

# WHOSE LAND IS IT?

## The Battle for the Great Basin National Park, 1957-1967

Gary E. Elliot

IN NEVADA, A STATE TRADITIONALLY controlled by mining and stock-raising interests, the proposal for the Great Basin National Park proved to be the intersection where issues of commercialism and the environment clashed. Ever since Virginia surrendered ownership of its western land to the national government in 1781, the question has remained, whose land is it?<sup>1</sup> Debate over issues of ownership, distribution, and development have raged unabated for two centuries. Initially the American West was seen as a storehouse of natural resources to be exploited by land speculators, railroads, and extractive industries. Mining and, later, agriculture and stock raising were the dominant western industries by the close of the nineteenth century. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the old "rip, rape, and run" view of the landscape retreated as concern for conservation and the efficient management of natural resources came to the fore. This kind of conservation and its philosophy were in turn strongly challenged in the post World War II era as the environmental movement stressed the quality of the planet's life experience over scientific management and harvesting of wilderness resources.

By the 1950s, national parks were big business spurred on by Mission 66, a plan by park director Conrad Wirth that brought millions in tourist dollars into local economies by advertising the recreational advantages and scenic beauty of the national parks. States reaped enormous financial benefits from gasoline taxes, motel and restaurant business, concession sales, and sales of other consumer goods. Meanwhile, the federal government absorbed the cost of park road maintenance, payrolls, and upkeep.

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Parks alone accounted for \$2 billion in business sales, of which \$150 million found its way into local economies.<sup>2</sup>

The desire to cash in on a growing national park system, coupled with a preservationist impulse to save part of Nevada's natural heritage, was the key reason why Nevada Senators Alan Bible and Howard Cannon supported the Great Basin National Park plan.<sup>3</sup>

The move to establish a park in the Great Basin began in 1957 as the Great Basin Range National Park Association sought to preserve the natural wonders of Wheeler Peak, Lehman Caves and the bristlecone pine.<sup>4</sup> The following year, Bible asked the Department of the Interior to investigate the possibility of establishing a park along the Snake Range in eastern Nevada. Alarmed, the state's mining and grazing interests marshalled forces to oppose the park plan, which they perceived as a threat to their traditional dominance of land use in White Pine County. Making money was the mining industry's only concern. Little, if any, thought was given to the environment.<sup>5</sup>

Nevada and White Pine County shared the twin legacy of economic voracity and environmental neglect. Beginning in the 1870s, White Pine County, like most of the mining West, suffered a depression that engendered increased reliance on stock raising, particularly in the Duck and Steptoe valleys. However, by the first decade of the twentieth century, extraction of low-grade copper became profitable and the county experienced an economic resurgence powered by mining and livestock raising.<sup>6</sup>

White Pine County ultimately became the largest producer of mineral wealth in the history of Nevada. But by the 1950s, reduced government stockpiles, foreign competition, and reciprocal trade policies combined to depress mining throughout the county.<sup>7</sup> Of White Pine's thirty-seven mining districts, only four were affected by the Great Basin National Park plan, and those four did not include the Robinson District, in whose copper production 95 percent of the county's mineral wealth was concentrated. The districts in question included the Mount Washington District on the western slope of the Snake Range which produced one thousand tons of tungsten between 1952 and 1955, and which held large beryllium deposits discovered in 1959, none yet sold. The Osceola District, where gold and tungsten were extracted, accounted for about a million dollars in sales between 1902 and 1959. Records for the Shoshone District are incomplete, but production sales were less than two million dollars by the 1950s. Finally, the tungsten district, containing the famed Wheeler Peak, was inactive during most of its history, producing only \$363,000, mostly from lead production.<sup>8</sup>

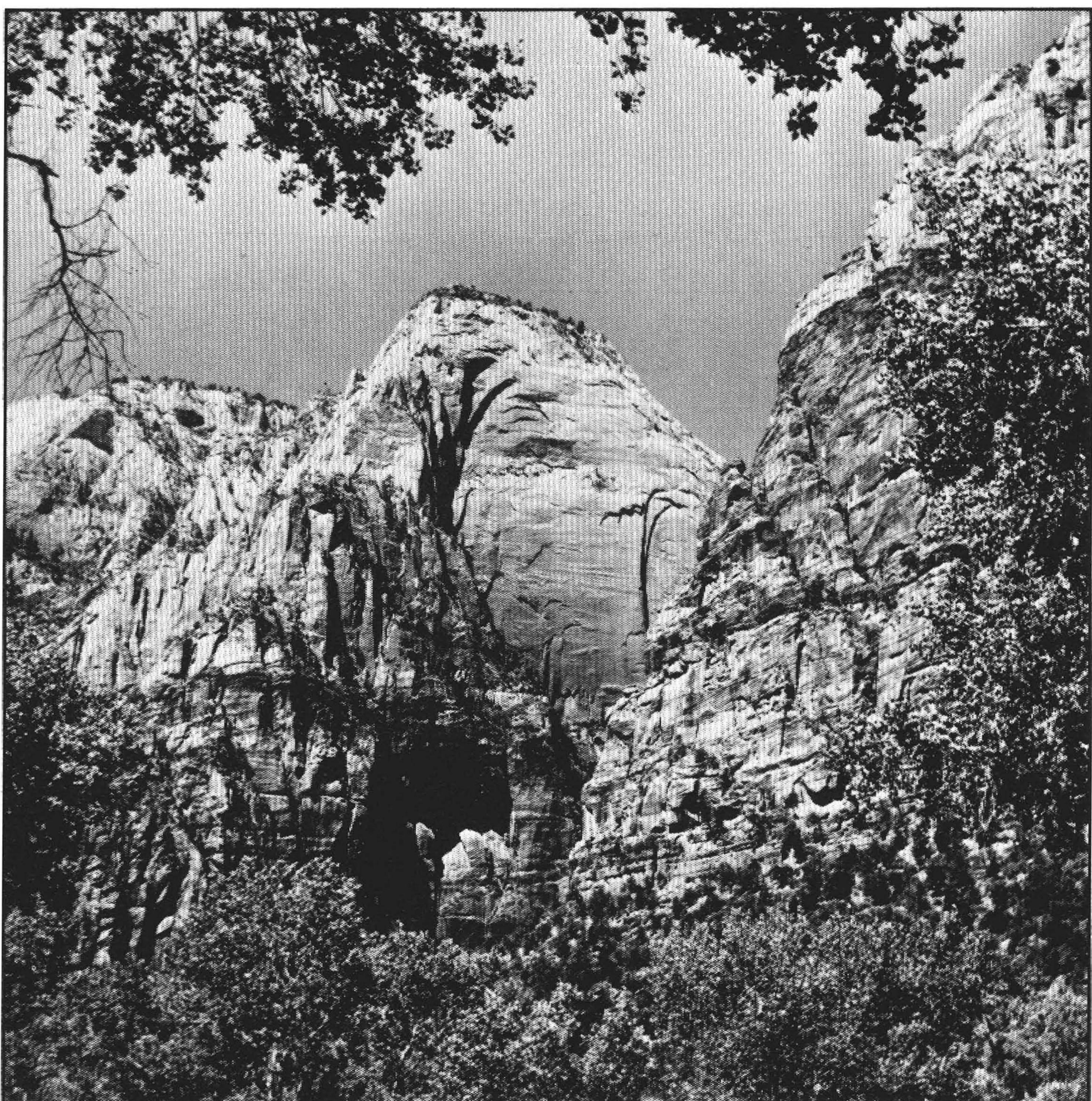
Clearly, mining production in eastern White Pine County, near the proposed park, was insignificant. Nevertheless, the industry took the firm position that any change in land use policy would inhibit future mineral

production. Still, mining opposition paled in comparison with that of the ranchers, who followed the time-honored Nevada pattern of opposing any regulation of the public domain that was in conflict with their industry's welfare. Their power had historically been exercised in a negative way—that is, they acted to prevent enactment of legislation they opposed rather than to influence passage of laws they favored. The battle over land use policy in eastern Nevada proved to be no exception.<sup>9</sup>

The western livestock industry is the single most destructive force on the public lands. Moreover, stock raisers have benefited from a welfare system that is rivaled only by the subsidization of water for agribusiness. Some critics have labeled the system "cowboy welfare" and its recipients "welfare parasites."<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the industry argued that its members deserved priority use of the range because of their vested rights, extending back to the nineteenth century. In the 1950s, stock producers still viewed themselves as "innocent victims" of unfair regulation and braced for the assault on the public domain by recreation enthusiasts who wanted national parks. Based on the custodial record of land management, the ranchers' arguments cannot be supported, particularly in Nevada, which has a long record of range deterioration through overgrazing.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century, the open range suffered from the overgrazing of sheep and cattle. Species of grasses were entirely eliminated, and this in turn caused erosion, destruction of watersheds, silting of reservoirs, killing of stream fish, and a host of other problems. Regulation was badly needed. Because grazing was among the commercial uses of the forest, the United States Forest Service was the first to act.<sup>12</sup> Regulations were enacted and fees charged for use of the national forest. Then, in 1924, the Forest Service announced an increase in fees and ignited a fire storm of protest in the West. The irrepressible Oregon senator, Robert N. Stanfield, added fuel to the controversy by holding hearings to oppose any increase in fees, arguing that ranchers had vested rights in the land and merited special privileges because they had pioneered settlement of the West.<sup>13</sup>

No sooner had the uproar over Senator Stanfield's hearings subsided than the 1934 Taylor Grazing Act which created the Grazing Service, was passed; it regulated grazing outside the national forest on what had been the open range. Grazing districts were established, with fees based on the cost of administration rather than the price of forage, and 50 percent of the fee income was returned to the states. In addition, advisory boards were authorized in each district to make recommendations to the head of the grazing district, whose appointment was based on field experience rather than college training. Here was the theory of home rule, through decentralization and industry participation, that was to stand as a model for future government regulation. But the first fee increase proposed



Mt. Wheeler, White Pine County, Nevada, is the focal point in the Great Basin National Park. (C.D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society)

under the act propelled Nevada stockmen into court to oppose the hike despite the overwhelming evidence of its need. After initial victories in local courts, the ranchers finally lost when the United States Supreme Court in 1941 upheld the government's right to increase grazing fees. Thereafter, Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada came to the aid of his grazing constituents and launched a bitter attack on the Grazing Service.<sup>14</sup>

Senator McCarran's hearings took place intermittently from 1941 to 1946, with grandstand tours through the West, including fourteen days in Nevada that featured three different appearances in Ely. At issue were the fees the Grazing Service charged ranchers to use the public domain.

Despite clear evidence to the contrary, McCarran insisted that the rates should be lowered. He browbeat and intimidated every witness from the Grazing Service in what has been described as a "merciless attack." Rarely has an agency been subjected to abuse on the scale inflicted by McCarran's committee.<sup>15</sup> The result was a budget reduction for the Grazing Service, which restricted its ability to supervise grazing on the public lands. Stockmen did as they pleased, and the land suffered.

When McCarran's committee recommended state and private ownership of public lands, the National Wool Growers Association joined the fray. This group opposed the creation of national monuments by executive order, favored repeal of the antiquities act that authorized withdrawal of lands for parks and recreation, and supported open grazing in the national parks. Still, the association paused long enough in its condemnation of federal land policy to recommend a high protective tariff to restrict foreign competition.<sup>16</sup> In 1952, the national Republican party platform committee echoed those sentiments by endorsing a plank advocating the right of stockmen to appeal through the courts when confronted with adverse administrative rulings on range policy.

While the mining and stock industries could count on established political interests to support the status quo, they lacked the momentum and force of the new ideas found in the arguments of recreationists. More important, the new constituencies that developed parallel with suburban growth were influencing the positions taken by politicians and agency employees. The examples of Alan Bible and Howard Cannon are two classic cases wherein Nevada's traditional economic interests had to be balanced against the desires of urbanites for expanded recreational activity.

In addition to maintaining continued support for mining and defense, Democrats Bible and Cannon supported the livestock industry with equal vigor. They denounced the import of sheep and beef from New Zealand and implored the tariff commission to aid Nevada ranchers.<sup>17</sup> But their support for the state's customary economic base did not extend to preventing the economic expansion and diversification that the infusion of federal dollars brought to depressed areas of Nevada. By the mid 1950s, White Pine County badly needed to expand its economic base to revitalize an area stricken by its slumping mineral industry.

To bolster the region's sagging economy, Bible introduced Senate Bill 2664, which established a 147,000-acre national park on the Snake Range. Walter S. Baring, the state's three-term Democratic congressman, followed suit in the House with H.R. 9156, identical in wording to Bible's Senate bill.<sup>18</sup> On the surface, the Nevada delegation appeared united and the state well along the path to its first national park.

However, the unanimity of the delegation was badly shaken by the hearings on Senator Bible's bill in Ely, the scene of McCarran's earlier tirade

against range control. Beginning December 5, 1959, the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands held a three-day forum to solicit opinions on establishing the Great Basin National Park. Predictably, the American Mining Congress objected to the park, citing evidence that the Snake Range was rich in potentially extractable minerals. The industry's key witness, W. Howard Gray, made clear that the mining industry resisted not only the Great Basin National Park, but all parks, because the park service forbade mining exploration.<sup>19</sup> Representatives of Kennecott Copper Corporation echoed Gray's sentiments.

Ranchers claimed the park threatened their present use of the range. Their chief objection was that Forest Service grazing permits would lack full force and effect if the land were administered by the National Park Service. For example, local rancher George N. Swallow testified, "We also feel that a national park in this area will adversely affect our stock watering and agricultural use of water. We will be prohibited from cutting timber for use in our operation."<sup>20</sup> Besides the issue of economic hardship, Swallow stressed the dislocation to be suffered by "innocent victims" of government regulation. The hearings hit a high note for the bizarre and ridiculous when Swallow invoked the plight of hunters and trappers in the Wheeler Peak region who would be unable to earn a living. Under questioning by Senator Cannon, Swallow admitted that he "probably" knew of two people in the area whose living depended on trapping.<sup>21</sup> Still, his testimony appealed to the established principle that national parks should be carved only from areas considered economically worthless.<sup>22</sup>

Testimony at the Ely hearings revealed the philosophy of land use that park opponents embraced. They consistently argued that the public domain should be open to multiple use, specifically mining, grazing, and timber harvesting. Single-use concepts, such as establishment of national parks, "locked up" the land by excluding agricultural and industrial activity. When Congress passed legislation in June 1960 to include outdoor recreation within the definition of *multiple use*, park opponents ignored this monumental change in land-use philosophy and practice; they continued to define *multiple use* in commercial terms, while denying the claims of recreation advocates. They neither accepted nor understood the full meaning of the 1960 act as a significant victory for conservation.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout 1960, Bible worked to draft new legislation that would accommodate, in the presence of the park, as many economic interests in White Pine County as possible. The result was S. 1760, co-sponsored by Senator Cannon, which contained an important provision in section 7 allowing grazing on park lands for a period of twenty-five years. As one in a long line of Nevada's Silver Senators, Bible also revised the park boundaries to exclude 24,000 acres from the northeastern boundary to al-

low for beryllium exploration. Moreover, section 6 protected existing mining operations within the national park.<sup>24</sup> Included in the Bible proposal were the principal bristlecone pine groves, the Lehman Caves, and the glacier at Wheeler Peak, as well as the surrounding scenic attractions. In addition, the National Park Service was prepared to spend \$4 million in operating costs.<sup>25</sup>

The Bible plan provided strong support for Nevada's mining and livestock industries while injecting large doses of federal money into the eastern Nevada economy. But in late 1961, Regional Forester Floyd Iverson reported that the Humboldt National Forest along the Snake Range had been overused and told Senator Bible that grazing there would have to be curtailed for many years to restore the ground cover.<sup>26</sup> The implications were enormous, and the Forest Service's timing could not have been better calculated to revive the fear and suspicion of the livestock producers. From their perspective, reduced grazing in the national forest, the hated park plan, and foreign competition all conspired to inflict economic hardship on eastern Nevada's ranchers. In early 1962, the Department of the Interior exploded a bombshell by recommending a new increase in grazing fees. Even though Bible and Cannon moved swiftly to repair the damage, securing a postponement of the fee increase, the cumulative effect solidified the resolve of park opponents and was probably the key factor in Congressman Baring's dramatic change in position on the park plan.<sup>27</sup>

At the height of the grazing-fee controversy, Senate bill 1760 passed and was sent to the House, where Bible and Cannon expected quick action because Baring was a member of the House Subcommittee on Public Lands. But in late June, the congressman met with members of the Ely livestock and mining industry, and he agreed to introduce legislation that would protect their interests. When he returned to Washington, he received the draft bill by special delivery from Ely and introduced it at a committee hearing on S. 1760.

The existence of the draft bill took Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall by complete surprise. Equally shocking, Baring had failed to read the legislation before presenting it to the committee.<sup>28</sup> The new bill, H.R. 7283, proposed to reduce the size of the park from 123,000 acres to 53,000 acres, with mining and grazing to be allowed indefinitely. Hunting and fishing would be permitted under the supervision of the Nevada Fish and Game Commission. Incredibly, Baring had not informed Bible or Cannon of his change in position, and both senators were shocked and angry. In the face of these new developments, the House understandably refused to act on Bible's bill, and the matter of the Great Basin National Park was left unresolved.

For two years neither side would give ground. Then, in March 1964, the

Department of the Interior officially endorsed the Bible plan, pointing out that the Baring proposal failed to provide the features required in a national park. Specifically, the National Park Service believed that the Baring bill, in limiting the size of the park, did not ensure sufficient protection for the surrounding scenic attractions.<sup>29</sup> The department's support for Senator Bible's bill was not surprising, because he had become a leader in forwarding national park legislation and, as chairman of the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Public Lands, was directly responsible for the hearings on the major park bills. This was in stark contrast to Baring's lack of experience, reflected in his proposal, which endangered not only the over-all park but other legislation important to Nevada.

Baring constantly antagonized Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, upon whom Bible and Cannon relied to authorize military expenditures and vital water projects in Nevada. Baring voted against the Johnson administration's civil rights bill, mass transportation measures, urban renewal plans, food stamp program, and medicare, while denouncing eastern liberals as "egg-headed atheists" and suggesting that "beatniks, pacifists, and draft-dodgers be sent to Moscow."<sup>30</sup> While on a campaign swing through Las Vegas in 1964, President Johnson praised the state's Democratic leaders but did not mention Baring. Senator Cannon did not mention Baring's name either in his Reno address the following day, but he did praise other party officials. The rift between Baring and President Johnson nearly doomed the important southern Nevada water project,<sup>31</sup> which further strained working relationships with Bible, Cannon, and other leading Democrats in Nevada.

In early 1965, Bible tried to gain acceptance of the park plan by introducing S. 499; Baring countered with H.R. 6122. Both bills were identical to the 1962 proposals, and the issue was once again joined. However, this time Bible placed the burden of holding hearings and passing legislation on Baring. Bible reasoned that the Senate had already looked at the matter, held two separate hearings, and passed a bill; now it was Baring's turn to move forward if he was sincere about the Great Basin National Park. It soon became clear that Baring and his small group of supporters wanted to defeat any plan for a park, employing delay and inaction while appearing to support a park concept that would encompass mining and grazing.<sup>32</sup>

Petitions from the White Pine Chamber of Commerce and Mines, supporting any park plan flooded Bible's office in July 1965.<sup>33</sup> He responded by outlining his position to the Ely National Park Committee, and suggested that public pressure might induce Baring to pass a "park bill, any bill, outlining any proposal." Then and only then could the Senate and House work together to iron out the differences between the Baring and Bible proposals.<sup>34</sup> This was an extraordinary public admission that Bible

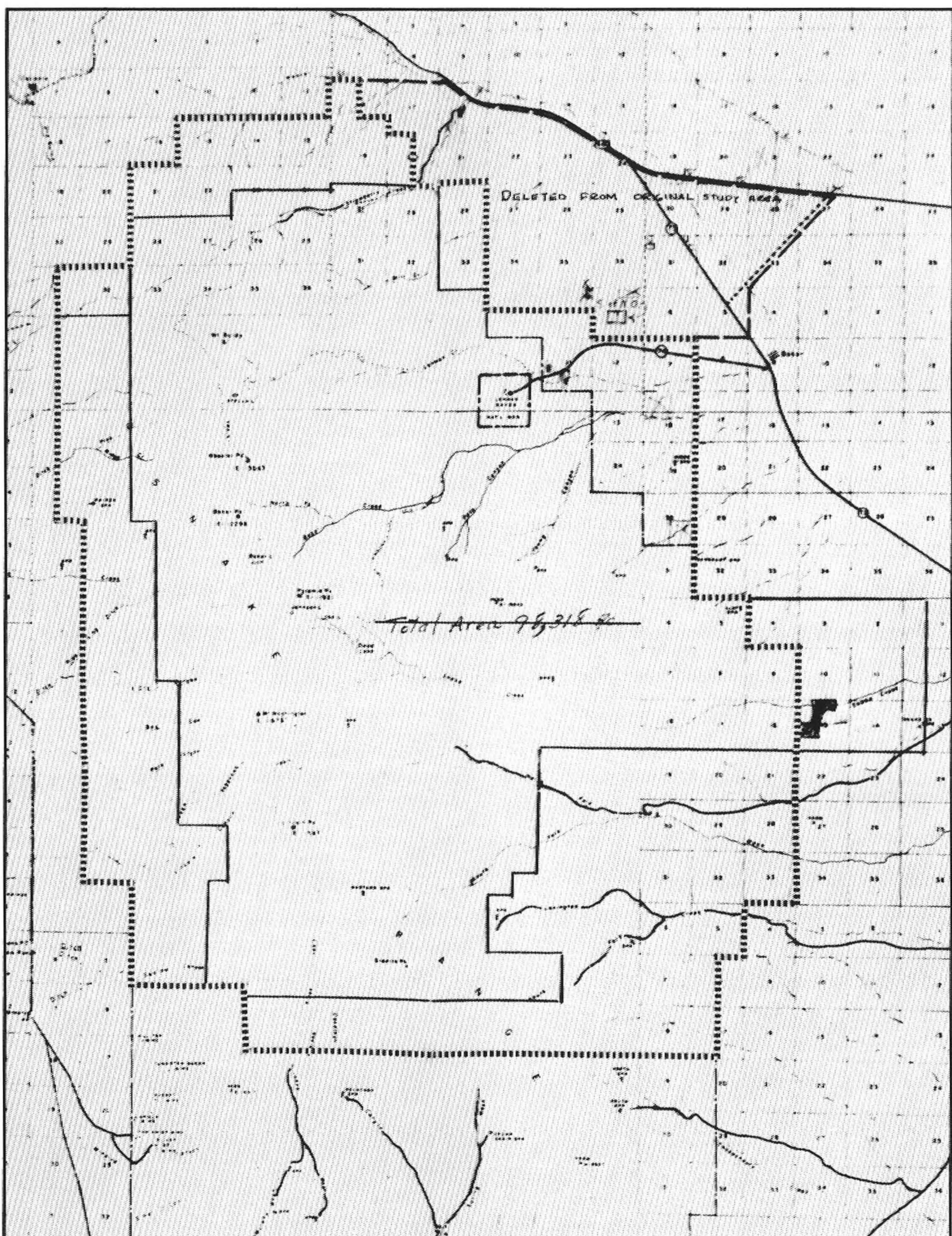
could not work with Baring and would rather work through a conference committee to create the Great Basin National Park.

By August both the Bible and Baring positions and strategies were clear. Baring stressed that his park bill had been written by advocates of multiple use—ranchers, miners, and sportsmen—and reflected the will of land users in White Pine County. He refused to acknowledge that hikers, campers, or nature lovers had legitimate interests in land-use policy. Furthermore, the congressman declared he would call for hearings in the House only if Bible pledged his unqualified support in writing and proposed a similar bill in the Senate.<sup>35</sup> In short, there was no room for a Great Basin National Park except on Baring's terms, or, more accurately, on the conditions specified by Ely ranchers and miners. Baring demanded that his Senate colleague ignore the 1960 multiple-use act and turn a deaf ear to the needs of recreation. Bible could do neither and maintain credibility with his Senate colleagues on national issues affecting park and recreations legislation.

Bible rejected Baring's terms, but the White Pine Chamber of Commerce and Mines quickly accepted Baring's proposal and pleaded with the congressman to pass whatever park bill he could obtain in the House. They asked Secretary Udall to support the Baring bill, hoping to pressure the congressman to move ahead as quickly as possible.<sup>36</sup> Bolstered by the support of Ely business, Baring gave Nevada newspapers his correspondence on the issue along with that of Chamber of Commerce and Mines.

Bible and his press secretary, Dwight Dyer, were furious. The senator had not been asked by Baring to respond publicly to the congressman's proposal, and the news accounts made it appear that Bible, not Baring had caused the long delay. A few days after the story appeared in the Nevada papers, Baring wrote to Bible that the senator's written guarantee of support was unnecessary, but added that Wayne Aspinall, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, would probably want some assurances before scheduling hearings.<sup>37</sup> Bible and Cannon refused to be intimidated by the congressman's effort to shift responsibility, first to the Senate and then to the chairman of the House committee. On September 1 they issued a joint statement in which they refused to commit to the Baring plan because it failed to meet national park standards and faced a certain veto by President Johnson.<sup>38</sup>

For almost six years, Baring maintained two positions. First, he contended that his bill was a true multiple-use plan even though it excluded recreation from consideration, despite the clear intent of Congress to the contrary. Second, he charged that the delay in enacting a Great Basin National Park bill was the fault of others, principally Senators Bible and Cannon, Secretary Udall, and Chairman Aspinall.



Map of the original plan of the Great Basin National Park by Senator Bible, 1959. (*Alan Bible Papers, University of Nevada, Reno*)

In early 1966, Baring made clear in a letter to the White Pine Chamber of Commerce and Mines that he would support park legislation only if it

received the unqualified endorsement of Ely mining and cattle interests. In still another effort to deflect responsibility, he asked Secretary Udall to meet with his mining and cattle people to work out a compromise. The secretary refused and remained steadfast behind the Bible bill. Pressure on Baring continued to mount as President Johnson endorsed Bible's plan on February 26, 1966.<sup>39</sup> Shortly afterward, Baring tried again to shift blame from himself to others. He charged in the press that Udall had turned down his invitation to negotiate, as had Nevada's two senators, and it was now their duty to carry forward with a Great Basin Park plan.<sup>40</sup>

This was the last straw for Bible. On March 27, 1966, he wrote a stern letter to Baring requesting a meeting of the Nevada delegation to discuss the future of the Great Basin National Park. He told him to be prepared to accept full responsibility for the demise of the park plan. Then he released the letter to the press, which appeared on the front page of the *Ely Daily Times* the next day. In a subsequent editorial, the paper blasted Baring, saying,

Baring has opposed creation of a park since its inception. He blocked the Senate bill of 1962 and then put together what he has attempted to call a compromise bill. Bible has listened long enough to Baring's endless line of excuses. . . Now [Baring] must meet with Senator Bible who has proven he knows how to pass Nevada legislation in Washington.<sup>41</sup>

On the day after the editorial appeared, Baring informed Bible that a compromise bill should be drafted that "would not be opposed by the cattlemen, Fish and Wildlife, mining interests, labor interests, and others."<sup>42</sup>

To draft such a piece of legislation was clearly impossible, because of the positions taken by the grazing and mining interests in the Ely area. However, during the delay from the first hearings in 1959 to the stalemate in 1966 there was ample time to access the importance of the park to economic conditions in White Pine County. Exploitation of the controversial beryllium discoveries that were the main focus of the 1959 hearings had failed to materialize. No significant mining activity had occurred in the area of the proposed park. One hundred head of cattle and nine hundred sheep were grazing in the area and could continue to do so under Bible's bill, which recognized existing water rights as well. But the annual hunting and removal of several hundred deer would not be allowed, and, in all likelihood, one ranch that was running forty head of cattle would be put out of business.<sup>43</sup> With some sarcasm, Bible accurately summed up the situation: "As support of the Great Basin National Park developed, the region abruptly took a new value, almost overnight it was valuable mineral property. There is no commercial mining then or now, but the area is touted as an area of great potential."<sup>44</sup>

Finally, on April 19, 1966, the long-awaited meeting between the

Nevada delegation and Secretary of the Interior Udall was held in Senator Bible's office. Congressman Baring appeared to be uninformed. Initially, he blamed defeat of the 1962 park plan on Congressman John Saylor, Republican of Pennsylvania, whom he charged with refusal to vote for park legislation that contained mining and grazing permits. This was startling information to everyone present and of questionable validity, since Congressman Saylor had recently supported park legislation with mining and grazing provisions. Baring then produced a letter from a woman who had written to him opposing the park on nonspecific ground. The letter was relevant to none of the topics under discussion. Baring then recounted his travels in a four-wheel-drive vehicle to the area; he said he saw some mining activity there but supplied no specific facts about mining productivity. Later Bible and Cannon revealed that the area Baring had visited was outside the proposed boundaries of the park. Undaunted, Baring again told Udall that his park bill had been written by various groups. "I have to report to these groups," he said, adding, "I would be deserting my interests and commitments if I took a stand at this minute. I have to speak to them."<sup>45</sup>

Baring did not waver from his position: A few cattlemen, miners, and hunters would decide the park's fate. At the end of the meeting, he asked Udall to meet again with "his people" to work out a compromise. The secretary declined, while Bible and Cannon were dismayed by the congressman's reluctance to take a stand on the issue. Secretary Udall publicly rejected the Baring plan in October, which killed any chance to create a Great Basin National Park.

Nevada's mining and grazing interests had won. They successfully defended their right to use and exploit two-tenths of one percent of the state's land base, an area that contained little mineral potential and whose main utilitarian application was to supplement the food supply and income of a few ranchers who owned about two thousand head of cattle and sheep. The preservation of the region's scenic beauty—indeed, of the state's most awe-inspiring and attractive features—was thwarted by the same economic interests that had long dominated western land-use policy.

Traditionally, the key to securing national park legislation was proof that the area under consideration was economically worthless. Senator Bible was well aware of this burden and firmly believed that the Wheeler Peak region was as nearly devoid of potential for economic development as any place in the United States. By the 1950s, western mining was a dying industry, but Bible rallied to its aid with numerous proposals to restrict imports and to develop regional production for defense and domestic consumption.<sup>46</sup> When mining and grazing interests opposed the wilderness proposal of Senator Hubert Humphrey and Congressman Saylor, it was Senator Bible who wrote the key amendment to the Anderson plan to



Hiking in the Great Basin, White Pine County, c. 1920. (C.D. Gallagher Collection, Nevada Historical Society)

include mining exploration and development, along with grazing rights, which enabled the 1964 Wilderness Act to become law. And he included similar provisions in the Great Basin National Park plan.

The unabashed greed of a few mine owners and stock raisers and the duplicity of their congressional spokesman defeated the Great Basin National Park plan and in the process further depressed the economic conditions in White Pine County. Bible and Cannon correctly predicted the economic impact of a national park on the entire region. In its absence, the county's economy and the condition of the land continued to deteriorate. In 1974 the Bureau of Land Management made a study of Nevada rangelands; it showed a continuing process of degradation resulting from over grazing livestock.<sup>47</sup> In 1978, the Kennecott Copper Mines closed, shattering what was left of prosperity and forcing a devastating decline in population. By 1983, power-plant projects were being proposed for White Pine County to relieve the distress caused by a failed economy.<sup>48</sup>

Little in Nevada had changed by the 1980s. The stranglehold of mining and livestock interests on land-use policy was reinforced by the Sagebrush

Rebellion and President Ronald Reagan's cash-register approach to the environment. In 1985 Nevada was the only state that had failed to pass a wilderness bill as provided for in the national Wilderness Act of 1964. In 1986, more than a decade after Baring's death and Bible's retirement, Nevada finally secured the Great Basin National Park. It consists of 72,000 acres with guaranteed mining and grazing rights. While the park contains many of the attractive features contained in prior proposals, its final form reveals scant evidence that Nevada's two dominant land-use industries have changed their attitudes or have experienced any weakening of their abilities to influence members of Congress.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Paul W. Gates and Robert W. Swenson, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing Co., Inc., 1968), 3, 12, 30. For a detailed account of a farmland policy see John Opie, *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 549, 628.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Alan Bible, 2 February 1988. Interview with Howard Cannon, 25 October 1988.

<sup>4</sup> Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 531.

<sup>5</sup> Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Aspen: The History of a Silver Mining Town, 1879-1893* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 14, 119. Duane A. Smith, *Mining America: The Industry and the Environment, 1800-1980* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 25.

<sup>6</sup> Russell R. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 174, 186, 268.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, *Mining America*, 47. Also see Gary E. Elliott, "A Legacy of Support: Senator Alan Bible and the Nevada Mining Industry," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 31 (Fall 1988): 183-197.

<sup>8</sup> Nevada, *Bureau of Mines and Geology*. Bulletin #85. Geology and mineral resources of White Pine County, Nevada, Part II, Mineral Resources by Roscoe M. Smith. (Mackay School of Mines, University of Nevada, Reno, 1976), 36, 38, 50, 60, 76, 79.

<sup>9</sup> Phillip O. Foss, *Politics and Grass: The Administration of Grazing on the Public Domain* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960). This is a valuable and detailed account of the political strategy employed by western livestock interests and their supporters in Congress.

<sup>10</sup> Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1987), 46, 61, 82, 157. Limerick disputes the western claim of exploitation of the West by eastern interests and the federal government. The concept of the West as a colonial economy is vigorously challenged, while Gates makes the important point that the West received enormous benefits from the national government through mineral laws, timber removal rights, power sites, reclamation development, and grazing fees.

<sup>11</sup> Foss, *Politics and Grass*, 77.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel P. Hayes, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1920-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 49.

<sup>13</sup> William D. Rowley, *U.S. Forest Service Grazing and Rangelands: A History* (College Station: Texas A. M. University Press, 1985), 124, 132.

<sup>14</sup> Foss, *Politics and Grass*, 120, 173-176, 202. In 1933 the cost to administer the grazing lands was \$11,700,000 and receipts from grazing fees were \$1,600,000. Fees charged for range use by states and holders of private lands are from 300 to 1,875 percent higher than government rates. Subsidized stock raising was a fact of life. See Gates and Swenson, *History of Public Land Law Development*, 632.

<sup>15</sup> Gates and Swenson, *History of Public Land Law Development*, 618-622.

<sup>16</sup> Gates and Swenson, *Public Land Law Development*, 626-629.

<sup>17</sup> Elliott, "A Legacy of Support," 183-197. Alan Bible to Edgar Brossard, Chairman of the U.S. Tariff Commission, 31 March 1958. Also statement from the office of Senator Bible, 24 March 1960. Alan Bible Papers (hereafter cited as AB Papers), Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Library, Box 124.

<sup>18</sup> U.S., Congress, Senate, *A Bill to Establish the Great Basin National Park in Nevada*, S. 2664, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959. U.S., Congress, House, *A Bill to Establish the Great Basin National Park in Nevada*, H.R. 9156, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959.

<sup>19</sup> U.S., Congress Senate, *Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on S. 2664*, 8th Congress, 1st Session, 1959, 220-221.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 228, 230.

<sup>22</sup> Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Second edition, Revised, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 48.

<sup>23</sup> Gates and Swenson, *History of Public Land Law Development*, 631

<sup>24</sup> U.S., Congress, Senate, *Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on S. 1760*, 87th Congress, 1st Session, 1961.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>26</sup> Rowley, *U.S. Forest Service Grazing and Rangelands*, 233.

<sup>27</sup> Statement from the office of Senator Bible " Washington Round-up," January 1962. AB Papers, Box 258.

<sup>28</sup> *Las Vegas Review Journal*, 10 April 1964, 9. Also see transcript of meeting among Bible, Cannon, Baring, and Secretary Udall on 19 April 1966, 22. Contained in AB Papers, Box 258.

<sup>29</sup> U.S., Department of Interior, National Park Service, *News Release, Great Basin National Park*, March 27, 1964.

<sup>30</sup> *Nevada State Journal*, 2 August 1964. *Ely Daily Times*, 10 November 1964.

<sup>31</sup> *Nevada State Journal*, 15 October 1964. *Las Vegas Review Journal*, 10 April 1964. For a detailed account of the problems surrounding Baring and the Southern Nevada Water Project, see Gary E. Elliott, "Senator Alan Bible and the Southern Nevada Water Project, 1954-1971," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1989): 181-197.

<sup>32</sup> U.S., Congress, Senate, *A Bill to Establish the Great Basin National Park in Nevada*, S. 499, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965. Also see U.S., Congress, House, *A Bill to Establish the Great Basin National Park in Nevada*, H.R. 6122, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965. *Las Vegas Review Journal*, 9 May 1965.

<sup>33</sup> *Ely Daily Times*, 7 July 1965. *Las Vegas Sun*, 9 July 1965.

<sup>34</sup> Alan Bible to M. Burrell Bybee, Chairman, National Park Committee, White Pine Chamber of Commerce and Mines, 28 July 1965. AB Papers, Box 258. I am indebted to Eric N. Moody of the Nevada Historical Society for taking time to review the Baring Papers and for providing a guide to their location and use. Reference to the Great Basin National Park is contained in Boxes 7, 11, 14, 19, 25, 26. Many of the file folders contain only a copy of the proposed legislation with no accompanying documents or correspondence. By way of comparison, the Bible Papers appear to be more complete in that the correspondence between and among the parties is substantial. Still, there is a great deal of duplication. Also see the vertical file for correspondence of the Great Basin Range National Park Association, Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Library. In addition, the Richard C. Sill Papers maintained in the Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Library, contain many of the position papers of the Sierra Club. The vertical file and the Sill Papers contain substantial information that corroborates the positions of Walter Baring and Alan Bible expressed in this article. Both the Sierra Club and the Great Basin Range National Park Association supported the park along the lines of the various Bible bills and the Department of the Interior.

<sup>35</sup> Walter S. Baring to M. Burrell Bybee, 6 August 1965. AB Papers, Box 258.

<sup>36</sup> J.R. Deveraux to Walter S. Baring, 10 August 1965. M. Burrell Bybee to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, 13 August 1965. AB Papers, box 258.

<sup>37</sup> Walter S. Baring to Alan Bible, 13 August 1965. AB Papers, Box 258. *Elko Free Press*, 18 August 1965. *Battle Mountain News*, 12 August 1965. *Tonopah Times*, 13 August 1965. *Carson Nevada Appeal*, 11 August 1965.

<sup>38</sup> Joint statement from the offices of Senators Alan Bible and Howard Cannon, 1 September 1965, AB Papers, Box 258.

<sup>39</sup> Walter S. Baring to Nate E. Bayless, President, White Pine Chamber of Commerce and Mines, 6, January 1966. Stewart Udall to Walter S. Baring, 5 February 1966. Statement from the office of Senator Alan Bible, 26 February 1966, AB Papers, Box 258.

<sup>40</sup> *Nevada State Journal*, 1 March 1966.

<sup>41</sup> Alan Bible to Walter S. Baring, 27 March 1966, AB Papers, Box 258. *Ely Daily Times*, 28 March 1966, 1; 29 March 1966, 4.

<sup>42</sup> Walter S. Baring to Alan Bible, 30 March 1966. AB Papers, Box 258.

<sup>43</sup> Department of Interior, National Park Services to Alan Bible, 1 April 1966. AB Papers, Box 258.

<sup>44</sup> Statement from the office of Senator Bible "Washington Round-up," April 1966. AB Papers, Box 99.

<sup>45</sup> Transcript of meeting between Alan Bible, Howard Cannon, Walter S. Baring, and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, 5, 6, 9, 15, 16, 18, 22, 25, 31, 33. AB Papers. Box 258.

<sup>46</sup> Michael Malone, "The Collapse of Western Metal Mining: An Historical Epitaph." *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (August 1986): 455-464. Also Elliott, "Legacy of Support," 183-97.

<sup>47</sup> U.S., Department of Interior, Bureau of Land Management, *Effects of Livestock Grazing on Wildlife, Watershed, Recreation and Other Resource Values in Nevada*, February 1975, 21, 22, 38, 46, 49, 50-53, 55, 61. For report on the continued deterioration of rangeland and riparian areas, see U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Rangeland Management: More Emphasis Needed on Declining and Overstocked Grazing Allotments and Public Rangelands: Some Riparian Areas Restored but Widespread Improvement Will Be Slow* (Washington, D.C.: Government Accounting Office, 1988).

<sup>48</sup> Steve Oulman, "Copper, Cows, Crown Jewels" (Master's Thesis, University of Oregon, 1987). U.S., Department of Interior, Bureau of Land Management, *White Pine Power Project: Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Summary*, October 1983, 3, 7, 10. For example, between 1971 and 1980, employment in White Pine County mining industry dropped from 1,090 to 340 persons, and over-all employment dropped from 3,660 in 1971 to 3,280 in 1980. Moreover, adjusted per-capita personal income in 1959 was \$3,109 as compared to \$3,078 in 1970. Governor's Office of Planning Coordination, *Nevada Statistical Abstract* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1981), 53, 55, 63, 147.

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