



01 Jan 2003

The Campaign Against Smoking Opium

Diana L. Ahmad

Missouri University of Science and Technology, ahmadd@mst.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsmine.mst.edu/his_polsci_facwork



Part of the [History Commons](#), and the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ahmad, D. L. (2003). The Campaign Against Smoking Opium. *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* Nevada Historical Society.

This Article - Journal is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars' Mine. It has been accepted for inclusion in History and Political Science Faculty Research & Creative Works by an authorized administrator of Scholars' Mine. This work is protected by U. S. Copyright Law. Unauthorized use including reproduction for redistribution requires the permission of the copyright holder. For more information, please contact scholarsmine@mst.edu.

Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly

William D. Rowley
Editor-in-Chief

Michael Green
Book Review Editor

Jacqueline L. Clay
Managing Editor

Elizabeth Ann Harvey
Manuscript Editor

Volume 46

Winter 2003

Number 4

Contents

243 The Campaign Against Smoking Opium
DIANA L. AHMAD

257 Plane Politics: Lyndon Johnson, Howard Cannon, and
Nevada's 1964 Senatorial Election
JOHN GILBERTSON

287 NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
For Nevada Only
DOROTHY R. SCHEELE

Book Reviews

301 *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, by Dee Brown (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001)
Documents of United States Indian Policy, Francis P. Prucha
(Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000)
reviewed by Roger L. Nichols

303 *I'll Go and Do More: Annie Dodge Wauneka, Navajo Leader and Activist*. By Carolyn Niethammer. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001)
reviewed by Margaret Jacobs

Front Cover: Howard Cannon and Alan Bible in front of the Carson City Mint coin press. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

erly

evada

ular interest deal-
constitutional) or
anthropology, and
s concerning the

ty Quarterly, 1650
sent in duplicate,
6.0, or Microsoft
d conform to the
should be typed
delines are avail-
l, and should be

y by the Nevada
ership dues are:
enefactor, \$1,000;
sent to the Direc-
s postage paid at
anges to Nevada

The Campaign Against Smoking Opium Nevada Journalists as Agents of Social Reform, 1875-1882

DIANA L. AHMAD

In 1879, the *Reno Evening Gazette* condemned the Chinese habit of smoking opium. Like numerous articles before in many Western newspapers, the *Gazette's* journalist decreed the habit to be a "foul cancer" and a "loathsome moral leprosy."¹ Along with his press corps colleagues, the Reno reporter took it upon himself to become a moral guardian of society by condemning the use of smoking opium. Protecting Anglo-American men and women from the alleged immorality of the narcotic became a passion for many of the West's journalists in the 1870s and the 1880s.

In 1848, the first major wave of Chinese immigrants came to the United States to participate in the California gold rush. Along with their hopes of riches, they brought with them the habit of smoking opium. Although few Chinese actually smoked the drug, the vice quickly became associated with all of them, as opium dens opened in practically every Chinatown in the West.² The Chinese established dens throughout Nevada, Montana, Texas, Wyoming, Utah, Oregon, and Idaho. The animosity of the press rose with the increasing availability of the drug. To counter the perceived problem of opium smoking, journalists campaigned for the passage of legislation to end the traffic in the narcotic. By 1877, so many dens existed in Nevada that the state legislature became the first in the nation to pass a statute banning the sale of smoking opium and the keeping of an opium den.³

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the moral system of the country's genteel classes revolved around a Victorian ideology that expected women to be attentive to their husbands' needs. American Victorians expected their nation to be better and more sophisticated than any other.⁴ In this context, journalists used their professional skills to campaign against the narcotic.

During the last four decades of the nineteenth century, hundreds of newspapers existed in the American West. Most communities possessed at least one

Diana L. Ahmad, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor of History, and University Archivist at the University of Missouri-Rolla. She specializes in History of the American West and History of the American Pacific West.



A nineteenth-century lithograph purporting to show a Chinese opium den. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

weekly or
papers in t
paper beg;
established
boasted se
worked fo
worked fo
Mark Twa
the *Territor*

During
thousand
sand, mak
era.^o Altho
the miners
The fledgl
and went.
Wells Dru
later, at ag
was the G
social life

weekly or daily newspaper. One of the oldest, continuously published newspapers in the West was Virginia City, Nevada's *Territorial Enterprise*. The newspaper began in 1858 in Genoa, Nevada, moved to Carson City in 1859, and established itself permanently in Virginia City in 1860. The *Territorial Enterprise* boasted several well-known editors and reporters, including Dan DeQuille who worked for the newspaper for thirty-one years, and Samuel Clemens who worked for the newspaper in 1862 and 1863 just before changing his name to Mark Twain. Twain and DeQuille worked together during the early years of the *Territorial Enterprise*.⁵

During the first years of its publication, the *Territorial Enterprise* cleared \$1 thousand per day when Virginia City had a population of only thirty thousand, making it a larger press than any San Francisco newspaper of the same era.⁶ Although not assured of financial success, editors and reporters followed the miners to practically every boomtown in the West and set up their presses. The fledgling newspapers opened and closed as quickly as the strikes came and went. Often journalists for these newspapers were young men, such as Wells Drury who published a newspaper at the age of nineteen in Oregon and later, at age twenty-five, worked for the *Gold Hill News* under Alf Doten. Doten was the Gold Hill reporter and editor who left a detailed dairy of Nevada's social life during the last decades of nineteenth century.⁷



Alf Doten was a Gold Hill reporter and editor who left a detailed dairy of Nevada's social life during the last decades of nineteenth century. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The tasks of the journalists were defined by the era in which they wrote. From the 1830s through the 1860s, journalists began to consider themselves agents of reform, and their papers began providing information to help their readers reform government and society. During the Civil War, newspapers became vehicles of information that provided the names of relatives who had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner during the conflict. In addition, readers learned to rely on the press for information about the war, government policies, and the outcome of recent events. As a result, Americans developed the habit of reading newspapers.⁸

By the 1870s, and coincidentally at the beginning of the practice of smoking opium by the Anglo-American *demimonde*, journalists conceived of themselves as agents of moral and intellectual growth. In 1869, Richard Grant White, American author and Shakespearean scholar, wrote that the journalist's job was to speak to thousands of people and "to lay before his readers accounts of the world's doings that may be relied upon." White continued, "it is to journalism that we should be able to look for a corrective of the evils from which our society is suffering," and it is to journalists that Americans should look to find "our chastisement, our hope, and our salvation."⁹ The newspapers felt an obligation to help people decide how they should see the world and what opinions their readers should hold. Journalism, they believed, should serve as a "constant guide, a daily counselor," and as the "brain of a community."¹⁰ In other words, newspaper reporters and editorialists could use the press to encourage the progress and enlightenment they considered desirable for the United States.¹¹ Specifically, however, the reporter's job was to interest, attract attention, and "act as an appetizing tonic" for readers. The editorialist's task was to take a "decided position," tell the "truth for its own sake," and make the "assumption of authority as to forbid the suspicion that there are arguments to be urged in opposition."¹² Because of these views, late nineteenth-century journalists believed that "no literature ever was of such priceless value as the modern newspaper."¹³

With a tradition of acting as social reformers and believing that newspapers were the most valuable publication in the country, journalists felt that they had the power to protect the United States.¹⁴ Western journalists took the role of civilizing agent seriously. Some of them focused on eliminating prostitution or took up the cause of temperance, while others took on the chore of eliminating opium dens from their community's midst. The journalistic attack on the use of the narcotic began in the mid-1870s when elite and middle class Anglo-American men and women started visiting Chinatown's opium dens to partake of the product of the poppy. Calling opium vendors "barbaric Chinese brutes"¹⁵ and "soulless human reptiles,"¹⁶ reporters seemed certain the moral downfall of the United States was imminent if Americans continued using the substance.¹⁷

But why focus on opium smoking? What was so wrong with the substance that Nevada journalists, as well as others around the West, would attack it?

Were the at
smoking op
crusading a
the region?

Research
some of the
zines, the d
ened sexua
ing contem
tormented
sexual app
of the narcc
readers abo
ease, loss of
Journalists
sized the e
Reno Evenin
then Vice i
Deadly Dr
Editors in M
River Press
Satan."²⁰

Whether
their own i
columns fo
community
den on Ne
washhouse
to find the
State's exai
ample, in S
Flores Stre
scribed the
edgeable al
Wyoming,
Streets, sou
the washho
and St. Joh
would avo
enough to

Western
in their con
ential hov

Were the attacks racially motivated or was there a perceived underlying evil to smoking opium that was so terrible journalists attacked this vice rather than crusading against prostitution, gambling, or drinking, all common features of the region?

Research conducted by nineteenth-century American physicians addressed some of these questions. Published in contemporary popular journals and magazines, the doctors' research noted one side effect of opium smoking was a heightened sexuality. According to Alonzo Calkins and Harry Hubbell Kane, the leading contemporary researchers on opium smoking, smokers were "habitually tormented with a satyriasis as abortive as it is insatiable" and that a woman's sexual appetite "sometimes approaches to frenzy" when under the influence of the narcotic.¹⁸ Armed with this information, journalists began warning their readers about the hazards of smoking opium. According to the articles, disease, loss of morality, insanity, and death could result if a person smoked opium. Journalists often chose titles for their articles on opium smoking that emphasized the evil allegedly surrounding the use of the narcotic. For example, the *Reno Evening Gazette* labeled one column "Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," while the *Tybo Weekly Sun* called its article "Asia's Deadly Drug," and the *Nevada State Journal* called its "The Death Smoke."¹⁹ Editors in Montana followed Nevada's lead, calling an article in the *Fort Benton River Press* "Demonic Dens: Benton the Victim of Almond-Eyed Ministers of Satan."²⁰

Whether accompanied by "nocturnal guardians of the public peace" or on their own initiative, reporters investigated the opium dens.²¹ In the newspaper columns following the visits, a reader often found directions to one of the community's dens. In Carson City, a habitué or curiosity seeker could visit a den on Nevada Street between Third and Fourth Streets or go to a Chinese washhouse in the rear of the Mint. In Virginia City, a smoker went to H Street to find the opium resort.²² Reporters outside of Nevada followed the Silver State's example and announced locations of their communities' dens. For example, in San Antonio a smoker could go to 216 Soledad Street or to 12 North Flores Street to obtain the narcotic as well as to smoke it. Other articles described the location of the dens sufficiently to allow practically anyone knowledgeable about the community to find his or her way to the den. In Cheyenne, Wyoming, a smoker could visit a den "in an alley between Ferguson and Hill Streets, south of Sixteenth," or in Fort Benton, Montana, a smoker could stop at the washhouse near the levee on Benton Street or stop at another den at Main and St. John Streets.²³ Although the addresses were probably given so readers would avoid the establishments, some people undoubtedly became intrigued enough to want to see the dens for themselves.

Western journalists carefully crafted colorful metaphors for the opium dens in their communities. Calling them "loathsome resorts of degradation," "pestilential hovels," "sinks of pollution," and "vile, pernicious dens of debauch-



A nineteenth-century lithograph showing Chinese gambling.
(Nevada Historical Society)

ery," they characterized the dens as dark and mysterious places.²⁴ Reporters claimed to have found Anglo-American smokers with "their souls wrapped in forgetfulness," "in a dreamy, semi-unconscious state, more terrible than death itself," or partaking "of a season of relaxation in fields Elysian."²⁵ They also described the smokers as "jammed promiscuously together" and claimed that they "presented an appearance of degradation [*sic*] to bring a blush of shame to the most hardened."²⁶ Journalists believed that such a situation might lead some young male smokers to find themselves "companions of harlots and leperous [*sic*] Chinese."²⁷

The editors and reporters often wrote of the alleged loss of morality that occurred in the opium dens. They especially worried, however, about the young people of their communities. In 1877, the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* commented that the Chinese "are filling the bodies and the souls of the young here with disease. They are killing self-respect in the minds of young men. They are taking away all sense of shame from the hearts of young women." Two years later, in 1879, the paper's concerns remained the same, stating that young people go to the dens "to their moral degradation and ruin."²⁸ Further, the anxiety shown in the newspapers' columns rarely altered through the many years of opium use in the West.

Worrying about the young men of the community was one thing, but Western newspapers devoted hundreds of inches of column space expressing concerns about the area's women and discussing problems they might encounter in a den. In 1883, a reporter for the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* found a white man and woman "prostrate upon the floor" of an opium den, and the reporter asked his readers "who can tell to what outrages the woman may have been sub-

jected while
Daily Herald
their dens f
the case, th
den propri
powering i
to give the
mented up

Not limit
opium smo
tions again
and terror
their comm
nances to s
even thoug
council had
The newsp
seems to be
ginia City j
editor of th
impossible
council] are
newspaper
the forefro
the legal su
most disg

Taking a
gested that
munity to k
inhumanit
newspaper
say that "th
ostracize th
ceptable bel
cess of smol
sand murde
editorialize
shun it as th

In their ei
brimstone a
against smo
zette deman
arrest the Pa

jected while in such a fearful condition." The next year, a reporter for the *Ogden Daily Herald* claimed to have witnessed Chinese men enticing "little girls into their dens for immoral purposes." The journalists also warned that if such was the case, the Anglo-Americans in town would "make it tropical" (hot) for the den proprietors.²⁹ Numerous articles used such phrases as "seductive, overpowering influence," "lying about stupefied," and "lie down while smoking," to give the impression that the opium habit encouraged the sexuality commented upon in the physicians' reports.³⁰

Not limiting themselves to drawing the public's attention to the dangers of opium smoking, journalists campaigned in their columns to obtain legal sanctions against the narcotic and its users. They called upon police, city officials, and territorial or state legislatures to write laws banning the substance from their communities. In 1876, newspapers in Virginia City began calling for ordinances to suppress opium smoking. The *Territorial Enterprise* commented that even though it had called attention to the community's opium dens, the city council had not acted to pass an ordinance regulating or banning the substance. The newspaper asserted, "it is a burning shame to our civilization that there seems to be no practicable method of suppressing the nuisance."³¹ The Virginia City journalists' campaign continued and, in August 1876, the frustrated editor of the *Virginia City Evening Chronicle* complained, "it seems altogether impossible for the authorities to stop it [smoking opium] if indeed they [city council] are inclined to make any efforts in that direction."³² Other community newspapers called for anti-opium smoking laws as well, putting morality at the forefront of their demands. In 1878, the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* demanded the legal suppression of opium to keep smokers from "lying around in the most disgusting confusion, with no regard whatever for decency."³³

Taking a slightly different approach, the *Idaho Avalanche* of Silver City suggested that opium smokers be identified and boycotted. They wanted the community to know that smokers were groveling "in the lowest pools of bestial inhumanity." They suggested that if the community fathers took the newspaper's advice and identified the smokers, people would soon be able to say that "there goes a d___d opium smoker," thereby, allowing the town to ostracize the person and to show the world that opium smoking was not acceptable behavior in their community.³⁴ Reporters also believed that the process of smoking opium "carried with it more tortures of remorse than a thousand murders committed on innocent victims must" possess.³⁵ The *El Paso Times* editorialized, if people knew the consequences of opium smoking, "they would shun it as they would a rattlesnake."³⁶

In their efforts to abolish the habit, newspapers occasionally used a fire and brimstone approach to support their demands for ordinances and statutes against smoking opium. Calling itself a "moral censor," the *Reno Evening Gazette* demanded that law enforcement agencies "break up these vile resorts; arrest the Pagan vendors of the villainous stuff. Stop the traffic in men's souls,

if every heathen has got to be run into the Pacific to do it. Let us preserve our moral cleanliness at all hazards and wrench this contaminating vice from our midst."³⁷ Talking about the potential downfall of the United States due to opium smoking, the *Territorial Enterprise* claimed that the Chinese "are sowing among us vices worse than caused the decline and fall of ancient Empires" and that "the most terrible evils which Chinese immigration are bringing to this coast are not to the industries, but, through opium and lewd women, to the morals and the health of the people."³⁸ The *Helena Weekly Herald* called for public action against the narcotic stating "no evil which society has yet suffered can compare with that of opium-smoking should it once get a hold in any community. The question is, 'What are you going to do about it?'"³⁹ Even today, a reader can feel the fist-pounding, finger-shaking words of reporters on a crusade against evil.

The newspaper campaign to obtain legislation against the substance finally succeeded. On September 12, 1876, Virginia City passed the nation's first ordinance banning opium dens within its city limits. Nine months later, in June 1877, Carson City followed Virginia City's example and passed similar legislation. Within two years, other western communities, including Portland, Oregon, and Cheyenne, Wyoming, enacted similar laws in their communities. At the state or territorial level, the Nevada legislature, as noted above, passed the nation's first opium smoking statute in 1877, making it a leader in the nineteenth century's anti-drug campaign. By 1899, at least ten states and territories had followed Nevada's lead and passed anti-opium smoking statutes.⁴⁰

With the legislation in place, journalists envisioned the end of opium dens in their communities. To pursue this goal, they turned their attention from petitioning for legislation to demanding that police departments raid opium dens and arrest the culprits running the establishments. They even went so far as to suggest that better educated detectives raid the opium dens and that "raids should be made at irregular and unexpected times" in order to most effectively apprehend the violators of the ordinances.⁴¹ In Carson City, the *Morning Appeal* wanted a police officer stationed in Chinatown around the clock to apprehend transgressors.⁴² The newspaper also suggested where police might go to find opium smokers, such as the "back slums" of Carson City, where they could "make a haul of law breakers."⁴³

Once the raids began, the press expressed enthusiasm for the laws and the police's activities. The *Territorial Enterprise* announced the new ordinances "will put an end to opium smoking and opium dens provided our officers do their duty." A week later, the paper followed up and noted the raids had, indeed, begun.⁴⁴ The press sometimes took credit for providing the police with information necessary for successfully breaking up the resorts. In 1879, the *Salt Lake Tribune* claimed that its exposure of local dens resulted in a police raid.⁴⁵

When the raids were successful, the newspapers cheered that Anglo-American smokers "were rescued from the habit," or that Chinese dealers known to

sell large amounts suggest ing and in the opium."⁴⁷

Often, ho dashed, and pursuing aft upset becau police, and t at the lack of tery. The *Ga*: the baleful e animosity to posed: "Is th Chinese of R that the offi dealers in th frustrations does not thi opened after *Idaho Tri-We* that had bee pressure fro

Journalist ment agenci *rial Enterpris* spies," and keepers beca community.⁵² Th Chinese arre countrymen

During su ers and smo etors and ha used white s forcement ag Americans t branch of the a lack of ev: authority un

With the began to su *Reno Evening*

sell large amounts of opium to whites had been arrested.⁴⁶ The *Portland Oregonian* suggested that young people arrested in an opium den "should take warning and in the future desist from indulging in the baneful practice of smoking opium."⁴⁷

Often, however, the hopes of the press for an opium-free community were dashed, and the press lashed out at local law enforcement agencies for not pursuing after the opium dens with more vigor. The *Reno Evening Gazette* was upset because it had called the matter of opium dens to the attention of the police, and the officers had yet to act. The article angrily expressed frustration at the lack of enforcement, stating, "Why this traffic is not suppressed is a mystery. The *Gazette* called attention to the matter some time ago, and pointed out the baleful effects of the vice." At the end of the column, a question laced with animosity toward the opium situation and the law enforcement officials was posed: "Is the opium smoking clause of our statutes a dead letter, or are the Chinese of Reno above the law?"⁴⁸ In 1879, the *Evening Gazette* found it "strange that the officers do not take some steps to enforce the law against the Pagan dealers in this living death."⁴⁹ In 1883, the *El Paso Lone Star* expressed similar frustrations noting, "the opium dens in this city are still openly running. Why does not this city council take some action in this matter?"⁵⁰ When a den reopened after a raid, newspapers sometimes campaigned to close it again. The *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman* of Boise claimed credit for a second raid on a den that had been reopened. It believed the police raided the den again only due to pressure from the press.⁵¹

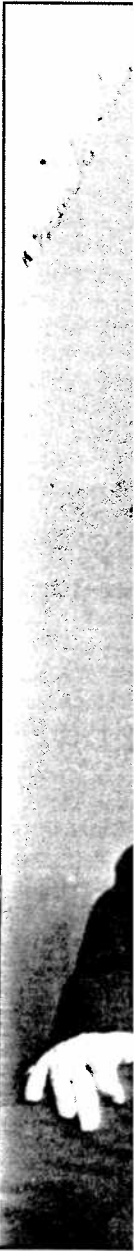
Journalists occasionally came to the defense of the beleaguered law enforcement agencies and their attempts to raid opium joints. The *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* claimed den operators learned of coming raids "through their spies," and the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted "it is almost impossible to catch" den keepers because of an early warning system developed by the Chinese community.⁵² The *Territorial Enterprise* also complained it was difficult to convict Chinese arrested for dealing in the narcotic because of the "perjury of their countrymen."⁵³

During successful raids, police arrested Chinese and Anglo-American dealers and smokers alike. For the most part, however, only Chinese den proprietors and habitués were arrested, jailed, and/or fined.⁵⁴ The police sometimes used white smokers as witnesses against the Chinese.⁵⁵ An arrest by a law enforcement agency did not guarantee jail time or even a fine for Chinese or Anglo-Americans unlucky enough to be arrested. Further, in some cases the judicial branch of the government freed those accused of running an opium den due to a lack of evidence, or a judge found that a community did not possess the authority under its charter to pass an opium smoking ordinance.⁵⁶

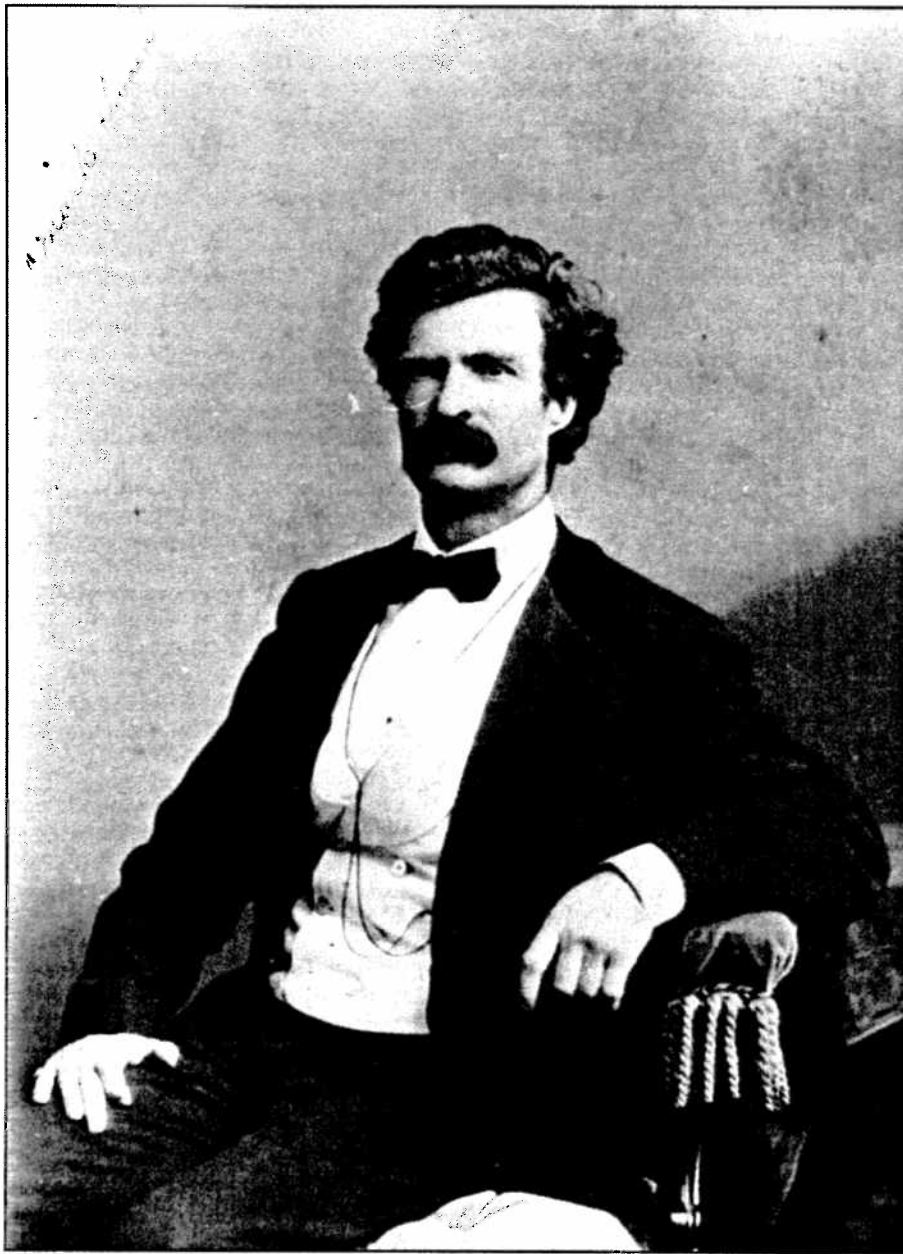
With the uneven success of the anti-opium smoking campaign, the press began to suggest extraordinary ways of handling the situation. In 1879, the *Reno Evening Gazette* suggested den proprietors "ought to be hung, but the law

does not admit of it."⁵⁷ In an effort to remind readers that they believed opium smoking threatened the morality and health of the community, the *Territorial Enterprise* wrote, "while we would not advise violent measures, we should not object to a peaceful but determined course outside of the strict letter of the law for the attainment of the end in view."⁵⁸ Frustration with the spread, use, and inability to enforce legislation clearly showed in the columns of Nevada and the West's newspapers.

In spite of the journalists' efforts to abolish opium dens, the reporters recognized that "even the great penalty attached to opium smoking will not deter the white habitué from satisfying his fearful appetite."⁵⁹ Despite that, the West's newspapermen remained dedicated to reminding their readers of the dangers of the narcotic, appealing to law enforcement agencies to be vigilant in their work, and faithfully reporting the arrests, trials, and convictions of those found in opium dens. The journalists continued to believe they acted as moral guardians for their communities. Their campaign to abolish the narcotic was unrelentless as well as fruitless because physical addiction to opium went beyond the newspapers' demands for laws or law enforcement. By the mid-1870s, bureaucrats and physicians joined the journalists in their demands against Chinese immigration. Smoking opium combined with Chinese labor competition and Chinese prostitution added weight to the call for Chinese exclusion. By 1882, the anti-Chinese forces succeeded with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act.⁶⁰ As with the campaign against smoking opium, Western journalists kept the debate against Chinese immigration alive in their newspapers' columns. Their desire was not to prohibit the Chinese from moving to the United States so much as attempting to keep America free from immorality.



Mark Twain.



Mark Twain. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Notes

- ¹"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879) p. 3, col.4.
- ²H. H. Kane, *Opium-Smoking in America and China* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882), 2, 3, 8; Ronald M. James and C. Elizabeth Raymond, eds., *Comstock Women: The making of a Mining Community* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998) 97; Sharon Lowe, "Pipe Dreams and Reality: Opium in Comstock Society, 1860-1887," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1860-1887," 36(Fall, 1993) 178-193.
- ³"An Act to regulate the sale or disposal of opium, and to prohibit the keeping of places of resort for smoking, or otherwise using that drug," February 9, 1877, *Statutes of the State of Nevada*, 8th sess., 1877, 69-70.
- ⁴Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer 1986), 152, 174; Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1891), 44; Josiah Strong, *The Times and Young Men* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1901), 121.
- ⁵Dan DeQuille, *The Big Bonanza* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, n.d.; originally published by Hartford, Conn: American Publishing Company, 1876), 157, back cover page.
- ⁶Wells Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984; reprint of 1936 edition), 182.
- ⁷Robert W. Davenport, Foreword to *An Editor on the Comstock Lode*, *Ibid.*, viii-b, 3-4; Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 376.
- ⁸Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 40-41, 51.
- ⁹Richard Grant White, "The Morals and Manners of Journalism," *The Galaxy*, 8:6 (December 1869), 841, 847.
- ¹⁰*Ibid.*, 840.
- ¹¹Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, 159, 161; Alexander McClure, Foreword to *Journalism: Its Relations to and Influence upon the Political, Social, Professional, Financial, and Commercial Life of the United States of America* (New York: New York Press Club, 1905), ii, iv.
- ¹²Augustus A. Levey, "The Newspaper Habit and Its Effects," *North American Review*, 143:358 (September 1886), 309.
- ¹³*Ibid.*, 308.
- ¹⁴Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, 171; Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 1st ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 369.
- ¹⁵"Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal*, (2 April 1879), p. 3, col. 2.
- ¹⁶"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3.
- ¹⁷Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, 171; Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 1st ed., 369.
- ¹⁸Alonzo Calkins, *Opium and the Opium-Appetite* (New York: Arno Press, 1981, reprint of 1871 edition), 71; H. H. Kane, "Opium Smoking: A New Form of the Opium Habit Amongst Americans," *Gaillard's Medical Journal*, 33:2 (February 1882), 112. See, also, Diana L. Ahmad, "Opium Smoking, Anti-Chinese Attitudes, and the American Medical Community, 1850-1890," *American Nineteenth Century History*, 1:2 (Summer 2000), 53-68.
- ¹⁹"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3; "Asia's Deadly Drug," *Tybo Weekly Sun* (3 May 1879), p. 1, col.1-2; "The Death Smoke," *Nevada State Journal* (8 August 1876), p. 1, col. 1.
- ²⁰"Demonic Dens: Benton the Victim of Almond-Eyed Ministers of Satan," *Fort Benton River Press* (19 January 1881), p. 8, col. 3-4.
- ²¹"A Ramble Through Chinatown," *Pioche [Nevada] Daily Record* (4 December 1872), p. 3, col. 3; "Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3.
- ²²"Arrested for Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (1 June 1879), p. 3, col. 1; "Belligerent Opium Smokers," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (21 October 1879), p. 3, col. 1; "An Opium Den Raided," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (1 April 1879), p. 3, col. 4.

²³"Karber
Cheyenne Dai
 Almond-Eye
²⁴"Opium
 February 187
 col. 2; "Opium
 Dens and Th
²⁵"The De
Virginia City
 of Almond-E
 col. 3-4.
²⁶"The Op
Virginia City
²⁷"An Opi
²⁸"Chines
 Commissione
²⁹"Opium
Ogden Daily I
³⁰"City," *F*
Weekly Herald
 1878), p. 3; c
³¹"Opium
³²"The De
 "The Death S
³³"The Op
³⁴"Opium
³⁵"Opium
³⁶"Opium
³⁷"Opium
 February 187
³⁸"Chines
³⁹"Opium
⁴⁰"Regula
 Board of Alde
 Nevada, 82, 1
 "Ordinance f
 Management
 17, 1878, *The*
 Knabe, 1883),
 keeping of pl
of the State of I
 By 1899, mor
 opium. See, D
 (Ph.D. diss., U
⁴¹"The Ch
 Commissione
⁴²"Opium
⁴³"Opium,
⁴⁴"Opium!
 Dens," *Virgin*
⁴⁵"Result c
⁴⁶"Opium,
City Morning
⁴⁷"Opium
⁴⁸Editorial
⁴⁹"Opium

- ²³"Karber Kant Kome It," *San Antonio Express* (27 April 1883), p. 4, col. 3; "Oriental Dreamland," *Cheyenne Daily Leader* (25 August 1878), p. 4, col. 5; "Demonic Dens: Benton the Victim of Almond-Eyed Ministers of Satan," *Fort Benton River Press* (19 January 1881), p. 8, col. 3-4.
- ²⁴"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3; "Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (2 April 1879), p. 3, col. 2; "Opium Smokers," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 March 1876), p. 2, col. 3; "Opium Dens and Their Habitues," *San Antonio Express* (17 August 1883), p. 4, col. 4.
- ²⁵"The Death Smoke," *Nevada State Journal* (8 August 1876), p. 1, col. 1; "Successful Raid," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (7 April 1877), p. 3, col. 4; "Demonic Dens: Benton the Victim of Almond-Eyed Ministers of Satan," *Fort Benton [Montana] River Press* (19 January 1881), p. 8, col. 3-4.
- ²⁶"The Opium Dens," *Salt Lake Herald* (19 October 1878), p. 3, col. 3-4; "The Deadly Drug," *Virginia City Evening Chronicle* (4 August 1876), p. 3, col. 4.
- ²⁷"An Opium Den Raided," *Salt Lake Tribune* (4 December 1880), p. 4, col. 3.
- ²⁸"Chinese Vices," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (7 April 1877), p. col. 2:1; "Police Commissioners," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (3 April 1879), p. 3, col. 2-3.
- ²⁹"Opium Dens," *Salt Lake Daily Herald* (10 November 1883), p. 8, col. 4; "Attend to the Asiatics," *Ogden Daily Herald* (22 November 1884), p. 3, col. 4.
- ³⁰"City," *Portland Oregonian* (28 November 1877), p. 3, col. 1; "Opium Dens in Helena," *Helena Weekly Herald* (15 January 1880), p. 2, col. 3-4; "The Opium Dens," *Salt Lake Herald* (19 October 1878), p. 3, col. 3-4.
- ³¹"Opium Smokers," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 March 1876), p. 2, col. 3.
- ³²"The Deadly Drug," *Virginia City Evening Chronicle* (4 August 1876), p. 3, col. 4. See also, "The Death Smoke," *Nevada State Journal* (8 August 1876), p. 1, col. 1.
- ³³"The Opium Dens," *Salt Lake Daily Herald* (19 October 1878), p. 3, col. 3-4.
- ³⁴"Opium Smoking," *Silver City Idaho Avalanche* (15 January 1881), p. 4, col. 3.
- ³⁵"Opium Dens and Their Habitues," *San Antonio Daily Express* (17 August 1883), p. 4, col. 4.
- ³⁶"Opium Smoking," *El Paso Times* (31 May 1884), p. 4, col. 3.
- ³⁷"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3.
- ³⁸"Chinese Vices," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, (7 April 1877), p. 2, col. 1.
- ³⁹"Opium Dens in Helena," *Helena Weekly Herald* (15 January 1880), p. 2, col. 3-4.
- ⁴⁰"Regular Meeting of the Board of Aldermen," Virginia City, September 12, 1876, Storey, Board of Aldermen, Virginia City [Nevada] Minutes, 1864-1881, Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada, 82, 85; "Ordinance No. 48," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (1 March 1879), p. 4, col. 4; "Ordinance No. 2073," November 7, 1877, City of Portland, Oregon, Archives and Records Management Program, Portland, Oregon; "An Ordinance Relative to Opium Houses," September 17, 1878, *The Charter and Ordinances of the City of Cheyenne* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Bristol and Knabe, 1883), 121-122; "An Act to regulate the sale or disposal of opium, and to prohibit the keeping of places of resort for smoking, or otherwise using that drug," February 9, 1877, *Statutes of the State of Nevada, 8th Session, Legislature* (Carson City: John J. Hill, State Printer, 1877), 69-70. By 1899, more than fifteen western communities passed similar ordinances banning smoking opium. See, Diana L. Ahmad, "'Caves of Oblivion': Opium Dens and Exclusion Laws, 1850-1882 (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1997).
- ⁴¹"The Chinese Scourge," *Salt Lake Tribune* (16 November 1879), p. 4, col. 2; "Police Commissioners," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (3 April 1879), p. 3, col. 2-3.
- ⁴²"Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (9 April 1879), p. 3, col. 2.
- ⁴³"Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (22 May 1879), p. 3, col. 2.
- ⁴⁴"Opium Smoking," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (29 March 1879), p. 3, col. 3; "The Opium Dens," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 April 1879), p. 3, col. 4.
- ⁴⁵"Result of the Expose," *Salt Lake Tribune* (21 November 1879), p. 4, col. 4.
- ⁴⁶"Opium," *Salt Lake Herald* (16 September 1881), p. 4, col. 1-2; "Opium Seller Caught," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (1 October 1879), p. 3, col. 2.
- ⁴⁷"Opium Den Raided," *Portland Oregonian* (19 December 1877), p. 5, col. 1.
- ⁴⁸Editorial, "Opium Smoking," *Reno Evening Gazette* (4 April 1879), p. 3, col. 3.
- ⁴⁹"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21

February 1879, p. 3, col. 3.

⁵⁰Editorial, *El Paso Lone Star* (23 May 1883), p. 2, col. 1.

⁵¹"Opium Joints Pulled," *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman* (29 August 1885,) p. 3, col. 2.

⁵²"The Opium Dens," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 April 1879), p. 3, col. 4; "The Chinese Scourge," *Salt Lake Tribune* (16 November 1879), p. 4, col. 2.

⁵³"It Should Be Stopped," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (24 November 1880), p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁴See, for example, "The Opium Cases," *Winnemucca [Nevada] Silver State* (25 October 1879,) p. 3, col. 2; "Arrested for Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (1 June 1879), p. 3, col. 1; "An Opium Den Raided," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (1 April 1879), p. 3, col. 4; *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (16 July 1880), p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁵"The Opium Dens," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (8 April 1879,) p. 3, col. 4.

⁵⁶"The Opium Smokers," *Winnemucca Silver State* (7 October 1879), p. 3, col. 2; "Exeunt Chinamen," *Salt Lake Tribune* (25 November 1879), p. 4, col. 4; "Justice Boreman Decides in the Case of the Park City Chinamen," *Ogden Morning Herald* (27 October 1887), p. 1, col. 1.

⁵⁷"Opium Smoking: The Hideous Heathen Vice in Our Midst," *Reno Evening Gazette* (21 February 1879), p. 3, col. 3.

⁵⁸"It Should Be Stopped," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (24 November 1880), p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁹"Opium Smoking," *Carson City Morning Appeal* (6 May 1879), p. 3, col. 1.

⁶⁰Ahmad, "Caves of Oblivion."

Lync

Nevada featured P
hotly conte
recount, ar
vived a tou
marked a s
smallest of
rapid grow
Clark Cour

National
enty-five d
law on July
before the l
pouring of
in South V
the electio
When the v
the dead.

But that
tion were s
September
vember, wa
Commissio
prepared to
years broug

John Gilbe
tory classes a
ing Americar
cation, the W
partment. Mi
use of state a