

NEVADA'S ENVIRONMENTAL STATESMAN: ALAN BIBLE AND THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM, 1954–1974

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Just as John Muir was perhaps the greatest publicist for America's national parks, Senator Alan Bible of Nevada was the foremost park legislator. Between 1954 and 1974, Bible shepherded eighty-six new parks, monuments, and historic sites through his Subcommittee on Public Lands and Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. It was a remarkable record that went largely unnoticed outside the United States Senate and the National Park Service. Indeed, in 1972, Ralph Nader's congressional study group correctly considered Bible a prime candidate for Senator Who.¹ Bible's invisible leadership reflected the force of Senate traditions emphasizing hard work and committee responsibility, to which he heartily subscribed, and Bible's own low-key, even-handed, persistent pursuit of a balanced land-use policy. In the words of George B. Hartzog, Jr., the director of the National Park Service from 1964 to 1972, "Alan Bible was an environmental statesman."²

Bible was a most unlikely candidate for the role of great legislator. Born in Lovelock, Nevada, on November 20, 1909, Bible spent his formative years in Fallon—the heart of the Newlands reclamation project. He was graduated from the University of Nevada in Reno in 1930 and from Georgetown Law School four years later, and immediately entered law practice as a protégé of Patrick McCarran, who was Nevada's political boss and United States senator. After a short stint in McCarran's law office, he was appointed district attorney of Storey County in 1935. In 1938, with McCarran's help, Bible was appointed deputy attorney general. He was elected to his first full term as Nevada's attorney general in 1942 and was re-elected in 1946. In 1950, he declined to run again, entered private law practice, and began preparing a campaign for the United States Senate. After losing in the 1952 Democratic primary, Bible rebounded in 1954 and was elected to fill the two years remaining in the term of Senator

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McCarran, who had died on September 28, 1954. In 1956, he was elected to his first full term, which was followed by victories in 1962 and 1968. In 1974, when he was sixty-five, ill health forced his retirement from the Senate.³

Bible's primary interest was the welfare of the Silver State. Specifically, he used his power and seniority in the Senate to funnel federal dollars into Nevada for water reclamation projects, atomic energy development, road construction, airport expansion, and development of recreation areas from Lake Tahoe in the north to Lake Mead in the south. But more important from a national perspective, he contributed mightily to preserving the nation's wild and scenic heritage for public use and enjoyment through the National Park System.

In 1956, as a member of the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Senate's Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Bible began his drive to expand and improve the National Park System. Initially, he saw national parks as a way to supplement local economies by attracting visitors who would spend money in service-oriented businesses. But over the years, he developed a different perspective on parks and the environment, particularly the preservation of wilderness areas. Like most environmentally conscious people in the 1960s, he sought a balanced approach that emphasized use along with protection of scenic wildlife areas. Bible was not an environmental purist, but rather a legislator who worked well in juggling competing interests—a statesman who wanted to protect all land users whether homeowner, developer, miner, timberman, livestock owner, or environmentally concerned citizen group.

With the postwar period came a new interest in the idea of environmental balance. In 1948, Aldo Leopold, the father of wildlife management in America, published his essay "Land Ethic," in which he stated that lands must be protected or they will become unstable. Leopold argued that with economic privileges came interlocking obligations. In short, between utilitarian and ecological views of the environment, there was no either/or proposition. A balance was necessary for the survival of man and nature.⁴ This idea of balance was reflected in the 1956 battle over the Echo Park Dam versus the Dinosaur National Monument, which pitted conservationists concerned with aesthetics against western water developers. The result was a dramatic change in the direction of the environmental movement in America and in Bible's outlook as well.

This concern for the environment began just as millions of Americans were taking to the highways in search of vacation and recreation spots to spend their money and leisure time. Similarly, recreation enthusiasts blended with environmentalists of all varieties in a drive to force concessions from developers and traditional land users like ranchers and miners. The shrillest voices came from urbanites fleeing the concrete jungle and crabgrass frontier in search of more meaningful life experiences. Hence the battle over recreation and wilderness represented a conflict that was as much rural versus urban as it was exploiter against preservationist.⁵

Bible was a participant and power in the evolution of the politics and policies

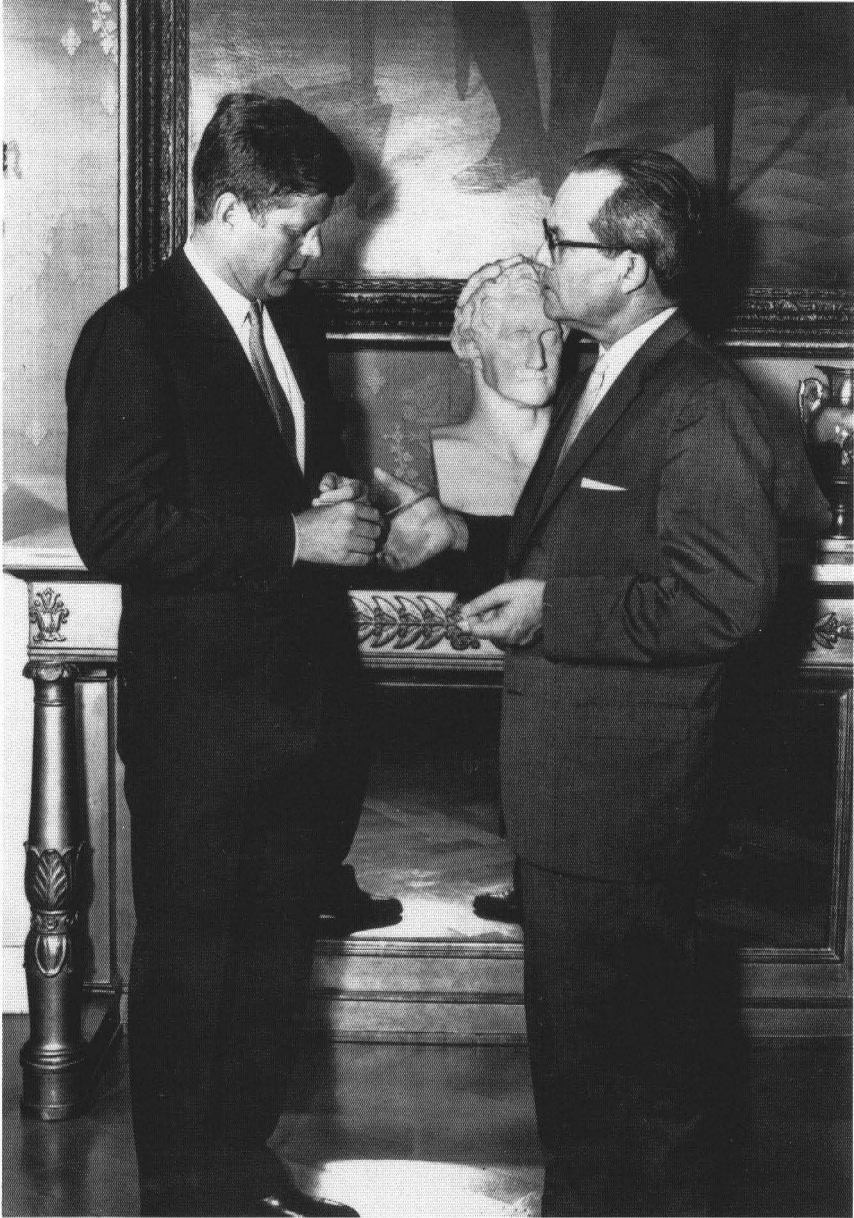
that accompanied these changing public attitudes. During most of the 1950s, he was firmly entrenched in the Gifford Pinchot school of conservation, because of his desire to aid Nevada economically through water development. Efficiency and equity were his concerns, not aesthetics. He was fully cognizant of the rapidly growing influence and power behind environmental ideas, especially after their triumph over the Echo Park Dam. More important, Bible was acutely aware that national parks were a good investment in local and state economic development. This desire to cash in on national parks motivated him in 1956 to embrace Mission 66—a ten-year, billion-dollar plan to publicize and commercialize the national parks.

While remaining on the front lines in the fight for more water development and mining projects, Bible underwent a transformation of perspective concerning parks and recreation. His legislative record as chairman of the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation was unparalleled in its scope, and in the number of new parks and monuments that were added to the system. For a decade he demonstrated leadership, patience, and a thorough understanding of how important it was to preserve part of America's heritage even if entire ecosystems could not be saved because of competing political and economic demands. The result was a legacy of accomplishment in legislation that extended far beyond his state (see Tables 1, 2, and 3).

Bible's attitude toward land-use issues began to change in 1959 with the fight to establish the Great Basin National Park in eastern Nevada. It was here that he recognized that his mining and livestock-raising constituents opposed all parks, regardless of the economic benefits involved or of the merits of preserving wild and scenic areas. Simply put, Nevada's miners and ranchers wanted unrestricted access to as much of the public domain as possible for exploitation and profit. At the height of the park controversy, Bible sarcastically observed, "as support of the Great Basin National Park developed, the region abruptly took on a new value, almost overnight it was valuable mineral property. There was no commercial mining then or now, but the area is touted as an area of great potential."⁶ Nevada's miners and ranchers won the battle and defeated the park plan, but they lost their foremost advocate, who moved beyond the limits of his local constituency to embrace the larger national goal of protection.

Again in 1959, Bible joined with Senator James Murray, Democrat of Montana, and sixteen other senators in co-sponsoring S. 2460, to preserve and develop shoreline resources for the benefit of future generations. With a price tag of \$50 million, the measure failed to receive congressional approval. However, S. 543, which was almost identical in its scope and purpose to the failed Murray proposal, was passed by the Congress on August 28, 1961, paving the way for creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore Park, which proved to be another important influence on Bible's outlook toward environmental issues.⁷

In 1961, Bible's Subcommittee on Public Lands moved into Massachusetts for another round of hearings on the Cape Cod bill, S. 857, sponsored by the state's



Senator Alan Bible and President John F. Kennedy. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

leading Republican, Senator Leverett Saltonstall. The result of the hearings was the sobering realization that the nation's shoreline was rapidly disappearing to residential and industrial users. Bible supported the proposal, and moreover he endorsed the conclusions of the National Park Service study:

TABLE 1
National Seashore Parks Established by Subcommittee on Parks
and Recreation
(Senator Alan Bible, chairman)

<i>Area</i>	<i>Date Authorized or Established</i>
Cape Cod National Seashore, Massachusetts 40 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 44,600 acres	7 Aug. 1961
Point Reyes National Seashore, California 45 miles of Pacific Ocean seashore and 64,500 acres	13 Sept. 1962
Padre Island National Seashore, Texas 80 miles of Gulf of Mexico seashore and 133,900 acres	28 Sept. 1962
Assateague Island National Seashore, Maryland, Virginia 35 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 39,630 acres	21 Sept. 1965
Fire Island National Seashore, New York 32 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 19,300 acres	9 Oct. 1965
Cape Lookout National Seashore, North Carolina 58 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 24,500 acres	10 Mar. 1966
Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, Michigan 35 miles of Lake Superior shoreline and 67,000 acres	15 Oct. 1966
Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana 13 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline and 8,720 acres	5 Nov. 1966
Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, Wisconsin 140 miles of Lake Superior shoreline and 42,825 acres	26 Sept. 1970
Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan 64 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline and 71,000 acres	21 Oct. 1970
Gulf Islands National Seashore, Florida, Mississippi 87 miles of Gulf of Mexico seashore and 125,000 acres	8 Jan. 1971
Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia 19 miles of Atlantic Ocean seashore and 41,600 acres	23 Oct. 1972
Totals: 648 miles, 682,575 acres	

SOURCE: Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 199.

There is no longer any comparable area in the New England region that exhibits all the outstanding values desirable and suitable for extensive seashore recreation.⁸

Thus, Bible moved slowly forward, propelled by the momentum of Congress and environmentally conscious organizations like the Sierra Club. When President John Kennedy signed the Cape Cod National Seashore Park Bill into law on August 7, 1961, the nation had passed a milestone in preservation. And Senator Bible's sense of commitment to protect what was left of America's vanishing recreational areas had been awakened.

TABLE 2
Major Legislation, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation during the
Johnson Administration
(Senator Alan Bible, chairman)

1964
Campobello International Park
Medicine Bow National Park
Ozark Scenic Riverway
Fort Bowie Historic Site
Fire Island National Seashore
Canyonlands National Park
1965
Assateague National Seashore
Whiskeytown National Recreation Area
Delaware Water Gap Recreation Area
1966
Cape Lookout Seashore
Guadalupe National Park
Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site
Chamizal National Memorial
San Juan Island National Historical Park
Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area
Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore
Wolf Trap Farm Park
Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore
1967
John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site
National Park Foundation
1968
San Rafael Wilderness
San Gabriel Wilderness
Redwoods National Park
Flaming Gorge Recreation Area
Biscayne Park
Scenic Rivers Act
Scenic Trails Act
North Cascades Park
Colorado River Reclamation Act
Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site
Carl Sandburg National Historic Site

SOURCE: Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 326.

TABLE 3
Major Legislation, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1969–1972
(Senator Alan Bible, chairman)

<i>1969–1970</i>	
Voyageurs National Park	Minnesota
Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument	Colorado
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historic Park	Maryland
Apostle Islands National Lakeshore	Wisconsin
Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore	Michigan
Gulf Island National Seashore	Mississippi and Florida
William Howard Taft National Historic Site	Ohio
Eisenhower National Historic Site	Pennsylvania
Lyndon B. Johnson National Historic Site	Texas
Fort Point National Historic Site	California
Andersonville National Historic Site	Georgia
Ford's Theatre National Historic Site	Washington, D.C.
<i>1971–1972</i>	
Fossil Butte National Monument	Wyoming
Hohokam Pima National Monument	Arizona
Buffalo National River	Arkansas
Cumberland Island National Seashore	Georgia
Golden Gate National Recreation Area	California
Gateway National Recreation Area	New York and New Jersey
Glen Canyon National Recreation Area	Utah and Arizona
Lower Saint Croix National Scenic River	Wisconsin and Minnesota
Lincoln Home National Historic Site	Illinois
Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site	Hawaii
Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site	Montana
Longfellow National Historic Site	Massachusetts
Gulf Island National Seashore	Florida
Mar-A-Lago National Historic Site	Florida
Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Memorial	Pennsylvania
Benjamin Franklin National Memorial	Pennsylvania
John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Memorial Parkway	Wyoming

SOURCE: Compiled from the Alan Bible Papers, Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno, Library.

After the Cape Cod victory in 1961, Bible joined forces with Senator Paul Douglas, a liberal Democratic reformer from Illinois who was waging a congressional war to save the Indiana Dunes from destruction by industrial interests who wanted a deep-water port on Lake Michigan. On July 23, 1961, Bible and



Senator Alan Bible on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. with (left to right) Congressman Walter Baring, Governor Grant Sawyer and Washoe County District Attorney William Raggio, mid-1960s. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall made a well-publicized trip to the Dunes, and afterward announced that they supported legislation to protect the area from development interests. Bible continued to support Douglas's proposal throughout what seemed at times to be endless rounds of negotiations, compromises, and hearings, which culminated in 1965 when the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee cleared S. 2249 for a full vote by the Senate. Afterward, Douglas sent Bible a telegram: "God bless you, Alan. Many, many thanks. We are friends from the heart forever." In his memoirs, Douglas again paid tribute to Bible for the role he played in passing the Indiana Dunes Bill.⁹

For the nation, Bible, and the environmental movement, the year 1964 was a watershed whose significance has been largely forgotten in the wake of the turbulent years that followed. Elected in a landslide over Republican Barry Goldwater, President Lyndon Johnson used his huge Democratic majority in Congress to press ahead with a vast legislative program reminiscent of the New Deal. Part of the president's Great Society package included the establishment of parks and recreation areas on a grand scale. At the same time, ill health forced Democratic Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico to take a secondary role in environmental matters and to relinquish his chairmanship of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Henry "Scoop" Jackson, Democrat of Washington. While Jackson was taking control of the full committee, Bible assumed

leadership of the newly created Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. For the next decade, Jackson and Bible worked closely together to pass parks and recreation legislation.

Also in 1964, George B. Hartzog, Jr., was appointed director of the National Park Service, to succeed Conrad Wirth. Wirth's emphasis on commercialism disturbed Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, who believed that Hartzog would be more attuned to the direction in which the administration was headed. Udall proved to be correct, and Hartzog and Bible became close personal friends who worked extremely well together. Their goal was always the same—to do what was politically possible to protect America's vanishing scenic wonders while at the same time creating new parks and recreation facilities.

Thus, what emerged in 1964 was a national team assembled to capitalize on, and contribute to, a balance in the environmental movement. The president himself led the way, with Lady Bird Johnson providing encouragement and publicity through her beautification program. Then came Secretary Udall, a tireless worker who was always helpful to congressional committees. In the Senate, Jackson supported Bible's committee decisions and almost never interfered in its business, while Hartzog worked to expand his park service in order to fulfill the agency's mission (which was not always in harmony with the goals of environmental organizations). In the Senate, Bible was the key man not only because of his power as subcommittee chairman, but also through his membership on important subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee.

As the decade of the 1960s drew to a close, so did Bible's unconditional support of the western mining industry. In his quiet but firm way, Bible served notice on the American Mining Congress that business as usual would not be tolerated in the future. On October 11, 1971, in a speech given to the annual meeting of the American Mining Congress in Las Vegas, Bible said, "mining needs to clean up its methods and clean up its image."¹⁰ In addition, the condition of Lake Tahoe, which had been in continuous environmental deterioration since 1945, moved Bible to action. Secretly, he hoped the entire shoreline could be made into a national park, thereby halting the rampant development that threatened to consume the lake's natural beauty.¹¹ But nowhere was his sense of urgency more keen than for Alaska—America's last frontier. It was here that Bible's land-use ethic tilted well to the side of the preservationists, who were waging a last-ditch fight to save Alaska from the ravages of unrestricted development.

George Hartzog's recent book, *Battling for the National Parks*, reveals the extent of Bible's contribution to establishing national parks in general, and to the preservation of Alaskan lands in particular. Indeed, Hartzog writes that Bible, "more than any other in Congress, held the keys to life and death for the national park system. He controlled all of the legislation for the national park system and all its appropriations to implement such legislation."¹² Without question, Bible was the prince of players on the field of land preservation in Alaska and the one man



Senator Alan Bible with President Lyndon B. Johnson. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

that Hartzog had to have in his corner if the park service had any chance of protecting large blocks of pristine wilderness.

From the beginning, in 1959, Bible had supported Alaska's drive for statehood in the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. But in the decade following its admission to the union, he had no contact with land issues in Alaska, and no legislation came before his Subcommittee on Public Lands or the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. This all changed in early 1969 when the oil discovery of 1968 on the North Slope was publicized and Secretary of the Interior Udall ordered a freeze on all land disposals. Thus, oil profits, the growing energy crisis, and the momentum of the environmental movement all came together to make Alaska the celebrated cause of the 1970s, just as the Echo Park Dam fight had been in the 1950s and ecology itself was in the 1960s.¹³

Initially, it seemed safe to assume that Bible would support a balanced approach that would protect development interests. There was the growing energy crisis, which oil exploration would help alleviate. Probably equally important was the dedication of Alaska's two senators, Ted Stevens and Mike Gravel, to developing the state's rich storehouse of natural resources. Moreover, while environmental groups still maintained considerable clout in and out of Con-

gress, the feeling was growing across the nation and on Capitol Hill, as part of a general backlash against the liberalism of the 1960s, that their objectives posed a considerable threat to American business productivity and should be tempered against the realities of the business world.¹⁴

This was the situation in 1969 when the House of Representatives began consideration of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, whose provisions protected 76 million acres of pristine land for inclusion in national-interest categories. The protectionist clause was defeated, and John Saylor, Republican of Pennsylvania, the ranking minority member on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, afterward told Hartzog that the fight could be won only in the Senate. That sent Hartzog scurrying off to see Scoop Jackson, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.¹⁵

Jackson was supportive, but he insisted that Hartzog see Bible, whose Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation had the primary responsibility for the Alaska native claims bill. Hartzog met with Bible, who told him that he had never been to Alaska and was not familiar with the goals the National Park Service had set for the state. Bible then told Hartzog that he would be guided by the wishes of Alaska's two senators, whom Hartzog knew all too well to be against any strong national park presence in their state. The cause, at least from Hartzog's perspective, could not have seemed more hopeless because Bible was known to oppose any park plan that lacked the support of the local congressman and the state's two senators. But the parks director was not easily deterred—always on the sell, Hartzog invited Bible to vacation in Alaska, and Bible agreed.¹⁶ It was through such a small matter that the fortunes of Alaska would be forever changed.

Bible had visited a great many places in the United States and had seen most of its scenic wonders. Comparisons to his home state of Nevada were inevitable, as the gray-brown sagebrush landscape of the Great Basin stood in stark contrast to the wet, green, and wooded areas of many national parks. Other parks, particularly in the semiarid West, possessed spectacular vistas largely missing from Nevada, except for Lake Tahoe and some areas of White Pine County. Still, Bible never seemed to have been so captivated that his preservationist instincts commanded his full attention. Alaska changed that.

Hartzog did his work well. He guided the Bible party all over the state and explained the park service goals for the area. Whether fishing, camping, or sightseeing in a bus, Bible was thunderstruck by what he saw in the raw natural beauty, fabulously rich wildlife, and vast unspoiled wilderness of Alaska. All of those present agree that Bible's perspective was dramatically altered by his Alaskan vacation. After marveling at the land, wildlife, and undeveloped lakes and streams, Bible left the last frontier with a renewed dedication to preserve the area for use and enjoyment of future generations.¹⁷

Bible then invited Hartzog to his Lake Tahoe home for a few days of rest and relaxation before returning to Washington, D.C. Bible asked Hartzog to draft

language for inclusion in the Alaska bill that would accomplish the objectives of the park service. The result was Section 17(d) (2), introduced by Bible at the mark-up session of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971) before the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. The section called for 80 million acres of Alaskan state lands to be withdrawn for inclusion in four national-interest categories: national parks, forest service, fish and wildlife, and wild and scenic rivers. In addition, Section 17(d) (2) provided that the secretary of interior make recommendations for disposition of the land to Congress by December 1973, and thereafter Congress had until December 1978 to act on the secretary's proposals.¹⁸ Bible had given Hartzog four million more acres than he had originally asked for, and more than the House had provided for earlier.

Bible's amendment protected large areas of Alaska from exploitation while at the same time Congress was given time to study the matter and make sound decisions for the state's economic development. Like Hartzog, Bible knew that Alaska represented a chance for the nation to protect some of the most spectacular unspoiled land in the world. But while Congress gained time to contemplate the future course of Alaska, so did the developers, who immediately centered on Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, who had succeeded Udall in 1969. Their goal was to remove as much of the Section 17(d) (2) land as possible from the protection of the National Park Service and have it placed under the Forest Service or the fish and wildlife management system, where it would be easier for them to get at in the future.¹⁹

On December 17, 1973, Secretary Morton's recommendations to Congress demonstrated that the developers had lobbied well. Specifically, only 32 million of the over 80 million acres that Bible had sought to protect through Section 17(d) (2) were recommended for inclusion in the National Park System. The remainder were divided between the Forest Service (18,800,000) and the Wildlife Refuge System (31,590,000). Hartzog was hopping mad, particularly when Morton also recommended that sport hunting be allowed to continue in areas designated for national parks.²⁰ Again the battle lines were drawn. But, unlike the case during the previous twenty years of unprecedented upheaval over land-use policy, Senator Bible was not present. He retired just as Congress began a new round of hearings and proposals on Alaska in January 1975.

The congressional stalemate was broken on December 2, 1980, when President Jimmy Carter signed into law the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. As with all legislation, no one was totally satisfied, but on balance, environmental organizations and their advocates in Congress did well, particularly considering the likely result had President-elect Ronald Reagan been allowed to make the final determination. Specifically, 43.6 million acres were set aside for national parks, 53.8 for the Fish and Wildlife Service, and 3.4 for the National Forest Service, and a whopping 56.4 million acres were designated as wilderness.²¹ Clearly, a significant portion of Alaska had been protected. But, just as clearly, the solution had come just in the nick of time. The environmental

movement that had begun in the 1950s with the fight over the Echo Park Dam had run its course in Alaska; the decade of the 1980s belonged to the ravagers and the exploiters.

This story of Alan Bible as champion of national parks and recreation areas demonstrates the difficulty in placing politicians into neat categories of conservative, liberal, or middle of the road. For most of his career, colleagues and friends considered Bible a moderate-to-conservative politician who tended to move in circles dominated by Southern Democrats, who were generally well to the right. To a great extent, that evaluation was correct, and remained so throughout his career. But another side to his character was certainly shaped by the events, ideologies, and movements in the 1960s that placed him in the company of the Great Society liberals.

Bible stood for "qualitative liberalism"—that is, the improvement of people's lives. He supported a whole range of economic and social programs, including traditional New and Fair Deal approaches to Social Security and Medicare. Moreover, aid to education, civil rights, expanded minimum-wage programs, food stamps, and Head Start, just to name a few, received his endorsement. Clearly, he viewed national parks in much the same way that President Johnson and others viewed Great Society measures—as an advancement in improving the quality of life.

In assessing what had been achieved in Alaska, George Hartzog writes:

Many people rightfully can claim credit for the great treasures that have been preserved for all generations in Alaska, and quite properly they should get that credit for many hands were on the oars. But the captains of the vessel that preserved the opportunity were Scoop Jackson and Alan Bible. Had it not been for them there would have been no work for the others in the years that followed the enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971.²²

Nor was Hartzog alone in his assessment of Bible's contributions to the National Park System. On August 28, 1970, Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana took the floor to pay tribute to Bible during the Senate's consideration of the Redwoods National Park Bill in California:

When we are talking about conservation and the challenge of meeting the outdoor recreation demands of a growing nation, one man stands at the top in terms of accomplishment. I doubt that enough attention has ever been directed to the man and his works—the senior senator from Nevada, Alan Bible. During more than a decade in the U.S. Senate, Alan Bible has clearly established himself as a leading conservation figure. Certainly, his record in the area of parks and recreation is unmatched. As chairman of the Parks and Recreation Subcommittee and, before that, the Public Lands Subcommittee, Senator Bible has been instrumental in passing legislation that has added no less than 47 new areas to the National Park System. This is a record unequaled by any other senator in his position in the history of Congress. I submit it as a record that represents the greatest period of recreation development ever witnessed by our nation. Senator Bible's calm guiding hand was largely responsible for solving the complex problems that had

thwarted progress on the Redwood National Park Bill. It was the same effective capacity for overcoming obstacles that made his record of achievement possible.²³

Finally, Senator Jackson describes Bible as "the guiding force behind the greatest expansion and development of the National Park System in American history." He was the key figure in the Senate, and among his colleagues "Alan Bible's name is synonymous with parks in federal and private lands all over this country." Jackson's conclusions deserve our attention, for they are historically correct:

. . . a listing of legislation Senator Bible has piloted into enactment by Congress in the 1960s and 70s reads like a roll call of the nation's national parks and historic treasures. He has earned the gratitude of the American people for his role in preserving their natural, scenic, recreational and historic heritage.²⁴

NOTES

¹Bruce Covill and Beverly Wexler Weinberg, "Alan Bible, Democratic Senator from Nevada," in *Ralph Nader's Congress Project, Citizens Look at Congress* (1972), 1, unpublished manuscript. Alan Bible Papers (hereafter cited as AB Papers), Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Library.

²George B. Hartzog, Jr., interview by author, 30 July 1990. For an analysis of Senate traditions and folkways, see Donald R. Matthews, *U.S. Senators and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); Michael Foley, *The New Senate: Liberal Influence on a Conservative Institution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980). The best over-all treatment of the national parks from a political and economic perspective is Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 2d ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978).

³Alan Bible, "Recollections of a Nevada Native Son: The Law, Politics, the Nevada Attorney General's Office, and the United States Senate" (University of Nevada Oral History Project, 1981).

⁴Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 284.

⁵Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3, 13. For an excellent analysis of the political and economic factors that work to produce compromise in land-use policy, see Richard Allan Baker, *Conservation Politics: The Senate Career of Clinton P. Anderson* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

⁶Statement from the office of Senator Bible, "Washington Round-up," April 1966, AB Papers, Box 99. The first bill to establish the Great Basin National Park was introduced by Bible in 1959. See U.S. Congress, Senate, *A Bill to Establish the Great Basin National Park in Nevada*, S. 2664, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959. Also see U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, *Hearing on Senate 2664*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959. A more detailed analysis of the Great Basin National Park fight can be found in Gary E. Elliott, "Whose Land Is It: The Battle for the Great Basin National Park, 1957-1967," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 34 (Spring 1991), 241-256.

⁷U.S. Congress, Senate, *A Bill to Preserve and Develop Shoreline Areas*, S. 2460, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 1959.

⁸*Congressional Record*, Senate, 27 June 1961, 11391. Also see U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Establish the Cape Cod National Seashore Park, *Hearing on S. 857*, 9 March 1961.

⁹Ronald Engel, *Sacred Sands: The Struggle for Community in the Indiana Dunes* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 265. U.S. Congress, Senate, The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Public Lands, *Hearings on the Indiana Dunes National Park*, S. 2249, 88th

Congress, 1st Session, 5, 6, 7 March 1964. Paul Douglas to Alan Bible, 17 May 1965, AB Papers, Box 47. Paul H. Douglas, *In the Fullness of Time: The Memoirs of Paul H. Douglas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), 541. President Johnson formally signed the Indiana Dunes Bill into law on November 5, 1966, P.L. 89-761. Another excellent study of the enormous struggle and constant effort required to create a national park is Robert W. Righter, *Crucible for Conservation: The Struggle for Grand Teton National Park* (Colorado: Associated University Press, 1982).

¹⁰Statement from the office of Senator Bible, 15 October 1971, AB Papers, Index Citation 1/2/3 through 1/2/5.

¹¹Lucille Bible, interview by author, 29 August 1990.

¹²George B. Hartzog, Jr., *Battling for the National Parks* (Mt. Kisco, N.Y.: Moyer Bell Limited, 1988), 203.

¹³Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 290.

¹⁴Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence*, 411.

¹⁵Hartzog, *Battling for the National Parks*, 211.

¹⁶*Ibid*, 212.

¹⁷Lucille Bible, interview by author, 15 August 1989; Dr. Fred Anderson, interview by author, 22 August 1989; Bob McDonald, interview by author, 22 August 1989. In August 1989, the author spent two weeks in Alaska to get a perspective on the state and on Bible's reaction to what he had seen on his vacation. Although the trip was by no means as extensive as the one Hartzog conducted for Bible, it was nonetheless breathtaking and inspirational.

¹⁸Hartzog, *Battling for the National Parks*, 213.

¹⁹*Ibid*, 214.

²⁰*Ibid*, 215.

²¹*Ibid*, 220.

²²*Ibid*, 221.

²³*Congressional Record* (Senate), 28 August 1970, P30364.

²⁴Statement from the office of Senator Henry M. Jackson, 12 June 1973, AB Papers, Box 292.

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