Young University

A Companion to American Indian History. Edited by Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002)

This fourth volume in Blackwell's *Companions to American History* series follows predecessors on the American Revolution, nineteenth-century America, and the South. Readers familiar with the series will recognize the formula at work here: a comprehensive collection of topical essays by the field's leading scholars, reviewing the major interpretations and debates of the past and suggesting possible avenues for future research. All twenty-five essays in this volume are of high quality, and each offers a crash course in the historiography of its particular topic as well as an up-to-date bibliography. The volume succeeds well in its primary mission of providing a state of the art review of American Indian history.

While the individual essays address a wide range of topics, most have common themes that help give the volume a consistent scholarly orientation. The first of these themes concerns the changing frameworks historians and anthropologists have used in studying American Indians. Nineteenth-century scholars embraced a universal model of cultural evolution that placed Indian societies at stages of either savagery or barbarism en route to civilization. Twentieth-century scholars discredited that universalist approach due to its inherent prejudices, which assumed that all aspects of Indian cultures—from politics to languages to technologies—were naturally inferior to European society. The rise of ethnohistory in the post-World War II era has done much to redirect the study of Indian cultures and societies in a way that avoids universal or evolutionary frameworks and instead emphasizes how Indian peoples interacted with one another, the environment, and European colonizers. A second unifying theme is a growing awareness among scholars of the sharp divergence between European and Native American ways of perceiving the natural and spiritual worlds. Clara Sue Kidwell's essay on Native American systems of knowledge offers the fullest elaboration, but other essays on Native American spirituality, kinship, language, art, and literature also touch on it. In his essay on historiography, Philip J. Deloria places this theme in the context of postmodern and postcolonial questions about the malleability of identities that call into question the dual-

ism of Native American and European categories, challenging the authority of traditional academic approaches to Native American history while opening the field to greater participation by Native Americans themselves.

The use of *Companion* in this volume's title raises the issue of its intended audience: Who exactly is likely to reach for these essays or return to them for scholarly assistance? Lay and undergraduate readers will not find the book easy to navigate or digest. The heavy emphasis throughout on historiography and the genealogy of Native American history presupposes familiarity with the field and other academic disciplines, and is unlikely to appeal to readers with no prior exposure to these topics and issues. But graduate students and specialists in Native American history would be hard-pressed to find a better one-volume source for concise reviews of the research questions, methods, and major works shaping the field. Reflecting the thrust of scholarship in the last generation, the volume's coverage of colonial-era contact, demography, environmental history, gender, cultural brokerage, and intermarriage is particularly good. Twentieth-century topics, by contrast, often are shortchanged. Four essays deal in one form or another with modern issues of Indian sovereignty and government relations, but more focused attention could have been devoted to other contemporary issues, such as urbanization, gaming, health, and resource management. The volume's topical approach also creates problems of overlap. L.G. Moses's chapter on performative traditions speaks to Eric Hinderaker's chapter on cultural brokerage, but the two appear in different sections and eight chapters apart; Lee Irwin's chapter on spirituality could have been combined with the chapter that follows it on Indians and Christianity to open room for other topics. Likewise, the last two chapters, which deal with Indian sovereignty and government relations, could have been combined.

This volume more than compensates for its shortcomings in organization and coverage with its intellectual rigor and depth. Whether by picking and choosing among the essays or by reading the book from cover to cover, the reader will find a wealth of information that presents the full diversity of approaches and topics involved in the modern study of American Indian history. Anyone serious about teaching or writing about Native Americans will find this book a welcome companion, indeed.

Timothy J. Shannon
Gettysburg College

Farewell, My Nation: The American Indian and the United States in the Nineteenth Century. By Philip Weeks (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 2001)

Readers will find the combination of this book and its Harlan Davidson American History series companion piece, Peter Iverson's *"We Are Still Here:" American Indians in the Twentieth Century*, a succinct introduction to the history of United States-Indian relations. In this second edition, Philip Weeks integrates recent scholarship and extends his analysis beyond the strict limits of the century; he rightly suggests the logic in finding a policy *longue duree* that began in the late colonial period and ended with John Collier's implementation of the Indian New Deal. Also in this second edition, Weeks introduces readers to federal policy developments in the twentieth century.

Weeks argues that the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890 was emblematic of the history of nineteenth-century U.S.-Indian relations, for it represented both many Native Americans' clear refusal "to accept the unalterable reality of white hegemony" and the historical inability of the U.S. to establish a functional and humane policy toward its Indian population (p. 5). Federal policies more often than not left the Native peoples for whom they were devised decimated, impoverished, and demoralized. By the end of the century, the legacies of federal Indian policy were an infamous string of atrocities and a general attitude of contempt and distrust among Native peoples toward the overbearing federal government.

Federal policymakers at the time had three fundamental goals: to promote westward expansion and settlement, to secure the lives and property of American citizens, and, to a much lesser extent, honor Native treaty and territorial rights. While these objectives remained consistent, the means to achieve them did not. George Washington's administration envisioned a future in which white Americans gradually assimilated their Native neighbors as the U.S. expanded westward. The U.S., Washington ordered, would respect Native land and national rights, deal with Indian polities by treaty, and deal squarely with its Native American trading partners. Over time, the U.S. would acculturate its Indian friends, turn them into citizen farmers, and assimilate them into the Republic—as the government, of course, acquired their tribal lands.

The U.S. jettisoned Washington's strategy after the War of 1812. The emergence of stronger racial and cultural biases, an accelerating demand for arable land, and dreams of national expansion and power led the federal government to extinguish the Indian title in the East and establish the Mississippi River as a racial barrier between Indians and non-Indians. In the 1830s, the U.S. completed a wholesale, sometimes brutal removal of eastern tribes beyond the Mississippi, relocating more than 50,000 Natives from their homes. The removed tribes exchanged one hundred million acres in the East for thirty-two million in the West. The potential for permanent racial separation ended with the westward movement as settlers, ranchers, and miners swarmed across the continent. As

the railroad and telegraph diminished the once formidable distances between settlements, much of white America came to believe it inevitable that the U.S. soon would expand to its full territorial limits. In the late 1840s and early 1850s, the U.S. began a policy of concentrating Indian nations onto reservations. By 1856, the U.S. had signed fifty treaties consigning tribal nations to reservations and acquired title to over one hundred seventy million more acres of Native American land. The effort to relocate and limit Indian nations to reservations, which bookended the Civil War, was marked by sporadic and vicious warfare between the Army and the targeted tribes. In 1871, Congress abrogated the treaty system and began moving toward the Christian-controlled Americanization policy, pressing Indians to abandon their tribal identification, surrender national lands for individual allotments in return, and embrace, through the now notorious Indian boarding schools, Anglo-American civilization, once and for all. As the U.S. endeavored to destroy Indian culture, it used the Dawes allotment program to seize one hundred eight million acres of Indian land, or seventy percent of Native American territory at the time.

Weeks's work raises the specter of Francis Paul Prucha's *The Great Father* (1984), the seminal work on the history of U.S. Indian policy. Purposely omitting discussion of the Indian response, reaction, and role in his treatise, Prucha focused purely on the formulation and implementation of U.S. policy. Weeks attempts to provide a measure of Native interpretation and voice. Consequently, his coverage of the motivations and political machinations behind federal policy is understandably more limited in scope and scale than Prucha's monumental classic. In striving to survey various sides of the story and produce a compelling narrative for students, however, Weeks has to omit important characters and events. While Prucha saw Henry Knox as the significant figure in the early development of federal policy, Weeks does not mention Knox's pivotal role. Weeks's geographic coverage also is far from comprehensive. He does not examine the significant U.S.-Indian relationships in the Pacific Northwest, except for Chief Joseph's role, and barely mentions the critical Treaty of 1855. This is disappointing, considering that Weeks spends almost one-half of the work on the subjugation of the Plains tribes and about fifteen of two hundred forty-nine pages on the campaign that culminated at Little Big Horn. In short, students of Native cultural areas outside of the Southeast and the Plains will find this history stilted toward the peoples of those regions.

Weeks designed *Farewell, My Nation*, as an undergraduate introduction. He selects simple but distinct themes and uses them as quasi-mnemonic devices. Students will easily recall, for instance, that the policy of concentration (reservations) displaced separation (removal) due to political pressures resulting from migratory fever and Manifest Destiny. I suspect this work will encourage students to examine U.S.-Indian relations in greater detail, for it is a well-written and provocative introduction to the subject.

Tim Alan Garrison
Portland State University

Nevada's Paul Laxalt: A Memoir. By Paul Laxalt (Reno: Jack Bacon & Company, 2000)

Paul Laxalt had a lengthy and distinguished career as a Nevada politician; he served a term as governor (1967-70) and two terms as United States senator (1975-87), and built up the Republican party to at least co-equal strength with the Democratic. Nationally, he was perhaps best known as a good friend and valued confidant to President Ronald Reagan. Laxalt has an important story to recount, making his autobiography a welcome addition to the rapidly growing bibliography of books relating to the Nevada experience.

The story also is fascinating. He is the son of Basque immigrants who met in the New World. His father was a sheepherder and his mother a Carson City hotel-keeper. To Paul, what happened to the Laxalts is a prime example of why the United States is called "the land of opportunity." He attended the University of Santa Clara. During World War II, he fought in the Philippines. After landing at Leyte, he spent "the most miserable and depressing fifty-three days of my life. All I can remember now is a blur of rain, mud, foxholes, broken bodies, blood, gore and death" (p. 37). During the ordeal, he lost forty pounds.

After the war, he attended and graduated from the University of Denver Law School. He married into the Ross family of Carson City (his father-in-law, Jack Ross, was a prominent Republican and attorney, and later a federal judge), and that gave him entrée into the world of politics. Laxalt claims that he was not particularly ambitious, but he managed to run and usually managed to win. He was handsome and personable, and had a good war record and an attractive family. He became Ormsby County district attorney and was elected lieutenant governor in 1962. Although narrowly defeated for U.S. senator in 1964 by a forty-eight-vote margin, he rebounded in 1966 by defeating incumbent Governor Grant Sawyer, who was seeking a third term.

According to Laxalt, his governorship consisted of one solid accomplishment after another. He takes great pride in having helped to establish the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency, the community college system with its beginnings in Elko (this was indeed a great accomplishment: Nevada was the last state to set up such a system), and the University of Nevada School of Medicine. He is proud of the corporate gaming bill of 1969, which he calls instrumental in ending organized crime's role in the gambling industry, and particularly proud of the encouragement he gave to Howard Hughes, "one of the world's shrewdest businessmen," to come to Nevada (p. 132). "Howard Hughes was a special man as far as I was concerned, and he did an enormous amount of good for Nevada" (p. 135). It was indeed a pivotal four-year period.

Laxalt could have been easily reelected, but he chose to leave public life, devoting himself to building a new Ormsby House in Carson City. When Senator Alan Bible retired in 1974, Laxalt narrowly defeated Lt. Gov. Harry Reid to succed him. And a new chapter in his life was to begin.

Laxalt's treatment of his national career as a senator is less revealing, and far too much of his focus is on trips he took. Laxalt gained early attention for his fight against "common situs picketing," which "established my credentials in Washington's conservative community," by his leadership in Ronald Reagan's losing bid for the Republican nomination in 1976, and by his leadership in the fight in the Senate against ratifying the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977. He is surprisingly nonpartisan in depicting fellow senators. His mentor (and role model) was Republican Senator Barry Goldwater, but he goes out of his way to say that Democratic senators warmly welcomed him when he assumed his seat and he has particularly kind words to say about Democratic Senators Mike Mansfield, Hubert Humphrey, and—yes!—Edward Kennedy.

After 1980, upon Reagan's election, Laxalt became a member of the Senate inner circle, due mainly to his supposed influence with the president. With the relationship with Reagan, the book becomes most elusive. The depiction of that relationship is neither revealing nor, more surprisingly, particularly enthusiastic about Reagan. Perhaps, as Reagan's children and journalists Francis Fitzgerald and Lou Cannon have stated, no one (with the exception of his wife Nancy) knew and understood the real Reagan and that he was completely detached from any close friendships. In Laxalt's words, "Like most Hollywood types he tended to be self-oriented" (p. 358). Then, too, the Reagan-Laxalt relationship was one of political expediency, and they felt comfortable around each other. "Our bond was politics and our jobs" (p. 358). In these memoirs, Laxalt goes out of his way to detail the coldness with which Reagan confronted Laxalt's short-lived candidacy for president in 1987. "Much later, I sadly realized that I was wasting my time in talking with him" (p. 374). The president had not acted in very friendly fashion.

Paul Laxalt certainly is one of the more important politicians to emerge in and from Nevada in the twentieth century. Therefore, this autobiography should be welcome. There are some things to be said for this book. Laxalt's writing style is pleasant and unaffected; he can be charming and often humorous, sometimes self-deprecatingly so. The story he tells is matter-of-fact, but usually does not go beyond surface events. It is written as a journalist might write a story, with simple, direct sentences and short paragraphs. At least from the evidence of the book, Laxalt is not particularly introspective; instead, he is oriented toward people. That probably is a chief reason he got ahead.

But the book does not live up to its promise. Surprisingly, it appeared with minimal fanfare, even within Nevada, with a first printing of 5,000 by a little-known publisher, apparently without much thought of wider distribution. Laxalt decided, in writing the book, "to return to my roots and work with my friend Jack Bacon, a Nevada publisher" (p. xiii). He disclaims any desire to create waves. "And with no unrealistic commercial goals to meet, I have the luxury of not having to write it to fill someone's prescription for gossip, sex or scandals" (p. xiii).

Unfortunately, this decision severely limits the book's impact, as it is singularly unrevealing, particularly when he deals with his Senate career. No one asked for "gossip, sex or scandals," but the reader should demand more than Laxalt delivers. The decision to seek an obscure Nevada publisher diminishes the work. Unquestionably, Grant Sawyer's oral history is superior on all counts to Laxalt's work in that it is both more revealing and more analytical. But Sawyer had an interviewer (the late Gary Elliott) who could ask the hard questions, which obtained revealing and interesting information and makes that work a superior source document for people who want to study the man and the period. Laxalt has chosen a direction where no one is going to prod him. His discussion of his $250 million libel action against the *Sacramento Bee* is embarrassingly self-serving and incomplete. Nor does he mention his apparent effort to have Joe Yablonsky, the mob-fighting head of the FBI office in Las Vegas, removed from his duties. Instead, the reader is treated to far too lengthy—and amazingly unpenetrating—discussions of Laxalt's travels as a senator. Probably the most revealing section in the senatorial years is his discussion of Reagan, more for what he omits than for what he actually says.

The publisher has done an attractive job and the photographs are copious and excellently reproduced. Incredibly, there is no index. A press that Laxalt might have considered to publish this, the University of Nevada Press, most certainly would have done a far better job of distribution while still retaining a Nevada focus. Another direction he might have pursued would have been the University of Nevada Oral History Program, which has published several distinguished volumes by leading Nevadans.

Laxalt is a paradoxical figure in many ways, and one strongly suspects a personality more complex than the one depicted in his autobiography. Laxalt seems not to have been inordinately ambitious; he claims to have sort of slipped into politics—almost pushed into it by others. Part of his record seems to bear this out: He did not seek a second term as governor when he could easily have been reelected and his Senate tenure was only two terms; he appeared to have little desire to stay on. Yet, after retiring from the Senate, he launched his presidential candidacy—a candidacy frankly doomed and misbegotten from the beginning; the candidate was only kidding himself. This indicates perhaps *some* desire for power, some ambition. Then, too, Laxalt is proud of being a son of Nevada and often proclaims his heartfelt love for the state. But he has remained in the corridors of power and money in Washington, D.C., serving as a legal adviser and lobbyist and making his permanent residence in Alexandria, Virginia. Much more work needs to be done on this important Nevada politician.

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Conquistadors. By Michael Wood (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000)

Conquistadors is a fabulous pictorial work on what author Michael Wood calls a "vast field of study." The *conquista* is one of the most significant events in history, filled with cruelty and devastation that led to the destruction of millions of Native Americans. Through this monograph we see the conquest and the results 500 years later. The work concentrates on Spanish conquest in Mexico and Peru, and intrusions into Amazonia and the southwestern United States.

Wood is a journalist, broadcaster, and filmmaker, and the author of several highly acclaimed works. He also has sixty documentary films to his name, including *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great*, for which he wrote an accompanying book. *Conquistadors* is one of a series of films Wood has made for British Broadcasting Corporation in the United Kingdom and the Public Broadcasting Service in the United States. He has built upon a well-laid base in this project, making history come alive and real by blending narrative with pictures.

Wood begins with the conquest of Mexico in the early sixteenth century, providing insights into the character of Hernán Cortés and what Cortés knew and did not know about the New World. Wood does the same for the Aztec emperor Montezuma. The narrative follows Cortés and his men as they march to the Valley of Mexico and eventually conquer the Mexicans. Throughout the narrative, the pages are filled with highly appropriate pictures and quotations from original writers, bringing the story alive. The first chapter ends with the Spanish driven from Mexico City.

This is followed by a look at the role disease played in the conquest. The author provides an excellent evaluation of Cortés and the conquest, but concludes that Cortés is "one of the most inscrutable characters in history."

Now the scene moves south to modern Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia with Francisco Pizarro and his friends and relatives marching against the disorganized Inca empire. Finding a dynastic struggle between Atahualpa and Huascar, the Spaniards entered the vacuum and ultimately took control. However, this is not the end of the story; Wood includes Manco Inca and his ongoing struggle with the Spaniards. In his colorful, realistic style, Wood takes the reader on an expedition to the last Inca stronghold.

Having presented the two major conquest areas, Wood turns his focus on the search for El Dorado, the Gilded One, and then into Amazonia. Much of this story is tied in with the Pizarros and Peru. The story now turns to Francisco Orellana and his epic voyage down the Amazon River. Although he found no kingdoms to conquer, he conquered the distance and mystery of the Amazon, and eventually arrived at the Atlantic Ocean.

The book's final conquest is the one of the hero, Cabeza de Vaca, who dealt peacefully with the Indians. He also conquered distance and the unknown,

traveling first with members of the Narváez party sent to settle northwest Florida and then with companions. Between 1528 and 1536, this little band traveled from Florida across Texas and the Southwest to the west coast of Mexico. In an unprecedented move, Wood also includes de Vaca's later expedition to Paraguay, which historians usually ignore.

The epilogue is an excellent summary dealing with the consequences of the conquistadors. The conquest had economic and commercial results along with ideological and philosophical implications. Here Wood provides the reader with a useful summation.

Wood does an impressive job of including the conquered people's ongoing story. Many times, we are led to believe the Indians were conquered and that was the end of the story. This was not the case. Their descendants continue to live on the land and in many areas, especially in the Andes, the Inca culture survives.

This work shows the author's proclivity for his work with film. His impressive use of Indian and European paintings and modern photographs is one of the benefits of this work over others. The book is also alive with maps that help the reader follow the routes of the conquistadors to their destinations. Throughout the work, the constant interplay of Native and Spanish voices contributes to an understanding of these events.

Conquistadors provides the reader with an excellent and insightful look at a complex series of events. The monograph is well-written and its succinct prose is matched only by the pages of colorful and explanatory paintings and photographs. The bibliography is designed with readability in mind. For an individual with a general interest or for teachers, I would heartily recommend this book. The work also is valuable to students of Latin American history.

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The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth-Century West. By Gerald D. Nash (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1999)

In this valuable work, Gerald D. Nash, the late professor of history at the University of New Mexico, surveys the American West's economic development during the twentieth century, emphasizing the federal government's role. A survey of this size cannot be comprehensive, and this one neglects the impact of environmental policy, international trade, and international production upon extractive industries such as logging, copper mining, and ranching.

Missing, too, is an adequate discussion of the development of gaming in Nevada and on Native American reservations. Despite such omissions, Nash's book is wide-ranging and packed with useful statistics and fascinating case studies and anecdotes.

The book follows a clear chronological progression. Nash begins by discussing the effects of developments before 1930, including the Panama Canal's completion and federal involvement in highway construction, harbor development, and reclamation projects. He also addresses the creation of national parks and monuments, the establishment of new military bases, and World War I's impact on western agriculture and mining. Although these developments strengthened the West economically, the region remained a resource colony for the Northeast on the eve of the Great Depression.

Nash shows that New Dealers such as Harold Ickes promoted stable, orderly development of the West's resources, including hydroelectric power sites. These and other projects dating from the 1930s were designed in part to place the West on a sound, permanent economic foundation. Reiterating some of his central arguments in his previous work on the West during World War II, Nash shows the effects of federal investment in western military facilities and industries during the war; migrants poured into the region, western cities grew rapidly, and the region's economy became more diversified, including high-tech research, high-tech industries, and an expanded service sector.

Spectacular economic growth in the postwar era also was "engineered by the federal government," according to Nash (p. 55). While he acknowledges non-governmental factors, Nash highlights how federal spending and policies affected everything from housing construction in the West to the proliferation of air conditioners. Responding not only to the Cold War but to assiduous lobbying by western businessmen, politicians, and promoters, the government established and expanded military installations, signed lucrative contracts with western defense industries, and pumped research money into laboratories and western universities. The rise of high-tech industries in places like the Silicon Valley was also due largely to federal investment. Pointing out that such industries relied upon federal funds for "a substantial part of their income," Nash argues that "the government was lord of the valley" (p. 105).

In later chapters, Nash discusses the pessimism of the 1960s and 1970s, the consequent disenchantment with huge water projects, the enactment of air and water quality laws, and the campaign to develop western energy resources such as oil shale during the energy crisis. He ably analyzes such recent issues as the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982, the Sagebrush Rebellion, the MX Missile's fate, and immigration from Asia and Latin America.

Nash grounded his work in a rich array of specialized studies by journalists and historians, including some unpublished dissertations. Helpful bibliographic essays corresponding to each chapter appear near the end of the book. Sprinkled particularly through the later chapters are statistics, quotations, and

anecdotes drawn from Nash's research in primary sources, including memoirs, government reports, magazine articles, and political speeches. Some of his most detailed and interesting sections incorporate information from Nash's research and previous publications on World War II in the West, national energy policy, and western banking.

In an ambitious work of this scope, small errors are inevitable. Nash states that the Reclamation Service was created in 1914 (it was formed in 1902 and given bureau status in 1907) and a controversial coal-fired power plant at Lyndyll, Utah, was on the borders of Capitol Reef National Park. But such minor problems do not detract substantially from Nash's interpretive efforts.

Studies of the impact of national policy on a single region run the risk of distorting the intent of those policies or that region's role in shaping them. Fortunately, Nash furnishes comparative data that show how the West fit into the overall picture of federal spending. In some cases, though, Nash may exaggerate the West's importance for federal officials. For instance, he offers convincing evidence that Ickes recognized and sought to reduce the West's economic dependence upon extractive industries and external markets, but his assertion that promoting western economic independence constituted "a special mission" for Ickes and Franklin D. Roosevelt overstates the importance of those goals.

A central interpretive thrust of this work is the West's emergence as a "pacesetting, technologically advanced economy" due to the federal government's sweeping, transformative influence (p. 145). This theme applies more to metropolitan regions where high-tech firms have proliferated than to more sparsely populated states or the Indian reservations he discusses. While acknowledging that the federal government affected some states more than others, he asserts that "there was not a single western state in which federal military expenditures were not an important source of income" (p. 155). Still, the unevenness of federal spending and federal policy raises questions about the degree to which generalizations are justified. Reflecting the uneven nature of federal spending, the book's index lists twenty-four page references to California, twenty-two to Utah, fifteen to Colorado, and ten to Nevada, but only six to Idaho, three to Oregon, and two to Nebraska. South Dakota is not even listed in the index, although it is mentioned in the text. But while one can quibble with some of Nash's interpretive arguments, he has masterfully demonstrated the centrality of federal policy and spending to economic development in much of the West, particularly from the 1930s to the 1980s.

Brian Q. Cannon
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Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown. By Nayan Shah (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

Making extensive use of manuscript collections and printed primary materials, Nayan Shah, an associate professor at the University of California at San Diego, has looked at how San Francisco's Chinese journeyed from health menace to accepted immigrant between the 1850s and 1950s. He investigated public health records and discovered that Americans considered the Chinese threats to public health due to the diseases they allegedly brought to the U.S., as well as living conditions in Chinatown. To explain the change, Shah found three distinct phases of how San Franciscans viewed the Chinese. First, white Americans saw them as a filthy, diseased people. As such, Shah found San Francisco public health authorities encouraging racial segregation of the Chinese. Then, over time, Anglo-Americans began considering Chinatown, not its inhabitants, the source of disease. Finally, in the third phase, Shah explained that by the 1920s and 1930s, American-born Chinese began improving Chinatown's living and working conditions, adopting white ways, and seeking changes to their community, bringing it more into line with American values. In addition, the changes came to Chinatown due to white interest in the community as a tourist attraction.

Using race as a socio-political category, Shah examined how the Chinese faced separation from the Anglo-American mainstream from the beginning of their immigration to the U.S. Using newly developed bacteriological studies and information, public health authorities prevented many Chinese from entering the U.S. because Americans feared the diseases they might be carrying: bubonic plague, tuberculosis, filariasis, leprosy, syphilis, trachoma, and hookworm. Also, prohibiting the immigration of Chinese, especially women, would keep Chinese men from forming the families necessary to make the Chinese domestically acceptable to Anglo-Americans.

Shah explained that because San Francisco wanted to become the nation's healthiest city, public health and government authorities considered it crucial to stop the spread of the supposed Chinese diseases. San Franciscans feared that if disease spread, their city would suffer political and economic losses. Due to financial and health concerns, even quarantines for smallpox and bubonic plague were based on race. In another area of public health, officials feared that Chinese prostitution would cause syphilis to spread. In that case, not only did the disease cause fear, but prostitution in Chinatown demonstrated the lack of Chinese families and provided Anglo-American men with alternatives to standard domesticity.

During the Progressive Era, white women, especially in Protestant groups, sought out Chinese women as potential social reformers in the Chinese community. The Anglos, Shah said, sought to train Chinese women in middle-class domesticity. With that, hygiene became linked to civilization, with Chinese

women demanding improvements, especially after it became clear that Chinese infant mortality was the area's highest. According to Shah, another factor that promoted Chinatown's broader acceptance was, ironically, its destruction in the 1906 earthquake and fire. Now, Chinatown could be rebuilt with more acceptable health standards. Shah noted the larger community's acceptance of the Chinese depended on their acceptance of white ways.

By the 1920s and 1930s, American-born Chinese young professionals began using the American legal system and resources to change Chinatown with hospitals and federally-sponsored public housing. Raised and educated in the U.S., these American Chinese adopted "American ways" and sought a lifestyle more acceptable to Anglo-Americans. Their participation in World War II also brought a greater sense of entitlement to Chinese Americans.

Contagious Divides provides an interesting interpretation of how local and federal public health laws affected Chinese immigration and acceptance. Shah's book is important for those interested in this story, and in Chinese exclusion. But he might have accomplished more. He claimed that Chinese social workers led the campaign to change the Chinese community, yet explained that the reform activities of Progressives, New Dealers, and even Eleanor Roosevelt brought about many of the changes. Also, a brief comparison between San Francisco's Chinatown and New York City's immigrant tenements would have been helpful. Lastly, although the book is thoroughly researched, the footnoting is sometimes inadequate and citations need further elaboration.

There also are a few significant misquotations from original sources. On page 91, where Shah quoted the original source as "opium smoking was considered to transpire in 'every sleeping room in Chinatown . . . ,'" Shah omitted the word "nearly" prior to "every sleeping room." Even opponents of opium-smoking admitted that not all Chinese smoked opium. The difference when "nearly" is added to the quote is slight, but important. Also, several citations in Chapter 3 are missing the page numbers from the sources cited. Despite these transgressions, Shah's book, written for scholars and those with some knowledge of Chinese immigration history, provides a new perspective on the Americanization of San Francisco's Chinese.

Diana L. Ahmad
University of Missouri, Rolla

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