Nevada
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Front Cover: John Sparks became Nevada's tenth governor in 1903 and served in Carson City before dying in office May 22, 1908 at the age of 64. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

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Editor's Note

As the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*'s new managing editor, I approach each issue with some trepidation since I don't know how many submissions we will receive. Much to my delight, this issue has turned out to be quite hefty and composed of diverse subjects, including the use of video games as a history-teaching methodology, the evolution of Las Vegas as a major convention-city destination and the ephemeral communities that have enlivened its many short-lived but cutting-edge technology events, the architectural iterations of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Virginia City, the tumultuous history of the national guard in the state of Nevada, and other fascinating topics.

This issue also marks the debut of a new essay section, and we have two excellent narrative pieces on hikes in Nevada. This was an unplanned theme but seasonally appropriate as summer and fall afford great hiking weather. I'm very pleased with the essay addition, and I think you'll enjoy these and future editions' personal stories, designed to showcase residents' interests and connections to the state, the Great Basin, and the West through a literary lens that complements our scholarly articles.

Our new assistant editor, Emerson Marcus, and our new associate editor, Geoff Schumacher, contributed to making this issue a success: Marcus wrote an outstanding research article, and Schumacher contacted several colleagues, who submitted the engrossing pieces about Las Vegas featured this month. Thanks to you both! Additionally, I want to thank Brian O'Hara, our recently recruited voluntary proofreader and footnote expert extraordinaire, and Tasha Zemke, our new copy editor, who have both worked diligently to get this issue to press.

The *Quarterly* is continually in need of submissions, so if you or a colleague are working on a paper that might find an interested audience in our readership, I encourage you to contact one of our editors. And if you're one of our readers, I want to thank you for your continued support.

Michelle Roberts, PhD
Managing Editor

Beautiful Little Edifice
St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Virginia City, 1876–2019

ZoAnn Campana

> Virginia had grown to be the "livest" town, for its age and population, that America had ever produced. The sidewalks swarmed with people—to such an extent, indeed, that it was generally no easy matter to stem the human tide.… There were military companies, fire companies, brass bands, banks, hotels, theatres, "hurdy-gurdy houses," wide-open gambling palaces, political pow-wows, civic processions, street fights, murders, inquests, riots, a whisky mill every fifteen steps…a dozen breweries and half a dozen jails and station-houses in full operation, and some talk of building a church.[1]
>
> —Mark Twain, *Roughing It*

The establishment of St. Paul's Episcopal Church on the Comstock dates to 1861, the year Congress created the Nevada Territory. After the first church on that site in Virginia City burned during the Great Fire of 1875, the congregation rebuilt it the following year. The Carpenter Gothic edifice still stands today. The building has endured for the last 143 years, bearing witness to the bonanza and borasca (boom and bust) cycles of Comstock mining fortunes. Despite its significance as Nevada's pioneer Episcopal church, St. Paul's has attracted far less scholarly attention than its elaborate companion Roman Catholic structure, St. Mary in the Mountains, also in Virginia City.

Most early residents of the Comstock preferred business and pleasure to religion. Still, the Christian faithful managed to establish five churches within Virginia City's first three years of existence. And as the city grew, so did the number of churches. At various times, it boasted Unitarian, African Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, and Roman Catholic congregations.[2]

ZoAnn Campana is an architectural historian and a historic-preservation consultant based in Nevada. She received her master's degree in preservation studies from Tulane University, in New Orleans. A native Nevadan, she returned to Reno to complete her practicum, which involved an intensive survey of the 171-acre Newlands Heights neighborhood. She works for Kautz Environmental Consultants, Inc., a cultural-resources management firm specializing in archaeology and architecture. Campana serves on the City of Reno Historical Resources Commission, as well as on the board of directors for Preserve Nevada and the Historic Reno Preservation Society.

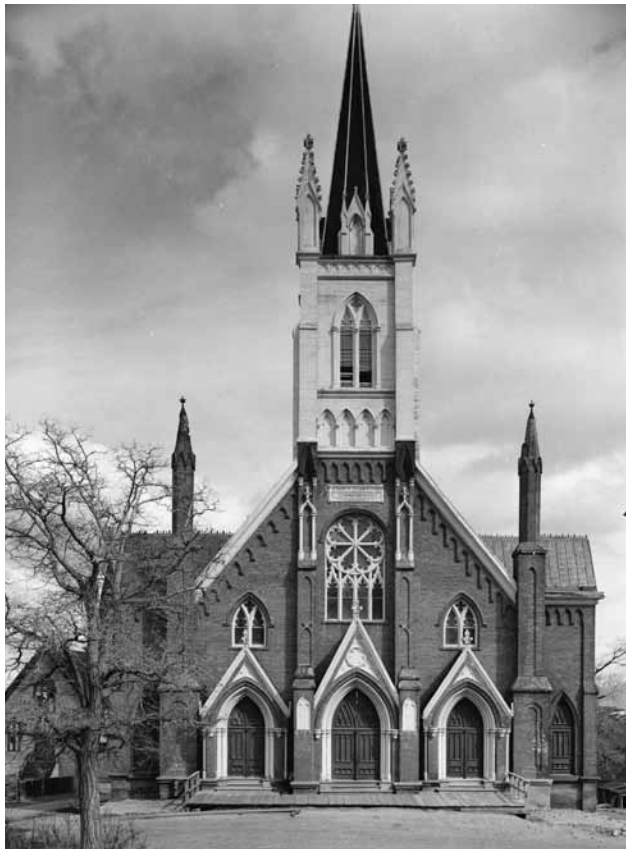


FIGURE 1. St. Mary in the Mountains Catholic Church in 1937. Note St. Paul's Church in the background at left. Photograph by Robert Kerrigan of the Historic American Building Survey. *(Library of Congress)*

Several scholarly articles provide background to the interplay between religion and daily life during the Comstock era. Francis P. Weisenburger offers an overview of organized religion in Virginia City and how it manifested in the community's various churches during that period. He presents religion in the community as a struggle "between the forces of 'darkness and light,'" chronicling the town's transition from "a frontier outpost without established traditions" to a cultured settlement anchored by religious values, as evidenced by its numerous churches. Charles Jeffrey Garrison's study delivers a broad introduction to Protestantism during the Comstock, with a focus on the First Presbyterian Church on C Street. Garrison joins Weisenburger in portraying religion in Virginia City as a reformist counterpoint to the mining town's libertine atmosphere, at least in its early days. General histories of Nevada and Virginia City also discuss the development of religion, often with an emphasis on the Catholic church St. Mary in the Mountains. The Catholic congregation maintained a steady number of communicants, and it better weathered the economic downturns associated with mining, owing its robustness to the substantial Irish population of the Comstock, the presence of devoted nuns, and the patronage of an exceedingly wealthy communicant in the person of Mary Louise Mackay. Moreover, the Catholic church edifice is a sumptuous example of Gothic Revival architecture that helps define the silhouette of the town.[3]

St. Paul's Episcopal Church is a humble, wood-framed sanctuary that literally stands in the shadow of St. Mary in the Mountains (FIGURE 1). Located northeast of the Catholic church, the Episcopal edifice was constructed in the Carpenter Gothic style, exceedingly popular among pioneer churches of the era. It possesses its own kind of unassuming beauty, although it is dwarfed in scale and detail by the nearby Catholic church.[4]

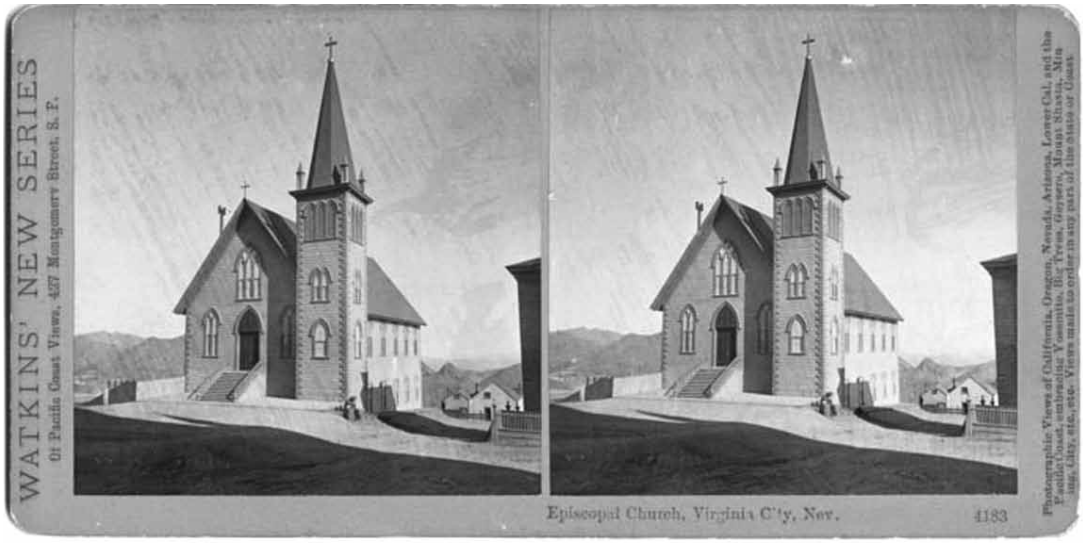


Figure 2. Stereograph of St. Paul's, circa 1880-1888. (*California State Library*)

St. Paul's Episcopal Church

Located on the corner of F and Taylor Streets in Virginia City, St. Paul's Episcopal Church is perched on a hill that slopes east toward Six Mile Canyon. It is three blocks east of bustling C Street and one block northeast of the imposing St. Mary. The Episcopal church's setting is similar to how it appeared in 1876, except for the asphalt-paved roads and some residential growth to the east. Additionally, the associated rectory—originally located directly across F Street—was demolished in the 1930s, and the lot it once occupied remains empty. Otherwise, the church and its relatively unimproved landscaping and hardscaping, in the form of gravelly slopes and wood-plank ramps and walkways, have largely retained a historic appearance, as evidenced by photographs documenting the church from the 1880s to the present (Figure 2).[5]

St. Paul's was designed in the Carpenter Gothic architectural style, a romantic revival style popular in residential and church architecture in the United States between 1840 and 1880. Carpenter Gothic interprets the details of Gothic Revival style using wood rather than stone and was typically constructed by general carpenter builders rather than professional architects. Architectural pattern books widely distributed the style in mid-to-late 19th-century America. Influenced by the "Picturesque Movement" in England, which celebrated romantic revival styles, American architects Alexander Jackson Davis (1803–1892) and Andrew Jackson Downing (1815–1852) were vocal promoters of Carpenter Gothic.[6]

The Gothic Revival style dominated church architecture in the United States as the nation's borders pushed to the west. Calling back to its European roots, the American Gothic Revival style most often graced ecclesiastical buildings, especially those belonging to liturgical denominations.[7] The Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches both trace their history to medieval Europe, and by extension, to architectural traditions of the English parish church and the Continental Gothic cathedral.[8] For Episcopalians, an American outgrowth of the Anglican Church or Church of England, the Gothic Revival style represented not only Englishness but also the desire to recapture a sense of reverence and mysticism of Christian rituals. Moreover,

the style could be endlessly adapted to suit the exigencies of geographic location and climate, available materials, a skilled (or unskilled) labor force, and technology. Richard Upjohn, a British-American architect responsible for much of the Gothic Revival craze, published his pattern book *Rural Architecture* in 1852. The publication provided designs for wood churches in the Gothic Revival style, serving as a guide for parishes that could not afford to build with more expensive brick or stone. Upjohn's patterns inspired a number of churches on the western frontier, proving that a simple, wood church could convey the Christian aesthetic embodied by the Gothic Revival as competently as a more ornate stone cathedral.[9]

Many of Nevada's churches dating to the late 1800s embody the Carpenter Gothic style, including First Presbyterian Church in Virginia City (1867), St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Carson City (1868), Wadsworth Union Church in Wadsworth (1888), and the Community Presbyterian Church in Lamoille (1905). Typical character-defining features of the Carpenter Gothic style include steeply pitched roofs, wooden wall surfaces, gingerbread-house ornamentation, pointed-arch (lancet) windows, drip molding over windows, window tracery, elaborate panel doors or board-and-batten doors, and Gothic motifs (e.g., trefoils, quatrefoils, cusps, arches, and lobes).

St. Paul's, constructed of wood with a simple rectangular plan, was common for western churches at this time. Many vernacular churches dating to the pioneer days of the West are of wood-frame construction with wood cladding. Although this increased the risk of fire—an ever-present anxiety in western towns—convenience and economy took precedence over fire issues. The use of wood ensured expedient construction with accessible materials and was less expensive than brick or dressed stone. Brick and stone-masonry construction required a level of skill and craftsmanship not always readily available in western towns. Moreover, the effort and expense required to erect a masonry building signified permanence, an act of unshaken confidence that could belie the fleeting nature of boomtowns. Of course, Virginia City was not a typical boomtown. After the 1875 fire, city leaders realized that if they did not "rebuild as well or better than before, investors could take it as a signal that the Comstock was on the edge of decline." In many ways, financed by the general wealth of the community, the rebuilding effort was swift, resulting in the construction of many opulent brick edifices, among them the Storey County Courthouse, International Hotel, and St. Mary in the Mountains Roman Catholic church. The leaders of St. Paul's, on the other hand, opted to rebuild a church that was similar to what had burned in the fire.[10]

Gothic Revival style captured much of the history of the Christian faith, setting it apart from secular buildings.[11] During the second half of the 19th century, most commercial buildings reflected the Italianate style or some variation of a classical revival style. By rejecting these styles in favor of Gothic Revival, church builders distinguished their structures from a town's saloons, brothels, and other commercial enterprises, thereby establishing them as sacred spaces.

The present St. Paul's appears much as it would have in 1876 (Figure 3). Situated on an incline and partially set atop a stacked rubble foundation, the building is characterized by a steeply pitched gable roof with closed eaves, a belfry with square corners, wooden quoins (i.e., articulated blocks at the corners of a building), and lancet windows topped with drip molds. The rubble foundation is laid with a yellowish mortar, the aggregate sourced from local mine tailings. The entire church is clad with wood drop siding, and wooden quoins project from the corners. The roof is covered with wood shingles. A square tower rises from the southwest corner of the main building mass. The tower is topped with a six-sided spire framed by four small, square pinnacles topped with four-sided pointed spirelets. Each elevation of the bell chamber has a louvered triple lancet.

Figure 3. West elevation of St. Paul's in 2017. Photograph by ZoAnn Campana.

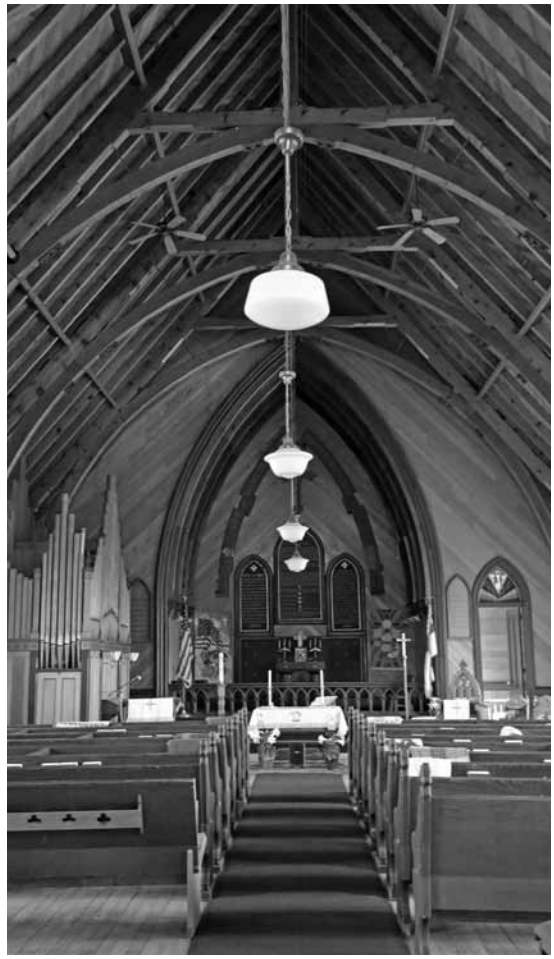


Figure 4. St. Paul's nave in 2017, looking from vestibule toward altar. Photograph by ZoAnn Campana.

The church's striking interior has also changed very little over the last century. The nave features a rectangular center-aisle plan and breathtaking open timber roof (Figure 4). The golden warmth of the varnished sugar pine is especially palpable in the airy and light-filled nave. The church's exposed rafters run vertically to the peak of the ceiling and are intersected by collar ties and timber arches to dramatic effect. The ceiling above the rafters is covered with diagonal varnished pine boards. Overall, the open trusswork resembles the interior of a grand wooden ship. Adding to the magnificence of the trussing are its visible scarf joints, which indicate that it was constructed entirely by joinery techniques and without the use of nails or other fasteners. (Note: in the last five years, bolted plates were added to most of the arches in an effort to stabilize the building.) As the truss arches descend, they culminate in carved brackets that project from the north and south walls. All of the windows are edged with molded wood trim grained in imitation of walnut. The truss arches and brackets interrupt the window pattern, creating a rhythm alternating between window arches and timber trusses.

Before the Great Fire: 1861–1875

In memoirs documenting her time in Virginia City (from 1869 to 1878), Mary McNair Mathews notes that the residents of Virginia City largely ignored the Sabbath. As long as there was silver to extract from the mines, the men making their fortunes—and the men working for them—did not consider a prayerful day of rest to be a priority. Hard-pressed to attend Sunday services, male residents of the early Comstock nonetheless understood the value of the clergy among them. Life was transitory and death ever present, requiring a proper funeral under the direction of clergy.[12]

Comstock women, on the other hand, enthusiastically involved themselves in religious life. In 19th-century America, women were more likely to attend and support churches. In the public sphere, it was accepted—even expected—for women to participate in church activities, and Virginia City was no different. In her reflections on Comstock life in the *Overland Monthly*, Louise Palmer observed that "religion was 'performed by proxy' by the wife who 'appears both on her own behalf and that of her husband,' the men too busy with business to attend church." Despite an initial scarcity of women in the community, and therefore in religious services, as noted in an 1876 history of the First Presbyterian Church, women eventually dominated the local religious sphere as the town grew and churches proliferated. In addition to providing a social outlet, their involvement literally built the community: fairs and festivals hosted by the ladies financed the construction and furnishing of churches, Sunday schools, and rectories.[13]

St. Paul's parish, established in 1861 in Virginia City, was the first Protestant Episcopal parish organized in Nevada. According to Myron Angel's 1881 *History of Nevada*, the denomination had the distinction of holding the first religious service in Virginia City. On September 11, 1861, Episcopal minister H. Smeathman, who was visiting from the Diocese of California, conducted this service at the U.S. District Courtroom. In March of 1862, the American Church Missionary Society recognized a need in the community and dispatched the Reverend Franklin S. Rising from New York to establish a proper Episcopal church in the mining settlement. Rising continued to hold services in the courtroom until the first iteration of St. Paul's Church—a frame building constructed on the corner of F and Taylor Streets began construction on August 19, 1862—commenced services on Christmas Day in 1862 (Figure 5).

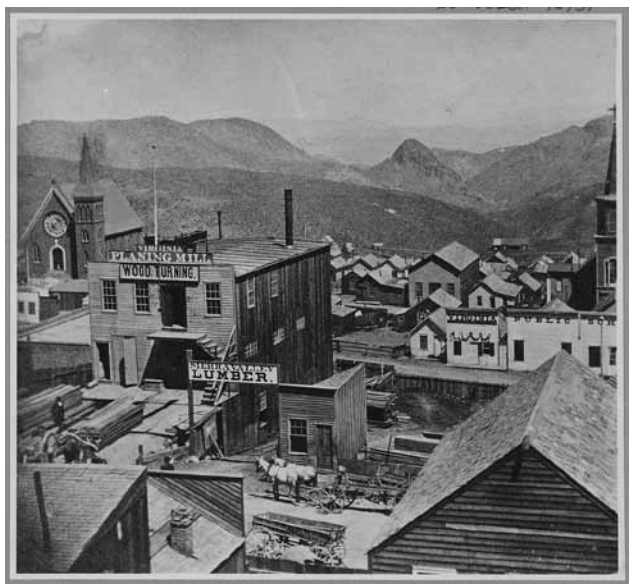


Figure 5. Birds eye view of Six-Mile Canyon from C Street in 1866. Note the 1862 Episcopal Church in the far left background. (*Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Lawrence and Houseworth Collection, reproduction number, e.g., LC-USZ62-123456*)

Because the church existed as a mission at the time, constructing a sanctuary would have been no small feat. Protestant Christian missionaries lacked oversight from their mother churches, and they were generally left to their own devices when it came to building churches.[14] In many cases, missionary ministers were responsible for determining the church design and facilitating construction, plus raising funds for the project. Episcopal missions were fortunate in the fact that their parishioners were often well-to-do, whose affluence could support the expense of church construction.[15] In Virginia City, this was magnified by the boomtown economy. At their peak, boomtowns exude an atmosphere of limitless wealth and prosperity. This trickles down to boomtown inhabitants, who manifest this feeling through exuberant spending and building. The sheer fabulousness of the Comstock Lode intensified this wealth effect within the local community.[16] Congregants of St. Paul's raised the $30,000 required to build the first church. It was constructed in Gothic Revival style, measuring 34 by 60 feet, and its most prominent feature was a rose window in the end gable of the facade. Charles L. Strong, superintendent of the Gould & Curry Mine, was mentioned as "the largest contributor to its cost, and the most efficient helper in the work." Bishop Joseph C. Talbot, whose episcopate reached from Nebraska to the Sierra, consecrated the new church in October 1863.[17]

In January 1866, the beloved Reverend Rising resigned his post because of failing health, returned to New York, and died in 1868 as a result of a steamboat collision on the Ohio River. The Reverend H.D. Lathrop, who presided over the parish at Gold Hill, Nevada, held concurrent services at St. Paul's until the Reverend Ozi W. Whitaker relieved him in April 1867. Whitaker quickly moved up the ranks, and the House of Bishops elected him missionary bishop of Nevada and Arizona in 1868; he was consecrated as such in 1869. Whitaker served as rector of St. Paul's parish from his arrival in 1867. Throughout his 17-year tenure as bishop, he was St. Paul's resident pastor.[18]

Little has been written about Virginia City's Episcopalians, especially in the earliest years of the church. Most accounts of the parish are centered around the holy men charged with leading the flock, from local ministers to diocesan bishops. Many of these narratives note Bishop Whitaker's efforts to proselytize the Chinese population of Nevada. One such convert, *Ah For*, enthusiastically raised money for the construction of a Protestant Episcopal chapel for the Chinese in Carson City in 1874. The following year, he raised funds for the construction of another chapel, this time in the Chinese quarter of Virginia City. *Ah* preached to Chinese congregants on Sundays and taught religion classes in the evenings. He also translated the Order for Evening Prayer into Chinese. Unfortunately, the Virginia City chapel burned during the Great Fire of 1875, only two months after it opened on August 14, and a frustrated *Ah* left to become a missionary for the Church of England in China.[19]

As an extension of the Church of England, the Episcopal Church traditionally attracted communicants with British roots. In booming mining towns like Virginia City, both British-born immigrants and native-born Americans with Anglo ancestry would have gravitated to St. Paul's parish.[20] One such example is Colonel Frederick C. Lord, a Connecticut native who traced his lineage to England. A Civil War veteran, Lord arrived in Virginia City in 1866 and worked his way up from a position at a quartz mill to eventually serve in the state legislature. Colonel Lord and his second wife, Alice O. Nye, were upstanding members of St. Paul's.[21] Another Comstock man with British ancestry, Colonel William Sutherland, worshipped at St. Paul's. Sutherland's parents, who hailed from the Highlands of Scotland, immigrated to Canada, where they raised their family. Sutherland moved to Virginia City in the 1870s with his wife, Anna Sanderson Walker, a native of England. Both were active

members of St. Paul's church. The colonel rose to prominence through his partnership with George Daley, who was in the printing business.[22] William Hancock, who was of English and Irish lineage and owned a popular meat market in Virginia City, and his wife, California A. Johnston, were also members of St. Paul's.

As with most parishes in the arid West, St. Paul's Episcopal Church largely catered to a population associated with the mining industry, from those working underground to company employees working in the offices to mine owners. Silver king William Sharon, an Episcopalian whose funeral service was held at Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, most likely attended St. Paul's when he was in Virginia City on business. This theory is supported by a bequest Sharon made to the church after his death.[23] Miners, who tended to be more transient than their superiors, and therefore less documented, also would have been present in the pews of St. Paul's.

As Virginia City grew into a cosmopolitan town, the congregation included more women and children, in addition to men who had achieved prominence in nonmining endeavors, including law, politics, and finance. As the Comstock's professional class of lawyers, doctors, engineers, and investors expanded, so did the Episcopal church's congregation. Sam Davis lists the Honorable George Norton Noel and his family as parishioners of St. Paul's. Noel served as district attorney of Storey County for three terms, in addition to being appointed secretary of state.[24] J.W. Eckley, general manager of the Bank of California in Virginia City, also worshipped at St. Paul's with his family. Well-known in local financial circles, Eckley oversaw the shipping of bullion from the Comstock to San Francisco, as well as the daily business of the bank.[25] Another member of Virginia City's professional class, the Honorable W.E.F. Deal, was an active member of St. Paul's congregation. Deal, a prominent local attorney specializing in mining rights and water rights, served as a senior warden of the local Episcopal church.[26]

As the town grew into an established community with churches and schools, the perception that it was not a place for children began to dissipate. Between 1860 and 1870, the adult male population of Virginia City more than doubled, but the population of women and children grew twentyfold. Naturally, as a mining town, the community attracted more single men than families. As long as the mines were producing, the bachelor contingent remained strong. However, by 1873, the *Territorial Enterprise* commented on the hundreds "of youngsters [who] swarmed over the sides of Mount Davidson."[27]

Religious life provided a family-friendly form of socialization and entertainment in a town where saloons and brothels abounded. According to Weisenberger, religious institutions were a vehicle "for the inculcation of basic virtues in the young and for social life compatible with the interests of the family." Mary Mathews wrote in her memoirs about the frequent picnics hosted by churches and charitable societies from May to October. The St. Paul's Ladies Guild put on a number of festivals to benefit the church, from a much-celebrated Strawberry Festival in June to an annual summer picnic on the Carson River cohosted by the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. St. Paul's also played a role in educating the children of Virginia City, opening a school in the church basement in 1868. The school offered instruction in English, Latin, French, German, and music, enrolling young boys and girls of all ages.[28]

By all accounts, the churches of Virginia City maintained robust congregations into the 1870s. Both Mathews and Dan DeQuille wrote of the presence of a multitude of Christian denominations and their "fine and costly" church buildings, which were "as well attended as the churches in any other land."[29] However, not everyone attended Sunday service. Mathews presented a colorful description of the Comstock Sabbath:

> While you are listening to the sermon you can also hear that snap of the whip, or the oaths of the driver as he beats his poor beasts, who are stuck in the mud, on Taylor Street, in front of the churches.… The saloons are all open the same as any other day. Yes, these whisky mills have to run as well as the quartz mills, which they cannot afford to shut down.… A person passing through Virginia City would imagine they had lost the day of the week, when he sees ten or fifteen quartz wagons, and as many more of wood and freight, and the constant sound of the pumps and engines, and the running to and fro of freight-cars, which are being loaded and unloaded—it is enough to make anyone forget the day of the week.[30]

The *Territorial Enterprise* happily reported in 1874 on the churches' progress in making Sundays "more generally observed than formerly," just three years after eight local clothing stores agreed to close for part of the day on Sunday.[31]

St. Paul's continued to grow during this period, despite hindrances caused by the combustible nature of a wooden building amid a parched landscape. In the summer of 1869, a small fire started in the church tower, causing $2,700 in damages to the building. Demonstrating the fund-raising power of a vigorous congregation, workmen repaired the damage soon thereafter. The church was enlarged in 1872 to accommodate six additional pews, and then again in 1874 with a 20-foot extension to the rear (east) and an interior gallery addition to the west side of the church to house a large pipe organ. At this time, the Sunday school—which was situated in the basement—boasted 350 pupils and 24 teachers. However, congregants did not enjoy the extra space afforded by these expansions for long, as Virginia City's disastrous fire on October 26, 1875, left the church and its rectory in ruins.[32]

The 1875 fire permanently changed the urban landscape of Virginia City. As with contemporary frontier towns built primarily of wood, Virginia City experienced a number of fires during its existence, though none was as devastating as the Great Fire of 1875. The fire started in a boarding house on A Street in the early morning, and within hours, nearly 2,000 buildings within a half-mile area had been reduced to ashes. Wooden houses comprised the neighborhood in which the fire started, and the interior walls of these buildings were lined with cotton cloth, which in turn was covered with pasted wallpaper—a common treatment in early pioneer settlements where plaster was expensive and time-consuming to apply. These building materials provided an excellent source of fuel to the fire, ensuring a formidable conflagration by the time the flames reached the central part of town, which included buildings previously thought to be fireproof. A stiff west wind sped the inferno eastward down the slope of Mount Davidson, enabling the flames to swallow such institutions as the courthouse and city hall, the Washoe Club, the International Hotel, the Bank of California, and the Pipers Opera House—in addition to scores of mining-company buildings, processing mills, and luxurious private residences. The fire set the Methodist, Episcopal, and Catholic churches aflame, the buildings appearing as "towering pillars of fire, with seas of fire below and above them."[33] DeQuille painted a vivid portrait of the city before and after the fire:

> Thus in a few short hours was swept away the best part of what at dawn had been a fair city—a city filled with elegant and comfortable homes, handsome and costly public buildings, large stores, packed with all manner of valuable goods, and mills and mining works the most complete of the kind in the whole world. All these were licked from the face of the mountain, and but a wilderness of toppling walls and smoking ruins showed where they had been.[34]

Rebuilding: 1876–1916

Virginia City's bonanza days were beginning to wane at the time of the Great Fire, but the rapidity with which residents rebuilt the city—including its churches—demonstrates the optimism of the era, which reigned supreme. Led by Bishop Whitaker, St. Paul's parish rebuilt its church on the same parcel of land in 1876 for a total cost of $25,000 (equivalent to $590,598 in 2019), including furnishings and a new organ. A bid notice for contractors and builders ran in the *Territorial Enterprise* in late May, advising that plans and specifications could be viewed at the office of L.P. Drexler and Company.[35]

The church was rebuilt throughout the summer and fall of 1876. The new foundation was laid in July 1876, and the basement level opened for services and Sunday school in September. Supported by cast-iron columns, the basement was divided into a front (west) furnace room, a classroom (for the "infant class"), and a schoolroom. The schoolroom and classroom were separated by "folding doors," which may be the pocket doors that currently divide the two spaces.[36] The *Virginia Evening Chronicle* described the basement in an article that ran on December 16, 1876:

> In the basement is a school-room 36x51 feet, which will seat 250 persons. At the east is a chancel 10x16, with an entrance room on one side 10x19, and on the other a library of the same size. In the rear of the main school-room is an apartment for the infant class which will seat 100 scholars. Further in the rear of this room is the furnace which supplies the registers with hot air, and also the hydraulic apparatus which furnishes the power to blow the organ. The orifice through which the water flows in this novel machine upon an inclosed [*sic*] wheel is less than one-eighth of an inch in diameter, yet it furnishes a power equal to that of one man.[37]

At the end of November 1876, finishing touches were applied to the church and its setting. Gravel walks were created along the north side of Taylor Street, leading to the church, and construction of the large central heating furnace was completed. The pipe organ arrived by the beginning of December, and its installation in the organ loft by builder Alexander Mills postponed the opening of the church at least once. Because it was powered by hydraulics, the organ was connected to the street's water main.[38]

The rest of the building was completed in December, and services commenced on December 17, 1876, despite the fact that the large front pipes of the organ had yet to be "decorated in blue and gold." The newspaper identified the interior trim as being of black walnut, although physical evidence suggests that it is pine grained to resemble black walnut.[39] The new church was slightly larger than its predecessor—ten feet longer and two feet wider—with a seating capacity of 400, and it was constructed in the Carpenter Gothic style. In praise of the church, the *Territorial Enterprise* called it "a beautiful little edifice, and very conveniently arranged." (Figure 6).[40]

The parish contracted R.L. Gray and B.F. Reed, who had rebuilt the Methodist church after the Great Fire, to build the new Episcopal church. Gray and Reed received their first payment of $2,000 from Charles H. Osborn, accountant for the Union Mill and Mining Company, on July 12, 1876 (Figure 7).[41] The builders also secured a three-month $3,000 insurance policy in November 1876:

> …on their interest as builders in the new one story and basement frame church, now in course of construction, known as St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Situate [*sic*] on the southeast corner of South G and Taylor Sts. Virginia, Nevada.[42]

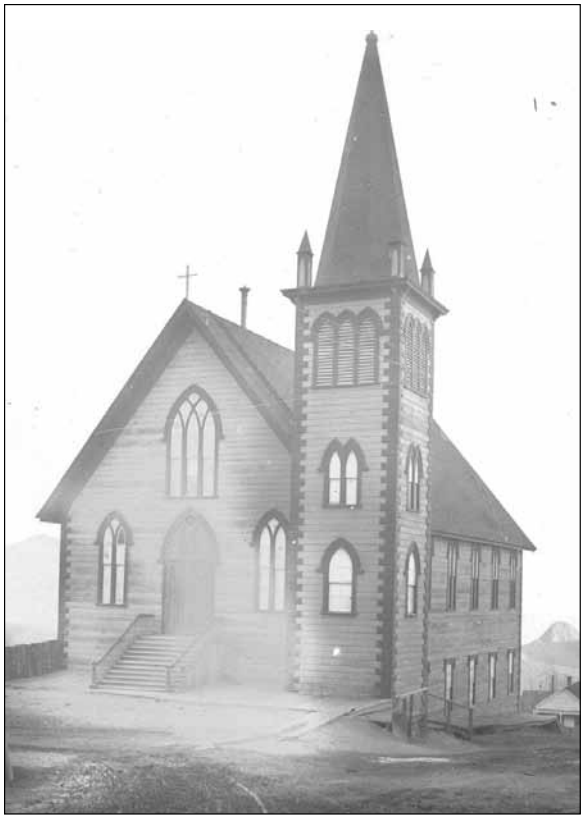
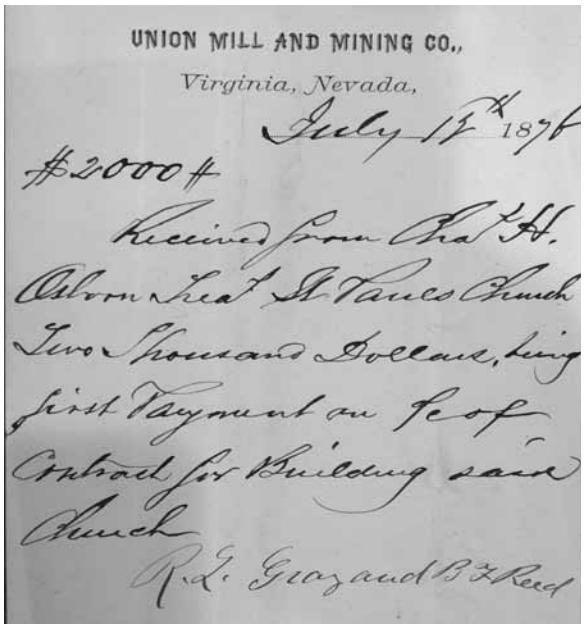


Figure 6. St. Paul's Episcopal Church, c.1880-1917. Note the simple window tracery and white window glazing. (*Historic Fourth Ward School Museum and Archives*)



UNION MILL AND MINING CO.,

Virginia, Nevada,

July 15th 1878

$2000 ff

Received from Chas H. Osborn Treas St Pauls Church Two Thousand Dollars, being first Payment on Acct of Contract for Building said Church

R.L. Gray and B.F. Reed

Figure 7. Receipt for "Two thousand dollars, being first payment on fee of contract for building [St. Paul's] church" signed by contractors R.L. Gray and B.F. Reed. (*St. Paul's Parish Files, Nevada Historical Society*)

Figure 8. Advertisement for Swain, Bradley & Co. in the *Territorial Enterprise* (February 20, 1878).

LUMBER.

CALIFORNIA LUMBER YARD,

SWAIN, BRADLEY & CO., PROPRIETORS.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE—77 AND 79 North C street, between Sutton avenue and Mill street. Principal yard on E and F streets, north of the Ophir mine, No. 160 North E street.

The above firm offer to the citizens and mining companies of Virginia and vicinity a splendid stock of

CALIFORNIA SUGAR PINE,

Red Wood and Oregon Pine, one-half inch to three inches; Sugar Pine Moldings, Doors Sash, Blinds, Pickets, etc. Mill Work orders a specialty. All kinds of manufactured

BUILDING MATERIAL.

All kinds of Flooring, Ceiling and Rustic. We are prepared to ship direct to all mining companies on the Comstock from the Mound House or northward, at the lowest possible prices, Sawed and Hewn Mining Timbers, Common Lumber of all dimensions, and every variety of material in our line of trade. feltf

The builders secured lumber from Swain, Bradley & Company, which was listed as the beneficiary on Gray and Reed's insurance policy. The lumbermen advertised:

> …a splendid stock of California Sugar Pine, Red Wood [*sic*] and Oregon Pine…Sugar Pine Moldings, Doors, Sash, Blinds, Pickets, etc. Mill Work [*sic*] orders a specialty. All kinds of manufactured building material. All kinds of Flooring, Ceiling and Rustic. We are prepared to ship direct to all mining companies on the Comstock from the Mound House (Figure 8).[43]

In keeping with the revivalist Episcopal concept of a highly aesthetic worship space that connects the visual senses with the divine, the interior of the rebuilt church—with golden pine walls and soaring trusses—exuded a luminous and godly splendor. Despite rumors that the magnificent trussing was built in Wales and shipped around Cape Horn, newspaper accounts suggest that the trussing was built adjacent to the site and, once completed, was "hoisted and put in place" in August. Soon thereafter, workers installed wood panels against the rough boards above the trusses and along the walls and applied a coat of varnish.[44]

Meneely's foundry in Troy, New York, cast the church bell in 1876. An exquisite organ, built by Mills (a "celebrated New York maker"), traveled around Cape Horn before being installed in the gallery on the west end of the church.[45] It was "of the same style and make that was destroyed" in the 1875 fire. According to the *Virginia Evening Chronicle,* "Special pains were taken to adapt it to the well-known atmospheric peculiarities of the Comstock climate." It was known as one of the largest organs in the West, with "1,100 pipes…the largest being sixteen feet tall and fifteen inches in diameter." Mills even traveled to Virginia City himself to install the water-powered organ, which reportedly consisted of 100,000 pieces. David Pabst of Philadelphia designed and built the pews and interior furnishings, which purportedly were of black walnut.[46]

Insurance covered $10,000 of the rebuilding costs, and all but $3,000 of the remainder was raised by Virginia City residents. By August 1883, "friends outside of the parish" repaid the remainder of St. Paul's debt. These "friends" may have included Miss C.L. Wolfe of New York, known at the time as the wealthiest unmarried lady in the United States, who is credited as contributing $2,500 toward the church debt. In 1868, the Episcopal Church enacted a canon requiring church buildings to be free of debt before they could be consecrated. As a result of the long-running debt, consecration of the church was delayed until June 29, 1890. It is not clear why the consecration was delayed for almost seven years once the debt was repaid.[47]

The earliest known exterior photograph of the church is a Carleton Watkins stereograph dating from 1877. In it, the structure appears much the same as today, with a few exceptions: at the time the photograph was taken, a bannister with a narrow balustrade and turned balusters frames the entrance stairs, a wood sidewalk runs along the west and south elevations, a fence demarcates the northern boundary of the church property, and the tracery of the west-facing upper-level window is simplified. Additionally, the window lights were painted with a translucent white finish to resemble frosted glass (see Figure 2).

After its reconstruction, the ministry and membership of St. Paul's parish fluctuated according to the inherent instability of being located in a mining community with dramatic swings between bonanza and borasca periods. Moreover, Bishop Whitaker's new responsibilities of overseeing the Nevada Diocese required that he take on assistant ministers, including the Reverends Arthur Lawrence, William Henderson, Rush S. Eastman, W.R. Jenvey, and George R. Eastman between 1869 and 1881. By 1881, the church claimed around 80 parishioners.

The unreliable nature of mining and its effect on the population of Virginia City impacted the Episcopal congregation. In 1881, Richard Rising—a district court judge and the brother of Reverend Rising—was the only remaining member of the parish "who was a pew-holder when the first church was built," fewer than two decades prior.[48] Illustrating the effect of the constantly changing population on church life, Myron Angel states that "in a single year one pew in St. Paul's, Virginia [City], was in possession of five families consecutively."[49] Considering that Episcopalians tended to belong to the affluent professional class, it is possible that as the mines played out, demands for their services quickly disappeared, causing their early departures to places where opportunities for their services beckoned. Left were the hardscrabble miners of various ethnicities who still hoped for a revival of Comstock riches. In 1882, Bishop Whitaker commented on the drastic plummet in church membership, writing that "many have gone, driven by the depression in business to seek homes elsewhere, and their departure is severely felt."[50] The diminishing population of Virginia City would sharply drop off at the end of the 19th century, and this ultimately resulted in the decline of St. Paul's parish, which continually struggled to support itself until requesting a reversion to mission status in 1917.[51]

Across all denominations, congregational membership in the area fluctuated according to the shifting fortunes of the mines. When the population of Virginia City declined in the late 1870s, so did church membership. Around 1884, the Methodist parishes of Virginia City and Gold Hill combined, yet the collective membership was 70 total communicants. By 1900, the Presbyterian congregation dwindled to 25 members and lacked a resident pastor. St. Paul's did not have a dedicated rector between World War I and World War II (1920–1941); the rector of Carson City's Episcopal church occasionally conducted services in Virginia City.[52]

Between 1880 and 1900, the population of Virginia City dwindled from 10,917 to 2,695. At the same time, the church's coffers emptied. The record book documenting meetings of the vestry from the 1880s to the 1910s reveals that finances were a continual source of distress for St. Paul's, as was the unending maintenance required to keep up the church. The building was constantly in need of repainting or repairing, and there were rarely adequate funds to accomplish either. In addition to weekly tithings—which became more meager each year between 1879 and 1898—there was the occasional charitable donation. Upon his death, mining tycoon and U.S. senator William Sharon left St. Paul's a bequest of $2,000 in 1886 (equivalent to $53,782 in 2019). Predictably, the donation was spent on church repairs, exterior repainting, "and paying a deficiency in the current expenses."[53]

Several interior and exterior changes took place between 1895 and 1917. Since at least 1894, parishioners had proposed to relocate the organ from its dedicated space in the gallery to a "more advantageous and appreciative position adjoining the chancel" on the main level. As late as December 1894, the church vestry rejected the idea, which it saw as an "expensive proposition." However, the organ was moved to its present position along the north wall of the main level by January 1897, when an interior photograph illustrating the organ in its present position was published in the *Territorial Enterprise* (Figure 9). This photograph also reveals ornate gasoliers suspended from the roof trusses, a paper banner and cross (both of which, though weathered and torn, have survived on the chancel wall to the present day), as well as fleur-de-lis upholstery on the east wall behind the sanctuary and much of the furniture still extant today (i.e., two bishop's chairs, the lectern, the altar, and the pews). The collection-plate shelf is situated on the south side of the east wall in the sanctuary. Another photograph taken during this period (ca. 1895–1917) shows the choir seated in front of the organ. The photograph reveals handsomely diapered[54] organ pipes, as well as a processional cross that is still in use at the church (Figure 10). In 1886, the Dorcas Guild gave the church a chalice and paten set

FIGURE 9. Interior of St. Paul's, 1895-1897. Note the gasoliers, organ placement, altar decoration, and furnishings. (*Courtesy of Howard Bennett*)

FIGURE 10. St. Paul's Choir, c.1895-1917. Note the "diapered" organ pipes and processional cross. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

that was still in use in the late 20th century. Made by J. & R. Lamb Studios in New York City, the set included a gold-colored chalice with six amethysts set into the stem and an engraving that reads, "St. Paul's Parish, Virginia City, 1886." [55,56]

In 1903, the parish made a number of improvements to the church. Electric lights were installed at a cost of $50. The same year, exteriors were repainted and repairs were made totaling $300. This included a Mr. Clinton of Dayton repainting the exterior "in a first class manor [*sic*]" for $285, which was completed between November 23 and December 21, 1903. The parish record book notes that in September, suggestions for heating the church were discussed, intimating that the existing system was not sufficient. This is bolstered by a 1978 article recalling that St. Paul's had central heating until the furnace firewall collapsed at the turn of the century and the still-extant potbellied stoves were purchased to heat the building. In September 1903, A.J. McDonnell donated a stovepipe to the church.[57]

In 1909, the golden jubilee of the discovery of the Comstock Lode, Reverend Laurence A.C. Pitcaithly arrived to serve as St. Paul's rector—the last rector and resident priest of the church. Under Pitcaithly's direction, the structure underwent several renovations. On the main floor, the chancel was extended by ten feet and widened by 27 feet. In the basement, a guild room was "fitted up and finished in pale green" and new carpet. This flash of building activity points to continuing, small-scale mining on the Comstock, which sustained the community until pumping water out of the mines proved uneconomical, around 1920. Ronald M. James claims that between 1900 and 1925, as the mines continued to produce, albeit on a limited scale and in obvious decline, "people of the mining West began to grow nostalgic about Virginia City." The public imagination continued to fixate on the golden era of the Comstock, and those miners who had lived it looked back on the boom period with fondness and excitement.[58] Perhaps Pitcaithly was transfixed by this nostalgia, prompting the church expansion. In any case, the optimism did not hold. He left Virginia City in October 1910, less than two years after his arrival. Following his departure, visiting clergymen held services at St. Paul's once a month until 1913, when St. Peter's parish in Carson City started holding services at St. Paul's. These services continued on a semiregular basis until April 1933.[59]

A Struggling Mission: 1917–1933

In 1917, St. Paul's vestry realized that it could no longer support a parish and requested mission status from the Diocese of Nevada. Only two years earlier, former assistant rector of St. Paul's during the boom days, Father William R. Jenvey, visited Virginia City, reporting that "the old landmarks looked the same, but they all seemed to be in a state of ruin and neglect." Unlike many buildings in town, St. Paul's Church continued to be well maintained, but its fading congregation could no longer sustain itself. Father Lloyd B.Thomas of St. Peter's in Carson City, warden F.E. Potter, clerk James M. Leonary, and vestrywoman Mary E. Stock signed a court petition requesting that the parish be allowed to transfer its property to the bishop of Nevada. Once approved, the property was transferred by four separate deeds on November 30, 1917. The Carson City rectors continued to assist with St. Paul's; however, with a diminutive congregation and the growing cost of building upkeep and repair, the church closed in 1933.[60]

In terms of physical development, a simple wooden handrail was added to the sidewalk along the south side of the church, and the wood fence marking the northern property boundary was removed by 1917. Additionally, the front door and its blind transom were painted in contrasting light and dark colors, highlighting the inset panels of each. Further tracery was added to the upper third of the large window centered over the entrance, creating three circles and three cruciform cutouts. Finally, the tower's northwest spirelet had lost its topmost point. (Figure 11)

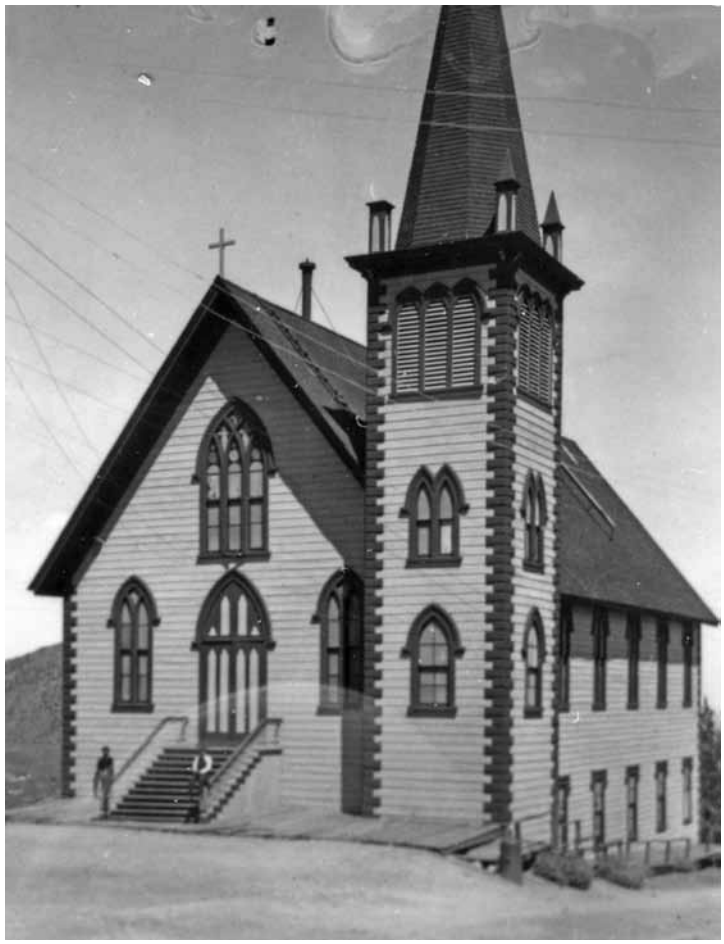


FIGURE 11. St. Paul's in 1917. Note the contrasting paint scheme, newly-ornate window tracery, and paneled front doors. (*UNR Special Collections*)

ABANDONMENT: 1933–1950

After its closure in 1933, Bishop Thomas Jenkins paid little attention to St. Paul's. In 1936, he wrote "that the church was 'in disrepair.'"[61] By 1941, he lamented that:

> There are needed extensive repairs on the church at Virginia City, if it is to be preserved. Much vandalism has taken place there. Windows have been smashed, the church broken into and articles taken. The tower has suffered badly from windstorms.… The renovation would require outside help on a considerable scale.[62]

During this period of abandonment, the church building languished, falling prey to vandals, opportunistic scavengers, and an unforgiving climate. The pipe organ was "literally taken apart by souvenir hunters." By late 1941, Jenkins questioned what should be done "with the fine old church in Virginia City." He noted the immediacy of the situation, asking whether it should be fixed, torn down, or remodeled. By December, Jenkins mentioned that "practically all the windows on one side of St. Paul's…have been broken by mischievous boys" and that $2,500 would be used to repair the building.[63]

Figure 12 (left). St. Paul's in 1936. Note the replaced doors and stair rail. Photograph by Robert Kerrigan of the Historic American Buildings Survey. (*Library of Congress*)

Figure 13 (below). Exterior view of St. Paul's, ca. 1944-1947. (*St. Paul's Parish Files, Nevada Historical Society*)

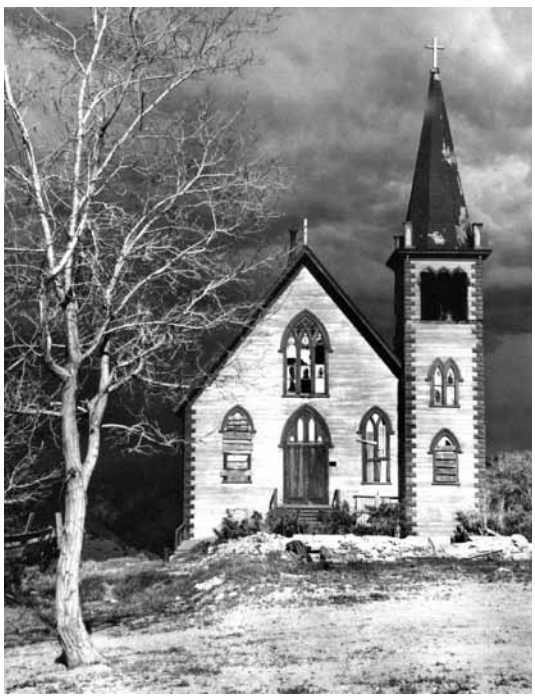
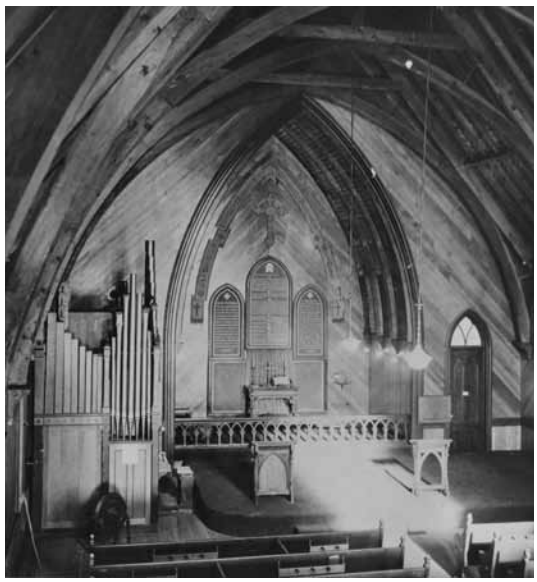


Figure 14 (above). Storm-damaged St. Paul's, c.1950. Photographer unknown. (*Courtesy of Arline Laferry*)

Figure 15 (left). Interior view of St. Paul's, c.1944. Note the updated light fixtures. (*St. Paul's Parish Files, Nevada Historical Society*)



In 1942, Jenkins resigned, and William Fisher Lewis took his place as bishop of Nevada. St. Paul's reopened in October, with the Reverend G.O. Schultz of the Episcopal Church in Sparks serving as vicar. Prior to its reopening, "the organ in the old church [was] repaired and considerable work was done in the interior…to make it ready for the services." In late 1944, Lewis announced his intention to grow St. Paul's, starting with a fund to restore the old church. Despite Lewis's grand plans and his confirmation of one congregant in 1945—the first confirmation to take place in St. Paul's in 20 years—the church remained largely unused.[64]

From St. Paul's reversion to mission status in 1917 to its reopening in 1942, the church experienced an extensive period of neglect. When Historic American Buildings Survey photographer Robert W. Kerrigan photographed the church in 1936, the front door—which previously had arched panels that matched those of the blind transom—had been replaced with rectangular-paneled doors. The front stair's handrail, which was previously characterized by the presence of narrowly spaced and turned balusters, had been rebuilt with three solid rectangular balusters supporting each rail. However, it appears that the original paneled newel posts remained in place. The handrail previously present on the south side of the church was gone. The photograph also reveals the presence of a fence once again marking the northern property boundary, and it is constructed in the same simple style as the new stair railing, with the same materials. Both spirelets on the western half of the tower were missing their points, and the translucent paint was beginning to wear off of the windows (Figure 12).

By 1941, some of the window panes were missing entirely, and the bell tower demonstrated a slight southward lean. Some of the photographs taken during this period demonstrate missing shingles in the tower roof. (Figure 13). By 1950, a storm had ripped out the louvers in the bell tower, the gable-peak cross was broken, and most of the windows on the west elevation were boarded up (Figure 14). Sometime in the 1940s or 1950s, some of the church windows were repainted with an aluminum-based paint. This eventually oxidized and turned black.[65]

An interior photograph looking toward the sanctuary was taken circa 1944 (Figure 15). The church appears much as it did in the photograph of circa 1895–1897, with the exception of the paper banner hanging over the altar, which has been slightly damaged, and the light fixtures, which have been updated to milk-glass electric fixtures. The new fixtures appear to date from the 1920s, as a very similar fixture is advertised in a 1925 catalog for the Beardslee Chandelier Manufacturing Company. The lights may have been installed when the church was electrified in 1903. In this photograph, there are also fixtures with flower sconces installed in the walls below the beams in the sanctuary.[66]

Tourism, Restoration, and Continuing Hardship: 1952–Present

In 1952, with the encouragement of Riley Bryan, St. Paul's vestry decided that the church would open to accommodate visitors. Bryan, business manager of the *Territorial Enterprise*, hired caretaker Charles Beaumette to open the church daily from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m. as long "as the interest of visitors justifies it." Around the same time, a rector from Minden held occasional services in the church. Between 1955 and 1959, a local carpenter was contracted to repair the steeple, which included reshingling and repainting, for $5,000 raised through donations (Figure 16). In 1957, the exterior was repainted and "refurbished." In 1958, the organ—with its various missing pipes and parts—was partially restored at a cost of $500 raised by tourist contributions and personal donations.[67]

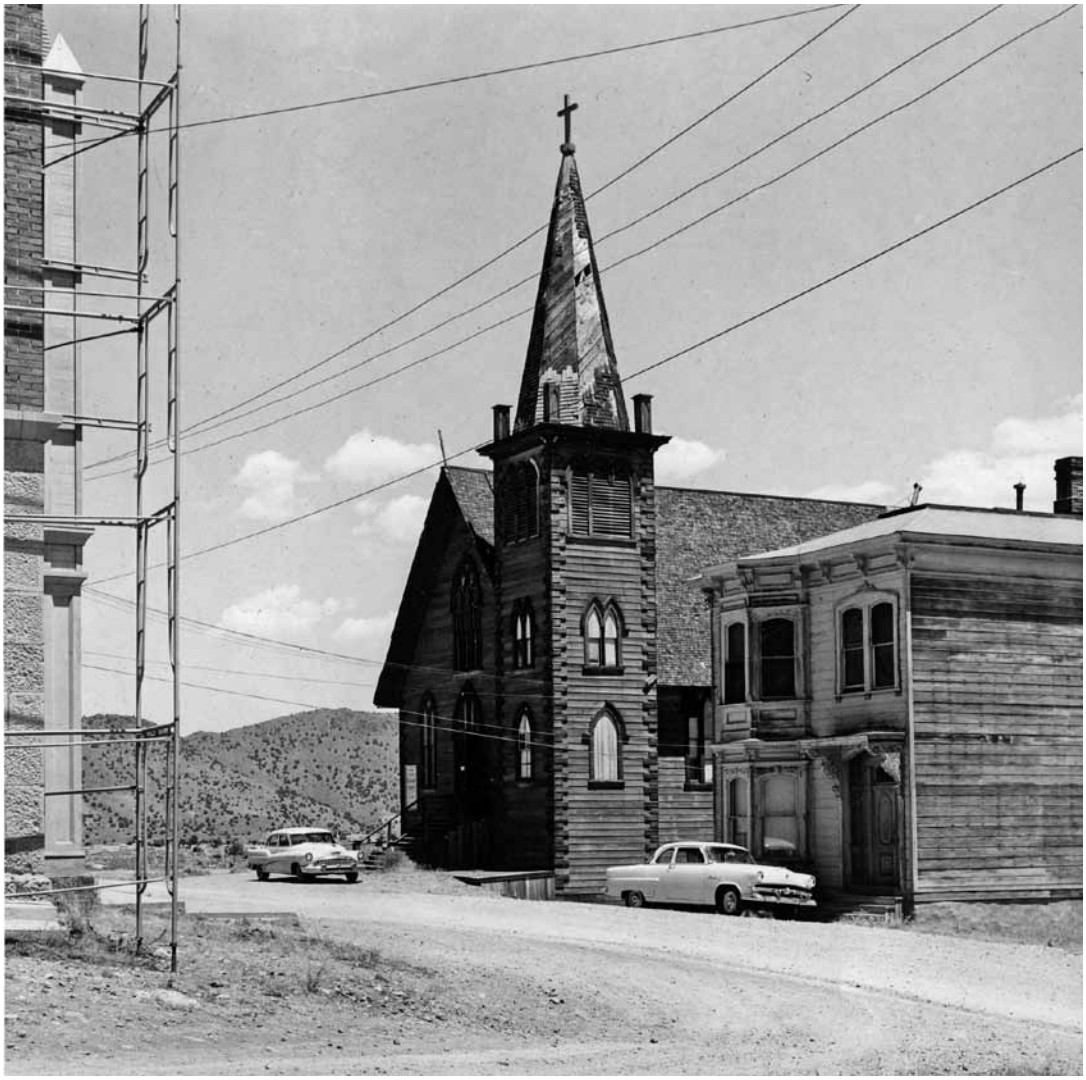


Figure 16. St. Paul's before the repainting and reshingling work of 1955, circa 1952-1955. (*UNR Special Collections*)

After the Great Depression subsided, Virginia City revived, experiencing a renaissance of sorts. An influx of literati, artists, and bohemians invigorated the flagging town. Entranced by its past, the new residents became interested in gathering histories of Virginia City—and more than a few began spinning their own yarns about the Comstock. In 1959, the town celebrated the centennial of the Comstock Lode's discovery. In addition to an event attended by Vice President Richard Nixon and his wife, Pat, the U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative stamp, and residents erected a local monument. According to James, during the centennial year, "people looked back to see a faint flicker of the brilliant flame that had been so clearly visible throughout the world a hundred years earlier." In the 1960s, the town attracted another wave of artistic transplants, this time from its longtime metropole, San Francisco. Artists, musicians, and other members of that city's counterculture descended upon Virginia City, refreshed by the seclusion and unique atmosphere it offered.[68]

When *Bonanza* was introduced to American television audiences in 1959, it sparked imaginations throughout the country, prompting a second "Rush to Washoe"—this time in the form of tourism. The show renewed a nationwide interest in the Old West and prompted the development of a dynamic tourism industry focused on the Comstock. The world wanted to experience this legendary slice of the West, and it gave residents cause to reinvest in Virginia City's historic buildings.[69] Hugh James Gallagher, a lifelong Virginia City resident, born there in 1920, remembers St. Paul's as one of the first places to open its doors to tourists in the 1950s, along with St. Mary in the Mountains, the Crystal Bar, the Delta Saloon, and the Bucket of Blood Saloon.[70] That the earliest tourist attractions comprised churches and saloons speaks to the history, real and imagined, of the Comstock, with its cast of saints and sinners. The National Register of Historic Places designated the Comstock Historic District in 1969, as the region continued to ride high on *Bonanza* fever.[71]

The combination of supportive new residents and waves of admiring tourists prompted locals to see their architectural treasures with fresh eyes and spurred enthusiasm for rehabilitating St. Paul's. The optimism that drove the reopening of the church was palpable, despite the fact that the congregation had dropped to three active parishioners in 1967. The same year, a committee was formed to restore St. Paul's, and Governor Paul Laxalt was named its honorary chairman. The committee commissioned local architect Edward S. Parsons to conduct a survey of the building's conditions and provide recommendations for its rehabilitation in 1967. It does not appear that Parsons was hired to do any of his recommended work, however, and the church continued to address only the most pressing maintenance concerns.[72]

Soon thereafter, the church retained the services of contractor Allan Gallaway of Reno in 1968 to "perform necessary repairs to the historic building," including repairing the roof and bell tower, rebricking the chimneys, and adding sheet-metal stacks. The church additionally planned to disassemble, inspect, and clean the organ, followed by making necessary repairs, including replacing missing pipes and refinishing the cabinet panels. The same year, St. Paul's sold some of its pews to Coventry Cross Episcopal Church in Minden.[73]

Between 1969 and 1975, local Presbyterian and Episcopal congregations joined forces, holding summer services at St. Paul's and winter services at the First Presbyterian Church on C Street. During this brief collaboration, congregants replaced the broken glass in the west-elevation windows with amber window glass salvaged from St. Mary in the Mountains. The front doors were also replaced around 1973.[74]

The union between the two congregations did not last, and their disbanding ushered in another period of neglect. By 1975, the church was padlocked, pews had disappeared, and the roof deteriorated to the point that "pigeons flew freely in and out of the building." By 1977, St. Paul's had stopped holding services altogether.[75]

The successive waves of abandonment and inattention wreaked havoc on the building, and church officials realized that something had to be done. In 1978, the church applied for a state grant administered by the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office, securing $12,500 and matching that amount. The federal government then matched the total amount with $25,000. These funds were used to "shore up" the south walls, brace the bell tower, replace deteriorated siding and trim, and paint the exterior. St. Paul's secured an additional grant in 1991 in the amount of $20,000. This was also a matching grant, with the diocese providing $10,000 and the federal government providing $10,000. These funds were used to replace the roof with pressure-treated shingles supplied by Koppers Chemical Company (Figure 17).[76]

Understanding the value of the little wooden church to the history of the Comstock, church officials resumed occasional services at St. Paul's and sporadically offered guided tours beginning in 1996. These functions continue to the present day. However, St. Paul's continues

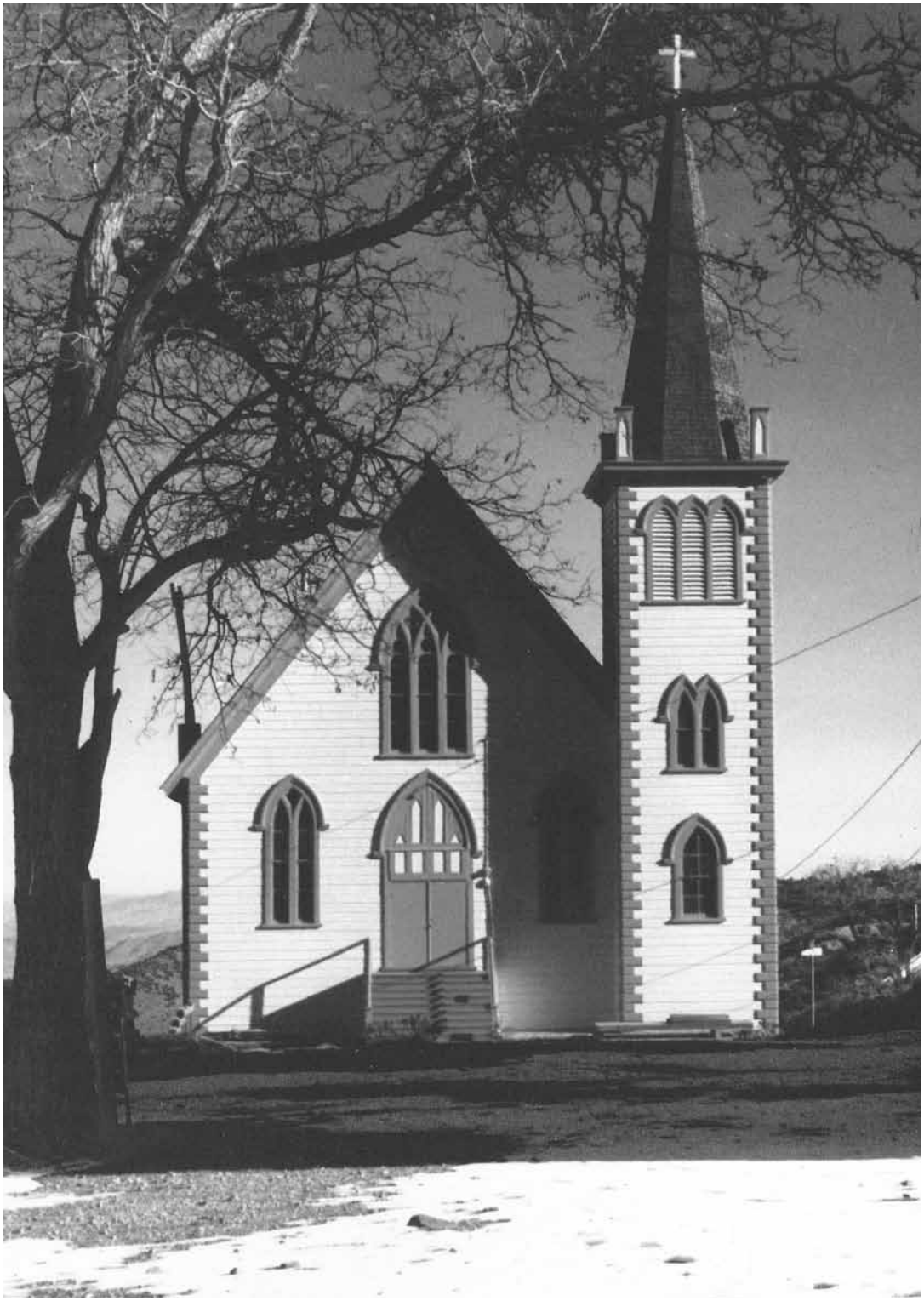


Figure 17. St. Paul's after the Ramsey rehabilitation, ca. 1990. (*Courtesy of Bob Ramsey*)

to struggle with funding for repair and maintenance. Years of neglect, borne of scarcity rather than apathy, have taken their toll on the building, compounded by harsh, wet winters and sunny, dry summers. A small group of dedicated locals maintain the church and make small repairs, although large projects requiring technical expertise—including roof replacement and structural stabilization—have been deferred due to a lack of money.[77]

Although St. Paul's faces a number of challenges associated with preserving the church building, there is a bright spot. In 2018, the National Park Service awarded the Western Missionary Museum Corporation[78] a small grant from its Save America's Treasures program. Although this grant will not cover all of the work that needs to be done on the church, it will address some of the immediate threats to the building. To complete the remaining work on the building, including rehabilitation that will allow it to be open to the public on a regular basis, St. Paul's will most likely rely on donations.

The Legacy of St. Paul's

Architecturally, St. Paul's is small but mighty. Bishop Whitaker hinted at this in his sermon during the opening service for the 1876 church, as he explored the relationship between a church's purpose and its aesthetics:

> What is the true glory of a church? Not stately architecture. Not a gorgeous and magnificent building. There may be places and times when such structures are called for and should be built. But anything of that character would be out of place here and now. The true glory of anything is that it best serves the ends for which it was designed and should exist.… The true glory of a church is that it serves as a means of drawing men to God; turning them away from evil; willing them from the love of the world; lifting their thoughts and affections into a purer atmosphere; making them ashamed of sin and meanness; raising them to a higher place of living; making them realize their greatness as the children of God; and leading them to live as becomes his children. In so far as gracefulness of architecture and convenience of arrangement may contribute to this end, it is proper that they be employed.[79]

Bishop Whitaker concluded that the new church's simplicity served its ultimate purpose, and that in doing so, it achieved its own kind of grace:

> And in all that pertains to this church, as a building, it is true that glory of this latter house is greater than that of the former. Simple and plain as this house is, it is graceful and true to the principles of art. It is convenient and fit for the purposes for which it is designed.[80]

The beauty of the church lies in this simplicity. The scalar interplay between its primary mass, bell tower, and rows of pointed-arch windows creates a harmonious composition. As an example of the Carpenter Gothic style, it is a frontier interpretation of the Gothic Revival style that swept church architecture in the 19th century—a style that, in Episcopalian architecture, sought to reaffirm its connection with Englishness and to convey an overtly Christian sacredness. Its silhouette is that of a classic pioneer church, stark and austere. In combination with its Gothic Revival details, the building's gable-and-steeple outline immediately identified it as a Christian church and distinguished it from the secular buildings in town.

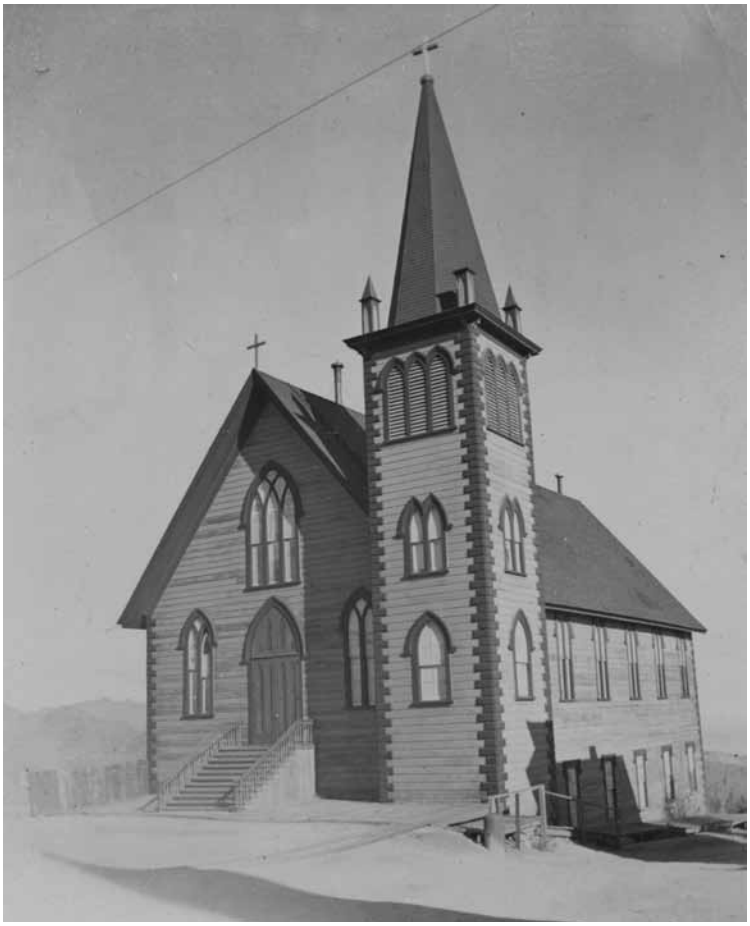


Figure 18. Early photograph of St. Paul's, circa 1876-1895. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The rich interior details provide a sharp contrast to the unassuming exterior, calling back to the Episcopalian proclivity to design worship spaces that elevate the worshipper out of ordinary life, reifying the connection between the visual senses and the divine. Upon entering the church, one is astounded by the open framing of the nave. Handsome wooden truss arches sweep upward, interspersed with golden-hued sugar-pine boards, giving the interior a warm glow. The effect of the open trusswork is highly articulated and dramatic. The level of craftsmanship and technical skill required to create this breathtaking interior is unmatched in the interiors of other Protestant church buildings of the era on the Comstock.

More than just an architectural gem, the church is also deeply rooted in historical significance. As the "mother" of Episcopal churches in Nevada and Arizona, St. Paul's has been associated with the development of the Episcopal Diocese of Nevada from its very beginning. As the only Episcopal church in Virginia City, it carries with it the history of that parish, which has largely paralleled the chronicle of the Comstock. In the imaginations of Virginia City residents, religion possessed a civilizing influence upon society, and St. Paul's plays a role in this narrative of transformation from wicked mining camp to respectable community. Through both abundance and scarcity, the little church has persevered. In the 21st century, it is embarking on a new mission of preservation and purpose. If the past is any indication, St. Paul's will endure, an unassuming monument to the community that built it (Figure 18).

Notes

[1]Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 28.

[2]Charles Jeffrey Garrison, "'How the Devil Tempts Us to Go Aside from Christ:' First Presbyterian Church of Virginia City, 1862-1867," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 13-14.

[3]Garrison, "How the Devil Tempts," 13-14; Francis P. Weisenburger, "God and Man in a Secular City: The Church in Virginia City, Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 3-23.

[4]Even Ronald M. James's book *The Roar and the Silence* (1998), considered an authoritative tome on the history of Virginia City, only mentions St. Paul's Episcopal Church twice. James notes that the first Episcopal service was held in 1861, followed by the construction of the first church building in 1863 (p. 201), and that this first church was lost in the 1875 fire (p. 113).

[5]These photographs are housed at repositories in Nevada and California, including the Nevada Historical Society; the University of Nevada, Reno, Special Collections Library; the California State Library; and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

[6]Cyril M. Harris, *American Architecture: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 48; Virginia S. McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 266-80.

[7]Lutheran, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic churches are considered liturgical denominations.

[8]Patrick A. Snadon, "Gothic Revival Architecture," *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture, Volume 21: Art and Architecture* (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 2003), 99.

[9]Jack C. Lane, "Florida's Carpenter Gothic Churches: Artistic Gems from a Victorian Past," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 248-70.

[10]Herbert Gottfried and Jan Jennings, *American Vernacular: Buildings and Interiors 1870-1970* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 267; Ronald M. James, *The Roar and the Silence: A History of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 116-17.

[11]Emily Turner, "The Church Missionary Society and Architecture in the Mission Field: Evangelical Anglican Perspectives on Church Building Abroad, c. 1850–1900," *Architectural History* 58 (2015): 197-228.

[12]Mary M. Mathews, *Ten Years in Nevada: Or, Life on the Pacific Coast* (Buffalo, NY: Baker, Jones & Company, 1880), 194; Thomas Wren, *A History of the State of Nevada* (Provo, UT: Repressed Publishing, 2012), 183.

[13]Anita Ernst Watson, Jean E. Ford, and Linda White, "'The Advantages of Ladies' Society': The Public Sphere of Women on the Comstock," in *Comstock Women,* eds. Ronald M. James and C. Elizabeth Raymond (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 186-88.

[14] Turner, "Church Missionary Society," 197-228.

[15] Lane, "Florida's Carpenter Gothic Churches," 248-70.

[16]Ellen Hostettler, "Boomtown Landscapes," in *Material Culture*, 43, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 1-8: James, *Roar and the Silence*, 117.

[17]Myron Angel, *History of Nevada* (Oakland, CA: Thompson and West, 1881), 196-201; Rolfe B. Chase, *History of the Episcopal Church in Nevada: 1860-1959* (Carson City: R. B. Chase, 2001), 411; James, *Roar and the Silence*, 201; Thomas Jenkins, "The Church in Nevada," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 6, no. 4 (December 1937): 374-81; Eliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1959), 207; Weisenburger, "God and Man," 9.

[18]Angel, *History of Nevada,* 196-201; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Volume XXV: History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 168; Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 414; Jenkins, "Church in Nevada," 381-82; George W. Lamb, "The First Episcopal Church in Each State of the Union," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 8, no.4 (December 1939): 402-04; Weisenburger, "God and Man," 9.

[19]Angel, *History of Nevada*, 198; Thomas Wren, *State of Nevada*, 191.

[20]Exceptions to this rule included Irish Catholics and Cornish Methodists. See Lawrence J. Brown, "The Episcopal Church in the Arid West, 1865-1875: A Study in Adaptability," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Church* 30 no. 3 (September 1961): 158; James, *Roar and the Silence*, 199-201.

[21]Wren, *State of Nevada*, 583-85.

[22]Wren, *State of Nevada*, 608-10.

[23]Brown, "Episcopal Church," 158; St. Paul's Episcopal parish records.

[24] Sam Davis, *The History of Nevada* (Reno: The Elms Publishing Company, 1913), 1:554-56.

[25]Wren, *State of Nevada*, 547-48.

[26]Wren, *State of Nevada*, 723-25.

[27]James, *Roar and the Silence*, 92; Weisenberger, "God and Man," 11.

[28]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 414; Mathews, *Ten Years in Nevada*, 180; Weisenberger, "God and Man," 11-12.

[29]Dan DeQuille, *The Big Bonanza*, (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1974), 431.

[30]Mathews, *The Years in Nevada*, 195.

[31]Weisenberger, "God and Man," 14.

[32]Angel, *History of Nevada*, 196-201; Jenkins, "Church in Nevada," 381-82; Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Nevada: Protestant Episcopal Church* (a historical-records survey housed at the University of Nevada, Reno, Special Collections Library, Reno, 1941), 3.

[33]DeQuille, *Big Bonanza*, 431.

[34]DeQuille, *Big Bonanza*, 430.

[35]"To Contractors and Builders," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), May 26, 1876.

[36]"St. Paul's Church," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), September 5, 1876; "Religious Services Tomorrow," *Virginia Evening Chronicle* (Virginia City, NV), September 23, 1876.

[37]"St. Paul's Church," *Virginia Evening Chronicle* (Virginia City, NV), December 16, 1876.

[38]Untitled, *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), September 2, 1876; "St. Paul's Church," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), September 5, 1876; Untitled, *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), November 25, 1876; Untitled, *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), November 29, 1876; "Postponement," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), December 9, 1876.

[39]Graining is a decorative painting technique in which a base wood is painted to resemble a different, usually more expensive, kind of wood by imitating the actual wood grain with a variety of pigments, brushes, and combs. Graining work is also referred to as *faux bois*.

[40]"St. Paul's Church," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), September 5, 1876; Untitled, *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), December 17, 1876; Untitled, *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), December 19, 1876; "St. Paul's Church," *Virginia Evening Chronicle* (Virginia City, NV), December 16, 1876.

[41]St. Paul's Episcopal Parish Records; John F. Uhlhorn, *The Virginia and Truckee Railroad Directory, 1873-74: embracing a general directory of residents of Virginia City, Silver City, Dayton, Carson, Franktown, Washoe City, and Reno*. (Sacramento, CA: H.S. Crocker & Co., 1874), 118.

[42]Alliance Insurance Company (a record of Virginia City insurance policies, 92-33, housed at the University of Nevada, Reno, Special Collections Library, 1876), 19.

[43]Advertisement, *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), February 20, 1878.

[44]Lane, "Florida's Carpenter Gothic Churches," 248-270; "St. Paul's Church," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), September 5, 1876; Untitled, *Virginia Evening Chronicle* (Virginia City, NV), August 1, 1876.

[45]The Alexander Mills organ is now located on the ground floor of the church, northwest of the altar.

[46]Angel, *History of Nevada*, 200; Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 416; Jenkins, "Church in Nevada," 382; Untitled, *Virginia Evening Chronicle* (Virginia City, NV), August 1, 1876; "The New Episcopal Church," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), September 21, 1876; "Postponement," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), December 9, 1876; "That Postponement," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), December 10, 1876); "St. Paul's Parish," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), January 10, 1897; "St. Paul's Church," *Virginia Evening Chronicle* (Virginia City, NV), December 16, 1876.

[47]Don S. Armentrout and Robert Boak Slocum, eds., *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church, a User Friendly Reference for Episcopalians* (New York: Church Publishing, Inc., 2000); Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 416-17; "Miss Wolfe's Newport House," *New York Times*, December 14, 1886; Works Progress Administration, *Church Archives of Nevada*, 12.

[48]Angel, *History of Nevada*, 200.

[49]Angel, *History of Nevada*, 200.

[50]Wren, *State of Nevada*, 417.

[51]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 419.

[52]Weisenburger, "God and Man," 15-17.

[53]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 417; St. Paul's Episcopal parish records.

[54]In art and architecture, diapering refers to decorating a surface with a repeating geometric pattern. During the Victorian period, organ pipes were commonly diapered.

[55]Alfred Doten, *The Journals of Alfred Doten*, ed. Walter Van Tilburg Clark (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1975), 1879; "St. Paul's Parish," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), January 10, 1897.

[56]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 417; St. Paul's Episcopal parish records.

[57]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 419; "A Brief History of St. Paul's Episcopal Church," *Gold Hill News* (Gold Hill, NV), May 7, 1975; "St. Paul's Episcopal Church Has Glorious Past," *Nevada Appeal* (Carson City, NV), October 12, 1978; Episcopal Church in Nevada Manuscript Collection (MS/NC 470, Nevada Historical Society, Reno), 37, 118-21.

[58]James, *Roar and the Silence*, 248.

[59]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 419; St. Paul's Episcopal parish records.

[60]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 419-420; St. Paul's Episcopal parish records.

[61]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 421; St. Paul's Episcopal parish records.

[62]Chase, *History of Episcopal* Church, 421.

[63]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 421; Jenkins, *Church in Nevada*, 381; "The Mother Church of Nevada," Episcopal Church in Nevada Manuscript Collection (MS/NC 470, Nevada Historical Society, Reno).

[64]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 421-22; "Comstock Church Reopens," *Nevada State Journal* (Reno, NV), October 11, 1942; Weisenburger, "God and Man," 15-16.

[65]Howard Bennett in discussion with the author, May 8, 2017.

[66]Beardslee Chandelier Manufacturing Company, *Twentyfour Hour Shipment Catalog S-7*, (Chicago 1925), Plate 65.

[67]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 422; "St. Paul's Church, Virginia City, Joins List of Open Churches," *Desert Churchman* (Reno, NV), June 1952.

[68]James, *Roar and the Silence*, 258-63.

[69]It is important to note that the *Bonanza* phenomenon contributed in equal parts to preservation and modification. This era also saw the covering of some historic Virginia City buildings with false-front "Western" facades, along with other exterior alterations with no basis in history, in an effort to make the town appear as the television show *Bonanza* portrayed it.

[70]Lucy Scheid, "An Interview with Hugh James Gallagher: A Contribution to a Survey of Life and Structures on the Comstock," University of Nevada Oral History Program (University of Nevada, Reno), 1984, 14.

[71]James, *Roar and the Silence*, 261-67.

[72]Episcopal Church in Nevada Manuscript Collection (MS/NC 470, Nevada Historical Society, Reno); Untitled, *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), April 19, 1968; Weisenburger, "God and Man," 16.

[73]Episcopal Church in Nevada Manuscript Collection (MS/NC 470, Nevada Historical Society, Reno), Correspondence Folder, Box 18; "New Look for St. Paul's: How Sweet It Will Sound," *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), November 15, 1968.

[74]Howard Bennett in discussion with the author, May 8, 2017; private files of Robert Ramsey (structural engineer), 1988.

[75]"The Bells are Ringing," *Gold Hill News* (Gold Hill, NV), May 7, 1975; "St. Paul's Episcopal Church Has Glorious Past," *Nevada Appeal* (Carson City, NV), October 12, 1978.

[76]Private files of Robert Ramsey (structural engineer), 1988.

[77]Chase, *History of Episcopal Church*, 422.

[78]The Western Missionary Museum Corporation is a nonprofit affiliated with the Nevada Episcopal Diocese and the official owner of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Virginia City.

[79]"St. Paul's Church." *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), December 19, 1876.

[80]"St. Paul's Church." *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, NV), December 19, 1876.

Torchbearers Eastward of the Pacific, into the Darkness of This Wasted Land

Themes of Western History in the Postatomic Mojave of Fallout: New Vegas

David G. Schwartz

A video game, like a book, album, or film, is a product of its time and culture, with the potential to explore complex stories. Early games, like *Pac-Man* and *Space Invaders*, had no real story. They had concepts: eating pellets while being pursued by ghosts and defending a base from attackers, respectively. But today, games in a variety of genres have more narrative heft. Video role-playing games, which evolved from pen-and-paper role-playing games like *Dungeons and Dragons*, are often more accurately described as interactive novels than games. Through cut scenes (video scenes that play without any player interaction), in-game dialogue, and written material like journal entries, role-playing games immerse the player in the world in which their adventure unfolds.

While many role-playing games fall safely into fantasy (the product of the genre's roots in J.R.R. Tolkien–derived desktop games) and science fiction (a genre that video games have claimed since *Spacewar*, arguably the first widely played game),[1] some games escape narrow classifications. *Fallout: New Vegas*, released in 2010, has been praised as perhaps the best role-playing game (RPG) yet released. Both the postapocalyptic Mojave Desert landscape that the courier (the game's main character) moves through, and the plot of the game, in which the courier seeks revenge after being shot in the head and left for dead, make the game a science-fiction Western, with super mutants, irradiated ghouls, and plasma rifles alongside hard-drinking prospectors, overmatched sheriff's deputies, and cowboy repeaters.

The validity of film, literature, and even television as a legitimate topic of study for scholars is generally accepted. Few instructors would shy away from assigning the writings of Bret Harte or Mark Twain as evidence of the West's place in the history of American culture,[2] and films like *Stagecoach* and *The Searchers* have a similar place in the curriculum.[3] These works, and others like them, stand not just as exemplars of the literary or cinematic techniques of their creators but as

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documents that provide windows into popular attitudes toward the American West's history and myth. As such, we accept that not only can they be read or watched as texts or visuals that illuminate something about a particular period, but they can also be used to engage students in a deeper understanding of the past.

It is not a stretch to suggest that video games can play a particular role in the history classroom. Many games make use of historical settings, with varying degrees of commitment to historical accuracy. Such games, like those in the *Assassin's Creed* and *Civilization* series, can whet students' appetites for real historical study in the same way that undergraduate devotees of *Game of Thrones* might be more inclined to enroll in a medieval-history course.

But what about a video game set in the future? Can it serve any role in the history classroom? It certainly can't be utilized in the same way that "The Luck of Roaring Camp" might be assigned to provide color when discussing the mining frontier. However, I'd argue that it might be an even more effective assignment than a short story or movie. Linguist James Paul Gee has argued that players willingly slog through games that are long and difficult because designers, through the Darwinian imperatives of the marketplace, have learned how to build good principles of learning into their games.[4] *Fallout: New Vegas* must have excellent educational design, since a decent playthrough can last 40 hours or longer. That's more contact hours than the average undergraduate course.

But how does a game set in a fictional future teach anything about the past? In the case of *Fallout: New Vegas*, it is accomplished through the game's setting. The physical, economic, and political environments of the game borrow specifically from the Western frontier of the United States in the late 19th century as immortalized in generations of novels, motion pictures, and television shows. But unlike the source material that the game draws upon, *Fallout: New Vegas* draws the player in, forcing them to make decisions that will change the game's story. As such, the game can be used to illustrate key concepts in Western history far better than PowerPoint slides or even movie nights, and scholars should not be timid about using the game to enhance students'—and their own—understanding of history.

Fallout: New Vegas as a Sci-Fi Western

Before examining the utility of the game in the classroom, it makes sense to explain how *Fallout: New Vegas* is played and describe something of the world it inhabits. The game is usually classified as an action RPG. Players control the courier as the character moves around the game, viewing the world from a first-person perspective. The game's combat sequences occur in this mode. The player can also open up a dialogue with many (though not all) non-player characters. Some, like merchants, have limited interactions: the player can speak briefly with them to buy and sell items. Other characters can ask the player to complete quests for them and sometimes offer extensive backstories and information about the Mojave along the way. Most quests involve the player fetching something or killing someone or something for the grantor.

It is important to note that *Fallout: New Vegas* isn't simply a shoot-'em-up adventure; it is a game with a fully fleshed-out narrative, with characters whose lives are changed (or ended) by the choices that the player makes as the courier. The non-player characters (NPCs) are divided into factions; the New California Republic, Caesar's Legion, forces of Robert House (which include those who work in his casinos and police robots called "securitrons"), and Yes Man (an independent securitron) are the major factions. During the course of the game, as each faction plots to secure its dominance over the region, the player can choose which of these four to side with.

There are several minor factions that the player can ally themselves with as well. These include the Boomers, military-hardware-obsessed xenophobes who live at the former Nellis Air Force Base; the Brotherhood of Steel, a monastic paramilitary organization that recovers and "preserves" prewar technology; the Followers of the Apocalypse, humanitarians who freely offer medical aid and practical instruction; the Great Khans, a drug-dealing biker gang (minus working motorcycles); a trio of factions (the Chairmen, the Omertas, and the White Glove Society) that operate casinos for Mr. House; merchant companies, the Crimson Caravan being the most prominent; and assorted towns, militias, and collectives.[5]

The fourth major iteration in the *Fallout* franchise, *Fallout: New Vegas* begins in 2281, roughly 200 years after the ravages of a global thermonuclear war. The game's premise is quickly established in its opening narration:

> War. War never changes.
>
> When atomic fire consumed the earth, those who survived did so in great, underground vaults. When they opened, their inhabitants set out across ruins of the old world to build new societies, establish new villages, forming tribes.
>
> As decades passed, what had been the American southwest united beneath the flag of the New California Republic (NCR), dedicated to old-world values of democracy and the rule of law. As the Republic grew, so did its needs. Scouts spread east, seeking territory and wealth, in the dry and merciless expanse of the Mojave Desert. They returned with tales of a city untouched by the warheads that had scorched the rest of the world, and a great wall spanning the Colorado River.
>
> The NCR mobilized its army and sent it east to occupy the Hoover Dam, and restore it to working condition. But across the Colorado, another society had arisen under a different flag. A vast army of slaves, forged from the conquest of 86 tribes: Caesar's Legion.
>
> Four years have passed since the Republic held the Dam—just barely—against the Legion's onslaught. The Legion did not retreat. Across the river, it gathers strength. Campfires burn, training drums beat.
>
> Through it all, the New Vegas Strip has stayed open for business under the control of its mysterious overseer, Mr. House, and his army of rehabilitated Tribals and police robots.[6] You are a courier, hired by the Mojave Express, to deliver a package to the New Vegas Strip. What seemed like a simple delivery job has taken a turn…for the worse.[7]

The player controls the courier, whose gender, abilities, and appearance can be customized. The introductory cinematic shows Benny, the leader of the Chairmen casino-operating faction, stealing the platinum chip the courier is delivering and shooting the courier in the head. The game then begins in earnest, with the player waking up in the home of Doc Mitchell, a Goodsprings physician. The player later learns that, buried hastily by Benny and his minions, the courier was retrieved by Victor, a roving securitron, and brought to the good doctor. Under Mitchell's care, the courier recovers sufficiently to pursue Benny and explore the Mojave Wasteland, discovering side quests along the way and ultimately playing a pivotal role in the final confrontation between the NCR, Caesar's Legion, and Mr. House (FIGURE 1).[8]

Figure 1. Mr. House.

Upon its release, *Fallout: New Vegas* was praised for its "detailed and nuanced" setting, compelling characters, deep gameplay, black humor, and gray morality.[9] The first two *Fallout* games had been set in California and third in the Washington, D.C., metro area. In these games, the focus was on building and extending the postnuclear exchange universe that the series inhabits. The world of *Fallout* diverged from our own world long before the nuclear exchange. The United States of the 2070s seems to be stuck in a stylized version of the 1950s, with anti-communism, transistor-powered consumer electronics, and giant, chrome-adorned automobiles existing alongside laser weapons and power-armor combat exoskeletons. *Fallout: New Vegas* shows what a postatomic Western frontier might look like. If video games can be divided into genres beyond their mechanics (i.e., a first-person shooter versus an RPG), this game is unabashedly a Western.

At the start of the game, the player has one major quest arc to follow: learn more about the man who ambushed the courier in the opening cinematic and recover the platinum chip. As the player progresses from Primm to Nipton to Novac to Boulder City in pursuit of information, they will open dozens of side quests simply by interacting with the NPCs they encounter. Speaking to storekeeper Johnson Nash in Primm, for example, triggers the quest "My Kind of Town," in which the player must remove a gang of convicts who have taken over and find a new sheriff for Primm.[10] These side quests allow players to earn experience points, which help players progress, and discover loot, which they can add to their own provisions of armor, weapons, and medicine or sell to merchants for "caps" (within the game, prewar bottle caps represent the most stable and widely accepted currency). While officially called side quests, these quests in fact provide the bulk of gameplay, and a player can put dozens of hours into the game while advancing only slightly the main questline of learning who stole the platinum chip.

The world of *Fallout: New Vegas* is populated by NPCs whose depth ranges from minimal to quite deep. Doc Mitchell, for example, reveals in dialogue that he was born in Vault 21,

which was subsequently bought by Mr. House and converted into a casino hotel. He traveled the Wasteland for a time, then settled in Goodsprings, where he remained after the death of his wife. Mitchell, though he professes to not "pay it much mind anymore," is clearly bitter at House for the loss of his childhood home and his wife. ("When folks spend their lives in isolation," he tells the courier, "sometimes that ain't the best of things for learning to fight off germs.")[11] Although Mitchell only interacts with the player in the initial character building phase, and to possibly trade supplies later in the game, this is a character with a well-defined backstory that helps build the world of the game.

Mitchell sits in the middle of the NPC depth continuum. Anchoring the shallow end are characters named only by their occupations, like traveling merchants and mercenaries. The courier can trade goods with them but not much more. Most named NPCs offer unique dialogue and, in many cases, quests. Their backstories range from minimal to compelling. At Camp McCarran, for example, the courier meets members of the NCR's First Recon team, each of whom has a fascinating, tragic past that informs their attitudes toward the NCR's foes and their roles in the NCR's ongoing battles. Faction leaders like Caesar and Mr. House are well-plotted characters, with histories that are revealed in dialogue with them as well as other characters. Additionally, the eight characters that can be recruited as companions each have their own narrative arc, with plenty of backstory that illuminates both the characters and the world of the Mojave Wasteland.

Through questlines and character dialogue, the Western-frontier ethos of *Fallout: New Vegas* is firmly established. Though the game is set in the same universe as the installments taking place in California and on the East Coast, *Fallout: New Vegas* plays with tropes of the West in ways that the other games do not, which is unsurprising given the developers' desires to draw from the Western genre. As such, *Fallout: New Vegas* provides several opportunities to explore major themes in Western history.

BACK IN THE SADDLE

The Western setting of *Fallout: New Vegas* was an essential part of the game from its origin. Lead designer and director Josh Sawyer explains:

> The Western aesthetic was important to me for a few reasons. I wanted to contrast *Fallout 3*'s aesthetic, I wanted the aesthetic to be fitting for the region, and I wanted to hearken back to the midcentury American love of Westerns, which overlaps with the golden age of post-World War II Vegas. Also importantly, I love Westerns, as did many of the people working on the game.[12]

The game is divided into main quests and side quests. As fully formed interactive stories, these quests reference and follow tropes that make Sawyer and his codevelopers' Western sympathies clear from the start of the game. When the player awakens in Doc Mitchell's home, after determining their physical characteristics and abilities, their first quest is called "Back in the Saddle." In it, the courier leaves Mitchell's house and heads for the Prospector Saloon (closely modeled on the real-life Goodsprings Pioneer Saloon), where they meet Sunny Smiles, a hunter and town guard who teaches the player the basics of combat by asking the courier to help her hunt geckos.[13] Following that quest, Smiles teaches the courier how to craft healing powder in the quest "By a Campfire on a Trail." Both of these clearly owe something to the mythology of the cowboy, and together with the frontier appearance of Goodsprings, they establish *Fallout: New Vegas* as a Western. With a saloon, general store, kindly doctor, and one-room schoolhouse, the Goodsprings of *Fallout: New Vegas* could have been conjured directly from a Hollywood back lot (FIGURE 2). Easy Pete, a character

FIGURE 2. Goodsprings.

who can usually be found sitting in a chair in front of the Prospector Saloon, is emblematic of the game's approach (FIGURE 3). He identifies himself as a retired prospector. The prospectors of the postatomic West do not generally search for valuable mineral deposits; rather, as one of the game's loading screens says, "Prospector is a polite word for 'scavenger.' Prospectors can be found all over the Mojave Wasteland, usually looking for the rare unopened safe at the bottom of an irradiated mineshaft."[14] But with his weathered Stetson, gravelly drawl, and grizzled white beard, one can imagine Easy Pete filling a seat in a saloon in any cinematic Western from the silent-movie era through today. And his dialogue helps flesh out the world of *Fallout: New Vegas*: he tells the players that, since being run off a good cache by a gang of raiders, he has given up prospecting for the quiet life in Goodsprings. "Now I just take it easy and help out with the Brahmins and Bighorners," he says,[15] a reference to two species of mutated animals in the game. Brahmins are the two-headed descendants of prewar cattle that provide meat and milk and serve as beasts of burden for the populace of the Mojave.[16] Bighorners are a mutated version of the sheep that are native to higher elevations of the Mojave.[17] Pete's charges are among the least terrifying animals to be found in the Wasteland, so the intimation is that life within the "safe" zone of Goodsprings is less hazardous than prospecting in the unsettled Mojave. Easy Pete's career change is a little bit of world building, but it also speaks to the tensions between the mining and cattle frontiers (and prospectors and cowboys) throughout Western history.

As the player is learning how to play the game in Goodsprings, they are confronted with their first moral choice, the first of several decisions that will determine how the game unfolds. Heading back to the Prospector Saloon after completing their tutorial quests with Sunny Smiles, the courier walks in as bartender Trudy is being threatened by Joe Cobb, the leader of a group of escaped convicts known as the Powder Gangers. After Cobb leaves, Trudy tells the courier that, about a week before the courier awoke, a trader named Ringo came to town, seeking refuge. Ringo's caravan had been attacked by the Powder Gangers. And if the people of Goodsprings do not turn Ringo over, Cobb says he will burn the town to the ground.

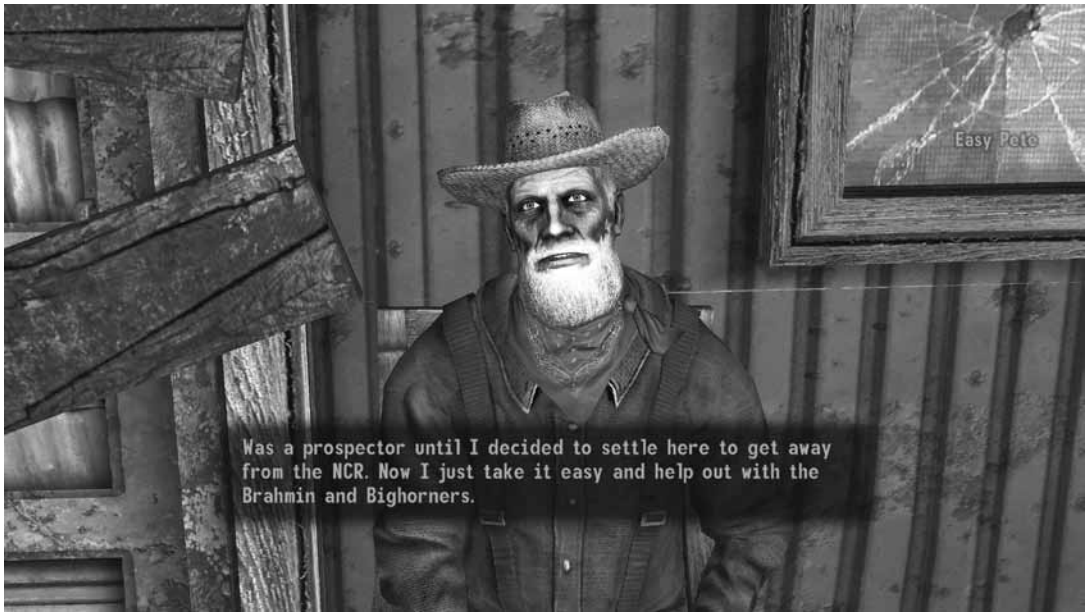

FIGURE 3. Easy Pete.

Even those who haven't seen *The Magnificent Seven* (or *Three Amigos*) know the stock trope of the townspeople turning to a mysterious outsider for help. Unlike movies, though, the *Fallout: New Vegas* player has an active choice to make. If they side with Trudy, the game initiates the quest "Ghost Town Gunfight," in which the player must solicit the aid of the townspeople, then confront Cobb and the Powder Gangers. If the player can marshal the aid of the townsfolk and kill Cobb and his minions without being killed, they will be awarded experience points and a positive reputation in Goodsprings, although they will become vilified by the Powder Gangers. Choosing to help Cobb will trigger the quest "Run Goodsprings Run," in which the player must kill the inhabitants of Goodsprings—including Doc Mitchell, Sunny Smiles, and Trudy. Thus, the first major decision the player makes, is emblematic of the different moral paths the player can explore. Finishing this latter quest will give the player a positive reputation with the Powder Gangers and, understandably, a negative one in Goodsprings.[18]

Goodsprings and its environs provide the player with an introduction to the natural and social worlds of the Mojave Wasteland, which is not as empty as the name implies. The vitality of the Wasteland makes an interesting point that parallels one in the history of the West. Both Caesar's Legion and the NCR view the Wasteland as valuable only because of the presence of Hoover Dam. Just as historian Andrew Kirk has explored, this is similar to how the U.S. government deliberately depicted the "Doom Towns" and surrounding areas of the Nevada Test Site as a place "without nature or history," and the putative masters of the Mojave are setting the stage for their uncontested exploitation of the Wasteland by eliding its inhabitants and existing social structures.[19]

For the instructor challenged with communicating important themes of Western history to students who may not be receptive to the typical lecture-and-reading approach, *Fallout: New Vegas* offers a new possibility. Just as Kirk's *Doom Towns: The People and Landscapes of Atomic Testing* presents his narrative in graphic form rather than as a traditional academic

monograph, *Fallout: New Vegas* offers a novel, more immersive avenue of engaging students in the very real atomic history of the West.[20] While it does not offer the same depth of primary resources as Kirk's graphic history, its characters certainly speak to similar issues, allowing for the differing nature of atomic Nevada in the game and Kirk's history.

Life in the Wasteland Is Too Fragile

The frontier has always loomed large in America and in Americans' interpretations of the West. Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis—that the existence of a continuously receding "free land" explained American development[21]—redefined conceptions of how the United States developed. Turner began the 1893 address in which he debuted his frontier theory to the American Historical Association by noting that the superintendent of the census had declared, after the 1890 census, the frontier closed. This was a significant development, Turner believed, because until that time, American history had been "in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West."[22] Expansion into this frontier determined U.S. history more than any other factor. Even slavery, which had obsessed the nation for decades and then sundered it, was important chiefly because of arguments over its westward expansion. Exposure to "primitive conditions" along the frontier line led to a continual rebirth of political and economic life. Europe's frontiers were fortified boundaries dividing settled areas, while America's was "the meeting point between savagery and civilization."[23] The frontier experience transformed the European into an American. As Turner wrote:

> The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick, he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails.[24]

Turner further described how the frontier moved sequentially westward, leaving behind it a civilization that retained many characteristics of its frontier birth. Thus the frontier, and not any germs carried from Europe, truly defined the United States.

Turner believed that the frontier directly birthed American democracy; he traced the desire for the expansion of the franchise that culminated in the Jacksonian imperative of universal white male suffrage to the West. The wilderness boiled away the niceties of complex societies, leaving behind a raw, vital democracy.[25] On the individual level, frontier life bred individualists who melded a coarse vigor with an inquisitive, practical mind-set that sought to wring every possible opportunity from the rough land.[26] Turner concluded his address by declaring that "What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States."[27] Turner lived in a world divided by lines; on one side was civilization, on the other, savagery. The process of pushing those lines to the West, extending civilization and reducing savagery, created the United States of America as we know it.

Turner's address, and decades of subsequent writing, put the frontier at the center of Western historiography for generations. In a 2004 review essay, historian Larry F. Kutchen contended that "some of the strongest and most celebrated recent works in early American historiography… are in many ways powerful revisions of Turner's vision of the frontier as the westering liminal space where American democracy was built from raw nature, where the white liberal subject was forged through his efforts to wrest civilization from a pristine, because 'unsettled,' wilderness."[28] This latest generation of neo-Turnerians had replaced Turner's single frontier with several discrete frontiers. These new frontiers were not styled à la Turner as places where civilization pushed into wilderness but as settings for "[s]ocial diversity and fluidity, political mutability, individual determination, innovative cultural adaptations, and heroic community building in response to a bewildering and threatening otherness."[29]

In 1890, as Turner noted in the opening line of "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," the U.S. Census Bureau declared the frontier closed, as "the unsettled area has been so broken by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line."[30] In the final paragraph of that essay, he noted that although "American energy" would demand "a wider field for its exercise," that "never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves."[31]

In the *Fallout* universe at least, American energy does offer such gifts, though in a manner that would have horrified believers in the Victorian notions of progress that undergird Turner's narrative of a frontier tamed. The Sino-American nuclear exchange of 2077 rolled back nearly two centuries of civilization, drastically reducing human populations, shattering existing governments, and creating new species of savagely mutated animals. Turner had declared that with the passing of the frontier, a new era in American history would begin; in the video game, two centuries later, as fallout began to rain down and survivors huddled in subterranean vaults, the frontier returned to North America.

Fallout: New Vegas makes the distinction between civilization and wilderness painfully clear to new players. In the populated section of Goodsprings, provided they have not progressed the story far enough along to confront the Powder Gangers, the courier is safe. Outside of town, though, danger lurks. Helping Sunny Smiles, the courier encounters the first mutated fauna: geckos. These preschooler-size mutant lizards have a nasty bite that can easily kill a novice player. Exploring the abandoned Goodsprings schoolhouse introduces the player to oversize mantises, which also possess a deadly bite, and journeying up to the cemetery (part of the tutorial quests of Sunny Smiles) brings an encounter with a sofa-size radscorpion, whose venom continues to sap the player's strength after the initial bite.[32] Attempting to venture past the cemetery is, for low-level players, suicide, as they will then encounter deathclaws. These genetically engineered, 20-foot-long carnivorous bipedal reptiles are powerful enough to kill even a midlevel player with one or two swats of their eponymous claws.[33]

The decidedly unfriendly fauna that roam outside town boundaries, along with the regular presence of drug-addled fiends, Legion raiding parties, and assorted other miscreants, make visceral the sense of exposure and isolation that Turner's audience would have appreciated. The Mojave Wasteland, as the game's environs are known, is just that—wasted land, land that is hostile to organized society and life. It is difficult to put into words just how effective the game is at conveying the vulnerability and dread that novice players feel when traversing the Wasteland, but it is one of the things that makes the frontier of *Fallout: New Vegas* such a vital concept. When you leave the safety of a populated area, you are terrifyingly alone.

Indeed, the notion of the frontier as a zone of neglect can be found in the work of Patrick Spero, whose *Frontier Country: The Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania* describes how:

> During and after the war, people in western regions that had been called the "back parts" or "back counties" before the fighting began to refer to themselves as a "frontier people" who lived in "frontier counties." Many wrote about the traumatic process of "becoming a frontier," an event marked by profound fear, utter desperation, and an abiding hatred for those that caused these feelings. These self-described "frontier people" were civilians who had turned into unwilling combatants, and they looked to their government for the military protection they believed they deserved. When the government failed them, they looked to themselves and their neighbors for security.[34]

The first time a player is killed by a mutated gecko or mantis, they may feel—on a deeper and more personal level than they might from simply reading—the sense of vulnerability and rage that inhabited Spero's "frontier people."

Drawing on *Fallout: New Vegas* to explore with students the notion of the West as a frontier can help to illuminate the ways that racial conceptions have shifted, impacting the way we examine and interpret the past. While a key element of Turner's frontier was racial—it was, by and large, white men and women who represented "civilization," after all, and the "unsettled" land into which they pushed had long been home to Native Americans—*Fallout: New Vegas*, owing either to contemporary political sensitivities or, within the narrative, the exigencies of postnuclear survival, is decidedly post-racial (at least for humans). At the start of the game, the player can pick the appearance of their courier, choosing from a variety of skin tones. Characters of a variety of races hold positions of authority, living and working together, and race is not spoken of at all. The "tribals" that the game speaks of do not appear to be based on physical race but rather culture. They are defined as humans who descended from those outside vaults but were spared destruction in the Great War. And tribal identity is not inherent; one of the game's main points is that Mr. House, within a few years, "rehabilitated" three tribes to serve as casino managers. Caesar's Legion is composed of the remnants of 86 tribes. The "races" that do exist within the game divide human from transhuman. Ghouls are humans who, through exposure to radiation, become "rotting, zombie-like mutants."[35] Those who have suffered the most prolonged exposure to radiation turn feral, are unable to speak, and are hostile to all non-ghouls. Those less affected, though, continue to interact with humans. Raul Tejada, who can be recruited as a companion, is an excellent mechanic; Beatrix Russell is a hard-drinking gun for hire with a taste for domination; Hadrian is a comedian working a showroom in a Strip casino. Because their mutation renders them effectively immortal (barring accident or injury), ghouls can be among the most interesting characters in the game to speak with. Many retain memories of the world before the Great War. Super mutants, the other transhuman race, were created by deliberate exposure to the Forced Evolutionary Virus, which gave them increased physical size, strength, endurance, and resistance to aging, while making them sterile.[36]

Thus race, or at least human race, is not a factor in the frontiers of *Fallout: New Vegas*, which is a major statement about how far American thoughts on that issue have progressed since 1893. There is still a definite division between "savages" and "the civilized," though this is never expressed in terms of physical race. Instead, it appears that pursuing a sedentary lifestyle—by controlling a precise geographical location—determines who is civilized. Generally speaking, factions who have a claim to a piece of land, no matter their moral leanings, have defined property rights (players can lose karma by taking property from an owned container) and can offer the player quests. Caesar's Legion may consist of slaving, misogynistic brutes, but take something from one of its footlockers and your karma will take a hit;

or you can also choose to help them. Likewise, the New California Republic, Brotherhood of the Apocalypse, Boomers, Great Khans, and other factions who have a defined home base are treated as civilized groups as well.

The many groups of landless raiders, by contrast, will attack the player on sight, offer no quests, and cannot be engaged in meaningful conversation. Taking from their containers is not considered stealing. The raiders are, in the Turnerian sense, the Native Americans of the game, whose savagery is being pushed back by the civilization of the landholding factions. The game itself makes the analogy on a loading screen that reads: "Made savage by excessive chem use, the Fiends of New Vegas are the most numerous and troublesome raiders of the Mojave Wasteland."[37] Notably, a group of fiends who, with their leader Motor Runner, have taken over Vault Three have all the hallmarks of civilized factions. Possession of land, even for savage drug-addled raiders, is the first step toward civilization—a very Turnerian notion.

While the game's conflation of property ownership with agency would seem to place it firmly in the Turner tradition, its narrative completely upends Turner's central thesis—that the hardships of frontier life forged and continually regenerated American democracy. In the game world, about 200 years have passed since the Great War. It is, properly speaking, not a postapocalyptic world but a post-postapocalyptic world in which societies have begun to rebuild. Sawyer wanted to create a world where these societies had begun to conflict with each other, which provides an opportunity to examine how subsequent scholarship has challenged, supplemented, and advanced Turner's thesis.[38]

The chief conflict in the game between the NCR and Caesar's Legion is not an example of a raw wasteland-revived democracy overwhelming a feeble old-world order; quite the opposite is true, as Sawyer explains:

> So the question that came to me is, "What are they trying to do? Are they going to make something brand new, or are they going to try and shape the world from what they understand the world used to be?" and the NCR is looking at it like, "OK, so we had this great, prosperous republic in California, in the United States, so we should have that—we should have a democratic republic with representatives, with a senate and a president. We should have all these things and build our world like that." And Caesar was coming at it from a completely different direction. He was like, "This world is wild and terrifying and it needs order. There's no room at this point in history for democracy and for people to have their usual vote and voice. If you had gone into the tribes' lands where I went, I would have died unless I had done this. I needed to bring these people together, and once I did it I realized this is how this needs to be run. Basically, life in the wasteland is too fragile to leave to democracy."[39]

The Goodsprings choice that introduces the player to the faction system primes them to take a side in the larger battle between the NCR and Caesar's Legion for control of Hoover Dam and, ultimately, all of the Mojave. Picking one side opens up a series of quests, while denying access to the opposing side's quests after a certain point, creating quite a different game experience. This is a major decision for the player, and as such is backed by significant narrative heft. Each side is well-defined.

At first glance, the two sides couldn't be more different. The NCR, as is said in the opening cinematic, is "dedicated to old-world values of democracy and the rule of law."[40] Initially, the NCR appears to vindicate Turner's faith in the frontier's instrumental role in American democracy. Within the *Fallout* franchise, the NCR's history is well fleshed out. It has its origins

FIGURE 4. New California Republic (NCR).

in Shady Sands, a small farming community created by the former inhabitants of Vault 15. Shady Sands is the first settlement that players of the initial *Fallout* game usually reach. Tandi, the daughter of Aradesh, Shady Sands' leader, is kidnapped, and the *Fallout* player can rescue her. In the closing cut scenes of *Fallout*, it's revealed that Tandi and her father are "responsible for the New California Republic, whose ideals spread across the land."[41] Fueled by its vast supply of Brahmin, the NCR expands by peacefully absorbing surrounding settlements. This would suggest that the hardships of postnuclear California had revived democracy (FIGURE 4).[42]

Yet in the Mojave, the NCR, while still upholding the rule of law and democracy, does not seem so benevolent, which can help students understand the ways in which historians problematize triumphal accounts of Western history. While its leaders espouse ideals of democracy and fairness, it is apparent that many residents of the Mojave are not so eager for the NCR to push its borders to the Colorado River. The NCR's administration is under the sway of a wealthy elite, mostly traders and Brahmin barons—clear analogues to cattle millionaires of the Old West. The NCR's putative victory at the first battle of Hoover Dam resulted in an untenable strategic situation, as Caesar's Legion remained a threat and NCR manpower was spread too thinly to effectively patrol the Mojave, allowing lawless bands of raiders to prey on civilians outside settled outposts. A breakdown in military communications in 2278 led to the Bitter Springs Massacre, in which NCR troops allegedly cut down civilians belonging to the Great Khan faction of raiders. And the NCR has accumulated a reputation for self-interest. As Easy Pete tells the courier, "Towns like Goodsprings and Primm don't stay independent for long, not if you've got something the NCR wants. Still, the NCR keeps the Legion away."[43] While he clearly does not want the Legion to defeat the NCR, he still does not welcome the NCR's rule, despite the protection it provides. "The NCR's got a lot of decent folk in it," he tells the courier, if pressed. "It's just that they make you part of them whether you like it or not."[44] Many denizens of the Mojave feel the same way, some much more strongly.

Caesar's Legion, although a far less sympathetic faction by any standard, is not universally hated. Unlike the NCR, which came together with the full consent (at least in its California bastion) of all parties, the Legion is based unabashedly on slavery and exploitation. As Sawyer alluded to above, the Legion was the creation of one man. Edward Sallow, born as an NCR citizen, initially became part of the Followers of the Apocalypse, receiving a free education from the humanitarian group. As a young man, he went east to study the dialects of tribals in the former Arizona. In his journey, he discovered a collection of books about ancient Rome, including Julius Caesar's *Commentaries*. Taken captive by the Blackfoot tribe, Sallow renounced the Followers' pacifism, instead teaching his captors the art of total warfare. He took on the name Caesar when he rose to the leadership of the tribe and set about absorbing the surrounding tribes. By the time of *Fallout: New Vegas*, he is renowned for knitting together 86 tribes into a vast empire that stretches from southwestern Colorado to Nevada. It is an empire of slaves, in which all submit to the authority of Caesar.[45]

Caesar's Legion is utterly misogynistic. Unlike the gender-blind NCR, in whose military and civilian authorities women occupy powerful roles (perhaps an artifact of Tandi's 52-year presidency), women in Caesar's Legion are forbidden from serving as soldiers and instead are used as "caretakers, healers, midwives and breeders."[46] Caesar brooks no diversity of opinion, culture, or tradition. Having perhaps misread Roman history, he says that, "I knew from the start I'd need to eradicate this plague of tribal identities, replacing them with a monolithic culture, a uniform identity."[47] Caesar is not simply autocratic as a means to create a more just society; he believes that democracy is fundamentally flawed. Tandi's long reign, he argues, was not democratic. After her death, when the NCR could turn to true democracy, private greed and individualism doomed it. "The NCR is a loose conglomerate of individuals looking out for themselves," he tells the courier. "It's lost virtue."[48]

In other words, the frontier conditions of New California have not bred a Turnerian collection of raucous individuals whose self-interested strivings create a rough but hardy democracy. Rather, "Greed runs rampant. The government is corrupt, accepting bribes from Brahmin barons and landowners, to the detriment of citizens."[49] So Caesar has concluded that, to build a society that would meet the rigors of the postnuclear Southwest, he would have to look further into the past than Tandi and her father:

> I used imperial Rome as the model for my Legion precisely because it was so foreign, so alien. I'd seen what had become of the NCR's attempts to emulate the culture of Pre-War America—the in-fighting, the corruption. Rome was a highly militarized autocracy that effectively integrated the foreign cultures it conquered. It dedicated its citizens to something higher than themselves—to the idea of Rome itself. In Rome I found a template for a society equal to the challenges of the post-apocalyptic world—a society that could and would survive. A society that could prevent mankind from fracturing and destroying itself in this new world, by establishing a new Pax Romana. It means a nationalist, imperialist, totalitarian, homogenous culture that obliterates the identity of every group it conquers. Long-term stability at all costs. The individual has no value beyond his utility to the state, whether as an instrument of war, or production.[50]

While the imperialist slant of Caesar's approach would have something in common with the projection of American power across the West, he is diametrically opposed to Turner, in that Caesar believes, as Turner rejected, that the greatness of the American (or post-American) people can be traced to the "germs" of their European ancestry.

Non-Legion characters almost universally condemn Caesar's authoritarianism and misogyny, but even those who don't like him admit that his approach is, in its own way, working. Rose of Sharon Cassidy (Cass for short), a whisky-swilling, tough-talking caravan owner who can be recruited as a companion, bristles at the suggestion she might do business with the Legion: "I don't trade caps or supply anyone who keeps slaves, and treats women like Brahmin in those... 'camps' of theirs," she says if asked.[51] She does, however, allow that, "as much as it pains me to say it, any caravan marked by the Legion is safe as houses," as the Legion guards roads and supply lines, scaring off fiends seeking to attack a caravan. Likewise, the Legion doesn't enact "stop tolls" from caravans as some NCR quartermasters do.

Yet Cass's critique is of the NCR's operations, not its principles. She claims not to be a "blind, flag-saluting" patriot, but says that she knows "which side of the firing line [she is] on." Cass feels empathy for the townspeople and traders oppressed by NCR taxes and regulations but reserves her strongest sympathy for the soldiers who are tasked with an impossible job. The NCR has its flaws, but any other faction taking control of the Mojave, be it the New Vegas families or another group, would simply be "a different kind of fuck-up." Caesar's challenge to the NCR might be the wake-up call it needs. Still, Cass laments, "I just wish Caesar would kick the heads of NCR, not the feet. I've fucked a soldier in my time—they don't need to get fucked by their orders."[52]

So the NCR, even to its own citizens, is not a Turner-derived distillation of raw democracy and virtue. The developers' intent was to create factions whose ideologies were internally consistent, while providing enough ambiguity for players to reach their own conclusions. Sawyer explains:

> To be true to our conception of the New Vegas factions meant that we needed to approach their leaders as if they fully believed and embraced the ideological fundament beneath them. And while there were some cynical exceptions (e.g. the NCR's Col. Moore), I think we largely accomplished that. That means the NCR views themselves as "taming" or "civilizing" the Mojave. The conquerors use their own terms and language to describe what they're doing, so they frame the narrative among their own. That doesn't prevent individuals outside of the NCR from criticizing it, but how the player moves through the game may heavily influence their perception of events.[53]

In other words, the NCR leadership views itself very much in the Turnerian tradition: the frontier as a land to be tamed, the triumph of democracy inevitable. But the game makes it clear to players who take the time to talk and listen to the NPCs that this is not necessarily the case.

Even more strikingly, *Fallout: New Vegas* flips Turner's story of progress on its head. Americans tamed the wilderness and closed the frontier through the use of technology, channeled through the country's democratic institutions. Much of the drive for settling the West came from a need for extracted resources: fur, precious metals, timber, oil. The *Fallout* series extrapolates the expansion-extraction-consumption cycle to its logical end. In 2052, the Resource Wars began, as nations fought to control the limited remaining supplies of oil. In its first phase, both Europe and the Middle East were laid waste; the fighting only stopped when the Middle East's oil fields finally ran dry. The United States' efforts to secure Alaskan oil reserves led to the annexation of Canada and a conflict with China that culminated in the exchange of October 23, 2077, known to survivors as the Great War.[54] Progress closed the frontier but also reopened it.

The New Atomic West of New Vegas

The nature of the West (collapsed into the Mojave Wasteland) as viewed through the eyes of the game's NPCs, too, shows sympathies with New Western History. This approach, historian David Wrobel writes, "transformed the field by catalyzing the study of race, the environment, women and gender, urban issues, and the adoption of comparative frameworks that help us move beyond the easy acceptance of notions of national and regional exceptionalism."[55] The diverse group of scholars pursuing these new paths in Western history focused on giving the subject peoples of the West a voice, necessarily adopting a nontriumphalist narrative (civilization driving out savagery). This view soon leaked beyond the ivory towers of academia into the public consciousness, perhaps an inevitable development given the American public's fascination with the West. Within a decade, popular culture had noted the new approach. As described in the *New York Times* in 1992:

> The West the new historians describe is a much less happy place—a land in which bravery and success coexist with oppression, greed and failure; in which decaying ghost towns, bleak Indian reservations, impoverished barrios and ecologically devastated landscapes are as characteristic of Western development as great ranches, rich farms and prosperous cities.[56]

Yet the New Western History was about more than revising the story of the region from American triumphalism to gloomy oppression. Patricia Nelson Limerick, one of the historians whose work inspired the term, defined the New Western History as exploring continuity, convergence, conquest, and complexity.[57] The continuity she refers to is a direct challenge to historians in the Turner mold, who declared that the history of the West ended with the "closing" of the frontier in 1890. Yet, as she demonstrates, there were more continuities than discontinuities between 19th- and 20th-century Western history; neither conflicts nor the frontier ended in 1890.[58] The West was also "a place of extraordinary convergence, one of the great meeting zones of the planet," as black and white American citizens encountered Mexicans moving north, Asians moving east, and Native Americans who were already there.[59] Limerick further urges the rejection of the very word *frontier*, suggesting that it be replaced by an explicit and honest use of the word 'conquest.'"[60] To do otherwise would sugarcoat the "seizure of resources and imposition of colonial dominance" that transformed the American West, along with many other subject lands.[61] Finally, Limerick suggests that, although audiences might clamor for a story in which all villains wore black hats and all heroes white ones, a true telling of the region's past demanded a degree of moral complexity not in abundance in earlier historical writing.[62]

New Western History approaches manifest in the game's treatment of several major characters. Mr. House, a genius 261-year-old billionaire modeled shamelessly on Howard Hughes, sees the Wasteland good only to host New Vegas, his model of a tightly ordered postwar society. Yet he also offers stability and, thanks to his genius, some hope of technological progress. As he tells the courier:

> New Vegas is more than a city—it's the remedy to mankind's derailment. The city's economy is a blast furnace in which can be forged the steel of a new rail line, running straight to a new horizon…. With all that money pouring in? Give me 20 years, and I'll reignite the high technology development sectors. 50 years, and I'll have people in orbit. 100 years, and my colony ships will be heading for the stars, to search for planets unpolluted by the wrath and folly of a bygone generation.[63]

House is contemptuous of the NCR's democracy but believes the cash its citizens provide his casino monopoly will let him surpass the achievements of the prewar world. Though looking backward, in many ways he has the most progressive agenda of any faction in the game. Yet within the context of the West, he is understood as simply the latest in a long line of wildcatters, financiers, and entrepreneurs who sought to make a fortune by extracting resources from the West, be they minerals or casino revenues. That he claims to put his gains to a higher purpose does not alter the continuities between House and the cattle and copper barons of the 19th century, and his reign promises decidedly mixed blessings.

The regular people of New Vegas and its environs (at least those who are not chem-addled savages) want pretty much to be left alone, although only the Kings (a gang of—no joke—Elvis impersonators) are willing to resist the forces eyeing their lands and labor. This clash between powers, bent on extracting the most from the environment and people regardless of cost, would fit perfectly as a New Western History narrative. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the role of Hoover Dam. The focal point of the dam in the narrative—it is the main prize the NCR and Caesar's Legion are fighting over—points to the New Western History concern with the federal presence in the West and the hydraulic West.[64] The prospectors, merchant caravans, and cowboys give the game its Western trappings, but Hoover Dam gives it a Western soul. Regardless of who "wins" the final battle, it is clear that the struggles of the peoples of the Mojave will not be over—they will merely enter a new phase, the latest in a legacy of conquest (to borrow from Limerick) extending back centuries.

The NCR seeks resources and profit, and maybe a new tax base, if the locals are willing (and perhaps if they aren't). Further, the government, at its highest levels at least, is run by hypocrites. While the Mojave locals—and midlevel NCR military that the courier meets—are aware that the NCR is in New Vegas chiefly for the water and power the dam can supply, this is not what the NCR tells its citizens. Late in the game, NCR president Aaron Kimball gives a speech at the dam to award a medal to a private (who is himself completely undeserving, while worthy soldiers are not only unrecognized but often punished) in a public-relations stunt. Depending on which side the player chooses, the courier will either be foiling or perpetrating an assassination attempt on Kimball. If uninterrupted by bullets or explosions, Kimball speaks nobly of the NCR's mission to "protect" southern Nevada:

> There are some back home who ask me, "But who are we protecting? What is Nevada to us?" Sometimes we forget that the light of our society shines beyond our borders. We must always remember that wherever Californians stand, we carry our principles with us: equal respect, representation, and protection under the laws of a just republic. This was the same fire that burned in the heart of the Old World that preceded us. We are the heirs of that civilization, torchbearers eastward of the Pacific, into the darkness of this wasted land….
>
> Four years ago, we held this dam. Four years ago, we carried the weight. Four years ago, we drew a line through the Mojave as clear as the Colorado River, a line that Caesar cannot cross. Today, you honor all Californians by carrying that weight. Today, you are the waves of the Pacific, pushing ever eastward. You are the sequoias rising from the Sierra Nevadas, defiant and enduring. You are the great western light of California, torchbearers in the darkness, living reminders of all that is best in our republic.[65]

This is an eloquent restatement of Manifest Destiny, ironically reimagined as the light of civilization pushing east. Yet Kimball himself, a retired general, clearly is not moved by his ode

to self-sacrifice in the name of ideals. "Okay, let's get the fuck out of here," he says into the live microphone when the speech concludes—should the courier not assassinate him (or fail to prevent his assassination) by this point. "What the hell are you waiting for? You think I want to get shot? Let's go!" He is then hustled into a waiting helicopter, which, if the courier has disarmed the bomb that had been planted on it, carries him to safety.[66] Watching the helicopter lift Kimball out of the narrative while NCR troops await the final Legion assault stands as silent commentary on just how little Kimball really cares for his "torchbearers." Students may be indifferent to lectures and even primary-source readings about the human cost of Manifest Destiny on the West. But only with difficulty will they remain unmoved by Kimball's hypocrisy after having fought alongside (or against) the soldiers of the NCR for a few dozen hours and having moved among the peoples of the Mojave themselves.

When comparing the world of *Fallout: New Vegas* to Limerick's condensation of the New Western History into four alliterative terms, the developers' sympathies, conscious or not, with the genre seem clear, as does the game's use in conveying the meaning behind the writing. The *continuities* are plain from the moment the courier awakes in Goodsprings: a sawbones country, grizzled prospectors, hopeful ranchers, even a gunfight in front of a saloon. Minus the mutated geckos and roving securitron, this could be a classic John Wayne film. The *convergence* is obvious even earlier: the opening cinematic speaks of the confrontations between the east-pushing NCR and the west-bearing Caesar's Legion, with the people of the Mojave caught in the middle. Exploring further, the courier learns that other factions—the tech-obsessed Brotherhood of Steel, the humanitarian Followers of the Apocalypse, Elvis-impersonating urban toughs, even a remnant of a surviving coterie of the federal government known as the Enclave—have their own agendas. *Conquest*, similarly, is evident from the opening seconds of the initial cinematic, when an NCR sniper's bullet splits the skull of a raider, but it's articulated more completely in the struggles for Hoover Dam.

Finally, the game has enough *complexity* in its characters and storytelling to make *Rashomon* look like a straightforward narrative. Limerick sets a high bar, writing that:

> A major project of the New Western History has to be the assertion that benefits often came packaged with injuries, good intentions could lead to regrettable outcomes, and the negative aspects of life wove themselves into a permanent knot with the positive aspects. The deeply frustrating lesson of history in the American West and elsewhere is this: human beings can be a mess—contentious, conflict loving, petty, vindictive, and cruel—and human beings can manifest grace, dignity, compassion, and understanding in ways that leave us breathless.[67]

Those lines could have been marketing copy for *Fallout: New Vegas*, a game with no perfect ending, merely some that are likely not as bad for as many people. Conquer New Vegas at the head of Caesar's Legion and slavery extends to the Pacific. Hold Hoover Dam on behalf of the NCR and the people of the Mojave lose their freedom. Favor Mr. House and the city is run in his autocratic mold. Or follow your own path (in a quest fittingly entitled "No Gods, No Masters") and learn that, despite your best efforts, anarchy and violence increase throughout the region, with no clear idea of who will take over after you.

What's more, the complexity Limerick urges in writing history is more than a decorative narrative framing an on-rails shoot-'em-up; it is baked into the gameplay itself. A player could finish *Fallout: New Vegas* as a complete pacifist, having never harmed another creature (though it is difficult), or as a crazed killer who slaughters everything with a pulse (and a few beings

without one). Most playthroughs fall somewhere in the middle, but the choice remains with the player, who can agonize over every choice, perhaps while gaining a new appreciation of the difficult choices that faced our forebears throughout the history of the West.

While not explicitly informed by discrete works of Western historians, Sawyer (who majored in history as an undergraduate at Lawrence University) and his fellow developers have created a game world that can immerse students in a West that exemplifies many of the themes in recent writing about Western history. *Fallout: New Vegas* can surround students with characters who show, rather than tell, what historians are trying to teach us about the past.

All of this resonates with a complex, problematized history of the West. In *Fallout: New Vegas*, we have a West that is "damaged, corrupted, [and] worn down" by technology and war; the convergence and collision of rival powers battling for a landmark of federal power, Hoover Dam; attempted conquests, large and small, throughout; and nuances of character and narrative that are too complex to summarize. The players of *Fallout: New Vegas* are being exposed to themes of Western history in ways that should make Sawyer and his compatriots the envy of history instructors everywhere. Whether they take the bold step of assigning the game as a "text" or simply present narrative or video excerpts during lectures, professors may find an interactive tale of an imagined future postapocalyptic Las Vegas a surprisingly powerful resource in explaining the real past of the American West.

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The Soft Power of Ephemeral Communities
A Short History of Las Vegas Technology Conventions, 1959-2019

Julian Kilker

Introduction

At the huge 1999 Comdex[1] trade show, the Philips Corporation, one of the largest technology companies in the world and codeveloper of the compact disc, mounted a spectacle in front of a standing-room-only crowd. Four actors portraying a nuclear family danced through a cutaway two-story house, singing the praises of the company's products situated in each room of the structure (Figure 1). Comdex was at its peak; it had already forced the Las Vegas Convention Center to expand, launched casino-magnate fortunes, and set the standard for marketing technology in the late 20th century. It was a successful example of marketing Las Vegas as a convention destination, emphasizing "soft power" approaches—ones that operate indirectly through social bonding among convention participants, the ability to network with and learn from competitors, and informal coordination in and out of the convention center. Every November, when the convention took place, *Smithsonian* wrote in July 2001, Las Vegas's "glitzy stage productions are dwarfed by the biggest extravaganza of them all: Comdex."[2] But by 2004, Comdex had collapsed, a victim of shifts in technology marketing, post-9/11 travel requirements, and perceptions of value. Little formal record remains of Comdex, a trade show that for 24 years was central to marketing computer technology and the development of Las Vegas convention expertise.

This article presents an overview of the large Las Vegas–based technology conventions: Comdex, CES (the Consumer Electronics Show), and NAB (the National Association of Broadcasters trade show). Conventions have become a key driver of the Las Vegas economy, while at the same time remaining under researched. Technology conventions are notable because they are triply ephemeral—in a transient town with an ahistorical sensibility, they cover fast-paced

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FIGURE 1. The Philips domestic musical, in a two-story booth, attracts a crowd at Comdex 1999. The image quality is typical of the era's attendee photographs. Photograph by Julian Kilker.

market segments using a format that, over a period of days, brings together special-interest groups whose members reconnect periodically. All three of the involved parties—the city, the technology industry, and the event—promote the future over the past, and their intertwined ephemerality poses challenges and opportunities for researchers and historians.

Although conventions have a historical lineage that extends to world's fairs and exhibitions, the public marketplace, and even the central commons, the very nature of the convention is anti-historical. Like Las Vegas, conventions focus on future possibilities, products, and markets, all with a limited, nostalgic view of the past. An analytical understanding of context is necessary, however, for Las Vegas and its conventions to adjust themselves in response to emerging technologies and marketing trends. Ephemerality and transience facilitate the ability to reinvent, but they also pose challenges for understanding Las Vegas and its conventions.

When convention experiences fall into a memory hole, we lose recollections that might inspire ideas for future gatherings. For researchers and historians, collaborative techniques such as the swarm approach can help document and better preserve the features of these temporary yet complex events.[3]

After a history that is at once storied, stereotyped, and under documented, two decades into the 21st century, the Las Vegas convention industry finds itself again at a crossroads. While conventions occur in a specific destination, such as Las Vegas, they are designed in a standardized format, one that could be presented in a generic convention facility in any city.[4] Even in the best of times, conventions are difficult to justify: Howie Wilcox, with 20 years of trade show experience, starting in 1984 as a product engineer and later salesperson with HP, Silicon Graphics, Sun Microsystems, Network Appliance, and Cray Research, notes that:

> If you were to ask people to use an intellectual justification for the trade shows, they would really struggle…. Trade shows are believed by a lot of people in various niches of technology to fall into this category of really, really hard work and expensive work that we do for reasons that we're not really sure of. It's almost…it's almost a ritual.[5]

The convention experience is subjective and multifaceted, metrics used to evaluate and justify participation capture only fragments of the experience, and participation involves motivations beyond promotion. Conventions—especially those with a spectacular trade show component—bring together crowds interested in entertainment, information, and social interaction. Las Vegas, isolated and with a risqué image, faced many formidable competitors for the convention business.

The Evolution of the Las Vegas Convention

Las Vegas has a long history of commercially benefitting from technological spectacles. Founded as a town in 1905 when the Union Pacific Railroad auctioned parcels of land, Las Vegas served as a railway rest stop and water source almost halfway between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles; by the early 1930s, a small downtown surrounded the railway station. The Overland Hotel at Main and Fremont Streets, rebuilt after a devastating fire in 1911, can be seen in a 1930s-era photograph with a large painted sign on the second story advertising a "Big Free Sample Room" where salesmen could display their products; this was a "precursor to [the resources] provided to modern convention vendors."[6] In the mid-1930s, tiny Las Vegas benefited from an influx of tourists interested in the impressive Hoover Dam construction site. Las Vegas also hosted its first major convention at this point—5,000 Shriners, brought in by train from Los Angeles.[7] Las Vegas's national reputation was colored by Nevada's legalization of gambling on March 19, 1931, and on the same day, the reduction of residency required for divorce was scaled down from an already-scandalous three months to an outrageous six weeks, the most lenient in the U.S.[8] While isolation made Las Vegas's commercial existence politically palatable despite this reputation, it complicated travel to the city. Early convention-goers arrived by car from Southern California or on multiday train rides from the eastern states. Efforts in the 1930s by the chamber of commerce promoted Las Vegas as a place to host small conventions in an "atmosphere that promised to recreate the frontier spirit of the Old West."[9]

Las Vegas's economy grew during World War II with the Las Vegas Gunnery School and Basic Magnesium plant, but local business leaders realized that to remain successful in

a postwar economy, they needed to promote the city to potential tourists. In 1944, Maxwell Kelch, president of the chamber of commerce, pushed hard for members to donate between 1 and 5 percent of their income to a "Live Wire" publicity fund to promote Las Vegas as a travel destination.[10] This funding mechanism set a precedent for the later funding of the Fair and Recreation Board and the Las Vegas Convention Center.

1955–1979: Birth of the Las Vegas Convention Center

Although the idea of a convention center for Las Vegas had been discussed as early as 1949, the events of 1955 were what made the project possible. Balancing the resources needed for conventions and the traditional Las Vegas industries—gambling and entertainment—was initially challenging: by 1955, casino and lodging businesses had been overbuilt, and Las Vegas was in a slump, one that was embarrassingly covered in the national press.[11] This provided the impetus to act on earlier interest in a convention center. Prompted by Commissioner George Albright, Clark County proposed Assembly Bill 424 to create a Fair and Recreation Board, a public-private partnership with the power to tax and raise bonds to support marketing and the construction of a convention center. It was approved by the Nevada legislature on March 29, 1955.[12]

With savvy politicking and careful business planning, Albright was able to convince hotel owners and the public to support a tax on visitors, not locals, based on hotel- and motel-room revenue. During the mid-to-late 1950s, balancing the daily number of visitors became a challenge. While business boomed during weekends, far fewer tourists visited the city on weekdays. The Fair and Recreation Board was an attempt to balance uneven visitation with a steady flow of weekend events. Local residents would respond to periodic requests from the city for volunteers to house conventioneers, not known for gambling, when hotel rooms were overbooked or reserved for serious players.[13]

Construction of the modern convention hall began in 1957, one block east of Las Vegas Boulevard, on a plot from the failed Las Vegas Park Speedway, a horse- and automobile-racing facility. The air-conditioned property[14] consisted of an exhibit hall and meeting rooms with "130,000 square feet of floor space, all on ground level,"[15] anchored by a "space age" domed rotunda that, especially when illuminated at night, was strikingly similar to a flying saucer from a 1950s B movie. An early version of the rotunda graced the cover of the expensive, full-color brochure draft designed in 1958 that featured a die-cut dome curve protruding from the upper edge (Figure 2). Sands resort publicist Al Freeman proposed distributing 100,000 of the brochures nationwide to emphasize that "Las Vegas has certain unique advantages over established convention cities such as NY, Chicago, SF, and Miami…. We cannot compete in size or access…but we can offer more entertainment and recreation facilities than the cities above combined…steady fine weather all-year around…facilities open 24 hours a day…great natural tourist attractions and facilities."[16] Based on the convention experience from San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City, Freeman's notes estimate that five trade shows or fairs (at 25,000 people each), two conventions (10,000 people each), and 40 smaller conventions per year would need to be booked annually based on the convention hall's $4 million cost.

Although cowgirl Vegas Vickie was used in the brochure, the rotunda and center's modern design was part of an important shift in Las Vegas branding. No longer was the focus on rustic Western themes of early Fremont Street properties and El Rancho; Las Vegas was firmly betting on the future, with modern architecture in the convention center. The "Welcome to Fabulous Las Vegas" sign, a classic example of futurist Googie architecture, was built in May 1959. The

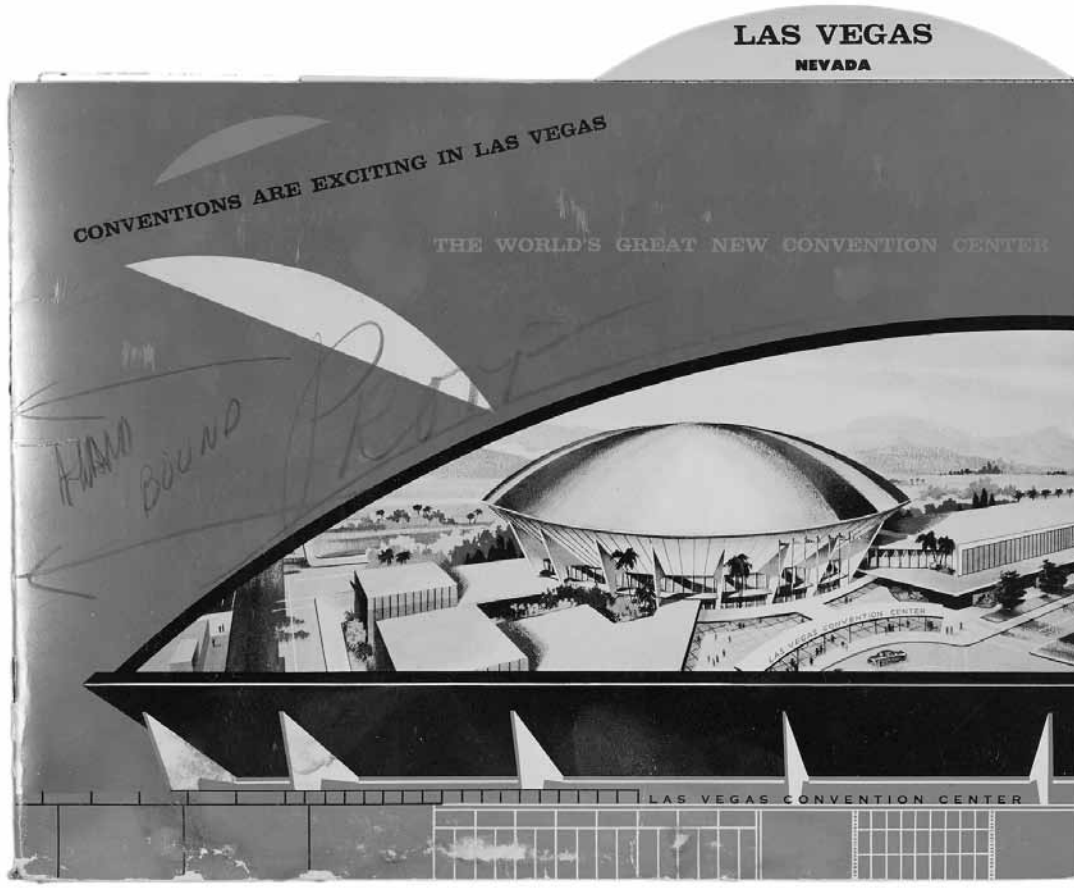

FIGURE 2. The Las Vegas Convention Center brochure, 1958. (*UNLV Special Collections*)

Sands tower, which started in 1963 and took five years to complete, adopted similar curvy forms. The future orientation was important for attracting modern, international conventions and trade shows, especially those focused on new consumers, media, and computer technologies.

The convention center's first major event was the World Congress of Flight, held April 12–19, 1959, and it incorporated the center's formal dedication ceremony on April 18.[17] Taking advantage of Nellis Air Force Base's proximity, Nevada senator Pat McCarran's influence on aviation before he died in 1954,[18] and the region's near-perfect flying weather, the 6,000-invitee event was an ideal opening for the new convention center. It brought together locals, tourists, and military representatives, people from 77 countries, and used the convention hall and nearby airfields where international aircrews demonstrated their aircraft's flying and bombing capabilities, as documented in an Air Force news reel.[19] Besides opening the new convention center, the World Congress of Flight featured another technology that would change the future of Las Vegas: a Boeing 707 airplane, the first American commercial passenger jet. Jet travel was critical in expanding Las Vegas's reach; it made the city a strong competitor for national conventions, because attendees could travel longer distances comfortably and affordably. With jet travel, a greater proportion of a visitor's time and money would be spent in Las Vegas rather than on the road.[20]

The rotunda's futuristic design was multipurpose, reflecting an uncertainty about the mix of functions it would host in addition to conventions and trade fairs. A boxing event would shortly follow the World Congress of Flight, on May 1, 1959 (the first of several major matches over the years). The Beatles performed two shows at the center on August 20, 1964, after audience interest exceeded the original casino venue's capacity, and the rotunda welcomed a wide array of civic and entertainment events.

Despite the earlier efforts of the Live Wire fund, city publicists struggled to convince convention planners and attendees to use the city's resources based on its Sin City image, especially when compared with its major U.S. rivals. Las Vegas built a highly professional convention infrastructure emphasizing service, entertainment, and economic value, the areas in which it could favorably compete. Letters from organizations praising Las Vegas as a convention site were solicited in support of promotional campaigns both in the buildup to the convention center and during its operation. Al Freeman, the Sands publicist, stressed that the 1958 convention-center brochure use the best mail and letters (such as the "Westinghouse convention letter, which was a lulu") to reinforce "[b]igger attendance, exciting conventions, finer entertainment, more recreation, more women's activities, better business sessions, etc."[21]

In 1967, as Las Vegas tried to attract more national conventions, the Clark County Fair and Recreation Board officially changed its name to the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority.[22] In the following years, Las Vegas would continue to receive letters that not only testified to successful events in the city but also suggested the entrenched challenges of marketing it as a convention destination. In 1968, G. Marvin Shutt wrote: "Until we held our NSGA [National Sporting Goods Association] Western Market in Las Vegas in 1966, we had a firm policy against holding any meetings there…. Since there are plenty of things to do in Las Vegas—at night—we had good attendance in the exhibit hall during the day…. We had absolutely no trouble with the union help or anything of that kind…. In fact, compared with Chicago it was downright cheap."[23] Similarly, in 1971, the past president of the National Institute of Dry Cleaning noted that in encouraging his organization to use Las Vegas, he found "criticism…in pushing Las Vegas as a site. It was surprising how the uninformed seemed to harp on the same points" which included: "Las Vegas is too hard to reach," "Midnight shows would attract the members and few, if any, would show up for morning speakers," "Slot machines would captivate and hold the crowd from the afternoon exhibits," "Members would lose their shirts and blame the organization," "Las Vegas is a 'Sin City' and would embarrass the more timid members," "It cost too much to exhibit…as far away as Las Vegas,", and "My Gawd! Las Vegas??"[24]

The tension between the spectacular and the seedy was also present in popular media representations in which Las Vegas evoked images of debauchery, while conventions were associated with commercialism (often crass), promoters (often anxious), and anomie (often destructive). The combination of the two is particularly dehumanizing, as if the city and the events were free of normal social constraints. We see this in popular portrayals of Las Vegas conventions, including the law-enforcement convention in Hunter S. Thompson's 1971 book *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, in which authoritarianism and paranoia are pharmaceutically intertwined, and, 30 years later, in a funeral-directors' convention in a 2001 *Six Feet Under* episode, "The Trip," in which the protagonist has a sordid sexual encounter. However, most representations were more playful (if suggestive) over the years: the Las Vegas News Bureau provided cheesecake and entertainment photos to U.S. newspapers,[25] and Al Freeman famously arranged for the Sands to be prominently featured in popular music, radio and television shows, and films (such as the *Ocean's Eleven* of 1960). In these representations, Las Vegas's entertainment options were featured over business possibilities.

1979–2003: Growing Up Together: Big City, Big Tech, Big Conventions

The population of Clark County (Las Vegas and the surrounding area) grew dramatically from about 8,500 people in 1930 to 463,000 in 1980 to two million in 2000.[26] During this period, new technologies and markets boomed. The semiconductor transistor was invented in 1959, Tandy bought Radio Shack in 1963 and expanded its network of hobbyist electronics stores, and Intel released the first general-purpose microprocessor in 1971. Entirely new consumer electronics and computer industries were developed based on the new semiconductors: MITS (Micro Instrumentation and Telemetry Systems) launched the personal-computer market when it produced the Altair 8800 microcomputer kit in 1975, followed shortly after by the first assembled personal computers from Apple, Commodore, and Tandy in 1977. Peripherals and computer-networking technologies such as Ethernet were released in the late 1970s, followed by public-access dial-up services CompuServe and the Source in 1979 and AOL in 1983.

These growing and increasingly complex technology-product sectors drove the size of trade shows in the late 1970s. Consumer electronics and computer technologies were transportable, rapidly changing, high-value products that benefited from being seen and experienced in one place. Participating in a convention with a trade show floor gave vendors, dealers, and customers a chance to test and compare new products, check that those using the latest technical standards successfully operated together, and meet to discuss emerging technology and industry standards.

Three large technology shows found a home in Las Vegas: the Consumer Electronics Show (CES), Comdex, and the National Association of Broadcasters. CES started in 1967 in New York City, moved to Chicago in 1972, and added a winter show in Las Vegas in 1978. Then, in 1998, the Las Vegas Convention Center started hosting what became the CES annual show. Comdex started at the Las Vegas MGM Grand (now Bally's) in 1979. The next year, Comdex expanded threefold and was held in the larger convention center. According to computer columnist and science-fiction writer Jerry Pournelle, by the "third or fourth year, they had to build the West Hall, Comdex paid for an extension to the Las Vegas Convention Center. And it kept getting bigger and bigger."[27] The National Association of Broadcasters convention started at the convention center in 1991. These technology events thrived on marketing to a critical mass of vendors, visitors, and media.

As conventions grew, local casino operators again worried that conventioneers would shut out more profitable tourists and that they would not gamble.[28] Similar concerns about visitor profiles continued over the years: Would certain types of conventions, such as those with predominantly female attendees, be beneficial or harmful for Las Vegas? Would technology trade shows such as Comdex attract introverted, unprofitable attendees who would not appreciate the city's offerings? While hotels and specialized services could and did raise their rates during conventions, the gambling and tipping behavior of Comdex attendees was closely scrutinized by employees who depended on the income.[29]

Comdex's value to the technology industry was clearer: it was essential for launching a new computer business, and the show was a morale booster for companies with a successful product. Peachtree launched its famous accounting software on the periphery of the first 1979 Comdex: "We didn't even have a booth; we sat in the bar of the MGM Grand and talked to all the manufacturers and so forth. We did a ton of business out there…. That was the way you did business at Comdex in those days. You'd go to a restaurant and have a nice dinner." [30] At the 1982 show, Lotus sold $3 million worth of its new 1-2-3 business software, exceeding the company's expectations for the show, according to Lotus's Jonathan Sachs. "We didn't really have any idea if the company was going to succeed or not," Sachs said. "Then after Comdex, there was absolutely no question. Everyone was kind of re-energized. So it made a huge difference to the way it felt."[31]

The growth and standardization requirements for large conventions strained the aging rotunda, and the November 1990 Comdex was its last event. For 30 years, the rotunda had hosted locals and visitors enjoying rodeos, college basketball games, presidential speeches, and high school proms—in effect, acting as both the city's town hall and a home for visiting conventioneers. It had displayed technologies from the early, crude transistor radio to the launch of Adobe Photoshop and the World Wide Web. In an elegiac article about the last Shriners circus in the rotunda, in September 1990, just before Comdex, facilities manager Tom Smith said, "The roof leaks. It requires continual maintenance…. Our trade shows are getting larger and we need to expand. A round building just doesn't work for trade shows."[32] The rotunda was torn down in February 1991 as part of a $50 million investment to modernize and expand the convention center's floor space from 1.1 million to 1.3 million square feet, this time entirely in a standard rectangular floor plan.[33]

Other large convention facilities were built in Las Vegas. Sheldon Adelson cofounded Comdex and made his fortune renting convention-hall space in bulk at low cost (25 cents per foot) and then reselling it to vendors for the show at 100 times the cost. He then invested the profits back in the Las Vegas convention business: he and his partners purchased the Sands Hotel and Casino in 1989 and built the Sands Expo and Convention Center next door in 1990; it was the largest privately owned exhibition space in the U.S. [34] The timing is notable. Las Vegas was entering an optimistic phase after two decades of declining tourism, due in part to legalized gambling in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and the aging of Las Vegas casinos. In quick succession, Steve Wynn's modern 3,000-room Mirage opened in November 1989 (the first major resort since the original MGM Grand in 1973), followed by Circus Circus's 4,000-room family-themed Excalibur in June 1990. Wynn's Treasure Island opened in October 1993 with another 2,800 rooms. These and subsequent mega-resorts dramatically increased Las Vegas's room inventory for convention attendees and tourists and experimented with various themes and levels of family friendliness. In 1995, Adelson sold Comdex to Japan's Softbank (a technology conglomerate), imploded the aging Sands Hotel in 1996, and in its place erected the Venetian Hotel in 1999 to explicitly target both convention and gambling guests.

By the year 2000, Las Vegas was second in North American convention business only to Orlando, Florida, holding nearly 600 large exhibitions that year. Technology shows such as CES, Comdex, and NAB had ballooned in scale, and Las Vegas could host them because of its substantial transportation, lodging, and dining infrastructure, as well as its comprehensive support services. Large technology conventions mirrored the growing city outside: the show floor resembled a pop-up suburban neighborhood, an environment based on standardized units of space (area of floor space), organized in neighborhoods by area of interest (and the ability to pay fees), with structures of varying prominence and sophistication facing central "streets" to act as corridors for its temporary citizens. The load-in/load-out strategies needed for shows were complex, competitive, and demanding. A convention's trade show floor would be assembled, used, and then disassembled over a very short period, leaving an empty space ready for the next event. As with the housing market, the value of floor space would go through booms and busts: unsold floor space would be roped off or rented to marginal firms, providing chair massages or tourist memorabilia, or turned into open commons spaces.

Booths were assembled by specialized installation-and-display contractors, staffed by Judy Venn's models and hostesses, photographed by Oscar Einzig photography, wired by Trade Show Electrical and Smart City's phone and internet connections, and decorated with flowers by Spring Valley Floral. These companies had local offices in other major convention cities to provide a standardized planning experience.

But Las Vegas was special. According to exhibit planner Tina Wentz, who from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s planned about 20 major shows in multiple cities, Las Vegas was "friendly…[people]

want you to be happy instead of not caring how you feel about the town" in contrast to New York and Chicago, which could be "rough towns to work in, especially if you don't go about things the right way."[35] For her, a remarkable feature of Las Vegas was that "there's a vendor for everything" available at a moment's notice, an echo of Freeman's 1958 claim that the city featured "facilities open 24 hours a day." Wentz remembers a colleague who was unhappy with his company's booth signage just before a Comdex show:

> [He] looked at me and said, "You know, I'm gonna go neon." And I said, "Oh, you are?" "Yeah, I'm gonna go neon." And honest to goodness,…I went with him to a shop where the man who did the original programming for the Flamingo was…and they whipped him up a great little neon thing to be installed in his header (the thing at the top of your booth with your logo). "That'll be ready before the show starts. Come pick it up in two days."[36]

During the early-to-mid-1990s, with increasingly competitive and professional services and the burgeoning technology economy, the fees for participating in conventions skyrocketed. Wentz recalls planning a 12,000-square-foot booth at "$35 or $45 per square foot for the concrete alone…. The next thing that you put on top of the concrete is your electrical, and that's always done by the show electrical contractor and that's not negotiable… And then they put down the carpet."[37] In addition, a rugged and transportable booth needs to be designed and constructed, at the cost of a house—$125,000 for a 20-by-40-foot two-story booth with a kitchen and running water.[38] "In 1990, that was a lot of money for a booth. Now [in 2007] it's nothing."[39] Las Vegas contractors such as carpenters could pivot from building the growing city to constructing temporary booth structures. The fine detail and rushed schedules required by convention clients made these projects more difficult than residential or hotel projects, but also much more lucrative.

The largest trade shows, such as Comdex in its heyday, attracted approximately 200,000 attendees and had begun to require specialized electrical and computer-network infrastructure. By 2006, CES welcomed 150,000 visitors and used four convention halls and multiple hotels connected by an extensive but temporary bus network. That year, Las Vegas convention halls and meeting spaces together comprised about nine million square feet (a floor space equivalent to 4,600 typical U.S. homes), attracted over six million attendees, and, according to the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, infused over $8 billion dollars into Nevada's economy.[40] Ten percent of first-time Las Vegas visitors over the previous several years had visited the city to attend a convention. The scale of these technology conventions had become so large that, like car drivers using AAA road maps and a GPS, attendees to CES 2008 navigated through the massive halls using five fanfold maps and an online itinerary generator.

CES grew in part because it gathered a portion of the exhibitors and attendees left behind when Comdex closed in 2003 after more than two decades of successful exhibitions, a victim to post-9/11 travel fears and the lingering dot-com slump, increased specialization in the computer industry, and skyrocketing exhibition costs. Engineer and salesperson Howie Wilcox recalls that during the mid-to-late 1990s:

> …costs to exhibit at Comdex and for these other shows probably went up five times… astronomical increases every year. I think booths that might have been going for $30,000 may have been going for $200,000…. That is sort of how the trade show guys got into so much trouble in the end. I think the reason trade show attendance has fallen off so much is that they partially killed the goose that laid the golden egg.[41]

Wilcox suggests that exhaustion among conventioneers also played a role in the collapse of Comdex. By the late 1990s, frequent travel and diminishing returns had burned out several of his colleagues:

> [W]hen I heard that the wheels were falling off of Comdex, I was able to look back on the last 15 years and think about my personal experience…. Maybe it's better for people not to spend so much time running around the world every year, every quarter, every month to these shows and meetings and stuff. I'm not sure just how much awareness, extra awareness that you create by having 200,000 people come to Las Vegas in November and…you know, in this day and age with mass communication, the Internet, with the trade journals, I think they sort of cover it pretty well.[42]

The value of the convention was being called into question again, not only for economic and social reasons but because the communications products that the technology conventions promoted were beginning to undermine the need for the events themselves. Why travel and pay to attend a convention when emerging multimedia technologies could partly substitute for the experiences?

2003–2019: Redefining the Convention

The official 40th-anniversary theme of the CES 2007 show was counterintuitive for an event focusing on the future of consumer electronics: it was historical, looking back to the first 1967 meeting in New York City. San Diego–based exhibitor Qualcomm faced a difficult marketing challenge because, as a vendor of components and patents essential to mobile phones, its technologies were invisible and unexciting to consumers. Intel, facing a similar visibility challenge with its microprocessors, developed the famous "Intel Inside" sticker campaign in the early 1990s. How could Qualcomm engage with passersby to communicate its brand?

Qualcomm built a booth in which its valuable corridor-adjacent space was devoted not to new products but to an archeological dig. Safari-suited sales representatives delicately excavated obsolete computers, games, and equipment from hundreds of pounds of gravel in front of passing crowds, chatted with attendees—and then surreptitiously reburied the artifacts (Figure 3). The display was clearly effective: it stopped the typically jaded convention-goers, some of whom also, to the surprise of booth personnel, offered to buy the obsolete technologies rescued from the Qualcomm employees' garages.[43]

Just as Qualcomm linked old technologies to innovative future products, CES organizers hoped to remind participants of the past and the continued value of the event; this was particularly important given the recent demise of Comdex. While the CES 40th-anniversary theme communicated the show's past value,[44] questions about the return on investment for participating in large trade shows and the suitability of Las Vegas as a convention destination continued to require attention from convention organizers and Las Vegas promoters. City, county, and state officials used marketing and legal efforts to temper the Sin City reputation; in 2004, in a notable example of these efforts, the Nevada Gaming Commission fined the Las Vegas Hard Rock Hotel Casino $100,000 for "inappropriate" sexualized advertising two miles south of the convention center.[45, 46]

Convention organizers delivered value by controlling media access and helping participating companies execute their public-relations strategies. Comdex and CES provided the forum and critical mass of media to announce major technology news: Microsoft announced

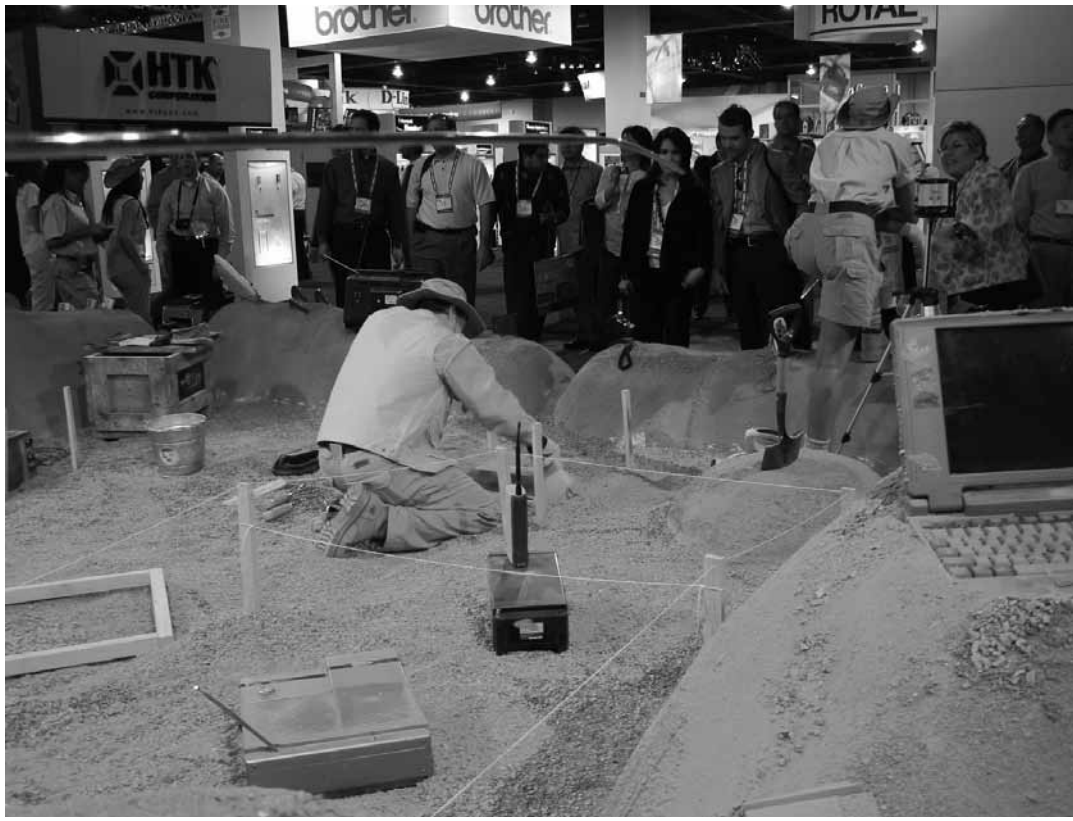

FIGURE 3. Excavating technology and interacting with attendees at the CES 2007 Qualcomm booth. Photograph by Julian Kilker.

the Windows 95 operating system at Comdex, the VCR was announced at CES 1970, the compact disc player at CES 1981, and the DVD player at CES 1996. Like the Las Vegas spectacles outside the convention center—the atomic blasts, building implosions, erupting volcano (at the Mirage starting in 1989), and dancing fountains (at the Bellagio resort starting in 1998)—showstopper trade show spectacles such as the Philips home and the Qualcomm dig, as well as superlative product announcements, attracted both attendees and the press. CES became known for an almost comical television-size race: in 2006, Panasonic had the largest flat screen, at 103 inches; in 2007, Sharp's was 108 inches; and in 2008, Panasonic took the title back with an impractical 150-inch screen that garnered extensive coverage. According to Wilcox, similar announcements also occurred at Comdex:

> A lot of big deals would be announced at Comdex. We would announce these gigantic deals. And it would almost seem to the outside world like, you know, wow! Maybe they just cut this deal two days before Comdex. But the truth is, you know, anything but that. The deals could be cut whether Comdex was there or not. But we needed to try to create that image that we came to the trade show and launched our new product and look at all these customers we've got. And the trade show is kind of an opportunity to do that.[47]

The value of both conventions and visiting Las Vegas faces increased scrutiny when alternatives that are more cost-effective become available, especially during periods of economic uncertainty. For Las Vegas, viable alternatives include online gambling or casinos on Native American territories or in Atlantic City or Asia. For conventions, the alternatives include downsized, specialized events or online media blitzes. In 2007 and 2008, the *New York Times* published cautionary articles about the dizzying costs of attending CES. The paper's front page on January 6, 2007, reported that Digeo, a small Washington State digital-media-player company, spent between $500,000 and $1 million for floor space, a booth, hotel costs, food, and advertising;[48] the article also reported that skyrocketing food, lodging, entertainment, and transportation costs in Las Vegas during these events strained company budgets. It is not surprising that trade shows reported a drop in floor space, exhibitors, and attendance during and after the 2008 Great Recession. It took four years to start recovering after the 5 percent drop in convention attendance (from 6.2 million convention attendees in 2007 to 5.9 million in 2008) and a huge 24 percent drop from 2008 to 2009 (to 4.5 million convention attendees). Midweek occupancies at Las Vegas hotels dropped to 78 percent in 2009 and 2010, the lowest since the 1991 recession and Persian Gulf War. (In comparison, in 2018, typical midweek occupancies were 85.5 percent, and Las Vegas conventions welcomed 6.5 million attendees.) [49] At the time, in 2009, *Tradeshow Week* reported that "it's not much of a stretch to say that Las Vegas was assigned the unfortunate role of scapegoat in the business-meetings backlash"[50] after President Obama cited Las Vegas junkets in a speech emphasizing corporate responsibility.

While companies reduced their convention expenses by meeting in off-site hotel facilities rather than exhibiting, digital technologies provided new ways to undermine and counterprogram the expensive convention and its traditional marketing approaches. At CES 2007, press coverage and buzz was distracted in the middle of the show's run, intentionally, by Apple CEO Steve Jobs announcing the iPhone at the simultaneous MacWorld show in San Francisco. This precisely timed announcement, transmitted to the show floor in Las Vegas by cell phone, Blackberry, and Internet access, became a talking point and a distraction among CES attendees.[51]

Major shows such as CES had been covered by professional mainstream and trade journalists, and CES typically garnered the equivalent of several full print pages in the *New York Times*, as well as extensive coverage on its website. But attendees increasingly posted their own impressions, images, and recordings online during the event, bypassing the traditional relationships among convention planners, companies, and journalists. Around 2005, shows began to tentatively credential "new media" contributors. At CES 2008, bloggers were provided special badges and second-class resources that paled in comparison with the traditional press rooms stocked with racks of press releases, interview booths, rows of computers, coffee urns, and free lunches.

The friendly, symbiotic relationship between show exhibitors and the press was challenged by these new-media contributors, who had influence online but acted less predictably than traditional journalists. Credentialed Gizmodo.com employees, for example, notoriously used a hidden "TV-B-Gone" remote control to turn off displays at booths and during a critical presentation. When they posted a video of the results,[52] the troublemakers were (briefly) banned from future CES events—but the video gained over half a million profitable views in three days. Pranking had become the new, inexpensive-to-produce spectacle. Social-media comments about the prank ranged from disgusted to amused, suggesting the wide gaps among key groups that attend these shows: traditional and new-media contributors, young and old engineers, and marketers.

During a period in which the gatekeeping function of the traditional press was being disrupted by new media and fragmented perspectives, conventions faced similar challenges to their own gatekeeping assumptions. The reinvention of the convention has paralleled the rise of social me-

dia, which has come to play an integral role in convention planning and auditing. In 2019, without formally participating in CES or contributing to the Las Vegas economy, Apple inserted itself into the event's social and mass-media coverage. The company covered a building's façade with the Las Vegas–themed message "What happens on your iPhone stays on your iPhone" facing arriving CES attendees. Attention is the core commodity for both the city of Las Vegas and conventions. For Apple—in early 2019, the most valuable company in the world in terms of stock[53]—there was more value in pranking CES from afar than in physically participating in either the 2007 or the 2019 shows. The design of recent CES exhibits suggests that large technology conventions increasingly serve as a stage for creating virtual and social-media content for people not attending the events, potentially reducing the need to attend. In addition, experiencing exhibits in person is less necessary when vendors are demonstrating services or software that can be researched, tested, and consumed remotely. For these reasons, future conventions and trade shows will likely face increasingly virtualized convention functions and a renewed focus on the original Las Vegas soft-power benefits.

The Enduring Soft Power of the Las Vegas Convention

For Nevada, developing a professional convention infrastructure helped diversify its visitor mix despite the challenges of balancing its edgy Sin City image with its professional customer-service orientation. For exhibitors, the value of participating in the large, complex, and ephemeral convention is difficult to evaluate, even with the traditional institutional metrics of event attendees, contacts collected, and media buzz in column inches, impressions, or social-media likes.

The most important value for conventions may well be their soft-power aspects, which are difficult to commercially evaluate and market. Wilcox mentions the social aspects of conventions as their key advantage:

> As much as everybody would…complain about the costs and the time … people would sort of enjoy [each show]. It was a bonding experience, and it was used as an opportunity to have district sales meetings, regional sales meetings. It was used as an opportunity to do training, you know, because you've got everybody together, and it was used as an opportunity to check in with people who were technically in the field working independently. [The shows are] neutral territory…. It wasn't corporate people coming out to the district, and it wasn't sales people going back to corporate. It was someplace else.[54]

These social functions resonate with the entertainment and recreation offerings that Freeman noted in his 1958 convention-center promotion memo and in which Las Vegas continues to specialize.

Architecture critic Paul Goldberger notes that "convention centers are supposed to revive cities…. But the more gargantuan they become the less happily they fit into the places they are intended to benefit."[55] In Las Vegas, home to "gargantuan" casinos, the convention centers found an ideal match. Nearly unique among major convention locations, the glitter, entertainment, clamor, and entrepreneurial atmosphere inside a typical event is reflected on the outside as well in the city's casinos and on the Strip. Las Vegas conventions, like the city itself, continue to navigate changes and pressures from multiple sources, including the global economy, national politics, and cultural mores—not to mention an often-chaotic array of exhibitors and specialized services, trades people, attendees, and both traditional and emerging media.

NOTES

[1]COMDEX is an abbreviation for "Computer Dealers' Exhibition" but is commonly written Comdex, used here.

[2]David Devoss, "The Trade Show of Shows," *Smithsonian*, July 31, 2001, 30.

[3]Julian Kilker, "Exploring a new methodology: Background, planning, and lessons from the 2007 trade show 'swarm' project," *Social Identities* 15, no. 4 (2009): 433-446.

[4]In this paper I use "convention" because it includes trade shows, congresses, and special events, especially when there is a strong conference component; I use "trade show" when the event's main activity is on the trade floor.

[5]Howie Wilcox, interview by author, Henderson, NV, January 5, 2007.

[6]Su Kim Chung, *Las Vegas Then and Now* (San Diego: Thunder Bay Press, 2002), 24.

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

[8]A series of highly critical articles about Reno and Nevada in the influential *Christian Century* magazine in late 1931 contributed to the state's notoriety. See, for example, Paul Hutchinson, "Nevada—A Prostitute State," *Christian Century* 48, November 25, 1931, 1488-1490, and Paul Hutchinson, "Reno—A Wide-Open Town," *Christian Century* 48, December 2, 1931, 1519-1520.

[9]Larry Gragg, "Promoting Post-War Las Vegas: The Live Wire Fund, 1945-1950," *International Journal of Arts and Sciences* 3, no. 15 (2010): 10.

[10]Gragg, "Post-War Las Vegas," 12.

[11]David G. Schwartz, "Erving Goffman's Las Vegas: From Jungle to Boardroom," *UNLV Gaming Research & Review Journal* 20, no. 1 (2016): 39-53.

[12]Nevada State Legislature. Assembly Bill 424: An Act authorizing certain counties to acquire, improve, extend, better, equip and furnish fairgrounds, exposition buildings, convention halls, other recreational buildings…, March 29, 1955, https://www.leg.state.nv.us/Statutes/47th1955/Stats195504.html.

[13]Bob Coffin, email to author, May 21, 2019.

[14]Cost-effective commercial and residential air-conditioning was essential for Las Vegas's success as a tourist and convention destination. The Apache (now Binion's) on Fremont Street was the first to air-condition its lobby in the late 1920s, and El Rancho (the first Strip resort) was the first to be completely air-conditioned when it opened in 1941. Providing a climate-controlled cocoon not only makes the city viable, it keeps visitors in economically productive spaces indoors.

[15]Al Freeman, "Recommendations: Las Vegas Convention Center Promotion" correspondence and brochure, February 6, 1958, in Sands Hotel Collection, Special Collections & Archives, University Libraries, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, https://d.library.unlv.edu/digital/collection/ent/id/45476.

[16]Freeman "Recommendations," https://d.library.unlv.edu/digital/collection/ent/id/45478.

[17]Tom Parkinson, "Arenas & Auditoriums: Las Vegas Convention Hall in Limelight for Opening," *Billboard*, April 6, 1959, 103.

[18]Senator McCarran sponsored the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 and the Federal Airport Act of 1945, which provided funds for military and civilian airports throughout the U.S., including what would become Nellis Air Force Base and McCarran Field (now the gateway airport to Las Vegas).

[19]U.S. Air Force News Review 43, produced by the U.S. Air Force air photographic and charting service, 1959.

[20]Daniel Bubb, *Landing in Las Vegas: Commercial Aviation and the Making of a Tourist City* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2017), 61.

[21]Freeman, "Recommendations," https://d.library.unlv.edu/digital/collection/ent/id/45489.

[22]Eugene Moehring, *Reno, Las Vegas, and the Strip: A Tale of Three Cities* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2014).

[23]Letter from G. Marvin Shutt to Robert K. Ermatinger of the Laundry & Cleaners Allied Trades Association and copied to Las Vegas Convention Bureau, dated August 1, 1968. In Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority Visitor Information Pub. (LVCVA VIP) file. Special Collections & Archives, University Libraries, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, Nevada.

[24]Letter from Ben B. Wallis to Len Hornsby, sales manager, Las Vegas Convention Bureau, dated August 5, 1971. In Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority Visitor Information Pub. (LVCVA VIP) file. Special Collections & Archives, University Libraries, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, Nevada.

[25]Gragg, "Post-War Las Vegas," 5.

[26]Mona Reno, *Population of Nevada and her Counties 1860-2000* (Carson City, NV: Nevada State Library, 2002).

[27]Daniel P. Dern, "Jerry Pournelle talks of Comdex Past," *Inquirer*, July 5, 2004, https://www.theinquirer.net/inquirer/news/1024518/jerry-pournelle-talks-comdex-past.

[28]H. Schwartz, "Cultivation of the Las Vegas Conventioneer as a Potential Player." Paper presented at the Sixth National Conference on Gambling and Risk Taking, December 9-12, 1984, Atlantic City, New Jersey.

[29]Joseph Nelson Christensen, "*Analysis of Casino Table Game Tipping by Comdex Conventioneers*" (master's thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 2001).

[30]Ben Dyer, interview by Nathan Ensmenger, Charles Babbage Institute, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, May 7, 2004, Oral History 382, https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/107274.

[31]Jonathan Sachs, interview by Martin Campbell-Kelly, Charles Babbage Institute, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, May 7, 2004, Oral History 388, https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/107619.

[32]Jeannette Green-Davies, "Shriners play final rotunda date in rain," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, September 22, 1990, 1A.

[33]Review-Journal staff, "Rotunda dismantling begins," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, February 13, 1991, 1B.

[34] Gary Rivlin, "When 3rd Place on the Rich List Just Isn't Enough," *New York Times,* January 17, 2008, C1.

[35]Tina Wentz, interview by author, Henderson, NV, January 7, 2007.

[36]Wentz, interview.

[37]Wentz, interview.

[38]This is approximately the scale of the Philips house mentioned earlier.

[39]Wentz, interview.

[40]Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, "2006 Las Vegas Year End Summary," 2006.

[41]Wilcox, interview.

[42]Wilcox, interview.

[43]Interview with Stephen Wolfert by author, Las Vegas, NV, January 9, 2007.

[44]In addition to the anniversary themes—the 50th anniversary was celebrated in 2017—CES also releases historical photos to media as an annual news peg. Laura June and David Pierce, "Incredible photos from the CES vault: 1967 to 2014," *Verge*, January 4, 2013 [updated January 3, 2015], https://www.theverge.com/2013/1/4/3828848/ces-photo-history.

[45]Erika Engstrom, "Selling with Sex in Sin City," *Journal of Promotion Management* 13, no. 1/2 (2007): 169-188.

[46]The complex and shifting intersection of marketing, gender and sexuality, "sin," technology, and Las Vegas is a rich topic beyond the scope of this paper. For a discussion of media, technology innovation, and links to conventions such as the Adult Entertainment Expo (which, unofficially, ran parallel with CES for many years), see Jonathan Coopersmith, "Does Your Mother Know What You Really Do? The Changing Nature and Image of Computer-Based Pornography," *History and Technology* 22, no. 1 (2006): 1-25, and Crystal A. Jackson, D. Sahl, and Barbara G. Brents, "Porn fans as sex tourists? Broadening meanings of sexual consumption among adult entertainment expo attendees in Las Vegas, Nevada," *Porn Studies* 5, no. 3 (2018): 241-256. For technology design and gambling, see Natasha Schull, "Digital Gambling: The Coincidence of Desire and Design," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 597, no. 1 (2005): 65-81. For the use of sexual promotional strategies at technology trade shows, see Li Cornfeld, "Babes in tech land: Expo labor as capitalist technology's erotic body," *Feminist Media Studies* 18, no. 2 (2018): 205-220. For the commerce of sex and tourism in Las Vegas, see Barbara G. Brents, Crystal A. Jackson, and Kathryn Hausbeck, *The State of Sex: Tourism, Sex and Sin in the New American Heartland* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[47]Wilcox, interview.

[48]Brad Stone and Damon Darlin, "Companies Pay Dearly for Tech Trade Show," *New York Times*, January 6, 2007, A1, https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/06/technology/06electronics.html.

[49]Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, "Las Vegas Historic Tourism Statistics (1970-2018)," February 2019, https://assets.simpleviewcms.com/simpleview/image/upload/v1/clients/lasvegas/Historical_1970_to_2018_4100bf49-5aba-4686-81bc-49cf15a2b411.pdf.

[50]Candance Yang, "Q1 a Downer: First-quarter report finds exhibitors are exiting the showfloor," *Tradeshow Week*, May 25, 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090525104302/http://www.tradeshowweek.com/article/CA6659644.html.

[51]*New York Times* staff, "iPhone Pros and Cons," *New York Times*, January 10, 2007, https://bits.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/01/10/iphone-pros-and-cons/.

[52]Brian Lam, "Confessions: The Meanest Thing Gizmodo Did at CES," *Gizmodo*, January 10, 2008, http://gizmodo.com/343348/confessions-the-meanest-thing-gizmodo-did-at-ces.

[53]Kurt Badenhausen, "The World's Most Valuable Brands 2019: Apple On Top At $206 Billion," *Forbes*, May 22, 2019, https://www.forbes.com/sites/kurtbadenhausen/2019/05/22/the-worlds-most-valuable-brands-2019-apple-on-top-at-206-billion.

[54]Wilcox, interview.

[55]Paul Goldberger, "Unconventional," *New Yorker*, July 31, 2006, 82.

Nevada's Impotence and Anarchy
National Guard Disbandment, 1906–1928

Emerson Marcus

> The State of Nevada in the year 1907 was gradually drifting into utter governmental impotence and downright anarchy.
>
> —*Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (1914)

On December 5, 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt ordered three companies of federal troops from the Presidio in San Francisco to Goldfield, Nevada, via rail. In that same week in early December, Roosevelt ordered the "Great White Fleet" on a round-the-world tour to underline America's status as a world naval power. The two events competed for national attention. The Great White Fleet's celebrated two-year voyage reflected a high point in Roosevelt's charismatic presidency. His commitment of federal troops to Goldfield, however, soon became an embarrassment.[1]

In his request for federal troops, Nevada governor John Sparks alleged that labor insurrection was inevitable in Goldfield, the state's largest and richest mining town. Local government and the state stood powerless to prevent possible violence, according to Governor Sparks, especially in the absence of a state militia or National Guard, which had disbanded the year before (Figure 1). Two weeks after troops arrived in Goldfield, a special commission reported to the president that the crisis had largely been blown out of proportion. With protection of the troops in the camp, the mining bosses gained the upper hand in the ongoing strike. They immediately imported scab workers, lowered wages, and, against state law, prohibited the employment of union members. President Roosevelt was furious. He demanded that Nevada convene the legislature and assemble a state force adequate to replace the federal troops. At the demand of the president, Governor Sparks hurriedly sent out a call for a special session of the legislature—only the second in the state's history—to create a state police force.[2]

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FIGURE 1. Labor Day, 1906: Governor John Sparks, in a show of force likely to intimidate radical labor in Nevada, sits with what remained of his executive military staff only four months after Sparks disbanded the final two companies of the National Guard. The Governor ordered the disbandment after a federal officer inspected the Nevada troops and determined they would be unreliable if called during labor strike violence. (*Nevada State Library and Archives*)

But why a state police force and not a simple revival of the National Guard or state militia, as provided for in Nevada's 1864 constitution and afterward organized? First, the state's mining and railroad workers, as well as labor nationally, viewed the National Guard as the first weapon of choice by state governments to break strikes, and Nevada labor interests successfully lobbied for decades against the reorganization of the National Guard after its 1906 disbandment. Second, Nevada could not effectively man a National Guard as the fifth largest in size and least populated state in the Union. Finally, Congress's 1903 Militia Act set new and higher standards for the National Guard that required state expenditures beyond the will of Nevada's legislature to fund. For more than two decades, from 1906 to 1928, state biennial reports noted Nevada as the only state in the nation without a federally recognized National Guard.[3]

Nevada Within the American Militia Tradition

English and eventually American militia tradition provided the blueprint for the origins of Nevada's state militia, eventually called the National Guard. As early as the 16th century, evidence of "trainbands," or companies of citizen soldiers, can be found in London and other towns, with men voluntarily offering to take up arms for military training. The practice carried over to the American colonies and served the patriot cause in the American Revolution as volunteers joined state militias, whereas the Continental Army drew support from Con-

gress. The 1792 Militia Act, under the new constitution, provided for the president to call out state militias during invasion or emergency but failed to establish a national militia system, as many Federalists sought. Several amendments followed, especially after the militias' poor performance during the War of 1812. During the antebellum period, compulsory military training of state militias was not enforced and almost completely ceased. In their place came volunteer and fraternal-like organizations that practiced marksmanship along with drills and ceremonies. In the cities, the volunteer units were more social organizations than essential military components of outlying frontier settlements. Military units also sprang up in the tradition of the trainbands in the newly established California mining communities after 1849.[4]

In Nevada, the same occurred in response to strained Native American relations and fear of secessionists before and during the Civil War. In the winter of 1859–60, the discovery of the Comstock Lode brought a "Rush to Washoe" that increased friction with the Native population in what was then still far-western Utah Territory. In the spring of 1860, locals organized four military detachments from Genoa, Carson City, Silver City, and Virginia City. Myron Angel's *History of Nevada*, published in 1881, described a force of 105 men as a "heterogeneous mixture of independent elements, poorly armed, without discipline." Under the command of Colonel William Ormsby, the loosely organized militia attacked the Pyramid Lake Paiutes in retaliation for perceived crimes against white settlers. Ambushed by the Paiutes on their march to Pyramid Lake, the militia met disaster, with 76 killed, including Ormsby. Union regulars and citizen militias from California mining towns quickly responded, defeating and dispersing the Paiutes by June of 1860. In July, the War Department began construction of Fort Churchill along the Carson River east of Virginia City to maintain the peace and protect the Overland Trail to California.[5]

In March of 1861, Congress established the Nevada Territory from a western portion of the Utah Territory. Nevada's new territorial governor, James W. Nye, served as commander in chief of the territorial militia. The "Union Blues," one of the first-known organized Nevada territorial militia units, formed in 1862 to "overawe outbreaks of secessionists" and for the "maintenance of our present, political life." In 1864, rumors of California secessionists holding secret meetings stoked fears among citizens of the predominantly Republican, pro-Union territory. When a late 1864 mining slump on the Comstock sparked labor disputes, Nye, fearing the militia in Virginia City might sympathize more with labor, called for federal troops from Fort Churchill. On September 24, 1864, Nye advised they come "with plenty of ammunition" in a show of force against the Storey County Miners' League. Three hundred federal troops marched through Virginia City. Nevada historian Guy Rocha cites this moment as the first likely use of federal troops to suppress labor unrest west of the Mississippi River.[6]

Like other states, Nevada's constitution of 1864 included provisions for the creation of a state militia. The governor served as commander in chief with an adjutant general, the highest-ranking uniformed officer.[7] The adjutant general reported biennially to the governor with an account of both the enrolled and organized militia. The enrolled militia included a roster of all "able-bodied men ages 18 to 45" for potential service during emergencies. The organized militia, however, included men serving voluntarily in company formations that received state support. The state provided these units rent allowance for armories and the storage of rifles. The federal government provided the state with rifles used for practicing marksmanship and maintaining the peace when called upon by the governor or, if necessary, the president during national emergencies. The organized militia voted on their own officers and, in the practice of fraternal organizations, designed their own uniforms. It was proud of its local autonomy and home rule (FIGURE 2).[8]

FIGURE 2. A Eureka, Nevada militiaman poses for a photo shortly after two infantry companies organized there in 1875, a response to escalating tensions with Native Americans in the eastern portion of the state. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Toward the end of the 19th century, when Indian confrontations waned, militia units evolved into social groups that formed almost exclusively for parades and military balls. The Emmet Guard, of Virginia City, known for its green dress uniforms, primarily included men of Irish descent who made up a large portion of the Comstock miners. They associated closely with the Fenian Brotherhood, a precursor to the Irish Republican Army. Named after Irish nationalist and martyr Robert Emmet, the Emmet Guard built its own guard hall in Virginia City and remained "willing to turn out for any function whether duty or otherwise," [9] maintaining the longest-running cohesive unit of all the 19th-century Nevada militia units. Comstock journalist and editor Alf Doten often commented on the state militia in his journals. In February 1865, Doten noted militia celebrations of George Washington's birthday, with the militia's varied uniforms and late-night activities:

> National Guard, Emmet Guard, and the Virginia Zouaves turned out—about 20 Zouaves—the three companies made a very beautiful appearance—Nationals dressed in dark blue—Emmets in dark pants and green shirts, and the little Zouaves in red pants, yellow leggings, light blue jackets and red caps…lots of guns fired— everybody glad—evening, the ball of the National Guard at Armory Hall—I was in awhile—Cruised about with the Major and others—all got drunk—bed at 1 oclock [*sic*].[10]

The Civil War's sobering realities suggested that state militias ought to be more than social organizations and should train seriously for state or national emergencies. In the 1870s, state-militia associations with nationwide memberships encouraged national military standards and lobbied for increased funding from Congress while other supported organizations formed: the National Rifle Association and the National Guard Association. By 1887, federal funding for state militias had grown to $400,000. With increased federal funding and developing national standards for the state militias, these associations increasingly pushed for national standards to be put into law with an updated militia act to replace the century-old 1792 Militia Act.[11]

The Nevada militia struggled to maintain standards suggested by larger states and the National Guard Association. Still, in 1892, in the face of statewide depression and a population dipping below 50,000, the Nevada National Guard held its first summer encampment at Treadway Field, at the north end of Carson City. Volunteer soldiers, many of them miners, came from as far away as Tuscarora in Elko County and Yerington in the Mason Valley. The encampment included rifle practice and a 3 a.m. "sham" attack. Nevada's budget constraints only allowed guardsmen to receive $10 per encampment, compared to $33 per encampment for soldiers in New York. Additionally, most enlisted men did not own a dress coat. The national sportsmen's magazine, *Outing*, took special notice of the Nevada National Guard in a series of articles covering the National Guards of different states. According to this source, Nevada's lack of funding did not seem to hurt the soldiers' proficiency in marksmanship competitions. In 1896, Carson City Guard, Company F, earned the national marksmanship championship with Springfield rifles, even though "companies in the eastern States have been prone to deny this" and "did not believe the published records of the Carson Company to be correct."[12]

MILITIAS VERSUS LABOR IN THE GILDED AGE

In the decades after the Civil War, rapid industrialization and urbanization marked American economic development. The rise of corporations, thriving in the national economic market and bound together by the transcontinental railroad, created enormous wealth and a vast gap between the rich and the poor. Mark Twain coined the term Gilded Age to describe late 19th-century America, with its gaudy display of wealth alongside great poverty. Wealth from Comstock silver and gold mines and livestock-filled ranges on vast public-domain land made Nevada part of that thriving national economy until its mining riches sharply declined after 1880.[13]

During the Gilded Age and Nevada's post-Comstock depression, states began the wide use of National Guards to suppress labor unrest, especially after Congress agreed to curb mobilization of federal troops for local emergencies. The agreement was part of the terms ending Reconstruction in the South after the disputed election of 1876. To retain the White House, the Republican Party made many concessions to Democrats, especially the southern wing of the Democratic Party. The Compromise of 1877 ended Reconstruction and withdrew federal-occupation troops from the South. President Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican, also agreed to sign the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act passed by Congress, which severely limited the use of federal troops during incidents of domestic unrest. With federal military action limited, it fell to local government and state militias to quell a rising number of labor-union strikes that threatened civil disorder (FIGURE 3).[14]

From Pittsburgh to Chicago and from San Francisco to Los Angeles, governors called out the militia against striking workers. In 1892, thousands of Pennsylvania state militiamen moved against strikers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers follow-

FIGURE 3. Members of Battery A, Nevada National Guard pose for a photo in 1891 in Virginia City, Nevada, equipped with three-inch ordnance rifles. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

ing a gun fight at the Carnegie Steel plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Troops, sometimes numbering over 8,000, occupied the site for three months in a highly publicized use of militia against labor. Prolabor publications in the 1890s referred to the National Guard as "the staff and pride of the monopolistic and Capitalistic class" whose "duty is to overawe, and under threat of being shot, crush the workingmen into submission." Following the financial panic of 1893 and the subsequent nationwide depression, federal troops were ultimately used against the Great Railroad Strike of 1894. The constitutional argument for deployment to override the Posse Comitatus Act rested on the obligation of the federal government to keep open the delivery of the U.S. mail and its powers over interstate commerce.[15]

The strike reached into the railroad towns of Nevada. On July 13, 1894, federal troops arrived in Winnemucca under the command of Colonel J.S. Poland, who reported: "The militia of Winnemucca refused to answer the call to mobilize" and the citizens of the town were "intensely in favor of the strikers." He added: "Most of them are railroad men, to whom the militia was a social affair. They did not feel inclined to shoulder arms to protect the railroad company's property." Poland's report placed blame on G.M. Rose, the captain of the militia in Humboldt County, Nevada. According to the U.S. Army officer, Rose was "a man whose first duty should be to quell or be willing to quell just such disturbances as he is at present the leading instigator. More than that, I think it can be established that he has threatened to take his militia and run us out of here." In his 1894 report to Governor Roswell Colcord, even

Joseph Poujade, Nevada's adjutant general, sided with Winnemucca guardsmen and the strikers, in what he called an "extraordinary" circumstance. Poujade, among others, ridiculed the constitutional authority under which federal troops were sent to protect railroad property and U.S. mail. According to Poujade:

> When a government by physical force alone came, unannounced, into our midst, many felt that Americanism had become very cheap; and, naturally, some irregular expressions of sentiment were probably made….The situation was abnormal. A handful of United States troops acting under unlawful orders, and therefore by their very presence irritating a hitherto free people almost beyond endurance.[16]

The two-month strike ended in mid-July, a week after federal troops arrived in Winnemucca. On October 8, 1894, the Nevada National Guard held its second summer encampment. An inspector from the War Department, First Lieutenant S.L. Faison, commented that Nevada's men were "enthusiastic soldiers," but it was "certain, however, that but a very small per cent, if any, could be relied upon in case of a strike like the last great railroad strike."[17]

Nevada's population continued to fall in the 1890s to near 40,000 at the end of the decade. When President William McKinley called on the governors of the states to raise more than 100,000 men for volunteer service against the war with Spain, Nevada could only muster a small number in comparison to other states. The presidential call to arms removed almost every member of the organized militia from the state. Nevada assembled just three volunteer units for the war effort: two cavalry troops and a battalion of infantry. In total, 603 Nevadans, ranging in age from 18 to 53, volunteered.[18] At the outbreak of the Philippine-American War, an offshoot of the Spanish-American War, Troop A, First Nevada Volunteer Cavalry, deployed to the Philippines, serving from May 14, 1898, to November 15, 1899. The *Elko Daily Independent* wrote: "Nevada, though poor in population, is rich in the manhood of her men and the virtues and graces of her women." The men were celebrated as heroes upon their return, but the initial mobilization met with some resistance, especially when it was decided that an additional unit would be formed, on July 1, 1898. Newspapers around the state alleged that officers in the Nevada militia pushed for the formation of additional units for selfish, overly ambitious reasons, with the sole pursuit of obtaining commands in the war. The call-up in the summer of 1898 highlighted several problems with mobilizing troops in Nevada and around the nation for federal service.[19]

By the end of the 1890s, the Silver State continued to be in the depths of mining depression, while its livestock industry still reeled from the disastrous White Winter of 1889–90, which destroyed the free-range livestock industry. The riches of the Comstock were only a distant memory, with investors frightened to enter Nevada mining adventures. As Nevada's population spiraled downward, many critics decried Nevada statehood, denouncing it as the nation's most notorious "rotten borough," a British political term for a place with little or no population but equal representation alongside more populated boroughs. Its two U.S. senators in Washington, D.C., were granted the same representation as states with millions in population. The *Chicago Tribune* railed against Nevada as a "decaying, rotten borough." According to the *Tribune*, Nevada and other vacant western states led to the creation of a "monstrously unequal and unjust" senatorial system in the nation's capital. One commentary in the *Los Angeles Herald* alleged, "There has probably never been a greater outrage and monstrosity in the political history of the United States than Nevada admitted as a member of the American Union." Some around the country called for an end to Nevada statehood.

And Arizona's delayed statehood (1912) occurred somewhat out of fears it would turn into another Nevada. Not lost in the discussion was Nevada's inability to reorganize a competent militia force after its troops returned home from the Philippine-American War. Only two units in Virginia City remained. While Nevada's critics saw its lack of an effective National Guard as another example of its failure as a state, labor took satisfaction in a weak National Guard in Nevada, for it proved little threat to its interests.[20]

Militia Reform and the Disbandment of the Nevada National Guard

While some questioned Nevada's fitness for the responsibilities of statehood, the War Department questioned the fitness of the state militias, or National Guards, throughout the nation for federalization in case of national emergencies. The federalization process during the Spanish-American War had not inspired confidence. To improve future nationwide mobilizations, President McKinley turned to Secretary of War Elihu Root, who proposed increased federal funding and an update of the nation's century-old 1792 Militia Act. Congress responded with the 1903 Militia Act, sponsored in the House by Congressman Charles Dick of Ohio. Known as the Dick Act, it provided increased federal funding for the National Guard in each state; established standards for federal inspections, uniforms, and participation in annual summer encampments; and reiterated that the National Guard could be mobilized by the president to repel invasion, suppress rebellion, and enforce federal law.

The Dick Act was born out of the Progressive Reform Era that sought reform, modernization, and administrative efficiency of American society at the turn of the century. The causes of Progressivism dominated American politics until U.S. involvement in World War I in 1917. Progressives at city, state, and national levels included both Republicans and Democrats who demanded more democracy in the American political system, more regulation of corporations, and social-uplift laws to protect weaker society members. Reform reached the military and the Guard in particular with the Dick Act, also referred to as the Efficiency in Militia Act. The goal was the establishment of national standards and efficiency in the training, deploying, and equipping of a reserve military force.[21]

The Dick Act gave states five years to meet the standards. Most states and their National Guards welcomed the reform, especially the act's inclusion of federal money, but funding was contingent upon the states meeting federal standards. In most instances, the act required increased state appropriations for the modernization of their National Guards, but it also included a one-time $2 million grant to modernize the militia of the states, largely for arms and ordnance. And it provided for state access to appropriated federal money for the payment of soldiers to attend annual training. In 1906, Congress doubled these annual funds to $4 million.[22]

Poor states, however, were hard-pressed to meet new standards of guard reform within the five-year deadline. Increased federal oversight and requirements meant failed inspections and eventual disbandment for many National Guard units around the nation. Nevada and many states in the South lagged behind the standards, which is to say Nevada was not the only state to balk at funding a National Guard at the new levels. In 1903, only 18 states and territories received more than half of their allotted military funding from the federal government. Nevada and Arkansas operated from 1903 to 1906 with little more than zero state funds, but Arkansas did maintain its federally recognized National Guard.[23]

In 1903, Nevada lieutenant governor Lemuel Allen, the ex officio adjutant general, began an effort to meet Dick Act standards. His first move was to request $2,500 from the biennial legislature for a new state armory in Carson City. It declined and only appropriated $300 for

the Nevada National Guard in both 1903 and 1904. The 1905 legislature appropriated $880 for the adjutant general's office for 1905 and 1906, along with a one-time appropriation of $8,000 for the purchase of a building in Carson City to be turned into the new state armory. The creation of a state flag—Nevada's first, also known as the "Silver Gold" flag—was included in the 1905 appropriation. The proposals received bipartisan support, but funding for organized National Guard units in the state met opposition. [24]

In 1905, only two companies of infantry, each in Virginia City, remained in the organized Nevada National Guard. Lack of enthusiasm for the Guard in the legislature centered on labor representatives who had well-founded suspicions that the Guard could be used against their interests and even the existence of their unions. Secondly, commercial, property, and mine owners largely understood that a Nevada Guard probably could not be relied upon to keep order if it involved arresting striking workers. Neither employers nor labor interests saw a benefit in maintaining a Guard, especially with more expensive federal standards. Governor Sparks, a Texas cattleman who had migrated with stock on the hoof to Nevada after the Civil War, also had his suspicions about the Guard, not because he disapproved of a militia but because he doubted its reliability if called upon to enforce law and order on its neighbors and fellow workers during strikes.[25]

Nevada's last two remaining militia units in Virginia City received federal inspections each year under the Dick Act. The federal inspections in 1905 and 1906 were especially poor. Adjutant-general reports show that less than a handful of National Guard units reorganized after the Spanish-American War. Those that reorganized in Virginia City did so only to carry on 19th-century social and fraternal militia traditions. In 1905, federal inspectors reported that Nevada's mining economy was to blame for its lack of organization. Work shifts in the mines—three rotational eight-hour shifts each day—made it impossible to organize company formations. The report also alleged that transiency hurt unit cohesion. Additionally, the Dick Act called for 100 soldiers per state representative in Congress; Nevada, with two senators and one congressman, needed 300 soldiers enrolled in the organized militia under the regulation imposed by the act. But Nevada did not meet half this standard and had dropped to 133 enlisted men. Of those, 86 were absent for the 1905 federal inspection.[26]

In 1906, the Nevada National Guard disbanded after a federal inspector questioned its loyalty to the state. He believed that sympathies resided more with labor interests than any loyalty to the state that might be required if it were called upon to protect property from striking workers. The War Department's inspector, Captain W.G. Haan, described the Nevada National Guard units as "poor…deficient in rudimentary forms of drill instruction." The armories "consist of old, ramshackle buildings, used principally for dancing purposes." Many of the unit's 1873 Springfield rifles were missing for the inspection. Guard uniforms were deemed "unserviceable." He continued: "The National Guard of Nevada fails to fulfill any of the conditions for which it was organized, and is a menace rather than an aid to law and order." According to Haan, the commanders of the two military companies in Virginia City expressed their concern about whether their soldiers could reliably respond to violence caused by labor strikes and whether the Guard would follow orders from the state or take up arms in defense of organized labor:

> The replies of both were that not a man could be relied upon to obey the order of the Governor, and I wish to add that in my opinion both captains and all company officers, as well as the enlisted men, would not only refuse to obey orders of the Governor, but would be arrayed on the other side [of labor violence].[27]

FIGURE 4. Onlookers fight for the best view during a rock drilling contest in Goldfield, Nevada in 1907. Goldfield included an estimated 18,000 citizens in 1907, the most populated town in Nevada at the time.(*Nevada Historical Society*)

The assumption that the Nevada Guard's primary task would be to put down labor unrest rings loud and clear in this message. If guardsmen could not be relied upon to perform that duty, it raised the question: Of what use were they to the state? On May 20, 1906, in light of Haan's inspection, Sparks, by executive order, disbanded the last two Nevada National Guard companies. Soldiers in the units, along with news reports, argued that Haan was not in Virginia City to inspect the troops but only there to judge their loyalty to business interests. According to news reports, "It shows that the visit of the U.S. army officer was not for the purpose of inspecting the efficiency of the companies, but for the reason [of their loyalty]… whether in case of a labor strike." The commanding officer of Company A in Virginia City was quoted as saying he did not recall being asked about his soldiers' loyalty in such an event. According to reports, the governor's decision to disband the National Guard met with brief protests in Virginia City. But around the state, among its working people, the disbandment of the Guard promised greater security for striking workers and a level playing field for unions to bargain with mining corporations.[28]

NEVADA FACES GOLDFIELD CRISIS WITHOUT A NATIONAL GUARD

The disbandment of the Nevada National Guard occurred with the rise of growing labor unrest in Goldfield, Nevada. The so-called southern Nevada mining boom—first in Tonopah in 1900 and then about 25 miles south, in Goldfield, in 1904—revived the state and ended Nevada's 20-year depression. An uninhabited desert in 1903, Goldfield was the state's largest town by 1906, with an estimated 18,000 people in the camp (FIGURE 4). Within the ranks of its miners were

members of a new union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). At a Chicago meeting in 1905, the IWW joined forces with the older Western Federation of Miners, organized in 1892 amid labor strife in the hard-rock mining regions of the Rocky Mountains. The presence of the WFM and the IWW in Goldfield meant radical unionism had a foothold in town.

In 1906, Sparks, along with Attorney General James Sweeney, visited Goldfield only weeks after Sparks had disbanded the Nevada National Guard. The *Goldfield Sun* reported that during a conference at Miners Union Hall, Sparks and Sweeney promised that "both the rights of labor and capital would be respected," but labor "insurrection" would find itself "face to face with the executive power of the state; that no destruction of life or property would be tolerated and that such outrages would not go unpunished." The *Goldfield Sun* continued: "The fact was pointed out that the state of Nevada had no militia upon which to call in case of insurrection or organized violence, and that in such an event the government troops would have to be resorted to." With the Nevada National Guard—still popularly known as the state militia—disbanded, Attorney General Sweeney emphasized that, in the absence of the National Guard, federal troops could intervene at the request of the state.[29]

As events developed, however, it appeared that mine workers and their unions were unfazed by the threats. Many arriving in town for work had already endured labor disputes in Cripple Creek, Colorado, and other western hard-rock mining communities during the 1890s. They brought with them animosity toward mine operators and a loyalty to the WFM, which had recently allied with the IWW. Additionally, a series of union victories in Goldfield during 1906 and 1907 inspired confidence in their leadership. In his 1919 study of the IWW, Paul F. Brissenden noted, "It was in a Nevada mining camp that the I.W.W. [*sic*] made the first notable application of its principles of revolutionary industrial unionism."

Goldfield mine operators feared the growth of radical union power in the town. By 1907, the formation of the Goldfield Consolidated Mining Company (GCMC) signaled almost complete control of the mines under its principal owners, U.S. senator George Nixon and gambler-turned-businessman George Wingfield. Both Nixon and Wingfield stood to lose millions of dollars borrowed from Wall Street investors should the series of strikes—first in the summer of 1906 and another in the spring of 1907—continue. They also lost revenue when miners left work with ore stashed creatively in their hats, pockets, and pants, a practice known as "high grading." For the workers, it was earned pay. For the mine operators, it was stealing. Wingfield demanded an absolute end to high grading. He sought arrests and prosecution of high graders, but when the cases reached the courts, local juries refused to convict.[30]

Adding to labor troubles, not just in Goldfield but nationwide, was a highly publicized murder trial in Boise, Idaho, that charged some prominent members of the WFM with conspiring in the murder of former Idaho governor Frank Steunenberg. Harry Orchard, a miner, was charged and later convicted, while three members of the WFM, including William "Big Bill" Haywood, were arrested on charges of conspiring and ordering Orchard to kill Steunenberg. However, the alleged conspirators were eventually acquitted. Vincent St. John, a widely recognized agitator for the IWW, also arrived in Goldfield in November of 1906. He used the trial to denounce business leaders. During a speech in Goldfield, St. John said:

> If they hang [Charles] Moyer, Haywood, and [George] Pettibone, the fall of the death trap will explode the percussion cap of the common revolution in the country and fire the brains and the hearts of every class conscious worker to fierce revolt, and we will sweep the capitalist class out of the life of this nation, and then out of the whole world.[31]

Following his acquittal, Haywood became an international left-wing celebrity. According to Haywood's retelling, which was included in his autobiography, published in 1929, Haywood visited Reno shortly after the trial to discuss Goldfield labor troubles with Senator Nixon. Both Haywood and Nixon had become acquaintances during their time in Winnemucca in the 1890s. After the trial, Haywood said he met and tried to convince Nixon as to why the intervention of federal troops in Goldfield would hurt the state and its citizens. According to Haywood:

> I wanted, if possible, to prevent a recurrence of what had happened in the mining camps of Colorado, and asked the senator to use his influence against the employment of soldiers in Nevada. This he promised to do, or at least he would notify me at headquarters if an attempt was made to bring federal soldiers. He evidently forgot his promise.[32]

In November of 1907, the financial panic of 1907 escalated tensions in Goldfield and served as the catalyst for the intervention of federal troops into Nevada. The lack of gold money forced the GCMC to pay workers in scrip or company checks. Two banks closed, and a third was prevented from closing largely due to backing from the GCMC. In line with labor's long history of opposing payment in scrip for work, the WFM and IWW workers approved a strike on voice vote on November 26. According to the mine operators, the strike violated previous agreements requiring a paper ballot for a strike vote. During the last week in November, the strike occurred, dividing the town; gamblers, saloon keepers, and local government officials backed the walkout, while merchants, mine owners, and the conservative American Federation of Labor Carpenters' Union opposed the strike. The scene was set for mine owners, principally Wingfield as chief operator of the GCMC, to turn to the state to use its power against the strike. Without a National Guard, it was well known that Governor Sparks would have to appeal to President Theodore Roosevelt for the intervention of federal troops.[33]

The Nevada State Police Bill

On December 2, a week into the strike, a group of six mine operators, including Wingfield, met with Governor Sparks in Carson City. Ostensibly, the meeting was to discuss the location of a new smelter site, but later evidence revealed that operators hoped to convince Sparks to request federal troops. Minutes after the meeting, Sparks sent a telegram to President Roosevelt:

> The state has no enrolled militia and if it had I doubt very much whether it would be effective in maintaining law and order….I am aware of the fact and consider it an extraordinary request…. I am informed that desperate men are now securing dynamite and arms to destroy property and life.

The governor's message made a point to defend the state against criticisms for not maintaining a state militia—it would not be effective against strikers. Roosevelt returned a telegram later that afternoon asking Sparks to make the request pursuant the U.S. Constitution and state specific reasons for the request. "The call of the Governor," Roosevelt wrote, "must itself recite such condition of affairs in accordance with the terms of the laws…[to] warrant the president acting." Sparks cited the threat of dynamite (which was unfounded) and inevitable insurrection. He requested federal troops based on article 4, section 4 of the U.S. Constitution, which states, "the United States shall guarantee to every State…and shall protect each of them against Invasion…[and] domestic violence."[34]

FIGURE 5. U.S. Army troops pose in front of barracks in December of 1907. Federal troops remained in Goldfield, Nevada for three months as the state developed a police force — at the demand of President Theodore Roosevelt — to replace the troops during the Goldfield labor dispute in the winter of 1907-1908. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

On December 6, to the surprise of the Goldfield townspeople, three companies of infantry from the Presidio in San Francisco, including a machine-gun company, arrived by train (FIGURE 5). The *Goldfield News* reported: "There was no reason for the intervention of outside and armed force." As the troops set up their posts on the street corners of town, the mine operators immediately lowered daily wages from $5 to $4 and established the card system of employment, a yellow-dog contract requiring workers to sign a card pledging not to join a union or engage in union organizing, contrary to the anti-card law passed in the Nevada legislature in 1903.[35]

The reduction in wages united the workers against the company. Few returned to work when the mines reopened on December 12, but there were plenty of scab workers who were brought in by rail to take their place. Also that week, Roosevelt received word that Sparks had exaggerated threats to life and property in Goldfield. On December 13, Secretary of State Elihu Root—previously McKinley's Secretary of War and one of the architects of the Dick Act—wired Sparks for more information on the specifics for why troops were requested. The response was not sufficient for the president or the secretary of state. Roosevelt justified the troop activation constitutionally based on the "tenor" of Sparks's message and from the backing of Nevada's two senators and congressman, each saying that "insurrection was imminent" and that "State authorities would be powerless." He added:

> No insurrection has occurred, and seemingly no circumstance exists to justify your now calling on me for action by the troops under the provision of the Constitution. The troops were sent to Goldfield to be ready to meet a grave emergency…and to provide a substitute for the exercise by the State of its police function.[36]

Roosevelt directed a three-man commission to investigate the situation in Goldfield. It met with Sparks on December 17, 1907, at Hotel Casey in Goldfield. There were two questions for Sparks: "First, whether you will or will not convene the legislature?" Sparks answered: "I do not think that I can consistently do it." And then: "There was the suggested appointment of a militia here….What is your view on that?" To which Sparks replied: "Well, it would take considerable time to organize that….I believe a State militia at this time would be disgraceful to the State." The disgrace would come when the new militia refused to act against striking miners. Federal military inspectors had made this observation in 1894 during the railroad strike in Winnemucca and again in 1906 during the troop inspection in Virginia City. On December 20, according to the commission's report: "We do find no warrant for statement that there has been or is a complete collapse of civil authority here." It continued:

> The governor states to us in writing that he will not convene the legislature to consider call for the troops nor will he take the necessary steps to form a State military, as is legally provided for, and that if the (troops) should be withdrawn he will do substantially nothing. In other words, the State authorities propose to do nothing, but wholly rely on the Federal authorities.[37]

The Goldfield labor disputes highlighted Nevada's weakness as a state and its inability to exercise its state-police powers without an organized militia. Nevada could not safeguard life, property, or liberty for its citizens without federal assistance. Some newspapers across the country derided the state for its weakness and sounded the "rotten borough" epithet in condemnation, including the *Courier Journal* of Louisville, Kentucky:

> The strike among the miners at Goldfield, Nev., has disclosed a condition of affairs in that rotten borough state….The facts which this incident expose are briefly these: Nevada, embracing a territory of 110,700 square miles, the fifth State in the Union in point of area, was admitted to membership October 31, 1864, when its population consisted almost solely of miners in camp, and after the lapse of forty-three years conditions have changed so little that its State organization has not sufficiently progressed to provide for the protection of the lives and property of its citizens.[38]

On December 28, Roosevelt presented Sparks with an ultimatum. He demanded that the governor call a special session in the legislature within five days for the purpose of creating a new state law-and-order force that could immediately replace U.S. troops in Goldfield. If he failed to call lawmakers to Carson City in that time, Roosevelt said he would pull federal troops from the town. Sparks urged Roosevelt not to remove troops suddenly, for he now truly feared violence without their presence, given the arrival of scab workers, the lowering of wages, and the refusal of the company to employ union men. The sheriff and Esmeralda County officials, who disagreed with the call for federal troops, also now felt the troops should stay given the rising tensions in the camp. Even the presidential commission that came down against the federal-troop call-up ultimately agreed that the troops should stay until after Ne-

FIGURE 6. U.S. Army troops enter formation in the Goldfield, Nevada desert during ongoing labor disputes in December of 1907. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

vada convened the legislature and created a state police force or militia. In the face of these realities and the announced intention of the president, Sparks issued a call for a special session of the state legislature on December 30. He informed Roosevelt that the session would take place within three weeks. In response, Roosevelt agreed to keep federal troops in place until the legislature raised a force adequate to perform the police powers of the state (FIGURE 6).[39]

The State Police Bill faced an uphill fight during the two-week special session held in Carson City from January 14 to February 1, 1908. While many of the state's newspapers, business interests, and major political figures favored the bill, powerful labor interests in the legislature balked. Lieutenant Governor Denver Dickerson, a Silver Democrat and newspaper publisher in Ely, along with Assembly Speaker Robert E. Skaggs, a Democrat from Elko, encouraged labor interests in the Assembly to vote against the bill. Both Dickerson and Skaggs had worked as miners before entering public office and sympathized with labor interests, who in turn supported their political careers. Patrick McCarran, the Nye County district attorney, also opposed the bill:

> I am very opposed to armed intervention at Goldfield, but if such a thing is necessary at all, I would rather see the regular troops of Uncle Sam kept in Goldfield. The plan of Governor Sparks to equip a body of Texas Rangers and vest them horsemen with power to use their shooting irons at will in the settlement of labor controversies would be more than a state disgrace.

McCarran biographer Jerome Edwards noted that because of his stand against the State Police Bill, "McCarran began gaining a reputation as a dangerous radical" and an enemy of the powerful Wingfield interests in Nevada.[40] As the *Goldfield News* reported: "With all these leaders against the governor and with a strong labor membership, and still stronger labor lobby, there was plenty of work laid out for the advocates of a law and order measure."[41] In the 1890s, both Dickerson and Skaggs rode a Silver Party surge in the state, which the Democratic Party absorbed after 1900. Yet the leading Democrat in the state, U.S. senator Francis Newlands, and his Republican cohort in the Senate, George Nixon, joined the governor to support the State Police Bill.[42]

Governor Sparks opened the special session asking lawmakers to create a bill "either on military lines or on enlarged civil power vested in the State Government that will be equal to the protection of the rights of all the people and maintain the honor and dignity of a sovereign Commonwealth." An obvious answer to the crisis could have been the reconstitution of the state militia, largely neglected since before the Spanish-American War and completely disbanded by Sparks in 1906. But this would also mean adherence to the federal standards of the 1903 Dick Act. The legislature was in no mood to assume the financial burdens of these standards and the long-term commitment of state monies to the militia year to year. The discussion shifted to a temporary state-police force that might draw some labor support, with the backing of Newlands Democrats in the legislature and, of course, the Republicans. The proposed law included the creation of a superintendent of police, appointed by the governor, with an inspector, four sergeants, subordinate police officers, and up to 250 reservists.[43]

The opposition called the bill "class legislation" and argued that the mine operators, not labor, were the enemy of law and order. Assembly Speaker Skaggs wrote:

> State [of Nevada] needs protection from the thugs imported by that lawless organization, The Mine Owners' Association of Nevada, who are now openly defying our laws and have been for some time bringing in professional strike-breakers and thugs to lower the wages and degrade the condition of the miners of Nevada.

While the Senate easily approved the measure, the Assembly, largely spurred on by Skaggs, voted against it. On January 26, in a necessary olive branch to the Assembly, the Mine Operators Association, from its headquarters in the Montezuma Club in Goldfield, wrote to the legislature pledging to abolish the card system and reemploy members of the union. With this pledge, the Assembly voted 31 to 7 to pass the State Police Bill. Unlike Skaggs, most of the prominent members of Nevada's political community ultimately supported it.[44]

The newly created Nevada State Police closely resembled the National Guard in rank, structure, and training. One of the main differences: it included state, not federal, oversight, similar to the state militia before the passage of the Dick Act. Under the new law, the adjutant general, an additional duty of the lieutenant governor since 1873,[45] oversaw distribution of arms, ammunition, payment, uniforms, and badges. When called to duty, the adjutant general set rations and organized transportation for the force. Not coincidentally, Nevada's adjutant general previously handled these obligations for members of the state militia. An appointed superintendent of police and an inspector or "competent military instructor" oversaw day-to-day operations. Added to the drama of the situation was the irony that Denver Dickerson, who opposed the State Police Bill before the special session, was the state's lieutenant governor and now adjutant general in charge of the new state police. Irony upon irony, the sudden death of Sparks in May of 1908, only months after the special session, made Dickerson Nevada's governor.[46]

FIGURE 7. John Sparks became Nevada's tenth governor in 1903 and served in Carson City before dying in office May 22, 1908 at the age of 64. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

News reports following Governor Sparks's death blamed a sickness brought on and worsened by stress from the contentious call for federal troops in Goldfield. The *Carson City Daily Appeal* reported that Governor Sparks became ill on December 7, 1907, from exposure during an "open auto trip from Carson City to Reno" the day after federal troops arrived in Goldfield. According to his doctor, Sparks suffered nerve damage during the exposure to cold air and later lost use of his legs as a result of the condition. In 1908, Sparks attended the special session of the legislature but became bedridden shortly after. According to the *Daily Appeal*: "Governor Sparks is an old man and it is believed that worry incidental to the Goldfield strikes and the subsequent special session of the Legislature are what broke him down." His obituary in the *Reno Evening Gazette* suspected that Sparks was "fatigued from overwork." (Figure 7)[47]

By the first week of March, after three months with federal troops in Goldfield, the first detachment of state police arrived. Within four days, at least 50 state police were stationed in the mining camp "fully equipped for offensive or defensive warfare." Storerooms were rented as barracks for the police and used as their headquarters in Goldfield, "furnished with beds and bedding, and military discipline will be enforced at all times." Even with the state police in Goldfield, the State Police Law still faced a major test at the ballot box in the upcoming general election in the fall of 1908. With both initiative and referendum provisions now in the State Constitution since 1905, Nevadans generated enough signatures in the summer of 1908 to have a referendum on the State Police Act. It was Nevada's first referendum election whereby an act of the legislature was referred to the electorate for an up-or-down vote. The state-police question dominated the 1908 fall elections in Nevada. The referendum outcome was razor-thin, with 9,954 voting in favor and 9,078 against. All of these events occurred two years after the Nevada National Guard disbanded in 1906. In its desperation, Nevada avoided the reestablishment of a state militia. Instead, it chose to create a quasi-military police force that was both temporary and exempt from the requirements and expenses of the 1903 Dick Act.[48]

Recovery of the Nevada National Guard

A serious effort to reorganize the Nevada National Guard began in 1912. Nevada assistant adjutant general Sylvester Day rallied enough volunteers in the state to organize three units of militia. In the first step toward federal recognition, the War Department asked if, instead of companies of infantry, in the light of the fact that "there is now a great excess [of infantry] in the organized militia," there could be raised an engineer battalion, a medical detachment, and a cavalry troop. An amendment in the state's militia law was made during the 1913 legislature reading, "The Nevada National Guard shall be composed of such units, upon the approval of the Governor, as the War Department of the United States may suggest." The amendment gave the federal government power to dictate the lines of reorganization for the Nevada National Guard before its occurrence. Nevada proceeded to reinstate the Guard with the necessary 300 soldiers (100 per representative in Congress) for reorganization. Nevada surpassed that number, with 304 men. The War Department, however, declared the number insufficient: "It is a well-recognized fact that newly mustered militia commence with a greater number of enlisted men" and it was deemed "unwise for the State of Nevada to attempt to meet the requirements of the federal laws" with only four soldiers above the minimum requirement. According to the War Department, well over the minimum requirement was required because it was presumed many men usually failed to make good on their initial promise to volunteer.[49]

Maurice Sullivan, Nevada's lieutenant governor, also attempted multiple times for reorganization during his time as ex officio adjutant general, from 1915 to 1925, but he dealt with an even greater expansion of federal rules and standards difficult for Nevada to meet. The National Defense Act of 1916 placed the National Guard under federal authority and asked the states to maintain a Guard of at least 600. Also in 1916, the War Department asked Nevada to quickly muster 200 men for cavalry service to help put down Pancho Villa's raids across the U.S.-Mexican border. The War Department provided 400 blankets and 200 cots to the armory in Carson City for the anticipated mobilization. According to the adjutant general's biennial report to the governor in 1917: "Many offers were made by men throughout the State to enroll as Volunteers, but there seemed to be an antipathy in every section for the National Guard." The push for reorganization halted as the governor's staff awaited more information concerning the national government's military objectives during and after World War I. In December of 1918, Sullivan wrote in a report to Governor Emmet Boyle: "It is apparent that the United States Government is planning new measures regarding enforced military training [conscription], and it is well to await further plans until it is generally determined at Washington just what action will be taken in that matter."[50]

After the National Defense Act of 1920, the War Department asked Nevada to organize with California and Utah under the 40th National Guard Division with three engineer companies, one hospital company, one military police company, and one balloon company. Nevada failed to respond. In the 1921 legislative session, Sullivan's budget request included $6,500 from the state to cover the costs of facility maintenance, while the federal government would provide payment for the troops, uniforms, and weapons. The legislature ignored the request. Even without a National Guard, the adjutant general's office stayed "very active" in the years after the war, inundated with veteran record keeping and the publication of a Golden Stars book remembering those Nevadans killed in the war. According to Sullivan, "This department has been badly handicapped by reason of the small appropriation made by the last Legislature."[51]

After the war, Nevada's labor movement declined as mining became less of a factor in its economy with the fall of Goldfield and the rise of Reno's divorce economy. Also, in the 1920s, nationwide labor organizations retreated in the decade of Republican and business ascendency. The Progressive Reform Era came to an end with World War I, and the radical labor elements and Socialists who refused to support the war were swept away by wartime patriotism and postwar suspicion about the spread of "red" revolutions. Senator Newlands, Nevada's prominent Progressive, died in late 1917. Anne Martin, Nevada's leading suffragette and a progressive reformer, left Nevada early in the 1920s, disillusioned by the lack of continued progress in the state. She described Nevada as the "ugly duckling, the disappointment, the neglected step-child, the weakling in the family of states" in her 1922 article in the *Nation* magazine titled, "Nevada: Beautiful Desert of Buried Hopes."[52]

In this climate of the interwar period, the prospect of reviving the Nevada National Guard did not disappear. In 1927, Mineral County district attorney Jay White spearheaded the Nevada National Guard's reorganization (FIGURE 8). Nevada governor Fred Balzar asked White to work for him in Carson City as his private secretary. White advised the governor on legal issues, greeted visitors to the Capitol Building, and helped with speech writing. A 1925 law made the governor's secretary the adjutant general. Balzar became an avid supporter of the reestablishment of the Guard. "In spite of vigorous and bitter criticism from organized labor, [Balzar] gave me complete and enthusiastic support to the day of his death," White wrote. In 1928, the 40th National Guard Division established the 40th Military Police Company in Reno with 60 soldiers. This was the first federally recognized Guard units in Nevada history.

FIGURE 8. Nevada's longest serving Adjutant General (1927-1947), Jay White spearheaded efforts for the Nevada National Guard to muster-in the 40th Military Police Company on June 21, 1928, the state's first federally recognized National Guard unit following its disbandment in 1906. Additional units gained federal recognition during the 1930s. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

In 1929, Company D, the 115th Regiment of Combat Engineers, gained federal recognition. White referred to the newly created Nevada National Guard as the first "Federal National Guard" units in the state in nearly a quarter century. White, who enthusiastically embraced his role as adjutant general, remained Nevada's adjutant general even after Balzar's death in 1934. He was instrumental in adding two engineer units, a battalion headquarters, and a state headquarters in Reno in 1935. Before World War II, the Nevada Guard had units in Reno, Winnemucca, Elko, and Las Vegas. It disbanded in the summer of 1941, with its federalization as part of war preparations underway even before the attacks on Pearl Harbor that took the U.S. into World War II. Federal government military installations also returned to Nevada in the interwar years.[53]

While the military presence expanded in Nevada leading into World War II, the Nevada State Police struggled to provide law enforcement. In 1943, the state-police department in Carson City consisted of one paid officer and a secretary. In his opening address to the 1943 legislature in the midst of war, Nevada governor E.P. Carville said: "The State of Nevada is the only State in the Union that does not maintain a State Police force." In his argument for the reorganization of the Nevada State Police, Carville cited a surge in automobile deaths in 1942 and 1943 (209) compared to 1940 and 1941 (148). He also mentioned the lack of a National Guard, federalized at the time for the war effort, in his argument for the state police:

> Our National Guard has been inducted into the regular army. The expense of organizing and maintaining a State Guard under present conditions is prohibitive. The compensation as set by the law for the National Guard would be so negligible that we could not hope to interest valuable or even satisfactory personnel in a State Guard to carry on such duties as it might be required to perform. In my judgment a sufficient State Police force, properly stationed over the State, would be a great aid to the protection and safety of the people of our State.[54]

Again, just as in 1908, the Nevada State Police proposals faced opposition from labor interests. The bill experienced a series of amendments and was not passed until the final day of the session. On that day, pro-labor Assemblymen stormed out of the chamber when the majority declined to remove a provision prohibiting officers from being called to the scene of labor disputes. The provision never made it into the law. In a compromise, the Senate agreed to drop appropriations for the Nevada State Police from $120,000 to $60,000, which was set to expire after two years. By the 1945 legislative session, the newly created "full-fledged" Nevada State Police confiscated stolen cars, reportedly returned thousands of dollars in stolen property, took on the "growing wave of cattle rustling" in the state, and had become a popular law-enforcement agency among Nevada citizens.[55]

As the Iron Curtain fell across Eastern Europe with the beginning of the Cold War, and a hot war occurred in Korea (1950–53), major federal funds poured into the state for the reorganization of the Nevada National Guard. In 1948, the Nevada Army National Guard reorganized with the 421st Anti-Aircraft Artillery Battalion. With the creation of the U.S. Air Force in 1947, Nevada also received an Air National Guard with the 192nd Fighter Squadron in 1948. The 192nd operated out of the old Army Air Base north of Reno in present-day Stead. On March 1, 1951, the 192nd entered federal service for a 21-month deployment, flying P-51 Mustang aircraft in the Korean War. When it returned, it entered a lease agreement with the city of Reno for land south of the airport, at Hubbard Field. In 1949, Nevada governor Vail Pittman underscored the importance of federal funds coming into the state for the Nevada National Guard:

> During the past year, the Federal Government has expended approximately $442,000 and it is estimated that, if State support for administration is forthcoming, the Federal Government will, during the coming biennium, expend approximately $1,000,000 in support of the Nevada National Guard….Although fully financed by Federal funds, these buildings become the property of the State upon completion. Approximately $11,000,000 of Federal property, real and personal, has been turned over to the Nevada National Guard for its use, all of this property being available to the State of Nevada for use in the event of any emergency.

This was also true for other western states, especially California, as the federal government with its burgeoning defense establishments during the Cold War emerged as a major economic multiplier in the growth of the American West during the 20th century.[56]

From Citizen Soldier to Operational Reserve Force

In his 1946 "History of the Nevada National Guard," the still-present Nevada adjutant general, Jay White, remembered the traumatic events in Goldfield, Nevada, in 1907 and 1908 in connection with the Guard. He argued that "carefully organized propaganda sponsored

largely by the I.W.W. and other radical groups" painted the Nevada National Guard as a force that "only existed to 'shoot down the workers' who represented the laboring classes." White blamed the antipathy of labor, but some at the time also blamed the Dick Act for the disbandment of Nevada's Guard in 1906. In a 1907 *Nevada State Journal* commentary, one writer noted:

> What is the matter [with the National Guard]? Some say the labor unions. Bosh. There were as many labor union men as non-union in the guard 15 years ago….No; it isn't the question of unionism that keeps the young men out of the National Guard. It is the Dick Bill—the most absurd measure ever passed by Congress and one which, we think, would be declared unconstitutional if the question were ever brought to the Supreme Court. It isn't the question of unionism that keeps the young men out of the National Guard. It is the Dick Bill…Abolish the Dick Bill and the boys will come back.[57]

The Dick Act was not abolished. From the National Defense Acts of 1916 and 1920 to the National Security Act of 1947, the expansion of federal oversight of the National Guard continued. With the end of the draft and the creation of the all-volunteer force in the post–Vietnam War Era, the federal government increasingly relied on the National Guard for overseas deployments, especially for the nation's wars following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. During this time, the Nevada National Guard, though still small in comparison to other states, has constantly remained in a state of deployment. With increased reliance on the National Guard since 2001, a RAND Corporation study in 2015 argued that the Guard may have lost its "citizen-soldier mystique" in the 21st century—it has moved away from its role as a strategic reserve and into an operational reserve force more like its active-duty counterparts. The role has opened doors for the National Guard in the Pentagon, much to the satisfaction of the National Guard Bureau leadership in Washington, D.C. In 2012, Air Force general Craig McKinley became the first chief of the National Guard Bureau to sit on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as provided for in a law signed by President Barack Obama over the objections of sitting chiefs.[58]

In the early 20th century, opposition from radical labor and the federalization of the state militia proved an impossible hurdle for the Nevada National Guard. Without money and people, and with a formidable foe in organized labor, Nevada failed to meet federal demands of the Dick Act. Today, the National Guard is no longer viewed as an enemy of any economic group or class. It thrives on an outpouring of federal funds in an atmosphere of continued military preparedness for national or state emergencies. In 2018, the federal government appropriated more than $158 million for the Nevada National Guard. Comparatively, in 2018, the state's general fund contributed about $4 million for facility maintenance, money for in-state college assistance to encourage recruitment, and the adjutant general's salary, which has remained the only uniformed state-funded job in the Nevada National Guard. Nevada's governor still exercises power over the Guard as its commander in chief, whether for state activations for natural or man-made disasters inside the state or to comply with federal orders to deploy throughout the world.[59]

NOTES

[1]Robert F. Bruner and Sean D. Carr, *The Panic of 1907: Lessons Learned from the Market's Perfect Storm* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2007), 147; "Report of Special Commission on Labor Troubles at Goldfield, Nev., and Papers related thereto," issued by the 60th Congress, First Session, 26.

[2]"Report of Special Commission on Labor Troubles at Goldfield, Nev., and Papers related thereto," issued by the 60th Congress, First Session, 26.

[3]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1927-1928, 7.

[4]*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 24 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Rick Atkinson, *The British are Coming: The War for America, Lexington to Princeton, 1775-1777 (*New York: Henry Holt, 2019), 33; Americans feared a regular, or standing, army as a result of its experiences with British troops stationed in the colonies during and after the French and Indian War (1757-1763), along with unease about centralized power in a federal republic. Advocates for a strong-standing, federal force, such as Alexander Hamilton and George Washington, felt it brought higher professional military standards than the state militias they believed unreliable and poorly trained. Still, the U.S. Constitution in 1789 only authorized Congress to support a standing army for no more than two years at a time. The 1792 Militia Act provided for the president to call out the militia of the states "whenever the United States shall be invaded, or be in imminent danger of invasion from any foreign nation or Indian tribe," but it left organization and oversight to the state legislatures and governors. The French and Spanish colonies also influenced militia tradition in the New World. These militia had increased state control in comparison to the English colonies. For instance, in New Spain, the crown established a mission, a presidio, and a town in concert.

[5]Myron Angel, *History of Nevada* (Oakland, CA: Thompson and West, 1881), 153; Dan C. B. Rathbun, *Nevada Military Place Names of the Indian Wars and Civil War* (Las Cruces, NM: Yucca Tree Press, 2002), 90; other military posts in Nevada included Fort Ruby (1862-1869), Fort McDermit (1865-1889), and Fort Halleck (1867-1886).

[6]Angel, *History of Nevada*, 987; Box OTAG 0057, Adjutant General Correspondence, letterpress book, 1896-1906, Nevada State Archives, Carson City, Nevada; Nevada Militia Papers. Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada, "Union Blues"; Guy Rocha, "The Many Images of the Comstock Miners' Unions," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 167; Michael J. Brodhead, "Notes on the Military Presence in Nevada, 1843-1988," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 264; Jacob L. Van Bokkelen to Brig. General John S. Mason (May 17, 1864), *War of the Rebellion Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* series 1, vol. 1, part II, 847.

[7]According to article 12 of the Nevada Constitution, the legislature shall organize a militia and authorize the governor to call out the militia "to execute the laws of the state, or to suppress insurrection or repel invasion." On May 10, 1865, the first Nevada legislature organized the state militia in one division and four brigades. The position of adjutant general, an appointed position during the first two years of statehood, became ex officio, or an additional duty, of Nevada's secretary of state from 1866 to 1873. In 1873, it fell to the lieutenant governor's office. It remained an ex officio position throughout the first century of Nevada's history, and, according to a Legislative Council Bureau report in 1948, the position had long been "buffeted around like an old cavalry boot." Nonetheless, the elected official taking on the additional duty was expected to keep records on both the enrolled and organized militia of the state and produce a report to the governor every other year.

[8]The enrolled militia was similar to the 20th century's federal Selective Service System, requiring the registration of all males 18 years of age. At its peak in 1878, Nevada's enrolled militia included a total of 14,878 men, about a quarter of the entire state's population. Conversely, in 1877, the organized militia included nine companies of infantry, one company of artillery, and a total of 650 soldiers. They could hastily mobilize when tensions with Native Americans flared, as in the Bannock War in 1878 in Duck Valley, along Nevada's northern border with Idaho.

[9]*Nevada State Journal*, September 6, 1929.

[10]Ron James, *The Roar and the Silence: A History of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode (*Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 191; Alf Doten, *The Journals of Alfred Doten* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), 822; also referred to as the Ellsworth Zouaves, named after Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, who commanded the Zouave Cadets in Illinois in the years leading up to the Civil War. The Illinois Zouave Cadets were a militia unit known nationally for precision, rapidity, and drill difficulty. The name was derived from the Algerian Zouaves, colonial units of the French Army known for their flamboyance and athleticism. Ellsworth, considered the first Union officer killed in the Civil War, was close friends with President Abraham Lincoln.

[11]Jerry Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard: The Evolution of the American Militia 1865-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 91. The federal government feared the challenges of Indian Wars as settlers pushed westward. While the nation quickly demobilized after the war, veteran advocates such as the Grand Army of the Republic lobbied for veteran benefits, pensions, and soldier homes. New land-grant universities that arose after the Civil War in the West encouraged and required military-training programs.

[12]Lieutenant William R. Hamilton, "The National Guard of Nevada," *Outing* (October 1895-March 1896), 493.

[13]Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1893).

[14]Cooper, *Rise of National Guard*, 55.

[15]Cooper, *Rise of National Guard*, 44, 58-59; Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Debs* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1949), 135.

[16]Guy Louis Rocha, "'Big Bill' Haywood and Humboldt County: The Making of a Revolutionary," *Humboldt Historian* 8 (Spring/Summer, 1985): 18-20; Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report*, 1893-1894, 26.

[17]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report*, 1893-1894, 26.

[18]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report*, 1899-1900, 11.

[19]Phil I. Earl, "Sagebrush Volunteers: Nevadans in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection, 1898-1900" (master's thesis, University of Nevada, 1975), iii.

[20]*Chicago Tribune*, January 28, 1892; *Los Angeles Herald*, August 20, 1888; *Los Angeles Times*, November 15, 1901.

[21]Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[22]Cooper, *Rise of National Guard*, 108-110.

[23]Cooper, *Rise of National Guard*, 131.

[24]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1903-1904, 3; Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1905-1906, 11.

[25]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1905-1906, 3.

[26]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1905-1906, 3.

[27]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1905-1906, 3.

[28]*Reno Evening Gazette*, May 18, 1906.

[29]Sally Springmeyer Zanjani, "A Theory of Critical Realignment: The Nevada Example, 1892-1908," *Pacific Historical Review* 48, no. 2 (May 1979): 259-280; Laura A. White, "History of the Labor Struggles in Goldfield, Nevada" (PhD diss., University of Nevada, 1912).

[30]Russell Elliott, "Labor Troubles in the Mining Camp at Goldfield, Nevada, 1906-1908," *Pacific Historical Review* 19, no. 4 (November 1950): 371; Paul Frederick Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism* (New York: Columbia University, 1919), 191; Elliott, "Labor Troubles," 370; Russell Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Boom* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 116; Elizabeth Raymond, *George Wingfield: Owner and Operator of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992).

[31]White, "Labor Struggles in Goldfield," 50.

[32]William Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood* (New York: International Publishers, 1929), 225.

[33]Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century*, 131.

[34]Sally Zanjani, *Goldfield: The Last Gold Rush on the Western Frontier* (Athens: Ohio University Swallow Press, 1992), 59; Report, Special Commission, 1907.

[35]William D. Rowley, *Reclaiming the Arid West: The Career of Francis G. Newlands* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 107.

[36]Report, Special Commission, 1907.

[37]Report, Special Commission, 1907.

[38]*The Courier-Journal*, December 31, 1907.

[39] Report, Special Commission, 1907.

[40]Jerome Edwards, *Pat McCarran: Political Boss of Nevada*. (Reno: TKpress, 1982), 12; Patrick McCarran and George Wingfield maintained a political rivalry that lasted decades. In 1906, McCarran represented May Baric, who claimed she entered a common-law marriage with Wingfield. Baric claimed Wingfield forced her to have marital relations when Wingfield had syphilis. She lost her case, and Wingfield gained an annulment. Wingfield went on to build a political machine in Nevada. McCarran, denied high-ranking political office, continued to challenge Wingfield, especially in 1927 during a half-million-dollar embezzlement trial involving the state and Wingfield money. McCarran defended the state treasurer and former state controller. He used the case to discredit Wingfield. In 1932, as the Great Depression crushed Wingfield's banks, McCarran rode a Democratic wave into the U.S. Senate, finally obtaining the high-ranking political office he sought. He remained a U.S. senator until his death in 1954.

[41]*Goldfield News*, December 7, 1907.

[42]Rowley, *Reclaiming the Arid West*, 107; Mary Ellen Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada: 1892-1902* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969).

[43]The Journal of the Assembly of the Special Session of the Legislature of Nevada, 1908, 12; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, January 30, 1908.

[44]Journal of the Assembly, 30.

[45]From 1891 to 1893, the governor's private secretary, not the lieutenant governor, served as adjutant general.

[46]*Tonopah Weekly Bonanza*, March 13, 1909.

[47]*Carson City Daily Appeal*, April 4, 1908; *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 22, 1908.

[48]*Reno Evening Gazette*, March 5, 1909; Secretary of the State of Nevada, *Political History of Nevada*, 12th ed., issued by Barbara Cegavske (Carson City: Nevada State Printing Office, 2016).

[49]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1913-1914, 14.

[50]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1915-1916, 8; Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1917-1918, 10; Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, 13th Census of the United States, Statistics for Nevada, 1910, 575.

[51]Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1919-1920, 7; Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1921-1922, 5.

[52] John D. Hicks, *Republican Ascendency, 1921-1933* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960); William D. Rowley, "Into the Narrows of Nevada History," *Halcyon* (Reno: University of Nevada, 1981), 124; Dana R. Bennett, "The Up-Growth of Nevada Industries' Transformation of Nevada's Economy, 1918-1929," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 175; Anne Martin, "Nevada: Beautiful Desert of Buried Hopes," *Nation*, July 26, 1922.

[53]Brodhead, "Military Presence in Nevada," 268; Jay White correspondence papers, Nevada State Archives.

In 1930, the first federal military base in four decades appeared in Nevada with construction of the Naval Ammunition Depot in Hawthorne, Nevada. In 1926, after an explosion killed 50 people and injured hundreds at the naval depot in Lake Denmark, New Jersey, a court inquiry required Navy officials to explore remote locations away from more-populated regions for a new munitions storage. Eventually, the Navy decided on Hawthorne in Mineral County. It soon became the world's largest ammunitions depot, located about halfway between Reno and Tonopah. This was only the beginning of the federal government's 20th-century military presence in Nevada. In 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Las Vegas Bombing and Gunnery Range, now known as Nellis Air Force Base. Additional military installations included the Naval Air Station in Fallon, originally created as an Army Air Corps field in 1942. Also that year, the Army Air Base in present-day Stead, north of Reno, served as a base for air-transport command. Renamed Stead Air Force Base, it was used in the 1960s as U.S. Air Force Strategic Air Command's Advanced Survival School. Chuck Yeager trained during World War II as a fighter pilot at the Tonopah Army Air Field.

[54]*The Journal of the Assembly of the Special Session of the Legislature of Nevada*, 1943, 12.

[55]*The Journal of the Assembly of the Special Session of the Legislature of Nevada*, 1943, 12; *Nevada State Journal*, July 1, 1943; *The Journal of the Assembly of the Special Session of the Legislature of Nevada*, 1945, 13.

[56]Jay H. White, "Brief History Nevada National Guard, 1912-1941," published in Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1945-1946, 29; Adjutant General of the State of Nevada, *Report,* 1948-1949, 5; *The Journal of the Assembly of the Special Session of the Legislature of Nevada*, 1949, 14; Gerald Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 202; David Loomis, *Combat Zoning: Military Land-Use Planning in Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 5.

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[58]Raphael S. Cohen, *Demystifying the Citizen Soldier* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2015), 30; Mark Thompson, "Changing of the Guard," *Time*, January 4, 2012.

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Notes & Documents
Reno's Historic Churches

Darla Potter

Introduction

I met Darla Potter a few months ago at a Nevada Historical Society event called High Noon. She's a friend of our High Noon host, Neal Cobb. When you meet someone new, you never know what they may have up their sleeve. In talking to Potter, I learned that she had compiled a book's worth of information about Reno's beautiful historical architecture. Through research, Reno Historical Preservation Society walking tours, and discussions with friends and family, not to mention all the time and effort she spent taking photos of numerous local places, Potter compiled a manuscript totaling over 200 pages! Her intention was to make a book, but she told me that her energy behind the project had waned some time ago. Knowing she had pounds and pounds of information (literally—it is all printed in large binders), I knew I could potentially print some of her information in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. I asked whether she was interested in publishing her volumes in an alternate format, and luckily, for us and our readers, she was.

In the subsequent weeks, Potter made several trips to my office, bringing me her reams of files. "Reno's Historic Churches" is the first of what will be a series of papers featured in our Notes and Documents section about Reno's historic architecture as provided by Potter and edited by Brian O'Hara, a library docent and the *Quarterly*'s voluntary proofreader. If you find yourself charmed by this subject matter, you'll want to check out "Beautiful Little Edifice: St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Virginia City, 1876–2019," by ZoAnn Campana, which delves into the ups and downs of this religious structure during and after the Comstock Lode. It's equally as fascinating.

Enjoy,
Michelle Roberts
Managing Editor

Photo taken September 2000 by Darla Potter.

Immaculate Conception Church

Location: 590 Pyramid Way,
Sparks, Nevada

Distinctions: Nevada Entries in the National Register of Historic Places—Washoe County-December 23, 1992.

Immaculate Conception, ca. 1907. (*WA-04329, Nevada Historical Society*)

The Immaculate Conception church is one of five non-residential buildings designed by renowned architect Frederic Joseph DeLongchamps that are still standing in the city of Sparks, Nevada. The other four are the Sparks Branch of the Washoe County Library (now the Sparks Heritage Museum), the Robert Mitchell School designed in 1938, and two other schools designed in 1916 and 1938.

Built in 1932, Immaculate Conception Church is a Mediterranean Revival style design. The church replaced the first Catholic Church building in Sparks, which was destroyed by a fire in 1930.

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Trinity Episcopal Church

Location: 200 Island Avenue, Reno, Nevada

The Trinity Episcopal congregation was organized in Reno in 1870 with the first service conducted on October 16, 1870 in a school house at the corner of First and Sierra Streets. The parish was created in February 1873. A Hall of Justice, located on the site of the present-day Washoe County Courthouse, was used for services when the congregation outgrew the school house. The congregation's first church, located on the northwest corner of Second and Sierra Streets, had its first service on December 12, 1875. This church was consecrated on June 8, 1879. A new church was later built at the corner of Fifth and Sierra Streets in June 1894.

In 1923 the congregants purchased the property at the corner of Rainbow and Island Avenue. The crypt/basement was built in 1929 and church services were held there until the present building was built in 1949.

Photo taken October 19, 2000 by Darla Potter.

The architectural design is Gothic Revival and was designed by John N. Tilton, Jr. of Chicago, Illinois, and Ithaca, New York. The interior of the church features stained glass windows, two side chapels, and a Casavant Frères Pipe Organ of magnificent design. Casavant Frères Organ Company of Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec, Canada, has been designing and building organs since 1879, nearly a century-and-a-half in business. It is the largest pipe organ in northern Nevada.

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Above: Children outside St. Therese. Date unknown. Photo from Potter family collection.

Left: Photo of U.S. Bank taken October 1, 2000 by Darla Potter.

St. Therese Church of the Little Flower

Location: 301 Vassar Street, Reno, Nevada

St. Therese Church of the Little Flower parish was established in Reno, Nevada, in 1946. The church's future building was moved to the corner of Vassar Street and Wells Avenue from Reno Army Airport (later named Stead Air Force Base and then becoming Reno-Stead Airport) in March 1948. The building had served as the chapel on the base. The first Mass in the new church was on Easter Sunday, March 28, 1948. The photo featured above shows a celebration of First Communion at the church when it was located at the corner of Vassar and Wells. The exact date of the photo is unknown.

In 1978 the church moved to its present location at 875 East Plumb Lane, on the northeast corner of Plumb Lane and Kietzke Lane. It is known as St. Therese Church, the Little Flower Church, and St. Jude Shrine. The first Mass was celebrated at the new location on July 8, 1978. A granite tablet of the Ten Commandments was moved from Powning Park in Reno to the church on February 18, 2002.

The original church on Vassar Street is now home to U.S. Bank.

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St. Thomas Aquinas Cathedral, Parish House, and School

Location: 310 West Second Street/151 Arlington Avenue, Reno, Nevada

St. Thomas Aquinas Cathedral is of Renaissance and Classical design with Baroque motifs. The cathedral has twin four-story towers. It was built in 1907 and was dedicated on June 21, 1908. A fire damaged the building on December 21, 1909 and the cathedral was partially reconstructed. The rebuilt church, designed by Eugene Schuler, opened in 1910. The large, imposing structure is constructed of brick; the bottom support is rusticated stone.

St. Thomas Aquinas Church, ca. 1910. (*WA-09757, Nevada Historical Society*)

In 1930 and 1931 Nevada's State Architect Frederic Joseph DeLongchamps designed the accompanying two-story brick school building and the parish house. In addition to this commission, DeLongchamps also designed the Washoe County Courthouse, the Giraud-Hardy House, the Gibbons/McCarran House, the Lora J. Knight House, and oversaw the remodeling of the Riverside Hotel. His designs for buildings on the University of Nevada, Reno campus also include the Jones Visitor Center, the Mackay Science Hall, the Thompson Student Services building, and the "old" Gymnasium. During the span of his career DeLongchamps designed in excess of 500 buildings, both commercial and residential, located in Nevada, California, and Florida. The cathedral continues to serve the community well, and its beauty enhances downtown Reno.

Photo taken October 19, 2000 by Darla Potter.

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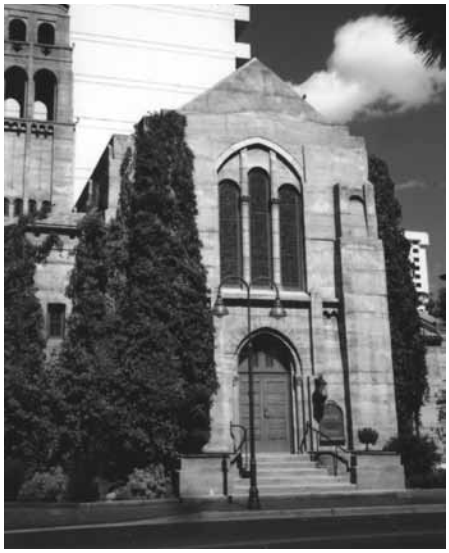

Above: First United Methodist Church, ca. 1986.
(*WA-05843, Nevada Historical Society*)

Left: Photo taken September 12, 2000 by Darla Potter.

First United Methodist Church

Location: 201 West First Street, Reno, Nevada

Distinctions: Nevada Entries in the National Register of Historic Places—
Washoe County-February 24, 1983.

Methodists in Reno built their first church on Sierra Street (between First and Second Streets) just three years after Reno was founded. The church was dedicated on July 30, 1871, and incorporated on November 11th of that year. It is culturally important to Reno history as it was one of the first churches built in early Reno. Because of a growing congregation a larger brick church was built on the same site in 1900.

By the early 1920s, due to more traffic on Sierra Street and a continually growing congregation, the city's Methodists needed a larger church building. As a result, the First United Methodist Church building was constructed on West First Street in 1926. Its cornerstone was laid on March 30, 1926, and the church was dedicated on December 6, 1926.

It should be noted that the church is one of Reno's first poured-concrete buildings. It was designed by the Oakland-based architectural firm of Wythe, Blaine and Olson and is of Gothic Revival Style design.

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Photo taken November 12, 2004 by Darla Potter.

Photo taken August 6, 2019 by Brian O'Hara.

Emmanuel First Baptist Church

Location: 412 12th Street, Sparks, Nevada

Distinctions: Nevada State Register of Historic Places—Washoe County-February 10, 1988.

The Emmanuel First Baptist Church is located in the heart of a largely residential neighborhood in Sparks, which primarily consists of older one-story houses built on small parcel lots. One block to the south of the church, starting on C Street, is the downtown section of Sparks, consisting of the Century 14 Cinema Theatres, John Ascuaga's Nugget, apartment buildings, and many other businesses. The church was located on the northeast corner of 12th Street and D Street.

When built, the church building was one-and-a-half stories and designed in an L-shape. The foundation was constructed of stone, and the building of wood. The steeply pitched and gabled roof are some of the building's most outstanding features. In 2002, a fire tore through rendering it uninhabitable. When the photo was taken in 2004, the Gothic arched windows and doors were boarded up, and the building was in need of repair and restoration.

The building was purchased and renovated by Lepori Construction Company in 2005. The renovation added a floor and now there are three stories inside the structure. In August of 2019, the building was being rented out to businesses and the address was changed to 1188 Victorian Plaza Circle (business tenants suggested that their mail often gets lost).

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Top: Photo taken August 10, 2000 by Darla Potter.

Right: First Church of Christ Scientist, ca. 1950-60s. (*WA-05835, Nevada Historical Society*)

First Church of Christ, Scientist

Location: 501 Riverside Drive, Reno, Nevada

Distinctions: Nevada Entries in the National Register of Historic Places—Washoe County-August 20, 1999. Nevada State Register of Historic Places—Washoe County-December 28, 1982. Reno City Registry of Historic Places established in 1993.

Christian Scientists formed a society in Reno in 1906. They built their first church at 210 Granite Street in Reno in 1924. A larger church, the First Church of Christ, Scientist, was built on Riverside Drive in 1938 and opened in 1939. The building, of Neoclassic style, was designed by noted African-American architect Paul Revere Williams. Mr. Williams was a recipient of the NAACP's highest award, the Springarm Medal. He is noted for some of his other designs as well, many in southern California, which include the Los Angeles International Airport main terminal, the Shrine Auditorium, the Los Angeles County Courthouse, and the Palm Springs Tennis Club.

The First Church of Christ, Scientist underwent restoration and later became the Lear Theatre. The name of the theater is in tribute to Moya Olsen Lear, who generously donated funds to restore the building, and to convert it into a fine arts performance theatre.

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Bethel AME Church

Location: 226 Bell Street, Reno, Nevada

Distinctions: Nevada Entries in the National Register of Historic Places—Washoe County – June 12, 2001.

Built in 1910, the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church is Reno's (and Nevada's) first African-American church. The congregation was initially established in 1907 in Virginia City before later moving to Reno. The church building was remodeled and enlarged in 1941. Changes included the addition of a full basement with a kitchen, furnace, and air conditioning system. An office, church parlor, library, and choir room were also added.

A dedication ceremony for the remodeled church was held on August 15, 1941. A plaque on the church's exterior commemorating the event reads:

1907 BETHEL 1941
A. M. E. CHURCH
NOAH W. WILLIAMS—BISHOP
X. C. RUNYON—P. E.
EMMER H. BOOKER—PASTOR

Top: Photo taken February 16, 2003 by Darla Potter.

Bottom: Bethel AME Church, ca. 2005. (*WA-09273 , Nevada Historical Society*)

In 1993 the congregation moved into a new church building in Sparks, Nevada. The church building on Bell was sold to a non-profit organization, but it was repurchased by the congregation in 2003. On March 26, 2004, a fire damaged most of the interior of the church, but the exterior remained intact.

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Notes & Documents

John C. Fall

Alan R. Wallace

John C. Fall's stone store building has been a landmark in Unionville, Nevada, (a town just outside of Lovelock) since the 1860s. The remains of the store and the Unionville schoolhouse are perhaps the most photographed structures in town. Fall played a major role here in the 1860s and '70s, but he also made significant contributions in Ohio and California before he moved to Unionville, and in Arizona after he left Nevada.

Fall was born in Staunton, Virginia, on October 16, 1810 (Figure 1). He relocated with his mother to Lancaster, Ohio, at the age of 17. He worked at a general store and then became the co-owner of several other stores in Lancaster, most of which were major failures. Fall married Sarah Connell, one of the daughters of Lancaster merchant John Connell, in 1835.[1] They had a daughter, Elizabeth (Lizzie, born in 1837), and two sons, William (1839) and George (1841). He moved to Cincinnati around 1847, and headed west to California in 1849.[2] Fall was a merchant in Sacramento in 1850 before opening a large store in a tent in Marysville. He made a fortune and returned to Ohio to pay off his debts. Sarah died in 1844 before he left for California, and the children lived with Sarah's parents while he was gone. Upon returning to Lancaster, Fall married Jennie Creed, the daughter of another Lancaster merchant, in 1853. He then returned to California, and Jennie and Fall's children joined him in Marysville the next year.

Marysville at the time was a major supply point in the northern Sierra Nevada, including for all of the mining communities. As a result, the John C. Fall & Co. store in Marysville was wildly successful, and Fall was a prominent figure in the town and surrounding area. As noted in the *Sacramento Daily Union* in 1858, Fall "was a man of money—had business associations in various parts of the country, and never failed to make use of those associations."[3] Many Marysville and Sacramento newspaper articles at the time reported that, in addition to running the store, Fall built a toll bridge across the Yuba River in 1853, ran the Merchant's Hotel, was a

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Alan Wallace was a research geologist with the mineral-resources program of the U.S. Geological Survey in Denver and Reno for more than 30 years. He received his Ph.D. from Oregon State University in 1983. Much of his geologic research focused on various parts of Northern Nevada, and he spent part of his childhood living in Unionville and Lovelock. In retirement, he has focused on the history of mining and other topics related to the early history of Humboldt and Pershing Counties.

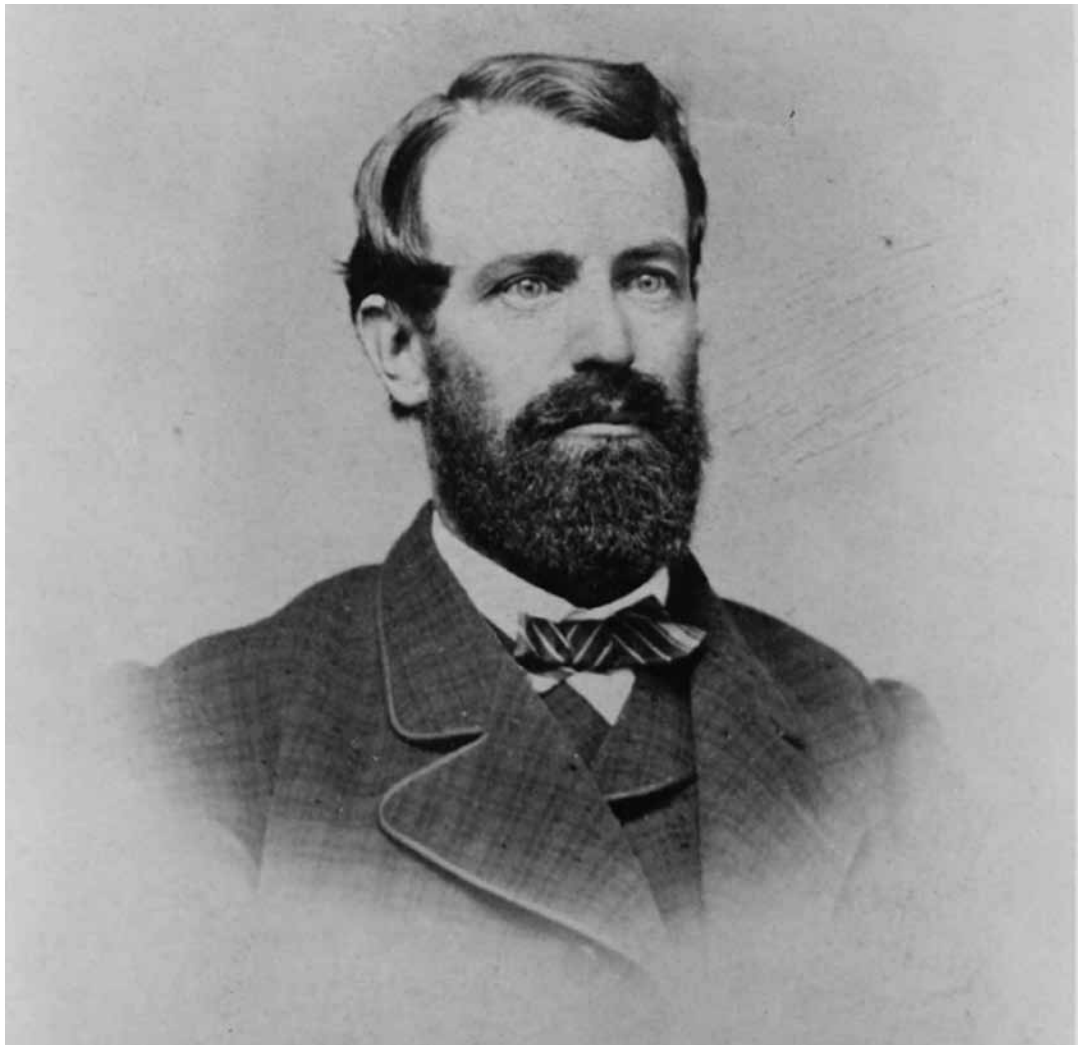

Figure 1. John C. Fall. (*Find A Grave: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/10357543/john-c.-fall)*

town alderman in 1854 and 1855, helped organize the Feather River and Ophir Water Company in 1855, and was head of the reform school and president of the Central California Railroad in 1861.[4] He was also very involved with the state agricultural society and related fairs.

Fall built a Victorian Gothic Revival house in Marysville in 1854 to be the home of his second wife and children when they arrived from Ohio. One of Fall's employees was John H. Kinkead, also from Lancaster, Ohio, who married Fall's grown daughter in 1856, and Kinkead gradually became a full (and wealthy) partner in the firm.[5] John and Jennie Fall had a daughter, Sally, in 1858, but sadly, Jennie died in 1859. The 1860 census in Marysville found the entire family living together: John Fall and his children Elizabeth (Kinkead), William, George, and Sally, as well as John Kinkead and his brother, Charles. The census record showed that Fall was worth about $420,000, John Kinkead $30,000, and Charles Kinkead $25,000, all thanks to the John C. Fall & Co. business. Later that same year, Fall married Margaret Thornton Judge, the sister of a member of the California Supreme Court.[6]

The 1859 discovery of silver in what would become western Nevada's Comstock district and Virginia City spurred a rush of miners from California to that area. One of the major trade routes was from Marysville over Henness Pass and into the new mining boomtown; the town of Carson City formed in the nearby valley to the southwest. Thus, Fall's Marysville store was an instant beneficiary, and he opened up a branch store in Carson City in 1859. He put John Kinkead in charge of the new store in early 1860, starting the path to Kinkead's eventual election as the governor of Nevada.[7] The Marysville store continued to enjoy a robust business, and in September 1860, the *Daily Alta California* reported that Fall received one order for 255,000 pounds of goods.[8] Fall also built a mill in Yankee Hill, north of Oroville (Butte County), California, to process ore.

Unfortunately, John Fall's vast business empire became overextended and failed to collect enough money from its customers to pay its creditors. The house of cards collapsed in the fall of 1861, when a major supplier in San Francisco filed suit against John C. Fall & Co. and another major Marysville merchant.[9] Fall & Co. was forced to suspend business, which was a shock to everyone in the region. His son-in-law used almost all of his personal fortune to pay creditors. But Fall, as the head of the company, was hit even harder. The two men formally dissolved their partnership in November 1861. Creditors (including the City of Marysville) began to file suit, and Fall applied for formal insolvency in early 1862; lawsuits and sheriffs' sales of property continued into 1863.

In the middle of this, the Yankee Hill mill burned to the ground, and the newspapers reported that the fire was likely due to arson.[10] In 1864, Fall (now technically bankrupt) had to petition to be able to sell remaining real estate in Marysville to provide for the education and support of his daughter Sally. The request was granted, and Fall sold six lots in Marysville for her support. Despite the collapse, Fall remained a popular figure in Marysville. During an 1863 visit from Unionville, Nevada (where Fall was living at the time), the *Marysville Daily Appeal* noted his good health and hoped that a "liberal share" of Unionville's success would "fall to his lot."[11]

Prospectors discovered rich silver veins in the Humboldt Range of northwestern Nevada in 1860, and men from Virginia City, Marysville, and California towns from Red Bluff to Susanville streamed toward the new mines and prospects. That led to the formation of several mining camps, including Unionville on the east side of the range, which began in 1861. Fall saw yet another opportunity and moved to Unionville in the middle of 1861, one of the first residents of the new mining camp. Within a year he had ordered the machinery for a large mill which was called the Pioneer. He also started a mercantile store, and bought into a number of mines in the Humboldt Range and nearby areas. The mill (along with another mill that Fall built in 1868) was instrumental in the success of the mining camps, because it readily turned large amounts of raw ore into much-needed money for the miners and thus the merchants.

Similarly, John Fall had become one of the leading citizens and businessmen in Unionville. His initial store moved at least twice, eventually winding up in a large stone building that he constructed in 1871. Fall helped to create the Fall-Price addition in the lower part of Unionville called Lower Town, and he owned a number of other buildings and lots in town. Fall hired Chinese men to work at his large Arizona mine near Unionville in 1868 because their low wages allowed him to produce previously unprofitable ore. Local men formed the Workingman's Protective Union that opposed Chinese labor and forcibly drove forty-six Chinese people out of the area**.** They were able to return within the year, and Fall hired some of them to work at his mill, again because their wages were low.[12]

Fall's businesses and mines in Unionville continued, with various peaks and troughs, into the late 1870s. The mining camps were running out of economic ore, which caused various cutbacks and the exodus of many people. Two of Fall's big mines near Unionville, the Arizona

and the Henning , closed in 1880, which put a number of people out of work. In June of that year, the *Silver State* newspaper noted that several of Fall's creditors had filed suit for various amounts up to $2,500.[13] Fall sent a note to the newspaper a week later explaining his financial situation and said that he "had no doubts" that he would work things out with the creditors. He added that the precipitous drop in the price of silver had cost him $160,000, and that the drought of late 1879 and the related brutal winter left him with no water for the mill and had killed much of his livestock.[14]

Fall went to San Francisco in July to make arrangements to pay back his creditors, and he returned to Unionville a few weeks later to restart his businesses, mines, and mills; the big Arizona mine indeed reopened shortly thereafter. However, Fall departed for the Arizona Territory in November and left Unionville behind; the *Nevada State Journal* later wrote that he left almost penniless.[15] He told the *Silver State* that he had invested $3 million in Unionville over the years, but that the recent downturn in metal prices had been too much to overcome. Other creditors filed a few lawsuits after Fall's departure (one of which included the Bank of California as a codefendant, which was Fall's San Francisco financial backer), but the failure in Unionville did not generate nearly the amount of legal activity as that of Marysville 20 years earlier. Former U.S. senator and California governor Newton Booth, of the wholesale grocery company Booth & Co. in Sacramento, bought the Arizona mine in 1881 and tried to do some mining over the next decade. Two other men bought Fall's two mills in 1884 and began to process tailings from the Arizona mine. Both endeavors were small in scale and weren't enough to bring the town back to life. In 1884, a fire swept through the main part of Unionville, and Fall's store building and many structures in the same area were reduced to ashes save for their stone walls.

John Fall's next stop was Willcox, in southern Arizona Territory. This area had been part of Mexico until the 1853 Gadsden Purchase, and a large part of the population was thus of Mexican heritage. The Apaches were trying their best to rid their country of the white invaders, and the latter were trying their best to put down roots and discover rich ore deposits. Daring prospectors venturing east from Fort Huachuca in 1879 discovered the first veins at Tombstone, southwest of what would become Willcox. Construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad traversed the region in 1880, and the railroad town of Willcox quickly became one of the area's major supply points. The town promptly boomed (with the famous O.K. Corral gunfight taking place in 1881), and miners created other mining districts in the surrounding region.

What took Fall to Arizona Territory is unknown. A. P. K. Safford, a former Humboldt County recorder and likely a friend of Fall's, became the governor of Arizona Territory in 1869 and served into the late 1870s. He began to invest in the Tombstone mines after he left office. Similarly, George G. Berry (a former district judge in Humboldt County) and a few other Humboldt County men moved to Tombstone at about the same time that Fall headed south. Newspaper articles and letters from Safford may have been enough to encourage them to try the new mining frontier. In January 1881 the *Silver State* wrote that Fall, then 61 years old, was "engaged in mining near Willcox,"[16] and it noted in 1882 that the rough life led to a serious illness that forced "the old gentleman" back to San Francisco to recover.[17]

Fall returned to Willcox in 1882 and opened a mercantile store next to the railroad tracks. He hired Pablo Soto, a former Tucson school teacher, to be a bookkeeper that year. Soto and his brother Mariano were born northeast of San Francisco, and their family had roots in the Bay Area that stretched back two generations, when the area was still part of Mexico. Soto's expertise grew to the point where Fall took the two on as partners, renaming the firm Fall & Soto Brothers.[18] Fall was a merchant and registered voter in Willcox until late 1893. That year the *Nevada State Journal* wrote that Fall had amassed a fortune in Arizona.[19] At age 83, he might

have been ready to retire and possibly had continuing health issues. He sold his share of the business to the Soto brothers (who went on to expand with another store and a bank) and returned to California. John C. Fall died in San Francisco on December 11, 1894, and he was buried in Marysville, sharing a plot and headstone with his second wife, Jennie, who had died in town in 1859.

John Fall's family followed various paths after they were together in Marysville in 1860. The oldest son, William, lived in Carson City in 1860 and then became a public notary in Mono County, California, in 1861; nothing about him was found in public records after that. George was with his father in Unionville in 1862, left for Los Angeles to be a stage agent and then a county clerk in 1870 and 1871, and returned to live in Unionville for much of the 1870s. He died in Carson City in 1880. Elizabeth Fall, as noted earlier, married John Kinkead and was with him through travels to Alaska (where they adopted a native Alaskan boy), the Nevada governorship, and through later life.

Sally Fall (the youngest child and Fall's only child with Jennie) was educated in Europe and married Frederick Rodgers in 1882. Rodgers served in the U.S. Navy and became a rear admiral. Much of their life was spent on the East Coast, including Washington, D.C., and New York. Margaret, John Fall's third wife, appears to have spent much of her time in Marysville and San Francisco. She was very close to her sister and other family members, and the few items about her found in California newspapers included mention of them together, along with young Sally. Margaret died in the mid-1900s. How much time any of them except for George spent in Unionville or even Willcox is unknown. Humboldt County newspapers mentioned family visits on occasion, and Margaret was living with John at the time of the 1875 census in Unionville, although that might have been a short-term visit. John Fall might have been on his own for much of the time after 1860 until his death.

Notes

[1]Wiseman, C.M.L., *Centennial History of Lancaster, Ohio, and Lancaster People* (Lancaster, OH: C.M.L. Wiseman, 1898).

[2]Wiseman, *Centennial History*.

[3]*Sacramento Daily Union*, February 19, 1858.

[4]Peter J. Delay, *History of Yuba and Sutter Counties, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1924).

[5]Janice Hoke, "Elizabeth (Fall) Kinkead," Nevada Women's History Project website, accessed December 30, 2018, https://www.nevadawomen.org/research-center/first-ladies/elizabeth-fall-kinkead.

[6]*Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 22, 1860.

[7]Janice Hoke, "Elizabeth (Fall) Kinkead," Nevada Women's History Project website, accessed December 30, 2018, https://www.nevadawomen.org/research-center/first-ladies/elizabeth-fall-kinkead.

[8]*Daily Alta California*, September 13, 1860.

[9]*Sacramento Daily Union*, October 7, 1861; *Daily Alta California*, October 8, 1861.

[10]*Daily Alta California*, October 10, 1861.

[11]*Marysville Daily Appeal*, March 3, 1863.

[12]Rossiter Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870); Valentine, David, "American Canyon: A Chinese Village," in *Community in the American West*, ed. Stephen Tchudi (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999), 377.

[13]*Silver State*, June 29, 1880.

[14]*Silver State*, July 2, 1880.

[15]*Nevada State Journal*, October 24, 1893.

[16]*Silver State*, January 24, 1881.

[17]*Silver State*, February 9, 1882.

[18]Pablo Soto House, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service website, accessed January 18, 2019, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/7bfc13a9-8988-4cea-bc39-3f9c0d3fa199/.

[19]*Nevada State Journal*, October 24, 1893.

Notes & Documents

UNLV Libraries Special Collections and Archives Puts Las Vegas Entertainment History Online

Su Kim Chung

Although the UNLV Libraries Special Collections and Archives has added many thousands of documents and photos to its digital collections over the past ten years, rapid-capture technology has made it possible to undertake large-scale digitization projects that have allowed this resource to place several significant archival collections online in their entirety. This enables remote researchers the same opportunity to page through digitized documents as an in-person user might flip through a folder of physical documents. The documents are also full-text searchable and can be downloaded as JPEGs for reference. The three collections chosen for this exploratory large-scale digitization project, funded by a grant from the Library Services and Technology Act, focus on the history of entertainment in Las Vegas. They provide researchers with a wealth of documentation on the overall role that entertainment played in the development of the Las Vegas hotel-casino resort from the 1950s through the 1970s, as well as detailed information on the headliners and spectacular shows that gave the city its reputation as the entertainment capital of the world.

Fans of the Rat Pack undoubtedly will be thrilled that they can peruse dozens of images of Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, and Sammy Davis Jr. as part of the Sands Hotel public-relations records, which document the hotel's promotional and publicity efforts from 1952 to 1977. During its heyday, the 1950s and '60s, the Sands Hotel's elegant Copa Room was considered one of the top entertainment spots on the Strip. The Sands' president at the time, Jack Entratter, spared no expense to bring in musical performers and comedy stars from Broadway to Hollywood. The famed Copa Girls added their own brand of wholesome beauty and elegance to the stage, while the Antonio Morelli Orchestra provided a lush musical background for the hotel's showroom audience. In addition to hundreds of black-and-white photos of headliners, Copa Girls, and visiting celebrities, the collection contains images of the hotel and casino as well as conventions and other special events held in its banquet rooms. Documents include correspondence from the files of Entratter and publicity director Al Freeman, plus programs, newsletters, press releases, posters, and more. The collection provides a rich and detailed look at the entertainment and publicity efforts of the hotel-casino scene that typified the glamorous experience guests expected from a visit to Las Vegas. The Sands Hotel and Casino donated the records to the UNLV Libraries

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Special Collections and Archives in 1980. For researchers interested in the history of the iconic Las Vegas showgirl, her dazzling costumes, and the fantastic productions that made her famous, the Donn Arden papers (MS-00425) and the Jerry Jackson papers (MS-00573) provide colorful and fascinating evidence of this unique slice of entertainment history. Donn Arden (born Arden Carlisle Peterson in 1917) started his show-business career as a dancer in St. Louis speakeasies but quickly moved on to choreography, organizing his first line of dancers during the late 1930s. In the years following World War II, his partnership with Margaret Kelly (aka Miss Bluebell) and his work at France's Lido de Paris nightclub cemented his reputation as a master of the cabaret genre. Arden brought his considerable talents to Las Vegas in the early 1950s, beginning at the Desert Inn and then moving on to the Stardust and MGM Grand, where he became the undisputed king of the production-show style that combined beautiful showgirls swathed in feathers and rhinestones, with elaborate sets and staging.

The Donn Arden papers were donated by Walter Craig, Arden's longtime partner, in 2001. They document nearly 50 years in show business, from his beginnings as a "hoofer" in St. Louis to his work on French production shows to Las Vegas shows such as "Hallelujah Hollywood" and "Jubilee!" The records include photos, programs, news clippings, costume and set designs, storyboards, and production notes from the 1930s through the 1990s. Other unique documents include invoices for feathers, sheet music, lyrics, and scrapbooks from numerous editions of the Lido de Paris, "Hello America," "Pzazz 68," "Hello Hollywood, Hello," and other Arden creations. The collection also contains correspondence and fan mail from both friends and tourists who were entranced by his incredible shows.

Similar to Arden's professional beginnings, Jerry Jackson started his career as a professional dancer and even danced in some of Arden's shows as a young college student working his way through UCLA in the 1950s. Jackson continued to perform with the Larry Maldonado Dancers in the early 1960s, and on television shows, but he found his true calling as a choreographer by the mid-1960s. One of his first big jobs was working as a choreographer at the centennial of the Folies Bergère in Paris in 1967. Jackson worked on a number of shows before he took over as creative director of the Tropicana Hotel's edition of the "Folies Bergère" in 1975, a position he would hold until its closure in 2009. The multitalented Jackson not only developed the choreography and staged the shows, he wrote lyrics and music and also designed the costumes from 1983 onward. A self-described "creative compulsive," Jackson conceived and produced shows in London, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Australia during a career that spanned close to five decades.

Jackson donated his papers to the UNLV Libraries Special Collections and Archives soon after the closure of the Tropicana's "Folies Bergère" in 2009. It is the most complete archive of production-show documentation ever donated to Special Collections and Archives. Correspondence, invoices, contracts, production notes, budgets, photographs, programs, press releases, and much more make up this rich archive. In addition to finished costume-design drawings, Jackson's papers are unique in that they also contain several rough sketches of each design, allowing researchers to have a better understanding of his creative process. The collection also contains set designs by well-known production designer Charles Lisanby, as well as costume mock-ups, fabric samples, and sequined appliqués from the 1960s Folies Bergère shows.

All of the individual documents in these collections can be viewed online via the UNLV Libraries' digital-collections website under "entertainment" at http://d.library.unlv.edu/digital/collection/ent, but they are also linked to the folder descriptions in their collection-finding aids as a means to provide users with the same context they would experience viewing the documents in person. [The Sands Hotel public-relations records can be accessed using (MS-00417), the Donn Arden papers using (MS-00425) and the Jerry Jackson papers using (MS-00573)].

Essay
A Hike into History

Donald Delegal

Like many people here in the Reno area, I like to hike. With all our open space and wonderful history, it's fun to get out and explore our beautiful state. This is about one hike in particular that a friend of mine and I took recently. It combines a fairly easy ramble, relatively flat and about eight miles round trip, with some fascinating points of interest, namely Hole-in-the-Wall on Steamboat Ditch Trail and a U.S. Air Mail arrow.

Accessing and Exploring the Trail

Take Highway 80 west out of Reno to the West McCarran Boulevard exit. Head south on McCarran until you reach the stoplight at Mayberry Drive. Turn right on Mayberry to Plateau Road. Go left on Plateau Road, and follow it to Woodchuck Drive. Once you make a right on Woodchuck, you'll immediately see a parking area to your right. The trailhead is just behind the parking area.

Head north on Steamboat Ditch Trail. After about two and a half miles you'll see a sign for Tom Cooke Trail on the right. If you go that way, you'll end up down by the Truckee River, near the Patagonia Outlet. It's a nice hike but not the one I'm referring to.

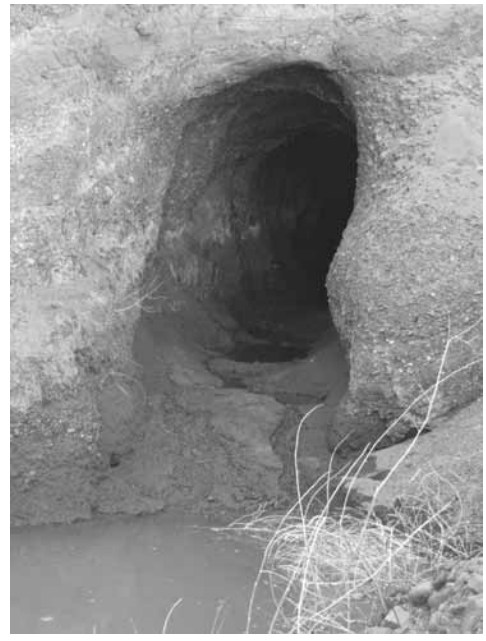


Figure 1. Hole-in-the-Wall, 2014. Photo by Don Delegal.

Continue on for another one and a half miles along Steamboat Ditch. You will see where the water comes through a tunnel opening on the side of the mountain—this is referred to as Hole-in-the-Wall (Figure 1). The tunnel was built through the hill nearly 140 years ago to allow water from the Truckee River to flow to farms to the south and east. It's a dark tunnel, estimated to be a quarter of mile long, and when you enter you can just see the light at the other end.

But before I tell you more about our hike, let me take you back in history.

Steamboat Ditch

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, farmers in the area around Reno needed water to irrigate their crops, particularly in the dry summer months. As a result, they commissioned Chinese laborers to dig a ditch from the Truckee to their lands. This became known as Steamboat Ditch. It starts near the border of California and Nevada near the current location of Interstate 80. Water is diverted from the river and carried by flumes and canals to an area south of Reno near the intersection of South Virginia Street and Mt. Rose Highway. These flumes can still be seen today while driving west on this stretch of Interstate 80.

There are actually 15 irrigation ditches in the Truckee Meadows area, and ten remain in active use today. Of these, Steamboat Ditch is one of the longest, at 32 miles, and carries by far the most volume of irrigation water, averaging 17,500 acre-feet per year.[1]

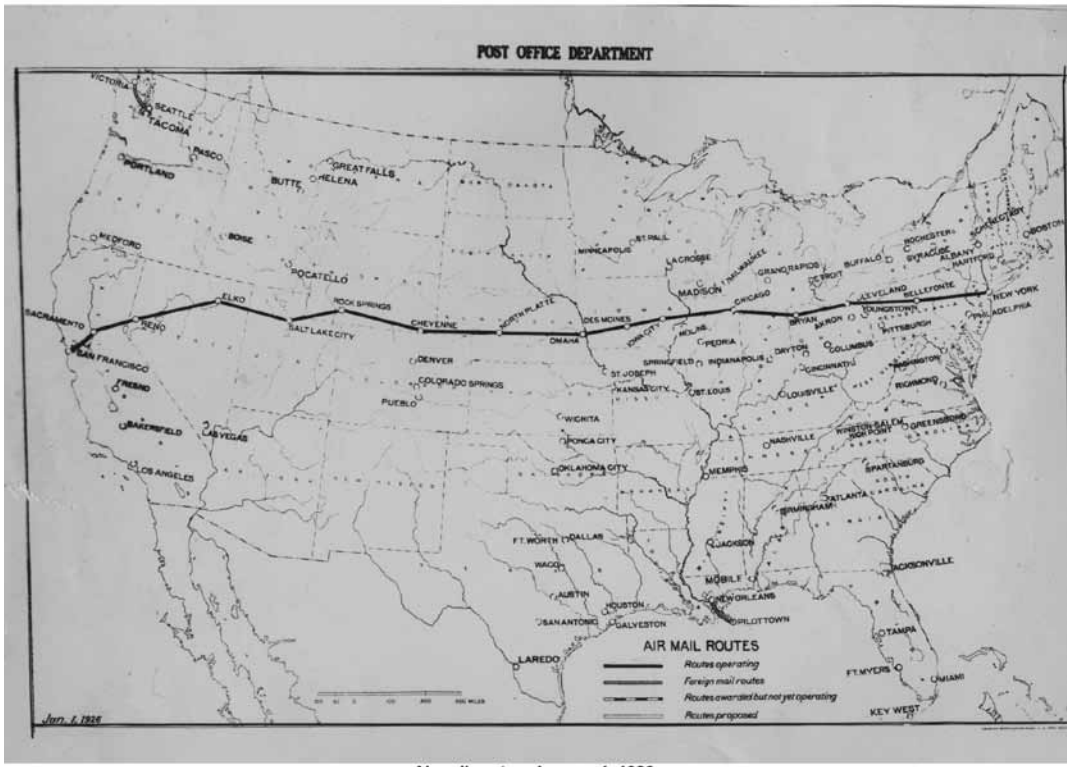
As the Reno area was first being settled in the second half of the nineteenth century, most ranches got their water by buying shares in a ditch company. About 130 miles of ditches were dug in and around the burgeoning city. The last ditch company, the Truckee & Steamboat Irrigating Canal Company, was formed in 1877, and it opened the Steamboat Ditch on July 1, 1880.[2] It took two years and $40,000 to build.[3]

U.S. Air Mail Arrow

If you continue to hike about 200 yards farther along the Steamboat Ditch, you'll come to another hillside. Climbing it and bearing right, you'll reach a plateau, and at the end of this are the remnants of a large concrete slab in the shape of an arrow, along with a survey marker from the U.S. Department of the Interior (Figures 2 and 3). This arrow is one of many that

Figure 2. U.S. Air Mail arrow, 2014. Photo by Don Delegal.

Figure 3. Survey marker, 2014. Photo by Don Delegal.



Airmail routes, January 1, 1926

, 2,680-mile long transcontinental airmail route linking New York with San Francisco was completed in 1920. Initially, mail was flown by day and arried on trains at night. One coast-to-coast trip took about 3 ½ days, which was nearly a day quicker than the all-rail time. Regular service with night ying began in 1924, reducing the trip to about 33 hours. Airmail routes from Seattle to Victoria, British Columbia, and from New Orleans to Pilottown, ouisana, were foreign airmail routes, operated under contract — they expedited mail delivery to foreign-bound steamships.

FIGURE 4. Air Mail routes. Courtesy of the U.S. Postal Service online archives.

were placed on the ground along the transcontinental airmail delivery route of the U.S. Air Mail Service in the 1920s and '30s. These arrows helped pilots navigate as they flew across the U.S. The large arrows (a standard size of 57 feet long and 11 feet wide) could be seen from the air during the day. Towers equipped with beacon lights were used to guide the pilots at night.

"These guys were flying in all kinds of weather," said Ben Scott, a retired Reno auto executive and pilot who has twice made airmail commemoration flights across the country in his 1930 Stearman 4E Speedmail biplane. "Going through the canyons, they were practically running their toes down the river. So the arrows were there to help them navigate the route."

The Airmail route extended from New York to San Francisco (FIGURE 4). Intermediate stops along the route included Bellefonte, Pennsylvania; Cleveland, Ohio; Bryan, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; Iowa City, Iowa; Des Moines, Iowa; Omaha, Nebraska; North Platte, Nebraska; Cheyenne, Wyoming; Rock Springs, Wyoming; Salt Lake City, Utah; Elko, Nevada; and Reno, Nevada. The Steamboat Ditch arrow is one of the arrows that were used near Reno.

In an article in the *Reno Gazette-Journal*, Guy Clifton spoke with Fernley resident Ed Rajki about a nearby airmail arrow. Rajki stated "Eight years ago, I stumbled across information

concerning the airmail route while trying to figure out what an old airway beacon near Fernley was used for. Since that time, my curiosity has fueled a fascination with the history of the route, and I've identified 23 sites associated with the transcontinental route across Northern Nevada." Rajki then told Clifton, "Something should be done to preserve the historical aspects of these sites. I've seen at least one of these locations vandalized to the point that I am concerned about its future."[4]

The End of the Road

This is a fun hike, not too difficult, and a great way to spend a summer afternoon. Greater Reno, and in fact all of Northern Nevada, have some wonderful places to explore. I urge you to get out and discover this marvelous state.

Notes

[1]Kennedy/Jenks Consultants, *Irrigation Ditches in the Truckee Meadows*, 2003 (a report prepared for the City of Reno Regional Water Planning Commission).

[2]Mella Harmon, "Bringing Water to the Truckee Meadows, The Ditches," *FootPrints*, Spring 2004, 2.

[3]Linda Sievers, "Viewing the Ditches Today, Walking the Steamboat," *FootPrints*, Spring 2004, 3.

[4]Guy Clifton, "Interest Aplenty in Historic Air Mail Arrows," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, February 11, 2014, 1C, 3C.

Essay
The Last Hike

Steve Pellegrini

Over the years, Art Shipley and I explored just about every canyon, peak, and valley in our corner of Nevada. Explored them on foot. Enjoyed the subtle pleasures they afforded. The Singatse Hills, the Wellington Hills, the Wassuks, Clan Alpine, the Pine Nut Mountains. We left lots of tracks in those places. The afternoon sun warmed us. The Nevada desert inspired us. But I recall one outing in particular because it's representative of most of the others. It was a day we spent at Sportsman's Beach, a magical place on the East Walker River, south of Yerington. There the river glides under willows, and memories hover, waiting to be made. Art's old yellow Ford Bronco was parked in the shade alongside the water (Figure 1). It had been a long hike. The two of us sat on the tailgate, enjoying a beer and a celebratory cigar, the perfect end to yet another hike, this time a 12-mile excursion into the Pine Grove Mountains. Rough country, this river canyon. The Walker threads its way through a narrow, rocky gorge, and the slopes on either side rise nearly a thousand feet, rise almost straight up from the canyon bottom. It's cougar country, rugged and remote. We watched a small band of bighorns come down for a drink from Sherman's Mine. One ram and a couple ewes. Either they didn't see us or were too thirsty to care.

Figure 1. Art Shipley's Bronco at Sportsman's Beach along the East Walker River, south of the Wovoka Wilderness. All photos in this essay were provided by the author.

In all likelihood, other people would have found our day uneventful. But to us, it was a marvel. Perhaps it could be said that it didn't take a lot to entertain us, but entertained we were. And we found treasures, artifacts left by others who'd passed here before us: rusted cans, the head of an ax, fragments of glass turned purple by years of sun. Obsidian and chert debitage told yet older stories, stories of a different culture, of people who lived here when mammoths and American cheetahs roamed these hills. These things we enjoyed seeing. And we talked and wondered about them over that afternoon beer, reliving the day and savoring the moments. Because we knew, even then, that time is a running hourglass.

The old Bronco, dappled in cottonwood shade, fired up reluctantly and bounced out over East Walker Road, gearing down and climbing a last hill as the sun set behind Pine Grove Ridge. Things Art had collected over the years on his East Walker route clattered in the back—hammers, chains, wrenches, and myriad other items that bounced off people's vehicles as they chattered over the corduroys. Art had driven out here over a million miles, hauling ranch kids to and from school. He wore out plenty of busses between Yerington and the Flying M Ranch. Over many miles and 30 years, he came to know, intimately, the East Walker and its people: ranchers, miners, cowboys, and some real pioneers. I reveled in his stories about them and his accounts of the adventures he'd had along this stretch of desert and riparian corridor. I tried hard to learn all I could, because Art was first and foremost my teacher.

I first met Art in 1958 at Yerington Middle School. He was a new teacher, the youngest on the faculty, and I was a seventh grader. He dropped into our science class one afternoon because our teacher had asked him to tell us about dinosaurs. I was mesmerized. I knew before he'd spoken ten words that this was a man I wanted to emulate. I was riveted by his knowledge and charisma. The problem was, he was everyone's favorite. Students, parents, teachers, everyone clamored for his company. Alas, Mr. Shipley had no idea that one unremarkable kid in the back row had been so inspired. The following year, he was both my science and Nevada-history teacher. It was the beginning of a lifetime fascination with these subjects. Nevada history and science became my obsessions. They remain my academic focus to this day.

After finishing college, I decided to become a teacher myself. And, of course, my motivation was the inspiration Art had given me that day as a seventh grader. In the fall of 1974, my most ambitious dream came true: I had the good fortune to land a teaching job at Yerington Middle School, where I was assigned to teach science, math, and Nevada history. Best of all, I was given the classroom next to Art's. It's no exaggeration to say my education began the day I started working there. Art was the best mentor ever. I was inspired anew by his professionalism, the depth of his knowledge, and especially his devotion to students. By and by he learned that we shared many of the same interests. We forged a bond of friendship over our shared love of Nevada, the desert, and human and natural history.

Art took me under his wing as a novice teacher. He was ever present to answer my questions and get me past all the frustrations new teachers experience. We shared the many responsibilities of providing the best science education possible for our students. I watched him carefully and endeavored to replicate what he accomplished in his classroom. As he was with his students, he was with me, encouraging and without judgment. In lax moments, we talked about things we enjoyed doing in our own time and learned we had similar interests. Inevitably, we began to spend time together outside of school. At first it was awkward for me, because of the tremendous respect I had for him. Call it hero worship or whatever, but I couldn't believe that, of his huge following, he had chosen me to become his friend.

As time passed and our friendship grew, I learned things about Art that he shared with few people. First, while not a religious man, he was a spiritual person. He saw beauty in the

FIGURE 2. The author (left) and Shipley in 1983 after a hike to the top of Boundary Peak in the White Mountains.

natural world, and in a sense, nature was his religion. He had little patience with those whose activities desecrated wild places or who took life irreverently. He had little regard for those who tore up the land with off-road vehicles. He was happiest when he was in the hills, hiking and exploring the outback of his native Nevada. I enthusiastically agreed, and we bonded over these things (FIGURE 2). Of course, that didn't mean Art and I felt the same about absolutely everything. In fact, occasional differences of opinion added to our shared interests and provided no small amount of merriment to our outings.

Art, for one, saw more value in school athletics than I care to attribute to them. After years of debate, he finally concluded that appreciating it had to be genetic. He decided that the "game gene" was a strip of DNA I didn't possess. I posited that this was evolutionary enhancement. He proclaimed it a biochemical aberration. And then there were things about the natural world we had different interpretations about, like beaver and elk. In my view, beavers are not indigenous to the western Great Basin, and I argued that the introduction of elk and other exotic species into places where they currently don't exist or perhaps have never existed is bad resource management. Art disagreed on both accounts. Subjects such as these generated lively discussions and friendly ribbing. Elk have been here forever, he insisted, so why not bring them back? When I asked where he got his information, he cited the name of the town of Elko. "If there weren't elk, why did they name it that?" he said. I told him it was my understanding that it's not at all clear where the name Elko came from. "That makes no sense," he countered. "If there weren't elk there, wouldn't they have called it something like Deero?" Of course, we both knew we were making this up as we went along. It's easy to create your own facts over a cold beer and far from anyone who might know better. Nevertheless, I've never before or since enjoyed the company of a friend whose perceptions of the world are so akin to mine. Our shared views on politics, religion, the environment, and almost every other topic forged a strong bond. We agreed on all the big things.

Over the years, as the miles we logged in the hills grew, we established protocols for our hikes. One week we'd take my old Ford pickup; the next time, Art would drive. Although we traded off driving duties, it always seemed that Art's Bronco did most of the hard work. When the road was rocky and horrible, more often than not it was the old Bronco that carried us along. The driver brought the sweet rolls, and the passenger furnished the cigars and the first beer. For some reason, it became taboo to tell anyone beforehand, even our wives, where we were going. Looking back, I think it had to do with not wanting someone looking after us. And then, too, we usually didn't know ourselves where we were going—at least not until we were in the vehicle and headed out, though our general destination was pretty predictable. "Where to?" one of us would ask. "South, into that East Walker country," was the inevitable answer. For over 40 years the ritual remained the same. Sweet rolls and coffee on the way out, a couple beers and a stogie on the tailgate at day's end. And always, Art capped the trip by declaring, "Who the hell needs heaven? This right here is all the heaven I need," stated as he surveyed the Nevada hills we had come to know so intimately.

There were rules, mostly unspoken but mutually agreed upon. Things such as: never drive off the road; if you carry it in, carry it out; and if the guy before you was careless in that regard, tote his trash out, too. We both carried handguns in case we got separated or somehow became disabled and needed to signal for help. Just in case. But there was also a rule that you never ever shot at a living thing. We believed that all life is precious, including the life of every rattlesnake we encountered over the years. In fact, each time we encountered a snake on the road, any kind of snake, we stopped and chased it off, back into the desert where it wouldn't run afoul of a car.

One of the remarkable things we came to enjoy about Nevada was the perception that, realistically or not, we were exploring virgin country. And this perception was what we liked best. Any indication that someone might have been there before us tended to put a damper on our day. But in the established protocol of less-traveled places, if we encountered someone in trouble, as we occasionally did, we stopped and rendered assistance. In such cases, it mattered less that someone was there before us than that we'd happened to come along in time to help.

The Nevada desert is littered with things that catch the eye—an especially pretty rock, a discarded horseshoe, an unusual beer or soda can, and a wealth of other things whose function was a mystery to us. Nothing important, but interesting just the same. For years, Art and I collected such things as we walked along. Usually it was one or, at most, a couple little treasures per trip. Inevitably, when we got back to town, he'd tell me to put them in my junk pile. Over time this collection grew to a considerable size. Sometimes I dig through it on days when I'm stuck at home—a square nail, a chunk of obsidian, a rusted can, a deer antler. They lie scattered in a special place in my yard. Each one invokes a memory of a hike, a day of sunshine and good company somewhere along the East Walker, the smell of sage, and the comforting sound of the desert's silence. Art called it my junk pile. I call it my treasure pile. They are treasures, each piece recalling a day, a place, a time when we were young and no hill was too steep.

Of course, there are treasures one does not remove from the hills. Things such as historical and cultural artifacts to be left where they are. And there are places of immeasurable value, the land itself. One such place is a small playa far back in the Pine Grove Mountains. Art and I stumbled upon it one summer day more than 35 years ago. It is a place with such spiritual presence that, for us, it became the epicenter of this mountain range. We called it Ring Lake. Several years after we found it, we were presented with an opportunity. An organization called Friends of Nevada Wilderness asked if we would spearhead a community effort to have the Pine Grove Range, or at least part of it, designated as Lyon County's first official wilderness. With Ring

FIGURE 3. Shipley and Numu elder Vernon Rogers the day tribal elders held a Native blessing of the newly designated Wovoka Wilderness.

Lake as our inspiration, we were eager to do what we could. After many disappointments and a lot of politicking, we eventually won the support of local government officials and enough of our fellow citizens to push the idea through. Signed into law by President Obama, the Wovoka Wilderness[1] now protects some 58,000 acres in the Pine Grove Mountains (FIGURE 3).

Just as I recall the first hike we took together, I also remember the last one. It wasn't supposed to be the last one. No one is ever ready for the last one. No one wants to even admit there will one day be a last anything. But humans are burdened with such knowledge. It's a curse we must endure. It speaks of an inevitability we do our best to ignore. A week before Christmas in 2017, Art and I visited the Pine Grove Mountains, because that was our favorite place. The vast majority of our hikes were within a hundred-mile radius of home, and most of those were in this mountain range (FIGURE 4). These hills inspired us for reasons that others found hard to understand. Some places actually impart feelings, project moods of their own. One doesn't usually find it on the first or even the twentieth visit, but if it's there, it eventually surfaces. It's golden warm on some days and cold and foreboding on others. It manifests itself in the language of sunshine, wind, and silence. Sometimes it tells you you're welcome there, and sometimes it tells you you're not. The Pine Grove Mountains are such a place. Mystery resonates here, and the call of pine crows is the only disturbance permitted to intrude. Eagles hang on the thermals, and the exhalations of piñons perfume the air. You step lightly and speak softly, but you speak only when you have to. Something commands you to listen. Something in the breeze tells you why. And the answer, it turns out, is that you are but a visitor. Disrupt the silence and you are no longer welcome—that's when the place

FIGURE 4. The author (left) and Shipley in 2006 alongside the author's Ford pickup on East Walker Road, with Pine Grove/the Wovoka Wilderness in the background.

asks you to leave. The Numu, people who called these mountains home long before white settlers came, knew of these things. Passing quietly also rewards you with rare glimpses of wildlife, like bears or an occasional cougar; reptiles such as sagebrush lizards, rattlesnakes, and an occasional red racer; rodents such as antelope ground squirrels and wood rats; birds such as an occasional sage grouse and others. There's interesting flora, along with the conifers, consisting of a variety of shrubs such as desert gooseberry, Great Basin sagebrush, and bitterbrush, and wildflowers like the blue-eyed Mary, Suksdorf's monkeyflower, and Washoe Phacelia some of which are so tiny you almost have to put your nose to the ground to see them. All of these parts of the ecosystem both living and abiotic, conspire with this invisible presence to give a voice to this place.

Both Art and I found that our hiking experiences spawned stories, and we endeavored from time to time to put pen to them. We enjoyed sharing our stories with each other, stories about people real or imagined and about events actual and imaginary. Our stories conjured deep canyons and the silence that dwells in those mountains, and they were our attempts, with small success, to capture the mood of the places our hikes took us. After Art retired and I was still teaching, we exchanged these stories and notes by leaving them in my pickup at the high school—we called it the Ford mailbox. Every day after school I looked forward to reading what he had left me, looked forward to the time when, over a glass of wine after grading papers, his story or note would transport me back to those special spots. I kept every tale and every note he gave me over the years. They're in a file at my house, and I'll read them again one day, someday down the line. But not just yet.

At the end of every hike we took together, it was our tradition to plan the next outing. It seemed inconceivable to think there would not be a next one. But recognizing the inevitability that all things have an ending, we both knew there'd be a last hike. Sometimes it would come up over the afternoon beer. Usually it was Art who spoke of it, and I'd change the subject. Or a thoughtful silence would briefly interrupt our conversation, and then one of us would select a more comfortable topic, usually a discussion of where we would go on our next hike. On that last hike before Christmas, it was decided we'd go to the Bodie Hills next. It was our second-favorite place. We would revisit Red Gulch, a fascinating spot south of the Elbow. We'd been there several times before and never tired of it.

But one Sunday morning in January, I got a phone call from Art's wife, Janice. Art was in the hospital, and the prognosis was not good. I remembered a call I got from him a week earlier. He wanted to know if I was ready to take that trip to the Bodie Hills. I couldn't go just then, so I put him off. I can't remember now why I couldn't go, but whatever it was, I do know it couldn't have been as important as that hike to Red Gulch or the beer we would have had that afternoon at the creek crossing at Fletcher, where in summer blue darners dance on the water.

Art passed away on January 25, 2018, and was laid to rest in Reno. Too far from Pine Grove. Too far from Ring Lake. Too far from Red Gulch. And now, when I find it in me to visit those places we enjoyed together, the hills are empty. Even the silence is different. The magic is gone. I listen for him to call to me, to ask me to come look at something he's found. There are questions I want to ask him. Things I've found that I want to show him. A peculiar rock I would like him to identify. But the things I want to tell him I have to send on the wind in hopes that somewhere he's listening.

A couple months after his passing, I returned to Ring Lake with my sons and Art's daughter, Monique. She wanted to see the place that had so inspired her father, which inspired the creation of the Wovoka Wilderness. His passing finally became real to me for the first time when we left an unsmoked cigar at the playa, with a sage bundle to shepherd him on his way. Art's last cigar. I smoked its twin on the tailgate that afternoon and drank my beer. But there was a presence in the wind and in a flight of pine crows. A silent voice known best by eagles that see the world from up there. Time has grown long, and death has taken him from us, but Art will always be a part of those hills, at least as long as I am able to visit them and convene with those spirits at Ring Lake.

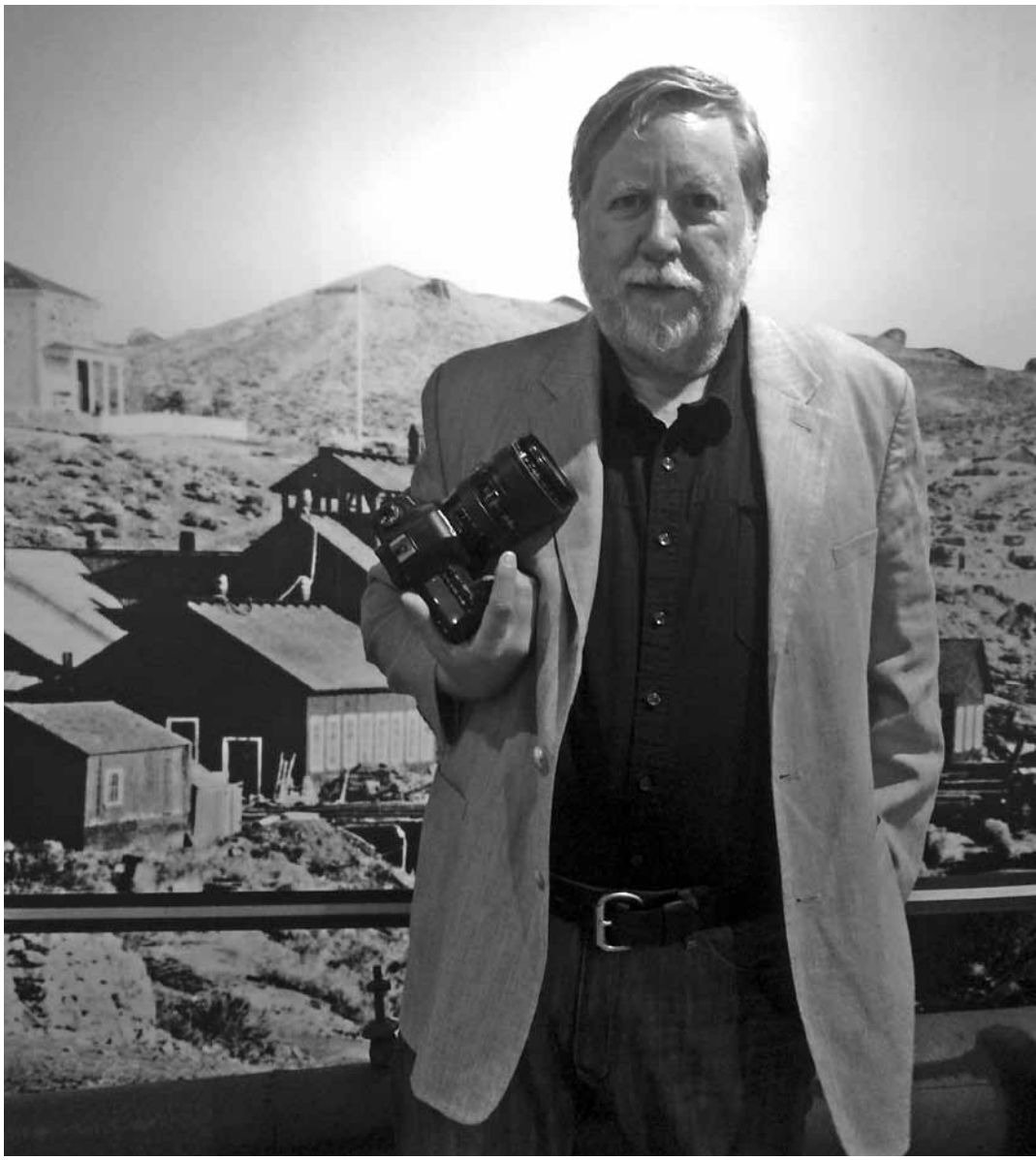
Notes

[1]Wovoka (ca. 1856–1932), who was also known as Jack Wilson, was a Numu man who lived in west-central Nevada in the late 19th century. In 1889, a prophetic vision came to him, inspiring him to start the Ghost Dance religious-revitalization movement. Numerous Native American tribes west of the Mississippi River participated in this movement to help their people deal with the rapid cultural changes thrust upon them by colonialism. If you're interested in learning more, there are several books on this movement, including *Tales of Wovoka*, by Gunard Solberg, which is available at the Nevada Historical Society bookstore. *God's Red Son: The Ghost Dance Religion and the Making of Modern America*, by Louis Warren, is another recommended book on the subject.

In Memoriam

Dr. Lee Phillip Brumbaugh

1949–2019



Lee Brumbaugh was the curator of photography at the Nevada Historical Society from 1996 to 2018. (*Photos courtesy of Nevada Historical Society*)

Lee Brumbaugh had an artist's temperament, like his father, a painter who chaired the art department at Coker College in South Carolina. Lee Brumbaugh's passion was fine-art photography. He graduated from Hartsville High School in South Carolina in 1967. While in attendance there, he did what he considered his first fine-art photographs, of the "bone yard," a drowned forest on Hunting Island, South Carolina. This was a foreshadowing for his later *Disaster* series and *Time in America*.

In his early college career, Brumbaugh discovered Paul Strand's *Time in New England* and the works of Walker Evans, which shaped how he viewed the world behind the lens. While attending the University of Wisconsin, Brumbaugh talked to Strand, who suggested he switch from a 35-millimeter camera to a view camera for his landscape work. Both Strand and Evans would have strong influences on Brumbaugh's photographic style throughout his career.

During his time at the University of Wisconsin (1969-1971), he switched his major from geology to anthropology. But Brumbaugh never lost his interest in geology; it remained one of his passions. He loved rock hunting in Nevada and everywhere in the West. He was always so proud to show what he'd found or purchased at mineral shows with anyone who was interested. One of his later photography works was scanning rocks, especially his Nevada agates, and making beautiful watercolor-stylized artwork of them.

Brumbaugh received his MFA in photography from Washington State University. Then he was off to New Orleans to enter the graduate program in anthropology at Tulane University. He was drawn to the city cemeteries and abandoned shipyards, which served as his subject matter and inspiration.

At the University of California at Berkeley, Brumbaugh received his Ph.D. in anthropology and folklore. A Renaissance man, he was a wealth of information, his formal education the prism through which he saw and experienced life. You can see the influence of his studies in anthropology and photography in his *Time in Nevada* and *Burning Man* series, both housed at the Nevada Historical Society. But it was the darker side of life that really sparked Brumbaugh's imagination and what he wanted to capture on film and transform into art, be it the Hunting Island bone yard, Oakland fires, Los Angeles earthquake, or Hurricane Katrina.

The Nevada Historical Society is honored to be the home of the Dr. Lee Phillip Brumbaugh Collection, which documents some of his early and collegiate life, his doctoral work in Berkeley, and his Nevada and California photography. Brumbaugh was the curator of photography at the Nevada Historical Society from 1996 to 2018.

Written by Nevada Historical Society staff members
Michael Maher, Librarian and Sherlyn Hayes-Zorn, Curator of Manuscripts

In Memoriam

Phillip I. Earl

1937–2019

Phil and Jean Earl, ca. 2010. Photo courtesy of Jean Earl.

Phillip I. Earl did much more than research Nevada's history. He lived it—right down to his handlebar moustache and shock of gray hair that was part Albert Einstein, part Buffalo Bill Cody. Tall, lean, and tan, he looked as if he'd stepped out of a Dan DeQuille tale of the Comstock.

When he died on January 8 at the age of 81 at Reno's Renown Medical Center, Nevada lost one of its foremost historians, storytellers, and preservationists. It is the latter for which Nevadans can be eternally grateful, because Earl's greatest gift to the state was his love for documenting and sharing its past with others.

Researchers who spend any amount of time at the Nevada Historical Society's research library have likely heard these five words: Have you checked Phil's files? If the topic has to do with Ne-

vada history, the likelihood that Earl once researched it is strong. In his 26 years as the society's curator of history and nearly two decades more as its curator emeritus, Earl researched thousands of topics, organizing his material in file folders and creating his own index system, to become the well-known "Phil's files."

Earl was born on February 13, 1937, in Cedar City, Utah, and then raised in Boulder City, Nevada, where his father, Irving Bradshaw Earl, was working as part of the Boulder Dam construction efforts. His father wasn't the first in the family to have a brush with Nevada history, however. His grandfather had a more notorious acquaintance with it, arrested at age 19 for participating in an Elko County train robbery in 1883.

Earl joined the U.S. Army in 1957 and served as a communications specialist in Europe. Returning to Nevada in 1960, he had offers to work in public affairs at Nellis Air Force Base or follow his father into the construction trade on the bustling Las Vegas Strip, but he opted to go to college and pursue a growing interest in history. Earl started at Nevada Southern University in Las Vegas (now UNLV) and later transferred to the University of Nevada in Reno, earning a bachelor's degree in history and political science in 1964. In 1975, he earned his master's from UNR. He was a member of the Phi Kappa Phi honor society.

In 1970, Earl began working part-time at the Nevada Historical Society and was hired as a full-time attendant in 1973. In 1975, he started writing a weekly history column—This Was Nevada—for newspapers throughout the state, something he continued until 1996. These columns largely focused on early Nevada and the West, and they provided insights into the colorful annals of the state, many mined from Earl's meticulous research of old newspapers, oral histories, and numerous other sources.

His areas of research in Nevada history included the motion-picture industry, women's suffrage, boxing, transportation, law enforcement, and a variety of unique characters that once called this state home. Earl was heavily involved in the development and placement of the Nevada-shaped historical markers seen throughout the state and wrote the text for many of them.

He loved sharing his research with others via the lecture circuit, answering constant calls from the media, or simply asking a visitor to the Nevada Historical Society's research library, "What are you working on?" He always had a helpful suggestion and continued to research and share that unquenchable knowledge until his final day.

Written by Guy Clifton, Public Information Officer for the
State of Nevada Department of Tourism and Cultural Affairs

In honor of Phil and his writing talents, we are reprinting one of his most famous articles "The Montello Robbery." This article was originally featured in the 1972 summer issue of the *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly.* They have granted us permission to reprint this article. Having been written in 1972 and using references from 1883 there are some ethnic terms used that are no longer politically correct, however, to maintain the authenticity of the story the terms have not been changed. Keeping the original terms of the manuscript and its references is in no way intended to offend any individual or group of people; rather, it is a reflection of the era in which they were written.

Sources

"Nevada facts have been Earl's life." *Reno Gazette-Journal*, June 30, 1999, 1C.
Phillip Earl. Obituary, *Reno Gazette-Journal*, January 13-15, 2019.

The Montello Robbery

Phillip I. Earl

The driving of the golden spike at Promontory, Utah on May 10, 1869 not only signaled the completion of the trans-continental railroad, but the opening of the West to commerce, industry and further settlement as well. The event also prefaced the opening of a new chapter in the history of Western lawlessness as enterprising citizens so inclined turned their attentions from heisting banks and waylaying stagecoaches to trying their luck at railway express cars.

Scarcely a year after the system had gone into operation a band of men halted a Central Pacific unit near Verdi, Nevada and made off with a large sum of money.[1] Although swiftly apprehended, their daring deed served as a cue and an incentive for many another gang of outlaws down through the years, the best known of which were the James Boys and Butch Cassidy's Hole-In-The-Wall Gang.

Although Nevada never produced any trainmen around whose names legends gathered, its history is replete with robberies, many of them fully worthy of historical or fictional treatment. One of the most interesting of these, and one which has special significance for this writer, took place at Montello, Nevada in January of 1883.

Situated some 105 miles east of Elko, Montello was not a regular stop for the east-bound passenger trains and freighters, but it was with no hint of what was to follow that the Central Pacific's engineer reined in his rig when he saw a flashing red light on the water tank. Thinking perhaps that there had been a derailment farther up the line, he stepped from his cab and was immediately set upon by two masked men who had hidden themselves in the tank house. Two more emerged from the night and took charge of the conductor, the fireman and the brakeman and all four were ordered into the shack where they were bound hand and foot. The masked men then proceeded to the Wells, Fargo & Co. express car, rapped on the door and demanded that it be opened.

Aaron Y. Ross, the messenger inside, cracked open the door only to find himself staring into the open muzzle of a revolver (Figure 1). "Hop out, Goddamn you, and be quick about it," the wielder of the weapon told him. "We're going through you – step down lively." Taken aback, Ross slid the door shut and threw the latch. The masked man then went to the opposite door and yelled "Open the door and jump out. We are going to rob the train. Hurry up there damn you." Clutching for time to collect his senses, Ross answered back "Just wait 'till I get my boots on." "Never mind your boots," replied the spokesman, "get out here and be damn quick about it. You can pull your boots on after we get through with you."

Reprinted, with permission, from the 1972 summer issue of the *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly.*

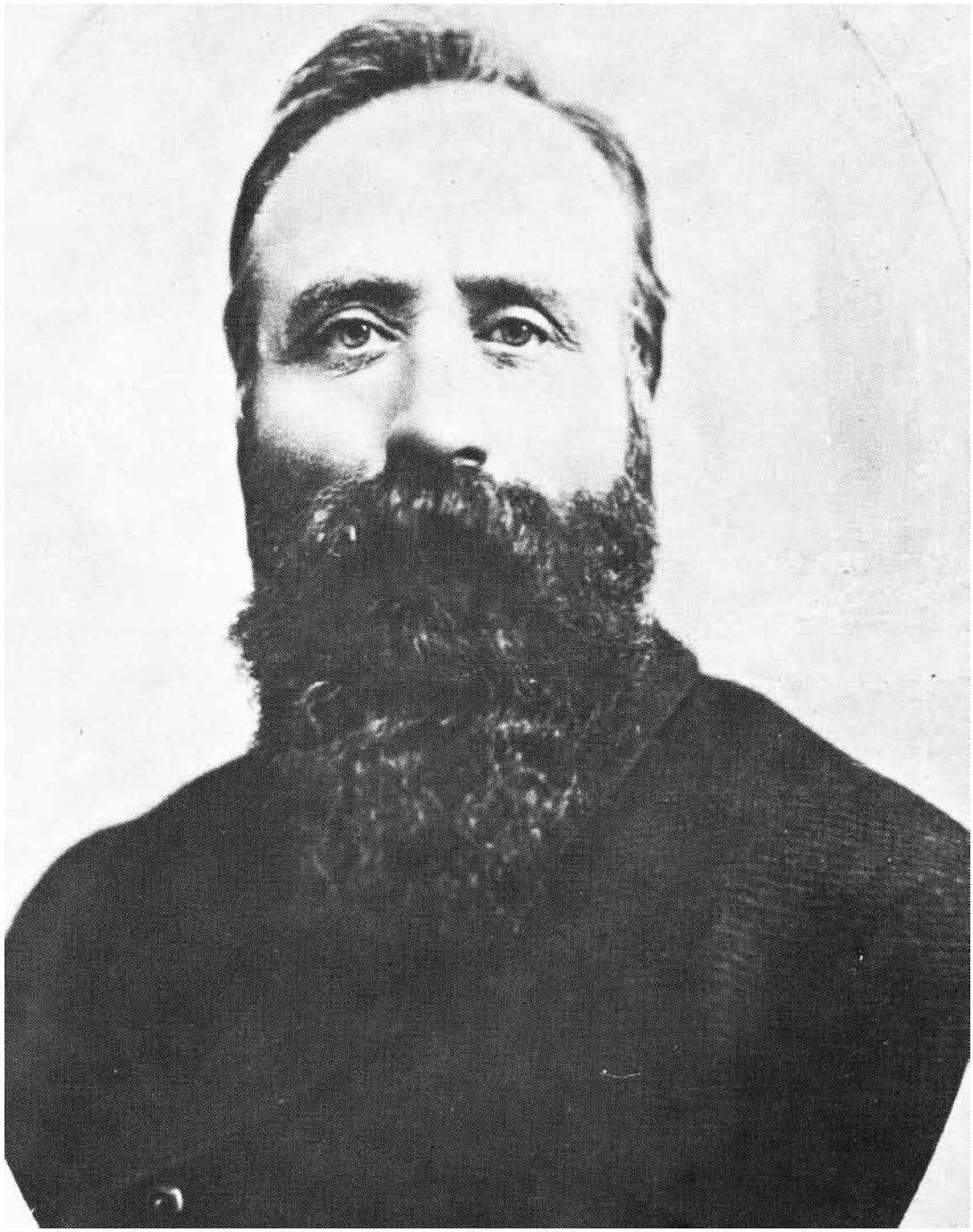


FIGURE 1. Aaron Y. Ross, Wells, Fargo &Co. messenger, who refused to give up to the bandits. Photograph courtesy of the Wells Fargo History Room, San Francisco, California.

"After pulling my boots on," said Ross in a later interview with a reporter, "I drew my kit chest around and threw my blankets on top of it. Again the men outside said, "Open up, or we will burn you out and murder you." I then got in position and shot through the side of the car. Nothing was said or done for a few minutes until one of the robbers asked, "Ain't you going to open up the door and come out?" I told them I was not coming out. Then I heard them walk under and around the car and another demand was made for me to hop out. I made no reply to that. They then stationed one man at each corner of the car between me and the baggage car and five shots were fired simultaneously from different quarters, all ranging towards the center of the car. These were the shots that struck me—one on the finger, one on the hip and one just below the breast, near the watch pocket. They then got up on the end of the car to uncouple the train whereupon I fired two shots through the end of the car.

At this time they heard No. 2, the west-bound express train, coming. They backed our train up and went on the side track, and sent two men down the road to meet No. 2. When it came up I heard conductor Clement ask Cassin, the conductor of the train being robbed, "What are you doing here? I want to speak to you." The robbers aimed their guns at Clement's head and told him to pull out, and he pulled out.

The robbers then returned to our train and one of them tried to get on the front end of the car and up on the roof. I fired in that direction as near as I could calculate where he was and he dropped down on the platform. Then all was quiet for a few minutes. They went down to the water tank, got the engineer and brakeman, brought them back and made the brakeman uncouple my car from the baggage. I thought I would save my ammunition so did not fire. They dropped the express car down about two car lengths from the train, uncoupled the mail car from the express and drew it away about two lengths, then came back and again asked me if I wasn't coming out. I made no reply, whereupon they commenced breaking in both doors with coal picks, besides firing several shots into the car. I never moved or said a word, but kept waiting for them to come in. Presently they gave up the attempt to get in by the use of coal picks and left and went down to the engine. They ordered the engineer to back down on the express car as hard as he could. When the mail car struck the express car, both doors of the latter sprung open. That left me unprotected in my rear and I got up and went to the other end of the car to pile up some boxes, but thinking that would take too much time I closed the doors instead and hooked them. They then backed down on me again and again the doors flew open. I immediately closed them.

They now left my car and went down to get some wood from the engine. The fireman told them that there was no wood, or only two or three sticks. They then went to the section house and on coming back for the third time said, "Ain't you going to hop out?" They then backed down on my car again, but it was not a very heavy bump, as the engine didn't have much steam. They then asked Cassin how long it would be before another train would arrive. He told them that another train from the east would be in in thirty minutes. They then left us and rode off. I was told that the gang numbered seven and that they had nine horses.[2]

In spite of the movement of the cars and the sporadic gunfire, none of the passengers awoke or, if aroused by the commotion, stayed in their compartments lest the holdup men decide to come aboard to see what they could salvage for their trouble. The bound trainmen were searched however

and ten dollars were found in the conductor's wallet. After a brief discussion the amount was taken on the grounds that it probably belonged to the company anyway, thus, according to the reported account, "adding insult to injury by casting a reflection upon the integrity of the fleeced official."[3]

Prior to the arrival of the train, the outlaws had broken into the section house near the water tank and bound and gagged seven Chinese section hands spending the night there. After the attempted robbery and the departure of the train, the wary Orientals [*sic*] succeeded in freeing themselves from their bonds and lit out for the sagebrush fearing that the men would return to murder them or burn them out. They remained outside in the snow the entire night and froze their hands and feet in what was described as a "shocking manner." The feet of several were said to be as black as coal and all had to crawl into the car which sped them to Sacramento for treatment the next morning. Only six of the seven returned to the station and it was thought that one may have frozen to death in the underbrush.[4]

It was later reported that the section hands were "humanely put out of their misery" in San Francisco by the company for which they worked, presumably because they would no longer be able to work on the rails with amputated feet, but this proved to be false and they later returned to their appointed duties in Elko County.[5]

News of the robbery reached Elko by telegraph within an hour and by dawn Sheriff Henry Taber had organized a posse. Later in the morning they were joined by Special Deputy Samuel Deal of the Central Pacific who came up from Sacramento when word of the events at Montello reached the railroad's headquarters in the California capital. From the crudeness of their plan of operations, as well as the time of year selected for the job, the lawmen surmised that the outlaws were novices in the road agent business and would soon be caught. Central Pacific officials immediately announced that a reward of $500 would be paid for the arrest and conviction of each of the men and Wells, Fargo & Co. officials in San Francisco put up a like amount. The State of Nevada had a standing reward of $250 each for the capture of train robbers, making a total of $1,250 on the head of each of the participants.[6]

The first clue as to the direction taken by the fleeing outlaws was provided by two sheep-herders from a camp some twenty miles south of the rail line. According to their story, seven men rode into their camp about noon of the day of the robbery and asked for food for which they offered to pay. After eating a hearty meal, the visitors pulled their guns and relieved the hapless sheepmen of their watches, money, firearms and remaining provisions. The herders claimed that the men were seven in number and were driving about fifty head of horses. When last seen they were headed southeast towards the Utah line.[7]

Sheriff Taber and his posse headed east into Utah on January 24, experiencing a good deal of discomfort on the way due to high winds and below-zero temperatures encountered on the salt flats. Upon arriving in Provo several days later, they were met by a posse led by Sheriff Turner of Provo and a Wells, Fargo detective by the name of Flacker. Utah lawmen had been notified of the robbery shortly after it took place and had been put on the alert that the outlaws were probably headed in their direction. Prior to the arrival of the Nevada lawmen, Sheriff John Gillespie of Tooele County (Utah) had wired Turner that he had information that the men were holed up near Antelope Mountain, about fifty miles northeast of the community of Deseret in Millard County, but the Provo lawman decided to await the arrival of Taber and his men before moving out.[8]

The lawmen took a train to Deseret on January 27 where they secured several saddle horses and a baggage wagon, the latter in case their quarry refused to give in peacefully and had to be brought back dead or wounded. Sheriff Fowler of Utah County joined the throng during the early morning hours of January 28 and the group set out for Antelope Mountain

FIGURE 2. Principals in the attempted robbery, from the San Francisco Post, February 10, 1883. Photograph courtesy of Richard H. Dillion, Sutro branch of the California State Library, San Francisco.

that afternoon. A makeshift stockade and corral was located some three hours later and the lawmen came upon two well-armed riders in the hills north of the enclosure shortly thereafter. Suspecting that the two might be members of the outlaw band, Turner circled around them and demanded their surrender from his vantage point on a nearby bluff. The riders immediately dismounted and fired on the lawman from behind their horses. Hearing the shots, the remainder of the posse moved in and fired several volleys down upon the trapped men, killing both horses and wounding one of those returning their fire. Both sides continued to fire for several minutes before a shout went up from one of the men and he raised his hands in surrender. The other ran to the opposite side of the hollow and lay down in a small ravine. The lawmen thereupon fired in his direction and the surrendering outlaw picked up his weapon and again began to shoot at the officers. After receiving another salvo he threw his weapon down and yelled that he was badly wounded and wanted to give it up. He also said that his partner was in the same condition and could resist no further. Sheriff Turner then called upon them to throw out their weapons and they were taken in hand shortly thereafter.[9]

The men identified themselves as Ornis Nay and Frank Hawley and both quickly admitted their part in the Montello robbery. Nay was the more seriously wounded of the two, having taken a bullet in the left shoulder which had passed through one of his lungs and lodged in the muscles of his back. He was spitting up blood and the lawmen feared he would die on them before they could get him back to town. Hawley was wounded in the left leg and was in considerable pain. The baggage wagon arrived at the camp about 9 o'clock in the evening and the wounded men were loaded aboard for a very rough ride back to Deseret where they were put on a train for Salt Lake.[10]

In spite of their condition, Nay and Hawley were able to direct the lawmen to the cabin where the remainder of the gang had taken refuge. At 2:30 a.m. the forces of the law again set out and by daybreak were at the mouth of the canyon where the cabin was located. The two captured men had written a note to their companions telling of their capture and urging them to surrender peacefully. A boy who was accompanying the posse took it up to the cabin and ten minutes later one of the occupants emerged and started down the canyon on foot. He was told to go back and get the others but as he turned two more came out with their hands up.[11]

The first man to emerge and be taken prisoner was identified as Sylvester Earl and the other two gave their names as Erastus Anderson and Frank Francis (Figure 2). Had they not surrendered peacefully, the Utah lawmen were prepared to throw charges of dynamite into the cabin and the Nevadans had brought along a small cannon which would have served the same purpose had its use been deemed necessary.[12]

The three were evidently prepared for a siege as officers found numerous rifles, shotguns and revolvers inside as well as large stores of food, a pair of field glasses, a purse containing money and jewelry and three masks. The walls of the cabin were reported to be exceptionally strong and were said to contain several loopholes through which guns could be fired in relative safety.[13]

Upon their return to Salt Lake to join their wounded companions, Francis confessed to his part in the Montello heist as well as to his partnership with Hawley in a series of Idaho robberies the previous summer. Nay and Hawley also told Salt Lake officials of having committed a robbery at Deep Creek, Utah the previous fall and of having held up a stage near Kelton, Utah some weeks prior to their excursion into Nevada.[14]

Hawley, Nay and Francis were described in the press as hard characters, but Earl and Francis, both 19 years of age, were pictured as "mere boys" who seemed unconscious of the fact that they were in serious trouble. A reporter for the *Ogden Pilot* wrote that the two prob-

ably looked at themselves as "…heroes of the most improved Jesse James pattern," a comment that moved the editor of the *Weekly Elko Independent* to predict that "a continuity of labor" at the Nevada State Prison would probably alter their views considerably.[15]

When asked by newsmen about their criminal careers and their reasons for stopping the train at Montello, Nay and Hawley declared that it had been their intention to make one last "first-class haul" before retiring from the "business," to which declaration the editor of the *Elko Free Press* asserted that the "retiring part is about the only portion of their wish that will be gratified."[16]

Nay was reported to have a wife and four children living at Deseret and to be well known around Eureka, Nevada, where he had once worked as a charcoal burner, and around Pancake in White Pine County where he had labored in the mines. Shortly after his arrival in Salt Lake his shattered left shoulder blade was removed and his wife and an infant daughter arrived to visit him. She told Salt Lake newsmen that she was unaware of her husband's criminal activities, believing that he was in Nevada attending to horses for a rancher. In spite of her pathetic circumstances, lawmen would not permit her to visit her ailing spouse as they had word that arrangements were being made through her to aid him in making an escape.[17]

When first brought in, the men indicated that they would waive their extradition rights and that it would not be necessary for the Governor of Nevada to file papers for their return. They changed their minds however before the train returning them to Nevada had left Ogden. Informed of this decision, District Attorney J. W. Dorsey of Elko County drew up the necessary documents and forwarded them to Governor Jewett W. Adams in Carson City. Whether or not the governor issued the extradition orders is unclear from newspaper sources, but it appears that the men once again changed their minds and agreed to waive their rights.[18]

Hawley's leg was attended to by a Salt Lake physician and it was decided that he would be well enough to accompany the others on the trip to Nevada, but Nay's condition was such that it was necessary for him to remain hospitalized for a time. The prisoners debarked from Ogden on February 9 accompanied by detectives Deal and Flacker and Elko Deputy Sheriff M. Polk. Messenger Ross, the man who had stood them off at Montello, happened to be on the same train as he was to be the chief witness at their upcoming trial. As it happened, the valiant messenger and Frank Francis were old acquaintances. In spite of what happened, the meeting between the two was cordial and Francis remarked that if they had known that Ross was in the express car they would have left it alone. He also said that they were after the mail car but got it confused with the express. "You see what you gave me?" said Ross holding up his bandaged hand. "Well I got this afterward," growled Hawley pointing to his wounded leg, "so we're even." Ross then asked the prisoners why they had not come into the express car when the door was split open from the force of the train bumping against it. One of them replied that they did not think it to be very healthy in there just at that time.[19]

The arrival of the prisoners at Elko created quite a stir and drew a large curious crowd to the depot. Some lawmen feared for the safety of the prisoners at the hands of the spectators, but the latter proved to be more amiable than malevolent and no problem developed. Earl, Francis and Anderson walked from the station to the jail, but Hawley had to be placed in a sleigh for the journey. The youthfulness of Earl and Anderson was commented upon by newsmen on the scene who wrote that they would not be taken for desperadoes if one met them on the street. Francis and Hawley were described as "somewhat harder looking criminals." All four readily affirmed that they were involved in the attempted robbery, but none seemed to take their predicament seriously as they laughed and chatted with each other and with the accompanying officers as if nothing were going to happen to them.[20]

A venire of 24 Grand Jurors had been drawn shortly before the arrival of the train and a meeting was called for 9 a.m. on February 10 to consider the evidence against the four. No preliminary examination was conducted, but there was little question that indictments would be promptly returned. When brought before the jury all four admitted their guilt. After a few moments deliberation the judicial body returned with two charges against each participant in the robbery, one for assault with intent to commit robbery and a second for assault with intent to commit murder. The same charges were brought against Ornis Nay, even though he was still in Salt Lake. Bail was set at $8,000 on each bill and the men were given until February 19 to enter a formal plea.[21]

Since two bills were returned, it is likely that there was considerable pressure placed upon the men to plead guilty to the lesser charge with the understanding that the more serious one would be dropped, thus saving the county the expense of a trial. Indeed, this could well have been the motive for bringing two charges rather than one. In any case, given the nature of the evidence and the feeling of the community about the robbery, it was almost a dead certainty that there would have been a conviction on whatever charges were brought.

The date for entering a plea was extended to March 3, by which time it was thought that Nay would be able to appear. His companions meanwhile languished in Elko's jail unable to raise bail. On February 28 Nay arrived with a Dr. King and checked into the Depot Hotel. He was reported to be suffering a good deal, but not complaining. At 10 a.m. the next morning District Court convened, Judge R.R. Bigelow presiding. After a few formalities, Nay was brought in on a stretcher placed in a chair facing the bench and read the findings of the Grand Jury as to the charge of assault with intent to commit robbery. Asked how he pleaded, he rumbled back "guilty" in a low voice. Ignoring the other charge, Judge Bigelow then said, "I am informed that you desire to waive all time and be sentenced now," to which the prisoner replied "yes." The magistrate then sentenced him to 14 years in the Nevada State Prison. Newsmen covering the proceedings felt that Nay took little interest in his case and gave the impression to observers that he wanted to get it over with as soon as possible. One reporter described him as "not a bad looking man" and certainly not the type that people usually take as a "hard case."[22]

Nay was returned to his hotel room after sentencing and his companions were brought in, Hawley also on a stretcher. As anticipated, all four, when asked for a plea, responded in firm voices "guilty." Like Nay, their plea was to the lesser charge, the more serious one of assault with intent to commit murder having apparently been dropped in exchange for their plea to the lesser. After requesting immediate sentencing, Earl and Anderson received 12 years apiece, apparently because of their youth, and Hawley and Francis were given 14. The four took their sentences calmly, remarking only that they thought them to be a "heavy dose."[23] There was no indication in the newspapers that the men either requested the services of a lawyer or were offered any means by which to defend themselves.

In discussing the sentences, the editor of the *Free Press* pointed out that under a law passed in 1881 the terms could be reduced for good behavior. Should this be the case, he noted, Earl and Anderson could get off with serving only eight years and six months and the others nine years and ten months.[24]

Deputy Sheriff Polk and Detective Deal were assigned the task of escorting the prisoners to the State Prison at Carson City. On the day of their departure a large crowd gathered at the Elko depot to see them off. Francis and Earl were handcuffed together, but Anderson had his own set of bracelets. In spite of their circumstances, all three seemed to be in a jaunty mood and laughed and talked with all who spoke to them. Nay, weak but able to walk, and Hawley, who had to be carried aboard the train on a stretcher, were in something less than a gay mood.[25]

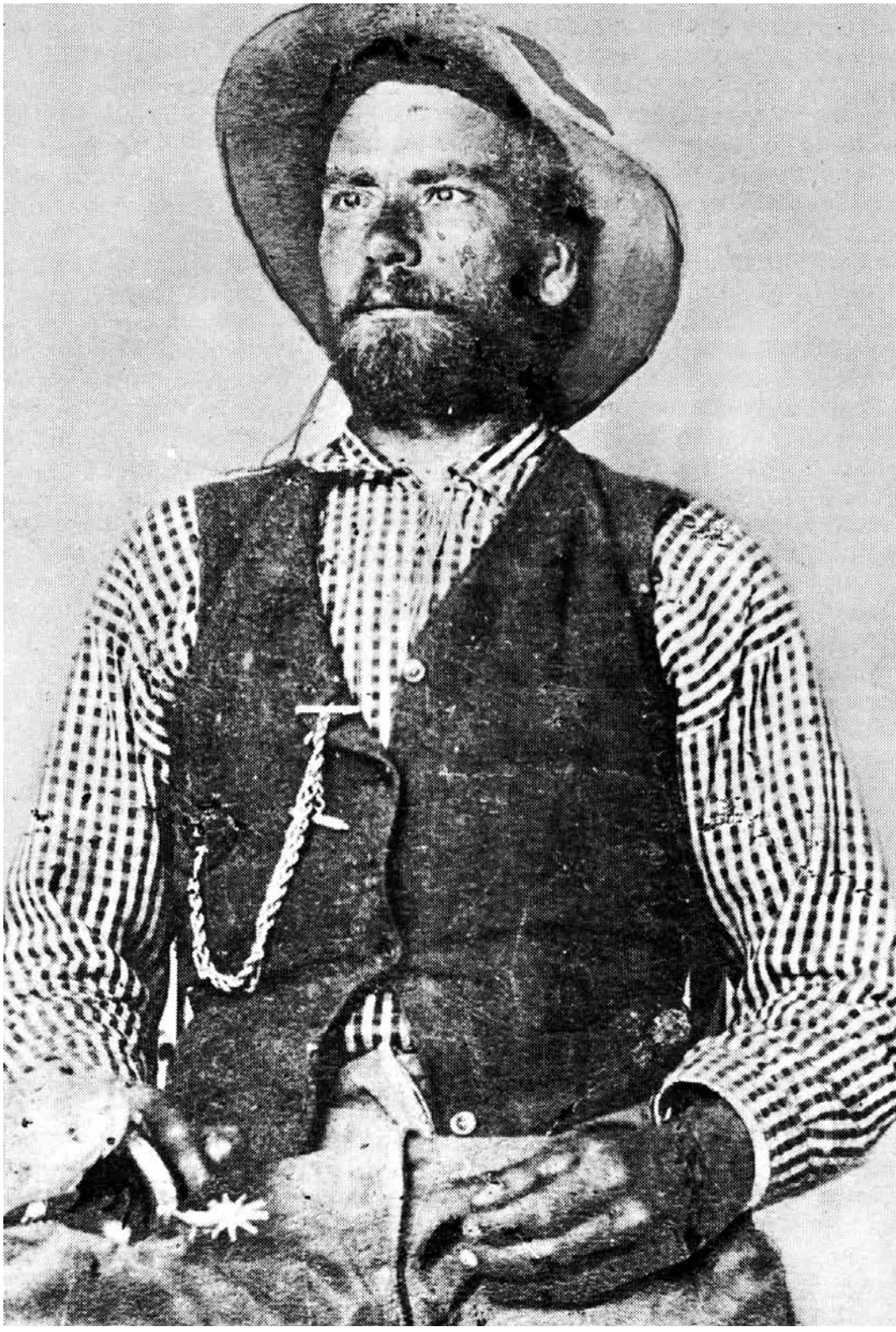


FIGURE 3. Sylvester Earl, the author's grandfather. Phillip Earl photograph.

Two weeks after Judge Bigelow passed his sentences, the *Salt Lake Tribune* published a report of a supposed confession made by Nay when he was hospitalized in that city. According to his version of the incident, there were six members of the gang, one of whom had been shot and killed by Ross at Montello. He further stated that he and Hawley had stopped to bury their fallen comrade and that was the reason for their being several hours distant from the others when captured.[26]

Early news reports had placed the number of robbers at seven and it was supposed that this was the correct figure until the capture of the five men in Utah. Their statement that all engaged in the venture had been caught was accepted at face value and no further attempts were made to find other members of the gang. According to the editor of the *Free Press*, Ross had stated on several occasions that he felt one of his shots had taken effect, but was unable to confirm his belief during the confusion and turmoil of the robbery.[27]

That there was perhaps some truth in Nay's statement was confirmed by another holdup man sentenced to the Utah State Penitentiary shortly after the Montello robbers began their terms in the Nevada penal institution. He claimed to be an acquaintance of Hawley's and contended that the man Nevada authorities knew as Frank Hawley was really a man named Jack Todd. He further stated that Hawley, or Todd, had been involved in a robbery near Silver Reef, Utah in 1880 and, with Nay and another man named John Brently, had committed a number of robberies in southern Utah. Having apparently read of Nay's confession, he insisted that Brently was the man killed by Ross since he usually rode with Hawley and Nay.[28]

Ross had meanwhile become something of a hero for his stand at Montello. Newspapers as far away as New York and San Francisco picked up the story and dozens of people from throughout the country and from as far away as England wrote him expressing their admiration for his courage.[29] It was rumored around Elko that Ross had received a $5,000 check from Charles Crocker, President of the Central Pacific, but he denied the story and claimed that he received only $150 and that Wells, Fargo & Co. had paid his medical bill. He later received a gold watch and a check for $1,000 from the express company along with a letter of commendation from John J. Valentine, General Superintendent of the firm.[30]

The reward money offered by the Central Pacific, Wells, Fargo and the State of Nevada was divided among the 17 men involved in the capture and each received about $350 for his efforts.[31]

Epilogue: Another Version

This writer's interest in the Montello robbery is a personal one because Sylvester Earl, the youngest of the robbers, was my grandfather (Figure 3). For his part in the venture he served four years, four months, and 11 days in the Nevada State Prison, being pardoned and released on July 13, 1887 along with Erastus Anderson.[32]

After his release he returned to southern Utah where he later took up farming and ranching and became the father of numerous progeny. He also achieved some local prominence in the affairs of the Mormon Church and served as the bishop of the community of Virgin, Utah for some 12 years.

When along in his sixties he retired from his labors and took up writing, although his years of formal education numbered perhaps less than three. His only published work was a volume entitled *My Life's Philosophy, Political, Religious and Otherwise*, of which but two copies are known by this writer to be still in existence, one in the collections of the Dickenson Library of the University of Nevada at Las Vegas and one in the possession of the family.

Upon his death in 1945 he left several boxes of unpublished writings, amongst which was a large unpublished manuscript entitled *The Secret of His Life*, a fictional account of the exploits of a young man who was implicated in a train robbery and put in prison. Although the manuscript is undated, a preface written on May 18, 1941 revealed that "Harry Wayne," the name given to the young man, was in reality Sylvester Earl, the author. The introduction further informed the reader that the author and one sister alone knew the true story and that the object of the disclosure was to make known the truth to those who lived at the time of the robbery and knew of his imprisonment.

In chapters two and three of *The Secret of His Life* is told the story of a young man working on a ranch in western Utah and his fateful meeting with three older men who claimed to be honest prospectors and miners. The names given in the manuscript were Frank Halley, Orrin Nayson and Dick Francis. Mention was also made of the author's ranching companion Tommy Simms, obviously the Erastus Anderson with whom he was arrested and charged with train robbery.

According to the account, the three older men set up camp near the ranch, but their activities while there were such that the two young wranglers soon became suspicious. Thinking that perhaps they were rustling cattle and sending them over into Nevada. Wayne followed them when they rode out one morning and observed a meeting with four other men, two of whom, Buck Johnson and Dan Holden, were known to him. Still suspicious, but not knowing anything more of their activities, he returned to the ranch at sundown.

Several days later he and Simms rode out looking for strays and passed the night in a line shack near the Willows Ranch north of their spread. They set out again the next morning and arrived back at the home ranch late in the evening. After supper, according to the account, the two were sitting around a fire relaxing when they heard gunfire coming from some distance away. Curious as to its source, Wayne ventured out of the cabin and scaled a nearby ridge. The firing had ceased by the time he reached the top and so he returned to the cabin and bunked in for the night.

The two awoke early the next morning, as was their habit, prepared their breakfast and set about planning their day. After doing the dishes and cleaning up, they walked out into the light of the morning to take a look around. Wayne started to suggest that they ride down the trail to see where the shots they had heard the previous night had come from, but was interrupted by a shrill voice calling for them to throw their hands in the air. Unarmed, they had but one choice and two men sprang from the bushes and clapped handcuffs on their wrists. Forty more, armed to the teeth, then converged upon the scene and the two confused young men were taken in hand.

Wayne and Simms later learned from the sheriff about the capture and shooting of the three men whom they had known as prospectors, but they were still in the dark as to what crime the three had committed and how it was that the forces of the law showed up at their cabin early that morning. When questioned on this latter point, the sheriff laughed and said the three captured men had directed them.

Aware that they were being framed, the two cowhands decided to say nothing for the moment and to plead their cases at a later date because they knew they had no alibi for their whereabouts at any given time in the past.

Buck Johnson and Dan Holden had stayed at the Willows Ranch during the holdup to have fresh horses ready for the robbers when they arrived, but the men never got that far. According to the manuscript, two of them, Ben Williams and Jim Andrews, had left the others before the lawmen caught up with the remaining three and it was apparently to shield

them that Wayne and Simms were implicated in the robbery. Johnson and Holden joined the sheriff's posse shortly after the capture of the first three, the lawmen thinking them to be only helpful cowhands, and thus they helped take in their cohorts as well as the two innocent men.

Buck Johnson, described as a rather mean sort, apparently had eyes for a young lady whom Wayne had been courting and Frank Halley was interested in a producing gold claim that Wayne and Simms had discovered and developed near their ranch.

Shortly after their capture all five were taken to a railroad siding, hustled aboard a train and sped off to a city for a trial. During the rail journey Wayne had the opportunity to talk to a detective named Boyed who told him in some detail of the robbery of the train at Monterry Station. The detective also related the story of the organizing of the posse, their suffering in the snow while following the outlaws and the capture of the men who fingered himself and Simms. The young man's curiosity about a robbery in which he himself supposedly had been a participant apparently did not raise any questions in the mind of the lawman, or at least none that deterred him from testifying at their trial.

As to the trial itself, the author of the manuscript contends that the boys were "railroaded" into prison, Halley, Nayson and Francis all pleading guilty and swearing that the two were their accomplices. Reflecting upon the sentences he and his partner received, Wayne later considered himself lucky that the express messenger was only wounded rather than killed, otherwise two innocent men would, in all likelihood, have been sent to an untimely death rather than a term in prison.

Harry Wayne's life in prison is narrated in chapter four. He and Tommy Simms apparently kept the secret of their innocence to themselves and he himself resolved to obey the rules of the institution as best he could and to try to make the best of the situation. He spent much of his time in the prison library and so impressed the warden with his good conduct and serious aims that the official recommended him for a parole long before his sentence was up. Detective Boyed, whom he got to know during his prison stay, was also impressed by the young man and did what he could to hasten his release.

Whether *The Secret of His Life* is a true account of the circumstances surrounding his imprisonment or merely an old man's pipe dreams cannot be known for certain. Harry Wayne claimed that the three men who implicated him and Tommy Simms were strangers, yet Orrin Nayson (Ornis Nay) was the brother-in-law of Sylvester Earl, having married his older sister some years earlier. Also unexplained in the manuscript is the large cache of weapons found in the cabin, the three masks and the purse containing money and jewelry. Dick Francis (Frank Francis) was also captured with Earl and Anderson, not with those who were taken first by the posse.

According to the newspaper, Earl and Anderson made no plea while detained in Salt Lake City, but they did admit their part in the robbery when they first arrived in Elko and did indeed plead guilty at their hearing. There is no indication that Nay, Hawley and Francis did anything to convince the Court that the pair was guilty, although it does appear that none of the five were given much consideration at the bar of justice in Elko, popular feeling as to their guilt being what it was in the city.

The account of Harry Wayne's life in prison cannot be verified because such records were not kept at that time, but neither the name Sylvester Earl nor that of Erastus Anderson appears in the *Record of Prisoner Conduct* for the term of their incarceration at the Nevada State Prison. Nay and Hawley were not so fortunate however and disciplinary infractions and punishments are recorded for both of them.[33]

As previously noted, both Earl and Anderson were pardoned after serving some four years, but the newspapers of the times reported only their release, not the proceedings of the

Parole Board or the reasons for their being freed early. Nay, Hawley and Francis served for a much longer period of time before being given their freedom.

Sylvester Earl's children knew only that their father had lived in Nevada for a time in his younger days, but none were aware of his involvement with the Montello robbers or his subsequent imprisonment. Indeed this account will probably come as something of a shock to them, as it did to this writer when he first found his grandfather's name on the list of those admitted to the Nevada State Prison in 1883.

Hopefully, however, they will take this account for what it is: a narrative of a very human drama played out against a backdrop of Western lawlessness known only too well to those who pass their leisure evenings watching western movies and weekly serializations of Hollywood's version of "the way it was." Perhaps also they will be able to see their father in a new light, a man who not only loved and cherished his children and his Church, but also a man with a past, a full man in every sense of the word who, as he wrote in the preface to *The Secret of His Life*, "…pledged those many years ago to redeem himself on behalf of his friends and the world with no one being the wiser."

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Phillip I. Earl, in his article, "The Montello Robbery," not only gives an accurate description of an early attempted train robbery but releases a couple of skeletons from his family's closet. The Northeastern Nevada Historical Society appreciated him allowing them to publish this article about his grandfather.

Earl was born in Cedar City, Utah, in 1937. Five years later, he and his family moved to Boulder City, Nevada, where he grew up and received his education.

He was in the U.S. Army Signal Corps (1957-60) and served in France during part of his service. He returned to Nevada after his military stint where he graduated from the University of Nevada, Reno, with a degree in history. He followed this with graduate work at the University of California, Berkeley.

At the time Earl wrote this article for the *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* in 1972, he was employed by the Bureau of Mental Retardation, Nevada State Hospital, in Reno.

Earl had Nevada history articles published in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, *The Nevadan* (the Sunday supplement of the *Las Vegas Review Journal*), a dissertation on the Humboldt River in a biographical history of Nevada, and (just before this latest article was published) a piece in *Nevada Highways and Parks Magazine*.

Notes

[1]"First Train Robbery in the State of Nevada," *The Carson City News*, November 10, 1912, 1:1-5, 4:2-4; Douglas B. McDonald, "The First Far-West Train Robbery," *The West* (April 1967), 8, 52-54.

[2]"Attempted Train Robbery," *The Free Press*, January 26, 1883, 3:2.

[3]"Attempted Train Robbery," *Weekly Elko Independent*, January 28, 1883, 3:2.

[4]"More of the Train Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, January 28, 1883, 3:3; "Attempted Train Robbery," *The Free Press*, January 26, 1883, 3:3.

[5]"Released from Misery," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:3; "Those Frozen Chinamen" [*sic*], *The Free Press*, March 23, 1883, 3:3.

[6]"Attempted Train Robbery," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:2; "Attempted Train Robbery," *The Free Press*, January 26, 1883, 3:3.

[7]"More of the Train Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, January 28, 1883, 3:3; "Attempted Train Robbery," *The Free Press*, January 26, 1883, 3:3.

[8]"A Graphic Description of the Capture of the Train Robbers," *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), February 2, 1883, 2:2-4.

[9]"A Graphic Description of the Capture of the Train Robbers," *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), February 2, 1883, 2:2-4; "Brought to Bay," *The Free Press*, February 2, 1883, 3:5; "The Montello Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:5.

[10]"A Graphic Description of the Capture of the Train Robbers," *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), February 2, 1883, 2:2-4.

[11]*Ibid*.; "Brought to Bay," *The Free Press*, February 2, 1883, 3:5; "The Montello Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:5.

[12]"A Graphic Description of the Capture of the Train Robbers," *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), February 2, 1883, 2:2-4; "Heard From," *Weekly Elko Independent*, January 28, 1883, 3:7.

[13]"The Train Robbers," *The Free Press*, February 9, 1883, 3:3.

[14]"A Graphic Description of the Capture of the Train Robbers," *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), February 2, 1883, 2:2-4; "Brought to Bay," *The Free Press*, February 2, 1883, 3:5, "The Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, January 28, 1883, 3:6.

[15]"The Montello Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:5.

[16]"The Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, January 28, 1883, 3:6; "Brought to Bay," *The Free Press*, February 2, 1883, 3:5.

[17]"The Montello Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:6; "This, That and Tother," *The Free Press*, February 23, 1883, 3:1.

[18]"Brought to Bay," *The Free Press*, February 2, 1883, 3:5; "Train Robbers Caught," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:4.

[19]"The Montello Robbers," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:6; "This, That and Tother," *The Free Press*, February 23, 1883, 3:1; "The Robbers Arrived," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 11, 1883, 3:4; "Salmagundi," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 11, 1883, 3:5.

[20]"The Robbers Arrived," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 11, 1883, 3:4; "The Train Robbers," *The Free Press*, February 9, 1883, 3:3.

[21]"The Train Robbers," *The Free Press*, February 9, 1883, 3:3; "Salmagundi," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 11, 1883, 3:4, 3:7.

[22]"The Train Robbers," *The Free Press*, March 2, 1883, 3:4; "District Court," *Weekly Elko Independent*, March 4, 1883, 3:5.

[23]"District Court," *Weekly Elko Independent*, March 4, 1883, 3:5.

[24]"The Train Robbers," *The Free Press*, March 2, 1883, 3:4.

[25]*Ibid*.

[26]"The Train Robbers," *The Free Press*, March 16, 1883, 3:5.

[27]*Ibid*.

[28]"A Dead Robber," *The Free Press*, March 23, 1883, 2:2.

[29]"Ross," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 4, 1883, 3:6; "A Brave Man," *The Free Press*, February 3, 1883, 2:2; "Salmagundi," *Weekly Elko Independent*, February 11, 1883, 3:7.

[30]"This, That and Tother," *The Free Press*, March 9, 1883, 3:1; "This, That and Tother," *The Free Press*, March 16, 1883, 3:1.

[31]"The Train Robbers," *The Free Press*, March 2, 1883, 3:4.

[32]Nevada State Legislature, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly*, Fourteenth Session (1889), Biennial Report of the Warden of the State Prison for the years 1887 and 1888, Table 4, p. 39.

[33]Nevada State Prison, *Record of Prisoner Conduct*, Archives of the Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada.

Book Reviews

This Side of the Divide: Stories of the American West. By Danilo John Thomas, ed. (Reno: Baobab Press, 2019), 380 pp.

This Side of the Divide is the first collection of a literary series in collaboration with the University of Nevada, Reno's MFA program in creative writing. The MFA program is to be applauded for its tireless work at making such a volume possible. It's a valuable collection and resource for new as well as established short-story writers, and I look forward to its flourishing as a series.

This is a rich and powerful collection of stories. While there's an overarching tone of cynicism, chaos, and even a sense of failure throughout many of the works in this anthology, there is also a dark sense of humor. This is a collection where things have decidedly fallen apart by the time we're reading about their occurrences. The authors use their language, then, as the space where these same things can be put back together. In itself, such efforts demonstrate great optimism in the act of creativity that these stories represent.

Place is the true star of this collection. Region is the unifying theme of the anthology, present in most pieces and practically a character in its own right. Regionalism has been read as one of the greatest U.S. literary art forms since the 19th century, and this collection aptly joins that tradition through its celebration of the American West. The West is a dry, rough, sparse land. It can be seen as a difficult place for creatures to survive and thrive, in a number of ways. People in these stories sometimes succeed, but more often fail, and in a number of cases manage a kind of middle ground of survival as they learn to appreciate the beauty of the land. As readers, we feel how the terrain influences the mood, actions, and even language of the authors and their characters.

At the same time, the American West is far from a unified space. Small-town Alaska is represented alongside Las Vegas. Ranchlands in Wyoming are in conversation with a San Diego neighborhood. Yet they have their essential western regionality in common. The casts of these stories are as diverse as the landscapes they inhabit. I especially appreciated the historical diversity in certain vignettes, such as "Wagli Yelo," the tale of an aging cowboy who rides his horse across modern highways in a kind of subconscious nostalgic journey. These seeming anachronisms perfectly encapsulate some of what is most striking about today's West.

This Side of the Divide has truly something for everyone, offering a wide variety of subjects and plots. I particularly enjoyed "The Casita on Flower Street," where a single mother juggles work, her autistic child, and her efforts to return to an artist's life. Another favorite was "Graham Greene," in which a man goes on a quest to discover a person who no longer exists but is repeatedly mistaken for a famous Native American actor.

The last story, "Your Call Is Important," is an ideal conclusion to the anthology's overarching theme. This is a piece in which much is wrong—most noticeably a child chained up in his own backyard—and the tragic backdrop leads to an emotional crisis and action by the finale.

The story of Cinderella is referenced throughout, and we are reminded that fairy tales often have a dark side, much like a sunny West Coast city. The ending is left open, and we are left with a sense of hopefulness, the idea that actions matter and that we have the potential to improve our lives and the lives of others. But the end also prompts a number of questions, including: What will become of the characters in this story, in the collection, and in the American West?

We must await future anthologies, dear readers, to discover more.

Kathryn C. Dolan
Missouri University of Science and Technology

Pershing County: 100 Years. By Pat Ferraro Klos, Deanne Davidson, Lynda Quilici, and Jane Fundis Tors. (Reno: Baobab Press, 2018), 70 pp.

Falling squarely into the genre of coffee-table history, *Pershing County: 100 Years* is a brief narrative account of Pershing County, Nevada. With only limited endnotes and limited critical analysis, the book is not an academic history, and gaps are evident in the overall story, but readers curious about popular western history, especially those interested in the Burning Man festival, will enjoy this quick read.

Replete with high-quality images, *Pershing County* offers a peek at Nevada outside of the greater Las Vegas and Reno metropolitan regions and a clear glimpse of the state's diversity, ranging from its flora and fauna to the many immigrant groups who have settled in Pershing County over the past century.

Pershing County is located in the upper northwestern quadrant of Nevada, a short drive from Oregon and Idaho. With a rural ranching culture, the county has stronger ties to the Wild West image most visitors to Nevada have in their mind's eye than the urban culture one finds in the state's two gaming and tourism centers. This does not mean, however, that Pershing is isolated from the modern world, as thousands of sojourners flock there every fall for the infamous Burning Man festival.

The book lays out the stories and time lines of individuals and events that have shaped the county's character since the early 1900s, starting with the region's indigenous peoples and ending with the current residents of its local small towns. Throughout, the people are happy, and their accounts are sunny and pleasant. Diversity is noted in detail and honestly celebrated, but an acknowledgement of historical or modern racism or conflicts is conspicuously missing.

Because the narrative picks up after indigenous dispossession of natural resources, the book skirts around the prejudice and environmental degradation that accompanied early Euro-American settlement of the west. Consequently, *Pershing County* presents economic development as natural and adaptive, and the population appears to blend in to the environment without any damaging effects.

The authors effectively document how the high Mojave Desert differs from popular perceptions of arid desert landscapes through loving descriptions of the flora, fauna, and topography. And its high-quality images, which include sage bushes, stubby cacti, snow-covered rabbitbrush, mule deer, white pelicans, and burros, are one of the book's main draws.

The Northern Paiute and Shoshone first residents of Pershing County are woven into the social fabric and recognized as valuable members of local communities. The contributions of various immigrant and religious groups also appear as necessary components of the county's

development. From Italian and Basque shepherds to Chinese shop owners to Methodist and Mormon settlers, each group is respected as donors to the tone and tenor of the county's culture. Rich traditions of ethnic foods, festivals, and grit are all sprinkled throughout the story lines.

A very likely audience for this book are the thousands of revelers who converge to create a massive, temporary town in the middle of the Black Rock Desert every year during Burning Man. Images of the playa, the Burning Man village, and the ritual burning of the large wooden man are all memorialized.

Pershing County is not suited for research purposes, as it lacks academic-standard footnotes or endnotes, and the bibliography includes very few primary-source documents. And while the factual accuracy of the information is sound, much is missing from the presentation to provide a holistic overview of the land, the people, or the economy. Readers should seek out academic treatments of western and Nevada history for a fuller examination of contact between Euro-Americans, the ecosystems, the indigenous peoples, and various immigrant groups.

For a coffee-table history, however, *Pershing County: 100 Years* is a worthy acquisition.

Sondra Cosgrove
College of Southern Nevada

Basque Immigrants and Nevada's Sheep Industry: Geopolitics and the Making of an Agricultural Workforce, 1880-1954. By Iker Saitua. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2019), 252 pp.

Basque immigrants languished slightly out of the mainstream, always overshadowed by that most dominant of western stars, the cowboy. Sheepherders and the flocks they tended never penetrated into the American psyche the way that cowboys and cattle did. The former lodged in the public imagination as a less appealing version of the latter—not as masculine, not as tough, and not having nearly as much style—an impression that just would not go away. Many believed that anyone could herd sheep but only the strong and rugged could drive cattle. Yet as Iker Saitua ably demonstrates, the frontier-era sheep industry and the decades afterward present a rich history every bit as compelling and worthy of telling as its more celebrated counterpart. There may be a little less swagger but no less substance.

French and Spanish Basque immigrants did not start the sheep industry in northeastern Nevada, but they soon became key cogs in the business, owning their own ranches and herds. Already possessing a formidable reputation as sheepherders in Europe, the Basques of the West eventually came to be regarded as an irreplaceable labor force with a legend of their own. Simply put, members of other ethnic groups lacked either the skills or the necessary temperament—or so it was believed—to care for large flocks over long periods in extremely remote settings, isolated from other human contact.

Despite the unquestionable contributions of Basques to the sheep industry, attitudes toward them and their treatment by Nevadans often left them marginalized, caused by factors having little to do with their abilities as sheepherders. In the 1880s, for example, they were seen "as an exceptional race" (p. 70), but by the turn of the century, Basque sheepherders were viewed as serious competition to the cattle business. Initially considered "badmen and selfish villains" (p. 87), Basques experienced an opinion swing heavily in their favor as

time passed. Their talents as sheepherders were touted as the best of any ethnic group. After passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, quotas dictated the number of Basque sheepherders permitted to work in the United States and, interestingly, even though the demand for Basque labor remained high throughout World War II, the national government restricted Basque immigration from Spain. Predictably, that did not remain the case for long. Relations with Spain's Francoist government softened during the Cold War, and the immigration laws relaxed accordingly as well. By then, however, the open-range sheep industry in Nevada and the American West had entered into decline.

Nevada Democratic senators Key Pittman and Patrick McCarran viewed the Basques differently. Pittman lobbied in favor of his cattle constituency, while McCarran supported the Basque sheep industry. McCarran even attached his name and political influence behind the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which permitted the immigration of 500 skilled sheepherders into the United States.

Basque Immigrants and Nevada's Sheep Industry offers an effective counter to the negative connotations and stereotypes associated with a group of people who have played an integral part in the state's economy and are an important ethnic minority living in the American West. The book will serve as an updated must-read for those with a specific interest in Nevada history as well as the Basque experience in the United States.

Cary C. Collins
Independent historian

Mark Twain Among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples. By Kerry Driscoll. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 448 pp.

In *Mark Twain Among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples,* author Kerry Driscoll leads the reader through a comprehensive analysis of five decades of the published and unpublished writings of Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), providing insight into his perceptions about indigenous peoples and how those perceptions and ideologies evolved. Including scholarly work about Twain, Driscoll takes on the role of a psychoanalyst, examining Twain's personal influences—from family and friends to the cultural ethos of the time—and showing how they manifested themselves in Twain's work. A microscopic examination of such a national and international icon as Twain is daunting enough, yet delving into Twain's racist beliefs, left mostly unexamined by other scholars, is a formidable and commendable undertaking. Driscoll achieves what is stated in the introduction: "neither to defend nor to defame the writer but to explore the complexity of his engagement with native populations both at home and abroad."

Diehard and hopeful Twain fans may not enjoy this critical exploration, as his ideologies are a product of his time, the belief in Manifest Destiny, and the superiority of Western civilization. As a self-described "red-hot imperialist," Twain supported actions taken by the United States to supplant Native Americans and their cultures with Euro-American lifeways, a trend that swept from coast to coast in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The author explores the personal, geographic, and political influences on Twain's formative years in the frontier town of Hannibal, Missouri. According to Driscoll, Twain had little contact with local Native Americans, as most had been removed by the time Missouri achieved statehood in 1821. Twain's limited interactions with the "vanishing" Indians in his hometown, the cultural ethos, and his family's history imprinted on Twain a complex and contradictory attitude toward Native Americans.

Driscoll recounts how his maternal great-grandmother, Jane Montgomery Casey, survived an Indian attack on her family where five died. Twain's beloved mother, Jane Lampton Clemens, recounted that tale to her children as the "Montgomery Massacre," embedding in her young son a dislike of "Injuns." Driscoll goes on to cite Ron Powers's 2005 biography of Twain: "A loathing of Indians…was the one racial prejudice that Mark Twain could never shake off."

Despite his early negative views, Twain was not completely immune to the devastation indigenous peoples endured due to colonial-settler actions. His older brother Orion was sympathetic toward Native Americans and expressed this during his youth as well as throughout his business and political careers. Orion moved to Keokuk, Iowa, to become proprietor of the Ben Franklin Book and Job Office. During this time, Orion published his progressive views on Native Americans and the injustices done to them in the name of Manifest Destiny in his 1856 *Keokuk City Directory* publication "A Sketch of the Black Hawk War and History of the Half-Breed Tract."

Twain worked for Orion in Keokuk and then the Nevada Territory, where Orion was appointed territorial secretary in 1861. Driscoll discusses Twain's arrival in the territory in August 1861 and how this move exposed him to his first sustained contact with Native Americans in what were then volatile frontier lands. Thanks to Orion's connections, Twain mixed with the political, social, and intellectual elite, many of whom had liberal views regarding Native Americans. Driscoll examines the influence of three men in particular: Indian agents Warren Wasson and Jacob Lockhart and fellow *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* reporter Dan De Quille. Yet these more liberal acquaintances and direct experience with the "Indian problem" had little impact on Twain's discriminatory views. These views and their manifestations in Twain's writings are thoroughly explored in the book.

Driscoll also analyzes Twain's social engagements and writing following his decision to move his new family—a wife and their young child—in 1871 to Hartford, Connecticut, where Twain soon interacted with the Connecticut Indian Association. Twain's new home, in the exclusive neighborhood of Nook Farm, was an epicenter for the association, a vocal and public-facing liberal group in support of tribal issues. The Twains could not escape from the influences of the Connecticut Indian Association, as it was run by the spouses of the Twains' neighbors, friends, and business associates. Further, Driscoll examines Twain's contempt of women's activism, how it is expressed in his writings, and how it contrasted with those around him who fought for social reform.

Driscoll also explores Twain's travels abroad, where he encounters the realities of colonialist and imperialist policies on indigenous peoples. The optimistic reader may hope that at last the catalyst of international travel will create some sort of epiphany or social awareness in Twain. It does, to a limited extent, as is evident in his writing, but his bias is for the foreign "other" while still holding onto bigoted ideologies about Native Americans.

The premise of this book is to chart Twain's thoughts about indigenous peoples throughout his writings: published books, articles, pamphlets, lectures, letters, marginalia, and unpublished works. Driscoll thoroughly completes this task, taking the reader through Twain's literary and personal journeys from the 1850s to the 1900s. Twain's ideologies are critically examined

temporally and geographically by looking at his familial influence in Missouri, his physical proximity and sustained firsthand encounters with Native Americans in the Nevada Territory and California, his later life in Connecticut and with the Connecticut Indian Association, and his travels abroad, facing the ramifications of colonialism and imperialism on indigenous populations. Twain's ideologies exhibit both lesser and greater sympathy for the plight of these people that cannot simply be tied to time and place, though what is clear is his negative views of Native Americans remained much the same throughout his life. Driscoll's exhaustive research illuminates Twain's beliefs in his fiction and nonfiction work, and *Mark Twain Among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples* enables the reader to explore and understand that the idealized celebrity of Mark Twain was really just the man Samuel Clemens who would not, or could not, overcome his belief in the unjust policies and principles of 19th- and early-20th-century America.

Catherine Magee
Director of the Nevada Historical Society

The Genesis of Reno: The History of the Riverside Hotel and the Virginia Street Bridge. By Jack Harpster. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2016), 272 pp.

Jack Harpster has written a delightful book about the development of Reno. A veteran of the newspaper business in Southern California and Las Vegas, he has lived in Reno for over a decade, and his affection for his adopted home is clear in this account. The author of several books, Harpster has a refreshingly eclectic research record. To his credit, he has worked on books about the Nevada governor's mansion, lumber baron Duane L. Bliss, railroad man William B. Ogden, king of the slots Si Redd, and eccentric Reno millionaire LaVere Redfield.

The Genesis of Reno offers an intriguing perspective on the history of this important city. There have been several other published accounts of Reno's development, most recently Alicia Barber's *Reno's Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City* (2008) and Eugene P. Moehring's *Reno, Las Vegas, and the Strip: A Tale of Three Cities* (2014). Yet Harpster's book is perhaps most reminiscent of Mary Ringhoff and Edward Stoner's *The River and the Railroad: An Archaeological History of Reno* (2011) because of his focus upon historical development through the lens of the physical landscape.

Harpster was thorough with his research, consulting the appropriate secondary sources as well as manuscript collections of key individuals, government documents, newspaper accounts, oral histories, memoirs, and photographs. His background in journalism helped make this account accessible to a general audience. And it's a lively narrative, even given occasionally to use of dated slang like "flapdoodle" and "foofaraw." He anchors his book on a largely persuasive argument that Reno's Virginia Street Bridge and Riverside Hotel have always been "the nucleus of the city." Actually, Harpster makes an effective case that the hotel has been the nucleus, as he devotes about 90 percent of the book to the Riverside.

In a chronological account, Harpster opens with a description of the successes of Charles William Fuller to build a log bridge over the Truckee River, along with an inn, both of which

were completed in 1860. In a brisk manner, Harpster walks the reader through the evolution of the bridge from a timber structure to its replacement by an iron bridge and then a substantial concrete structure in 1905. However, his account of the bridge largely disappears for several chapters, except for a fascinating account of vigilante justice in 1891 when a mob hanged a man there. Harpster comes back to the structure late in the book to explain the listing of the Virginia Street Bridge on the National Register of Historic Places, its eventual destruction, and the completion of a new bridge in 2016.

Most of the book is devoted to an engrossing description of the evolution of a property that began as Fuller's Crossing Hotel. It became Lake's Hotel (named after new owner Myron Lake) and then the Lake House, before becoming the Riverside Hotel in 1888. Because of its premier accommodations and service, the new brick iteration of the Riverside that opened in 1907 became "one of the finest hostelries in the West."

But in 1922, a fire destroyed the Riverside. Shortly afterward, wealthy George Wingfield, at the time Nevada's most powerful businessman, bought the land, and four years later he announced he would build an even more impressive hotel. Wingfield commissioned Frederic DeLongchamps, the state's celebrated architect, to design a hotel that cost over $750,000 to build and furnish. Wingfield's hotel attracted a host of prominent guests including Charles A. Lindbergh, Amelia Earhart, Will Rogers, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and Jack Dempsey. As that list suggests, the Riverside "captured the crème de la crème of all travelers," particularly wealthy women who stayed in one of its many suites as they established Nevada residency to become eligible for a divorce. Nevada's approval of legal gambling made Wingfield's hotel even more successful.

However, the Great Depression rocked Wingfield's economic empire, and he went bankrupt. He hung on to the Riverside, though, leasing the casino business to others. When the Mapes Hotel opened in 1945, Wingfield renovated and expanded the Riverside to compete with the popular new property. A decade later, Wingfield sold the hotel to Mert and Lou Wertheimer, who had been leasing the Riverside's gambling, entertainment, and dining businesses, and Mert brought big-name entertainment to the Riverside—Frank Sinatra, Lena Horne, Liberace, and the Mills Brothers.

After 1960, facing increasing competition from hotels like El Dorado, Circus Circus, and the MGM Grand, the Riverside was past its glory days. As Harpster explains, in the hands of a long string of unsuccessful owners, the Riverside "went into a tortuous tailspin that would last for forty years." By the mid-1990s, it looked likely that the Riverside would be demolished, only to be saved by Artspace, a nonprofit organization that provides space for the local arts community. In 2000, the Artist Lofts opened there for writers, artists, dancers, musicians, and actors.

Readers looking for a comprehensive history of Reno will be disappointed, but those looking for a lively history of the Riverside Hotel and the Virginia Street Bridge will be delighted. The University of Nevada Press deserves kudos for a well-designed book with a host of appropriate photographs and sketches.

Larry Gragg
Missouri University of Science and Technology

Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly

Seeking New Content

The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (NHSQ), founded in 1957, publishes scholarly and popular interest articles dealing with a wide range of topics concerning Nevada, the Great Basin, and the American West. Topics include, but are not limited to, Agriculture, Anthropology, Art, Diaspora studies, Ethnic studies, Geography, Geology, History (from all perspectives), Literature, Politics and Policies, Regional studies, Society, etc. The publication includes reprints of historical documents, essays, book reviews, photo essays, and other creative content that contributes to discussions concerning Nevada, the Great Basin, and the American West.

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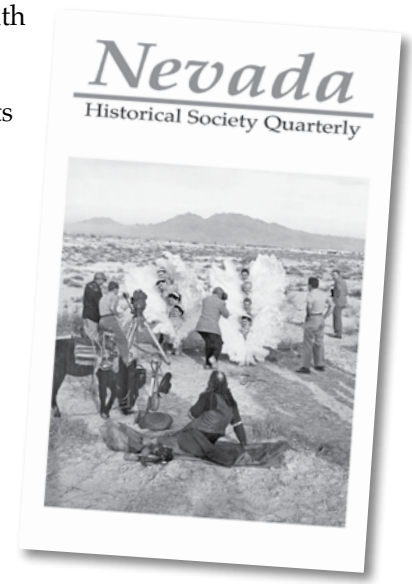

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[1]Michael W. Bowers and Larry D. Strate, "Judicial Selection in Nevada: An Historical, Empirical, and Normative Evaluation," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 227-45.

[2]Elliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1959), 172.

[3]*Independent News*, January 13, 1965, 4.

[4]James G. Scrugham, ed., *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1935), 3:398-99.

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