

Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly

John B. Reid
Editor-in-Chief

Hillary Velázquez
& Frank Ozaki
Production & Design

Juliet S. Pierson
Manuscript Editor

Joyce M. Cox
Proofreader

Volume 57

Spring/Summer 2014

Numbers 1-2

Contents

- 2 Editor's Note
- 4 More than Meets the Eye
Enigmas of Nevada Tourism
ELIZABETH RAYMOND
- 9 The Biggest Little Dilemma
Promoting Cultural Tourism in Reno, Nevada
ALICIA BARBER
- 29 Survivors, Seekers, Sojourners, Squatters, and Sportsmen
The Ineffable Attraction of Pyramid Lake
BERNARD MERGEN
- 51 A Cattle Controversy
Great Basin National Park and the Struggle
for Environmental Tourism in Nevada
PETER A. KOPP

Front Cover: Advertisement promoting Reno as an outdoor vacation destination, 1927.
(*R.L. Polk & Co.'s Reno City Directory*)

- 65 Nevada's Fightocracy
The Battle over Morality and Culture at the Carson City
1897 Heavyweight Championship Prizefight
MEG FRISBEE
- 83 "A Real Man Among Men"
How Republicans Helped Democrat Mike O'Callaghan
Win the 1970 Nevada Governor's Race
WILLIAM CLAYSON
- 107 Notes and Documents
Nevada's Original Supreme Court Justices:
A History as Colorful as the State's
PATRICIA D. CAFFERATA
- 117 Cumulative Index – Volume 56

Editor's Note

Any written history involves the selection of a topic and an arbitrary delimitation of its borders. This selection and organization – a single act – will be controlled by the historian's frame of reference composed of things deemed necessary and of things deemed desirable.

—Charles Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith" (1934)

In 1970, Nevada—population 488,738—was a Cold War battleground. This may surprise you. Cold War histories rarely mention the names Ed Fike, Donal "Mike" O'Callahan, and William Raggio. But in the mid-term elections that year, the Richard M. Nixon administration devoted significant time and resources to Nevada. In particular, the Senate race between William Raggio and incumbent Senator Howard Cannon was a high priority for Nixon. As William Clayson reports in this issue of the *Quarterly*, this was no minor mid-term election skirmish. As Nixon put it, "One vote [in the U.S. Senate] may determine whether the President has the strength that this Nation needs when he goes to the bargaining table [with the Soviet Union] or whether he negotiates from weakness." Nixon's efforts to unseat Cannon failed, and the attempt to influence this election led to unintended consequences for Nevada. As Clayson goes on to explain, "Between Nixon's clumsy electioneering, [Paul] Laxalt's withdrawal from politics, Fike's apparent corruption, and [Hank] Greenspun's support in the *Sun*, Republicans created the conditions necessary for Mike O'Callaghan to win his first campaign for governor." The election of one of Nevada's most popular Democratic governors, then, cannot be fully understood without looking outside Nevada's borders to the broader national and international geopolitical contexts.

I begin with that example because this double issue of the *Quarterly* contains several articles that involve the literal and metaphorical crossing of borders. And these articles force their authors to situate Nevada's history within larger contexts—to seek full explanations both within and outside of Nevada's borders. The first of the two issues is a collection of articles on a theme: a fresh look at the history of tourism in Nevada. Tourists—those who people who cross Nevada's borders for a brief visit—have played and continue to play a crucial role in Nevada's economy. Their visit is the literal border crossing, of course. But another type of border crossing fueled Nevada's twentieth-century

tourism industry—the crossing of Progressive Era moral boundaries. It was a place where activities considered immoral or unsavory could be sampled, allowing for a temporary crossing of moral lines.

The first of the two issues that follow begins with Elizabeth Raymond's excellent introduction to the three articles on this topic. In the second issue presented here—Volume 57, No. 2 for those of you keeping score at home—we see more border crossings. In "Nevada's Fightocracy: The Battle over Morality and Culture of the Carson City 1897 Heavyweight Championship Prizefight," Meg Frisbee skillfully argues that Nevada's desperate economic situation in the late 1890s led to "Nevada's endorsement of prizefighting," a decision that "pitted money against Progressive morality, but morality was a luxury too precious for Nevada to afford." Within Nevada's borders, tourists could travel to see men engage in an activity most of the nation deemed barbaric, although, as the defenders of prizefighting were always quick to assert, at least prizefighting did not reach the levels of brutality and barbarity of college football.

The second issue continues with William Clayson's "'A Real Man Among Men': How Republicans Helped Democrat Mike O'Callahan Win the 1970 Nevada Governor's Race," in which Clayson explains the national and even global stakes in Nevada's 1970 election. Clayson argues that the actions of President Nixon and the national Republican party actually contributed to and enabled the election of one of the most successful and well-liked Democratic governors in Nevada history. We conclude this double issue of the *Quarterly* with Patricia Cafferata's group biography of Nevada's first Supreme Court justices. The first Supreme Court justices were short-timers in Nevada—all arrived after the discovery of the Comstock Lode and all three had left Nevada by 1885—crossing borders indeed!

Speaking of crossing borders, I would like to invite all of you to the Nevada Historical Society's Tenth Biennial Conference, in Reno on September 25-26, 2015. Our theme this year is "Thinking Beyond Nevada's Borders." We are encouraging our presenters and our guests to think about borders of all kinds and to consider relationships and interactions between people and/or entities that are often viewed in isolation. Although the conference has a theme, we welcome discussions about all aspects of Nevada history, the Great Basin, and the West. If you are interested in presenting, please send a short proposal to me. We hope to see you there.

John B. Reid
Editor-in-Chief

More than Meets the Eye

Enigmas of Nevada Tourism

ELIZABETH RAYMOND

To most contemporary observers, Nevada is a place synonymous with tourism. Known around the world as an adult playground in the desert, Las Vegas is today the setting for myriad movies and television shows, and a perennial subject of both popular and scholarly dissection. Indeed, in *Neon Metropolis*, the historian Hal Rothman argues confidently that Las Vegas is the quintessential twenty-first-century city.¹ There can be no doubt that it is a celebrated creation. Glittering images of luxurious clubs and restaurants, glamorous visitors, and elaborate shows are enthusiastically disseminated by the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority and apparently just as eagerly received. Despite a national recession and the virtual collapse of the state's housing market, the city remains an international destination and was on track in 2012 to attract more than thirty-nine million visitors. As Rothman cheerfully observes: "It is improbable that any city grew so fast and achieved so much without producing more than smiles on people's faces."²

Yet the story of Nevada tourism, as the following three articles make clear, is bigger and more complex than the modern rise of Las Vegas, and it involves sites, as well as smiles. Long before Las Vegas became an entertainment icon, Nevada was already a destination for visitors seeking exotic locales. They

Elizabeth Raymond is professor of History at the University of Nevada, Reno and directs its Shared History Program. Author of *George Wingfield: Owner and Operator of Nevada*, she became fascinated by Nevada history many years ago, processing manuscript collections as a research associate at the Nevada Historical Society.

were attracted in the nineteenth century by the storied riches of the Comstock Lode and the stunning beauty of Lake Tahoe.³ The latter was even briefly proposed for national-park status in the early twentieth century. For the first half of that century it was Reno that held national attention as it pioneered an economy that was based, out of desperation, on the legalized vices of prize fighting, divorce, and gambling.⁴ The establishment of the state's first national park, in eastern Nevada, in 1986 attracted national press attention to the state's dramatic mountain scenery, ancient bristlecone pine trees, and the relict glacier on Wheeler Peak. In fact, Las Vegas-style tourism, based on a willingness to engage in a constant re-design of its entertainment product to cater to current public appetites, doesn't characterize the rest of the state at all.⁵

The following articles explore tourism and some of those alternative versions of the state's quest for visitors. Based on papers initially presented at the 2010 Western History Association meeting at Lake Tahoe, each of the three articles exposes the tensions and ambivalence inherent in the undertaking. Alicia Barber's consideration of "The Biggest Little Dilemma: Promoting Cultural Tourism in Reno, Nevada" provides a direct counterpoint to Las Vegas. She observes that the northern Nevada city has always been ambivalent about exactly what its allure might be. As the city struggled in the 1990s and 2000s to define its brand in successive advertising campaigns, the Reno-Sparks Convention and Visitors Authority variously proposed outdoor recreation, special events, and art as potential attractions. None was overwhelmingly successful, as the city's gambling revenues decreased in the face of competition from Indian casinos and the proliferation of gambling in other jurisdictions. Barber details the challenges as she recounts the efforts of local residents and officials to deploy cultural-heritage tourism as yet another strategy to persuade people to travel to Reno and spend money. Regardless of its eventual success or failure as a tourism campaign, she argues, heritage tourism can succeed by enriching residents' "shared understanding of their communal history."

Bernard Mergen's meditation on disparate meanings of Pyramid Lake extends Barber's point about the multiple participants in tourism, though no shared understanding emerges. His title, "Survivors, Seekers, Sojourners, Squatters, and Sportsmen," nicely illustrates his argument, as it begins to enumerate the many groups with some stake in the desert lake outside of Reno. In the article itself there are more, including the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, which controls the lake on its reservation; the Bureau of Land Management, which administers much of the surrounding land; and various developers who have sought permission to build modern tourist facilities that would attract and accommodate larger crowds. For all of these groups, the lake has different meanings. Making deft use of maps spanning almost three decades, Mergen explores those meanings by detailing their divergent visions of what's important for visitors to see and know. He also documents

tribal efforts to retain control and maintain the water level at the lake. Far from being a “primitive” or “pristine” place, he concludes, Pyramid Lake is a dynamic landscape with a long and complicated history. Whatever it may be or become, Pyramid Lake is definitely not “timeless.”

Nevada’s only national park, located in Eastern Nevada, further augments our understanding of tourism in Nevada. Peter Kopp describes a situation in which opposing views of the park’s purpose created a genuine “Struggle for Environmental Tourism.” When Great Basin National Park was established in 1986, he says, it was “a compromise of multiple-use,” with livestock grazing specifically allowed to continue within park boundaries. For thirteen years, until 1999, park visitors complained about having to share the trails and campgrounds with cattle, and ranchers complained about practices that limited their access to historical grazing allotments. Kopp explores the disparity between the legislatively enacted ideal of multiple use and the reality of conflicting uses on the ground. Here the economic engine of tourism, so powerful and overbearing in Las Vegas, competed against long entrenched local economies of resource extraction and grazing, and the triumph of tourism was by no means inevitable. Even now, he suggests, the dominance of touristic values is not uncontested.

Together, these three articles serve to deepen our understanding of the history and practice of tourism in Nevada. The Las Vegas success story that is trumpeted to a world audience is the state’s dominant image, but image and reality—as Bernard Mergen reminds us—aren’t synonymous. Outside of Clark County, tourism’s proper place and its appropriate meanings continue to be contested. Traditional land users and multiple stakeholders articulate alternative visions of places that are about more than just neon, confounding the outsider’s clear and simple understanding of Nevada’s tourist economy.

NOTES

¹“Only snobs look down on Las Vegas these days, for its magic is green and gold, the colors of power and status in the postindustrial world.” Hal K. Rothman, *Neon Metropolis: How Las Vegas Started the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xii.

²Hal K. Rothman, *Playing the Odds: Las Vegas and the Modern West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 67.

³For references to Virginia City visitors, see Elizabeth Raymond, “Physical Graffiti: Mining’s Legacy at American Flat,” in Stephen Tchudi, ed., *Western Technological Landscapes* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 133-49. For nineteenth-century Lake Tahoe tourism, see *idem*, “‘A Place One Never Tires Of’: Changing Landscape and Image at Lake Tahoe,” in Peter Goin, Elizabeth Raymond, and Bob Blesse, *Stopping Time: A Rephotographic Survey of Lake Tahoe* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 11-23.

⁴Alicia Barber, *Reno’s Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

⁵Rothman defines Las Vegas as a purveyor of what he calls “entertainment tourism,” characterized by its malleability. He attributes the city’s success to the fact that it “refracted back on to visitors what they most want” in *Devil’s Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 288.

The Biggest Little Dilemma

Promoting Cultural Tourism in Reno, Nevada

ALICIA BARBER

In the words of a slogan long used by the Nevada Commission on Tourism: “Tourism is Nevada’s No. 1 Economic Engine.”¹ Indeed, Nevada is one of the most tourist-dependent states in the country; more than half of the state’s general fund is supplied by an unstable base of gaming, sales, and use taxes. Obviously, this arrangement favors state residents, who delight in the lack of a state income tax and low property taxes, but it has also left the state particularly vulnerable to economic downturns, when sales revenues go down and would-be tourists forgo traveling long distances in favor of closer getaways or even “stay-cations.”²

Perhaps it is no surprise, then, that the national recession beginning in late 2007 wreaked particular havoc on Nevada’s economy. In late summer of 2010, estimates placed the state’s budget deficit at anywhere from \$1.5 billion to \$3 billion. Candidates for all state offices, including the governor’s office, vowed not to raise taxes, prompting many to wonder how the state budget could possibly be balanced in the next legislative session (a constitutional mandate) without cutting essential services and agencies.³

Alicia Barber is a writer and historian specializing in the U.S. West, American cities, and public history. She is the author of *Reno’s Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City* (University Press of Kansas, 2008) and the co-founder and editor of Reno Historical, a smart phone app and website dedicated to Reno’s history (www.renohistorical.org). Her community history projects range from oral histories and digital exhibits to outdoor place-based installations. Dr. Barber serves on the Nevada State Board of Museums and History, the board of directors of Preserve Nevada, and the City of Reno’s Historical Resources Commission.

One pragmatic, although hardly short-term, strategy often cited to aid the state's economic recovery is diversification. Accordingly, Nevada's economic authorities continue to court sustainability advocates, information technology specialists, distribution and data centers, manufacturers, and other businesses, for purposes of both job creation and increased tax revenues.

In the realm of tourism, diversification translates into lessening the state's heavy reliance on the gaming industry in order to attract new types of visitors. Las Vegas, as an incomparable global resort destination, is far less vulnerable (although not completely impervious) in this regard than Reno, whose casino industry has for more than a decade felt the effects of competition from out-of-state casinos, from Atlantic City, New Jersey, to Cripple Creek, Colorado. The 1988 passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which enabled Native American tribes to operate casinos on their lands, spurred the establishment of tribal casinos just over the border in California, increasingly siphoning off Reno's drive-up tourist market. A 1998 profile study of visitors to Reno released in 1999 found that 25 percent of visitors had gambled in an Indian casino over the past year, in comparison to 19 percent in 1997 and only 3 percent in 1993. By 2003, more than fifty Indian casinos were operating throughout the state of California, including the \$215-million Thunder Valley Indian Casino near Sacramento.⁴

Another category of tourist, those interested in outdoor recreation, represent a natural market for northern Nevada, and, indeed, selling Reno's proximity to natural attractions goes back nearly a hundred years. As early as the 1920s, Reno's promoters labeled the city—rather brazenly—the “Recreational Center of America,” where travelers along the newly completed Lincoln and Victory highways could pursue golfing, snowshoeing, skiing, and other activities.

In the early 1930s, Reno christened itself the place “Where Nature's Playground Smiles for Miles and Miles,” and, in 1940, a “Year 'Round Playground” with “1000 square miles of superb ski terrain” as well as “summer, spring and fall fishing, hunting, boating, swimming, riding, camping, and all sports in season.” As is clear from the range of activities named, the benefits of linking Reno to the more universally appealing Lake Tahoe were clear long before the 1960 Olympics were held at Lake Tahoe's Squaw Valley resort. Realizing the potential economic rewards to be reaped from that event, Harolds Club's Raymond I. Smith initiated a successful campaign to have U.S. 40 expanded to four lanes between the Sierra ski resorts and Reno by 1959, easing the travel of Olympics fans to and from Reno's casinos and linking the two destinations even more closely together, both literally and figuratively.⁵

Today, the strategic conflation of Reno with Tahoe covers everything from the name of Reno's airport (changed in 1994 from the Reno-Cannon International Airport to the Reno-Tahoe International Airport) to the 2002 rebranding of the region by the Reno-Sparks Convention and Visitors Authority (RSCVA) as “Reno-Tahoe: America's Adventure Place.” The slogan was meant to encompass the region's offerings in four areas—skiing, golfing,



Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, advertisements regularly appeared in Reno's city directories, promoting Reno as "The Recreational Center of America," offering outdoor activities from golf to horseback riding. (R.L. Polk & Co.'s Reno City Directory, 1927)

arts and culture, and adventure sports—with gaming as a so-called “added attraction.” This formulation constituted a striking reversal of the earlier hierarchy, in which gaming was considered Reno’s primary tourist attraction, with everything else far subordinate. In contrast, three of the four areas promoted in the new America’s Adventure Place campaign referred to some form of outdoor recreation.⁶

Although the fourth area included in the campaign was “arts and culture,” this category soon appeared in subsequent promotional campaigns to refer primarily to two areas: the fine arts and special events. In the realm of the fine arts, Reno happily promotes its dramatic zinc-clad art museum, the Nevada Museum of Art, which was designed by the architect Will Bruder and opened in 2003. Also heavily touted is Artown, a month-long, citywide summer arts festival held every July since 1996. But more prominent in official marketing campaigns is the city’s year-long calendar of special events. These range from the Reno-Tahoe Open, a PGA tour event founded in 1999, to the Great Reno Balloon Race, an event drawing approximately 100 hot-air balloonists and more than 150,000 spectators to a northwest Reno park each September. The National Championship Air Races, founded in 1964, take over a small airport eight miles north of Reno every fall, just a week after the balloon event, and feature races by six classes of aircraft, from bi-planes and modified World War II fighters to high performance kit-built aircraft and Formula One speedsters. Hot August Nights, a tribute to the classic car culture of the 1950s and 1960s, takes over the Reno streets a few weeks before that.

For the city of Reno, as for individual casinos, there is great economic incentive to promote these events, not only because they fill up hotel rooms for short bursts of time, but because the visitors who travel to Reno for them are also likely to take a seat at a slot machine or blackjack table sometime during their visit. One study found that from 2000 through 2010, the special event-filled month of August produced 14.1 percent more in gaming revenues than the average month for Washoe County, while September produced 10.2 percent more than average.⁷

However, for a gambling town struggling to diversify, other types of tourism beyond outdoor recreation, gaming, and special events seem worth exploring. One intriguing possibility is cultural heritage tourism, defined by the National Trust for Historic Preservation as “traveling to experience the places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present.” To the National Trust, this category includes “historic, cultural and natural attractions,” and the incentive for pursuing a strategy so based is clear: “tourism + culture + heritage = sustainable economies.”⁸

To bolster this argument, the National Trust cites a 2009 study conducted for the United States Cultural and Heritage Tourism Marketing Council in conjunction with the United States Department of Commerce, which revealed that “78% of all U.S. leisure travelers participate in cultural and/or heritage

activities while traveling, translating to 118.3 million adults each year." In addition, the report found, "Cultural and heritage visitors spend, on average, \$994 per trip compared to \$611 for all U.S. travelers," and concluded, "Perhaps the biggest benefits of cultural heritage tourism, though, are diversification of local economies and preservation of a community's unique character."⁹

This all sounds promising. The logical next question for Reno, then, is, "What is this city's unique character, its marketable cultural heritage?" Perhaps surprisingly, there is no clear answer. Lucrative though they may be, Reno's disconnected constellation of special events does not produce a coherent sense of Reno's cultural identity beyond that of a special events town. The rest of the year, Reno is not considered a center for hot-air balloons, motorcycles, or any particular mode of transportation, although classic cars can be viewed year-round at the city's National Auto Museum (The Harrah Collection). And in any case, to consider the city's essential nature to be that of a special events town is to define it as a frame with no picture, no inherent cultural identity of its own.

In the effort to pinpoint Reno's essential cultural identity, some choices are obvious. Reno has traditionally, and most consistently, promoted itself as a quintessentially western town. Formal tourist promotion did not begin in earnest in Reno until the 1930s, when the upstart desert resort of Las Vegas started horning in on Reno's gambling and divorce markets, and a frontier theme permeated the advertising and architecture of both destinations. Reno's landmark Harolds Club campaign used cartoonish western iconography to make gambling seem more fun than scandalous, and other western-themed casinos soon followed suit, tapping into the broad appeal of the American West in mid-century American culture.

A number of popular divorce ranches, catering to patrons of Nevada's six-week residency law (shortened from three months in 1931), and the annual popularity of the Reno Rodeo also helped to fulfill the desires of tourists and divorcees alike—many from the East Coast or the urban centers of California—to immerse themselves in an authentically western experience during their stay in Reno. The trend, like the divorce trade, slowed after the 1960s, but re-emerged at times in places such as the Comstock Hotel-Casino, which opened in 1978 with a raucous, cartoonish mining-era theme, complete with life-size Disney-style animatronic characters that sprang to life above the casino floor every fifteen minutes.

Reno's western heritage still plays a central role in some of the area's special events, from the annual rodeo to the Nevada State Fair, held at the Reno Livestock Events Center, which adopted a frontier theme for the first time in 2010, rebranding itself as "The Nevada Territory Wild West Fair." In explaining the new approach, organizers referred to "the importance of teaching our Nevada children the significance of our roots, and the need to embody the entire state in an annual celebration which symbolizes the pride of being 'Battle Born,'" the phrase coined to refer to the founding of the state



Located three miles south of Reno, the Lone Star Ranch hosted divorce-seekers from the 1930s through 1950s. Postcard ca. 1945. (*Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno Libraries*)

during the Civil War. They further described the fair as “a statewide heritage event that honors and recognizes the rich histories and lasting legacies of the pioneer men and women who first founded the Silver State during the mid-1800s.”¹⁰ Unfortunately, the first Nevada Territory Wild West Fair was dogged by unseasonably bad weather, making it difficult to gauge whether this new thematic approach struck a chord with the target demographic. Bad luck continued as the organization was unable to raise the necessary funds to hold a state fair in 2011, the first time since its founding in 1874 that the event had to be cancelled.

Reno comes by its western heritage honestly—a strong ranching culture forms a critical core of the community. And yet there are problems with promoting this as the city’s primary cultural heritage. First, in Reno as elsewhere, invocations of the western heritage tend to focus on the frontier era, those “battle born” or pioneer years when Reno was an outpost in a mostly unpopulated expanse crossable only by foot, wagon, or rail. In truth, Reno existed for just thirty-two years of the nineteenth century, and a focus on the frontier era fails to recognize the modern developments of the subsequent

hundred-plus years. In addition, the western themes evoked in such promotional campaigns are almost universally generic, tied not to specific Reno residents or events, but to broader activities and practices like the Pony Express and a romanticized version of stereotypical cowboy life.

These themes may hold nostalgic appeal for visitors who grew up in the golden age of the Hollywood Western, but they garner less of a reaction from the younger and more diverse demographics that Reno increasingly wishes to court. Perhaps most significantly, promotion of Reno's western heritage is sporadic at best, deployed almost exclusively in conjunction with special events like the rodeo or the state fair. Virtually no permanent structures on Reno's landscape evoke this heritage year-round, limiting its utility as a promotional strategy for redefining Reno's identity. Virginia City, twenty-five miles to the southeast, does it better, and more authentically, boasting a critical mass of nineteenth-century structures and a landscape that in many ways seems frozen in time—as evidenced by the designation of the entire town as a National Historic Landmark in 1961.

Perhaps the most striking nineteenth-century landmark in Reno is the Silver Legacy Resort Casino, with its Victorian façade dated 1895 and a founder named Sam Fairchild, who discovered silver on the site in the Comstock era, and catapulted his discovery into a fortune. Unfortunately, both the story and the façade, composed of artificial storefronts displaying interior stage sets, are pure invention; the building was constructed from the ground up in 1995 and strategically functions as a massive structural link between two other downtown hotel casinos, the Eldorado and Circus Circus, which, together with the Silver Legacy, form a conglomerate encompassing six large city blocks. Inside, the casino's centerpiece and main attraction is a giant, 120-foot-high "mining rig," said to mark the site of the fictional Fairchild's original silver mine. This rig, an oversized head frame, stands underneath a 180-foot-diameter composite dome, advertised as the world's largest. Its curved surface depicts a lightly clouded sky and serves as an enormous screen for occasional light and laser shows. Signs posted on the rig and its attached "claims office" advertise the Nevada Central Railroad, the Gold Bullion Theatre, and other western-tinged sites and attractions—some real, some imaginary.¹¹

The blatant fictions of the Silver Legacy point to the ongoing challenge of promoting Reno's western heritage year-round. The city's architecture simply does not look "western," as Reno's residents were never interested in preserving its frontier appearance. On the contrary, with the exception of the themed casinos, divorce ranches, and special events referencing a nostalgic past, Reno residents have always emphasized their town's progressive qualities, hoping both to become, and to become recognized as, more modern, more cosmopolitan, more urban. Indeed, the "Biggest Little City in the World" slogan, displayed on the famous Reno arch in the mid-1930s, was originally coined to reflect the city's cosmopolitanism, to assert that the town actually *had* culture despite its status as a small western resort with a reputation for loose policies and even looser morality.



Constructed in 1995, the Silver Legacy Resort Casino, in the heart of downtown Reno, features a cornerstone dated 1895 and a theme evoking a faux nineteenth century mining heritage. Photograph by the author.

Accordingly, the form of “culture” deployed for tourism purposes from the 1910s through 1960s consisted largely of the traits that made Reno appear normal and modern—its schools and churches, university, city hall, post office, and YMCA—the so-called “real Reno” that readers of the general press might not have realized existed. Disseminated as a counterbalance to the city’s predominant reputation as a landscape of vice, both to make potential tourists feel comfortable traveling there and to attract new residents, descriptions of Reno’s cultural accomplishments and institutions were intended to demonstrate that beyond and beneath its casino core, Reno was quite unequivocally just like everywhere else.

Even as its casino district grew, the Chamber of Commerce continued to draw visitors’ attention to what they termed the “real Reno” where residents lived, worked, and played. This effort met with some success, as outside writers occasionally mentioned the “other Reno,” the respectable, even

conservative town beyond the neon lights. As a 1971 article in *Travel* magazine titled "Finding the Real Reno" told readers, "To savor the essence of gentle, gracious Reno, have a look at the campus of the University of Nevada." It was the existence of this Reno that local residents emphasized in distinguishing their town from Las Vegas. In 1967 another reporter wrote, "It is popular in Reno to glance down the proboscis at Las Vegas. The prime industry in Reno may be gambling and tourism, but Reno is a city, whereas Las Vegas is a resort," a distinction that Reno boosters, including casino executives, believed that most visitors appreciated.¹²

In 1973, after years of interactions with tourists, Harrah's executive Robert Ring claimed, "Many of them say that southern Nevada is more or less a lot of glitter, of honky-tonk-type operations (and they have some fabulous hotels, as you know). But they feel that Reno, with the beautiful Truckee River, it feels more of a city, and they're quite impressed." Writer Lucius Beebe referred to such boosters of respectability a bit mockingly in 1968 as the "see-our-schools-and-churches group," but clearly they had a point. With its gaming core firmly situated in the city's commercial center, Reno's primary tourist and residential landscapes still coexisted and often coincided. While the same could be said for the older Fremont Street casino district of Las Vegas in the 1970s, churches and schools, including a southern division of the University of Nevada founded in 1957, operated a sizeable distance from the burgeoning Las Vegas Strip.¹³

Asserting the inherent respectability of one's town is all well and good, particularly when trying to attract new residents, but the primary rule of tourism requires convincing others that they will find in your destination something they could not experience at home. People generally don't travel across the country to see schools, churches, and YMCAs—particularly when most visitors traveling to Reno for gambling or divorce were traditionally visiting from a place that had more "culture," traditionally defined, than the Biggest Little City in the World. Included as a supplementary boost to marketing the booming casino business, culture in this sense might have helped to sell Reno; at a time when casinos have also increasingly become as common throughout the country as schools and churches, the effect is decidedly more ho-hum.

A marketable cultural heritage requires three simultaneous attributes. First, the cultural heritage to be promoted must be *unique*, and therefore uniquely appealing to tourists with a wide range of traveling choices. Second, it must be *authentic*, not manufactured like that of a theme park or a themed casino. And third, it must be *visible* at all times, whenever a tourist might wish to seek it out—in any season and any weather.

Somewhat counterintuitively, the answer for Reno may be found in the very economic decline the city's promoters currently bemoan. Even as Reno's booming industries—first divorce and, increasingly, gambling—began to decline as reliable tourist draws, they began to strengthen as forms of cultural

heritage. After all, Reno pioneered gambling as a respectable tourist industry in the United States, predating Las Vegas as a national destination by decades. The state's divorce industry, originally requiring six months, then three months, and then finally, by 1931, a scant six weeks to sever the marital ties of anyone legally married in the United States was one of a kind, and Reno was its capital. Nevada legalized prizefighting in 1897, helping to transform it into a legitimate spectator sport and garnering international press for hosting the Fight of the Century between Jack Johnson and Jim Jeffries in 1910. Throughout the 1930s, Hollywood produced movie after movie about Reno, with names like *Six Weeks in Reno* (1931), *Merry Wives of Reno* (1934), and even *Charlie Chan in Reno* (1939). Socialites and movie stars frolicked in the little city's clubs and restaurants. Everyone had heard of Reno. Everyone wanted to be there.¹⁴

So why is this vibrant and unique cultural heritage so absent on Reno's physical and promotional landscape? Over the past few decades, both community groups and official city promoters have acknowledged its potential, and yet momentum has continually stalled, whether due to shifting priorities or lack of funds. Some efforts were initiated by local residents interested in historic preservation. One of the most active of the city's historically minded organizations is the non-profit Historic Reno Preservation Society (HRPS), founded in 1997. In January 1999, at the urging of HRPS leaders, a number of community members formed a grassroots Heritage Tourism Coalition (HTC) in order "to coordinate the efforts of the individual members to promote heritage and cultural tourism in northern Nevada." To accomplish this, representatives of numerous area heritage and cultural institutions together adopted a mission statement that announced their dedication "to the promotion of heritage tourism in the Truckee Meadows and to link it to the economic development of the region and its neighborhoods." As they asserted, "Heritage tourism is a powerful idea whose time has come. HTC is committed to working with the business community, the tourist industry, government agencies, and civic groups to make heritage tourism a priority."¹⁵

Demonstrating her recognition of the city's consistent preoccupation with the economic "usefulness" of historic buildings and other attractions, HRPS co-founder Pat Klos stated in an interview, "When it is recognized that historic places are a valuable component of tourism, we won't have to fight so hard to save them. They have value beyond culture and history. They are a powerful economic force worthy of preservation and stewardship."¹⁶ The group produced a directory of member organizations to serve as a marketing tool and resource for groups such as the RSCVA and the chambers of commerce of Reno, Sparks, Carson City, and Virginia City. Their publications clearly demonstrated a savvy understanding of travel trends and an economic cost-benefit analysis that pointed to not only the desirability, but the necessity, of incorporating heritage tourism into the city's marketing plan—of asserting a sense of the tangible value of history.

As the directory's introduction recognized, heritage tourism was "the fastest-growing segment of the travel industry," a statement bolstered by figures from the Travel Industry of America that placed heritage tourism as a "\$50 billion segment of the \$600 billion U.S. travel industry." Other figures depicted heritage tourists as even better revenue generators than average tourists, noting how they statistically spent more money, took longer trips, shopped more frequently, stayed in hotels more often, and participated in a greater variety of activities. The Heritage Tourism Coalition added its own figures to these national numbers, in order to support the growth of local interest in heritage, reporting a 65 percent increase in participation in the walking tours of historic neighborhoods conducted by HRPS between 1999 and 2002.¹⁷

Overall, the Coalition described northwestern Nevada as "an ideal tourism destination," specifically for its natural setting, gaming, entertainment and nightlife, cultural activities, and rich history. Making a persuasive argument for the role of heritage tourism in Reno's future, and subtly referencing the controversies of the past, they wrote, "It is our cultural and historical assets that have been the most underutilized of the rich tourism amenities we enjoy. As growth and change shape our community, our cultural resources, from archeological sites to historic buildings are sometimes threatened. This comes at a time when the region's tourism numbers are flat and the fastest growing component of the tourism industry (and one of our greatest strengths) is being neglected."¹⁸

In May 2001, with the assistance of a \$5,800 contribution from the Nevada Commission on Tourism, the group published a colorful and informative map of sixty-eight heritage sites in the Reno area, in order to promote the city's historic buildings and other landmarks, indexing them by decade of construction. The map covered a wide range of sites, noting their association with mining, gambling, immigrant trails, historic highways, cattle ranches, and the divorce trade, finally incorporating all of the city's diverse collection of attractions, industries, and cultural features into the one common category of heritage.¹⁹

Things were looking up for promoting Nevada's heritage; the same year this map was published, the RSCVA created the position of Arts and Culture Manager to promote this aspect of the Nevada "product." Over the next few years, the agency produced three Heritage Corridor Tours for northern Nevada, producing a glossy brochure to promote each one. "Boom or Bust" focused on Comstock history, while "Engraved in Stone" covered Nevada's ancient rock-art sites. A third heritage tour, the most pertinent to Reno, was called "Passion in the Desert." The fourteen-page accompanying booklet, published in 2006, was packed with black-and-white photos bordered in bordello red, and featured the so-called "sin solutions" that "forged the area's early character and still carry traces of that past into the present day." The state and city's easing of laws against alcohol, gambling, divorce, prizefighting, and even



A glossy Heritage Corridor Tours booklet, published in 2006, took inspiration from the region's heritage as a site of gambling, speedy divorce, prizefighting, and prostitution. (Reno Sparks Convention and Visitor Authority, "Passion in the Desert: The Northern Nevada Heritage Corridor Driving Guide," 2006)

prostitution (legal inside Reno city limits until World War II) is here described openly, in ways no previous official promotion had ever dared attempt. A numbered driving tour pointed out sites evoking this heritage, from Carson City to Lake Tahoe, and photos of half-naked dancers accompanied movie stills from films like the 1924 melodrama, *A Reno Divorce*.²⁰

Stops on the illustrated driving tour included significant Reno landmarks, such as the Washoe County Courthouse, where, a reader learns, "nearly 33,000 divorces were granted" in the 1930s; the Riverside Hotel, "known as one of the town's swankiest hotels" with "an excellent reputation among divorce seekers"; and the Virginia Street Bridge, "also known as the 'wedding ring

bridge' and 'the bridge of sighs,' where the newly divorced would "toss their wedding rings over the side into the Truckee's cold waters." Also marked on the Heritage Tour map were the former sites of Harolds Club, called "the granddaddy of Reno's gaming history," and The Cribs, a once-thriving legal brothel located in the heart of downtown. The brochure was unique, it was bold, it made a clear and dramatic statement.

Complementing these three Heritage Tour booklets were successful partnerships with local institutions, including the Nevada Museum of Art, Nevada Historical Society, Historic Reno Preservation Society, the Stewart Indian School, Artown, and more—many earning national media coverage. The grassroots Heritage Tourism Coalition also played a significant role in these campaigns until disbanding in 2005 when a key member moved out of state. Unfortunately, the official campaign was also not to last. Budget cuts hit the RSCVA, prompting the elimination of position of Arts and Culture Manager (since redefined as the New Market Development Manager) position in 2008, and preventing the generation of any new related publications.²¹ A modest on-line presence referencing the Heritage Tours remained, offering the publications on request, but with no additional bolstering from an active RSCVA campaign or local group, these disparate products lacked the necessary traction to drive cultural heritage tourism promotion.²²

Further complicating efforts to promote cultural heritage tourism in Reno is the relative invisibility of this heritage on the landscape, making it difficult for visitors and residents alike to access Reno's colorful history without some kind of insider information, organized tour, or publication in hand. No coordinated signage beyond a few sporadic and disconnected historical markers is visible in the city center, with downtown Reno's only state historical marker located in front of the Washoe County Courthouse, several blocks south of and across the river from the casino core. Scattered historical markers erected over the years by a diverse array of community groups mark isolated moments and individuals from Reno's past, but generally offer more insight into individual interests than a broader community narrative. Aside from the artifact-filled galleries of the Nevada Historical Society, located north of the university (even more distant from the city center), Reno's history—much less its exciting gaming and divorce culture—barely registers.

Without a doubt, more—and different— historical markers could make this heritage more available to the casual viewer, as Reno's historic infrastructure currently lacks both density and coherence. A city focused for so long on catering to present desires has traditionally cared little for preserving its past, resulting in a piecemeal architectural heritage. Aside from one strikingly historic intersection at Reno's founding site, where Virginia Street meets the Truckee River, most of the city's historic structures stand anonymous and scattered, interspersed among more nondescript modern structures. Beginning in the mid-1970s, the construction of the multi-block

casinos at the city's center demolished generations of architectural history and in the process pushed out most of the remaining resident-oriented businesses, creating an enduring division between Reno's residential and tourist spaces, and making it entirely possible for tourists to visit downtown casinos without venturing even three blocks north or south, to view the University of Nevada, or the historic buildings found along the Truckee.

Other structures central to Reno's unique heritage have fallen victim to the city's sometimes heedless embrace of urban development, and more may be lost if desperation leads to further decisions of the type that imploded the long-vacant Mapes Hotel Casino in 2000. An Art Deco treasure listed on the National Register and identified by the National Trust for Historic Places as one of the country's "11 Most Endangered Historic Places of 1998," the 1947 building was demolished, even in the absence of any plans for replacement projects, by a few powerful city officials desperate to repopulate the riverfront with revenue-producing properties. The venerable Harolds Club had been demolished just a month earlier in order to make way for an addition to Harrah's that remains unbuilt more than a decade later.

This disregard for the past and its potential future value is not unique to Reno. As the western writer Wallace Stegner once wrote, the American West, with its more transient populations, is particularly susceptible to losing its unique character. In his 1992 essay "The Sense of Place," Stegner lamented, "Many western towns never lasted a single human lifetime. Many others have changed so fast that memory cannot cling to them; they are unrecognizable to anyone who knew them twenty years ago. And as they change they may fall into the hands of planners and corporations, so that they tend to become more and more alike. Change too often means stereotype." As new populations replace the old, Stegner explained, "Communities lose their memory along with their character," although he asserts, "For some, the memory can over time be reinstated."²³ A city changing as rapidly as Reno is particularly vulnerable to the disintegration of collective memory and shared experience. When portions of the shared urban landscape fall under the wrecking ball, the collective memories associated with them lose their best venue for public expression, and every stone and brick becomes a lost opportunity as it vanishes into the air.²⁴

Historic preservation has always been a hard sell in present- and future-obsessed Reno, although great strides have been made in recent years. Unlike most western cities its size or larger, including Las Vegas, Sacramento, Boise, and Boulder, Reno's city government does not employ a staff historic preservation specialist. Many residents opposed the very creation of the City of Reno's Historical Resources Commission, founded in 1993 under the auspices of Mayor Pete Sferazza as an advisory board to the mayor and city council. The commission's proposed historic ordinance was weakened that year when the council, under pressure from the public, voted to add to it two amendments; they required an owner's consent before an historic property

could be added to the city's register of historic places, and removed the ordinance's stated requirement that any exterior work coming within three hundred feet of an historic building be approved by the new commission.

The amendments won applause from a large crowd of individuals and property owners, some of whom also protested a proposed historic ordinance that would delay demolitions of historic buildings listed on a city register in order for alternative plans to be considered, and govern changes to the buildings' exteriors. The property owners essentially won, giving the ordinance little teeth. The result of the voluntary nature of registering properties with the city was apparent in the difference between the number of historic Reno properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places (sixty) and the City of Reno Register of Historic Places (thirteen) in 2011.²⁵

Still, the Historical Resources Commission (on which the author serves) has pursued many avenues to promote recognition of the city's architectural and cultural heritage, ranging from the production of an Historic Reno Walking Map to events commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the completion of the historic Virginia Street Bridge and an annual Historic Preservation award ceremony. At the same time, the Historic Reno Preservation Society continues to promote its educational mission "to provide an educational forum for historic preservation." Group members lead numerous tours of Reno's historic neighborhoods year-round, sponsor an annual Architectural Awareness Week, offer monthly public talks on historical topics, create K-12 local-history-based curriculum, distribute grants for individual preservation efforts, fund historic preservation scholarships for college students, conduct architectural surveys of historic Reno neighborhoods, and produce occasional conferences and special events devoted to historic preservation.²⁶

Indeed, however tragic Reno's past losses may be, its surviving historic structures, many central to the story of gambling and divorce in the early-to-mid twentieth century, do retain the potential to relate any number of engaging, dramatic memories of heartbreak, romance, adventure, glamour, and, in the most historical sense, the emergence of two unprecedented industries centered in the unlikeliest of locations. The Riverside Hotel and neighboring Washoe County Courthouse, both landmarks of divorce and gambling history, date from the early 1900s, and their outer façades remain nearly unchanged. Across Virginia Street, the 1934 post office—designed, like the previous two, by the famed Nevada architect Frederick DeLongchamps—is a shining gem, inside and out.

Other historic structures central to Reno's heritage can be found within blocks, including the 1926 Southern Pacific railroad depot where, it was said during the divorce heyday, one could watch "the tied come in, and the untied go out"; the 1915 Reno National Bank building that housed the office of one of early-twentieth-century Nevada's most powerful political and business figures, George Wingfield; an historical marker denoting the tailor shop where a future partner of Levi Strauss invented riveted denim workpants in 1871;



Two of Reno's most significant landmarks, the Riverside Hotel and Washoe County Court House, pictured here in the 1940s, have survived nearly unchanged, offering great potential for heritage tourism. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

the original 1926 Reno arch erected to commemorate the completion of the Lincoln and Victory highways; a number of mid-century structures ranging from casinos to vintage neon-crowned motels, and more. Other nearby neighborhoods and corridors, such as East Fourth Street—the site of the former U.S. 40 and Lincoln Highway—have the potential to tell a vivid story of early Reno tourism, if sufficient investment in the infrastructure were to accompany thoughtful historical interpretation. Back in the city center, one of the vacant casinos, some of which still sport wonderful façades, could be turned into a museum of gambling, or better yet, a Reno city museum that could educate and entertain with interpretive exhibits and artifacts depicting the rich urban heritage that remains unknown to so many residents and tourists alike.²⁷

While the difficulties of preserving and interpreting Reno's historical infrastructure may prove challenging to the promotion of the city's cultural heritage, perhaps the most daunting obstacle is a psychological one. There remains a deep-seated unwillingness on the part of many Reno residents to promote their city as in any way out of the mainstream. Locals have long been defensive of their city's good name, and perhaps it is not surprising that to many, a heritage tinged in scandal and licentiousness, even if groundbreaking and firmly ensconced in the past, is nothing of which to be proud.

Local concern for Reno's broader reputation became apparent in the embarrassment many residents felt at the depiction of Reno by the creators of "Reno 911!"—the satirical television series that aired on the Comedy Central cable network from 2003 to 2009. Successive episodes portrayed Reno as a landscape dominated by methadone labs, trailer parks, cheap motels, and prostitutes. Although the show's creators readily admitted to taking creative license in their depiction of the city for comic purposes, many residents, weary of Reno's long Rodney Dangerfield-like struggle for respect, were clearly fed up with the continuing ridicule the show seemed sure to perpetuate. As a publicist for the Atlantis Casino Resort complained, "It doesn't do anything for the bad stigma that lies over Reno. A lot of people think Reno's a dirty gaming town with brothels everywhere. Living here, we know that's not true.... I would love to see Reno portrayed all the time the way I see it."²⁸ What the media gave, it was feared, the media could take away, a lesson Reno's promoters knew all too well. In a meeting revealing a new "business brand" for the region—"Can Do"—a member of the creative team behind the slogan asserted, "We've got to change people's minds, raise the level of positive talk about the region." He continued, "We're not 'Reno 911.' We're going to set the record straight and tell the truth about the region. People know they don't have the whole story. We've got to sing from one inspiring song sheet."²⁹

Renewed anxiety over Reno's eccentricities re-emerged in 2009 following the leak of the RSCVA's proposed new slogan for Reno, intended to replace the 2002 "America's Adventure Place" campaign. The new slogan, "Just a Little West of Center," referred not only to Reno's location just a little west of the center of the United States, but also to its "refreshingly offbeat" nature, its ability to bridge highbrow and lowbrow with luxury spas offering stone massages and casino diners selling greasy burgers. The re-branding followed months of market research, more than eleven thousand interviews with new and returning visitors, and extensive demographic analysis adding up to a cost of more than \$100,000; it was meant to offer a vision of Reno that was unique, authentic, and visible.³⁰

It was also doomed. Asked by a local reporter about his opinion of the leaked slogan, Mayor Bob Cashell called it "embarrassing" and said that it made a "laughingstock" of the city. Further public criticism from local business leaders and letters to the editor from outraged residents soon followed, and

just a few days later, local headlines read “‘West of Center’ Slogan Dies.” A replacement slogan, introduced meekly and discreetly two months later, was “Reno Tahoe USA: Far From Expected,” which seemed to confuse more than outrage, and featured a bighorn sheep as a mascot (with a slight New York accent, no less); it attracted very little local attention.³¹

Without question, Reno’s cultural heritage is a quirky one, but this quiriness must be embraced in order to market Reno’s unique appeal. There is great potential in using Reno’s colorful history in a way that has never consistently been accomplished before, to distinguish the city from other tourist destinations, to diversify its brand, and to establish a unique, nationally resonant, civic identity. Cultural heritage tourism treats the past as an asset. Promoting Reno’s heritage can clearly add value to the visitor experience, contributing depth to each encounter by introducing more facets of the city to explore.

And yet, perhaps the most critical reason to promote cultural and heritage tourism in Reno is not economic. The same efforts can add value of a different sort to the residential experience as well, by making the city a more meaningful, more appealing place to live, and by helping to bring its diverse population together through a shared understanding of their communal history. When the past is considered and treated as a viable and valuable component of a city’s identity, people and the landscape are both enriched. Everybody wins.

Portions of this article appeared previously in the authors’ book, *Reno’s Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008). Reprinted with the permission of the University Press of Kansas.

NOTES

¹Nevada Commission on Tourism, <http://savenevadatourism.com/images/Dec08budget.pdf> (accessed 31 May 2011); "Nevada Signs Western States Agreement to Promote Travel and Tourism on Federal Lands," press release dated 5 March 2008. <http://travelnevada.biz/article/464.aspx> (accessed 31 May 2011).

²Michael W. Bowers, *The Sagebrush State: Nevada's History, Government, and Politics*, 3d ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2006), 117.

³Ray Hagar, "Sandoval Sticks with No-New-Taxes Stance Despite Projected \$3B Deficit," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (8 August 2010).

⁴Reno Sparks Convention and Visitors Authority, *Situational Analysis Summary*, 2001. www.rscva.com/marketing/marketing/situation.html (accessed 1 March 2001); John Stearns, "Who's Visiting Reno?" *Reno Gazette-Journal* (4 July 1999), p. 1E; Erica Werner, "Stakes High as Tribes Negotiate Contracts," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (21 January 2003), p. 1D.

⁵R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Reno City Directory, 1927-1928* (San Francisco: R. L. Polk & Company, 1927), 5; "Year 'Round Playground," ad in 1940, 1941, 1942, 1944 Polk's directories; William D. Rowley, *Reno: Hub of the Washoe Country* (Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1984), 68-69.

⁶Reno Sparks Convention and Visitors Authority, *RSCVA Marketing and Sales Plan, FY2002-2003*, www.renolaketahoe.com/about/research/ (accessed 30 April 2003).

⁷Susan Voyles, "More and More, Region Depends on Special Events," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, (26 September 2010).

⁸National Trust for Historic Preservation, "Cultural Heritage Tourism." <http://www.culturalheritagetourism.org/howToGetStarted.htm> (accessed 16 December 2014).

⁹National Trust for Historic Preservation, *Cultural Heritage Tourism 2012 Fact Sheet*, March 2012. http://culturalheritagetourism.org/documents/2012CHTFactSheet_000.pdf (accessed 16 December 2014).

¹⁰Nevada Territory Wild West Fair. <http://wildwestfair.com/> (accessed 19 May 2011).

¹¹Silver Legacy Hotel Casino, "Silver Legacy," brochure (Reno: Silver Legacy Hotel Casino, 1995); Silver Legacy Hotel Casino. <http://www.silverlegacyreno.com> (accessed 10 December 2000).

¹²Phyllis Zauner, "Finding the Real Reno," *Travel* (December 1971); Horace Sutton, "Gamesmanship in Nevada," *Saturday Review* (4 November 1967), 54.

¹³Robert Ring, *Recollections of Life in California, Nevada Gaming, and Reno and Lake Tahoe Business and Civic Affairs* (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Program, 1973), 54; Lucius Beebe, "Reno: Specialization and Fun," in *The American City: A Sourcebook of Urban Imagery*, Anselm L. Strauss, ed. (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), 431.

¹⁴For more on Hollywood's fascination with Reno as well as the broader creation of Reno's national reputation, see Alicia Barber, *Reno's Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).

¹⁵Heritage Tourism Coalition, *Heritage Sites of the Truckee Meadows* (Reno: Heritage Tourism Coalition, n.d.); *Directory of Historic Organizations and Resources in Northwestern Nevada* (Reno: Heritage Tourism Coalition, 2002).

¹⁶Frank Mullen, Jr., "History Could Be Area's Latest Tourism Draw, Coalition Says," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (19 May 1999), p. 3A.

¹⁷Heritage Tourism Coalition, *Directory of Historic Organizations*.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹"Group Promotes Nevada's Heritage," John Stearns, *Reno Gazette-Journal* (15 March 2000), p. 1D.

²⁰Reno Sparks Convention and Visitor Authority, "Passion in the Desert: The Northern Nevada Heritage Corridor Driving Guide," 2006.

²¹Mary Ann McAuliffe, e-mail message to author, 5 June 2011.

²²Reno Sparks Convention and Visitors Authority, "Heritage Tours." <http://www.visitrenotahoe.com/reno-tahoe/what-to-do/arts-culture/heritage> (accessed 26 May 2011).

²³Wallace Stegner, "The Sense of Place," in *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs: Living and Writing in the West* (New York: Random House, 2002), 202.

²⁴For more on urban sense of place, see Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995), 9, 10.

²⁵Heritage Tourism Coalition, *Directory of Historic Organizations and Resources in Northwestern Nevada* (Reno: Heritage Tourism Coalition, 2002); Susan Voyles, "4 Old Buildings Face Shaky Future," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (23 September 1992), p. 3A; Susan Voyles, "Reno City Council Considers Revising Preservation Law," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (23 March 2001), p. 1C; Concerned Citizens of Reno, "Reno—Historic Buildings, Sites," flyer, 1993, print file, Nevada Historical Society. For National Register of Historic Places listing, see the database at <http://www.nps.gov/nr/research/>. The City of Reno Register of Historic Places can be found at <http://www.reno.gov/government/departments/community-development-department/historic-resources/reno-historic-places> (accessed 16 December 2014).

²⁶For current information on the activities and goals of the Historic Reno Preservation Society, see www.historicreno.org.

²⁷The desire to "mark" these historic sites on the landscape, making their stories available to both residents and tourists, prompted a coalition of community partners (including the author) to produce and launch a map-based website and free smart phone app called Reno Historical in May 2014. The site is available at <http://renohistorical.org/>.

²⁸Forrest Hartman, "Reno Stars in Pair of TV Shows Debuting This Month," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (13 July 2003), p. 15A.

²⁹Bill O'Driscoll, "EDAWN Unveils New Brand," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (25 April 2007), p. 7A.

³⁰Ray Hagar, "Reno-Area Tourism Agency to Change Marketing Slogan," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (22 September 2009), p. A1.

³¹Ray Hagar, "RSCVA Dumps New Slogan After Mayor Bob Cashell's Criticism," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (24 September 2009), p. A1; idem, "'West of Center' Slogan Dies," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (25 September 2009), p. A1; Reno-Sparks Convention and Visitor Authority, "Reno Tahoe USA" homepage. <http://www.visitrenotahoe.com> (accessed 20 June 2011).

*Survivors, Seekers, Sojourners,
Squatters, and Sportsmen
The Ineffable Attraction of Pyramid Lake*

BERNARD MERGEN

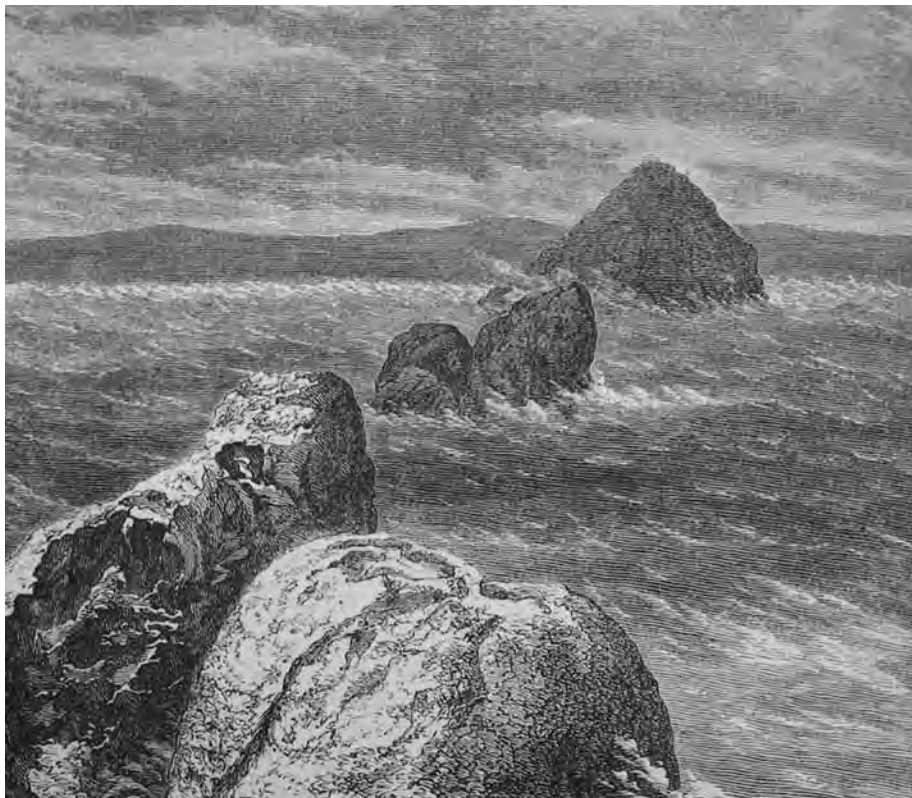
Throughout the night, because of the glow from the neon lights of Reno, 30 miles to the south, there has been no true darkness in the sky over Pyramid Lake.

—*Sports Illustrated*, November 6, 1989

This wry observation on fishing at dawn at Pyramid Lake confirms the difficulty of seeing Nevada beyond the neon.¹ If Pyramid Lake, often described as “remote,” “primitive,” “pristine,” and “timeless,” is blemished by a city’s glare, what place is safe? While the fisherman’s comment is more rhetoric than reality, it raises an important point about the distinctions we make between culture and nature. Moreover, it contributes to the discussion of how images of a place are created and become fixed in our minds. This article briefly

Bernard Mergen is Emeritus Professor of American Studies at George Washington University. He is a graduate of the University of Nevada, Reno (B.A., English, 1959) and the University of Pennsylvania (M.A., 1960, Ph.D., American Civilization, 1968). He is the author of two prize winning books, *Snow in America* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997) and *Weather Matters: An American Cultural History Since 1900* (University Press of Kansas, 2008). His most recent book, *At Pyramid Lake* (University of Nevada Press, 2014) is an expansion of an earlier draft of this article.

He would like to thank Peter Kopp for the invitation to participate in the Western History Association conference, where this article first took shape, and for arranging the publication of the expanded papers. He is grateful also to Eugene Moehring for his insightful comments that improved the article greatly. Last, but certainly not least, he is indebted for the assistance of Donnelly Curtis, Head of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of Nevada, Reno, for her direction toward several manuscript collections relevant to his work on the history of Pyramid Lake.



Pyramid and tufa domes, Pyramid Lake, Nevada, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, September 1869. Engraving of Timothy O'Sullivan's 1867 photograph. Courtesy of the author.

examines the history of the lake and the struggle between the native survivors and various interlopers to manage the lake and its resources. To illustrate the recent history of that effort I will consider the ways in which Pyramid Lake has been imagined by (1) developers seeking to build recreational facilities at the lake, (2) by writers who have visited the lake, (3) by the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, and (4) by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), a federal agency that administers much of the land surrounding the lake. To help visualize the contrasting images of the lake, I will conclude by analyzing four maps of the lake and its environs—a 1973 privately printed tourist map, a 1986 BLM map, a 1997 tourist map published by the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council, and a 2001 BLM map.

A PLACE FOR DREAMING

Pyramid Lake, about thirty miles long and four to eleven miles wide, covers an area of approximately 108,000 acres, and lies wholly within a Paiute Indian Reservation.² Although the reservation was recommended by the Department of the Interior in 1859, control of the land and the lake, the Indians' fish and game, and the Indians themselves has been claimed by various public and private interests from individual squatters to the State of Nevada. A significant part of that control took a linguistic turn. By naming the lake and its landmarks, creating maps, classifying its fish, and defining what constitutes work, recreation, and citizenship, the federal, state, and county authorities created the place we know as Pyramid Lake. Nevertheless, the Paiutes found ways to keep their culture alive and defend their vision of the lake. The images of Pyramid Lake that became known to the world from the 1840s to the present are often composed of native beliefs as reported and reinterpreted by explorers, settlers, and fishermen. This is an inescapable part of the creation of a place and should remind us that the image of a place is never fixed and eternal—that place is history as well as topography.

Pyramid Lake is a remnant of Lake Lahontan, which covered much of western Nevada twelve thousand years ago. It is fed mainly by the Truckee River, which flows from Lake Tahoe, and the rare cloud bursts that briefly flood the dry washes of the surrounding mountains. Irrigation and logging began to reduce the flow of the Truckee River even before the Derby Dam's construction in 1905 and the diversion of most of the river to farms in the Newlands Irrigation Project. Pyramid today has less surface area than Tahoe, but Pyramid's warmer, shallower water is richer in nutrients and was home to two notable fish, a species of trout called the Lahontan cutthroat, and a fish unique to Pyramid, called cui-ui (kwee-wee) by whites. This fish's name comes from *kuyui* (coey-ooey) in the language of the Northern Paiutes, communities of whom have inhabited the lake's shores for thousands of years, and who call themselves *Kuyuidökadö*, "cui ui eaters."³

The first non-native to describe the lake was Captain John C. Frémont, whose surveying party arrived on January 10, 1844. Two elements of Frémont's description of the desert lake are significant: the dominance of the pyramid-shaped rock formation and the variable colors of the lake's water. In a report published the following year, Frémont wrote of "a very remarkable rock in the lake, which had attracted our attention for many miles. It rose, according to our estimate, 600 feet above the water; and from the point we viewed it, presented a pretty exact outline of the great Pyramid of Cheops." Although later measurements of the pyramid's height put it closer to 350 feet, Frémont had forged a link between the exotic landscape of ancient Egypt and the Great Basin. The lake's pyramid-like tufa formation (tufa is a kind of limestone formed from the deposit of calcium carbonate from springs in the lake) ultimately acquired some of the fantastic interpretations of numerologists,

mystics, and New Age religious gurus regarding "pyramid power." The history of the lake would surely have been different if Frémont had bothered to learn that the *kuyui* eaters called the pyramid-shaped rock *wono*, meaning cone-shaped basket, or that they called the lake *ku-yu'-i-wai*.⁴ Better in his view to erase the native presence and place his discoveries in the context of Napoleon's scientific expeditions in Egypt and Alexander von Humboldt's around the world.

Frémont, early settlers, and Indian agents agreed that the major attractions of Pyramid Lake were the paradox of a beautiful lake in an otherwise arid environment, the nourishment and sport provided by its unique fish, the opportunity to escape from civilization into the solitude of the desert, and the mysteries of the stone pyramid and other rock formations. These charms gained wider attention in the period from the 1930s through the 1980s as the legalization of gambling and the reduction of the time required to establish state residency to obtain a divorce brought thousands of new visitors to Reno and into proximity of the lake. The Pyramid Lake Lodge, variously called The Willows, The Desert Inn, and The Pyramid Lake Guest Ranch, became a popular choice for divorce seekers from the East. It was located on a few acres of land on the west side of the lake claimed by James Sutcliffe, a white man, shortly after 1874, when an executive order created the reservation. A series of colorful characters operated the guest ranch for thirty years. Its facilities were enlarged and improved in 1936, about the time the state paved the highway from Reno. In the same year, *Nevada Highways and Parks* began publication, its first issues featuring the attractions of the lake.⁵

World War II isolated the lake; gas and tire rationing reduced tourism, and the United States Navy closed the north end of the lake for aircraft torpedo bombing practice and housed its trainees at The Willows. In 1969, a fire destroyed the guest ranch, which was never rebuilt, although a white-owned marina and bar are still in operation.⁶ With the passage in 1990 of the Truckee-Carson-Pyramid Lake Water Rights Settlement Act, the Paiutes were able to claim a greater share of the Truckee River's water, slowing the lake's demise.⁷ The tribe now manages most recreation and tourism at the lake. Images of the lake in the past fifty years have changed, as the allure of the primitive has been shattered by powerboats, jet-skis, and fishing competitions, but the outcome could have been worse.

"THE LAST GREAT UNDEVELOPED BODY OF WATER IN THE UNITED STATES"

Early in the 1960s the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council, encouraged by the John F. Kennedy administration's revitalized Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), began soliciting proposals for recreational development at the lake. Neon-tinged plans were dangled like a "Purple Pearl Wing Woolly Worm" fly before the cash-starved tribe council, but the Kuyuidökadö kept their eyes on the only jackpot that really mattered, water to preserve the lake, its fish,

and its people.⁸ Some of the development proposals were utopian, some were grandiose, and all depended on saving the lake by increasing the amount of water it received from the Truckee River, an outcome that seemed unlikely as long as the Bureau of Reclamation and Nevada's congressional delegation favored the farmers in the Newlands Irrigation Project.

The first development proposals highlight the clash between public and private ideas of recreation. In July 1961, two Washoe County commissioners, a regional planner, and the fish and game commissioner met with the tribe's attorney and partners from a private development company to iron out their differences. The boat launching and fishing area at Sutcliffe was not being maintained, litter was accumulating, and the tribe lacked the money to hire and train a staff to supervise the area and collect fishing and boating fees. A private company from Arizona, Pyramid Lake Enterprises, sought to lease six miles of shoreline and planned to build a hotel, a motel, a trailer park, and a marina with food and drink concessions. They also sought approval for slot machines. Neon signs were unmentioned, but clearly implied. The tribe would receive rent and a percentage of the revenues.

The county, by contrast, proposed cleaning up about a mile of beach at Sutcliffe, improving the boat launching facilities, installing ten picnic tables and some proper toilets, and maintaining access roads and parking on about fifty acres of reservation land. It would not charge for these amenities, allowing the Indians to collect permit fees directly. Pyramid Lake Enterprises strongly objected to any competition to their proposed development and expressed concern that the county would expand its facilities and unfairly compete with a for-profit business, even after being reminded that the agreement between the Fish and Game Commission and the tribe required public access. The minutes of several meetings make clear that the private developers sought a monopoly on all recreation at the lake, including the stocking of fish. The company succeeded in persuading the tribe to cancel its agreement with the county, but went bankrupt a few months later. A clean-up by volunteers from Reno, Sparks, and Stead Air Force Base temporarily mitigated the trash problem at Sutcliffe; the search for a reliable developer continues to the present.⁹

At about the same time, the Reno hotel and casino owner Charles Mapes, who had already been instrumental in staging hydroplane races on the lake, also proposed an extensive resort complex, but failed to submit specific plans and budgets. The tribal council wanted to raise more revenue for the tribe through fishing, boating, and other recreational opportunities at the lake, but some members were concerned about over-development. This was not a concern of Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, who was encouraging recreation and tourism on Indian reservations throughout the West to reduce unemployment. The BIA commissioned not one but two studies of the Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation's potential for development, examples of what might be called "The Significance of the 'New Frontier' in Native American History."

“‘We Need To Be Shown’: A Study of the Talents, Work Potential and Aspirations of the Pyramid Lake Indians” was completed in 1962 by William Gomberg, a professor in the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania, and Joy Leland, an anthropologist and wife of the tribe’s attorney. Their focus was on the managerial and entrepreneurial potential of the Kuyuidökadö, to whom they administered a battery of aptitude and personality tests to determine whether tribal members were ready to run their own recreation and tourist-related businesses. The authors’ conclusions were candid and pessimistic. From their interviews and tests, Gomberg and Leland concluded that the Pyramid Lake Paiutes disliked giving orders to other people and lacked self-confidence, although one third said they would like to learn to be managers. The fact that there were fewer than two hundred employable adults on the reservation in 1962 further limited the size of any potential recreational development designed primarily to alleviate Indian unemployment.¹⁰

The second study, “Economic Development Plan for Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation,” by William L. K. Schwartz and David P. Fogel for a Washington, D.C., firm called International Development Services (IDS), was submitted to the BIA in August 1963. It called Pyramid Lake “one of the last great undeveloped bodies of water in the United States,” and, like most of the proposals submitted by developers, it was tinged with utopian sentiments. The BIA rejected the IDS plan, which its authors then rewrote, apparently because its proposal was insufficiently ambitious in the view of E. Reeseman Fryer, the BIA’s assistant commissioner, who had outlined his plan to the Pyramid Lake Tribal Council in March 1963. Fryer, who had been superintendent of the Navajo reservation in the 1930s and of the Nevada Indian Agency from 1948 to 1961, envisioned a two-hundred-slip marina, a motel, a restaurant, and a trailer park providing forty seven jobs and an annual payroll of \$126,000. The report was based on a site visit and interviews with state and BIA officials, but no input from the tribe except from its attorney, Robert Leland. The IDS plan reflected Leland’s caution more than the BIA’s enthusiasm. The plan called attention to the need for Truckee River water to maintain the lake and took notice of the Newlands Project’s waste of water. Although the report included a map showing considerable commercial and residential development on both sides of the lake, including beachfront residences extending from near the Truckee River delta to within a mile of the pyramid, its authors clearly laid out alternatives to “maximum development.” Income for the tribe had to be weighed against “scenic and aesthetic” factors and the “ever growing need for unspoiled recreational areas.”¹¹ The report also mentioned some of the pros and cons of gambling on the reservation—a recognition that some in the BIA favored casinos as part of the Pyramid Lake development plan, while many of the tribal members opposed it.

In June 1963 the BIA office in Phoenix received a proposal that laid bare the paradox of commercial development versus traditional values. After comparing his plans to resort-hotel developments at Lake Louise in Alberta

and the Yellowstone Park Lodge, the author, award-winning architect Wayne R. Williams of Los Angeles, proceeded, without a hint of irony:

As there is an Indian tradition existing on the Reservation, the Indian motive will be real and genuine and one that will be based on the existing (though somewhat dormant) cultural background of the Northern Paiute Tribe. A Center, which is thus a genuine re-creation in a true setting will be far more meaningful than a fake KonTiki South Sea village.

The Hotel, in addition to the various classes of accommodations, would offer a gourmet type of restaurant, barber and beauty shop, tobbaconist [*sic*], newsstand, Sauna room and Health Club, as well as a gift shop. The latter should be geared towards a revival of the Paiute Tribe's former excellence in the execution of petroglyphs, their long tradition of basketry and possibly still existing production and sale of rabbit skin blankets.... The possibility of introducing not only a cocktail bar in the Hotel, but possibly a Casino and Night Club should be thoroughly investigated. This, after all, would not be entirely foreign to the Paiute, whose love for dance and music, as well as for a broad range of gambling games are only too well known to the ethnologists.¹²

Although Williams's proposal is almost comically inappropriate for many reasons, others proved equally pie-in-the-sky. Subsequent projects put forward by the Hawaiian builder Q. C. Lum, a New Mexico consortium made up of savings-and-loan bankers and oil men, a San Francisco-based corporation calling itself "City of America," and the Nevada developer Norman Biltz, all projected thousands of acres of hotels, casinos, vacation and retirement villages, churches, schools, medical facilities, shopping malls, museums, and golf courses—surrounded by plantings of Lombardy poplars, tall pines, sycamores, river willows, and "canopy trees." Vigorously advocating the Lum proposal, the BIA's Fryer advised the Pyramid Lake Tribal Council to sign Lum's contract without waiting for competing offers. When the council members sensed that the BIA-backed Lum proposal would reduce their already limited authority at the lake they rejected it. Ed Klein, one of Lum's associates, threatened them, telling the council "that Lum had bought a lot of property around Elko for a lot less money than he planned to spend around Pyramid Lake and that it was just as good as Pyramid Lake except there was no lake."¹³ Chutzpah met Ku-yu'-i-wai.

By the mid 1960s, the Pyramid Lake Paiutes had learned useful lessons about the ways in which developers, bureaucrats, and lawyers thought about the lake. The outsiders knew that the Indians wanted to preserve their land, but they failed to see the difference between respect and utopia. The development proposals all sketched a future of idyllic harmony with nature.

The tribal council knew the utopia was “no place” and that they were, for better or worse, stuck at the terminus of a river managed by upstream users. When, in 1964, the tribal council submitted its ten-year goals for the Pyramid Lake Reservation, the top three goals were: (1) Restoration of Fishery, (2) Housing Construction for residents at Nixon, and (3) Lake Based Recreational Development. The goals were clear. Without the cui-ui there would be no Kuyuidökadö; without water, no fish. Recreational facilities for revenue were desirable, but, in the long run, impossible without practical steps to restore water to the lake. Without achieving the first goal, recreation would wreck creation. In 1967 and 1968, the lake fell to its lowest recorded level, but three events occurred that offered some hope.

In February 1967, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall issued the first regulations for the Newlands Reclamation Project, requiring farmers to conserve water and improve project efficiency. The new operating criteria also required better management of the water used in electrical power generation. A few months later, the cui-ui were placed on the endangered species list sanctioned by the Endangered Species Preservation Act of 1966. The operating procedures and the listing of an endangered species provided the basis for a series of legal actions by the tribe to secure more water for the lake. *Pyramid Lake Tribe of Paiute Indians v. The Secretary of the Interior* (filed in 1968, later known as *Pyramid Lake Tribe . . . v. Walter J. Hickel*, and finally settled in 1972 as *Pyramid Lake Tribe . . . v. Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior*), was a lawsuit that attempted to gain water for the endangered cui-ui; it was the third event that shifted the tribe’s energies from recreational development to water rights. The story of the struggle for water continues and is beyond the scope of this article, but the shift in focus from resort development to water rights kept Pyramid Lake beyond the neon for another half century.

PYRAMID POWER, POLYCHROME WATER, AND STONE MOTHER

Beyond the neon, perhaps, but not beyond the dreamers who fell under the Pyramid’s spell. In the 1970s, a hundred and thirty years after Frémont, a pyramid-power craze swept the United States and led back to the lake, thanks to the late Martin Gardner, a science popularizer whose “Mathematical Games” feature in *Scientific American* appeared monthly. In June 1974, Gardner took up the claims of various pyramid-power enthusiasts epitomized by Dr. Irving Matrix, Gardner’s fictional renegade mathematician and magician. Matrix, in Gardner’s fantasy, operated the Pyramid Power Laboratories near Pyramid Lake and advertised a six-foot-high transparent plastic pyramid that would keep razor blades sharp, preserve rosebuds, restore old typewriter ribbons, cure bodily ills, raise intelligence, and build up sexual potential. It is an amusing article, illustrated with photos of the Pyramid of Cheops and the

lake's Pyramid rock. Gardner framed his story with an explanation of his own reasons for visiting the lake: to fish and to revisit a place he had first seen as a child with his father, a geologist. Gardner appreciated the beauty of the place and digressed from his satire to observe: "I could see, beyond the sagebrush, the deep Prussian blue of the lake. Jagged spires and pinnacles along the opposite shore were casting purple shadows over the water, and above the turrets the Nightingale Mountains undulated in soft shades of green and pink."¹⁴

In focusing on the changing colors of the lake's water and surrounding mountains, Gardner picked up on Frémont's second important contribution to the image of Pyramid Lake. Seeking to dispel the idea of the West as an arid desert, Frémont wrote:

"Beyond a defile between the mountains descended rapidly about two thousand feet; and, filling up all the lower space, was a sheet of green water, some twenty miles broad. It broke upon our eyes like the ocean. The neighboring peaks rose high above us, and we ascended one of them to obtain a better view. The waves were curling in the breeze, and their dark-green color showed it to be a body of deep water."¹⁵

From 1844 to the present, almost every visitor to Pyramid Lake has commented on its unusual and rapidly changing combinations of colors, due in part to the intensity of the sunlight and suspended inorganic particles. The color spectrum runs from Frémont's "dark-green," to an anonymous reporter's "a sea of molten silver," to Nevada novelist Walter Van Tilburg Clark's "blue," and "opalesque," to *New Yorker* reporter A. J. Liebling's "turquoise," to editor and publisher Samuel G. Houghton's "indigo," to novelist Saul Bellow's "milk," to poet Harold Witt's "lavender," to conservationist Sessions Wheeler's "deep blue to green," to playwright Arthur Miller's "gray."¹⁶

What I am suggesting is that the aesthetic and mystical appeal of the lake and the surrounding deserts and mountains were known and appreciated by white interlopers as well as by natives. In both Christian and native traditions, the austere desert is a place of meditation and shifting identity, purity, and negation.¹⁷ In popular culture the desert is often associated with absurd humor—for example, cartoons of ragged, bearded men crawling in search of water and finding mirages—or with post-apocalyptic survival, as in motion pictures such as "A Boy and His Dog," "Mad Max," and "The Postman." There is room in the desert for all these tropes. Pyramid Lake has been the setting for a wide variety of movies, including "Destination Gobi" (1953), "The Misfits" (1961), "The Greatest Story Ever Told" (1965). Standing in for Mongolia, the mythic West of mustang hunters, and the Sea of Galilee was no problem for the shape-shifting lake.

There is also an element of chance in the allure of Pyramid Lake. As irrigation projects starved the lake of water and its level dropped almost ninety feet, a new, mysterious symbol literally emerged from its depths, like

Venus rising from the sea. In the mid 1930s, a twenty-five-foot tufa formation resembling a seated, hooded figure with an upturned basket was exposed to view and rapidly became an attraction to tourists and Paiutes alike. In 1938, a photograph of the figure appeared in *Nevada Highways and Parks* with a caption reading "The above group of rocks near the northern end [sic] of Pyramid Lake, in western Nevada, is known as 'The Squaw Woman with Her Basket.'"¹⁸ While whites appropriated the site by using the insulting label "squaw," the Pyramid Lake tribe was quick to take possession, calling the figure "The Stone Mother" and incorporating her into a much older origin myth. Appearing at a moment of Indian reorganization and cultural renewal, the Stone Mother was an ideal emblem of Paiute suffering and survival.¹⁹ A brief story in the June 28, 1939, *Reno Evening Gazette* illustrated the process by which identity is declared.

The legend of Pyramid Lake will be unfolded here Saturday night as Indians from Pyramid Lake reservation stage their Reno rodeo pageant at the civic auditorium. The show, "Our Stone Mother," will start at eight o'clock with thirty Paiute Indians taking part.

The story was written in 1937 by Frank Hudson, a teacher at the reservation school, and is taken, he said, from an old folk tale showing how the Paiute forefathers lived before the coming of the white man. The title "Stone Mother" was suggested by a stone formation near the large pyramid, said to resemble a woman with a basket on her back. The Indians, says the legend, called the rock their stone mother.

The legend will be carried out in pantomime and will be followed by the various tribal dances, with a commentator explaining the significance of each. The dances will include the bear, owl, sun, antelope, eagle, circle, flower, wedding or feather, rabbit and war dances. The tribal wedding ceremony will also be depicted and the various tribal songs will be sung.²⁰

The performance was apparently successful, as it was repeated in 1940 and 1941, and many times after the war. A replica of Stone Mother adorned a float in the 1960 Fourth of July parade in Reno. By 1974, when Nellie Shaw Harner, a teacher and native of the Pyramid Lake reservation, published her history, *Indians of Coo-yu-ee Pah (Pyramid Lake)*, Stone Mother was firmly part of the origin of the tribe and its lake. In Harner's version the first Neh-muh (Paiute) family was riven by quarreling siblings, and the father was forced to send them away. One brother was banished west and his descendants became the Pit River band in northern California. Another brother was sent north and created the Bannocks of Idaho. A third was exiled to the south, where he established the Southern Paiutes of Owens Valley. The father died and the grieving mother sat down and cried until her tears formed Pyramid Lake.²¹



Stone Mother and Basket, Pyramid Lake, 1998. Courtesy of the author.

Such origin myths are common in all cultures, and this one conveniently serves both Paiute and white expectations. It explains the sometimes hostile relations between the Northern Paiute's and their neighbors, and places the water of the lake in the context of sorrow and struggle.

While the State of Nevada was pleased to make Stone Mother a major tourist attraction, the Paiutes have kept her and the pyramid relatively inaccessible to gawkers, controlling the space by means of a washboard dirt road, which they sometimes close to visitors, and choosing to perform Stone Mother's story away from the reservation.

ROAD MAPS

Roads, as they appear on maps of northern Nevada and the Pyramid Lake area, are another way of understanding the creation and control of a place. The four maps I chose for this essay represent three very different perspectives on the lake. They are fragments of the perspectives of sport fishing, the Bureau of Land Management (and the political and business interests with whom the BLM cooperates), and the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council. The maps also reflect changes in views of the lake since 1973, when court decisions, legislation, fish management, and public opinion began to change in favor of the preservation of the lake and its resources, aquatic and human.

to finding the lake, but for enjoying it once you are there. The background is bright (almost neon) yellow. The legend identifies "State highways," "Main travelled roads," and "Secondary roads" by color and line thickness. The contours of the lake are given in feet; each "Resort or Marina" is identified by a black square, although Sutcliffe is the only black square on the map. A broken black line traces the reservation's boundaries. More than two dozen fishing and boating spots are identified by name, and other sites are identified for swimming, water skiing, and hiking. The reverse side, titled "Four Seasons of Pyramid Lake," contains about four thousand words on the history of the lake, fishing, hunting, swimming, boating, "family recreation" (such as rockhounding and bird watching), and information on weather, climate, ecology, and environment.

The map was published in the year that United States District Court Judge Gerhard Gesell issued his opinion on a suit brought by the Pyramid Lake Paiutes against the Secretary of Interior in 1968. Gesell's ruling required the secretary to reduce the amount of water going to the Newlands Reclamation Project and increase water to the reservation. The Truckee Carson Irrigation District (TCID), which managed the allocation of water from the Truckee River, refused to comply, filing its own suit the following year against the federal government. A decade later, in 1984, the TCID lost and the Secretary of the Interior ordered a total reorganization of the river's management. Moreover, the Paiutes began to win their legal actions based on their cultural heritage—fishing not farming.²² The cartographers may have been premature in celebrating Pyramid Lake's recreational possibilities because many issues remained to be settled, but the bright yellow map and its visual clutter of text in little white boxes conveys a sense of cartoon-like happiness and varieties of recreational opportunities.²³

The 1986 BLM map is the product of the bureau's Winnemucca District. It measures 22-by-34 inches with eight vertical folds and two horizontal, folding to 4.5-by-11 inches. The scale is ten miles to an inch and a half, and the map side covers more than one hundred miles north and east of the lake. Although Pyramid Lake and the reservation are prominent on this map, the recreational areas include the Black Rock Desert, several mountain ranges, and parts of the Carson and Humboldt rivers. The legend identifies BLM, Forest Service, United States Fish and Wildlife, Indian reservation, "Other Federal Lands," and Private Lands by color coding. Areas closed to ORVs (Off-Road Vehicles) are marked by a red-striped border, emigrant trails by dashes, historical markers by a diamond, rockhounding areas by crossed picks, winter recreation by a snowflake, and wild horse viewing areas by a red silhouette of a horse.²⁴

The text side of this map offers information on prehistory and archaeology, history, ecological communities (illustrated by line drawings), ghost towns, and recreation (which includes "sand dunes," "photography," "wild horse and burro viewing," "off-road vehicle driving," and "cross-country skiing,"



Winnemucca District of the Bureau of Land Management, Recreation Guide map, 1986. Courtesy of the BLM.

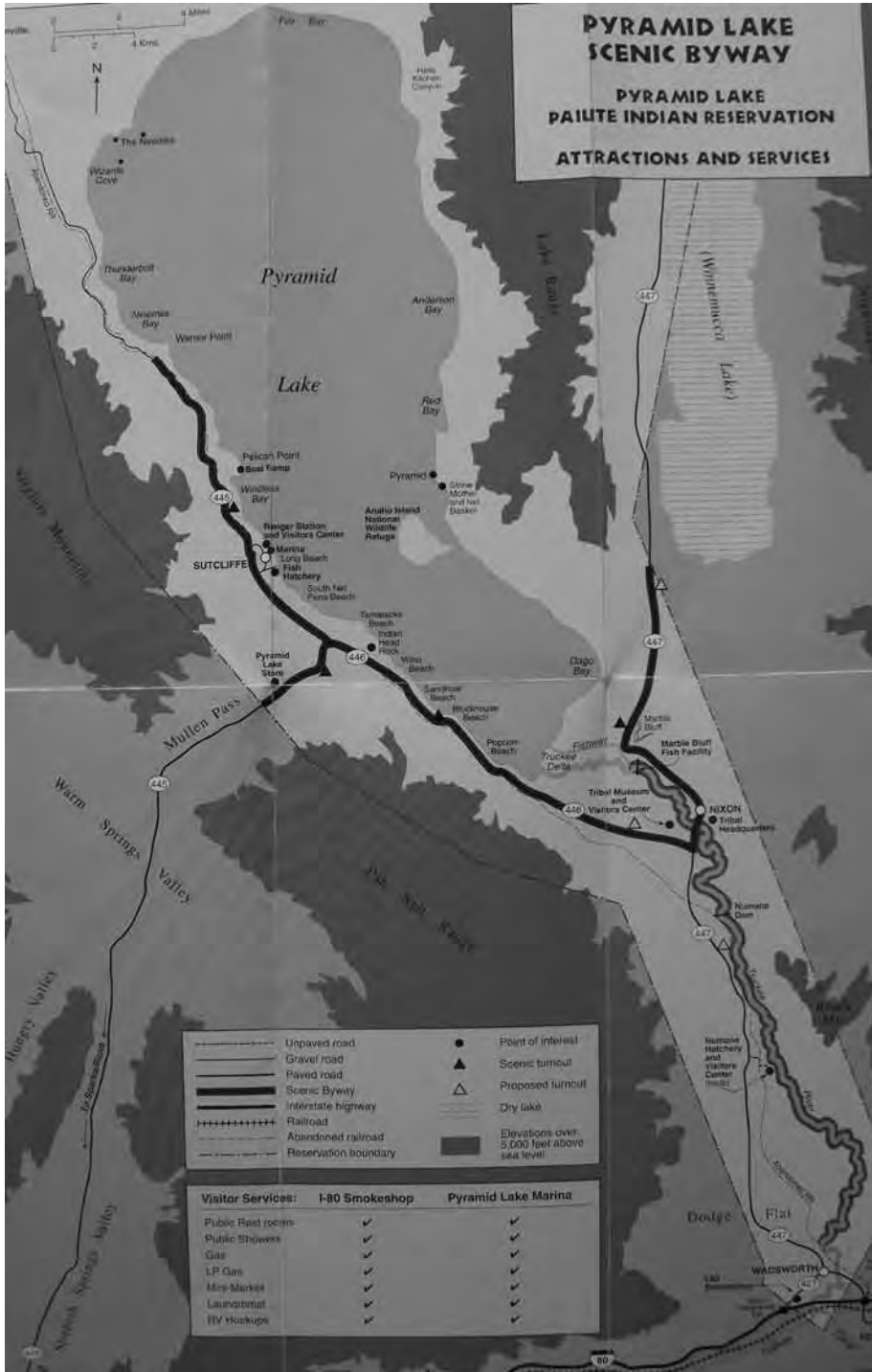
in addition to the fishing, hunting, rockhounding, camping, and hiking of the preceding map). Life beyond the neon is clearly becoming richer. In the introduction, the BLM writer approaches poetry: "It's a big, beautiful, quiet sort of country...free from the noise and congestion of urban living, a place where a person can stretch and roam. That's the Winnemucca District of the BLM." There are echoes here of a poem, "Mornin' on the Desert," first published in 1927 in an anthology of verse sponsored by the Nevada Federation of Women's Clubs and reprinted several times in *Nevada Highways and Parks* as an unofficial state poem. The unknown poet celebrates the individual freedom of the desert:

Mornin' on the desert, and the wind is blowin' free,
And it's ours, jest for the breathin', so let's fill up, you and me.
No more stuffy cities, where you have to pay to breathe,
Where the helpless human creatures move
and throng and strive and seethe.²⁵

Enthusiasts for and managers of Nevada's lands have long sought to counter negative images of emptiness, loneliness, and wasteland. From Bertha Raffetto's "Home Means Nevada," which became the official state song in 1933, to Walter Van Tilburg Clark's humorous "The Sweet Promised Land of Nevada," the state's writers have embraced what others found ugly and menacing.²⁶ The BLM, increasingly sensitive to attacks by Sagebrush Rebels and forced to comply with the multiple-use provisions of the 1976 Federal Land Policy Management Act, responded with a variety of public-relations programs including maps and guides to the proper use of public lands.²⁷

Readers of this map are advised to "Protect Your Public Lands" by preventing fires and leaving gates as they found them. Visitors are told to protect themselves from hypothermia, heat stroke, giardia in streams, and flash floods. Addresses and telephone numbers for the BLM, the Forest Service, Nevada Parks, county sheriffs, and the Nevada Highway Patrol are listed.

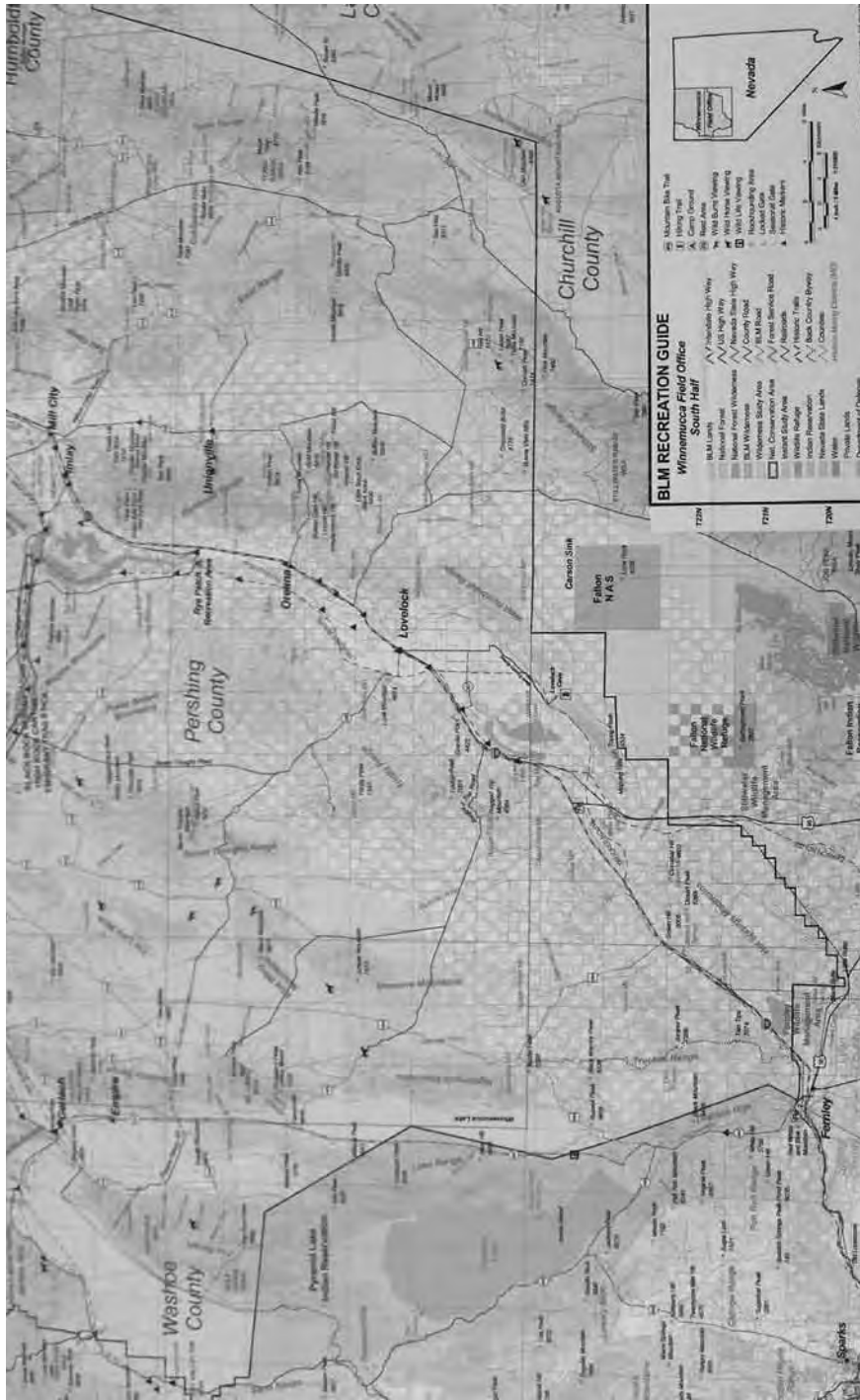
In 1997, the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council produced a map that, unlike the BLM map, put the focus on the lake, like the 1973 tourist map. It focuses specifically on the "Pyramid Lake Scenic Byway," a creation of the William Clinton administration's "National Scenic Byways" initiative. The Scenic Byway follows the lake's western shore for about two thirds of its length, and the eastern side of the lake from Nixon to the pass dividing Pyramid from the dry bed of Winnemucca Lake. There, a turnoff to the west onto a dirt road leads to the tufa formations of the Pyramid and the Stone Mother. This is a small map, just 11-by-17 inches, with three vertical and one horizontal fold that turns it into a shirt-pocket size 3.5- by-7.5 inches. The scale of the map is two miles to an inch, providing ample room for place names, but this map is both less colorful (tan, brown, and blue earth tones) and less cluttered than the 1973 tourist map. The over-all effect is calmness, not frenetic activity.



Paiute Tribal Council Pyramid Lake Scenic Byway map, 1997. Courtesy of the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council.

The map's legend identifies five types of roads as well as points of interest along the lake shore, and assures the visitor that he or she can find public restrooms, public showers, gasoline, LP gas, a mini-market, a laundromat, and RV hookups at the tribe's I-80 Smokeshop in Wadsworth and at the Pyramid Lake Marina in Sutcliffe. Tribal Headquarters and the Tribal Museum and Visitor's Center are marked on the map, but not the grocery store and gift shop in Nixon. The obverse of the map has color photos of the Pyramid, the Stone Mother, Anaho Island, and aerial views of the lake shore and the mouth of the Truckee River. The brief text provides an overview of the Paiute people, the natural wonders of the lake, and the recreational opportunities—hunting, fishing, boating, swimming, and scenic viewing spots. A subtle reference to the tribe's water conflicts with irrigators appears at the bottom of the map, where the Truckee Canal is more clearly identifiable than it is on BLM maps. The Numana Fish Hatchery and the Marble Bluff Fish Facility, a dam with fishways and a fish-handling building, are also prominent. Both are managed by members of the Pyramid Lake Paiute tribe, the Marble Bluff facility operated in cooperation with the Bureau of Reclamation and the Fish and Wildlife Service. Both are open to tours. The primary purpose of this map is obviously to attract tourists, but an important secondary message is tribal progress and pride in ownership and management of the lake.²⁸

Updating and expanding the BLM Winnemucca Field Office map of 1986, the BLM's 2001 map differs from the earlier version in some significant ways. It is slightly larger, 24-by-36 inches, and the scale is one inch to five miles. Side 1 shows the northern half of the Winnemucca District—that is, the northwest part of Nevada from approximately the 41° parallel to the Oregon border. Side 2, showing the district's southern portion, now includes Reno in the southwest corner, providing the state's first-time visitors with a recognizable starting point. There is less text on the 2001 map than on the 1986 map, but more information. Side 1 begins with a warning from Smokey Bear about fires, clearly linking BLM and Forest Service land management problems, followed by sections on prehistory and history of the region and longer pieces on safety and visitor etiquette: "Tread Lightly" and "Leave No Trace." The 2001 map makes several additions to the recreational activities. Off-Road Vehicles (ORVs) are now referred to as Off-Highway Vehicles (OHVs). The legend carries eleven symbols, five more than the earlier map. Wild horse viewing is divided into wild horse (black silhouette facing right) and wild burro (dark blue silhouette facing left) viewing. Other symbols denote mountain bike trails (silhouette of a bike), hiking trails (stick figure with trekking pole), campgrounds (a tent), rest areas (a picnic table), wildlife viewing (binoculars), rockhounding (crossed picks), historic markers (solid black triangle), and two symbols for gates, "locked" (blue backward slash) and "seasonal" (black backward slash). These identifications meet the needs of a wide range of public land visitors. The text on Cultural Artifacts sets forth the regulations on using metal detectors and the limits on harvesting petrified wood—twenty five pounds per person per day up



Bureau of Land Management Northwestern Recreation Guide Map, 2001. Courtesy of the BLM.

to two hundred fifty pounds, explosives prohibited, and no trading in petrified wood without a license. There are some odd omissions. The town of Wadsworth at the south end of the Pyramid Lake Reservation disappears on the 2001 map, as does the Southern Pacific Railroad spur through the reservation, which did appear on the 1986 map even though it was closed and the tracks removed in 1970. Without an active constituency, some history is inevitably lost.²⁹

The quantity and specificity of information accompanying these map symbols appear to mean that the BLM was both recognizing and reaching out to the growing variety of tourists on its lands. This is supported by the other part of the legend on the 2001 map—the types of land ownership and management. This kind of information increased from five to thirteen categories, with color codes: BLM (light tan), National Forests (light green), National Forest Wilderness (dark green), BLM Wilderness (dark tan), Wilderness Study Area (tan with diagonal stripes), National Conservation Area (dark green border enclosing dots), Instant Study Area (gray-green), Wildlife Refuge (teal blue), Indian Reservations (salmon), Nevada State Lands (light blue), Water (dark blue), Private Lands (white), and Department of Defense (pink). The end of the Cold War may account for the identification of the pink areas as “military use” instead of the vague “Other Federal Lands” on the 1986 map. The text on this side of the map focuses on recreation and explains some of the technical differences between “Wilderness,” “Wilderness Study Area,” and “National Conservation Area.”³⁰

Another change in the BLM maps is the identification of eight types of roads on the 2001 map in contrast to two—paved and gravel—on the 1986 map. Now the observant motorist can locate Interstate Highways, U.S. Highways, Nevada State Highways, County Roads, BLM Roads, Forest Service Roads, Historic Trails, and Back Country Byways. If the driver breaks a strut or punctures an oil pan, proper blame can be assigned. Such detail would make for a cluttered map if Nevada had more roads, but the apparent plethora of road types on the BLM map legend informs the reader that public land is accessible, right to the edge of the roadless wilderness areas.

The story these four maps tell is one of both progress and decline. The progressive story is that of expanding views of what lies beyond the neon. From the focus on fishing and water sports at Pyramid Lake to the inclusion of Paiute heritage, immigrant trails, desert eco and geo systems, and the opportunities for solitude and quiet, the maps chart the evolution of the idea of the desert. Decline, the loss of the very qualities that make the desert unique—emptiness, silence, fragile increments of daily and seasonal change amidst the illusion of indestructible permanence—is also apparent in these maps, as each printing invites more and more visitors. The maps also help to correct views of the lake as “pristine,” “primitive,” even “prehistoric,” images that ignored ten thousand years of human stewardship and a century and a half of mining, logging, commercial fishing, farming, urban development, and tourism within the watershed of the Truckee River and the lakes it joins.

THE FUTURE

The Paiute Tribe's ability to control the story of Pyramid Lake was further enhanced when its new Museum and Cultural Center opened in 1998 in the community of Nixon, near the mouth of the Truckee. The building of this facility and the programs it sponsors (including the teaching of the Paiute language) are evidence of survival and revival. The lake and its people—natives and visitors—have inevitably changed, and those changes are the starting point for the future, leaving us with the question: What will Pyramid Lake look like in the future—perhaps a century from now? Can cultural and environmental tourism be sustained beyond the neon? Neon is essentially yesterday's technology. The twenty-first century's equivalent, the PDA screen, is already exploiting Pyramid Lake's natural glow. Apple's iPad uses a photo of the lake at night by Richard Misrach as one of its screen savers.³¹

The episodes in the history of Pyramid Lake described here suggest the conclusion that despite the differing ideals of the lake held by natives, tourists, developers, and government officials, and despite their often conflicting goals, the lake and its environs have had a power to reshape those visions, teaching all the participants that the desert is not changeless, that chronology is part of the topography. Place has meaning for dwellers and visitors, but place without change is illusory. The lake has provided its own clock, the white band of bleached rock around its shores widening as its level fell. This is a clock similar in function to the one shown on the cover of every issue of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, warning us that we are never far from catastrophe. Changes in water management, and better than average snowpacks in the Sierra Nevada, have provided water sufficient to narrow the white band in recent years, pushing back the hands of the lake's clock, but the only certainty is that it will take constant effort and some good luck to keep what has been gained.

NOTES

¹Clive Gammon, "Lost and Found: A Fish Story," *Sports Illustrated*, 6 November 1989. Available on line at "SI Vault:" <http://cnnsi.printthis.clickability.com/pt/cpt?action=cpt&title=Lost+And+Found%3A+A+Fi...> (accessed 1 September 2010).

²Gary A. Horton, *Truckee River Chronology: A Chronological History of Lake Tahoe and the Truckee River and Related Water Issues* (Carson City: Nevada Division of Water Planning, April 1997), I-12.

³Martha C. Knack and Omer C. Stewart, *As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnohistory of the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1999), 16.

⁴Larry Benson, "The Tufas of Pyramid Lake, Nevada," USGS Circular 1267 (2004); Don D. Fowler and Catherine S. Fowler, eds., *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic People of Western North America, 1868-1880* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), 212; Pyramid Lake Tribe Museum and Visitor Center, www.pyramidlake.us/pyramid-lake-visitor-center.html (accessed 1 September 2010).

⁵"They'll Offer Plenty of Fight Too," *Nevada Highways and Parks*, 1:3, (May 1936), 8-10, and "Come to Nevada for Recreation," *Nevada Highways and Parks*, 3:5, (September-October, 1938), 3-11. This article epitomizes the image of the lake in popular literature: "Upon visiting Pyramid Lake for the first time one wonders by what rhyme or reason it should be found in such a strange place.... It is the most picturesque sheet of water in all the Great Basin region owing to its intensely colored surroundings and its numerous rocky islands" (p. 5)

⁶"76.5 Acres Acquired by U.S. at Pyramid," *Nevada State Journal* (13 April 1944), p. 14.

⁷Leah J. Wilds, *Water Politics in Northern Nevada: A Century of Struggle* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2010).

⁸Terry Barron's *No Nonsense Guide to Fly-fishing Pyramid Lake* (Sisters, Oregon: David Communications, 1998), ix. The Purple Pearl Wing Woolly Worm is said to be one of the best flies to use in fishing for the lake's Lahontan Cutthroat trout.

⁹"Minutes of an Informal Meeting, July 25, 1961," and Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, Special Meeting, Tribal Council, July 25, 1961. The first meeting took place early in the day, the second in the evening. Both documents are in the Robert Leland Papers, NC1036/1/130, Box 6, Special Collections Department, University Libraries, University of Nevada, Reno (cited hereafter as Robert Leland Papers); "Editorial: Indians Should Reconsider Move to Ban County Project," *Nevada State Journal* (16 August 1961), p. 4; Doris Cerveri, "Pyramid Indians Seek Fair Development Proposal," *The Nevada* (3 April 1966), pp. 24-25.

¹⁰William Gomberg and Joy Leland, "'We Need To Be Shown': A Study of the Talents, Work Potential and Aspirations of the Pyramid Lake Indians," typescript, 1962, Robert Leland Papers.

¹¹Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, Special Meeting, Tribal Council, March 26, 1963, Robert Leland Papers; International Development Services, Inc., *Economic Development Plan for Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation*, Washington, D.C., (1 August 1963).

¹²"Marine Center, BIA, Wayne R. Williams, A.I.A, June 23, 1963," Robert Leland Papers.

¹³Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, Special Meeting, Tribal Council, February 18, 1965. All of the proposals from the 1960s may be found in the Leland Papers.

¹⁴Martin Gardner, "Mathematical Games," *Scientific American* (June 1974), 116-21. Gardner confused the Nightingale Mountains for the Lake Range that borders the east side of the lake and blocks any view of the peaks beyond. Nevertheless, "Nightingale" is more poetic than "Lake" and fits better with the aura of romance and mystery Gardner wants to create.

¹⁵John C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and Northern California in the Years 1843-'44* (Buffalo, NY: George H. Derby, 1851), 215.

¹⁶"A Sea of Molten Silver," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (16 June 1860), quoted in Ferol Egan, *Sand in the Whirlwind: The Paiute Indian War of 1860* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003), 239. However, I have been unable to find this quotation in the original source. Walter Van Tilburg Clark, *City of Trembling Leaves* (New York: Random House, 1945), 48, 69, 394; A. J. Liebling, "The Lake of the Cui-ui Eaters—I," *The New Yorker* (1 January 1955), 26; Saul Bellow, "Leaving the Yellow House," *Esquire* (January 1958), 112; Harold Witt, "Pyramid," *Beasts in Clothes* (New York: Macmillan, 1961); Sessions Wheeler, *The Desert Lake* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1969), 89; Samuel G. Houghton, *A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1976), 76; Arthur Miller, *Timebends: A Life* (New York: Penguin, 1995), 377.

¹⁷David Quammen, "Desert Sanitaire," in *Natural Acts: A Sidelong View of Science and Nature* (New York: Nick Lyons Books/Schocken Books, 1985), 175-81; David Jasper, *The Sacred Desert: Religion, Literature, Art, and Culture* (New York: Blackwell, 2004); Thomas Merton, translator, *The Wisdom of the Desert: Sayings from the Desert Fathers of the Fourth Century* (New York: New Directions, 1961).

¹⁸*Nevada Highways and Parks*, 3:5 (September-October, 1938), n.p. This is the earliest photograph of "The Stone Mother" I have found. I would welcome information from readers on when and by whom the figure was first identified. (Contact Bernard Mergen at mergen@gwu.edu).

¹⁹For a comprehensive account of the Indian New Deal, see Elmer R. Rusco, *A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2000). On the meanings of "squaw," see Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *The Massachusetts Review*, 16, (1975), 698-714.

²⁰"Indian Pageant To Be Staged in Reno," *Reno Evening Gazette* (28 June 1939), p. 3. On the importance of dances in cultural revival, see Jacqueline Shea Murphy, *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing: Native American Modern Dance Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); and Charlotte Heth, ed., *Native American Dance: Ceremonies and Social Traditions* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, with Fulcrum Press, 1992).

²¹Nellie Shaw Harner, *Indians of Coo-yu-ee Pah (Pyramid Lake)*, 2nd revised printing (Sparks, Nevada: Western Printing and Publishing Co., 1978), 16-18.

²²Wilds, *Water Politics in Northern Nevada*, 40-41; Horton, *Truckee River Chronology*, III-31 through III-38.

²³"Pyramid Lake Recreation Area," (Oakland, Calif.: Weekend Outdoor Productions, 1973). Geography and Map Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²⁴"Winnemucca District, Nevada Recreation Guide, United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management" (1986), Geography and Map Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²⁵"Mornin' on the Desert," *Nevada Poems*, Nevada Federation of Women's Clubs (1927), 75; *Nevada Highways and Parks*, 1:2, (March 1936), n.p. (reprinted in June 1953 and January/February 1986).

²⁶"Home Means Nevada," http://www.netstate.com/states/symb/song/nv_home_means_nv.htm (accessed 13 January 2011); Clark, "The Sweet Promised Land of Nevada," in *City of Trembling Leaves*, 662-65.

²⁷James R. Silken, *The Nation's Largest Landlord: The Bureau of Land Management in the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009); William L. Graf, *Wilderness Preservation and the Sagebrush Rebellion* (Savage, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1990); R. McGreggor Cawley, *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

²⁸"Pyramid Lake Scenic Byways" (Nixon, Nevada: Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council and MapWorks, 1997). Copy in author's possession.

²⁹"BLM Northwestern Recreation Guide/ Created by the Winnemucca Field Office" (2001), Geography and Map Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

³⁰"On Bureau of Land Management Lands, a WSA [Wilderness Study Area] is a roadless area that has been inventoried (but not designated by Congress) and found to have wilderness characteristics as described in Section 603 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 and Section 2(c) of the Wilderness Act of 1964." http://www.blm.gov/wo/st/en/prog/blm_special_areas/NLCS/Wilderness.html (accessed 10 September 2008). A "National Conservation Area" is a designation for certain protected areas managed by the BLM. The Black Rock Desert and High Rock Canyon Emigrant Trails are part of this system. An "Instant Study Area" is a natural area formally identified by the BLM for accelerated wilderness review by notice posted before October 21, 1975. www.blm.gov/or/plans/files/CoosBayRMP/glossary.html (accessed 13 January 2011)

³¹M. Goldstein, "With the Push of the iPad, a Photograph Goes Global," *Artinfo* (28 January 2010), <http://www.artinfo.com/news/story/33769/with-the-push-of-the-ipad-a-photograph-goes-global/> (accessed 13 January 2011). Apple obtained a license to use Misrach's photo, but did not ask permission from the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council, nor did Misrach when he took it. Tribal regulations require permits for commercial photography, but they are difficult to enforce. "Pyramid Lake Goes Global," *Numuwaetu Nawahana*, 9:1 (January-May 2010), 1. http://plpt.nsn.us/newspaper/May_2010/May_2010.pdf (accessed 13 January 2011).

A Cattle Controversy
Great Basin National Park and the Struggle
for Environmental Tourism in Nevada

PETER A. KOPP

Toward the entrance of Great Basin National Park, on Highway 488 heading west from Baker, Nevada, a roadside exhibit celebrates the region's ranching history. Sponsored by local stock raisers and developed with the assistance of National Park Service employees, the exhibit explains the industry's cultural roots and the local ranchers' commitment to natural resource conservation. It appears to be a successful collaboration, an appreciation for the dominant culture and history of the area that existed for the previous century and a half. But the exhibit sits just *outside* of park boundaries, and this spatial relationship hints at a tension not readily evident to visitors. Upon my first trek to the park, in 2007, two questions arose about the geography: If developed in cooperation with the National Park Service, why did the exhibit sit outside of park boundaries? And, what was the significance of exhibiting the region's ranching legacy to park visitors prior to entry as opposed to exhibiting geology or the indigenous past? The answers to these questions, in part, address a drawn out and controversial history of local stewardship and federal land management in the West. More immediate, the questions pertaining to the exhibit evoke a controversial memory of the park's founding.

Peter A. Kopp is an assistant professor at New Mexico State University, where he is also the director of the public history program. His research centers on the environmental and agricultural history of the North American West, and he is currently finishing his first book on the history of hop growing and beer making in Oregon's Willamette Valley. Kopp earned a Ph.D. in history from the University of Nevada in 2012.



Roadside ranching exhibit outside Great Basin National Park near Baker, Nevada, 2007. Photo courtesy of the author.

At the heart of the act to create Great Basin National Park in 1986 lay a compromise of multiple use. Although such an arrangement was rare in the National Park System, Congress mandated that the park allow cattle and sheep grazing to occur amidst its recreational, educational, and scientific agendas.¹ The decision thrust a spotlight on a long-standing tension between competing natural resource users and required park employees to be creative in tending to the needs of conflicting interest groups. Yet it was an experiment that did not last long. Just twelve years after the opening of Great Basin National Park a collection of nongovernmental organizations successfully fought to end cattle grazing in the park. While seemingly a brief chapter in the park's history, the story highlights the struggle for environmental tourism in Nevada as part of a longer struggle for control of federal lands in the West.

The origins of the Great Basin National Park cattle controversy date much earlier than the founding of the park. Tension between a federally sponsored park and natural resource users in the South Snake Range date to 1922, when President Warren G. Harding—under the 1906 Antiquities Act—established Lehman Caves National Monument. The decision initially caused little

controversy as the federal government appropriated less than fifty acres of land surrounding a series of underground limestone caves. The tenor changed after Nevada's Governor James Scrugham and State Senator Cada Boak (who had spearheaded the national monument campaign) suggested that the national monument extend its boundaries. The politicians wanted to capture and present the unique qualities of the Great Basin region in a national park. Whereas many Nevadans embraced the idea of a new tourist attraction, local stock raisers and mine owners immediately rejected the idea. They need not have worried. The National Park Service director, Stephen Mather, refrained from sponsoring the expansion because the income the monument produced was dismal and the costs of maintaining the remote attraction mounted. Dreams of a national park dwindled further when Governor Scrugham left office and the Great Depression settled in. Into the 1930s and the World War II years, ranchers and miners retained political control of the landscape as the nation turned its attention to the importance of national resource use.²

After World War II, several factors led to a renewed call for a Great Basin National Park. A young and educated middle class contributed to an outdoor recreation boom in the United States. They had more leisure time, better access to the outdoors via highways, and more designated parks, monuments, and recreation areas to visit. They also became active in promoting wilderness-related nongovernmental organizations.³ The changes played in Nevada's favor because the state's economy increasingly depended on some forms of outdoor tourism. In Lake Tahoe, particularly, Nevada's politicians and planners recognized the potential for investment. Under these changing conditions in 1958 Nevada's United State Senator Alan Bible first proposed an investigative bill to create a Great Basin National Park. Unfortunately for him and his supporters, White Pine County ranching and mining interests wanted no part of a new tourism economy or, more important, the federal government taking control of the lands they argued had been respectfully managed through their natural resource practices.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, Nevada's Representative Walter Baring pushed back in the United States Congress against the national park campaign, acting as an advocate for mining and ranching interests. Both sides tried to persuade Nevadans and the Congress that their stance on a national park best suited the region. An array of reports, the redrawing of boundaries, and numerous rallies for the park during these years highlighted conflicts between tourism and natural resource use. Bible attempted to work with local interests in Ely, and even suggested a compromise that would have included twenty-five years of continued grazing in the proposed park. The efforts proved fruitless as Baring continued to deny the importance of recreation and tourism in White Pine County in favor of traditional natural resource uses. In 1967, Congress interpreted the intrastate fighting as a signal to move on and abandon plans for the park.⁴

Despite the setback, Senator Bible and other national park supporters did not quit. After nearly a decade-long lull, nature enthusiasts and supporters of Nevada tourism returned with more vigor. New activists—including the University of Nevada, Reno, professor Richard Sill and the geographer Robert Starr Waite—allied with previous advocates, including the former ranger Darwin Lambert and his wife, Eileen, to bring attention to the area. At the same time economic trouble in White Pine County spurred local support for the creation of a national park. In 1977, Kennecott Copper—a leading regional employer since the first decade of the twentieth century—suspended operations. According to Darwin Lambert, this action alone “wiped out most of the community’s economic support, multiplying the need for other sources.”⁵ Later attempts to reinvigorate the economy failed, including the opening of new mines and a coal power plant. Some reports also indicate that cattle and sheep grazing in the proposed parklands had reached a period of decline and could potentially relocate.⁶

Politics surrounding the creation of Great Basin National Park remained divided. At the same time that advocates witnessed new opportunities to create a national park, western stock raisers and miners were in the midst of a political awakening. Mining and ranching groups protested environmental restrictions placed on federal lands by the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 and the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976. Political organization and sometimes violent rallies gave birth to the Sagebrush Rebellion, a movement in which local counties not only demanded a say in federal activity taking place on state lands, but in many cases demanded transfer of lands to local holdings. They had little success in the late 1970s, but remained hopeful for change when Ronald Reagan assumed the presidency, in 1981. At that time, Secretary of the Interior James Watt helped transition the Sagebrush Rebellion into the Wise-Use Movement. He advocated for natural resource users who distrusted federal bureaucracy and wanted autonomy in public land management.⁷ In White Pine County, two local residents and park detractors, Charles Cushman and Ron Arnold captured this spirit when they spoke out against the proposed Great Basin National Park. They suggested that the area’s residents did not want a national park, as the National Park Service would contribute to the “loss of grazing, mining, hunting, and water rights.” Highlighting the fear of federal control of local lands, they even went so far as to suggest, “In 1986 the park will be 174,000 acres, by 1996 it will be 1 million acres.”⁸

Amid this tension, Nevada’s Democratic Representative Harry Reid (to be elected to the Senate in 1986) came to the aid of park advocates. He believed that the creation of a national park would not only serve state tourism, but could also serve pending federal requirements for wilderness designations. Republican Senators Paul Laxalt and Jacob “Chic” Hecht, as well as Representative Barbara Vucanovich, did not see the situation in the same light. Along with a pro-ranching stance, they claimed that the potential embodied in

deposits of tungsten, beryllium, and other metals should supersede a proposed national park. Still, the establishment of a Great Basin National Park moved forward with increased support from White Pine County residents, the National Park Service, and preservationist organizations. In 1985, Reid submitted a congressional bill calling for 592,000 acres of wilderness in Nevada and 174,000 acres for a Great Basin National Park. Park advocates and preservationists celebrated. But it was clearly more than conservative interests would concede. In response, Laxalt, Hecht, and Vucanovich introduced a similar bill for a 44,000-acre park and called for multiple use. Incredibly, Congress passed both bills. In the end, Reid and Vucanovich worked out a compromise: a national park of approximately 77,000 acres and a clause that allowed for continued mining and livestock grazing as part of the region's historical identity.⁹ When signed into law in 1986, the Great Basin National Park Act included the following directive: "The Secretary shall permit grazing on lands within the park to the same extent as was permitted on such lands as of July 1, 1985. Grazing within the park shall be administered by the National Park Service."¹⁰

Nevada's first national park opened with the challenge of catering to both ranchers and an expanding tourist base. Annual visitation numbers that had averaged around forty thousand prior to the establishment of the park increased to more than seventy-five thousand in its first few years.¹¹ Figuring out the needs of these visitors and implementing tourist plans became a central mission for the new park. But the congressional directive for multiple use complicated that mission. With 46,000 of its 77,000 acres open to livestock grazing, park planners also needed a natural resource management plan. To mitigate the ecological threats of livestock and potential conflicts with visitors, the park administration first created restrictions on riparian usage and salt licks. They also demanded that the ranching permittees clean up after their animals in public areas. Participating ranchers tried their best to respect these regulations, but wandering stock proved difficult to manage all of the time. Cattle roamed into campgrounds, where they were unwelcome and often left their waste on roads and trails. As visitors vocalized their discontent, the park's tourist-livestock debate became heated early and often.

The existence of a folder in the Great Basin National Park archive entitled "Grazing, Visitor Complaints" indicates that the park's administrators had a keen awareness of the tourist-livestock tension. Park employees collected an assortment of both formal letters and informal notes scratched on the back of camping-deposit envelopes. The notes revealed real situations plaguing tourists. One anonymous camper noted in 1990, for example, "We drove 1,000 miles to visit this place. Please fence the camp grounds. It's rather gross to rise in the morning

and have a big cow crap in front of your door. The small area of the campgrounds won't starve any critters. Please, please, please." Another noted, "Lovely areas and we enjoyed the mountain tremendously—Please keep the cattle out of the campground—it makes walking hazardous and their droppings even tracked into the toilets."¹² While apparently sympathetic to the concerns of tourists, the park administration could do nothing to overturn the founding legislation. Their only course of action was to continue administering the grazing allotments and research into the effects on ecology and the tourist experience.

From 1986 to 1994, the National Park Service sponsored a range of studies to better understand and manage the multiple-use directive of Great Basin National Park. By examining historical and contemporary modes of tourist activities in the region, changes in the economy, and, most extensively, livestock management, the park administration initiated a process to clearly identify park needs and implement policies to best address them. Almost immediately the reports revealed continuing conflict between national park ideals and natural resource policy in the Great Basin.

Research on tourist trends conducted by the consultants Martha Lee and Perry Brown in the late 1980s and early 1990s provided a foundation for future studies of the new park. The team surveyed thousands of visitors, establishing a baseline of visitor enjoyment and how their experiences in the region changed after creation of the national park. Some visitors (mostly from White Pine County) were frustrated with the cessation of hunting and, to a lesser degree, of fishing opportunities. But, generally, Lee and Brown found that, as they put it, "Visitor satisfaction with their experiences at Great Basin [National Park] remains very high."¹³ Other discussion revealed the difficulties related to the congressional compromise. A 1988 survey, for example, suggested that 11.8 percent of visitors found livestock encounters in the park problematic. In 1990, a follow-up report based on the same questions revealed that the number had grown to 15.1 percent. Given that these data also indicated that the most important service of national parks was to provide "unspoiled environments," the presence of cattle and sheep proved challenging for the park's administration.¹⁴

A study in the early 1990s conducted by the consultants Scott Dawson, Dale Blahna, and John Keith explored the same issues, but focused solely on perceptions from White Pine County residents. The results looked similar to previous studies save for a couple of major differences: Many locals were frustrated with the loss of traditional grazing locations in Humboldt National Forest, and they also perceived that the park was failing to meet its economic potential. Even though park visitation had increased, local residents suggested that the National Park Service had contributed to a sagging economy by failing to develop an adequate tourist infrastructure.¹⁵ The criticisms were particularly problematic given that the National Park Service's director, William Penn Mott, Jr., noted in his 1987 dedication speech that he would be sensitive to the

local needs. He even stated boldly, "I pledge to be a good neighbor."¹⁶ To make matters more challenging for Mott and his employees, preservationist groups now increasingly challenged the park administration on issues of ecosystem integrity. The National Park Service's juggling act stood at a pivotal point in Great Basin National Park's early history.¹⁷

In 1993, following research sponsored since its inception park administration released a "Final General Management Plan." Of the many topics covered, infrastructure issues seemed the most immediately manageable. Consistent with longtime National Park Service development policies, the plan called for limiting roads in the park except for a seven-mile extension to the Wheeler Peak campground and trailhead. In addition, while park administrators designated some trails for improvement and restoration, they called for only twenty-four miles of new trails to provide better access to some campgrounds and backcountry areas. In the spirit of development since the 1950s, park planners also sought to move park operations away from Lehman Caves and out of the park altogether to the small town of Baker. These changes would take time and depend on funding, but the plan was meant to ensure that Great Basin National Park could provide access and amenities to around a hundred thousand visitors yearly without compromising the integrity of its natural and scenic features.¹⁸

In regard to ranching, the "Final General Management Plan" confirmed the status quo, noting, "The grazing of domestic livestock would continue in the park in accordance with the enabling legislation."¹⁹ But continued pressure from visitors and nonprofit organizations such as the Wilderness Society (which spoke out loudly against grazing in preliminary drafts of the management plan) forced the park administration to address more directly the conflict of both tourist experience and preservation of natural areas—despite continued complaints from local stock raisers. The management plan suggested:

The Park Service would develop and use sound range management techniques, consistent with NPS policies and guidelines, to minimize grazing's adverse effects on exceptional resources such as riparian areas and rare and sensitive plant species. In addition, to reduce the recurring conflict between park visitors and livestock, methods would be used to separate cattle and sheep from visitors.²⁰

Achieving these goals was another matter.

To meet the requirements of multiple use and provide an enjoyable tourist experience, park planners proposed the development of three different park zones. The park administration first designated a "Park Development Zone" that would "serve visitors and meet the needs of management."²¹ This included high-use areas of the parks with roads, trails, and buildings, while still seeking to accommodate natural and cultural resource protection. Second, the administration established a "Natural Zone" for the "conservation of natural

resources and processes," with subzones designated "Rural," "Semi-Primitive Day Use," and "Primitive." Thus "Natural Zone" provided medium to low-level access for visitors who sought to enjoy an experience away from the human-built environment. Third, a "Special Use Zone" outlined ecologically sensitive and research areas for protection.

While the "Final General Management Plan" addressed some of the problems of multiple use by establishing separated zones, there remained questions of how to implement a grazing policy. The park commissioned another series of studies on allotment assessment and range monitoring. Lee Eddleman and Ray Jaindl, the authors of a report that outlined monitoring of livestock allotments, framed the larger picture of managing natural resources and tourism. They sought to "separate the effects of grazing from other environmental influences."²² The "Final General Management Plan" already outlined this task as difficult and brought attention to ecosystem issues, including water pollution, habitat destruction, competition with wildlife in the park, and the spread of disease. Eddleman and Jaindl suggested that strict livestock monitoring and herding to keep cattle and sheep from entering fragile park ecosystems were essential. In subsequent reports, Eddleman and Jaindl confirmed that approach.²³

In 1994, following completion of the grazing and tourist studies, the National Park Service finally felt prepared to directly address the tension of multiple use.²⁴ In a "Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan" the park administration declared, "The enabling legislation (Public Law 99-565) contains provisions that are incongruent with the mission of the National Park Service as stated in the NPS Organic Act—to preserve and protect natural and cultural resources, and provide for their enjoyment by the public."²⁵ The report differed from previous documents in its straightforward concern about livestock grazing. After noting that the park allowed "over 600 cattle and 3,000 sheep" to graze, the authors argued, "Livestock grazing is the biggest natural resource impact affecting many biological communities."²⁶ The report elaborated on specific problems including range conditions, competition with wildlife for forage and water, the potential for disease transfer from domestic sheep to wild bighorn, and, finally, livestock encounters with park visitors.²⁷

Unlike previous plans, the "Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan" sought head-on to mitigate the environmental impacts of permitted grazing. The authors first called for \$60,000 to build fences, noting, "There are a number of grazing allotments that need drift fences built in order to manage cattle and to protect the fragile riparian zones. Drift fences will also reduce visitor use conflicts on trails and in developed campgrounds."²⁸ Then, drawing from Eddleman and Jaindl's reports, the plan suggested, "Utilization monitoring is a long-term commitment as long as livestock grazing continues in the park."²⁹ Whereas preservationists and many tourists supported the decisions, the action proved problematic for the owners of the park's cattle-grazing allotments, who themselves had never been happy with the park's founding compromise.

Dean Baker, the most outspoken of the White Pine County stockmen, had long argued that it was the ranchers who would be best suited to manage the land, and without government bureaucracy. And he made a compelling case after the release of the "Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan." He was, after all, fighting for his livelihood and culture. In 1995, Baker noted, "First and foremost, this area has been grazed for an extended period of time—heavier prior to the 1950s and at the present level in recent years." He later noted, "In fact, the range, given the level of moisture, is in better condition now than it was 25 years ago when Baker Ranches began running cattle there. Our observation and those of our consultants show we have a healthy plant community in the riparian areas. The cattle are not damaging these areas."³⁰ At issue was the stewardship of the land: Baker and his fellow stock raisers believed that they could best manage the range.

Baker and his supporters argued that they had never been given a chance. The stock raisers suggested that guidelines for grazing in the park were too stringent. And they suggested that the rules did not adhere to the compromise of the park's founding legislation. In a 1995 "Response to the Environmental Assessment," Baker noted:

This environmental assessment is slanted and written with a bias against grazing. Almost all of the people consulted and mailed to are biased against grazing. Without the anti-grazing bias, the goals would be to continue grazing. National Park Service goals should include continued grazing.

- * It is a good compatible use of the land.
- * It is a renewable resource that provides a valued product.
- * It is the law."³¹

The last point regarding the legal requirements for the park had always struck the most resounding chord for National Park Service employees. Yet change was around the corner.

In the same year that Baker wrote his "Response to the Environmental Assessment," the *High Country News* captured a story familiar to Nevada residents, noting:

In the mid-1980s, Harry Reid, then a congressman and now a senator, argued a national park would help the public see that Nevada is not a wasteland and contribute to economic development through increased tourism. Reid had to compromise with ranchers; he told them grazing would continue in the new park."³²

The article pointed to the reality that, at less than ten years old, the compromise of multiple use haunted Great Basin National Park. The author remarked, "The compromise has not worked."³³ As evidence shows, grazing in Great Basin National Park proved difficult to manage. Despite ongoing measures to please all parties—ranchers, tourists, preservationists, scientists, and park administrators—none was left completely satisfied. At the time of the *High Country News* article, however, an end was nearer than many people realized. It had been developing for some time.

As early as 1989, the Nature Conservancy had worked quietly and behind the scenes to end grazing in Great Basin National Park. The Great Basin Field Office of the nonprofit organization had led the way, initially with fieldwork determining that commercial grazing interfered with the ecological processes of the park. On January 17, the Nature Conservancy's director, Dave Livermore, wrote to Park Superintendent Al Hendricks to discuss the nonprofit's findings: "Due to input we have received recently from wildlife biologists and some of our members, we have reason to believe that grazing within the park boundaries may not be in the best interest of wildlife or threatened and endangered species which occur in the area."³⁴ Subsequent reports elaborated on the problems of erosion, destruction of native plants, and transfer of disease between domestic and bighorn sheep. The Nature Conservancy next sought to convince national park administrators to let them fight on the park's behalf. In July, Livermore directly asked Hendricks if the National Park Service would support the organization's desire to eliminate cattle grazing from the park.³⁵

It was a fragile issue for Hendricks to say the least. The National Park Service had identified maintaining a harmonious relationship with White Pine County residents as vital, including its ranching population. Administrators also had a responsibility to heed the park's founding legislation. It was critical that Hendricks and his staff not spearhead the removal efforts. By the middle of 1989, he supported the Nature Conservancy's efforts, though quietly and only by supplying information. In a letter from July of 1989, Hendricks simply stated that he would "support the Nature Conservancy buy-out of willing permittees" and "pursue options for voluntary acquisition and retirement of remaining grazing permits."³⁶ The record is subtle and indicates that the park administration took a back seat to the Nature Conservancy.

At this point, the Nature Conservancy facilitated buyout discussions between the National Park Service and grazing permittees Dean Baker, Dave Eldridge, and Owen Gonder. While it took patience and time, the men ultimately agreed to a buyout, perhaps realizing, too, that the multiple-use agenda did not work in the national park. Throughout this time, Harry Reid worked to change the founding legislation to allow for such a buyout to occur. He achieved success in April of 1996, when Public Law 105-134 amended the act that created Great Basin National Park. It noted, "The Secretary may

acquire by donation valid existing permits and grazing leases authorizing grazing on land in the park." The law also said, "The Secretary shall terminate a grazing permit or grazing lease acquired...so as to end grazing previously authorized by the permit or lease."³⁷

The Nature Conservancy next had to raise \$400,000 to purchase the grazing allotments. By July 1997, the organization had been unable to raise the funds and asked other organizations for assistance.³⁸ The National Park Foundation, the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation, the Conservation Fund, and even the state-run Nevada Commission on Tourism all heeded the call.³⁹ In 1999, the Conservation Fund assumed control of the project and succeeded with the buyouts. Once purchased, the permits were cancelled by the federal government, and the ranchers removed their cattle in accordance with the new legislation. In the following years, the park administration removed several miles of fences and repaired habitats that had been affected by the cattle.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Great Basin National Park website suggested, "The final outcome involving the cattle ranchers and the buyout of their grazing permits has been described by a local rancher as a win-win situation for both the ranchers and the National Park Service."⁴⁰ The reality was not so simple. A 2006 *Las Vegas Review-Journal* article, for example, highlighted a continued rift. On the one hand, Baker suggested that the grazing compromise "was a farce."⁴¹ From the creation of the park, he argued, the continued research, regulations, and management plans prevented stock raisers from realistic opportunities. Baker remained upset about how the events played out. On the other hand, in the same article, Reid and former park superintendent Cindy Neilson maintained that the end of cattle ranching in the park was good for Nevada tourism. Neilson also pointed to the \$6 million of annual income generated by the park and the additional jobs created in White Pine County.⁴²

Still, there remains more to the story. Despite removal of the cattle, the legacies of multiple use in and around Great Basin National Park linger. Powerful mining interests continue to influence the region. Although the park administration has effectively closed all mines within park boundaries, mining activities surrounding the park may pose threats to wildlife habitat and water supplies. In addition, sheep grazing persists in 4 percent of the park. While these sheep forage in remote areas where visitors seldom roam, their presence interferes with plans to introduce bighorn sheep because of fear of disease transfer. This is all to say that the traditional users of natural resource's continue to maintain an important influence in Great Basin National Park.

As the story continues to unfold, compromise will remain important. Competing natural resource users must find common ground with supporters of outdoor tourism, preservationists, and scientists, and the National Park Service must help facilitate these discussions. The roadside ranching exhibit sited just before Great Basin National Park's boundaries reveals a joint commitment to ongoing collaboration. But it does remain outside of park boundaries, and that offers a reminder of the divided legacies of natural resource users and the struggle for environmental tourism in Nevada.

NOTES

¹Other national parks that maintained grazing but were seeking to eliminate it were Grand Teton (Wyoming) and Capitol Reef (Utah). There were, however, more than thirty total National Park Service units—particularly national monuments—that included grazing as part of similar compromises or included it as historical parts of the park experience.

²Darwin Lambert, *Great Basin Drama* (Niwot, Colo: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1991), 75-86. Interestingly, when Governor Scrugham lost re-election in 1926, people argued that his failure was in ignoring the interests of miners and ranchers in favor of those of tourists.

³Samuel P. Hayes, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3-10.

⁴Gary E. Elliot, "Whose Land Is It?: The Battle for the Great Basin National Park," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 34:1 (Spring 1991), 246-52.

⁵Lambert, *Great Basin Drama*, 173.

⁶Elliot, "Whose Land Is It?" 242-43, 251.

⁷For a complete overview of these issues, see R. McGreggor Cawley, *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1993).

⁸"Briefing Statement," January 20, 1985, Folder 011: (A2623), "Briefing Statements, 1965, 1980-1989," GRBA 331/001: A: Administration and Management, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453).

⁹Harlan D. Unrau, *Basin and Range: A History of Great Basin National Park, Nevada* (Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1990), 408-17.

¹⁰United States Government Printing Office, *An Act To Establish a Great Basin National Park in the State of Nevada, and for Other Purposes* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1986), 1.

¹¹Martha Lee and Perry Brown, *Great Basin Visitor Surveys: Comparison of 1988 and 1990 Results* (Seattle: National Park Service, Pacific Northwest Region, Science and Technology, 1993), 9.

¹²"Grazing, Visitor Complaints," Folder 029: (L3019), "Lands and Recreation, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453), GRBA 331/005.

¹³Lee and Brown, *Great Basin Visitor Surveys*, 44.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 34-39. Other studies by Lee, Brown, and Randall Stark prove useful in understanding tourism and changes in White Pine County after the establishment of Great Basin National Park. See Martha E. Lee and Randall Stark, *Past Recreation Use in the Great Basin National Park Region* (Corvallis: National Park Service Cooperative Park Studies Unit, and Department of Forest Resources, Oregon State University, 1989), and Martha E. Lee and Perry J. Brown, *Resident Use of and Attitudes toward Great Basin National Park* (Seattle: National Park Service, Pacific Northwest Region, Science and Technology, 1993).

¹⁵Scott Dawson, Dale Blahna, and John Keith, *The Regional Economic Impacts of Visitors to Great Basin National Park* (Seattle: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific Northwest Region, Science and Technology, 1993), 20-23. This study, published just before the "Final General Management Plan" in 1993, was based on reports dating back to 1988.

¹⁶"Great Basin National Park Dedication, 1987-1988," Folder 049.1: (A8215), "Briefing Statements, 1965, 1980-1989," GRBA 331/001: A: Administration and Management, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453).

¹⁷Following a 1963 report by Luna Leopold regarding elk in Yellowstone, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall called for an ecosystem approach to preservation, and provided more funding for science in the parks. This reversed a decades-long trend of predator elimination, construction, and other ecologically destructive activity in the national parks. The momentum carried into the 1970s and 1980s.

¹⁸United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Great Basin National Park, Nevada: Final, General Management Plan, Development Concept Plans, Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), iii-iv.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*, iv.

²¹*Ibid.*, 27.

²²Lee E. Eddleman and Ray Jandl, *Monitoring of Livestock Allotments in Great Basin National Park* (Seattle: Oregon State University Cooperative Park Studies Unit, National Park Service, Pacific Northwest Region, 1994) 1.

²³Lee E. Eddleman and Ray Jandl, *Range Analysis for Great Basin National Park* (Seattle: National Park Service, Pacific Northwest Region, 1994).

²⁴Other reports include Krista Deal, *An Archeological Overview of Great Basin National Park* (Tucson: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1988), and Susan J. Wells, *Archeological Survey and Site Assessment at Great Basin National Park* (Tucson: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1990).

²⁵United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan for Great Basin National Park* (San Francisco: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Region, 1994), i.

²⁶*Ibid.*, xi.

²⁷*Ibid.*, xi-xiii.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 195.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰Dean Baker, Baker Ranches, Inc., "Response to the Environmental Assessment (received June 19, 1995)," Folder 026: (L3019 Environmental Assessment/Allotment Management Plan/Comments, 1995," Grazing, 1987-1989, GRBA 331/005 L: Lands and Recreation, GRBA 331/001: A: Administration and Management, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453).

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Jon Christensen, "A Bitter Rancher and a Failed Compromise," *High Country News* (3 April 1995).

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴Dave Livermore to Al Hendricks, January 17, 1989, Folder 022: (L3019) Grazing, 1987-1989, GRBA 331/005 L: Lands and Recreation, GRBA 331/001: A: Administration and Management, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453).

³⁵Dave Livermore to Al Hendricks, July 21, 1989, Folder 022: (L3019) Grazing, 1987-1989, GRBA 331/005 L: Lands and Recreation, GRBA 331/001: A: Administration and Management, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453).

³⁶"GRBA Mission, Goals, Five Year Objectives and Strategies for 1997-2001," Folder 037: (A6423), Briefing Statements, 1965, 1980-1989," GRBA 331/001: A: Administration and Management, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453).

³⁷Public Law 105-134 (April 23, 1996), Section 319.

³⁸"Briefing Paper prepared for Senator Reid," Folder 025: (L3019) Conservation Fund, GRBA 331/005 L: Lands and Recreation, GRBA 331/001: A: Administration and Management, Great Basin National Park Resource Management Records (ACC# 00331 CAT# 04453).

³⁹Other assistance included the Richard and Rhoda Goldman Foundation, the Weeden Foundation, the Turner Foundation, the Foundation for Deep Ecology, and the Sperling Foundation. "Ranchers lead way at Great Basin National Park, The Conservation Fund News Release," c. 1999.

⁴⁰National Park Service, Great Basin National Park, "Grazing the Great Basin," <http://www.nps.gov/grba/historyculture/grazing-the-great-basin.htm> (accessed May 2007).

⁴¹Henry Brean, "Great Basin National Park Celebrates 20 Years," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (30 October 2006), p. 1B.

⁴²*Ibid.*

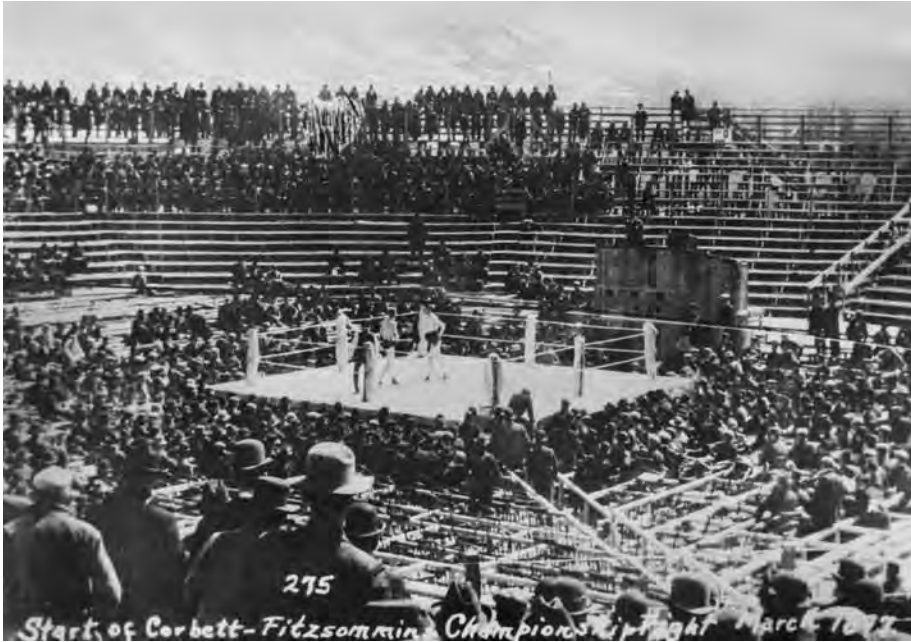
Nevada's Fightocracy
The Battle over Morality and Culture at the Carson City
1897 Heavyweight Championship Prizefight

MEG FRISBEE

“Gentleman” Jim Corbett drew first blood in the fifth round with a punch that broke open Bob Fitzsimmons’s lower lip and another that gashed a wound behind Fitz’s right ear. Soon after, Rose Fitzsimmons, flecked with her husband’s blood, screamed. She, or possibly another raucous female boxing fan, unabashedly urged Bob Fitzsimmons to “hit [Jim Corbett] in the slats.”¹ Corbett recalled hearing those words and described the shouting woman as a “big, blonde, and very excited woman, her hair loose, hat jammed down over one ear, the blood from Fitz spattering her own face.”² These scenes of male brutality and female boldness at boxing’s heavyweight championship fight on March 17, 1897, exhibited precisely the degradation that American moral reformers dreaded; yet Nevada officials and national journalists regarded the day as a great success. A less optimistic out-of-state commentator declared that the citizens of the “so-called State of Nevada” should be mortified that their state existed only to support the “fightocracy.” Virtuous democracy, it seemed to that observer, was no rival to degenerate vice, but Nevada’s leadership insisted that they answered only to their citizens’ needs.³

By legalizing prizefighting in 1897 as an economic strategy, Nevada refused incorporation into the new moral structure of America—supported by many other states and the federal government—and frustrated the nascent Progressive movement’s struggle to redefine turn-of-the-century American society through the mechanisms of local, state, and national government.

Meg Frisbee is an assistant professor of history at Metropolitan State University of Denver.



Corbett-Fitzsimmons Championship Fight in Carson City, March 17, 1897.
(Nevada Historical Society)

The lack of a concentrated movement against legalization, and the Nevada lawmakers' own enthusiasm for or feeble rejections of this possible solution to state woes and the national popularity of the fighters themselves were key reasons for success. Nevada officials focused on the state's faltering economy and waning population as they moved forward with their plan to legalize prizefighting, and they gambled that endorsing a maligned sport was worth more to the welfare of their citizens than complying with the codes of morality causally observed but officially trumpeted by much of the rest of the nation. Along the way, women pressed for state suffrage as they moved against prizefighting. Outsiders responded to the whole affair by negatively defining Nevada, and the West's, moral character in opposition to the East, attacks that Nevadans volleyed with verve. The question of who was the best heavyweight boxer also initiated a discussion of the constitutional right of the federal government to revoke statehood in the post-Civil War era. The political and personal contests fought over Nevada's endorsement of prizefighting pitted money against Progressive morality, but morality was a luxury too precious for Nevada to afford.

During the Progressive Era, Americans reached for and embraced change while simultaneously battling against it. Historians have examined reformers' efforts to destroy traditional targets such as alcoholism and prostitution and have highlighted organized movements operating at both national and local levels that crusaded against individual and later social vice.⁴ Prizefighting was also on the reform agenda, but without an organized national movement, the clashes over major bouts almost always played out at the state and local levels. Although historians of the Progressive movement in the West have emphasized political and social changes during the period, the rejection of certain reforms also had consequences for the West. Considering the fight as a western phenomenon within the context of Progressive moral reform puts into relief the regional conflicts over reform at the turn of the twentieth century. Understanding what was at stake for Nevada's government and reputation, and exploring the state's rhetoric of defense, which was based in regional identity and political democracy, show how western culture was articulated to and perceived by Progressive outsiders aiming to unmake that culture.⁵

By creating legal recognition for prizefighting with licenses, Nevada's leaders also gave prizefighting proponents the opportunity to reshape their sport's image. Boxing and prizefighting at the turn of the twentieth century shared a relationship analogous to a wholesome boy and his wicked twin. Boxing for fitness and manly health, later endorsed by no less than President Theodore Roosevelt, held a higher social status than fighting for a prize, which reformers nationwide depicted as brutal and detested for its encouragement of gambling. The tension between the noble pursuit of boxing and the cheap entertainment of prizefighting was a core issue in the contemporary debates over prizefighting. Although plenty of professionals, such as lawyers and physicians, cheered their favorite gladiators at ringside, prizefighting supposedly appealed only to the lower classes, while the manly art of boxing was the pleasure of only the higher ranks. The division between the two became increasingly important in the 1890s as struggles over class boundaries intensified.⁶

Historians have marked the 1890s as the turning point in prizefighting's history, when prominent heavyweight fighters such as John L. Sullivan and Jim Corbett put on leather gloves, began fighting under the Marquis of Queensbury rules, and transcended the brutal trappings of the sport to become national celebrities. These first stars of the sport-entertainment business announced the rise of a new era of professional sport that appealed to a broad range of social classes. The question of race in heavyweight boxing, particularly the absence of black heavyweights from championship bouts, is also an important topic in the literature concerning the final decade of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.⁷ Scholars of the ring have also engaged the 1897 "Fight of the Century" between Corbett and Fitzsimmons as a monumental contest in sport history and as part of the

emerging entertainment media in the late nineteenth century. More recently, cinema studies scholar Dan Streible has surveyed the fight as the subject of one the first blockbuster motion pictures in U.S. history. The meanings of this fight run deep in cultural history—and in Nevada's history.⁸

CRACKDOWNS AND DOWNTURNS

Nevada's opportunity to profit from the growth of the sport resulted from successful campaigns against the fighters themselves, particularly Corbett and Fitzsimmons, throughout the nation. In October 1895, the governors of Texas and Arkansas cracked down on prizefighting when Corbett and Fitzsimmons threatened to battle for the title in their states. As a result, the reigning champion, Corbett, had retired in the fall of 1895, attributable in part to the inability of promoters to pull off a contest against the top contender, Fitzsimmons, without armed state interference. When Fitzsimmons appeared poised to evade the Texas Rangers and cross into New Mexico Territory to fight Peter Maher for the crown in February 1896, the United States Congress outlawed prizefighting in federal territories. One reason for these successes was that lawmakers were willing to make sudden and vigorous legal attacks against prizefighting, suggesting a belief that prizefighting was a politically safe target for those who wished to demonstrate their commitment to the nation's moral welfare without distressing their constituents. Prizefighting was much less economically valuable than either prostitution or liquor distribution, for example, and its prohibition would affect far fewer people than the elimination of either of the former. Because of social protest and political enforcement in the eastern and southern regions of the United States, several major heavyweight fights transpired in the West, a region that seemed to welcome or generally neglect the presence of the pugs. For Nevada, the perceived value was high enough to accept the political risk that other states would not.⁹

Nevada's legislators and boosters imagined that full hotels, busy restaurants, crowded streets, and countless words of free press would help to resuscitate their failing state. A short-term boost from prizefight tourists would immediately benefit the city that won the right to host the championship. The long-term benefits would be the number of people who relocated to Nevada on the basis of the fight reportage and the new tourism industry based on boxing events. Achieving the goals that authorities deemed vital to the state's survival outweighed the national criticism of the means to realize those ends.

Enlarging the state's permanent population was important. The exigencies of the Civil War had brought Nevada into the Union in 1864 with only about forty thousand inhabitants. Population fluctuated throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The silver strike of 1859 had attracted hordes of mineral seekers, similar to population booms accompanying strikes in

California, Colorado, Montana, Arizona, and Idaho. Typical in American mining frontiers, the miners and the complementary industries that they drew stayed only as long as the boom lasted. In 1890, Nevada numbered slightly more than forty-five thousand people, about 25 percent fewer inhabitants than in 1880. It was the least populous state in the Union, a serious cause for concern among state leaders. The state's economic enterprises held no promise for population growth.¹⁰

Nevada's economic condition entwined with larger national matters, creating the conditions for the prizefight to occur. The nation, and Nevada, were slow to recover from the Panic of 1893. The state's economic decline in the 1890s conditioned much of the population to favor salvation in almost any form. With mining in jeopardy, the only major industry upholding the state's economy was ranching, but the cattle industry slumped in the 1890s as well. A national agricultural surplus contributed to the problem by deflating the value of the beeves in the stockyards. Without increased demand and more water, a constant concern in the West, ranching could not expand to replace mining as Nevada's leading industry.¹¹

The downturn of Nevada's two major industries sent officials of the sparsely populated state scrambling to retain and eventually increase the size of their citizenry in the middle of a national economic depression. They seized on a business with growing popularity but decreasing support from state and federal regulators. Sportswriter and prizefight referee George Siler summed up the situation: "With a population of less than 60,000 and a hopeless insolvency, the Sage Hen State opened her wide arms and welcomed [prizefighting]."¹²

Legalized prizefighting was only one point in a state economic strategy that attempted to capitalize on nationally scorned behaviors. Nevada was already a target in the sights of reformers when the controversy over prizefighting began. Games of chance in the state were legal in 1897 (although they would briefly be unlawful in the early twentieth century), and the state legislature would soon make it easier to obtain a divorce. The argument for Nevada's open stance on controversial issues such as prizefighting, gambling, and divorce has been attributed to a lack of a traditional moral society. However, Nevada had struck out against opium smoking, a vice associated with the Chinese population. Prizefighting was more closely associated with class than race; its faults were those of the poor and uneducated, a group too large, too varied, and too white to suppress easily.¹³

Nevada, a relatively isolated western place, encouraged—with restrictions—this vice that urban moralizers denounced. The state stood in the precarious position of endorsing and defending supposed vice, an unlikely scenario in Progressive America. The social and political drama swirling around Corbett and Fitzsimmons ensured that the contest in Nevada would absorb national attention from observers with little interest in the punching

power of two half-naked men. Nevadans were outliers in a nation fixated on instituting white middle-class morality consistent with the Progressive movement. To compete for population from the rest of the Union, Nevada lawmakers and opinion makers set the state apart from it.

LEGALIZATION

Several important conditions would have to take root for the project to flourish. The state legislature would have to pass a licensing bill. Once the bill became law, all interested parties would have to choose a suitable fight location. The chosen site would then have to construct an arena and prepare for the onslaught of visitors. Given that the bill was not introduced until late January of 1897 and the fight was scheduled for mid March, the entire process had to conclude in just a few weeks. The speedy resolution of each of these matters demonstrated the steadfastness of Nevada's course and the weight of its peril.

Passing the bill and preparing the town for the contest required a concerted effort among Nevada politicians, businessmen, and outsiders—what critics had labeled the fightocracy. The term suggested that a foundational American philosophy had been upset and the people were at the mercy of personal, political, and business interests. Nevada's Governor Reinhold Sadler had little to say in public about the prizefight bill, and what he did say favored the fight, an approach that would make him suspect to foes. Legislators, such as Senator Charles Greene of White Pine County, combated criticism from constituents who believed their representatives had betrayed voters by backing prizefighting. Joseph Grandelmyre of Hamilton accused Greene of allowing Nevada to have what other states "puke up."¹⁴ The leading Carson City businessman Al Livingston was also a target, for he not only supported the fight, but also stood to have his barrooms profit from it. Livingston also suffered attacks as Christian moralizers blamed Jews for furthering the fighters' cause. Finally, the editors of Carson City's *Morning Appeal* newspaper consistently defended the contest and those who planned it.¹⁵

To orchestrate the entire affair came promoter Dan Stuart, the presiding member of the fightocracy. He had tried for two years to match the two big fighters and risked the ire of governors and reformers throughout the nation in the attempt. This individual exercised far more power over the moral direction of Nevada than any group of reformers could hope to do. Stuart's careful machinations were essential to legalizing prizefighting in Nevada and to persuading Corbett to come out of retirement and fight there. Stuart's three-year odyssey to match Corbett and Fitzsimmons would finally end, and Nevada's long relationship with legal prizefighting would begin. Although the creation, promotion, and staging of the fight were not the crushing conspiracy that critics might have imagined, forces in the state did have to come together to drive each phase.¹⁶

A state-issued license would ensure the legality of a prizefight, guaranteeing Stuart's enterprise and legitimating the sport at the same time. Assembly Bill No. 8, "An Act to Restrict and License Glove Contests between Man and Man," satisfied both the state and the promoter. The anti-prizefight contingent that might have approached the state to challenge Stuart would have had no legal direction in which to turn. After the bill's passage, local, state, and national debates revealed the complex problems surrounding morals legislation. Not even church officials could agree universally to condemn Nevada without considering the implied criticism of the American system of political representation, even if it seemed to be a fightocracy.

The plan to issue glove-contest licenses met with little vocal opposition from inside the Nevada legislature. The vote within the legislature, although not unanimous, was certainly swift. Assemblymen and senators who disagreed with the proposal nevertheless expended little energy to defeat it, implying that this cultural territory was not worth the effort to maintain. The first version of the bill was introduced on January 25, 1897. The vote in the Assembly was twenty to nine for approval, with one abstention. On January 29, the Senate voted nine to six for adoption. The final glove-contest license required applicants to pay a \$1,000 fee, which would bring immediate revenue to the state's coffers. Governor Sadler signed the bill on January 29. Sadler, who was both the acting governor and the president of the Senate as lieutenant governor in 1897, offered little support or opposition, but declared that he was enacting the will of the people. The public he served lacked the righteous wrath that urged Charles Culberson, governor of Texas, to pass a prohibition of prizefighting. Soon after the Nevada bill was passed, back-room political dealing won Carson City the privilege of hosting the fight.¹⁷

Historical records attest to support for the bill in Nevada, and social-class themes echoed throughout the arguments backing it. Telegrams from concerned citizens reportedly favored the bill sixteen to one. If, through licensing, combat for money could be made to reflect the ideals of the people who set the standards for respectability, then these battles of man against man would be almost inoffensive. If the pugilists achieved civility, they would become skilled craftsmen with a trade and belong to a system that used bureaucratic measures such as licensing to create distinctions between laborers. The bill's proponents noted that working-class men seemed to brawl with little regard for the orderly training, tactical forethought, and ring decorum worshipped by the higher social classes. One commentator pointed out that while bare-knuckle contests were demoralizing, the new scientific glove matches, properly conducted, were acceptable to respectable society. If the anticipated rush of licensees appeared, then Nevada citizens would receive a financial boon and improve the image of prizefighting.¹⁸

Local voices from the pulpit warned Nevadans about immoral behavior, but without much vigor. Resistance mounted by churches seemed feeble in the face of the popular enthusiasm inspired by the pending prizefight. Local

Methodist and Presbyterian preachers unequivocally opposed the fight as immoral and un-Christian. The evangelical reformist vision of heaven on earth had no place for a terrestrial den of iniquity, but the Catholic Church took a conservative approach to matters. One prominent local representative of the Catholic viewpoint, Father Daniel Gartland of St. Theresa's Church in Carson City, backed the state government. He suggested that the legislature and the governor had to represent the will of the majority, and he cautioned critics that the governor had the state's best interests in mind. He also compared the relatively benign nature of boxing to the brutality of college football, a rhetorical strategy popular with prizefighting's defenders. As their varied reactions show, Christian churches did not provide clear guidance.¹⁹

BOXING AND THE BALLOT BOX

Perhaps women, the other moral North Star of the Progressives, would organize a forceful opposition, even if they could not vote. Some women were certainly indignant, but their tactic reflected traditional reform methods and indicated that they believed the fight was beyond their power to control. At their meeting, a local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) agreed to make a demonstration against the St. Patrick's Day boxing match. The group planned to have a church bell rung in defiance during the fight. (The WCTU made a concerted effort to eliminate prizefighting after 1897.) The WCTU had already enjoyed some success in regulating vice in the Nevada capital, in one case, helping to secure passage of legislation that prohibited legislators from drinking at work. But to defeat the fight, they would have had to prevent a bill rather than encourage one. Proscribing objectionable behavior that promised to improve the state's economic condition was beyond the organization's political reach. Other women's clubs that might have stirred objection were few in Nevada at that time, and the small female population was relatively isolated. Despite the WCTU and other protesters, prizefighters could legally step into a Nevada ring. Once the glove-contest bill passed, no discussion could divert Corbett and Fitzsimmons from their planned collision, and no individual or body within or outside the state threatened more than passive demonstrations. Without the right to vote, female protesters had little political leverage.²⁰

Why would a western state struggling for national prominence choose brutal boxing between men over the nurturing of Victorian women? The suffrage movement earned new supporters by aligning the vote with women's role as protector of public virtue. Enfranchised women might vote against degenerate pursuits such as prizefighting. Although not directly engaged in the debate over pugilism nationally, suffragists focused their efforts on Nevada in early 1897.²¹

The National Woman Suffrage Association determined to shift its political efforts away from the eastern states to those in the western states in 1897. Nevada was on the list of "battleground" states. In an address to the group, Susan B. Anthony proposed several reasons for focusing on the West: Eastern people were too conservative; the West had more English-speaking people, who were the only group to have improved the lives of women; and the people of the West were more intelligent than easterners, primarily because most western settlers had been the educated children of good eastern families. Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado had experimented with equal suffrage, but, as one scholar has observed, the frontier was closed, and the West was no longer a viable place for utopian visions such as political equality. No new states fully enfranchised women between 1896 and 1910.²²

Nevada proved to be a hopeful disappointment. Efforts to gain the franchise for Nevada's women began in 1869, but it took twenty-six years to push a bill through the legislature. Passing in 1895 was a bill that would have granted equal suffrage, but the state constitution required the incoming legislature to authorize it. On February 16, 1897, the day Corbett arrived in Carson City, the Assembly voted sixteen to fourteen against women's suffrage. The next evening, the final count was fifteen to fifteen, meaning that the bill failed. In 1899, suffragists tried to amend the state constitution by striking the word *male* wherever it occurred in the document. That endeavor failed with a tie vote as well. The legislature addressed women's suffrage at least thirteen times between 1869 and 1914, when a constitutional amendment finally gave women the vote.²³

The prizefighting proposal was more conservative than the push to enfranchise women, a move that threatened to reorder society rather than simply compound the immorality of it. The *Nevada State Journal* ran a column, apparently without the playful irony endemic in the Nevada press, suggesting that female suffrage and legalized prizefighting would both be good for the state. The editorial noted that both avenues, once legalized, would bring improvements to the state, but few others took up that logic. Peter Filene has argued that the popularity of organized spectator sport in the late nineteenth century grew partly from the need of white middle-class males to act out aggression and win victories. In Nevada, the male world of politics, where hostility, winning, and losing were daily occurrences, was an even more sacred male space than the arena of physical aggression. The legislature may have been able to vote against the women's assault on their hold on political power, but when profit was a consideration, women invaded men's territory much more easily. Dan Stuart determined that women would watch the fight from the same seats as men, as long as they had a ticket.²⁴

THE FIGHT

The composition of the crowd at the fight and those milling about the proceedings suggests the great strength of the sport's appeal. The assortment of people at the pavilion that day indicates that the attraction of prizefights went far beyond working-class white men, the cohort that often bore the brunt of criticism for popularizing prizefighting. Certainly, that class and others below it were represented, but a festival atmosphere also brought together a wide range of society to participate in the scene. In that regard, Corbett, Fitzsimmons, and the fightocracy were a strangely democratizing force, although the coarse and even alien group that gravitated to the ring were the people who seemed to threaten social stability. "Stolid" Paiutes and "somnolent" Washoes wandered among the crowds in the days before the fight. Reporters contrasted the Indians with the Chinese, who were "chattering like magpies." The people also reflected the western economy. Miners from the Comstock and farm families meandered about inside and outside the arena.²⁵ Former Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas saw in the "huge bowl" amphitheater "average American citizens, miners, merchants, farmers, cowboys, ranchmen, lawyers, with some toughs and crooks."²⁶ Bat Masterson prowled for criminals and Wyatt Earp scratched down notes for newspaper articles.²⁷ The fight itself was well worth the trials faced by statesmen, promoters, and pugilists, but was as bloody as moralists had warned.

Under a clear, crisp sky at a few minutes past noon on March 17, 1897, ring announcer Billy Madden introduced Corbett and Fitzsimmons. Stoked by three years of animosity that included uncounted insults, a tweaked nose, and a refused handshake, the two fighters were more than ready to knock each other out. Fans, among them gamblers worldwide, shared the fighters' passion. Since January 29, the day that Governor Sadler approved the bill legalizing prizefighting, audiences inside and outside the state, as well as across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, had awaited the "Fight of the Century." Boxing's world heavyweight championship was to be decided in this obscure western town.

Both men displayed their strengths in the first five rounds. Fitzsimmons fought aggressively, breaking his thumb in the first. Corbett ducked and fainted early, but landed solid hits as the pace picked up in the third and fourth rounds. Both men tried to gain an advantage in clinches, and after breaking away, Fitzsimmons found space to smile and throw glances at Rose. In the fifth, when Corbett opened wounds on his opponent's face and head, Corbett looked to have the best of the gore-encrusted Fitzsimmons as the gong sounded the end of the round.²⁸ In the sixth, Fitzsimmons's blood flowed freely as he tried to strike blows in a clinch. Corbett worked his advantage, landing uppercuts on the face and short hits on the body. Finally, a right connected solidly with Fitz's mouth, making him reel. To avoid a heavy swing, Fitz clinched, but he continued to take punishment. As Corbett freed himself from

a clinch, he landed a blow that burst open more of Fitz's face and knocked the challenger down to his right knee. Corbett pulled back his bloody glove, but did not return to his corner for the count. According to Corbett, referee Siler started his count late, and Fitzsimmons crouched on the ground for more than the ten seconds required to score a victory by technical knockout. This discussion was academic; the men carried on.²⁹

In the fourteenth, Fitz marched to the center of the ring with confidence while Corbett's vigor appeared to have faded. After Corbett landed a quick left, Fitz began to pound his opponent's face and head with both hands. They exchanged hooks and uppercuts before clinching. After breaking away, the balding, gangly Fitzsimmons shifted his right foot forward and shot a left to the stomach just below the heart. Corbett crumpled. He could not rise until well past the ten-count. Siler reached down and touched Corbett's shoulder to let him know that it was over. Fitz had scored a knockout with the so-called solar-plexus punch that would become his hallmark. Upon his victory, Fitz leaned through the ropes and kissed Rose, "leaving a little group of red stains upon her trembling lips." He was now the heavyweight champion of the world.³⁰

Despite all the blood, the degree of violence at the boxing match was less than some critics had anticipated. For Senator Ingalls, the fact that the violence was premeditated seemed to be the most irritating aspect of the event. Although he founded his original disdain for prizefighting in the common rhetoric that it was brutal and morally evil, his ongoing disregard stemmed from a nearly reversed evaluation. The senator concluded that the whole spectacle had the air of theater. The fighters were "grotesque" in their breechcloths, stockings, and flat-soled shoes, and he compared the duel to a "comic opera." He believed that neither Corbett nor Fitzsimmons seemed particularly anxious to hit the other: "The object apparently was to avoid rather than inflict injury." The tameness of the whole affair in and out of the ring led Ingalls to resolve that no man's or woman's morals could ever be imperiled by the prosaic industry of prizefighting. In this formulation, male and female morality was equalized. While not necessarily complimentary, this analysis provided no support to those reformers who hoped to eliminate the profession of prizefighter.³¹

Although witnesses minimized the viciousness of the fight and tried to compare it favorably to bullfighting and college football, no evidence appeared to shake the faith of prizefighting foes, who stressed its basic brutality. The pervasive round-by-round accounts that appeared in newspapers across the country rarely skimmed on the grisly details, and activists were as ruffled as ever. Yet Corbett and Fitzsimmons both left Nevada without the pressure of a militia at their backs, and they later climbed into other rings in other states, such as California and New York. Prizefighting, it seemed, would go on and would have a bright reputation in Nevada. The state, however, still faced intense national scrutiny as Americans articulated biases and assumptions about Nevada and one another in the context of the fight.

REGIONAL CONFLICT

Nevada's decision to legalize the sport stimulated a broad public conversation about differences in American society that debaters often couched in terms of sectional East and West. Both sides employed sectional language, but westerners addressed the entire *East* more than easterners would use the term to describe themselves. The eastern press focused chiefly on the state of Nevada rather than the entire western region. One Massachusetts editorialist noted that Nevada had "won the reputation of being the lowest in the rank of intelligence and decency among American States," decency apparently outranking solvency.³²

Local newsmen in Nevada gleefully castigated eastern states for their moral duplicity concerning prizefighting. In the process, they also claimed a particularly western American identity for themselves. The *Carson Morning Appeal* framed passage of the glove-contest bill as a snub of the East, the "land of the goldbug and the money shark, and the 'old and effete East,' the mythical seat of culture and refinement and morality." How could a region that glorified brutal football question the morality of western states, asked the author of a column entitled "A Sensible View." The *Reno Evening Gazette*, although less vociferous in the fight's defense than the Carson papers, also stood up to the hypocrisy of the rest of nation. In an especially cutting column, one editor noted, "The Southern States have the latest styles in lynchings, but not one of them would tolerate a prize fight."³³ Observers concerned with the economy expressed sectional resentment during the debate and brought the federal government into the equation. This writer did not equivocate about the disparity between East and West and the true source of the divide:

If Congress would favor Nevada one-hundredth part as much as it does New England, there would be no cause for complaint about its scant population.... If New England was treated as Nevada is by the General Government, it would not have ten inhabitants to the square mile, and Boston would be abandoned to the owls and bats.³⁴

While Nevadans blamed government for their condition, Progressives increasingly relied on the state to combat the evils they identified. A government supported by moral cancers such as prizefighting posed a greater long-term threat to the over-all progressive reform mission than two men fighting in a ring ever could. The widely covered events in Nevada from January through March invited negative attention on a grand scale that might have endangered Nevada's existence as a state and the viability of other states undergoing similar decline. One common solution to the problem posed by Nevada and others involved the reformers' turn to the federal government to effect change. If federal legislation could target specific groups or institutions for reform, then it might also be employed to reform an entire state in a single stroke.³⁵

After the Civil War, federal control over states and citizens increased. Late-nineteenth-century reformers tried to focus the federal government's new-found legal strength on the immorality they saw festering in Nevada. Their solution was to reduce Nevada's share in national governance. A columnist in the *Chicago Tribune* suggested that Congress had the power to "deal with" a state that had few prospects and was "flickering out." The federal government should strip Nevada and Wyoming of statehood if no improvements appeared by 1900. A column in the *Congregationalist* lamented that the Constitution afforded no power to cast out a state for encouraging prizefighting and other offenses. The author of a piece suggesting "the cup of Nevada's delinquency" was now full urging Congress to amend the Constitution so that a state that lost 25 percent or more of its population over a ten-year period and had fewer than half the number of citizens required for a single congressional representative during a twenty-year period would revert to territorial status. An alternate proposal suggested barring the state's delegation from Congress until such time that the population increased significantly. (A proponent of this course noted that while Delaware had earned statehood despite a low population that did not increase considerably, it could not be denied, as it was one of the thirteen original colonies, and therefore part of the unassailable East.) These ideas were never enacted, but they show that citizens believed that the federal government was ultimately more powerful than the states.³⁶

Rescue through legal or social means, a favorite avenue of many Progressives, was rarely discussed. While people in precarious circumstances, such as the urban poor, might be uplifted through social programs, the whole of Nevada's populace became abstract in the 1897 statehood debate. Once legal instruments to punish or preserve Nevada became the answer, discussion of changing the people within the state, and their potential for reform, was lost in a hail of statistical benchmarks for American civilization.

Nevada did have a defender in the debate initiated by the boxing match. William E. Smythe, friend to Nevada Congressman Francis G. Newlands and booster for Nevada and western irrigation, placed the state's difficulties with population and productivity in a particular western regional context familiar to early inhabitants and twenty-first century denizens of the trans-Mississippi West: aridity. He noted that 95 percent of the state was public land, but that national disinterest in irrigation reform proposed by Newlands, who would succeed with his reclamation act in 1902, had doomed any possible growth of agriculture. Corporate reconstruction or internal imperialism was one solution to dry land. Smythe suggested that "districts" might be granted to organizations, such as the Salvation Army, that "might reclaim and colonize them in cooperation with philanthropic persons." Smythe believed that regardless of the strategy, saving Nevada should be a national project bringing together the East and the West and "developing a better understanding between the sections." His solution to sectional conflict was not to unite East and West but to have the two sections better

appreciate the variations between them. Whatever the idea, some people in the late nineteenth century understood sectional division in culture and environment and wanted to negotiate rather than level the differences.³⁷

Sectional distinctions were gauged not only by physical environment or penchant for physical culture, but also by the complicated measure of virtue. A moderate observer pointed out that the press was at fault for promoting fistic contests while it also cynically printed screeds against them. The Nevada legislature, although disgraceful in action, was at least "manly" in intention and had not joined in the hypocrisy of the "effete" eastern press.³⁸ The West may not have been "good," but at least it was honest. Measuring which was more important in the Progressive Era is difficult. The values of these two ideals, one symbolized by a state characterized by its "westernness" and the other most strongly represented by voices from eastern states, came into conflict over prizefighting. Despite the spirited tone of attack and able defense, nothing came of weeks of public debate over Nevada, and outraged Americans turned their attention to other social, political, and economic ills. Nevada's honest approach to vice would of course earn it hot recriminations from moralists in the twentieth century and beyond.

Nevada's officials did not care whether critics thought their state morally "good"; instead they focused on whether the state had successfully advertised itself to prospective residents. The barrage of condemnation did not dissuade curious outsiders who seemed to value land and opportunity over propriety. Several letters referring to the fight arrived in the offices of the governor from the end of January to late March 1897; their contents revealed division over the use of prizefighting as a promotional tool for a state. From Massachusetts came a letter chastising Sadler for contributing to the demoralization of young men and judging "the whole affair disgusting in the extreme." A man from Prescott, Arizona, compared Governor Sadler to Nero watching as Rome burned with the fuel of his own kindling and drew parallels between Sadler and Nero as he fed Christians to the lions.³⁹ Most missives to the governor did not contain tidings like the one comparing Nevada to the Roman Empire; rather, they were evidence that the coming fight was directly serving the state's broader purpose. "By seeing so much in the papers about the fight I would like some information as to your state," wrote a man from St. Louis who was interested in a new home for his family. Governor Sadler himself earned praise. A lawyer in Cincinnati, whose business had become "dull," queried Sadler about job prospects in Nevada after getting a "most favorable impression of [Sadler] through the daily papers."⁴⁰

RESULTS

Population statistics offer concrete evidence that the free promotional press accompanying legalized prizefighting did not bring the hoped-for hordes of permanent settlers. The federal census counted only 42,335 people

in Nevada in 1900, a decrease of about 6 percent from 1890. An occasional prizefight of international importance was hardly enough to reverse the effects of the decline of industries that had employed people year-round. Although the masses did not materialize in the expected numbers, trainloads of spectators rolled into town, and prominent national newspapers opened temporary satellite offices in Carson City. Most important, some people from other states did become interested in relocating to Nevada. The state also won the opportunity to host future fights that were to improve its tourist industry and help secure the immediate future of the Far West as the capital for major championship matches.⁴¹

"The battle, undoubtedly, was the most important and the most talked of in American history of the ring."⁴² George Siler's statement about the Corbett-Fitzsimmons prizefight in Carson City contained more truth than he perhaps intended. Countless words were certainly written about every aspect of the fight, from Rose's colorful coaching to Nevada's pact with profligacy and the fightocracy. Americans spoke of the fight as a test of the nation's commitment to standards of class behavior, and Nevada's citizens engaged and defied the tide of Progressive change rushing over the nation. Defending their actions in terms of region rather than behavior, they cited their position as a western state at the mercy of the eastern establishment, and ignored local opposition. The state's brave posture joined that of other states in all regions in the controversy over national morality. The debate and resolution of Nevada's fight to host the world heavyweight championship demonstrated that economic crisis trumped the threat of the nation's eastern-based moral police, reaffirming that middle-class American morality was not a sweeping, unbeatable force even as it climbed toward the heights of its political influence in the early twentieth century. In Nevada, outside interests conspired with local power to thwart the moral Progressives.

NOTES

¹"Fitzsimmons in 14 Rounds," *Carson Morning Appeal* (18 March 1897), p. 1; Robert H. Davis, *"Ruby Robert" Alias Bob Fitzsimmons* (New York: George H. Doran, 1926), 63.

²James J. Corbett, *The Roar of the Crowd: The True Tale of the Rise and Fall of a Champion* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), 264.

³"Public Interest in the Fight," *Chicago Tribune* (19 March 1897), p. 6.

⁴See, for example, Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in American, 1900–1918* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); and Barbara M. Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). Works on temperance and prohibition include Thomas R. Pegram, *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800–1933* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998); Richard F. Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture, and Polity, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989); and James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963). In addition, historians have studied renewed vigor in the evangelical crusades against sinful and impure behaviors. Monographs discussing evangelical social reform include Susan Curtis, *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001); Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890–1914* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1967); and Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865–1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940). Activities of the urban contingent of purity reformers are described in David J. Pivar, *The Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1860–1900*, Contributions in American History, no. 23 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973).

⁵Examples of scholarship on the Progressive West include Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951); William Francis Deverell and Tom Sitton, eds., *California Progressivism Revisited* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Robert W. Cherny, *Populism, Progressivism, and the Transformation of Nebraska Politics, 1885–1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981); Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); and John C. Putnam, *Class and Gender Politics in Progressive-Era Seattle* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2008). For examples of western city leaders who were unenthusiastic about stamping out sin, see Ann R. Gabbert, "Prostitution and Moral Reform in the Borderlands: El Paso, 1890–1920," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 12 (October 2003), 575–604. Conservation is also an important theme for the Progressive West. See, for example, Samuel Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

⁶An excellent discussion of gender and race in the early modern prize ring is in Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). The pugilist Mike Donovan personally trained Roosevelt in the manly art. Mike Donovan, *The Roosevelt That I Know: Ten Years of Boxing with the President and Memories of Other Famous Fighting Men* (New York: B.W. Dodge, 1909).

⁷Elliot Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bareknuckle Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Jeffrey T. Sammons, *The Role of Boxing in American Society* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Kasia Boddy, *Boxing: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008); Louis M. Moore, "Liberty Has Come but Not Yet the Manhood It Was to Give: Black Prizefighters, Migration, and Racial and Class Tensions in Black America, 1882–1915" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 2008); Geoffrey C. Ward, *Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson* (New York: Knopf, 2004); David K. Wiggins, "Peter Jackson and the Elusive Heavyweight Championship: A Black Athlete's Struggle against the Late Nineteenth-Century Color Line," *Journal of Sport History*, 12 (Summer 1985): 143–68.

⁸Armond Fields, *James J. Corbett: A Biography of a Heavyweight Boxing Champion and Popular Theater Actor* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001); Nat Fleischer, "Gentleman Jim": *The Story of James*

J. Corbett (New York: Nat Fleischer, 1942); Adam J. Pollack, *In the Ring with James J. Corbett* (Iowa City: Win by KO, 2007); (*idem*, *In the Ring with Bob Fitzsimmons* (Iowa City: Win by KO, 2008); Dan Streible, *Fight Pictures: A History of Boxing and Early Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

⁹For Corbett and Fitzsimmons's troubles in Arkansas and Texas, see, respectively, Larry D. Ball, "Redeemed, Regenerated, and Disenthralled," *The Record* (Garland County Historical Society), 1977, 15–25; and Leo N. Miletich, *Dan Stuart's Fistic Carnival* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994). "To Prohibit Prizefighting in the Territories and in the District of Columbia," H.R. 5566, 54th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record*, 28 (5 February 1896): H 1339. New York had passed the Horton Law in 1896 to legalize sparring exhibitions; the law allowed prizefights in practice, but the state could not host a championship of this magnitude. No one would believe that the Fight of the Century was a gentlemanly sparring match. Steven Riess, "In the Ring and Out: Professional Boxing in New York, 1896–1920," in *Sport in America: New Historical Perspectives*, Donald Spivey, ed. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 95–128.

¹⁰Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890, Part I* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), xliii. For mining, see Rodman W. Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848–1880*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

¹¹Russell R. Elliott and William D. Rowley, *History of Nevada*, 2d ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 173. For more information on Nevada's early history, see Gilman M. Ostrander, *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough, 1859–1964* (New York: Knopf, 1966); James W. Hulse, *The Silver State*, 2d ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998); Mary Ellen Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada, 1892–1902* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969).

¹²George Siler and Lou M. Houseman, *The "Fight of the Century": Being a Review of the World's Heavyweight Championship Contest between Robert Fitzsimmons and James J. Corbett at Carson City, Nev., March 17th 1897* (Chicago: W. J. Jefferson Printing, 1897), i. The number sixty thousand is likely a reference to the Northwest Ordinance, which suggests that a territory needs sixty thousand inhabitants to move toward statehood.

¹³Elliott and Rowley, *History of Nevada*, 380; Diana L. Ahmad, "To Preserve Moral Virtue: Opium Smoking in Nevada and the Pressure for Chinese Exclusion," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 41:3 (Fall 1998): 141–68. For the divorce industry in Nevada, see Nelson Manfred Blake, *The Road to Reno: A History of Divorce in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1962); and Glenda Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹⁴"A Couple of Open Letters," *Reno Evening Gazette* (22 February 1897), p. 3.

¹⁵John P. Marschall, *Jews in Nevada: A History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2008), 143; "All Agog," *Carson Morning Appeal* (10 February 1897), p. 3. For an example of pro-fight editorials, see "The Glove Contest Bill," *Carson Morning Appeal* (27 January 1897), p. 3.

¹⁶Stuart's career as a promoter is most carefully documented in Miletich, *Dan Stuart's Fistic Carnival*.

¹⁷*Journal of the Assembly*, 18th sess. (1897), p. 27; *ibid.*, 1st sess. (1864–1865), Article 19; *Journal of the Senate*, 18th sess. (1897), p. 30; *Journal of the Assembly*, 18th sess. (1897), p. 31; *Nevada State Journal* (27 January 1897), p. 3, (30 January 1897), p. 2; *National Police Gazette*, "Getting the Battle-Ground Ready" (20 February 1897), p. 7; "Carson the Place," *Carson Morning Appeal* (12 February 1897), p. 3.

¹⁸*Journal of the Assembly*, 18th sess. (1897), p. 42; "Glove Contest," *Reno Evening Gazette* (25 January 1897), p. 3.

¹⁹*Reese River Reveille* [Austin, Nev.] (13 March 1897), p. 4.

²⁰"Father Gartland on the Fight," *Carson Morning Appeal* (2 February 1897), p. 1; Book of Minutes, 10-17-93 to 1-18-98, p. 105, Box 1, Minutes, Constitution and By-Laws, Articles of Incorporation and Rosters, Women's Christian Temperance Union Records, Nevada Historical Society, Reno; Guy Rocha, Nevada State Archivist, telephone interview by author, July 9, 2008; Sam P. Davis, ed., *The History of Nevada*, vol. 2 (1913; reprint, Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1984), 771, 778. For more information on the Women's Christian Temperance Union, see Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).

²¹Davis, *History of Nevada*, 783.

²²"Woman Suffrage Policy," *New York Times* (31 January 1897), p. 5; "Hope Is in the West,"

Chicago Tribune (26 January 1897), p. 8; Beverly Beeton, *Women Vote in the West: The Woman Suffrage Movement, 1869–1896* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 150.

²³Ann Warren Smith, “Anne Martin and a History of Woman Suffrage in Nevada, 1869–1914” (Ph.D. diss., University of Nevada, Reno, 1976), 8; Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1869–1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 159–60; *Journals of Alfred Doten* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), Walter Van Tilburg Clark, ed., pp. 1942, 2021; *Political History of Nevada*, 10th ed. (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1997), 94.

²⁴“The Prizefight and Equal Suffrage Going Hand in Hand with Great Hopes for the Future,” *Nevada State Journal* (7 February 1897), p. 3; Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Gender Identities in Modern America*, 3d ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 100–101.

²⁵Siler and Houseman, *Fight of the Century*, 32; “The Eve of the Battle,” *Carson City Morning Appeal* (17 March 1897), p. 3. For a broad discussion of spectators and behavior, see Allan Guttman, *Sports Spectators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

²⁶John J. Ingalls, “As Seen by John James Ingalls,” *Chicago Tribune* (18 March 1897), p. 2.

²⁷“Fitzsimmons in 14 Rounds”; “Detectives to Shadow the Crooks” *Chicago Tribune* (17 March 1897), p. 2; “The Eve of the Battle.”

²⁸*Carson Morning Appeal* (18 March 1897), pp. 1, 2. Complete round-by-round accounts of the fight were widely available in the major newspapers of the day.

²⁹Corbett, *Roar of the Crowd*, 263; “Wanted the Advantage,” *Carson Morning Appeal* (20 March 1897), p. 3; George Siler, *Inside Facts on Pugilism* (Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1907), 23; William A. Brady, *The Fighting Man* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merill, 1916), 150.

³⁰*Carson Morning Appeal* (18 March 1897), p. 2; Davis, “Ruby Robert,” 63. The *San Francisco Examiner* also reported the red kiss. “Lanky Bob Is Champion of the World,” *San Francisco Examiner* (18 March 1897), p. 4.

³¹Ingalls, “As Seen by John James Ingalls”; *idem.*, “Fight Is in Nowise Degrading,” *Chicago Tribune* (19 March 1897), p. 3; *idem.*, “Ingalls on Prize-Fighting,” *Washington Post* (17 March 1897), p. 2.

³²“As Others See Us,” *Boston Advertiser*, reprinted in the *Nevada State Journal* (19 February 1897), p. 2.

³³“A Sensible View,” *Carson Morning Appeal* (10 February 1897), p. 2; *Reno Evening Gazette* (9 February 1897), p. 2.

³⁴“Surveyor General’s Report,” *Nevada State Journal* (23 January 1897), p. 2.

³⁵For an excellent discussion of local, state, and federal government in this period, see Ballard C. Campbell, *The Growth of American Government: Governance from the Cleveland Era to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

³⁶“How To Deal with Nevada,” *Chicago Tribune*, reprinted in *Reno Evening Gazette* (6 April 1897), p. 3; “The Blot on the Escutcheon,” *Congregationalist* (25 March 1897), p. 405; H. M. J., “The Obligations of Statehood,” *Outlook* (27 March 1897), p. 858; “The Nevada Problem,” *Chicago Tribune* (17 May 1897), p. 6.

³⁷William E. Smythe, “Shall Nevada Be Deprived of Statehood?” *Forum* (April 1897), 228, 236. A classic work defining the West through its semi-arid environment is Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

³⁸“Dr. Funk on Prize Fighting,” *Washington Post* (28 May 1897), p. 6; “What Nevada Needs,” *Washington Post* (16 April 1897), p. 6; “A Word about Public Morals,” *Michigan Farmer* (6 February 1897), 106. For a succinct summary of Nevada’s territorial and early statehood period, see *Political History of Nevada*.

³⁹J. W. Otis to Reinhold Sadler, March 18, 1897, and H. Leonard to Reinhold Sadler, March 18, 1897, both in folder 21, box 2, Governor Sadler Incoming Correspondence, Executive Records, Nevada State Library and Archives, Carson City [hereafter cited as Sadler Correspondence].

⁴⁰B. F. Brunk to Reinhold Sadler, February 22, 1897, and E. R. Van Martels to Reinhold Sadler, February 25, 1897, both in folder 20, box 2, Sadler Correspondence.

⁴¹*Twelfth Census of the United States: Population, Part 1, States and Territories* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 2.

⁴²Siler, *Inside Facts on Pugilism*, 108.

“A Real Man Among Men”
How Republicans Helped Democrat Mike O’Callaghan
Win the 1970 Nevada Governor’s Race

WILLIAM CLAYSON

Richard Nixon flew to Las Vegas on Halloween Day of 1970 to conclude a last-minute campaign swing in his first midterm election. The crowd at McCarran Airport was typical for a Nixon rally. Most came to show support for Nixon and his personally selected candidates for state office, but a vocal minority jeered the president for his recent escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. One local schoolteacher held aloft a large sign reading, “Nixon Go Home,” adorned with a swastika in place of the “x.” The president stepped through the door of Air Force One, gave his signature two-handed “V” for victory wave, and walked down to the tarmac where Bill Raggio, candidate for United States Senate, stood smiling, awaiting the opportunity to shake Nixon’s hand. The election loomed just two days hence, and Nixon hoped a presidential visit would boost Raggio’s chances to unseat popular Democratic Senator Howard Cannon.¹

As Raggio climbed into Nixon’s limousine for the ride to the Las Vegas Convention Center, he knew that he would likely lose on the following Tuesday. Cannon had been in the Senate since 1959 and fit a profile shared by many successful Nevada politicians. He was a socially conservative Democrat, a Mormon, and a decorated military veteran. He hailed from fast-growing

William Clayson, a veteran of the war in Afghanistan, teaches history at Collin College in Frisco, Texas. He extends his thanks and warmest regards to his many friends at the College of Southern Nevada for all they do to make Las Vegas a better place to live.

southern Nevada and had a reputation for delivering federal dollars to the state. Knowing his chances against such a formidable senatorial candidate were slight, Raggio had initially considered a run for governor. But Nixon personally selected Raggio as the candidate with the best chance to unseat Cannon. Raggio believed he had a fairly good chance to win the governorship, but was a smart enough politician to know that any Republican was doomed to lose in a race against Cannon.²

The next morning, a photo of Nixon appeared on the cover of the Sunday edition of the *Las Vegas Sun*. Alongside the story of the president's visit, the editors listed the paper's endorsements and a story about the GOP gubernatorial candidate, Lieutenant Governor Ed Fike. Although the *Sun's* publisher, Hank Greenspun, was a registered Republican, the paper endorsed a slate of Democrats. The *Sun* endorsed Cannon, veteran Congressman Walter Baring, and underdog gubernatorial candidate Donal "Mike" O'Callaghan. While the *Sun* endorsed Cannon and Baring to preserve seniority in the state's congressional delegation, the paper endorsed O'Callaghan because Fike was "disqualified by law" to hold public office. The nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson had recently accused Fike of corruption for his participation in questionable land deals related to the Colorado River Commission.³

The *Sun's* endorsement of O'Callaghan, however, went far beyond exposing Fike's alleged wrongdoing. The editorial staff of the *Sun*, under Greenspun's guidance, shaped O'Callaghan's image as a heroic figure. He had lost the lower half of his left leg and won the Silver Star in Korea. O'Callaghan himself was reluctant to use his war record for political gain, but Greenspun and the *Sun* turned O'Callaghan into a Silver State version of Achilles. He was, the title of a front-page editorial declared, a "Real Man among Men." "He lost his leg in Korea," the story explained. "A rifle range there is named after him because of his bravery. He gave his leg, just as he is willing to give his life for a better society."⁴

Because of his wartime exploits and a career in public service spanning nearly a half century, "Iron Mike" O'Callaghan ranks among the state's most beloved political figures. O'Callaghan earned a reputation as a tireless worker and a straight shooter in a state notorious for political corruption. O'Callaghan's popularity became evident when he ran for reelection in 1974. That year, he won 67.4 percent of the vote, more than any previous governor in Nevada history (Democrat Richard Bryan bested him with a whopping 74 percent in his 1986 reelection campaign).⁵ After leaving office, O'Callaghan worked as an executive editor and wrote a popular column for the *Sun*. He also served as an advisor to President Jimmy Carter on emergency management issues; as an election observer in Nicaragua, Iraqi Kurdistan, and the Palestinian Territories; and as a volunteer part-time soldier in the Israeli Defense Forces. Nevadans have frequently named public facilities after O'Callaghan to commemorate his service to the state and nation. The combined Veteran's Administration and

military hospital on Nellis Air Force Base carries his name, as do a Junior High School in Las Vegas and a city park in Henderson. Five years after O'Callaghan's death, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, a close friend of O'Callaghan and his lieutenant governor, chose his name for the Nevada side of the massive Hoover Dam by-pass bridge. The bridge memorializes O'Callaghan (along with Arizona Cardinal football player and Afghanistan casualty Pat Tillman) because no other major figure in Nevada history has the requisite heroic and uncorrupted credentials for such a monumental piece of architecture.

Despite his heroic stature, however, O'Callaghan beat Ed Fike by just four percentage points in 1970. Fike led in the polls until late in the race. The lieutenant governor had support from Nixon and the outgoing Republican Governor, Paul Laxalt, and he outspent O'Callaghan by a wide margin. O'Callaghan pulled out the victory because he worked himself, his staff, and his family ragged to win, but he owed his victory as much to the actions of Republicans as to his work ethic or his credentials. Between Nixon's clumsy electioneering, Laxalt's withdrawal from politics, Fike's apparent corruption, and Greenspun's support in the *Sun*, it was Republicans who created the conditions necessary for Mike O'Callaghan to win his first campaign for governor.

O'Callaghan never held elected office before becoming governor. Indeed, if the conclusion were not already known, one might expect Mike O'Callaghan's story to end in Arlington National Cemetery rather than in the Governor's Mansion in Carson City. Unlike those politicians whose pathways to politics began on university campuses through education or activism, O'Callaghan began his career on a rugged outcropping of hills near the thirty-eighth parallel in Korea, in the winter of 1952-53. O'Callaghan, at age twenty three, was serving in his third branch of the military. He had already completed stints in the Marine Corps and the Air Force when assigned to the 38th Infantry Regiment of the Army's 2nd Infantry "Indianhead" Division. An Indianhead combat patch remains a prized possession for American soldiers, primarily due to the unit's trial by fire in Korea. By the time O'Callaghan's platoon took up defensive positions along a ridgeline called The Hook, more than seven thousand 2nd Division soldiers had been killed or wounded.⁶ Since arriving in Korea in the fall of 1952, Sergeant O'Callaghan had groomed three young lieutenants as platoon leaders, only to find himself serving in that position as each was killed in action. That November, O'Callaghan was evacuated to Tokyo for wounds he received while earning a Purple Heart and Bronze Star with a "V" device for valor.⁷

He returned to combat after Christmas. On the night of February 13, 1953, artillery and 81-millimeter mortar fire from Chinese positions pounded Sergeant O'Callaghan's platoon. He and his platoon-mates shivered through the night as the thermometer plunged to fifteen degrees below zero. The Hook, which jutted out from the front due north of Seoul, was one of many positions the People's Volunteer Army probed throughout the winter of 1953, seeking vulnerabilities for a summer offensive.⁸ Since 1951, both sides had conducted



O'Callaghan bowling with one leg, ca. 1950s. Photo courtesy of Michael N. O'Callaghan.

routine small-unit raids accompanied by artillery and mortar barrages that surpassed the tonnage of ordnance expended in northern France in World War I.⁹ On the night of February 13, an estimated three thousand Chinese mortar rounds exploded on The Hook alone.¹⁰ The shelling cut off O'Callaghan's forward observation post, requiring him to retrieve the men several hundred yards from his own position. He dashed into the open to lead the men back to safety. As he prepared his platoon for an expected attack following the bombardment, a mortar shell exploded nearby, obliterating one of his squad leaders and shredding O'Callaghan's hip, pelvis, and left leg below the knee. The squad leader, twenty-year-old Private Johnny Estrada, had voluntarily returned to combat after having been wounded earlier that day. To prevent himself from bleeding to death, O'Callaghan fashioned a tourniquet below his knee out of communications wire tightened with a bayonet. He continued to lead the platoon through the night from his field telephone. For this action, O'Callaghan earned another Purple Heart and the Silver Star, the nation's third-highest award for valor.¹¹

One might argue that the courage O'Callaghan showed on The Hook laid the foundation for his political career, but his 1970 campaign did not focus on his military experience. His primary campaign flyer mentioned his military service only in a photo caption, which referred to his wounds but not his Silver Star.¹² Instead, his campaign ads and media appearances emphasized his recent career in public service. O'Callaghan became involved in the Nevada Democratic Party in the late nineteen-fifties and early sixties while pursuing a career as a civics teacher at Basic High School in Henderson (among his students was young Harry Reid, who also entered statewide politics as O'Callaghan's lieutenant governor). In 1962, O'Callaghan left Basic for a job as Chief Probation Officer for Clark County.¹³ He won election as chair of the Clark County Democratic Central Committee and Governor Grant Sawyer appointed him to the Clark County Groundwater Board in 1962.¹⁴ The governor then gave O'Callaghan his first statewide managerial challenge: to cobble together seven related departments into the Nevada Department of Health and Welfare, which has since evolved into the Department of Health and Human Services. O'Callaghan's work in Carson City drew the attention of the Lyndon Johnson administration in Washington. Sargent Shriver, the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, recruited O'Callaghan to serve as project manager for the Job Corps conservation center's program.¹⁵

O'Callaghan failed in his first campaign for public office, losing to John Foley in the Democratic primary for lieutenant governor in 1966.¹⁶ Foley went on to lose to Ed Fike. Despite the loss, O'Callaghan's qualities had become well known within the Democratic Party. He had backers among the leadership of the party, especially Governor Sawyer and Senator Cannon. After the 1966 campaign, Lyndon Johnson came calling once again. The president appointed O'Callaghan regional director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, the forerunner to the Federal Emergency Management Administration. He served in that capacity during 1967-69, overseeing a budget of \$92 million spread across four states and the Pacific territories. (He resigned the post when Richard Nixon entered office.)¹⁷

The governor and president had tasked O'Callaghan with these responsibilities primarily because of his work ethic.¹⁸ Anyone who knew him personally remembered O'Callaghan as, in Sawyer's words, "the kind of guy who worked night and day."¹⁹ His son Michael, now a deputy district attorney in Clark County, recalled his father waking up six days a week at four in the morning to head to the gym, then to Mass at six (he was a devout Roman Catholic), and on to work before anybody else arrived.²⁰ Lieutenant Governor Harry Reid claimed that he ran for the United States Senate in 1974 because he hoped the role of Senator would be an easier job. "Being O'Callaghan's Lieutenant Governor was hard," Reid recalled in his memoir. "Mike would call at all times of the day and night. It was because of him that I learned to use the phone in pitch darkness. Four more years of 80 hour weeks was not looking good."²¹

Complimenting his willingness to work long hours, O'Callaghan was assertive and possessed a certain gravitas that made him the center of attention whenever he entered a room. Balding precipitously when he ran for governor, O'Callaghan certainly did not have the look of a prototypical politician in the age of television. Both his primary opponent, the Las Vegas Channel 8 news anchor Hank Thornley, and Fike came across as more polished than O'Callaghan in public appearances. He may not have been particularly photogenic, but O'Callaghan had an imposing presence. Reid described him simply as "the toughest man I ever met."²² He stood about six feet two inches and had a burly broad-shouldered frame from a lifetime of boxing. Through the campaign, reporters also described O'Callaghan as a highly "personable" man with "an infectious grin."²³ To describe O'Callaghan's character, the political scientist Don Driggs explained that "one had to see him in action to appreciate the power he brought to bear on issues of interest to him."²⁴ A reporter for the *Sun* put his finger on O'Callaghan's charisma when he "admitted liking him, and fearing him, simultaneously."²⁵ As a person both feared and liked, O'Callaghan demanded loyalty from people who worked with him, and he earned the respect of constituents.

Through his many years of public service, O'Callaghan developed a sense of obligation to the people he served. For example, he resigned from the Clark County Water Board rather than compromise his stance on the issue of water permits for golf courses. Many residents in the Las Vegas valley still relied on fragile groundwater supplies in the mid-1960s, and O'Callaghan believed the water should be set aside for homes. This put him in conflict with other members of the board, who considered the revenue generated by golf to be a higher priority.²⁶ When he entered politics, O'Callaghan approached a campaign like a lengthy job interview, with the voters playing the part of a potential employer. He made an effort to shake the hand of every Nevadan during his campaign for governor. Due to these efforts to meet constituents personally, Robert Laxalt, Paul Laxalt's younger brother and a distinguished Nevada author, wrote: "[O'Callaghan] achieved a reputation for familiarity reminiscent of Patrick McCarran."²⁷

The strength of his personality drew a large cadre of volunteers to the O'Callaghan campaign. Beginning with the Democratic primary and through the general election, thousands of volunteers canvassed the state with O'Callaghan. Chief among his supporters were teachers in the Clark County School District, who went door to door across Clark County. O'Callaghan himself shook hands on street corners, spoke at rallies, threw out first pitches at ball games, and sat in the crowd at small-town rodeos.²⁸

O'Callaghan needed to work hard to win the race. Early polls indicated that likely Republican candidates, including both Fike and Raggio (who was Washoe County district attorney at the time), had a twenty-point lead over any Democrat seeking to replace Laxalt.²⁹ Before meeting the Republican,

however, O'Callaghan faced a tough primary fight against Channel 8's anchor, Thornley, the most popular television newsman in southern Nevada.³⁰ The state Democratic Party hierarchy backed Thornley. The party bigwigs excluded O'Callaghan from the program for the state convention in 1970. Thornley also had more money to spend and obtained an early endorsement from the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, the state's largest newspaper.

The paper's endorsement, however, read more like an attack on O'Callaghan than a celebration of the anchorman's qualifications. Neither man had much political experience, but the *Review-Journal* accused O'Callaghan of dependence on government jobs. "O'Callaghan's chief credentials," the editorial endorsing Thornley went, "seem to be his ability to land a political job where the taxpayers foot the bill." The editor also considered O'Callaghan "extremely liberal for this state." O'Callaghan's dependence "on the public payroll most of his adult life" made him an "outsider" because of all the time he spent in "Washington, D.C. looking for a job where the public pays the tab."³¹

The *Review-Journal's* tactic backfired because it helped get Hank Greenspun involved in the race. The front page of the *Sun* on August 29, three days before the primary election, featured the "Real Man Among Men" editorial that touted O'Callaghan's heroism in Korea. Greenspun struck back at those who attempted to use the candidate's "career of public service against him ... as if there were something sinister in accepting advancement and greater responsibility as his talent as administrator was recognized."³² The article was composed almost entirely of quotes from Margaret Lomprey, O'Callaghan's campaign chairperson, detailing the future governor's long years of public service. Greenspun's rush to O'Callaghan's defense was unsurprising, given the long-running editorial battle between his *Las Vegas Sun* and the more conservative *Review-Journal*, owned by Donald W. Reynolds and his Donrey Media Group. Greenspun had started the *Sun*, keeping the paper afloat when it lost money, because he believed the *Review-Journal* was, according to one historian, "racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-union." Greenspun's famous front page "Where I Stand" editorials began as a rebuttal to *Review-Journal* boss Al Cahlan's "From Where I Sit" column.³³ The *Sun* did not offer an official endorsement of O'Callaghan until the general election, but Greenspun's response to Thornley's attack certainly bolstered the O'Callaghan campaign.

Many Nevada politicians considered Greenspun "the state's most powerful man."³⁴ He did not hesitate to use this power and the *Sun* to boost candidates he liked, but the extent to which Greenspun's personal relationship with O'Callaghan informed the endorsement remains uncertain. The two had known one another since at least 1956, when O'Callaghan began working with Greenspun on the *Las Vegas Sun's* Youth Forum, an annual speech contest and current-events discussion that the paper sponsored. In 1957, Greenspun also talked O'Callaghan out of leading teachers in the Clark County school district

for higher wages.³⁵ Both Thornley and Fike attempted to use the friendship between the two men against O'Callaghan, suggesting that his entire political career had been orchestrated from the *Sun's* offices.

Greenspun and O'Callaghan certainly were friends, but there is no evidence that the two men conspired to get O'Callaghan elected governor. Michael O'Callaghan had no recollection of having the Greenspuns over for family dinners. The *Sun* printed ads for both Thornley and Fike along with those for O'Callaghan. Greenspun turned his "Where I Stand" column over to all three candidates as guest columnists during the primary election campaign. O'Callaghan later recalled being frustrated with some of the coverage he received from Greenspun and other *Sun* writers while he was in Carson City as governor.³⁶ When O'Callaghan went to work for Greenspun after he left office, some observers may have thought that the two had planned a quid pro quo—O'Callaghan becomes governor intending to help Greenspun in his business enterprises in exchange for a job after leaving office. But O'Callaghan's decision to take a relatively modest income writing a column and managing the *Sun* does not seem like much of a reward for a popular two-term governor who was just forty-nine when he left politics. O'Callaghan turned down far more lucrative offers to serve on executive boards in the casino industry.³⁷ It is just as likely that Greenspun supported O'Callaghan so enthusiastically in 1970 not only because they shared some of the same views, but also because he believed the *Review-Journal* treated the candidate unfairly. O'Callaghan was, after all, a decorated war veteran, school teacher, longtime public servant, and a friend. Greenspun also relished any opportunity to draw attention to the fallacies printed on the the *Review-Journal's* editorial page.

There is no way to measure how much Greenspun's depiction of O'Callaghan as a "Real Man Among Men" helped his primary campaign, but O'Callaghan defeated Thornley soundly, garnering 68.7 percent of the primary vote. With Thornley out of the way, the O'Callaghan campaign faced a GOP candidate in Fike, who had a lead in the polls and the support of the Nixon political machine.³⁸ In the 1970 midterm campaign, Richard Nixon became involved in the selection of congressional candidates to "an unprecedented degree." He made personal campaign appearances in twenty-three states that year.³⁹ Nixon had sound reasons to conclude that Nevada might turn Republican in 1970. Two years earlier, he had carried the state by eight points over Hubert Humphrey. His Nevada win would likely have been more impressive if not for the fact that 13 percent of Nevadans wanted George Wallace to run the country in 1968. Nixon won 70 percent of the vote in the state in 1972.⁴⁰

The Republican focus in the 1970 campaign, however, was not on the governor's race but on the race for Senate. Nixon hoped a strong candidate could unseat Cannon, moving more of the Senate into the Republican camp. The strongest Republican candidate in 1970 was Governor Paul Laxalt, who was debating whether to run for reelection as governor when Nixon pressured

him to "do the Senate race." Nixon invited Laxalt to the Oval Office for a face-to-face meeting to put the "full court press" on him to run. The governor explained to the president that his family was not keen on moving to Washington, a consideration Nixon disregarded. Saying that Laxalt had done all he could do in Carson City, Nixon continued that it was time to move up to the national stage. Laxalt knew better than Nixon how tough toppling Cannon would be (he had tried in 1964, a Democratic year, and lost by only eighty-four votes), so he opted not to run. The poll numbers showed strong support for his reelection as governor, but he chose to temporarily retire from politics in 1970, returning in 1974 as a United States senator, succeeding Alan Bible, who retired.⁴¹

Without Laxalt, the Republicans had no strong candidate to take on Cannon. The most likely man remained Ed Fike, but Nixon never approached him about running for the Senate. Nixon's strategists may have known about Fike's weaknesses as a candidate. Rumors about business improprieties dogged Fike's 1968 Senate run against Bible. Evidence emerged that Colorado River Properties, which Fike had served as vice president, earned some \$2 million in profits from land sales authorized by the state's Colorado River Commission. Fike claimed to have resigned from the company before the deal went through, but his involvement nevertheless raised eyebrows. Bible, who beat Fike anyway, chose not to come forward with the allegations, informing his advisors that "if I have to destroy a man and his family to get reelected I would rather not be Senator."⁴² Beyond his possible corruption, fellow Republican Bill Raggio later described Fike as a candidate short on political acumen. "Ed Fike was a genial guy," Raggio recalled, "but not too big on substance."⁴³

Fike's shortcomings likely explain why Raggio got a call, on the day he intended to file as a candidate for governor, from Vice President Spiro Agnew. The President had handed responsibility for the 1970 midterm campaign over to Agnew, and the vice president seemed confident that Raggio was the man to unseat Cannon.⁴⁴ Raggio, who had just turned forty, had achieved a reputation as a tough-on-crime prosecutor as Washoe County district attorney, a position he had held since 1958. Raggio crusaded against legalized prostitution in the state, confronting unsavory characters like the Mustang Ranch brothel owner, Joe Conforte. He also gained some national press in his prosecution of Thomas Lee Bean, who had confessed to the grisly rape and decapitation of Olympic skier Sonja McCaskie in 1968. Raggio convinced the jury to issue the death penalty, a sentence which the Nevada Supreme Court overturned. Raggio's condemnation of the state Supreme Court for reversing the jury's decision received a lot of media attention, which helped Raggio fit into the "law and order" platform Nixon shaped for the national Republican Party. Raggio had run for the Senate in the Republican primary of 1968, only to lose to Fike.⁴⁵ By 1970, Raggio was a strong candidate for governor. His poll numbers were good, way ahead of an unknown like Mike O'Callaghan. He was young, handsome, and well respected in the press. It is of interest

that Raggio considered himself a good friend of Hank Greenspun. Raggio had campaigned for the publisher in his failed bid for the governorship in 1962 (though Raggio questioned the extent of Greenspun's commitment to the party's platform). Forty years after the fact, Raggio remained confident that he would have beaten O'Callaghan in a race for governor.⁴⁶

Nixon was focused on unseating Cannon; he had little interest in who became governor of Nevada. Prior to his visit in October, Nixon had sent Agnew, Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney, Treasury Secretary David Kennedy, Attorney General John Mitchell to Nevada (He also sent his wife, Pat, who was born in Ely, Nevada).⁴⁷ Nixon's people came to the state to stump for Raggio. When Romney visited Las Vegas in late August, Fike was not even on the itinerary for the rally at the Convention Center. When Nixon visited Las Vegas on the eve of the primary election, he briefly mentioned his support for and the trust he had in Ed Fike, but carried on at length about Raggio's qualities and the dire consequences that loomed if the president could not rely on the Senate to back him. While indicating that he did not expect Raggio to act as a "rubber stamp" for his initiatives, he needed every vote he could get in the Senate to defend the nation against the Soviet Union. "One vote," Nixon explained, "may determine whether the President has the strength that this Nation needs when he goes to the bargaining table or whether he negotiates from weakness."⁴⁸

Nixon's key strategy in the 1970 campaign was to associate the Republican Party and his hand-picked candidates with his "law and order" agenda. When Agnew visited Las Vegas to stump for Raggio, he read out lyrics to rock songs that included references to drug use in order to associate Nixon's opponents with the moral degradation of the counterculture. Agnew, as the historian Rick Perlstein observed, seemed not to recognize the irony in denouncing the drug culture while the marquees of "Sin City vice dens" read "Welcome Vice President Agnew—Keno—Poker—Folies Bergere."⁴⁹ Prior to the president's arrival in Las Vegas, a crowd of antiwar protesters in San Jose had pelted Nixon with stones when he jumped on the hood of his limousine to give the "Double V" salute. Nixon's publicity machine spun what became known as the "stoning in San Jose" into evidence of the lawlessness and violent impulses of his adversaries. Nixon labeled the antiwar protesters "thugs and hoodlums" and "terrorists" who "have always plagued a good people."⁵⁰ Nixon contrasted the incident in San Jose with the "warm reception" he received when he arrived in Las Vegas that morning. Praising Raggio at the Convention Center, he highlighted the candidate's many years of fighting crime in Nevada. "Bill Raggio knows his subject," Nixon declared. "He has been one of my chief advisers in the field of law enforcement. He is a man who will be invaluable to us in the United States Senate. I say send him down there so he can help us see that the wave of crime is not the wave of the future in America."⁵¹ The praise was misleading at best; Raggio and Nixon had never met personally before that morning.⁵²

The Republican campaign's focus on law and order flopped in Nevada. The tactic itself, a veiled appeal to the racial preoccupations of Nixon's "Silent Majority," was designed to associate the urban violence of the era with the antiwar movement, the antipoverty campaign, and ultimately the Democratic Party. Despite recent violence in West Las Vegas and Nevada's crime rate ranking among the nation's highest, Nevadans displayed little concern for crime or violence when they went to the polls that November.⁵³ Besides, O'Callaghan's experience in the Clark County Probation Department gave him firmer law-and-order credentials than Fike's. No one could accuse him of being soft on crime. The outcome of the vote in the state hinged not on the issues Nixon's people dwelled upon, but instead on a simple judgment of the qualities of the candidates involved. Nevadans, as Robert Laxalt has argued, "tend to vote for the man and not the party."⁵⁴

Fike never recognized this and, given his comfortable lead in the polls, failed to campaign aggressively. O'Callaghan recalled that his opponent campaigned as if the election were a "*fait accompli*" and he "was already in office."⁵⁵ In many ways, Fike ran on Nixon's platform along with Paul Laxalt's record and reputation, with little attention paid to issues. When he penned Greenspun's "Where I Stand" column, Fike made poor use of the free publicity. He explained vaguely why he had entered politics and wrote of the role that politicians should play in government, but without going into any specifics about what he hoped to accomplish as governor. But Fike made a comment, directed at O'Callaghan without actually naming him, that other candidates ran for political office because "a group of friends came to me and said I should run for political office." But Fike claimed that "I talked myself into it and decided on my own."⁵⁶

As the campaign progressed into the fall, O'Callaghan remained focused on what he called his "action blueprint" for state government.⁵⁷ The issues he addressed included concerns about inflation, the need to expand youth programs to keep kids out of trouble, and the avoidance of "sectionalism" in state politics, education, prison reform, and tax relief.⁵⁸ He took the high road when he wrote for Greenspun's "Where I Stand" column. In tongue-in-cheek fashion, O'Callaghan began with a note on how difficult it was to resist the temptation to use the forum to tout his own campaign, and then devoted the bulk of the column to applauding the good work of the *Sun's* Youth Forum.⁵⁹ Not that he was above taking a stab or two at his opponents. In an apparent shot at Fike's unseemly business dealings, O'Callaghan called for tougher "conflict of interest" laws to prevent lawmakers from conducting business for their own benefit while in office.⁶⁰ He took a swipe at the Laxalt administration's "cozy relationship" with Howard Hughes, the reclusive billionaire who more or less owned the economy of the Las Vegas Strip. O'Callaghan deemed Laxalt's gaming regulators too lax in authorizing Hughes's gaming licenses. O'Callaghan also complained that Hughes, with Laxalt's acquiescence,

sucked all the profits out of The Strip without much investment back into the community. (When O'Callaghan's poll numbers began to strengthen in the fall, however, he accepted a \$25,000 contribution from Hughes, which became O'Callaghan's largest single campaign contribution).⁶¹

Other than the issues, O'Callaghan's campaign relied on appeals directly to the voters. O'Callaghan made it his personal goal to shake the hand of every voter in the state. The 1970 campaign was the first in Nevada in which both gubernatorial candidates were from Clark County. Without a geographic advantage, O'Callaghan campaigned aggressively in northern Nevada. To an extent, O'Callaghan had an advantage in rural Nevada because of his service as state welfare administrator and director of emergency management for the federal government. He was able to tap into local connections he had made when he worked in Ely, for example, when the town had flood problems. But more important, O'Callaghan appealed to the grassroots by attending local events such as parades and rodeos, as well as barbecues and rallies that his volunteers organized. To appeal to the state's dense populations of Mormons and Catholics, both communities known for having large families, O'Callaghan paraded his five kids on the campaign trail. Indeed, his campaign prioritized education and children's issues throughout the election. "The big guy is running for the Office of Governor in Nevada," a campaign ad read, "but we're talking about the little guys... We are all the caretakers of their heritage. How we exercise the democratic ballot—the decisions we make—will shape the events that will shape their lives."⁶² In predominantly African-American West Las Vegas, O'Callaghan held a "neighborhood tour" featuring endorsements from local community leaders.⁶³ When Fike held a \$1,000-a-plate dinner in Reno to raise funds, O'Callaghan countered with a 99¢-a-plate barbecue that drew more than eight thousand people.⁶⁴ O'Callaghan later argued that he won because of this personal appeal to the voters. "More people knew me as a person," he explained in an interview. "That's the advantage, the real advantage, of campaigning on shoe leather."⁶⁵

Paul Laxalt argued that O'Callaghan won simply because "campaigning against Mike's wooden leg, which Mike would regularly place on the bars he visited during the race, was tough indeed!"⁶⁶ O'Callaghan, however, was somewhat reluctant to tout his war record during the campaign. He rejected an advertising campaign designed by his volunteers that featured the slogan "Give a Leg Up for Mike." A campaign flyer mentioned his military service only in a caption for a photo of the O'Callaghan Range, a rifle range in Korea named for him. Some people were surprised to discover he was missing a leg when he was forced to remove his prosthesis late in the campaign. He had worked so hard campaigning, his son Michael recalled, that his wooden prosthesis split and the stump on his left leg began to bleed. Most voters in Nevada probably knew about O'Callaghan's war service, but he was no braggart warrior on the campaign trail.⁶⁷



Mike O'Callaghan, ca. 1970s. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

O'Callaghan's aggressive campaigning seemed to have been for naught as pundits predicted a win for Fike. Polls conducted by the *Las Vegas Sun* showed that, while O'Callaghan had narrowed Fike's advantage considerably, he remained behind the lieutenant governor by up to six points as late as a week before the election. Oddsmaker Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder gauged Fike as a 7-5 favorite versus O'Callaghan's 5-7 chances the night before the election.⁶⁸ Even the *Las Vegas Voice*, a paper published for the African-American community in Las Vegas, endorsed Fike because, "there is very little difference between Ed Fike and Mike O'Callaghan... Fike has the advantage of his experience in the assembly and his four years as Lt. Governor. There is one other factor that makes a difference—Fike is going to be the winner." The *Voice* reasoned that with Fike so likely to win, "he will be much more receptive to our needs if we have given him a vote of confidence. If Black votes for Fike are no better than they were for Laxalt in 1966 we can not expect any more from Ed Fike than we have got from Paul Laxalt."⁶⁹ Losing the *Voice's* endorsement could have felt like a betrayal to O'Callaghan. He campaigned actively on the Westside and considered himself a friend to the African-American community. When he directed the Clark County Probation office he hired seventeen black workers into a department that had none before he took charge.⁷⁰

By endorsing Fike, the *Voice* stood with the majority of newspapers in the state. A week before the election, the *Nevada State Journal* conducted a survey of fifteen papers from around the state and found that nine endorsed the lieutenant governor. Fike's advantage in endorsements was likely another consequence of the fight between the *Review-Journal* and Greenspun. The Donrey Media Group, parent company of the *Review-Journal*, controlled three of the nine papers that endorsed Fike.⁷¹ But the *Review-Journal's* staff and Donrey's other papers made a stronger effort to discredit O'Callaghan than to support Fike. *Review-Journal* writers attempted, for example, to strip O'Callaghan of his identity as a southern Nevadan. The paper referred to him as a "Carson City business consultant" because he had taken up residence in Carson City during his time as a state and federal official, yet four of his five children had been born in Henderson.⁷²

In truth, the *Review-Journal* had little to work with in its attack on O'Callaghan. Speaking about both Thornley and Fike, O'Callaghan later recalled with a laugh that the best they could come up with was that he'd spent his life moving from one cushy government job to the next. "Yeah, you're right" O'Callaghan chuckled in a 1999 interview, "I've always been at the public trough, five years on C-Rations, five years in the classroom, two years trying to straighten out juvenile delinquents... the taxpayers paid the way, and they still buy me a new leg when I need one."⁷³ While it proved difficult for the media to find ammunition to attack O'Callaghan, targeting Fike was easy.

Unfortunately for Fike, the syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, a famous muckraker whose "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column appeared in papers across the country, was having a slow news day when he received a

tip from a source in Nevada about Fike's business deals. Anderson claimed an "anonymous tipster" left "a packet of information on his desk."⁷⁴ While he never revealed his source, Anderson and his staff pieced together a story, published about three weeks before the election, that made Fike and the entire Nevada GOP seem shady indeed. Anderson asserted that Fike had remained vice president of Colorado River Properties while in office as lieutenant governor when the \$2 million real-estate deal was completed. As an attorney, Fike also served as president of Lawyer's Title Insurance Company, which set selling prices on lots in the property.⁷⁵ Along with exposing Fike, Anderson explored the Nixon administration's role in the Nevada race. Anderson argued that the Republicans had violated campaign rules when Nevada Gaming Control chief Frank Johnson approached Strip casinos about advertising Agnew's visit on their marquees. According to Anderson, Governor Laxalt further violated state laws when he "ordered" the school district to bus teachers and kids in for a "field trip" to swell the crowd for Agnew.⁷⁶

The Fike camp went on the defensive. Governor Laxalt attacked Anderson as an "eastern columnist" who sensationalized a minor local matter into a national scandal by connecting it to the vice president's visit. Fike acknowledged holding about \$7,300 in stock in Colorado River Properties, but did not maintain any position as an officer in the company. Further, he claimed the investment had been public knowledge all along, and that Anderson's story, along with the *Sun's* more extensive coverage, was nothing more than a "late hour political smear." Fike blamed the report on Hank Greenspun, who was known to be a friend of Anderson. Greenspun, Fike stated bluntly, "wants a governor he can control. He wants his puppet Mike O'Callaghan elected, and in their desperate attempt to win decided to smear me." Fike said, "It is quite obvious that Greenspun and O'Callaghan had the story planted with Hank's liberal Washington columnist pal Jack Anderson." Fike alleged that Greenspun orchestrated the campaign because "the Laxalt-Fike administration did not buckle under and give Greenspun exclusive rights to cable television in Las Vegas—an exclusive franchise that Greenspun would have made millions of dollars from."⁷⁷

Anderson never named Greenspun as his "tipster," but the two had known each other for some time. Anderson had helped Greenspun dodge a libel judgment at one point, in appreciation for which Greenspun gave Anderson stock in the *Sun*. It did seem unusual to many observers that Anderson, as a nationally famous columnist, would devote his column to the Nevada governor's race. Anderson denied the accusation that he had exposed Fike at Greenspun's urging, stating that he simply considered Nevada politics a provocative source of material for his column. He recalled in his autobiography that there "was something special about the frontier flavor of Nevada politics, mingled in those days with the mob influence."⁷⁸

Anderson had previously written articles on Nevada politics, but none that drew so much attention or created so much controversy.

Congressman Walter Baring, a Democrat, joined with his GOP colleagues to condemn the “smear campaign” against Fike. Whether O’Callaghan would have wanted the congressman’s endorsement is debatable. Baring was known as a McCarthyesque anti-communist. At one point he organized a special congressional committee to investigate fluoridation as a communist plot. When President John Kennedy was assassinated, Baring told Harry Reid, then a Capitol Hill policeman on Baring’s patronage while going to law school (a job instigated by O’Callaghan), that the murder was a “good thing” because the president was leading the country down the path to communism. The congressman was so conservative that the Republican Party did not bother to mount a campaign against him after he won the 1970 primary.⁷⁹ While Baring campaigned neither for nor against O’Callaghan, he never formally endorsed either candidate. Nevertheless, the *Review-Journal* “Viewpoint” held that it was clear that “old Walt... wants no part of O’Callaghan and his forces, and indeed leans in the favor of Ed Fike. Anyone who thinks otherwise is simply playing naïve.”⁸⁰ Baring referred to Anderson’s allegations as “one of the rottenest below-the-belt attacks in history [and] an act of cowardice on the part of persons bent on destroying the character and reputation of honorable and respectable citizens of Nevada by an outside columnist.”⁸¹ Baring, along with Laxalt, argued that the “smear attack was inspired from within Nevada,” specifying O’Callaghan and Cannon as the culprits.⁸² The congressman hoped that Nevadans would “see through this diabolical plot and ask ‘Just who is behind this obvious plant’ which apparently was timed at the last minute of the campaign to bring about the destruction of its victims.”⁸³ The *Review-Journal* answered Baring’s question, accusing Anderson of being “in cahoots” with “Herman Milton Greenspun” in an effort to get O’Callaghan elected. The *Review-Journal* never referred to Greenspun as “Hank.”⁸⁴

Fike challenged O’Callaghan to a debate on the *Sun*’s “mudslinging” campaign. The two met, along with independent Charles Springer and Independent American Party candidate Daniel Hansen, at the Pioneer Theater Auditorium in Reno, two weeks before election day. Fike expressed dismay that “the opposition had allowed the campaign to degenerate” to “smears or mudslinging.” O’Callaghan, for his part, also expressed regret that the campaign had become a “dispute of personalities.” Fike pulled no punches when he declared that the governor should be “responsible to the people, not Hank Greenspun.” O’Callaghan called the allegation that he was Hank Greenspun’s puppet “ridiculous.” “I’d be the last one to say,” O’Callaghan added, “that [Fike would] be a puppet of Warren Lerude,” who edited the *Reno Evening Gazette*, which had endorsed Fike that morning. O’Callaghan, referring to himself in the third person, stated, “O’Callaghan

has never found it necessary to bring in outside speakers from Washington, and he does not find it necessary to bring in outside writers." The two frontrunners then returned to their standard talking points, O'Callaghan primarily on education and Fike on law and order, while Hansen and Springer held forth on the issues peculiar to their platforms. Hansen, who was George Wallace's man in Nevada, warned the crowd that "the welfare state is growing. The government is stealing our property by encroaching taxation. It is time for a change." Springer, in turn, saw little difference between the leading candidates and hoped that the more bickering that "goes on, the better Charles Springer is going to look."⁸⁵

Paul Laxalt made a final, clumsy attempt to discredit Anderson and rescue Fike. The outgoing governor attacked Anderson as an "eastern columnist" and "outside agitator" poking his finger in Nevada politics. Anderson retorted that he was from Utah, and challenged Laxalt to a televised debate on the accusations. To his surprise, Laxalt agreed. Neither political party wanted the debate. The Republicans wanted the matter to go away, and the Democrats feared that Laxalt, known as a smooth television presence and talented debater, would humiliate Anderson. A week after the story broke, television station KSHO in Las Vegas broadcast the debate statewide. Anderson admitted to feeling intimidated by the challenge of "debating the state's most popular politician on his home ground," but Laxalt came across as poorly prepared, and Anderson produced documents that corroborated his accusations against Fike. Laxalt seemed incapable of responding reasonably to the charges, except to continue to attack the article as a "hatchet job" on Fike written by an "eastern columnist" and based simply on "lies." Anderson offered to share his evidence, which he drew out of his briefcase on camera, with a "supreme court justice" to judge their authenticity.⁸⁶ Further, Anderson corrected the governor for labeling him a lying eastern columnist by explaining his Utah upbringing: "I was brought up by Mormon parents; they taught me about the truth. I'm not going to claim newsmen don't make mistakes, but to suggest I'm not interested in the truth is an aspersion on my Mormon heritage."⁸⁷ By advertising his Mormonism in this context, Anderson no doubt intended to increase his credibility with the state's Latter-Day Saint community, a crucial voting bloc in Nevada politics. In a column a week after the election, Anderson reported on an informal poll of viewers conducted by the *Sun* (which he referred to as a "Republican newspaper") that considered him the victor in the debate by an eight-to-one margin.⁸⁸ As an irony, Fike's undoing probably benefited Laxalt. Had he won the governor's race, Fike would have been a formidable opponent for Laxalt if he had sought Bible's seat in 1974.

O'Callaghan claimed no involvement in the leak to Anderson. The Democrat took particular offense to the charge that Greenspun was his puppeteer. From his perspective, the accusation was worse than the crimes

Anderson accused Fike of perpetrating. “No man has ever owned me,” O’Callaghan vowed, “no man ever shall. No prize—including the state’s highest office—is worth a single compromise of my personal scruples.”⁸⁹ The Sunday before the election, O’Callaghan booked fifteen minutes of television time to “set the record straight on challenges to my honor and integrity.” To put the matter of the source of Anderson’s accusations to rest, he stated in a well-crafted disavowal:

The source of the information in this column is unknown to me. I will tell you that I was not a party to the matter, either directly or indirectly. At no time in my entire campaign have I asked for outside help, such as visits from prominent national figures in my political party. If I did not accept their help, then certainly I did not ask assistance from an out-of-state newspaper columnist. I refuse to wage a personal attack against any individual or group. It is not a choice of tactics, but a matter of conscience. I believe when a man seeks high office, he is obligated to campaign in a manner worthy of that office.⁹⁰

He continued that he had “neither the time nor the inclination” to continue with the dispute and regretted that the issue had “diverted attention from the real issues of the campaign.” In keeping with his public statements throughout the campaign, O’Callaghan spent more than half of his last television address before the election on his “action blueprint” platform—tax relief, economic advancement, education reform and, of course, “strong conflict of interest laws.”⁹¹

While O’Callaghan made an effort to distance himself from the controversy, Greenspun and the *Sun* staff circled Fike like sharks in bloody water. On the Friday night before election Tuesday, Greenspun purchased airtime and went on television personally to detail Fike’s alleged wrongdoings (after which Donrey Media refused to sell him any more airtime or print O’Callaghan campaign ads).⁹² Greenspun indicated further that, as a Republican, he had intended to vote for Fike before the charges against him arose in the Anderson piece.⁹³ Greenspun’s longtime aide, Ruthe Deskin, who regularly wrote Greenspun’s “Where I Stand” column under the byline “Memo to Hank,” ridiculed the latest label that O’Callaghan’s “detractors” had tagged him with: “‘poverty advisor,’ whatever that maybe.” As a longtime friend of the candidate, Deskin delivered an impassioned paean to O’Callaghan’s career in public service:

There is nothing anyone can find to detract from his stature as a citizen, and I am quite sure his life from birth to present has been carefully examined in an effort to find one small flaw—one hint of scandal or dishonesty. It can’t be found because it isn’t there.⁹⁴

When the *Sun* finally announced its formal endorsement of O'Callaghan, the paper's statement was succinct, as if Fike had already been tried and sentenced for corruption.

Nevadans have no choice in this race. One man is qualified. The Republican candidate is disqualified by law from presently holding office and has forfeited his right to future public office. Mike O'Callaghan is qualified, Ed Fike is disqualified by Nevada statutes."⁹⁵

In fact, Fike was never indicted on these charges, but would later be nabbed for fraud when he swindled \$4.5 million in illegal loans from banks. But O'Callaghan never considered Fike a crook. "I liked Ed Fike," he later recalled. "He and his wife were good people, nice people."⁹⁶

Fike made a final announcement the day before voters went to the polls, on which, from O'Callaghan's point of view, sealed the outcome of the election. The Republican candidate went on television and promised that, if elected governor, he would eliminate the state sales tax on groceries. It was a desperate move, triggered by Republican polls showing that he had fallen behind his opponent. Fike no doubt knew that he would be unable to fulfill such a promise as governor. O'Callaghan, who had exhausted most of his campaign treasury, could afford only a radio response to Fike. The Democrat announced that no governor had the constitutional authority to end the sales tax, which voters had approved in a referendum in 1956.⁹⁷ "That night," O'Callaghan remembered, "I went to bed early and I went to sleep. I slept well." O'Callaghan believed that Fike's last-ditch attempt to get votes was more significant to the outcome than the Anderson story and the *Sun*'s endorsement.⁹⁸

The next morning's headline in the *Sun* read, in bold capital letters above the masthead, "IT'S GOVERNOR O'CALLAGHAN."⁹⁹ Nevadans "turned a deaf ear" to the Nixon administration's pleas as Democrats claimed victory in every major race in the state. In the end, the *Sun* story claimed, the Republican attempt to depict the Democrats as "soft on crime" mattered less to Nevadans than "bread and butter and pocket book consideration." The paper credited a "massive" get-out-the-vote effort by the state's labor unions for the Democratic sweep.¹⁰⁰ Heavy Democratic registration in southern Nevada kept Senator Cannon in office. The Democrat lost to Raggio in Washoe County (Reno) and the state's fifteen rural counties by about one percentage point, but won 68 percent of the vote in Clark County. By contrast, O'Callaghan narrowly beat Fike in fourteen of seventeen counties. The underdog gained majorities of about 53 percent in Clark County and the fifteen "cow counties," and bested the outgoing lieutenant governor 49 to 46 percent in Washoe. Springer and Hansen, the fringe candidates, seemed not to have affected the outcome. The liberal, independent Springer took about four points from the Democrat, while

the right-wing Hansen took about the same away from the Republican. The 1970 election was also Harry Reid's first statewide victory. At age thirty, Reid became the youngest Lieutenant Governor in state history. He received more votes that year than his mentor.¹⁰¹

Nevada followed national trends in the 1970 midterm elections. Nixon had high hopes that Agnew's electioneering would give him a friendly Congress, but the Republicans picked up a net gain of only one seat in the Senate and lost twelve seats in the House. Along with Nevada, ten other states had governorships that went to Democrats. Given Nixon's strength in Nevada in 1968 and 1972, however, the Republican failure in the midterm had less to do with him and more to do with the candidates involved. Congressman Baring, who as a Democrat was as conservative as Nixon himself, had no serious opponent and gained 82 percent of the vote. Nevadans understood the benefit of seniority in the Senate and voted to keep Cannon in office. The ironic result of Nixon's meddling in Nevada politics was O'Callaghan's victory.

Governor-elect O'Callaghan and his volunteers deserved much of the credit for the victory. The expense of advertising, the hours spent standing on hot street corners shaking hands through car windows, and the door-to-door selling of the unknown school teacher and war hero were all instrumental to winning the election.¹⁰² Due to his aggressive campaigning, O'Callaghan's numbers surged after his primary win over Thornley. Ultimately, Mike's toughness won the election. Like the fighter he was, Mike dropped Fike with a hard left jab and right-cross when he dropped his gloves. If Nixon had left well enough alone, Bill Raggio might have been the Republican nominee for governor. Raggio remained convinced 40 years later that he would have beaten O'Callaghan (though the two men worked well together when Raggio entered the State Senate in 1972). Given that allegations of corruption would not have dogged Raggio, O'Callaghan would not have received the boost in the polls that Fike's dealings undoubtedly gave him. Further, Raggio would not have provoked hostility from Hank Greenspun. The *Sun's* endorsement and Greenspun's active campaigning for O'Callaghan were a crucial factor in the Democratic victory.¹⁰³

It would be difficult for many Nevadans to imagine the state's political history without Mike O'Callaghan as an exemplar of selfless service and honest government. Nevada history features many more corrupt senators, governors, and judges than heroes. Harry Reid, the most powerful politician in Nevada history, still considers O'Callaghan his political mentor. Reid, one of the governor's students at Basic High School in Henderson, recalled meeting O'Callaghan for the first time. O'Callaghan, newly hired as a civics teacher, challenged a bully at the school to a boxing match at the local Boys Club. The kid was as big as O'Callaghan, a football player weighing in at over two hundred pounds, and he had been bragging about beating up a smaller student. O'Callaghan, just a decade older than the seniors, quickly clarified

who the toughest man in town was. With only one leg, O'Callaghan knocked the kid out cold with a single punch. From that point on, Reid recalled:

O'Callaghan was our hero. Nobody messed with him. And when he was around, nobody messed with the little guy either. One of the many things he taught me was that the little guy was worth fighting for.... In years to come, I would have the privilege of seeing Mike O'Callaghan take on more bullies than I could count.¹⁰⁴

Yet, if not for the bungling of Nixon and Agnew, Paul Laxalt's temporary "retirement" from politics, Ed Fike's crooked reputation, and the support of Hank Greenspun, there may never have been a Governor O'Callaghan. If not for this odd collection of Republicans, the state's most heroic figure might have never succeeded in politics.

NOTES

¹Chris Chrystal, "Nixon Labels Las Vegas Miracle City, Asks Same," *Las Vegas Sun* (1 November 1970), pp. 1, 6.

²Robert E. Dickens, "William Raggio: Personality, Power, and Politics," in *The Maverick Spirit: Building the New Nevada*, Richard O. Davies, ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999), 226; William Raggio, telephone interview with author, 25 January, 2010.

³"The Sun Endorses," *Las Vegas Sun* (1 November 1970), p. 1.

⁴"A Real Man Among Men," *Las Vegas Sun* (29 August 1970), p. 1. The editorial mistakenly states that O'Callaghan was serving in the Marine Corps when he lost his leg. In fact, he was a Sergeant First Class in the U.S. Army's 2nd Infantry Division. He had enlisted in the Marine Corps near the end of World War II, and had also served briefly as an officer candidate in the Air Force. See A.D. Hopkins, "Mike O'Callaghan: The Popular Pugilist," *The First One Hundred: Portraits of the Men and Women Who Shaped Las Vegas* (<http://www.1st100.com/part3/ocallaghan.html>).

⁵Don Driggs and Leonard Goodall, *Nevada Politics and Government: Conservatism in an Open Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 60.

⁶Korean War Educator, "The Battle of the Outposts," http://www.koreanwar-educator.org/topics/outpost_wars/outpost_wars_korea.htm; 2nd Infantry Division website, History, Campaign Statistics, <http://www.2id.korea.army.mil/history/campaigns/>.

⁷Donal O'Callaghan to Neil O'Callaghan, 16 November 1952, letter in possession of Michael N. O'Callaghan.

⁸Korean War Educator, "Battle of the Outposts." The Chinese attacked The Hook in the early summer of 1953. By that time the 2nd Royal Australian Regiment had replaced the 38th Regiment of the 2nd Infantry Division. The 2RAR suffered heavy casualties, but inflicted an estimated thirteen thousand casualties on the PVA forces.

⁹Korean War Educator, "Battle of the Outposts."

¹⁰Second Infantry Division Korean War Veterans Association, "Korean War Roundup," <http://www.2id.org/volume3.htm>.

¹¹Korean War Remembrance Project, Johnny Estrada, http://www.koreanwar.org/html/korean_war_project_remembrance.html; Hopkins, "Mike O'Callaghan: Popular Pugilist"; Richard Levy, "Nellis Facility Named for Former Governor," *Las Vegas Sun* (13 November 1996), <http://www.lasvegassun.com/news/1996/nov/13/nellis-facility-named-after-former-governor>; Kathleen Mortensen, "Mike O'Callaghan: Lives and Limb Sacrificed in Battle," *Focus*, Boise State University Alumni Newsletter (Winter 2002), 26; A. D. Hopkins interview with Mike O'Callaghan, May 6, 1999, Special Collections Department, Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

¹²Photo caption, *State of Nevada O'Callaghan Campaign News Bulletin* (campaign newsletter published by Volunteers for O'Callaghan for Governor of Nevada, 1970, in possession of Michael N. O'Callaghan, Las Vegas).

¹³"Remembering Mike," *Las Vegas Sun* (7 March 2004), (<http://www.lasvegassun.com/news/2004/mar/06/remembering-mike>)

¹⁴Hopkins interview O'Callaghan; Florence Lee Jones, *Water: A History of Las Vegas, Volume II* (Las Vegas Valley Water District, 1975), 91.

¹⁵Levy, "Nellis Facility."

¹⁶Michael N. O'Callaghan, interview with author, 18 January 2010.

¹⁷"Only Candidate with Administrative Experience," *State of Nevada O'Callaghan Campaign News Bulletin*.

¹⁸"O'Callaghan's Years of Service Source of Pride, Not Liability," *Las Vegas Sun* (30 August 1970), p. 13.

¹⁹Grant Sawyer, Gary E. Elliott, and R. T. King, *Hang Tough! Grant Sawyer: An Activist in the Governor's Mansion* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, Oral History Program, 1993), 174-75.

²⁰Michael N. O'Callaghan, interview with author.

²¹Harry Reid, with Mark Warren, *The Good Fight: Hard Lessons from Searchlight to Washington* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 2008), 234.

²²*Ibid.*, 102.

²³Ruthe Deskin, "Where I Stand: Memo to Hank," *Las Vegas Sun* (3 November 1970) pp. 1f.; Hank Greenspun, "Weather May Be Warm, But Not Political Climate," *Las Vegas Sun* (3 November 1970), pp. 1f.

²⁴Driggs and Goodall, *Nevada Politics and Government*, 103.

²⁵Hopkins, "Mike O'Callaghan: Popular Pugilist."

²⁶Jones, *Water*, 91.

²⁷Robert Laxalt, *Nevada: A History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 73.

²⁸Don W. Driggs, *Nevada Politics and Government: Conservatism in an Open Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 309; Hopkins interview with O'Callaghan.

²⁹Raggio, interview with author.

³⁰Hopkins, interview with Michael N. O'Callaghan.

³¹R-J Viewpoint: Thornley Endorsed by R-J in Primary, embedded in Hank Thornley campaign advertisement, *Las Vegas Sun* (30 August 1970), 17.

³²"O'Callaghan's Years of Service Source of Pride, Not Liability."

³³Michael S. Green, "Hank Greenspun: Where He Stood," in Richard Davies, *The Maverick Spirit: Building the New Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999), 80.

³⁴Michael S. Green, "Understanding Nevada Today: The Southern Shift," *Halcyon* (1994), 189.

³⁵"O'Callaghan Engenders Inspiration," *Las Vegas Sun* (1 July 2000), <http://www.lasvegassun.com/news/2000/jul/01/o'callaghan-engenders-inspiration>.

³⁶O'Callaghan, interview with author.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Driggs, "1970 Election in Nevada," 308.

³⁹Elizabeth Drew, *Richard M. Nixon* (New York: Henry Holt, 2007), 39-40.

⁴⁰HistoryCentral.com, "United States Presidential Elections" <http://www.historycentral.com/elections/1972state.html> and <http://www.historycentral.com/elections/1968state.html>

⁴¹Paul Laxalt, *Nevada's Paul Laxalt* (Reno: Jack Bacon and Company, 2000), 179-82.

⁴²Gary E. Elliott, *Senator Alan Bible and the Politics of the New West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994), 175-76.

⁴³Raggio, telephone interview with author.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Dickens, "William Raggio," 218-23.

⁴⁶Raggio, telephone interview with author.

⁴⁷Driggs, "1970 Election in Nevada," 310.

⁴⁸Richard Nixon, "Remarks in Las Vegas," 31 October 1970, *The American Presidency Project* (<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=2804&st=las+vegas&st1=nixon>).

⁴⁹Rick Perlstein, *Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America* (New York: Scribner, 2008), 526.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 534-35.

⁵¹Nixon, "Remarks in Las Vegas."

⁵²Raggio telephone interview with author.

⁵³"Nevada Crime Rate Highest in Nation," *Las Vegas Sun*, 17 August 1970, p. 1.

⁵⁴Robert Laxalt, *Nevada: History*, 75-76.

⁵⁵Hopkins, interview with O'Callaghan.

⁵⁶Ed Fike, "Where I Stand," *Las Vegas Sun* (28 August 1970), pp. 1f.

⁵⁷"O'Callaghan Clears Air on Exposé," *Las Vegas Sun* (2 November 1970), pp. 1f.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*; *State of Nevada O'Callaghan Campaign News Bulletin*; "O'Callaghan Warns of Prison Blow Up," *Las Vegas Sun* (28 August 1970), 3.

⁵⁹Mike O'Callaghan, "Where I Stand," *Las Vegas Sun* (22 August 1970), pp. 1f.

⁶⁰"Conflict of Interest Law for Nevada Demanded," *State of Nevada O'Callaghan Campaign News Bulletin*.

⁶¹Harold Hyman, "120,000 Nevadans Get Chance Tuesday to Choose Candidates in Primaries," *Las Vegas Sun* (30 August 1970), pp. 1f.; Donald Bartlett and James Steele, *Howard Hughes: His Life and Madness* (New York: Norton, 1979), 340; interview with O'Callaghan.

⁶²O'Callaghan, interview with author; "Our Kids" (O'Callaghan campaign advertisement), *Las Vegas Sun* (3 November 1970), p. 3.

⁶³"Freddie Little and Mike O'Callaghan Neighborhood Tour," *Las Vegas Voice* (6 August 1970), p. 1.

⁶⁴Driggs, "1970 Election in Nevada," 311.

⁶⁵"O'Callaghan Continues Campaign in Las Vegas through Weekend," *Nevada State Journal* (1 November 1970), p. 44.

⁶⁶Paul Laxalt, *Nevada's Paul Laxalt*, 186.

⁶⁷O'Callaghan interview with author; photo caption, *State of Nevada O'Callaghan Campaign News Bulletin* (1970), p. 3

⁶⁸Jimmy Snyder, "Latest Odds Show Tight Race for Governor; Cannon Heavy Favorite," *Las Vegas Sun* (2 November 1970), p. 4.

⁶⁹C. I. West, "Cannon, Fike, Smith Endorsed by Voice," *Las Vegas Voice* (2 November 1970), p. 1.

⁷⁰Hopkins, interview with O'Callaghan.

⁷¹"Nevada Newspapers Endorse Candidates," *Nevada State Journal* (1 November 1970), p. 48.

⁷²Mike Verneti, "Heavy Voter Turnout Seen in Today's Vote," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* (1 September 1970), p. 1. All but O'Callaghan's oldest son actually came into the world at the hospital on Nellis Air Force Base (O'Callaghan, interview with author).

⁷³Hopkins, interview with O'Callaghan.

⁷⁴"On Fike and Raggio," *Reno Evening Gazette* (19 October 1970), p. 4.

⁷⁵Jack Anderson, "Laws Ignored, Casinos Aid in Agnew's Las Vegas Visit," *The Press Courier* (Oxnard, Calif.) (14 October 1970), p. 6.

⁷⁶Jack Anderson, *Peace, War, and Politics: An Eyewitness Account* (New York: Forge Books, 2000), 143-45.

⁷⁷"Smear Attack' Cited by Fike," *Reno Evening Gazette* (19 October 1970), p. 1.

⁷⁸Anderson, *Peace, War, and Politics*, 143-45.

⁷⁹Reid and Warren, *Good Fight*, 134; Dennis Myers, "Walter Baring," *Online Nevada Encyclopedia*, http://www.onlinenevada.org/walter_baring.

⁸⁰"R-J Viewpoint: Baring Gives Tacit Approval of Fike," *Nevada State Journal* (1 November 1970), p. 8.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²"Democrats Asked to Back Baring against a 'Smear'" *Reno Evening Gazette* (26 October 1970), p. 1.

⁸³"R-J Viewpoint: Baring Gives Tacit Approval" *Nevada State Journal* (1 November 1970), p. 8.

⁸⁴Anderson, *Peace, War, and Politics*, 143-45.

⁸⁵"Candidates Debate on Mudslinging," *Reno Evening Gazette* (20 October 1970), pp. 1f.

⁸⁶"Laxalt, Anderson Debate Sees Critical Exchanges," *Reno Evening Gazette* (22 October 1970), pp. 1f.; Anderson, *Peace, War, and Politics*, 143-45; Driggs, "1970 Election in Nevada," 311.

⁸⁷"Laxalt, Anderson Debate," p. 2.

⁸⁸Jack Anderson, "Voters React against Scandal-Tainted Men," *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune* (Chillicothe, Missouri) (11 November 1970), p. 8.

⁸⁹"O'Callaghan Clears Air," p. 1.

⁹⁰"O'Callaghan: 'No Man Will Ever Own Me,'" *Nevada State Journal* (2 November 1970), p. 24.

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²"Donrey Slams Door on Ads to Greenspun," *Las Vegas Sun* (3 November 1970), pp. 1f.

⁹³Driggs, "1970 Election in Nevada," 312.

⁹⁴"Where I Stand: Memo to Hank," *Las Vegas Sun* (3 November 1970), pp. 1f.

⁹⁵"The Sun Endorses," *Las Vegas Sun* (1 November 1970), pp. 1f.

⁹⁶Hopkins, interview with O'Callaghan.

⁹⁷Driggs, "1970 Election in Nevada," 312.

⁹⁸Hopkins, interview with O'Callaghan.

⁹⁹Bryn Armstrong, "IT'S GOVERNOR O'CALLAGHAN," *Las Vegas Sun* (4 November 1970), pp. 1f.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁰¹Driggs, "1970 Election in Nevada," 311-12.

¹⁰²Hopkins, "Mike O'Callaghan: Popular Pugilist."

¹⁰³Raggio interview with Clayson.

¹⁰⁴Reid and Warren, *Good Fight*, 103-104.

Notes & Documents

*Nevada's Original Supreme Court Justices:
A History as Colorful as the State's*

PATRICIA D. CAFFERATA

While one came directly across the Midwestern plains and another rounded Cape Horn, Nevada's original Supreme Court justices' political paths crossed more than once as they made their way to the state's highest court. Four of these five lawyers ventured west to California during the Gold Rush era, from 1849 to 1851. They all moved to the Nevada Territory for the legal opportunities offered by the early mining boom in the early 1860s. The five practiced law before they moved to Nevada; none of them stayed permanently in the state after their tenure.

Before Nevada became a state, the residents perceived that the federally appointed territorial judges were corrupt and often absent from the bench. To get rid of these men, the proponents for statehood argued that the people would elect their own judges. When the voters approved the second proposed state constitution, Nevada joined the Union on October 31, 1864, in Abraham Lincoln's presidency during the Civil War.

Attorney, author and historian, Patty Cafferata is a life-long resident of Reno, Nevada. She earned a B.A. from Lewis and Clark College, and a J.D. from the Southwestern University. Cafferata has written and published seven books on Nevada history, and co-authored her mother's memoirs, *Barbara F. Vucanovich: From Nevada to Congress and Back Again*. Her latest book, *Christmas in Nevada*, was released by the University of Nevada Press in 2014. She served in the Nevada Assembly, and was the first woman elected to any constitutional office in the state when she was elected Nevada State Treasurer in 1982. Cafferata has also served as district attorney of Lincoln, Lander and Esmeralda counties.

The new constitution provided that the Supreme Court justices would be paid \$7,000 annually, in quarterly installments. They were the highest paid officials in the state because the expectation was that with a large salary they would not be easily bribed, as the Territorial judges had been.

At that time, political parties nominated candidates for the elected offices at party conventions (a practice used today only for presidential candidates). That changed in Nevada in 1910 when primary elections replaced the convention-nomination process. In any case, Supreme Court seats are now nonpartisan; candidates appear on the primary ballot, but only if more than two people are running for the same position.

Although the original justices were all Republicans (Union supporters) when they were elected, they were not always allies and, indeed, had at times been bitter rivals. For all of them, the role of Nevada Supreme Court justice was the last political position they would ever hold.

Today, the typical path to the Supreme Court is judicial: All but one of Nevada's sitting justices had been a district court judge before being elevated to the high court. None of the state's original justices had served as a judge before their election or appointment. Nevada's first general election for state officials was held in November 1864. The Republican ticket for the high court included three attorneys: Henry O. Beatty and Cornelius M. Brosnan from Storey County, and Washoe County's James F. Lewis. Since the residents supported Lincoln and the Union, all the Republican candidates for statewide office, including the high court justices, were swept into office, with about 60 percent of the vote. Belonging to the popular party practically guaranteed these candidates' victory. The three men took their oaths of office on December 4, 1864, for terms that began in January 1865.

The constitution provided that the original justices would draw lots to determine who would serve a term of two years, four years, or six years. From then on, the term would be for six years. The man who drew the shortest term would be the first chief justice, followed by the four-year term holder, and then the six-year-term justice. Of the three, only Lewis, who drew the two-year term and the chief justice position, completed his term. Beatty drew the four-year term to January 1869, but resigned two months before his term ended. Governor Henry Blasdel appointed the Republican Bernard Whitman to fill Beatty's term. Brosnan, who drew the six-year term, died in April 1867, so he never served as the chief. Governor Blasdel appointed fellow Republican J. Neely Johnson to fill Brosnan's term.

COMMON LIFE STORIES

Beatty, Brosnan, Johnson, Lewis, and Whitman were politically ambitious, all of them having run for some office before being elected or appointed to the Nevada Supreme Court. Except for Lewis, they belonged to another political party before joining the Republicans. Although they had not served as



Compliments of

Frank H. Norcross

Chief Justice 1909-10

HON. H. O. BEATTY, Justice

HON. JAMES F. LEWIS, Chief Justice

HON. C. M. BROSNAN, Justice

FIRST JUSTICES SUPREME COURT OF NEVADA, 1864

"They Laid the foundation, broad and deep"

First Justices of the Nevada Supreme Court, 1864. From left to right: Beatty, Lewis and Brosnan. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

judges before their elections, the justices' decisions were well researched and reasoned, logical, clear, and eloquently written. At that time, most attorneys and judges learned the law by studying with another lawyer or at a law firm. The following are the life stories of the patriarchs of Nevada law, in the order in which they were elected or appointed.

JAMES F. LEWIS (SERVED 1864 TO 1873)

Born in Wales in 1836, James Lewis grew up in New York and attended local schools. In 1855, his family moved to Wisconsin, where he studied the law and passed the state bar in 1860. Lewis practiced law for two years before setting out for the Nevada Territory.

Intrigued by the mining boom, Lewis sailed to the West Coast in 1862, and later moved to Washoe City, Nevada. There he formed a law partnership with the territorial judge John North; North became a controversial figure in Nevada history through his battles over mining law and politics with William Morris Stewart, the future United States Senator. Aided by this and other political connections, Lewis was appointed in April 1864 as Washoe County district attorney by Territorial Governor James Nye. The voters elected Lewis to the post in September, but he resigned when he won the Supreme Court seat two months later. At twenty eight, Lewis was the youngest of the original three justices.

After he completed his two-year term as the first chief justice, the Republican Party re-nominated him, and the voters re-elected him to the bench in 1866 for a six-year term. The Republicans did not re-nominate him for a third term. Retiring in 1873, he opened his law practice in Virginia City. Six years later, in 1879, he set up shop again with Judge North, and they maintained offices in San Francisco and Virginia City.

In 1881, Lewis partnered with George Berry in Tombstone, Arizona. Lewis moved to Arizona in 1886, but the climate immediately affected his health, so he moved back to San Francisco. That year, he returned to Arizona to handle a mining case. On his way home, the train broke down. The passengers were stuck in the sizzling sun for thirty hours without ready access to food or drink. He and others walked to Fort Yuma, less than two miles away, where he gulped down too much ice water or lemonade before walking back to the train. He fell ill and died on August 17, 1886, at age fifty.

HENRY O. BEATTY (SERVED 1864 TO 1868)

At age fifty-two, Henry Beatty was the oldest of the initial jurists when he took the Supreme Court bench. Born in Kentucky in 1812, Beatty was living in Ohio when he opened his law practice in 1836. In 1838, he moved back to

Kentucky, where he practiced until 1851. Then, he traveled to California via the Isthmus of Panama, arriving in 1852 to hang out his shingle in Sacramento. Soon Beatty's political ambition to be a state Supreme Court justice became evident. He joined one of the temperance organizations. These groups were dissatisfied with the state legislature's failure to put prohibition to the vote of the people. Further, the temperance groups were opposed to the Supreme Court nominees of the Democratic and Know Nothing (or American) parties. In August 1855, a state temperance convention was held, and the attendees designated their group as "The Independent Democracy" of the state of California. Later, they changed their name to the "People's Party of California." (This political party was not associated with the People's or Populist Party formed in the 1890s.)

The primary purpose of the convention was to nominate two independent candidates for the California Supreme Court. One position was for a full term, and one was for a short term to fill a vacancy. For the short-term slot, after John Harmon had declined, the party nominated Beatty for this judicial position. Because he was a third-party candidate, Beatty lost in the general election. He continued his quest for the bench, first at the Democrat Party convention in 1858, and then at the Union Party (forerunner of the Republican Party) convention in June 1863. He failed to receive the nomination from either party.

After the last loss, Beatty moved to Nevada, and the Nevada bar admitted him to practice in September 1863. In August 1864, when a vacancy occurred on the territorial Storey County district-court bench, forty-nine members of the Storey County Bar met in Virginia City and voted to nominate a replacement. Beatty quickly jumped into the political fray by seeking this judicial slot. In this campaign, he crossed paths with Cornelius Brosnan, one of the other original Supreme Court justices. In the balloting, Richard Mesick collected twenty-six votes, Beatty received twenty-one, while Brosnan garnered two. The attorneys telegraphed President Abraham Lincoln their nomination. Ultimately, however, the territorial position remained vacant because Nevada became a state.

In October of that year, at the Republican convention, the delegates nominated Beatty for one of the positions on the Nevada Supreme Court. At the general election, he finally achieved his goal of becoming a state Supreme Court justice. His son William won the district-court judge seat in Lander County at the same election. (Later, when William was elected to the Nevada Supreme Court, Henry and William became the only father and son pair ever to be elected to the Supreme Court in Nevada.)

Three years into his four-year term, but now the chief justice, Henry Beatty sued in district court to compel State Treasurer Eben Rhoades to pay his salary in gold coin, not "greenbacks." In *State ex. rel. H. O. Beatty v. Rhoades*, 3 Nev. 240 (1867), Beatty argued that Rhoades illegally reduced Beatty's salary because greenbacks were worth less than gold.

Rhoades lost in district court but appealed to the Nevada Supreme Court. In an amazing move, Chief Justice Beatty actually stepped down from the bench and personally argued his position before the court. Justices Lewis and Johnson overturned the district court's decision and found that, based on an Act of Congress, gold coin and greenbacks were equivalent when paying debts, and that Beatty's salary was a debt. Therefore, they ruled against their colleague, holding that he was not entitled to receive his salary in gold coin.

At the Republican Party convention the next year, the delegates ended Beatty's judicial career by nominating Bernard C. Whitman for the Supreme Court. Whitman won the 1868 election, and a week later, Beatty resigned, two months before his term expired. He promptly moved to Sacramento and practiced law until, in about 1882, he retired because of a partial hearing loss. He died in Sacramento in February 14, 1892, at age seventy-nine. Although he was the oldest when he took the bench, he lived longer than any of them.

CORNELIUS M. BROSNAN (SERVED 1864 TO 1867)

Born in Ireland in 1813 and educated there, Cornelius Brosnan immigrated to New York State in 1831. He taught general sciences at Plattsburg College and read the law. Admitted to the New York state bar in 1841, he practiced there and later married Sophia Nelson, daughter of Wolfred Nelson, the celebrated Canadian patriot. They became the parents of a son, who died in infancy.

In 1846, Brosnan sought his first elective office. The voters elected him as the Onondaga County treasurer on the Loco-Foco Democrat ticket (a group protesting against the corrupt Tammany Hall organization). The two-year term of office was from 1846 to 1848. A major mistake, however, derailed Brosnan's early political career.

In 1848, the county treasury was in default by more than \$7,000. Brosnan had lent public funds to John Tomlinson, one of the sureties on his official bond. Unfortunately, Tomlinson died in a railway accident, and with no assets to repay the loan, Brosnan was left responsible for the county's missing money. According to Richard Wright, president of the Onondaga Historical Association, public treasurers routinely lent out their "idle cash." This type of lending practice was common at the time because people believed that the public money should be invested to generate revenue. As a result of the default, before Brosnan's term ended he resigned, in 1848.

In 1850, Brosnan sailed for California and crossed the Isthmus of Panama to set up a law practice in San Francisco. He practiced law and appeared before the California Supreme Court in eleven cases. He also became involved in politics. At first, he belonged to the Democratic Party, and he spoke at one of its mass meetings in 1855. By 1861, he had changed his allegiance and participated in a Union Party meeting.

When the growing number of lawsuits over the Comstock mines attracted Brosnan's attention, he opened a law office in Virginia City, in early 1863. Promptly jumping into politics, he was instrumental in creating the laws of the Nevada Territory. He served in the second Territorial Legislature and the Constitutional Conventions in 1863 and 1864. He was matched in his ambitions by, and served with, J. Neely Johnson, who would go on to replace him on the Nevada Supreme Court bench.

In the second Constitutional Convention, Brosnan chaired the Judiciary Committee. Yet his higher aspirations drove him to seek a slot on the territorial district court bench. There, his political path collided with Henry Beatty, one of the other original Nevada Supreme Court justices.

In August 1864, John North, a territorial Storey County judge, resigned from the district court bench and created a vacancy. (In 1862, North and James Lewis, one of the other original Nevada Supreme Court justices, had formed a law partnership.) Because of the vacancy, forty-nine members of the local Storey County Bar met in Virginia City to recommend to President Abraham Lincoln a replacement for North. Brosnan and Beatty were among those who tossed their hats in the ring.

As noted earlier, Richard Mesick (one-time law partner of William Stewart, one of Nevada's first United States senators) collected twenty-six votes; Beatty received twenty-one, while Brosnan garnered only two. Nonetheless, the Republicans nominated Brosnan in October for the Nevada Supreme Court. He was a charismatic public speaker, and the Republicans fondly dubbed him the "Gray Eagle of the Union Party."

Despite his disastrous showing earlier that year, in the general election in November, Brosnan received 9,838 votes, the most votes cast for the candidates for the Supreme Court. When the justices met to determine the length of their terms, he drew the six-year term from 1864 to 1870. But his luck finally ran out, and he died before he donned the chief justice's robe. In late 1866, he traveled to the California coast because of his poor health. On April 21, 1867, he died, probably of consumption, in San Jose, California, at age fifty-three.

JOHN NEELY JOHNSON (SERVED 1867 TO 1871)

A seasoned politician, J. Neely Johnson had run for at least six offices before he moved to Nevada. Born in Indiana in 1825, he and his family moved to Iowa when he was a boy. The Iowa bar admitted him to practice before he was twenty-one. The Gold Rush drew him to Sacramento, California, in 1849; there, he first set up his law office in a tent. He quickly embarked on a political career, changing parties as the political winds shifted. In 1850, he was elected the city attorney, and was re-elected in 1851.

In 1852, running on the Whig ticket, Johnson won a seat in the California Assembly. He aspired to higher office, but lost the Whig nomination for attorney general in 1853. In 1855, he followed Millard Fillmore's lead and joined the American or Know Nothing Party (based on anti-immigration and anti-Catholic sentiments). The party nominated him, and the voters elected him the fourth governor of California. He served until 1858, but the party did not nominate him for a second term. Johnson's political appointments and his failure to deal properly with the uprising of the San Francisco Vigilantes cost him his popularity.

Johnson and his family moved to Carson City, Nevada, in 1860, where he met Eilley and Sandy Bowers, among the first to strike it rich in the Comstock mines. He persuaded them to retain him when they sailed to Europe for an extended visit, his assignment being to look after their interests and supervise the construction of their mansion. Eyebrows shot up as people watched Johnson build a mansion in town using building materials similar to those he had purchased for the Bowerses. It was alleged that he overcharged the Bowers for building supplies and freight, and accepted inferior art objects on their behalf. None of these allegations interfered with his political future.

In 1863, as a Union delegate to the first Constitutional Convention, Johnson chaired the Judiciary Committee. He ran for chairman of the convention, but lost to Judge North. The next year, he achieved his quest to preside over the second Constitutional Convention.

In April 1867, when Justice Brosnan's death left a vacancy on the state Supreme Court, Governor Henry Blasdel followed recommendations of the Bar associations of Douglas and Ormsby counties and appointed Johnson to fill the seat. The law required Johnson to run for election to fill Brosnan's unexpired term of two years in 1868. Elected, he served until January 1871, but he did not run for another term.

After his Supreme Court term ended, Johnson left Nevada and opened a law practice in Salt Lake City, Utah. He died of sunstroke after touring visitors around the city on August 31, 1872, at age forty-seven.

BERNARD C. WHITMAN (SERVED 1868 TO 1875)

Born in Massachusetts in 1828, Whitman graduated from Harvard in 1846. After reading the law for two years in Maine, he sailed around Cape Horn, arriving in San Francisco in 1850. He settled in Benicia, California, and lost no time in launching his political career as the sheriff in Benicia in 1850. A Whig, he moved up to a seat in the California Assembly representing Solano County during 1853-54. His fortunes collided with Johnson's when he joined the Know Nothing Party. In 1855, he ran for the party's nomination for governor, but lost to Johnson. Undaunted, he ran unsuccessfully on the Know Nothing ticket for Congress in 1856.

In July 1861, after Whitman had changed parties, the Douglas Democrats (supporters of the status quo of maintaining the Union while continuing slavery if residents of territories chose) nominated him for a seat on the California Supreme Court, but he lost in the general election.

In 1863, Whitman moved to Virginia City to open a law practice. He attempted to win election to the United States Senate the next year, but although he was popular and well respected, his opponents charged him with being a carpetbagger—a term that southerners later used in derision to describe a northerner who moved south, but in Nevada Territory, a carpetbagger was simply a recent arrival out to get ahead.

On December 15, 1864, the Nevada legislature met to select the new state's United States Senators. Whitman's friend, Assemblyman Dick Shackelford, nominated him. The legislators promptly elected the well-known William Stewart on the first ballot, but balloted several times to fill the second seat. Ultimately, Territorial Governor James Nye garnered a majority of the votes. Foreseeing the outcome, Whitman withdrew his name before the final round. He could not beat the carpetbagger claim because, unlike Stewart and Nye, he had not been in Nevada during her struggles to become a state. Nevertheless, he kept his dream of a senate seat alive.

In 1868, Whitman won the seat held by Beatty for a full six-year term. Governor Blasdel then appointed Whitman to fill the last two months of Beatty's term after he resigned. In 1869, in his last political campaign, Whitman tried again to be elected to the United States Senate. Only one legislator voted for him, and Stewart was overwhelmingly re-elected.

Whitman served on the Nevada Supreme Court until 1875, but he did not seek re-election. Ironically, Beatty's son William was elected to the Supreme Court and succeeded Whitman. After Whitman's term ended, he resumed his law practice in Virginia City, remaining there until 1883, when he moved to San Francisco. At age fifty-seven, he died suddenly of a stroke on August 5, 1885.

FAMOUS CASE

While not the most legally challenging, one of the most interesting cases decided by the first Nevada Supreme Court justices was *State v. Millain*, 3 Nev. 409 (1867). The court upheld John Millain's murder conviction for the death of Julia Bulette, a prominent and popular madam in Virginia City. Brutally slain, Bulette suffered blows to the head with a wood club; her assailant ultimately strangled her. When some of her belongings were found in Millain's possession, the state charged him with her murder. The jury found Millain, a Frenchman who spoke little English, guilty and sentenced him to death by hanging. His attorney, the prominent Virginia City politician Charles DeLong, believed Millain had not received a fair trial, so he appealed to the Supreme Court.

The justices exhaustively researched the law in other jurisdictions. They also analyzed the contents of the indictment, the district-court judge's comments, evidence of bias of individual jurors, the court's definitions of intent to kill, premeditation, degrees of murder and reasonable doubt, the judge's denial of a change of venue, and the court's instructions to the jury. Beatty wrote a lengthy opinion addressing each issue; Johnson concurred. They affirmed the jury's decision and the court's actions, and ordered the sentence to be imposed. However, objecting to the district-court judge's comments and jury instructions, Lewis dissented, finding Millain entitled to a new trial. Thousands watched Millain swing from the gallows outside of Virginia City in April of 1868.

CONCLUSION

Some of the original Nevada Supreme Court justices had been political opponents before ascending to the Supreme Court bench. Yet, as fine legal scholars, they worked together to develop a firm foundation for Nevada case law. In spite of the candidates' varied political histories and lack of judicial experience, the voters chose well when they elected Lewis, Beatty, and Brosnan. And the governor appointed well when he selected Johnson and Whitman to replace Brosnan and Beatty. Although these first justices flitted through Nevada, arriving between 1860 and 1863 and departing between 1867 and 1885, their legacy is the well-reasoned legal opinions they left behind.

CUMULATIVE INDEX - VOLUME 56

2013

COMPILED BY NEW WEST INDEXING

Numbers 1-2	1 - 106	Spring/Summer
Numbers 3-4	107 - 190	Fall/Winter

*Numbers printed in boldface refer to
photographs and illustrations*

- "Admissions Day," 52; photo, **51**
 Aladdin Casino, shut down, 185 n.27
 Alamo, Nevada, 131, 131 n.47
 Alhambra theatre, 156, 165 n.41
 Alleck, Allen, 49, 58
 Allsbrook, Patty Jo, MGM fire and, 177-78
 Amargosa (*sic*), Nevada, 141, 144 n.88
 American National Fire Protection
 Association, 183
 anadromous fishes, 16-18; Indian cultures and,
 18-19
 Anaho Island, 36, 37
 Apiatan, 86
 Arapaho, 79, 84, 86
 Arden, Tom, 49
 Armour ice plant, 122
 Asad, Talal, ethnographic present and, 75 n.110
 Aztecs, 140, 140 n.76
- Bailey, Paul, 84, 87
 Balderston, Vern, 179-80
 Bancroft Library, 159
 Bannock, 59, 74 n.107, 84
 Barbary Coast Casino, 169
 Barnes, A. J., 56
 Barnes, J. A., 42
 Bateman, Calvin A., 56, 69 n.56
 Beal, Marius Samuel, 125, 125 n.26
 Beatty, Nevada, 143, 144 n.88
Beatty Bullfrog Miner, 143, 143 n.83
 Belasco, David, 152, 162 n.6
 Benedict, Alvin, 185 n.26
- Benninger, Fred, 174, 185 n.26
 Berman, Dick, 156, 165 n.41
 Bethel, John D., 157
 Bettinger, Robert L., 12
 BIA. *See* Bureau of American Indian Affairs
 Big Bonanza, 121 n.15
 Big Spring, Nevada, 123, 123 n.19
 Black Rock Desert, 39
 Blackhawk, Ned, 40, 67 n.32
 Blair, Nevada, 146, 146 n.96, 147
 Blair Junction, 146
Blair Press, 146
 Blake, Charles, 184 n.20
 Bliss site, 16
 Board of Aldermen (Virginia City), 155
 Board of Fire Safety, 179, 181
 Boas, Franz, 59
 Bodie Hills, Calif., 10, 12
 Bonaventure, Jim, 176, 177
 Bonelli, Ann, 134 n.60
 Bonelli, Daniel, 134 n.60
 Bonelli house, 134, 134 n.60
 Bonneville Dam, salmon and, 27
 Booth, Kenneth, 145
 Booth, William W., 145 n.93
 Boulder Canyon Act, 134 n.58
 Boulder Highway, 177
 Bourbon Street, Las Vegas, 169
 Bowler, Alida C., 56, 73 n.91
 Bracken, Anna Johnson, 124, 124 n.24, 125,
 135 n.65, 136
 Bracken, Walter, 124 n.24, 135 n.65
 Bradley, Governor, 22
 Brooks, Richard, 124 n.22
 Brooks, Sheilagh, 124 n.22

- Brown, Grafton T., 163 n.17
 Brown, Hugh, 148, 148 n.102
 Brown, Marjorie, 145 n.95, 148 n.102
 Brown, T. A., 136, 136 n.68
 Brule, 83
 Bruneau River, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 29; fisheries resources in, 31 n.32; spawning in, 17
 Bryan, Mark H., 148
 Buck, J. Holman, 147, 147 n.98
 Bull Run District, 21
 Bullfrog District, 144, 144 n.88
 Bullfrog Hills, photo, 142
Bullfrog Miner, 143, 143 n.83
 Bullionville, Nevada, 127, 127 n.33, 137 n.73
 Bunkerville, Nevada, 134
 Bureau of American Indian Affairs (BIA), 39, 46, 50, 56, 69 n.50; fish sales and, 43; Pyramid Lake Paiutes and, 47; state laws and, 45
 Bureau of Land Management, 18
 Bureau of Reclamation, 50, 57
 Burnell, J. M., 91, 108, 144, 144 n.90
 Burns, Ralph, 65 n.5
 Bush, George H., 72 n.78
 Butler, Jim, 144 n.88
- Cahill, Robbins, 180
 Caliente, Nevada, 119, 125, 129, 129 n.43, 130, 131 n.46, 132, 132 n.50
Caliente Express, 130 n.45, 132 n.50
Caliente Lode-Express, 130 n.45
 Caliente-Pioche Stagecoach Line, 130 n.44
 California Café, 131
 California-Nevada Interstate Water Compact, 49
 Camp McDermitt, 68 n.32
 Campbell, Dr., 128, 128 n.37
 Campbell, Frank, Wodziwob and, 81
 Campbell Ranch, 76, 88
 Captain Ben, 79
 Captain Dave Numana Hupa-Agai Hatchery, 50
 Carr, Luke, MGM Grand fire and, 173
 Carson City, 52, 70 n.62
Carson City News, 46
 Carson Desert, 12
 Carson River, 36, 45, 68 n.32, 72 n.78, 124 n.25
 Carson Sink, 12
 Carvell, E. P., 57
 Cassidy, George, 155, 164 nn.28, 29
 Cave no. 1, p. 16
 Centennial Exposition, 121
 Center for Business and Economic Research (UNLV), 184 n.7
 Central Nevada Historical Society, 145 n.95
 Central Pacific Railroad, 50, 56, 69 n.56
 Chapman, Arthur, 79-80, 81
- Chasmistes cujus*, 3, 38
 Cheops, 36
 Cheyenne, 79, 84, 85
 Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), 16; remains of 17; spawning by, 18
 Chung, Su Kim, 108; "Flies Millions Thick"—Diary of Heanne Wier's Collecting Trip to Southern Nevada, July-August 1908," 112-150
 Church, H. H., 133, 133 n.54
 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *See* Latter-day Saints; Mormons
 Churchill County, 148 n.103
 C.J. Strike Reservoir, 31 n.48
 Clark County, 116 n.1, 123 n.17, 124 n.23; unemployment in, 185 n.27
 Clark County School District, MGM Grand fire and, 173
 Clark, Ed W., 124 n.23, 129 n.41
 Clark, William A., 123 n.18, 129 n.43
 Clear Lake High School, 114
 Clemens, Earle R., 143, 143 n.86
 Clemens, Samuel, 155, 164 n.29
 Cline, Philip, conviction of, 185 n.41
 Clover Creek, 16
 Cohen, Felix, 68 n.34
 Cold Spring Field, 126 n.31
 Collier, John, 48, 56, 70 n.57; quotation, 46
 Colorado River, 117, 137, 137 n.72, 138
 Colorado River Commission, 125 n.27
 Columbia River, 16; dams on/ characteristics, table 26; natural ecology, 15; salmon in, 24, 39
 Columbia River Basin, 4, 15-16, 21, 29; dams, 15; fish habitat, 16; fur trade, 25; map, 15; salmon in, 24
 Commission on Fire Safety, 178
 Comstock, 50, 109, 121, 143 n.84; decline, 151; Irish in, 111 n.4; yield, 111 n.1
 Comstock Lode, 39, 40, 121 n.15
 Connors, Tim, on MGM fire, 171
 Consolidated Virginia and California Mine, 121 n.15
 Contact, Nevada, 20, 21
 Corps of Topographical Engineers, 36
 Creel, Lorenzo D., 52, 56; fishing and, 47, 73 n.90
 Creighton, Isabelle, 89, 91
 Crescent, Nevada, 108, 124, 136, 136 n.70, 137 n.71, 139, 140
 Crosby, Fred M., 43
 Cross, Eddie, 142 n.82
 Cross, Ernest L., 144 n.88
cui-ui, 3, 38, 44, 48, 49, 50; eating, 33, 34, 43; scarcity, 4
Cui-ui—Eaters, 33

- Cui-*ui* Pah*. See Pyramid Lake
 cultural values, Pyramid Lake, 23, 55, 59, 87
 Culverwell, Charles, 129 n.43
 Curry, James E., 57, 73 n.94
 cutthroat trout, 34, 38, 69 n.56; destruction,
 70 n.56
- Daily Stage*, 159, 166 n.56, 166 n.66
 Daleness, Eileen: on MGM tragedy, 182
 dams, 3, 16, 21, 28, 29, 31 n.48, 45, 46, 48, 58,
 126 n.27, 134 nn. 58, 61; characteristics
 (table) 26; construction, 15, 35-36; photo,
 20; salmon and, 27
 Dansie, Amy, 7, 10, 12, 37
 Davis, Mr., 147, 147 n.98
 Davis, Nellie, suicide, 164 n.31
 Davis Hotel, 147
De Lamar Lode, 130, 130 n.45, 132, 132 n.50
 Death Valley, 122, 143, 144
 Deer Creek Cave, 16, 17; remains from, 17
 Delamar, 119, 128 n.39, 131 n.47
 DeLamar, J. R., 131 n.49
 DeLoria, Vine, Jr., 71 n.74
 Denton, James A., 130 n.44
 Denton, Ralph, 130 n.44
 Denton, Senator, 131
 Denton Hotel, 130, 130 n.44
 Derby Dam, 3, 45, 46, 48, 58; construction, 35-36
 Devney, Louise, 166 n.56
 Diamond, Stanley, 74 n.105
 Dick, Mike (Blind Mike), 75 n.110
 Dickerson, Denver S., 131 n.49
 "Disaster in the Workplace: The Las Vegas
 MGM Grand Hotel Fire of 1980," by
 James P. Kraft, 109-10, 167-86
 displaced employees (MGM Grand), 109, 168,
 169, 173-77, 181
 Dixon, Kelly, 165 n.51
 Dodd, Robert, 58
 Dodge, Frederick, 67 n.28, 67 n.31, 68 n.32, 70
 n.56, 72 n.82
 Dodge, Henry, 55, 56
 Douglas, Henry, 42
 Dranga, Mr., Delamar Lode owner, 132
 Du Bois, Cora, 81
 Duck Valley, 19, 21
 Dunes Casino, construction projects, 169
 Dunn, Yvonne, 65 n.1
 Dunn Fish Hatchery, 50
 Durkheim, Émile, 55
 Dyer, Edward, 79, 80, 85
- Eckles, T. H., 145 n.92
 economic issues, 28, 110, 174
 Edmo, Eddie, 75 n.107
- Egelston, Fred W., 147 n.98
 Eichin, Carolyn Grattan, 109, "The Piper
 Brothers' Business of Amusements:
 Piper's Corner Bar," 151-66
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 71 n.74
 El Dorado Canyon, 117, 137, 137 n.72, 138 n.74
 Elko, Nevada, 20, 22
 Elko County, 22
 Elko *Independent*, 21, 23
 Elliott, Russell, 144 nn.88, 89
 Ely, Joe, 65 n.10
 Ely Mining District, 129 n.42
Ely Record, 129 n.42
 Emerson, Clyde, 148, 148 n.103
 Emm, Brady, on Truckee, 66-7 n.21
 Endangered Species Act, 49
 Endicott, Washington J., 72 n.82
 energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence (EDXRF),
 8, 10, 12
 Environmental Defense Fund, 72 n.78
 Ethnohistory Society, annual meetings, 65 n.1
Eureka Daily Sentinel, 155, 164 nn.28, 29
 Evans, Michael, 58
 Evermann, B. W., 21
 Executive Order of 23 March 1874, p. 40
 "Extraordinary Personal Experiences"
 (EPEs), 75 n.107
- Fairview News*, 148, 148 n.103
 Fallon Tribe, 72 n.78
 Federal Bureau of Investigation, 184 n.20
Ferguson Lode, 132 n.50
 Fire safety, 170, 180-81, 184 n.10; codes, 178-79,
 182; legislation, 169, 179, 180, 185 n.42;
 problems with, 186 n.56
 First Interstate Bank of Nevada, 184 n.7
 Fish and Game Committee (Pyramid Lake
 Paiute), 48
 fish-passage facilities, 16, 29
 fish sales, 44; illegal, 42-43
 fish traps, 18
 fisheries, 28, 55, 68 n.34; early Euro-American, 19-23
 fishery reports, 20-21
 fishing, 45, 49; commercial, 24, 43-44, 72 n.77;
 early, 37-38; illegal, 47; on-reservation,
 68 n.36; prejudice against Indian, 69
 n.53; traditional, 41
 fishing licenses, 48, 49, 60
 fishing rights, 39, 46, 59
 Flamingo Casino, 169, 170
 Flanigan, P. L., 148, 148 n.102
 "Flies Millions Thick"—Diary of Jeanne Wier's
 Collecting Trip to Southern Nevada,
 July-August 1908," by Su Kim Chung,
 108, 112-50

- Floriston Pulp and Paper Mill, 69 n.56
 food stamps, 175, 177
 Foote, Joseph Warren, 155 n.57
 Ford, Janet, 176, 182
 Ford Foundation, 49
 Fort Hall Reservation, 84
 Freehill, Thomas, 166 n.67
 Frémont, John Charles, 3, 36, 66 n.21; Pyramid Lake and, 37, 38, 39
 Freudenthal, Senator, 128, 128 n.38, 129
 Friends of Pyramid Lake, 58
 Fryer, E. Reesman, 73 n.91
 Frymire, Patricia, 184 n.4
 Fuller, J. L., 21
 Funeral Range, 122
 fur trappers, 19, 25
 Furnace Creek Range, 122
- Gable, Clark, Pyramid Lake and, 73 n.91
 gambling, 58, 60, 157, 169, 174, 179, 184 n.10, 185 n.27
 game fish, 44, 45, 49
 Garcia, Dora, 49, 58
 Garside, Frank F., 143 n.86
 Gaye, Marvin, 34
 Gelvin, Ralph, 73 n.91
A General Business and Mining Directory of Story, Lyon, Ormsby, and Washoe Counties, Nevada (Bethel publication), advertisement from, 157
 Gentry, Harry, 134 n.60
 Gentry's, 134, 134 n.50, 134 n.59, 134 n.60
 "Geologic Sources of Obsidian Artifacts from Spirit Cave, Nevada," by Richard E. Hughes, 5, 7-13
 Gesell, Bruce, 71 n.75
 Ghost Dance (1870), 81
 Ghost Dance (1890), 59, 74 n.99, 74 n.103, 75 n.108; Mormonism and, 83-84; prophet, 85, 87; theology of, 83; Wounded Knee massacre and, 77; Wovoka and, 76-91; writings about, 78
 Ghost Dance (2008), 75 n.108
 Ghost Shirts, 83, 84
 Gibson, Dave, 58
 Gilbert, Charles, 21
 Gillis, William, 156
 Gilmer, Walt, 21
 Gilmer Ranch, 21
 Ginsburg, Harvey, 171, 172
 Givens, Mrs., Weir letter to, 117 n.8
 Givens Hot Springs, 16
 Gold Creek Mine, hydraulic hoses, 25
 gold discoveries, 19, 25
Gold Hill Daily News, 158
Gold Hill News, 165 n.41
 Goldfield, 108, 109, 115, 119, 120, 121, 143, 145 n.94, 148, 148 n.102; mining in, 144, 144 n.89
Goldfield Chronicle, 144 n.91
Goldfield Chronicle-Review, 144, 144 n.91
 Goldfield Court House, 145
 Goldfield Hotel, 121 n.14; photo, 121
Goldfield News, 144, 144 n.91
Goldfield Review, 144 n.91
Goldfield Sun, 145 n.94
Goldfield Tribune, 108, 144, 144 n.90
 Goldman, Marion S., 165 n.41
 Goodrich, Eugene, 129, 128 n.38, 129 n.42
 Goodsprings, Nevada, 118, 123 n.17, 140, 140 n.77, 141 n.78
 Gracey, Charles, 137, 137 n.73
 Gracey, Mrs. Charles, 118, 137, 137 n.73, 138
 Grand Coulee Dam, salmon and, 27
 Grant, Ulysses S., 40
 Grassy Springs, Nevada, 131
 Gray, Mrs., boarding house of, 164 n.31
 Gray Horse (aka Ben Lancaster), 72 n.82, 73 n.91
 Great Basin, 16, 19, 35, 45, 67 nn.31, 32; lakes of, 36
 Great Basin Anthropological Conference, 78
 Great Basin Indians, 34, 39, 40, 44, 55, 66 n.16, 75 n.110; American hegemony and, 68 n.32; cultural ecology, 59; religions, 58; water loss and, 71 n.69
 Great Fire of 1875 (Virginia City), 152
 Great Revelation, 74 n.103, 88
 Great Stone Mother, 65 n.5
 Great Western Flyway, 36
 Green Monster Mine, 141, 141 n.78
 Griggs, Kathy, 177, 178, 181
 Grutt, Emil, 147 n.101
 Grutt, Eugene, 147 n.101, 149, 149 n.105
 Grutt, Fred, 147 n.101
 Grutt, Leo, 147 n.101
 Grutt Hill Mine, 147, 147 n.101
- Hanley, Mike, on salmon, 19
 Harnar, Nellie Shaw: Pyramid Lake and, 38
 Harney, John: salmon runs and, 19
 Harns, Mrs., 136, 136 n.69
 Harriman, E. H., 129 n.43
 Harris, Frank "Shorty," 142 n.82, 144 n.88
 Hawley, T. P., 68 n.34
Hearst Magazine, 152
 Hells Canyon Dam Complex, 16, 28, 29
 Hennessy Pass, 66 n.21
 Henry, Tom, 58
 Henry Piper and Co., 152, 156, 165 n.54
 Hernstadt, William, 178
 Hickel, Walter J., 34, 49

- Hidden Cave, 12
 high-rise buildings: fire-safety features for, 170; fires in, 179, 182-83
 Hiko, Nevada, 132, 132 n.51
 Hilton Corporation, 170; MGM Grand fire, 179; fire-safety standards and, 182
 Hittman, Michael, 4-5; "Mabel Wright and the Prayer that Saved *Cui-ui Pah* (Pyramid Lake)" 33-75; "Wovoka and the 1890 Ghost Dance Religion: Q&A with Gunard Solberg," 76-91
 Hoeffler, Raymond, 75 n.108
 Hoffman, on fishhooks, 19
 Holiday, Billie, 61
 Holland Hotel, 149
Honky (film), Solberg and, 77
 Hoover Dam, 126 n.27, 134 nn.58-61
 Hoover Institute, Merriam Hearings of, 58
Hornsilver Herald, 143, 144 n.87
 Hornsilver mining camp, 144 n.87
 Hotel and Motel Fire Safety Act (1990), 182
 Hotel Charleston (Las Vegas), 122
 Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, Local 226, p. 176, 185 n.133
 Hotel Goldfield, 120
 HUD housing, 76-77
 Hudson's Bay Company, 25
 Hughes, Richard E., 4; "Geologic Sources of Obsidian Artifacts from Spirit Cave, Nevada," 7-13
 Hulse, James, 128 n.35, 129 n.40
 Humboldt Basal-notched projectile points, 10, 12
 Humboldt National Forest, 14
 Humboldt River, 18, 23, 67 n.32, 74 n.97
 Humphrey, Hubert, 57
 hunting licenses, 60
 Huston, John, 73 n.91
 hydraulic hoses, 25; photo of, 25
- Ice Harbor dam, 28
 Ickes, Harold, defaulters and, 71 n.71
 Idaho Department of Fish and Game, 28
 Idaho Power, 28
 Imperial Palace, 169
 Independence Valley, 14, 21, 22
 Indian Ben, 125
Indian Country, 33
 Indian Reorganization Act, 48, 58
 International Hotel (Las Vegas), 170
 iron triangle, 72 n.78
 ironworkers, MGM Grand fire and, 173
 irrigation, water rights and, 48
- James, Susan, 162 n.6
 James, Teddie, 49, 58
 Japanese relocation camps, 73 n.94
 Jarbidge River, 4, 16, 20, 21, 23, 31 n.48; spawning in, 17-18; steelhead in, 22
 Jenkins, James, 70 n.60, 74 n.107
 John S. Cook Bank building, 142 n.82
 Johnson, Ed, 83
Jones v. Alabama, 68 n.34
 Jordan, Gertrude, 118, 137, 137 n.71
 Josephy, Alvin M., Jr., 49, 71 n.75, 72 n.82; patriot chiefs and, 55; Pyramid Lake and, 71 n.74; water battle and, 71 n.74
Jubilee (MGM Grand show), 176, 181, 182
 Jungels, Kathy, 182
- Karns, Mr., 136 n.69
 Keene, Guy T., 143 n.86
 Kehoe, Alice, 59
 Kennedy, Ted, Pyramid Lake and, 57
 Kent Mine, 141
 Kerkorian, Kirk, MGM Grand and, 170
 Kicking Bear, 78
 Kiel ranch, murder-suicide at, 124 n.22
 Klamath Reservation, 52
 Knack, Martha C., 45, 57, 60, 68 n.32, 71 n.75, 72 n.77; ethnocentric definitions and, 41; on Paiutes/fishing, 43, 48; on Pyramid Lake area, 36; Pyramid Lake Reservation and, 69 n.52
 Koa'aga'i, 18
 KOVR-TV, 49
 Kraft, James P., 109-10; "Disaster in the Workplace: The Las Vegas MGM Grand Hotel Fire of 1980," 167-86
 Kroeber, A. L., 74 n.105
Ku-yui, 38
 Kuchel, C. C., 163 n.17
Kuyuidokado, 35; Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation and, 38-46. *See also* Northern Paiute
 Kyle ranch, 124
- La Rivers, Ira, 21
Lady in Boomtown: Miners and Manners on the Nevada Frontier (Mrs. Hugh Brown), 145 n.95, 148 n.102
 Lahontan, Armand de Lom d'Arce de, 35
 Lahontan cutthroat salmon trout (*Salmo henshawi*), 34, 38, 50, 73 n.97
 Lahontan redbside (*Richardsonius egreghus*), 66 n.20
 Lahontan speckled dace (*Rhinichthys osculus robustus*), 66 n.20
 Lahontan tui chub (*Gila bicolor*), 66 n.20

- Lahontan Valley, 57
 Lake Bonneville, 35
 Lake Lahontan, 35, 37
 Lake Mead, 108, 134 nn.58, 61
 Lake Tahoe, 34, 35, 49, 71 n.74
 Lamb, Sydney, 66 n.16
 "Lamb Hypothesis," 66 n.16
 Las Vegas, 119, 120, 121, 123, 130, 132, 135;
 tourism in, 110, 168, 169, 174, 176, 177
Las Vegas Age, 125 n.26, 125 n.27, 133 n.54, 137
 n.71, 137 n.73, 143 n.83; on Crescent,
 Nevada, 136 n.70; Wier and, 118-19
 Las Vegas Convention Center, MGM Grand
 fire and, 173
 Las Vegas Fire Department, 171
 Las Vegas Ice and Manufacturing Company,
 122 n.16
 Las Vegas Land and Water, 124 n.24
Las Vegas News, 125, 125 n.27
Las Vegas Perspective, 184 n.7
 Las Vegas Police Department, MGM Grand
 fire and, 173
 Las Vegas Ranch, 123 n.18, 124 n.22, 141 n.80
Las Vegas Review-Journal, 184 n.7
 Las Vegas Townsite, 123 n.21, 126 n.27;
 photo, 122
 Latter-Day Saints (LDS), 84, 126 n.30, 126 n.31,
 132 n.52, 135 n.62. *See also* Mormons
 Laxalt, Paul, 34, 49, 71 n.74
 Leavitt, Granville Ernest, 149, 149 n.106
 Leavitt, M. B., 162 nn.2, 5
 Lee, Francis, 127 n.32
 Lee, Henry H., 129, 129 n.41
 Lee, Jane Vail Johnson, 127 n.32
 Lee, Jesse M., 41, 42
 Lee, John Nelson, 127, 127 n.32
 Lee, Melissa Kaziah Rollins, 127 n.32
 Leland, Robert, 49, 57
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 74 n.105, 87
 Lichatowich, Jim, 24
 Liebling, A. J., 36, 52, 71 n.71, 73 n.91
 life-saving technologies, 181, 183
 Liljeblad, Sven, 59, 75 n.107
 Lincoln County, 115, 116 n.1, 119, 123 n.17, 126
 n.30, 129
 Lincoln County Clerk's Office, 129
 Lincoln County Division Club, 125 n.26
 Lincoln County Publishing Company, 132 n.50
 List, Robert: MGM Grand fire and, 174, 178, 180
 Little Goose dam, 28
 Loder, Mr., oil smelter, 139
 Logan, 132, 133, 133 n.54, 135
 Logan, Robert, 133 n.55
 Logandale, Nevada, 133 n.54, 133 n.55
 Logging, 15, 19
 Lovelock Cave, 66 n.19
 Lovelock Culture, 37
 Lower Bruneau River, dam on, photo, 20
 Lower Granite dam, 28
 Lower Monumental dam, 28
 Lower Snake River, dams on, 27
 Lower Snake River Compensation Plan
 (LSRCP), 27
 Ludolph, Catherine, 165 n.44
 Lyndon Mines Company, 128 n.38
 Lyon County, 149 n.108, 150 nn.109, 110
Lyon County Times, 150 n.110
 "Mabel Wright and the Prayer that Saved
 Cui-ui Pah (Pyramid Lake)," by Michael
 Hittman, 4-5, 33-75
 Mackay, John W., 121, 121 n.15
 Maganelli, Rosalie, 186 n.51
 Magnolia Saloon (Virginia City), 155, 156, 157
 Maguire's Opera House, 155
 Manse Ranch, 140 n.77, 141
 Marina Hotel (Las Vegas), 169
 Marriott, fire-safety standards and, 182
 Marsh, William, 144 n.89
 Martin, Anne, Wier and, 115
 Martin, Hugh, 21
 Mason Valley, 76, 80, 81, 85, 89, 91, 149 n.107,
 150 n.109
 Mason Valley Mine, 90, 150
 Matthews, Ann, 126 n.31
 Matthews, Charles, 126, 126 n.31, 127
 Matthews, Elizabeth, 126 n.31
 Matthews, William, Sr., 126 n.31
 Mawee, "Chief" Abraham, 58
 Maxim (Casino), 169
 Maxson, H. B., 148, 148 n.102
 Mayhugh, John S., 86
 McCarran Airport, MGM Grand fire and, 173
 McCarran, Patrick A., 45, 48, 71 n.71, 73 nn.91,
 94; quotation, 38; squatters and, 57
 McCoy, Tim, 80
 McCracken, Robert, 145 n.95
 McDivitt, C. J., 145 n.92
 McIntosh, Mrs. J. Q., 130
 McNamee, Frank R., 130, 131, 131 n.46, 132
 McQuivey, Robert, 20
 McQuivey, Robert P., Collection, 31 n.32
 McWilliams, J. T., 123 n.21
 Meadow Valley, boundary dispute, 126 n.30,
 129 n.43
 Meadow Valley Wash, 135 n.64
 Meatte, Daniel, 18
 Merriam Hearings, 58
 Messiah Letter, 85-86
 Mexican-American War (1848), 35

- MGM Grand (Las Vegas), 184 n.4, 184 n.20, 184 n.24, 186 n.51; closing, 169, 174; construction, 170; emergency evacuation plan, 170; press conference at, 185 n.26; rebuilding, 174; safety issues, 182; security department, 181; sprinkler system, 180, 186 n.48
- MGM Grand (Las Vegas) fire, 185 n.41; 167-86; deaths, 172; displaced employees, 109, 168, 169, 173-74, 174-76, 176-77, 181; impact, 168, 176, 177-78, 178-82; photo, **168**
- Miller, William, 162 n.6
- Mina, Nevdada, 146, 147 n.99
- Mina Miner*, 147
- Mineral County, 149 n.106
- Miners & Union Hall (Crescent), 140
- Miners' Union Hall (Rhyolite), 142 n.82
- Miniconjou, 83
- mining, 15, 24, 115, 141
- mining camps, 42; photo, **139**
- "The Misfits," (John Huston), 73 n.91
- Mission Café, 120
- Mizpah mine, 145
- Moapa, 132, 133 n.54, 135, 135 n.63
- Moapa River Reservation, 135, 135 n.63
- Moapa Valley, 129 n.41
- Mohammed, 87
- Mohave Desert, 123 n.19
- Mohave war, 125
- Mojave Preserve, 136 n.69
- Monkey Wrench Mine, 131, 131 n.48
- Mono Basin, 12
- Monroe land survey, 70 n.57
- Montgomery, David: on salmon, 29
- Mooney, James, 79, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88; Wovoka and, 80
- Moore, Eugene, 40
- Mormon Fort, 135 n.65
- Mormon houses, 123, 123 n.20
- Mormon Station (Genoa), 124 n.25
- Mormons, 123, 123 n.19, 123 n.20, 126, 126 n.29, 126 n.30, 127 n.34, 133, 135 n.62; Ghost Dance/Wovoka and, 83-84. *See also* Latter Day Saints
- Morton, Rogers, 49
- Mount Charleston, 125 n.26
- Mt. Hicks, 10, 12
- Mt. Mazama, 12
- Mud Lake, 35, 40, 67 n.28
- Muddy River, 132 n.52, 133 n.57, 134, 134 n.58, 135, 135 n.62
- Muddy River Valley, 118, 132, 133 n.57, 134 n.58, 134 n.60
- Muddy Valley Telephone Company, 133 n.54
- Murphy, Tim, 18
- "Must Pyramid Lake Die" (KQVR-TV), 49
- Myer, Dillon, 73 n.94
- nabagappi maraid*, 83
- Nahas Cave, 16, 17
- Natches, Gilbert, 58
- National Park Service, 54, 72 n.82
- Native American Church, 73 n.91
- Native American Rights Fund (NARF), 49
- Native Americans, 6; American citizenship and, 74 n.107; fish and, 4; rights of, 47
- Navaho, 85
- Neal, Joe: fire-safety legislation and, 179, 185 n.42
- Nebraska Historical Society, 81
- Nellis Air Force Base, MGM Grand fire and, 172
- Nelson, Nevada, 108, 117, 119, 138, 138 n.74, 139
- Nephites, 84
- Nesbit, George, 128, 128 n.39
- Nesbit, James A., 128 n.39
- "Nevada" (Frances Fuller Victor), text, 110
- Nevada Agricultural Experiment Station, 133 n.54
- Nevada Department of Wildlife, 20
- Nevada Development Authority, 184 n.7
- Nevada Directory for 1868-69*, (Piper's) advertisement, **156**
- Nevada Employment Security Department, 175
- Nevada Fire Safety Act (1981), 109, 180
- Nevada Fish and Game Commission, Pyramid Lake and, 72 n.82
- Nevada Gaming Control Board, 180
- Nevada Historical Society (NHS), 52, 110, 112, 128 n.37, 131 n.49, 136 n.66, 137 n.73; mission of, 5; Jeanne Wier and, 108, 114, 114 n.2, 115-16, 117, 118, 119, 123 n.20, 141 n.81; Frank Williams and, 123 n.17
- Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 4, 5, 6
- Nevada Hotel (Rawhide), 147
- Nevada Legislature, 109, 115
- Nevada Resort Association (NRA), 180
- Nevada State Gaming Commission, Aladdin Casino and, 185 n.27
- Nevada State Historic Preservation Office, 146 n.97
- Nevada State Museum, 7, 141 n.79
- Nevada Supreme Court, 45, 148
- Nevada Territorial Legislature, 148
- "New Age of the Buffalo," 60-61
- New Deal for Indians, 71 n.71
- The New Yorker*, 66 n.11
- Newlands, Francis G., 45, 115
- Newlands Reclamation Act (1902), 45, 46, 50, 71 n.75, 72 n.76, 72 n.78, 115

- Newlands Reclamation Project, 36, 46, 48, 57
 NHS. *See* Nevada Historical Society
 Nicklin, C. W., 125 n.27, 143 n.83
 Nightingale Mountains, 39
 Nippeno, 136 nn.69, 70
 Nipton, 136, 136 n.69, 140
 Nixon, Richard, 34, 71 n.74
 Noel, Thomas J., 163 n.20
 Northern Paiute, 18, 33, 52, 54, 56, 58, 59, 76, 79, 85; communalism of, 44; conditions for, 41; cultural beliefs, 60; cultural/legal rights, 47; fish sales, 42, 43; fishing, 34-35, 38-46, 55, 56, 66 n.20, 67 n.26, 68 n.36; hunting/gathering, 17; Pyramid Lake and, 35, 43, 58, 72 n.76; victories, 48-50; water loss and, 71 n.69
 Northern Shoshone, 18
 Northrup, Frank, 58
 Numaga, 73 n.97, 74 n.97
 Numana, Dave, 50, 52; quotation, 35
 Numataivo, 81
Numu, 41, 66 n.20
 Nye, James W., 70 n.57, 143 n.84
 Nye County, 115, 144 n.88
- Oak Station, 131, 132
 Oasis Saloon (Tonopah), 145 n.95
 obsidian, 8, 10; sources, 11, 12
 obsidian artifacts, 7-13, 8; burial/organic material and, 12; laboratory analysis, 8, 10; quantitative composition estimates, 9; Zr vs. Sr composition of, 10.
 Old Corner Bar (Virginia City), 109
 Old Corner Saloon (Virginia City), 152, 155, 163 n.17
 Old Overton, Nevada, 133 n.57
 Old St. Joseph, Nevada, 133 n.57
 Oliver, J. D., 47, 70 n.62
 Oregon Short Line, 129 n.43
 Orr Ditch Decree, 58, 71 n.73
 Orr, William E., 128, 128 n.38, 128 n.39, 129, 129 n.42
 "'Our' Pauline Christianity and 'Their' 1890 Ghost Dance: Epistemological Heavens and Hells" (Michael Hittman lecture), 78
 Overbury building, 142 n.82
 Overland Café (Las Vegas), 122
 Overton, 133, 133 n.57
 Owens Lake, 34, 60, 65 n.3
 Owyhee River, 16, 19, 21, 22, 29; fisheries resources, 31 n.32; salmon, 23; South Fork of, 14, 18, 20, 23; spawning in, 17
- Pahrnagat Valley, 131 n.47, 132 n.51
 Pahump, 140 n.77, 141
- Paiute, 3, 39, 40, 42, 78, 87, 90, 123 n.18, 125, 135 nn.62, 63; fish sales and, 43; fishing by, 18, 19, 47; tradition of, 83; truce with, 48; water rights of, 71 n.75
 Panaca, 125-26, 126 n.30, 127, 127 n.32, 127 n.33, 127 n.34, 130
 Panamint, 122
 Panic of 1807, p. 142 n.82
 Panorama City Community Hospital, MGM fire and, 172
 Parrish, Hank, 124 n.22
 Parrish, Roy, 171, 181
 Paulina, Mabel Wright. *See* Wright, Mabel
 Paulina, Paul: marriage of, 52
 Pelcyger, Robert S., 57
 Pence-Duerig Cave, 16
 Peper, Gesche, 152
 Peper, Joachim, 152
 Pine Grove, 91
 Pioche, Nevada, 119, 127, 128, 129, 130
 Pioche, François Louis Alfred, 128 n.35
 Pioche and Bullionville Railroad, 127 n.33
 Pioche Court House, 129
 Pioche Meat Company, 129 n.41
 Pioche mines, 137 n.73
Pioche Record, 128 n.38, 128 n.39, 129, 131 n.48
 Pioneer Day (Mormon celebration), 126 n.29
 Piper, August, 156
 Piper, Charles, 152
 Piper, Edward, 161
 Piper, George, 159, 166 nn.66, 67
 Piper, Henry, 152, 157, 161, 164 n.36, 165 n.44, 166 nn.55, 56, 59; bankruptcy, 159, 165 n.54; characterization of, 162 n.1; lawsuit versus, 156; Opera House and, 155, 164 n.32
 Piper, Jerry, 156, 165 n.40
 Piper, John, 151, 156, 162 n.6, 163 n.15, 163 n.17, 165 n.44; Alhambra theater and, 165 n.41; bankruptcy, 159, 163 n.17, 166 n.61; brothels and, 164 n.23; business papers, 160; exceptionalism of, 161; importance, 152; Opera House and, 155, 164 n.32; photo, 153; probity of, 162 n.2
 Piper, John Henry, 152, 156; photo, 154
 Piper, Joseph, 152, 157, 159, 161, 164 n.36, 165 n.54; death, 161; lawsuit versus, 156
 Piper, Louisa, 162 n.6, 163 n.17
 "The Piper Brothers' Business of Amusements: Piper's Corner Bar," by Carolyn Grattan Eichin, 109, 151-66
 Piper Brothers Saloon, 152
 Piper's Branch Saloon, 156
 Piper's Building, 156
 Piper's Corner Bar, article about, 151-166
 Piper's Corner Saloon, 156, 157, 158, 159

- Piper's Opera House, 109, 152, 153, 155, 159, 162 n.5, 162 n.6, 164 nn.23, 32; photo, 158
- Piper's Opera House Sample Rooms, 152
- Piper's Saloon, 152, 155
- Pittsburg-Silver Peak Gold Mining Company, 146 nn.96, 97
- PL-101, introduction of, 57
- Polanski, Roman, 65 n.1
- Policeman Ben, 80
- Praggastis, Alissa, and Jack E. Williams, "Salmon's Presence in Nevada's Past," 14-32
- Putnam, Thomas Nichols, 114 n.2
- Pyramid Lake, 6, 23; 33-75; antiquity of human population at caves near, 37-38, 66 n.19; closing of, 70 nn.59, 60; congressional investigation of, 57; cutthroat trout in, 69 n.56; development around, 3, 60; drainage of, 35; economy of, 38; environmental pressures, 4-5; fishing, 37-38, 43, 44, 55, 66 n.20, 73 n.91; Frémont and, 37, 38, 39; historical marker at, 54; indigenous population, 43; Lovelock Culture and, 37; owners of, 40, 44; Paiute and, 55, 58, 72 n.76; poetic description of, 65 n.11; salmon in, 38; saving, 33, 34, 36, 46, 49, 50, 52-54, 57-58, 59, 60; water rights, 49, 58
- Pyramid Lake cutthroat trout (*Oncorhynchus clarkii henshawi*), 3; extinction, 4
- Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, 40, 54-55, 56
- Pyramid Lake Indian Tribe, 33, 58, 72 n.76
- Pyramid Lake Northern Paiute, 41, 46, 56-57, 58, 67 n.32, 69 n.56, 70 n.59, 71 n.74, 74 n.107
- Pyramid Lake Paiute, 33, 58, 71 n.75, 72 nn.76, 78; council formation, 46-47; diet/economy, 38; Endangered Species Act and, 49; Fish and Game Committee of, 48; fishing by, 41, 44, 47, 50; Pyramid Lake and, 55; water concessions and, 49
- Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Council, 49, 72 n.78, 75 n.110
- Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe of Indians v. Rogers C.B. Morton et al.*, 49
- Pyramid Lake Reservation, 33, 34, 36, 39, 41, 42, 46, 47, 50, 52, 57, 58, 61; commercial developments, 60; establishment of, 35, 56, 40, 70 n.57, 72 n.82; fish sales, 42, 43; fishing, 44, 66 n.34, 69 n.53, 73 n.90; irrigation, 49; legality of, 70 n.57; Northern Paiute and, 38, 43; resources of, 60; state laws and, 45
- Pyramid Lake War, 40, 45, 68 n.32, 73 n.97
- Queen source obsidian, 10, 12
- Radin, Paul, 74 n.105
- Ragtown, Nevada, 123, 123 n.21
- Ramada Corporation, construction projects by, 169
- Rawhide, Nevada, 119, 146, 147, 147 n.101, 148, 148 n.104, 149
- Rawhide News*, 148, 148 n.103
- Rawhide Press-Times*, 148, 148 n.103, 149, 149 n.105
- Rawhide Times Publishing Company, 149 n.105
- Reagan, Ronald, 34, 49, 71 n.74
- Red Christ, 85, 86, 88
- Red Cross, 176, 184 n.20; MGM Grand fire and, 173
- Reese, John, 68 n.32
- Reese River District, 25
- Reid, Harry, 57, 72 n.78
- Reid, John B., editor's note, 3-6, 108-10
- Reno, 48, 119, 120, 147, 150; fish sales in, 43
- Reno Evening Gazette*, 69 n.53
- Reno Hotel Roof Garden, 120
- Reymers, Barney H., 149 n.108
- Reymers, William A., 149 n.108
- Reymer's Ranch, 149
- Rhyolite, 109, 119, 121, 141, 142, 143 n.85, 144, 144 n.88, 146; Panic of 1907 and, 142 n.82; photo, 142
- Rhyolite Herald*, 143, 143 n.86
- Richardson, "Auntie" Lillus, 65 n.5
- riparian habitat, 25, 27, 28
- riparian water rights, 55, 68 n.34
- Ritz-Carlton chain, fire-safety standards and, 182
- Riverboat Casino (Las Vegas), 177
- Ronnow, Charles C., 124, 124 n.23
- Rood, Clara, 114 n.2
- Rosenbrock, Henry, 157
- Rosenbrock, John, 156, 157, 165 nn.41, 44
- Rothbart, Ron, 162 n.3
- Rothkoph, Bernard, 185 n.26
- Rowland, 20
- Ruby City, Idaho, 20
- Rusco, Elmer E., 57, 72 n.78
- Rusco, Mary, 58
- Ruuska, Alex, 65 n.5
- Sacramento Bee*, 49
- St. Thomas, Nevada, 108, 119, 134, 134 nn.58, 59, 60, 61
- salmon, 44, 50; 14-32; cultural impact of, 21-23; decline, 23-25, 27-28; distribution, 20-23, 24; economic impact of, 21-23; fishing for, 18, 19, 23; future of, 27-28; habitat for, 16; obstacles for, 27; population of, 27; spawning by, 17, 24, 29. *See also* Trout

- Salmon Falls Creek, Nevada, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 29
- Salmon-Trout River, 38
- "Salmon's Presence in Nevada's Past," by Alissa Praggastis and Jack E. Williams, 4, 14-32
- Salvation Army, 176; MGM Grand fire and, 173
- Sam's Town (Las Vegas), 177
- San Francisco, 121, 128 n.35, 151
- San Francisco Chronicle*, 140 n.76
- San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad Company (SPLASL), 122 n.16, 123 n.18, 124 n.24, 125, 128 n.35, 129 n.43, 135 n.65, 136 n.69
- Sands, construction projects by, 169
- Sarras, Ferminia, 147 n.99
- Scherry, Nevada, 147
- Schurz, Nevada, 149, 149 n.106
- Schweitzer, E. A., 180
- Searchlight, Nevada, 119, 135, 136, 136 n.68, 136 n.70, 137, 137 n.72, 139, 140
- Searchlight Bulletin*, 139 n.75
- Searchlight Publishing, 136 n.68
- Sells, Cato, 72 n.82
- Semenza, Edwin S., 166 n.56
- shamans, 58, 83, 86, 88, 74 n.105, 75 n.110; deception by, 87; songs of, 59
- Shaw, Wilfred, 49, 58
- Sheep, Charley, 79
- Shelia* (Gunard Solberg), 77
- Shellbach Cave, 18
- Shepperson, Wilber S., 162 n.3
- Short Bull, 78
- Shoshone, 40, 58, 66 n.16, 74 n.99; fishing by, 18, 19
- Shoshone Falls, 16
- Show, Arley B., 141, 141 n.81, 142, 144
- Silver City, Idaho, 20
- Silver Peak, Nevada, 146, 146 nn.96, 97
- Silver Peak Railroad, 146 nn.96, 97
- Sinatra, Frank, gaming license and, 179
- Sioux, 79, 83, 84
- Skimmerhorn, John, 38
- Smith, Bessie, 61
- Smith, E. W., 145, 145 n.95
- Smith, Joseph, 84
- Smith, Thomas S., 134 n.58
- Smith Valley, Nevada, 81
- Snake River, 18, 21, 31 n.48; dams on, table, 26; 28, 29; fish passage/ water quality, 29; migration up, 17; salmon in, 16, 27, 28, 29
- Snug saloon (Virginia City), 159, 161, 166 n.66
- Snyder, Jess, 14
- Solberg, Gunard, 5, 75 n.108; photo, 77; Q&A with, 76-91; reaction of, 78
- Southern Arapaho, 85
- Southern Paiute, 58, 66 n.16, 84
- Spanish Spring Valley, 39
- spawning, 16, 17, 24, 25, 27, 29, 34, 47, 48
- Spirit Cave, 4; obsidian artifacts from, 8, table 9, 10, fig. 10, 12; specimens at, 7, 10
- Spirit Cave Mummy, 7, 37
- SPLASL. *See* San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad Company
- Sprague, Charles S., 144 n.91
- Spring Project, 48
- sprinkler systems, 170, 180, 182-83, 184 n.10, 186 nn.48, 56
- squatters, 38-46, 47, 55, 57, 67 n.23, 71 n.71
- Squires, Charles Pember "Pop," 125, 125 n.27
- Stampede Reservoir, 49-50
- steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), 22, 28; ascent of, 16, 27, 31 n.48; habitat, 16; spawning, 17
- Stephenson, Ward, 132
- Steward, Julian, 18, 59
- Stewart, Archibald, 123 n.18, 124 nn.22, 23
- Stewart, Helen, 123, 123 n.18, 124, 125, 135 n.65, 136; basket collection, 136 n.66; death, 136 n.66
- Stewart, Omer C., 39, 57, 60, 68 n.32, 71 n.75, 72 nn.77, 85; on Pyramid Lake area, 36
- Stewart, William Morris, 108, 142 n.82, 143, 143 n.84, 143 n.85, 146, 181; quotation, 37
- Stewart Institute, 52
- Stewart ranch, 123, 124, 135, 135 n.65
- Stillwater Mountains, 12
- Stillwater National Wildlife Refuge, 46
- Stimler, Harry, 144 n.89
- Stitser, Robert, 49, 57
- Stoffle, Richard, 58
- Stone Mother, 65 n.10
- Storey County, 161, 163 n.15
- Strickland, Ed, 22
- Strosnider, Winnie, 145
- Sturtevant, William C., 67 n.22
- Sullivan, Daniel, MGM Grand fire and, 173-74
- Sumner, F. H., 56
- Sunrise Hospital, MGM Grand fire and, 172
- Sutcliffe, 43, 50
- Sutcliffe, James, 72 n.77
- Sutor Spring, 12
- Swan Falls Dam, 21, 31 n.48
- Sweeney, Bert, 172
- Syphus, Christiana, 127 n.34
- Syphus, E. H., 133 n.54
- Syphus, Luke, 127, 127 n.34
- Syphus, Mr., 134
- tagging law, 45, 49
- Tahoe sucker (*Castostomus tahoensis*), 66 n.20
- Taivos*, 55, 59

- Tales of Wovoka* (Gunard Solberg), 5, 76
 Taylor, Arnid, 147
 TCID. *See* Truckee-Carson Irrigation District teamsters, 177
 Techatticup Mine, 138 n.74
 Terra Linda High School, Solberg and, 77
Territorial Enterprise, 155, 157-58, 164 n.29
 Three Island Crossing, 16
 Tiffany Mine, 137 n.71
 Tobey, Warren, 73 n.97
 Tonopah, 115, 145, 146 n.96, 146 n.97, 148 n.102, 176, 177; mining in, 144 n.89, 145 n.92
Tonopah Bonanza, 145, 145 n.93
Tonopah Miner, 145, 145 n.92
 tourism, 178, 182; Las Vegas, 110, 168, 169, 174, 176, 177
 Townley, John, 140 n.76
 Trade and Intercourse Act (1834), 42
 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848), 40
 Trelease, Thomas J., 72 n.82
 Tremewan, Syd, quotation, 14
 Tropicana Hotel (Las Vegas), 176
 trout, 38, 43, 44; spawning by, 47, 48.
 See also salmon
 Truckee, Captain, 66 n.21
 Truckee Basin, 67 n.28
 Truckee-Carson Irrigation District (TCID), 48, 70 n.59, 72 n.76
 Truckee-Carson-Pyramid Lake Water Rights Settlement Act (1990), 50, 75 n.110
 Truckee River, 3, 23, 35, 36, 38, 40, 45, 50, 58, 66 n.21, 67 n.28, 115; diversion, 49; fish species in, 38; fishing on, 41-42, 44, 48, 55, 66 n.20; fish planting, 34; sewage in, 69 n.56; subsistence on, 39; water from, 46
 Truckee River Operating Agreement (TROA), 75 n.110
 Truckee River Water Users' Association, 45
 Truckee Valley, 40, 56
 Truman, Harry S., 128 n.39
 Tunney, John: squatters and, 57
 Tunney, Gene, 57
 Tuohy, Donald, 7, 10, 12
 Tuscarora, 4, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23
Tuscarora Times-Review, 21, 22-23
 Twain, Mark, 164 n.27
 Udall, Stewart, 49
 unemployment, 175, 185 n.26
 Union Pacific Railroad, 84, 129 n.43, 131 n.46
 unions, 109, 169, 177; displaced employees and, 176
 U.S. Constitution, 47; Commerce Clause and, 71 n.74
 U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, 75 n.110, 128 n.39
 U.S. Fire Administration, 186 n.54
 U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, *cui-ni* and, 4
 United States Fish Commission, 21, 24
 United States Post Office, 87
 U.S. Supreme Court, Winters Doctrine and, 58
United States v. Orr Water Ditch Company (1944), 48-49
 University of Nevada, 123 n.17; Wier and, 114, 115, 115 n.4, 116
 University of Nevada at Las Vegas, MGM Grand fire and, 173
 Ute, 66 n.16, 84
 Valdez, Ida Mae, 65 n.5, 77
 Valdez, Rafael, 77
 Valley Hospital, MGM Grand fire and, 172
 Vander, Judith, 58, 74 n.99
 Vegas Artesian Water Syndicate, 125 n.26
 Victor, Frances Fuller, "Nevada," 110
 Vidovich, Alice Wilson, 83, 87
 Vidovich, Andy, 83
 Vidovich, James, 49, 58
 Virgin River, 132 n.52, 134, 134 n.58, 135 n.62
 Virginia City, Nevada, 50, 67 n.32, 73 n.94, 151, 152, 162 n.5, 162 n.6, 163 n.17; fish sales in, 43; Pipers and, 155, 156, 157, 161; population, 109
 Virginia City, Great Fire of 1875, 157, 158
Virginia Evening Bulletin, 164 n.23
 Virginia Mountains, 39
 Wabuska, 147, 149, 149 n.107, 150
 Wadsworth, Nevada, 50, 69 n.56, 70 n.56
 Walker, Joseph Redford, 67 n.32
 Walker Lake, 60, 75 n.108, 81, 86
 Walker River, 79, 89
 Walker River Indian Reservation, 59, 83, 87, 149 n.106
 Walker River Paiutes, 86
 Walker River School, 149 n.106
 Wall Street mine, 137 n.72
 Washoe, sacred site, 75 n.110
 Washoe Project, opposition to, 49
 water loss, 71 n.69, 71 n.73
 water rights, 49, 55, 59; irrigation and, 48; violation of, 38-46
 Webb, Mary: Pyramid Lake and, 65 n.11
 Wells, Captain, 68 n.32
 Wells Fargo, 43, 70 n.56
 Western Nevada Copper Mine, 150
Western Nevada Miner, 147 n.98
 Western Shoshone, 17, 18, 68 n.32, 84
 Wheat, Margaret "Peg," 34, 50, 52

- Wheatley House, 137
- Wheeler-Howard Bill (1934), 48
- White, Arthur, 146
- Whitmore, Elizabeth, 133 n.57
- Wier, Augustus William "Will," Jr., 114, 114 n.2
- Wier, Elizabeth Greenside, 114
- Wier, Eva, 114
- Wier, Jeanne Elizabeth, 108, 110; Aztecs and, 140 n.76; career of, 114-16; collecting trips of, 112-50; correspondence of, 117, 118, 119; diary of (photo), 120; education of, 114-15, 115 n.4, 141 n.81; Kiel ranch and, 124 n.22; local history and, 136 n.67; photograph, 113; youth, 114 n.1
- Wier, Melbie, 114 n.2
- Williams, Billy, 58
- Williams, Edith, 123 n.17
- Williams, Jack E., and ALissa Praggastis, "Salmon's Presence in Nevada's Past," 4, 4-32
- Williams, Mr., 136, 136 n.70, 138
- Williams, W. Frank, 118, 122, 123, 123 n.17
- Williams Station, 68 n.32, 124 n.25
- Wilson, Abigail, 85, 87
- Wilson, Alice, 89, 90
- Wilson, Beth Ellis, 85, 91
- Wilson, Billy, 85, 87
- Wilson, David, 80, 85, 87
- Wilson, Dennis, 89, 90
- Wilson, Jack. *See* Wovoka
- Wilson, Woodrow, 37
- Wind River Reservation, 74 n.99, 81
- Wind River Shoshone, 58
- Winnemucca, 58
- Winnemucca, Avery, 73 n.97
- Winnemucca, Chief, 66 n.21, 73 n.97
- Winnemucca, Sarah, 3, 66 n.21, 68 n.32
- Winnemucca Lake, 35, 36, 39, 40, 67 n.28, 68 n.32
- Winnemucca Lake National Wildlife Refuge, 72 n.78
- Winnemucca *Silver State*, 21, 22
- Winter, William, 162 nn.5, 6
- Winters Doctrine, 46, 58, 71 n.75
- Winters v. U.S.* (1908), 46
- Wizards Beach Cave, 4
- Wizards Beach Man, 3, 37
- Wodziwob (Fish Lake Joe), 81
- Wood, Charlie, 22
- Wounded Knee, 77, 80, 83, 86
- "Wovoka and the 1890 Ghost Dance Religion: Q&A with Gunard Solberg," by Michael Hittman, 76-91
- Wovoka and the Ghost Dance* (Michael Hittman), 89
- "The Wovoka Centennial," Hittman-Solberg collaboration, 78
- Wovoka/Jack Wilson, 5, 59; Campbell Ranch and, 88; crucifixion and, 86; Ghost Dance and, 76-91; grave marker photo, 79; Great Revelation and, 78; Mormonism and, 83, 84; photo, 82, 89; as Red Christ, 85, 86; religion of, 77, 78, 85; search for, 84; understanding, 87-88; world religions and, 87
- Wright, Annie, 52
- Wright, Johnny, 52
- Wright, Mabel, 3, 4-5, 33-75, 65 n.1, 72 n.82, 75 n.108; Northern Paiutes and, 35; parents, 52; photo, 51; prayer song, 47, 50, 52-54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62-64, 65 n.5; Pyramid Lake and, 5, 6, 52, 59, 60; shamanistic power of, 59
- Yardas, David, 72 n.78
- Yellow Pine Mining District, 140 n.77
- Yerington, 149, 150, 150 n.110
- Yerington Paiute Indian Colony, 67 n.21
- Yerington Paiute Tribe, 78
- Yerington Times*, 150, 150 n.110
- Young, Brigham, 89, 126 n.29, 133 n.57, 137 n.72
- Yount, Joseph, 140, 140 n.77, 141
- Yount, Samuel, 140 n.77
- Zanjani, Sally, 121 n.14

Nevada Historical Society Membership Form

Experience Nevada's history with the oldest museum in the state

A membership in the Nevada Historical Society is the perfect way to embrace your fascination with Nevada's rich heritage. A year's membership includes: four issues of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* publication, unlimited free admission to all seven museums in the Nevada Division of Museums and History, personalized membership card, e-newsletter, membership *eBlasts* are regular email announcements to upcoming and current exhibitions, free exhibit events and programs, and a 15% discount in all the museums' stores. Another bonus, any amount over the initial \$20 that is paid toward membership fees is tax deductible. These fees support educational programming at the Nevada Historical Society.

Membership is more than benefits—it's about supporting one of Nevada's cultural institutions. Thank you for your support!

Membership Categories

Yes, I want to become a member of the Nevada Historical Society at the following membership level:

Yes, I want to renew my membership at the following level (renewal date _____)

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Individual | \$35 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Family | \$60 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Institutional | \$50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Sustaining | \$100 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Contributing | \$250 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Patron | \$500 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Benefactor | \$1,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Student* | \$20 (proof of ID required) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Senior* | \$20 |

**The student and senior levels do not include the Nevada Historical Society Quarterly. If you would like to receive the Quarterly, membership at the higher levels, beginning at \$35, is available.*

No, I do not wish to be a member of the Historical Society, but please accept my tax deductible donation in the amount of \$_____

Name(s) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone: Home _____ Business _____

Email _____

The Society respects your right to privacy. We will not share your e-mail address with other organizations.



Mail this form and your check to:

Nevada Historical Society

Attn: Membership, 1650 N. Virginia St. Reno, NV 89503
775-688-1190 • www.nevadaculture.org



Nevada Historical Society Quarterly Advertisement Guidelines

The advertisement guidelines are the basis for promoting publications of historical merit based upon regional history including the West, the Great Basin and Nevada. The quarterly publication assists in fulfilling the mission for the Nevada Historical Society.

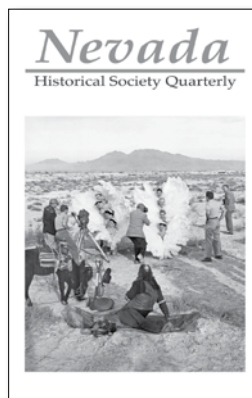
Publication Trim Size:

7" x 10"

Sizes & Specs:

Black & White Ads only
Artwork format: 300 dpi PDF

<i>Ad size</i>	<i>width</i>	x	<i>height (no bleed)</i>
Quarter page	3"	x	2.5"
Half page	6"	x	5"
Full page	6"	x	9"



NHS Quarterly Advertising Rates:

The NHS Quarterly gives discounts for the purchase of multiple advertisements based upon number of ads and ad size. The general location of the advertisements will be located at the end of the quarterly.

<i>Ad size</i>	<i>4x</i>	<i>2x</i>	<i>1x</i>
Quarter page	60.00	70.00	80.00
Half page	100.00	120.00	140.00
Full page	150.00	175.00	200.00
<i>Premium Location: Back Inside Cover</i>	<i>1x</i>		
Half page	200.00		
Full Page	275.00		

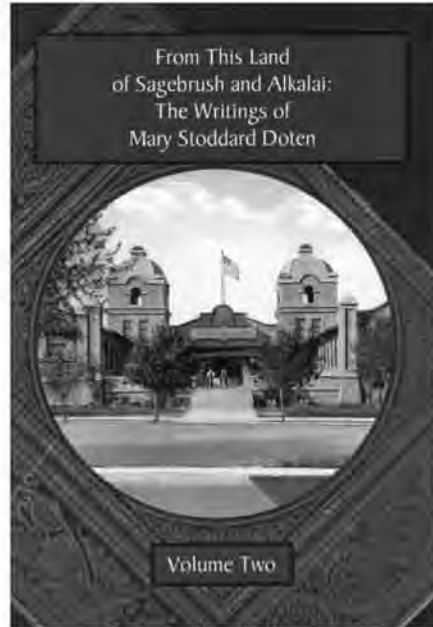
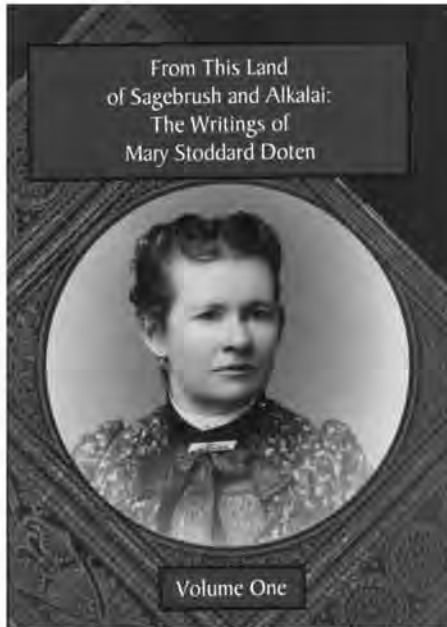
NHS Quarterly Deadlines:

<i>Issue print date</i>	<i>Reserve date</i>	<i>Artwork due</i>
Spring (March)	December 10	end of December
Summer (June)	March 10	end of March
Fall (Sept)	June 10	end of June
Winter (Dec)	September 10	end of September

Sheryln L. Hayes-Zorn
775-688-1190, ext 222
SHayesZorn@nevadaculture.org

From this Land of Sagebrush and Alkali: The Writings of Mary Stoddard Doten

Editor/Biographer Lynn Bremer



Book synopsis by Dr. James Hulse

Mary Stoddard Doten was an articulate daughter of the late Victorian era, transplanted from New England to the Nevada mining frontier in 1870. After her marriage deteriorated, she moved to Reno, where she became a respected educator, lecturer, and advocate of women's rights. A longtime teacher of English literature in local classrooms, she enjoyed the honor of having a school named after her. This two-volume set contains all of Mary's stories, essays, lectures and poems.

The Society is thrilled to have these books made available in our museum store. Mary's writings and photographs were compiled from the MS NC 99 Doten Family Collection. Additional images used are from the University of Nevada Special Collections.

Hardback - \$19.99 each, set is \$35.00

Paperback - \$14.99 each, set is \$25.00

The Nevada Historical Society History Conference

Thinking Beyond Nevada's Borders: Western History in New Perspectives
SEPTEMBER 25-26, 2015

Our theme this year is "Thinking Beyond Nevada's Borders: Western History in New Perspectives," and we encourage consideration of the relationships and interactions between people and entities that transcend Nevada's borders. We welcome a broad range of topics with a connection to Nevada's history.

This year's theme includes topics such as: Geography, Western History, Mining, People and Politics, Communities, and Native American subjects within and beyond Nevada's borders, but we invite and encourage papers related to any aspect of Nevada history, the Great Basin, or the West. Additionally, a poster session will be held on Saturday, focusing on any of the above topics.

Please submit an abstract (250 words maximum) and a brief biography to the Director of the Nevada Historical Society at shayeszorn@nevadaculture.org with the subject line "NHS Conference," along with your contact information (mailing address, phone number, and email address) by July 1, 2015. A committee will review proposals and will notify participants by August 1, 2015. For those with an interest in the poster session, please submit your topic and brief biography to the same contact by same deadline as shown above. Poster sizes may not exceed 48" x 36", and will be showcased for the duration of the conference with an organized presentation session scheduled for Saturday.

Outstanding paper presentations will be considered for inclusion in a special issue of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Dr. Diana Ahmad, Missouri University of Science and Technology

Diana L. Ahmad is an historian of the nineteenth-century American West focusing on vice, as well as on traditional overland trails history. Her current book manuscript, "Success Depends on the Animals: Emigrants, Livestock, and Wild Animals on the Overland Trails, 1840-1869," is currently under submission. It explores the relationship between over-landers and animals during their journeys west.

In 2007, Ahmad published *The Opium Debate and Chinese Exclusion Laws in the Nineteenth Century American West* with the University of Nevada Press. In it, she explained that, in part, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 resulted from the smoking-opium business of the Chinese in the United States. She has also published a number of articles about the smoking-opium debate in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* and *American Nineteenth Century History*, and about animals on the emigrant trails in the *Great Plains Quarterly*, *Nevada in the West*, and *Overland Journal*.

Nevada's Oldest Cultural Institution

Nevada Historical Society

1650 North Virginia Street Reno, NV 89503 • 775-688-1190 www.nevadaculture.org