

Notes

Chapter One Introduction: The Open Hand and the University

1. See Adams, *Peacework*; Beattie, *The Scar that Binds*; Gioglio, *Days of Decision*; Morrison and Morrison, *From Camelot to Kent State*; Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*; Tollefson, *The Strength Not to Fight*; Lieberman, *Prairie Power*, 2004.
2. The project emerged from the prompting of librarian Kenneth Carpenter. Mary Ellen Glass, Marian Rendall, and Ruth Hilts, interview, tape recording, June 24, 1970.
3. Glass and her colleagues found some of the chroniclers “reluctant to talk,” and some chroniclers took the option to have restrictions placed on the interviews. A few restricted their oral histories to researchers and other qualified scholars, and some placed time limits ranging from a few months to several years. Among Glass and her colleagues, some of the discussion centered on basic interviewing techniques, from encouraging feedback to disclosing questions before the interview began. The questions, in order, were as follows:

What was your reaction to President Nixon’s decision to go into Cambodia? In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus? What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country, also related to this Cambodia decision? What did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor’s Day? What was your reaction to the demonstration? How do you feel about the necessity of participating in the demonstration? What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and of the Governor’s Day observance? What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up there—the demonstrators, the ROTC, the university administration? What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor’s Day—the fire bombing? What category of participating in various affairs of those weeks: the students, the faculty or outsiders, do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus? Do you think outsiders were important? What actions did you feel were most effective in cooling off the situation after the fire bombing? How do you think the events on campus affect the university’s image outside? In the dealing with this conflict on campus? What should the university be doing to focus on those things? Do you think that issues of academic freedom were involved in participating in the demonstration? How can students and faculty be effective politically? Should they try to influence? Where do you think the peace movement in this area is going now?

4. The university archivist was Karen Gash.
5. At the time of this writing, the case against Professor Ward Churchill is particularly compelling, and has been called a “test case” in a renewed conservative effort to eliminate tenure and increase state control over universities. See “Countering Counterculture,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 10, 2005, p. B2; Stanley Fish, “Chickens: The Ward Churchill and Larry Summers Story,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 13, 2005, p. B9; Kyle Henley, “Colorado Case Reopens Debate About Tenure,” *Christian Science Monitor*, April 11, 2005, p. 3; David Horowitz, “College Professors Should be Made to Teach, Not Preach,” *USA Today*, March 24, 2005.
6. Other definitions should be considered. According to Jame Hoopes, oral history is “the collecting of any individual’s spoken memories of his life, of people he has known, and events he has witnessed or participated in.” According to Donald Ritchie oral history “collects spoken memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews.” And for Starr, it’s “the primary source material obtained by recording the spoken words—generally by means of planned, tape-recorded interviews—of persons deemed to harbor hitherto unavailable information worth preserving.” Hoopes, *Oral History*, p. 7; Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, p. 1; Starr, “Oral History,” p. 4.
7. In the Vatican archives Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie discovered approximately 500 depositions from Montaillou villagers in France who were suspected of heresy and subsequently interviewed (and just as in current oral history practice, chroniclers had the opportunity to correct transcripts of their interview). Likewise, in 1832 the U.S. Congress interviewed thousands of Revolutionary War veterans to determine their eligibility for pension benefits; this resulted in thousands of written reminiscences recorded about life during the Revolution. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, p. 93.
8. In a reversal of classical practice, *kairos* (timeliness) can be assessed not to guide the oration, but determined from the oration.
9. As oral historians David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum argue in their preface to *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, each application of oral history “relies on a manner particular to its field; each uses that information in unique fashion—each shares the difficulties inherent in working with oral sources,” p. xiv.
10. As Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg explain, “Instead of examining everything, rhetorical argument [for Aristotle] builds whenever possible on assumptions the audience already holds. Rhetoric is thus a mode of inquiry for non-experts, but what they ‘discover’ if the rhetorical argument is conducted properly is only what scientific demonstration or dialectic has already established,” Bizzell and Herzberg, *The Rhetorical Tradition*, p. 145.
11. Ronald Grele maintains, “The production of real narrative, in which narrative schemes govern the construction of the testimony, is rare in oral history, and the reason is that the interviewer refuses to allow it to develop” (“History,” p. 14). Ruth Finnegan explains, oral forms are “deeply affected by the kinds of audiences to which they are addressed on any particular occasion. The audience is there, face to face, inescapable . . .” Grele, *Envelopes of Sound*, p. 113.
12. Grele writes, “No matter what the construction of the narrative, the product we create is a conversational narrative and *can only be understood by understanding the various relationships contained within this structure*,” *ibid.*, p. 135 (emphasis added). See also Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* and Phelan, *Narrative as Rhetoric*. In conjunction with

Grele's argument for oral history as "conversational narratives," Alessandro Portelli argues for a narrative methodology in examining interviews, drawing on the work of Gerard Genette and the Russian formalist school of literary criticism. Portelli also asserts the primacy of orality in oral history, recalling Socrates's warnings against writing and the often underemphasized oratorical tradition that is the foundation of rhetoric. Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," pp. 64–67.

13. Grele maintains that "oral history interviews are constructed, for better or for worse, by the active intervention of the historian," *Envelopes of Sound*, p. 133.
14. Gerald Nelms in "The History of Oral History" argues that the "interviewer and the informant of an oral history interview . . . collaborate in the discovery or creation of historical meaning. Together, they participate in what rhetoricians call *invention*," p. 378.
15. In "Oral History as Communicative Event," Charles Joyner sees oral history interviews as a rhetorical situation he calls a "communicative event," similar to Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of "speech genres." Regarding interview analysis, Joyner uses sociolinguistics to catalogue discourse formations that seem likely candidates for rhetorical and narrative analysis:

Such elements of an oral history testimony as the degree of explicitness, the use of conventional phrases and formulations, the use of direct vs. indirect speech, modes of addressing and referring to other persons, the means of issuing commands and requests, means of indicating politeness or rudeness, and the means of opening and closing conversations are *not accidental*. They have both linguistic and social meaning and are analyzable for *historical meaning* in ways that written documents are not. (Emphasis added)

In what would otherwise be a strong claim for the presence of rhetoric in the "communicative event," Joyner relegates the discursive dynamics to interpretive methodology that results in historiographical benefits alone. Joyner, "Oral History as Communicative Event," p. 303; see Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*.

16. Jensen, "Evolving Protest Rhetoric," p. 28.
17. Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, p. 43 and Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action*, p. 6.
18. At the University of Michigan, Newton Edd Miller, Jr., had written a dissertation in 1952 entitled "The Effect of Group Size on Decision-Making Discussions." With William M. Satler, he cowrote a successful communications textbook that was published in two editions: *Discussion and Conference*.
19. Herbert W. Simons, "Confrontation as a Pattern of Persuasion in University Settings," unpublished paper, 1969, quoted in Bailey, "Confrontation as an Extension of Communication," p. 185. Parke G. Burgess makes a similar point: "The victim must be convinced that dire consequences are likely, not to say certain, *before* he can feel coerced to comply, just as he must become convinced of the coercer's probable capacity and intent to commit the act of violence *before* he can conclude that the act is likely to follow noncompliance." Burgess, "Crisis Rhetoric," p. 69. See also Stewart et al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, p. 16.
20. Emphasis added. Bosmajian, "Introduction," *Dissent*, p. 5.
21. Some rhetoricians define such agitation as "lateral deviance," and its effects: "If they do not understand, establishment leaders will discover explanations for the dissenters' actions based on their own view of the world," Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 8.

22. From the 1962 “Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society.”
23. Bailey, “Confrontation as an Extension of Communication,” p. 182.
24. According to Zeno, the open hand symbolized the persuasive discourse of orators (and their ingratiating ways), whereas the closed fist represented the tight logic of the philosopher. Corbett drastically changed the meaning of Zeno’s metaphors.
25. Corbett, “The Rhetoric of the Open Hand and the Rhetoric of the Closed Fist,” p. 76.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
27. Emphasis added. Scott and Smith, “The Rhetoric of Confrontation,” p. 178.
28. Leland Griffin coined the term “body rhetoric” in “The Rhetorical Structure of the ‘New Left’ Movement,” p. 127.
29. For Adamian, the Armenian genocide might have been a cause of “intergenerational trauma,” though I resist any further analysis here.
30. According to survey results in the late 1960s, the differing views about the war were not caused by a generation gap. Contrary to popular belief, perspectives for and against the war did not split along the same lines dividing the young from old. Many older Americans opposed the war and many young people fully supported it. See Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 54; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 39–40.
31. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 13.
32. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 161–162; also in “Stokely Carmichael,” Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brockriede make a similar argument about the media’s distortion of Black Power messages.

Chapter Two Motley, Mongrel, and Growing: The University in America

1. The idea of a guaranteed, or permanent, position was an anomaly, even though it was proposed early on. A case in 1790 argued that professors were entitled to life appointments and could not be terminated without just cause and a fair hearing, but the court ruled in favor of the university. Similar arguments would surface throughout the 1800s, but oddly enough would become inverted after the Civil War, when some faculty argued that they should be considered first as employees who had contractual protections. The latter cases were inconclusive, as some resulted in findings that faculty contracts could not be nullified by state governing boards, whereas others gave the boards supreme power over the hiring and firing of faculty. Metzger, “The Age of the University,” pp. 460–465.
2. The word “university” was not initially connected with the universality of learning but instead with the definition of a corporate group: it was a collective identity used for leverage and power against the surrounding community. In some cases a university would move if local conditions were unsatisfactory, for the university existed because of the students not the physical plant. In some configurations, guilds of students comprised the university and hired their faculty, whereas in others, the guilds of masters prevailed. DeConde, “In Perspective,” p. 19; Haskins, “The Earliest Universities,” p. 23; Hofstadter, “The Age of the College,” p. 4.
3. In Paris, this dynamic was formalized in 1200, when King Philip Augustus exempted students from local laws: the jurisdiction of the layperson would simply not apply to

- university students. By 1231, the papal bull *Parens scientiarum* would reinforce such privilege, giving chancellors discretion. Haskins, "The Earliest Universities," p. 27.
4. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, e.g., oaths were required of both faculty and students. Instead of being assessed through our modern accountability instruments (tests, quizzes, etc.), a thirteenth-century student would simply vow that he had indeed attended lectures, and he would swear that he had completed his readings—and for the faculty, the student's word would suffice. Stewart, *The Year of the Oath*, p. 93; see Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*.
 5. An exception was the University of Leiden, founded in 1575, which was one of the first universities to support a policy of academic freedom, requiring no commitments of religious doctrine or political perspective. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 3, 71, 62, 64.
 6. A theology school, the University of Paris, became the model for higher education in Europe, and others would follow its lead: Oxford, Cambridge, and later the University of Heidelberg. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 5, 28; Haskins, "The Earliest Universities," p. 29.
 7. Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 13.
 8. President Henry Dunster asked the General Court for financial support, which led instead to new powers to the governing board, the Harvard Overseers. In protest, Dunster challenged doctrine by not presenting his fourth child for baptism and later disrupting a Cambridge baptismal service to speak out against infant baptism. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 83–90.
 9. The colleges were not autonomous and were run by men other than faculty. The boards comprised of laymen would become a defining trait of universities in the United States and Canada. *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 120–122.
 10. The bulk of teaching was handled by tutors and other short-term instructors, so faculty governance was simply inconceivable. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–124, 144, 148.
 11. For example, in 1757 Harvard's John Winthrop took Reverend Thomas Prince to task for his amateur-science views about lightning rods and religious doctrine. Also in 1757, Provost William Smith at the University of Pennsylvania was jailed with a friend after being charged with libel against the Pennsylvania Assembly, yet strangely the college trustees allowed him to continue to teach classes—from his jail cell. *Ibid.*, pp. 197–198, 205.
 12. In the 1790s, Harvard witnessed seven years of rebellion over its exam system and low-quality food, and an 1806 revolt at Princeton resulted in the expulsion of half of the student body. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 279–280, 307–309; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 128–129, 135.
 13. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 308; Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 232–233, 236.
 14. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 277–278, 298, 314–315.
 15. Larger social and political interests valued science only as a practical or utilitarian enterprise. The demands of teaching kept college science from flourishing to its full potential, as did a prevailing attitude that new ideas could be validated only by their moral advantages. *Ibid.*, pp. 284–288. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 196, 228–229.
 16. One striking departure from the typical state university was Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia that provided improved job security for faculty and a more

- democratic system of faculty governance—one that replaced the traditional office of the president with a chairmanship chosen by the faculty. Hofstadter, “The Age of the College,” pp. 223, 230–231, 239, 246.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 258, 261.
 18. Thomas Cooper of South Carolina College articulated one of the earliest arguments for academic freedom following a pamphlet war in the 1830s that insulted community religious sensibilities and led the legislature to demand his resignation. The Board of Trustees took his side and Cooper won using the state constitution’s provisions on freedom of the press and freedom of religion. However, the public outrage was unstoppable: Cooper *and his entire faculty* had to resign a few years later when it was clear that the citizenry had revoked all forms of support for the college. *Ibid.*, pp. 264–269.
 19. In 1780 there were only 9 American colleges, and by 1799 the number had grown to 25 (then to 49 in 1830, and then a huge jump to 182 by 1861). Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 12–13; Tyler, *Freedom’s Ferment*, p. 407; Morson, “Dissent in the War of 1812,” pp. 3–31; Hofstadter, “The Age of the College,” pp. 211, 225.
 20. In 1783 New York Governor George Clinton offered a military plan that was a precursor to the ROTC. He proposed that colleges—one in every state—should be responsible for military training, producing graduates who would then be required to serve as officers in a national army, but U.S. Congress did not fund his proposal. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, pp. 15–16.
 21. The University of Georgia was the only institution with a military training program. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
 22. Pollard, *Military Training in the Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, p. 57; Solberg, *University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 207–213, 319–326; Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin: 1848–1925*, pp. 412–418; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 138.
 23. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 15.
 24. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, p. 372.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 372.
 26. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 29–30.
 27. Stability for the country meant greater need for efficiency on campus, resulting in the use of teaching assistants and concerns about faculty productivity: Was it better to be a good teacher with an effective pedagogy or a good researcher who discovered new knowledge? At this time, the first serious debates began over the value of research faculty versus the value of faculty who primarily teach.
 28. With the state providing budgetary control, most German universities exercised great autonomy and held to a vision of academic freedom defined by two dynamics. One was *Lernfreiheit*, the freedom for students to determine and pursue their own educational goals in whatever manner they saw fit, and the other was *Lehrfreiheit*, the freedom for faculty to conduct academic inquiry in any area of knowledge, unhindered by administrative mandates about teaching methods or subject matter. For student and faculty alike, these freedoms marked a substantial change in social status: young boys left the Gymnasium to attend the University as men, and faculty rose above the ranks of mere civil servitude to a higher order. Metzger, “The Age of the University,” pp. 372, 377, 386–389.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 378.
 30. *Ibid.*, pp. 341–343.

31. According to one study, from 1860 to 1900 the percentage of clergy dropped from 39% to 23% (and fell to 7% by 1930). McGrath, "The Control of Higher Education in America," pp. 259–279.
32. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 10.
33. Ross's topics ranged from finance to immigration. Mrs. (Jane Lathrop) Leland Stanford—who founded the university with her husband in 189—was the impetus behind firing Ross, overriding the efforts of president David Starr Jordan.
34. The AEA didn't necessarily aim to make history, or it most likely would have taken a different approach with more authority and purpose. Instead, the investigating committee was set up as an informal body (not an official arm of the AEA), and it set out neither for redemption nor restitution. Instead, it aimed to answer one question: "What were the reasons which led Mrs. Stanford to force Professor Ross's resignation?" The committee had little leverage and was not able to do much with its energies, but it did issue a report that defended academic freedom. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 438–445.
35. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 35–36.
36. The doctrine was carried over from residential practices used at Oxford and Cambridge. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 137.
37. Zanjani, "George Springmeyer and the Quarantine Rebellion of 1902," pp. 287–289.
38. More than 40 colleges and universities offered military training programs by 1900. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 22; Thornton, *Writing in America*, pp. 148–149.
39. As colleges and universities tried to accommodate the growing student population, the number of teachers in higher education also increased to a staggering 90% between 1890 and 1900. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 454.
40. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 25.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–26, 29; Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 19; Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 16.
42. The AEA (which had intervened in the Stanford-Ross case) joined the American Sociological Society and the American Political Science Association to draft a set of principles of academic freedom. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 471–474; Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 17.
43. In cases ranging from the persecution of one professor to the mass firings of entire faculty, the AAUP received continual pleas for help. The overwhelming requests continued in the decades that followed, forcing the investigating subcommittees to follow up only on cases that offered new scenarios or could set precedents for future cases. Whenever possible, the AAUP aimed for mediation and its investigative body worked toward gathering and disseminating information, rather than seeking retribution.
44. Anticipating the activity of the AAUP, the Association of American Colleges (AAC), an organization of presidents, formed its own Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. The War and turnover in leadership brought the AAUP and AAC into closer alignment. In 1922, the AAC issued a report that essentially supported the AAUP's position on academic freedom, and a 1925 conference called by the American Council on Education confirmed that higher education would have a common set of documents to define and evaluate academic freedom. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 477–481, 491–492; *AAUP Bulletin*, December 1, 1915, pp. 22–26.

45. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 162; Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 17.
46. According to Walter Lacquer, "The German *Neue Schar* of 1919 were the original hippies: long-haired, sandaled, unwashed, they castigated urban civilization, read Hermann Hesse and Indian philosophy, practiced free love, and distributed in their meetings thousands of asters and chrysanthemums. They danced, sang to the music of the guitar, and attended lectures on the 'Revolution of the Soul.' . . . No one over thirty, they demanded, should in the future be involved in politics." Lacquer, "Reflections on Youth Movements," pp. 34–36.
47. The Student Christian Movement was the largest group in the early 1920s—comprising roughly 5% of the student population—and was dedicated to reforms against war and the blight of industrialism. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 166.
48. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 30; *ibid.*, p. 167.
49. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 33–34.
50. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," pp. 241–243.
51. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 160, 177; Beard and Beard, *Rise of American Civilization*, p. 470.
52. Kleinman, *Politics on the Endless Frontier*, pp. 18, 45.
53. Statistical data was derived from a sample of 13 private universities and 25 public universities. The numbers would increase to 72% by 1970. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. xv–xvi; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 16. Statistical data was based on a sample of 13 private universities and 25 public universities.
54. In contrast, by 1970 there would be roughly 7 million students and over 500,000 faculty. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 42.
55. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 170; see John Davis, "Unrest in Negro Colleges," pp. 13–14.
56. Cohen, "Student Activism in the United States, 1905–1960," p. 432.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
58. In 1933, students in England declared, in what became known as "The Oxford Pledge," that they would not fight for king or country. Wechsler, "Revolt on the Campus," p. 287; DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 11.
59. Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 19.
60. Wechsler, "Revolt on the Campus," pp. 284, 287–289.
61. A group of Princeton students assembled in 1936 as the Veterans of *Future Wars* and made a symbolic demand for their bonus checks, paid in advance. The concept spread to roughly 400 schools. Because they played on the activism of the WWI Veterans' "Bonus Expeditionary Forces" strike on Washington, DC, the student group died out by the year's end in the face of hostile opposition from the real VFW, the Veterans of Foreign Wars. (In 1932, some 20,000 jobless veterans had amassed in DC to demand their "bonus checks" for their service in WWI, only to be brutally driven out by Army forces led by Douglas MacArthur, who was convinced that the demonstration was a communist-led insurrection). DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 11; Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," pp. 20–21.
62. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, p. 38.
63. The Hatch Act of 1939 aimed to "prevent pernicious political activities" by making it a crime for civil servants to participate in partisan politics, and it was particularly

- aimed at communist and labor activity. The Smith Act of 1940 made it illegal for anyone to speak in favor of the violent overthrow of the government.
64. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 49.
 65. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 308–318.
 66. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 130.
 67. Enrollment had dropped from 1.5 million to 800,000 between 1939 and 1944. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 1.
 68. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 308–318; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, p.47.
 69. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 35.
 70. Buhle, "American Student Activism in the 1960s," p. 448.
 71. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 487.
 72. Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," p. 21.
 73. See Gimbel, "German Scientists, United States Denazification Policy, and the 'Paperclip Conspiracy'"; Hunt, *Secret Agenda*; Lasby, *Project Paperclip*.
 74. Lambert, "DoD, Social Science, and International Studies," p. 95.
 75. The report was issued by the Committee on World Regions of the Social Science Resource Council (which coordinated the major social science associations in the United States). Wallerstein, "The Unintended Consequences of Cold War Area Studies," pp. 197, 200.
 76. Ohmann, "English and the Cold War," p. 75.
 77. See Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*.
 78. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 505.
 79. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 49.
 80. The 1942 oath required a signed statement of loyalty to both state and federal constitutions. In some ways, these measures were the end result of a national initiative. In March 1947, Truman had issued an Executive Order establishing criteria for all federal employees to meet regarding their loyalty and disavowal of communism. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 25–26; Zinn, "The Politics of History in the Era of the Cold War," p. 39.
 81. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 9–10.
 82. According to the AAUP: "there is nothing now apparent in reference to the Communist Party in the United States, or to international conditions, that calls for a departure from the principles of freedom and tenure by which the Association has been guided throughout its history. On the basis of those principles, this Association regards any attempt to subject college teachers to civic limitation not imposed upon other citizens as a threat against the Academic profession, and against the society that profession serves." AAUP, *Bulletin*, 34, no. 1 (Spring 1948): 127–128. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 83. One month after the UW faculty were fired, the California state legislature passed Assembly Concurrent Resolution (ACR) 47 on March 17, 1949, commending the UW regents for fighting the communist menace. However, this was no mere act of state university solidarity; the resolution was intended as a clear message to the *parentis* apparatus of the California campuses: the resolution specified that copies of ACR 47 be sent to the UC regents, as well as the presidents and provosts. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 13–14.
 84. The original oath: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of California, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my office according to the best of my ability." The

- text was added to the end: “that I do not believe in, and I am not a member of, nor do I support any party of organization that believes in, advocates, or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government, by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods,” *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 23–24.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–30.
 86. UC Berkeley president Gordon Sproul included Governor Warren, who held an ex-officio position on the Board of Regents. Warren had been an undergraduate at UC Berkeley, and he was good friends with Sproul, which undoubtedly gave political strength to Sproul’s leadership. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 86, 125.
 87. While the UC policy regarding tenure was implicitly understood and had been upheld since the year 1920, there was no official policy at the time (and would not be until 1958). *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 116–117, 150.
 88. By July 1950, the number of nonsigning members of the faculty senate was down to 31 professors who organized the Group for Academic Freedom to galvanize resources for the legal battles ahead. The organization was led by faculty who would later play significant roles in the 1960s Free Speech Movement.
 89. The Levering oath, as it was known—in honor of its primary author, Assemblyman Harold Levering—would later be written into the state constitution, with nearly two-thirds of the population supporting it. *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 202, 219.
 90. By January 1951 every employee had signed it—with the exception of a handful of graduate research and teaching assistants.
 91. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 220, 224.
 92. Approximately 1,200 faculty representing more than 40 American colleges and universities sent in written protests, supplemented by resolutions sponsored by over 20 professional organizations.
 93. *Ibid.*, pp. 225–230, 237.
 94. The decision read that “relief must be granted on the ground that state legislation has fully occupied the field.” *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 242.
 95. Bush’s findings were published in *Science—The Endless Frontier* (1945). See Montgomery, *Minds for the Making*, p. 193; Lewontin, “The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy,” pp. 13–15; Kleinman, *Politics on the Endless Frontier*, pp. 145–171; Wolfe, “NSF: The First Six Years,” p. 337.
 96. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 339–340; Glass, *Nevada’s Turbulent ’50s*, pp. 43–46; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 141–147.
 97. Abrams, “The U. S. Military and Higher Education,” pp. 18–20.
 98. Kleinman, *Politics on the Endless Frontier*, pp. 29–72.
 99. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
 100. Quoted in Abrams, “The U. S. Military and Higher Education,” p. 25.
 101. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, pp. 36, 54.
 102. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 13; Edward Suchman et al., “Attitudes toward the Korean War,” pp. 173, 182.
 103. More than 300 directors and writers lost their jobs as a result of the Red Scare. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 138.
 104. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 43.
 105. See Barson, *Better Red Than Dead*.
 106. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 185.
 107. Zinn, “The Politics of History in the Era of the Cold War,” pp. 41–42.

108. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 65.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 74.
110. D'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 227.
111. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 135.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
113. Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, pp. 63–65; *ibid.*, p. 54; Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 7, 13, 18–20.
114. The article was written by University of Illinois historian Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "Aimlessness in Education," *The Scientific Monthly*, August 1952.
115. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 54; Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 14, 17.
116. Robert Gorrell, Robert Hume, and Charlton Laird were the English faculty. Gorrell would later hire Adamian.
117. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 18, 21.
118. Supporters of both Stout and the regents would eventually show their appreciation by donating grant monies, offering construction funds, and creating the University News Service headed by a young writer named Robert Laxalt (whose brother Paul, a district attorney in Nevada's Ormsby County, would be elected Governor in 1966). *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, p. 67.
119. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 33.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 50; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 56.
121. The AAUP set up an investigation committee in 1955 and the censure appeared in its autumn 1956 report. The university would remain on the "Censured Administrations" list until 1959.
122. Seven students were detained, but no charges were pressed; consequently, the names of the seven were obtained by the administration and, without trial or evidence, the students were dismissed from the university—a decision later reversed due to legal pressures.
123. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 65, 90; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 57; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, p. 72.
124. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 89–95, 129–134, 159.
125. Seymour Hersh revealed such tactical uses of the weather ("Rainmaking Is Used As Weapon by U.S.," *The New York Times*, July 3, 1972, pp. 1–2) with his disclosure of "Project Popeye," a program that deployed hundreds of cloud-seeding operations to wash out enemy supply roads in Vietnam. The threat of military uses of weather modification was serious enough to prompt an international treaty, "Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques," 1108 U.N.T.S. 151, signed in Geneva in 1977 and ratified by United States by 1980.
126. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 104; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 60–65.
127. Gearhart, "The 1960s Revolution: UNLV Style," pp. 184–205.
128. Ohmann, *English in America*, p. 274; Ohmann, "English and the Cold War," p. 88.
129. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 17, 19.
130. *Ibid.*, pp. v, 1, 16.
131. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 9.
132. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 61.

133. By 1970, the YAF would have more than 50,000 members on over 500 campuses. Andrew, "Pro-War and Anti-Draft," pp. 1–2, 7.
134. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, pp. 71–72, n. 73; Horowitz, *Student*, p. 82.
135. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 245.
136. Emphasis added. Silvert, "Document 1," p. 47.
137. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 46–47.
138. Wallerstein, "The Unintended Consequences of Cold War Area Studies," p. 227.
139. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. xix.
140. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 7, 124.
141. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, pp. 84, 113–130, 140–150; "Chronology of Events: Three Months of Crisis," p. 36.
142. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, p. n. 224; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. xx.
143. As Bowers et al. explain, "The rhetorical sophistication of an agitative group is the extent to which its leadership is aware of and able to apply principles [of rhetoric]." Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 143.
144. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, p. 410.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 441.
146. *Ibid.*, pp. n8, p. 460.
147. The second round of protests began in March, when two UC students were arrested for displaying small signs that read "FUCK" and "SHIT." Fueling the fire was the emergence of *Spider* (an acronym for Sex-Politics-International Communism-Drugs-Extremism-Rock and Roll), a campus magazine that ran activist articles and did not shy from "dirty" words and sex ads. Seven students, including Charles "Charlie Brown" Artman, were eventually brought up on obscenity charges for their activities. *Ibid.*, pp. 487–497, 500–555.
148. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 335–337, 363.
149. Hughes initially pledged \$300,000 annually for 20 years, but scaled back the pledge to \$200,000 annually. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 68–70, 169.
150. Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 27.
151. Wilson, "Consequential Controversies," p. 47; Kaysen, "Can Universities Cooperate with the Defense Establishment?" p. 35; Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 24.
152. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 77.
153. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 46–47.
154. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 74; Silverman, p. 90.
155. David Slemmons, interview with the author, tape recording, July 21, 2001.
156. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 62–64.
157. *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
159. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 206.
160. Glazer, "'Student Power' in Berkeley," p. 314.
161. Smith, *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*, pp. 20–21.
162. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 249.
163. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 129.
164. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 58.

165. N. Edd Miller, interview with the author, tape recording, November 19, 1998.
166. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 127.
167. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
168. John Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, October 2, 2000.
169. Joseph N. Crowley, interview, tape recording, June 8, 1970.
170. Small, *Covering Dissent*, p. 68.
171. Boruch, "The Faculty Role in Campus Unrest," pp. 21, 50.
172. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001. F. Chandler Young, "The Importance of Students, 1949–1974," pp. 131–156; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 130.
173. Small, *Covering Dissent*, p. 72; Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching*, p. 228, n. 53.
174. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 250.
175. Crowley, interview, June 8, 1970.

Chapter Three Black and White in Action

1. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 13, 183.
2. The data was supported by a similar survey conducted at the same time. Kenneth Gergen and Mary Gergen, "How the War Affects the Campuses," *Change*, January/February 1971, pp. 10+, p. 70; Report of Harris Survey, May 20–28, 1970.
3. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 5.
4. For example, when black soldiers memorialized King's achievements, white soldiers responded by raising the Confederate flag and burning crosses. Mutinies in Vietnam averaged 240 a year from 1969 to 1971, with a proliferation of fragging incidents against commanding officers—over 2,000 incidents reported in 1970 alone. See Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, pp. 302–304; Herring, *America's Longest War*, p. 280; Maclear, *The Ten Thousand Day War*, p. 243; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, p. 47.
5. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 87–88; Castleman and Podrazik, *Watching TV*, p. 205.
6. The Motherfuckers took their name from a line in a LeRoi Jones poem, citing a familiar command that police used with suspects.
7. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 163; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 188; see Sale, *SDS*.
8. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 53.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 66.
10. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 20, 46.
11. David Slemmons, interview with the author, tape recording, July 21, 2001.
12. John Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, October 2, 2000.
13. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 187.
14. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 251.
15. The speaker was "the hippie priest" also known as "Charlie Brown" (Artman), one of the seven convicted in the Filthy Speech Movement. Elmer Rusco, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
16. The peace movement at the University of Nevada was quite active, with a core group that tried to take over the Washoe County Democratic Party. They supported Eugene McCarthy and managed to get one delegate for the national convention, but then dissipated as a political force when Hubert Humphrey got the nomination.

17. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," pp. 251–252.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
19. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
20. Emphasis added. Hug, Jr., interview with the author, tape recording, July 25, 2000.
21. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 13; Chomsky, "The Cold War and the University," p. 181.
22. Bayer, *College and University Faculty*, p. 19.
23. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
24. SDS leader Mark Rudd would later admit that they had little interest in the park issue itself but simply used it as a catalyst for their plans. Feuer, *The Conflict of Generations*, pp. 483–484.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 486–490.
26. Friedland and Edwards, "Confrontation at Cornell," pp. 321–331.
27. Smith argues that rhetorical attacks were meant to be offensive and aimed for "keeping the opponent off balance," whereas the appeals for unity took the form of "black power" and "black is beautiful." Smith, *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*, pp. 3–6.
28. Emphasis added. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, pp. 86, 89, 92.
29. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 229.
30. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
31. Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 86.
32. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, p. 111; DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
33. Urban Research Corporation, *Student Protests 1969*, p. 21.
34. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 90–93.
35. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, pp. 113, 118, 124.
36. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
37. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
38. Doherty, interview with the author, October 2, 2000.
39. Reporters notes taken at an interview with Slattery on March 20, 1969. In Warren D'Azevedo Papers, 1959–1987. AC 221, Box 1, NUB June 24, 1951. University Archives, University of Nevada; d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 252.
40. David Harvey, interview with the author, tape recording, July 10, 2000.
41. James Blink, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970.
42. FBI report, May 8, 1969.
43. "Governor's Day to Feature ROTC, Anti-War Rallies: Peace Marchers to Join Cadets in Mackay Stadium Ceremonies," *Sagebrush*, May 5, 1970, p. 3; Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
44. Information from University of Nevada police report.
45. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 256.
46. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 167.
47. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 78; Gresham's Law, from Sir Thomas Gresham (1519–1579), is in short form known as "bad money drives out good": with any currency using precious metals, the introduction of counterfeits ("bad money") causes the original currency ("good money") to be pulled from circulation and melted down.

48. Gallup Poll, December 21, 1969.
49. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
50. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 72.
51. Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000.
52. Quoted in Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p.73.
53. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 184.
54. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 93, 109, 112, 114, 128.
55. Doherty, interview with the author, October 2, 2000.
56. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
57. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 171.
58. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 38.
59. N. Edd Miller, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
60. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
61. Unless noted otherwise, the material in this section derives from two interviews: Paul S. Adamian, tape recordings, December 4, 1998 and June 6, 2000.
62. Adamian's mention of his family's trauma was a brief aside in his oral history, but his experience points to widely documented phenomenon known as "intergenerational trauma," in which survivors of a traumatic event are not only afflicted by the traumatic event, but the traumatized condition reverberates throughout a family dynamic, even affecting their children's children.
63. While at Claremont, Adamian worked under the guidance of noted scholar Marshall Waingrow.
64. Now Oregon State University at Ashland.
65. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 25.
66. Anne Howard, interview with the author, tape recording, March 1, 1999.
67. U.S. Government Memorandum, to Special Agent in Charge (SAC) Las Vegas (100-548), October 3, 1967.
68. U.S. Government Memorandum, from SAC Los Angeles (100-70874) to SAC Las Vegas (100-572), January 19, 1968; U.S. Government Memorandum, from SAC Boston (100-572) to SAC Las Vegas (100-572), February 27, 1968.
69. U.S. Government Memorandum, to SAC Las Vegas (100-572), October 30, 1967; U.S. Government Memorandum, from SAC Portland (100-10991) to SAC Las Vegas (100-572), October 30, 1967.
70. Howard, interview with the author, March 1, 1999.
71. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874-1974," pp. 245, 255; see Report of the Nevada Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, March 1963.
72. Miller, interview with the author, November 19, 1998.
73. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, p. 162.
74. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 237-242, 261.
75. In a memo to White House Chief of Staff, H. R. Haldeman, Nixon wrote, "From now on, we are going to take a very aggressive 'militant' position against these people, not simply because the public is probably with us, but because we face a national crisis in terms of this disrespect for law, etc., at all levels," March 2, 1970; quoted in Oudes, *From: The President*, pp.103-104.
76. "McKinney Charges Dismissed," *Sagebrush*, March 19, 1970, p. 3; Sheila Caudle, "BSU Concert Settled After Long Debate," *Sagebrush*, March 6, 1970, p. 3.

77. "Council gets Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, March 19, 1970, p. 4.
78. Tim Countis, "Secrecy Shrouds Charges Against Sattwhite," *Sagebrush*, March 13, 1970, pp. 1, 8.
79. Typical of small communities, the social ties in Reno were close and complex: Springer had been a partner in a law firm with Procter Hug, Jr., who had recently been appointed chairman of the Board of Regents, but the two attorneys had parted ways in 1963.
80. "Board of Regents Sends Sattwhite Case to Miller," *Sagebrush*, March 17, 1970, p. 3.
81. "Council Gets Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, p. 4.
82. "McKinney Charges Dismissed," *Sagebrush*, p. 3.
83. "Warrant Issued; McKinney Surrenders," *Sagebrush*, March 31, 1970, p. 6.
84. Slemmons was the son of a respected University of Nevada geologist. "Draft Concert Held in Bowl Sunday," *Sagebrush*, March 17, 1970, p. 3.
85. Bosmajian, "Obscentity and Protest," p. 304.
86. "Students Urged to Fight Draft 'In Any Way,'" *Sagebrush*, March 19, 1970, p. 3.
87. "Council Gets Sattwhite Case." *Sagebrush*, p. 4.
88. "Springer to Ask for Dismissal of Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, March 31, 1970, p. 8.
89. "Council Wants to Hear Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 3.
90. "A Tragedy of Errors," *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 3.
91. Opinion No. 651: Dickerson, to Neil D. Humphrey, March 31, 1970.
92. *Goldberg v. Regents of the University of California*, 245 Cal app. 2d 867 (1967).
93. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 242–244.
94. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 258.
95. "Black Week Starts Tomorrow," March 31, 1970, p. 6.
96. Smith, *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*, pp. 26–40.
97. The speech represented here is a blend of reportage with direct quotation: "N. Edd Miller replies" and "Live Together as Brothers or Perish Together as Fools," *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 5.
98. The Berets were a Mexican-American affiliate of the Black Panther Party and part of La Causa, an activist group founded by grape-strike leader César Chávez.
99. "Brown Berets Plan for U.N.," *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 2.
100. The bureau had conducted the 1970 surveys without any black census takers. See "Black Woman Clubbed, Census Row Trial Told," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 19, 1970, p. 1; "League Official: Attention Given to Racism in Reno," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 19, 1970, p. 1.
101. A total of nine demands were read from a list, asking for the following changes: dismissing the EOP staff; bringing more black students, faculty, and counselors to campus; and following the EOP mission with a "meaningful" tutoring program, a work-study program in the community, and a Black Studies program.
102. Sheila Caudle, "Black-White Meeting Turns to Demands," *Sagebrush*, April 17, 1970, p. 2.
103. Sheila Caudle, "News Analysis," *Sagebrush*, April 8, 1970, p. 2.
104. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," pp. 263–264.
105. "Berets, Panthers picket," *Sagebrush*, April 10, 1970, p. 1.
106. Miller, interview with the author, November 19, 1998.
107. Mike Graham, "Sattwhite Gets Probation; SRO Crowd at Hearing," *Sagebrush*, April 17, 1970, p. 3.

108. James T. Richardson, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
109. "Fathers Lose Draft Deferment," *Sagebrush*, May 1, 1970, p. 2.
110. "Miller Makes Commitments," *Sagebrush*, April 24, 1970, p. 1.
111. "USA Reacts," *Sagebrush*, April 24, 1970, p. 1.
112. See Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 51; and Charles J. Stewart et al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, p. 153.
113. Adamian recalled his oversight: "it wasn't until I heard that, you know, that I like slapped my head and said, 'Well, of course!'" Adamian's involvement with the BSU was minimal, and as he would later state, "I wish that I had developed a better relationship with them."
114. "Campus Report Indicates Disruptions Exaggerated," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, April 27, 1970, p. 7.
115. See Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 145.
116. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 129–130.
117. Doherty, interview with the author, October 2, 2000; Lorena Stookey, interview with the author, tape recording, March 10, 1999.
118. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, p. 180.
119. "It's No Invasion: Nixon," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 1, 1970, p. 1.
120. "Students Protest War Extension," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 2, 1970, p. 1; "11 Editors Call Strike," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 4, 1970, p. 1.
121. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 196.
122. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 39.
123. Lamis and Sharkey, *Ohio Politics*, pp. 80–81.
124. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 249.
125. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 5.
126. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 260.
127. Clardy, *The Management of Dissent*, pp. 31, 83, 120.
128. Brown and Brown, "Moo U and the Cambodian Invasion," pp. 119, 122–132.

Chapter Four Rude and Raucous Catcalls: Governor's Day

1. Wells, *The War within Home*, p. 426; see Bayer, *College and University Faculty*.
2. Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970.
3. "Nixon-Cambodia Protest Planned on Reno Campus," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 4, 1970, pp. 1–2.
4. Hundreds of fake "public memos" attributed to Miller were circulated around campus, announcing the cancellation of Governor's Day ceremonies; Gordon L. Foote, letter to Board of Regents, May 11, 1970.
5. Even the headline emphasized the two events, and the article went so far as to detail a full protest route around campus, beginning and ending at the south end of campus. "Governor's Day to Feature ROTC, Anti-War Rallies: Peace Marchers to Join Cadets in Mackay Stadium Ceremonies," *Sagebrush*, May 5, 1970, pp. 1, 3. Even the headline emphasized the two events, and the article went so far as to detail a full protest route around campus, beginning and ending at the south end of campus.
6. James T. Richardson to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.

7. Ben Hazard, interview, tape recording, June 15, 1970.
8. Paul S. Adamian, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 226.
9. John R. Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, October 2, 2000.
10. David Harvey, interview with the author, tape recording, July 10, 2000. Harvey learned civil disobedience tactics with the Young People's Socialist Party at the University of Illinois.
11. *Ibid.*, Other chroniclers who were present at the Hobbit Hole (Robert Mayberry, James T. Richardson, and Paul S. Adamian) recalled no substantial details that conflicted with the accounts presented in the 1970 interviews.
12. See chapter five for a discussion of Adamian's October 1970 Faculty Senate Committee hearing. I draw from the hearing transcript when useful, noting when the hearing testimony deviates from the oral histories, as well as when it repeats the chronicler's statements recorded earlier. Court testimony is oral evidence, but in the case of this unregulated campus hearing—one that did not follow all court protocols—the veracity of statements in a highly charged university context need to be considered. For some of the hearing witnesses, it is possible that their oral history interviews months earlier had the effect of clarifying their memories, and it appears that oral history accounts are less cautious, but there is no way to support conclusions in either direction.
13. Mary Ellen Glass, Marian Rendall, and Ruth Hilts, interview, tape recording, June 24, 1970.
14. For extended oral history excerpts, chroniclers are identified by name. Unless noted otherwise, quotations derive from those who participated in or witnessed the event firsthand.
15. "20 Kiloton Test Fired Today," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 5, 1970, p. 2.
16. N. Edd Miller, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; see also Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 1971; Joel M. Gartenberg, interview, tape recording, June 2, 1970.
17. Emphasis added. Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970; Bob Mayberry, interview with the author, tape recording, June 4, 1999.
18. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970.
19. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*.
20. "Governor's Day Activities Planned," *Sagebrush*, May 1, 1970, p. 6.
21. For example, it was a banner day for the university coffers, as the American Medical Association gave \$2,500 to the university's medical school and federal grants of \$340,000 made their way to the Nevada higher education system. "AMA Donates to Medical School," *Elko Daily Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2; "Federal Grants of \$340,000 Due Nevada schools," *Las Vegas Sun*, May 6, 1970, p. 3.
22. "UNR Students Circle Laxalt Auto on Campus," [AP News] *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 5, 1970, p. 1; "Anti-War Rally Hits UNR Campus," *Nevada Appeal*, May 5, 1970, p. 1; "Governor's Day Riot Fails: Only Loud Obscene Noise," *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2; George Frank and Jeanne Rasmussen, "Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 5, 1970, p. 1.
23. Governor Rhodes was indeed seeking the Senate nomination, and in terms of national politics, it was a vital position: one of seven needed to get Republican Control of the Senate for the next year. After eight years in office, Rhodes was being forced out of the Governorship due to term limits. As it would turn out, the combination of a scandal

- in the state treasurer's office, and more importantly *Life* magazine suggesting that Rhodes was connected to organized crime, may have prevented him from getting the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate. By a slim margin—6,000 of the 900,000 votes cast—Rhodes lost the nomination to Robert Taft, Jr., who went on to win the race. "Alabama Votes for Governor; White House Watches Closely," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 5, 1970, p.1.
24. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; see also Charlotte Morse, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*.
 25. William G. Metzger, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 144.
 26. Emphasis added. James Hulse to N. Edd Miller, May 8, 1970.
 27. Emphasis added. Richardson to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.
 28. Kenneth Carpenter, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; Doherty, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Lorena Stookey, interview with the author, tape recording, March 10, 1999.
 29. Emphasis added. Edward Olsen, interview, tape recording, July 14, 1970.
 30. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; a similar account appears in Carrie Lynn Shaw, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 128.
 31. James T. Richardson, interview with the author, tape recording, July 26, 2001.
 32. Allen A. Chamberlain, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 96.
 33. Tom Myers, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 164.
 34. Adamian, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 226.
 35. They also point to the degree of selective disclosure that chroniclers exercise to account for political exigencies.
 36. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970; Charles Seufferle, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970. The oral histories reinforce the newspaper coverage accurately (e.g., noting a short fistfight) and offer other details that indicate the mood of the demonstration. See Mike Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, May 6, 1970, p1+.
 37. (William Michael) Mike Nash, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 73.
 38. Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, p. 1+. The student was later identified as William Copren, a graduate student in History.
 39. Emphasis added. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
 40. Metzger, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 145.
 41. Dan McKinney, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 155; Myers, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 164; Ben Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 183–184. As one witness and Hazard contend, at the time of the sit-down protest and the stalled car, Adamian and Hazard were directing foot traffic and lining up demonstrators into rows of four. See also John Benedict Wellingshoff, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 171.
 42. As Mayberry recalled, Adamian was singled out as the prime faculty leader due to photographs:

Only a day or two after Governor's Day I was in Del Papa's office and *somebody came in with the blown-up photographs* that somebody had taken—I think one of the journalists from the paper—and they put them out there. And then he goes, "Bunch of students who can tell, bunch of students," *and there was Paul, and*

he was so visible. I knew from then on he was going to be targeted, and the regents did the same thing. I mean, they targeted him almost immediately and pulled together that committee to look at him and whoever that teaching assistant was (it was Fred Maher), two people they could identify. And so then I knew they were going to pick on him. *The only reason Paul had been picked is because he was photographed.*

Emphasis added. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.

43. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.; Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 204–205.
44. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
45. *Ibid.*; Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; Taber Griswold, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
46. Frankie Sue Del Papa, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
47. Brad E. Lucas, “Rude and Raucous Catcalls: The Disputes of Governor’s Day 1970,” *Nevada Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 342.
48. The driver was Clifford R. Miller. See Clifford R. Miller, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 70; Robert H. Hill, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 32–33, 42–43; “Adamian: Investigation Is A ‘Witch Hunt,’” *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p.7. Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970; Piper, interview, June 17, 1970 (Piper would later assert the same in his testimony, p. 134); Adamian, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 230.
49. The newspapers identified the wrong military person, naming General Edsall instead of Hill. Frank and Rasmussen, “Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2. See also corroborating evidence: Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Fred Maher, interview, tape recording, June 15, 1970.
50. According to the newspapers, police were clearly there to assist: they “helped clear the way” and “helped a car carrying Gov. Laxalt get free before the other 17 cars were blocked.” However, what wasn’t recorded was the absence of the chief of police, president Miller, and Governor Laxalt at the blockade: according to Olsen, “Chief Malone was already up at the empty stadium along with the two officers in the other car and the governor, the general, and the president of the university all at the stadium by themselves [laughter].” Frank and Rasmussen, “Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2; “UNR Students Circle Laxalt Auto on Campus,” *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, p. 1. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
51. Emphasis added. James Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
52. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
53. Procter Hug, Jr., interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
54. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
55. Piper, interview, June 17, 1970.
56. There’s also a wealth of minutiae that isn’t worth presenting as such, but is scattered throughout the chapter as contextual detail. See Frank and Rasmussen, “Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2.
57. According to Bowers et al., token violence “involves actual, but minor, attacks on representatives of the establishment by a few of the agitators.” Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 43.

58. According to one student, "one boy wanted to go up and take a gun from one of the ROTC, and Hazard [said], 'Listen, if you want to make an overt attack against someone there, pick on one of those gentlemen sitting up there. Don't pick on the poor ROTC student who's there, because he has to be there.'" Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970.
59. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970.
60. Bruce Douglas, interview, tape recording, June 11, 1970. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
61. Gartenberg, interview, June 2, 1970; Beverly Hudson, interview, tape recording, June 10, 1970.
62. Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 184.
63. Such observations allow us to see that the demonstration was not fully galvanized with a clear sense of purpose. They also suggest that the photographs of the march cannot accurately determine the number of protestors who participated throughout the entire event. And perhaps we can even surmise that the word had gotten out—at least to some of the demonstrators—that they had been given the opportunity to march around the stadium "and out" as part of the deal with Hug. See Hudson, interview, June 10, 1970.
64. Robert Harvey challenged the student to fight him first, if he wanted to proceed with such actions, but was also amused at the lack of forethought: there was no U.S. flag to take down, and students did not know how to attach their peace flag to the flagpole rope. See Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
65. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 208; Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
66. McCollum, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 61; Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 185.
67. A large section of the stadium seating had been roped off to centralize the ROTC audience, but this also had the effect of reserving a vacant staging area for the protestors to sit. The group leaving the stadium may have been heeding the "and out" portion of the Hug-Hulse agreement. See Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
68. Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
69. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; also, as Harvey explained in his testimony (p. 212) anyone who had not seen the recently released film *M*A*S*H* would have misunderstood the motive behind the demonstrators' singing. In the movie, two drafted Korean War doctors mocked their military surroundings, singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" amidst other antics. (Based on a 1968 novel by Richard Hooker, *M*A*S*H* became the third most popular film of 1970 and was nominated for five Academy Awards, including Best Picture and Best Director. It inspired a popular television series that ran for eleven years.)
70. See chapter three for a discussion of the rhetorical uses of obscenity.
71. Douglas, interview, June 1, 1970.
72. Edmund R. Barmettler, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
73. Rothwell, "Verbal Obscenity," p. 240.
74. Letter to the editor, "Peaceful Demonstration," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 16, 1970, p. 12; Maher, interview, June 15, 1970. In such a disruptive environment, of course, interpretations of phenomena differ. One student chronicler found it "disgusting" for

- some demonstrators “to run up their peace signs and to hiss and boo and whatever else” during the playing of the national anthem, but another student chronicler noted that students quieted themselves, raised the peace symbol, and stood up during the national anthem out of respect “a way of saying, ‘We believe in what our country stands for, and part of that, we feel, is peace.’” Gartenberg, interview, June 2, 1970; Thomas Cosgrove, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970.
75. See Charles J. Stewart, “The Ego Function of Protest Songs” for the cohesion building, self-persuasion, and collective inspiration of group singing; Barmettler, interview, May 29, 1970; Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
 76. Letter to the editor. “Peaceful Demonstration,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 12.
 77. Seufferle, interview, June 5, 1970; Cosgrove, interview, June 2, 1970; Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970; Douglas, interview, June 1, 1970.
 78. Piper, interview, June 17, 1970; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
 79. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Frank and Rasmussen, “Protests Delays Reno Ceremonies,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2.
 80. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
 81. Emphasis added. Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
 82. Hug’s mention of Maher is truly puzzling. In *no* other oral histories, photos, or news accounts was Maher named as a leader or key instigator. But weeks before his oral history interview, Hug had called for the investigations of only two men, Adamian and Maher. If Hug simply intended to say “Hazard” but mentioned “Maher” by mistake, then it *still* remains a mystery why Hug didn’t name Hazard when he called for an investigation (Hazard’s lack of cheering or other factors such as his race may have exempted him from persecution). However, if Hug’s naming of Maher was *not* a mistake, then it would suggest that his memory was severely distorted.
 83. Elizabeth Anderson, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
 84. The *Reno Evening Gazette* featured a front-page photo of protestors in stands with open-handed salutes. Adamian and Hazard are clearly identifiable, with both men standing apart from the bottom front row, centered in photograph—with Adamian smiling.
 85. “I didn’t say, ‘Peace now! Peace now!’ I said it too many times already. I know what it means. I don’t have to tell them. I didn’t have to wear an armband; the color of my skin is the armband I can never get rid of.” Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970; Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970. Jim Blink, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; David Keller, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
 86. See Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*; Benjamin, “Performatives as a Rhetorical Construct.”
 87. The logical fallacy of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* (“after this therefore because of this”). Just because one phenomena follows another does not necessarily indicate causation.
 88. The student was Dan Teglia. Miller, interview, June 18, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
 89. Emphasis added. Hulse, to N. Edd Miller, May 8, 1970. In his oral history, however, Hulse did not repeat this key insight. The other details in Hulse’s letter are consistent with his oral history a month later.
 90. Richardson, interview, June 16, 1970.
 91. Frank and Rasmussen, “Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2; Letter to the editor, “Peaceful Demonstration,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 12.

92. Richardson to Miller, May 6, 1970; Hulse to Miller, May 8, 1970.
93. Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970.
94. Edward L. Pine, interview, tape recording, June 2, 1970.
95. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
96. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970; See the epigraph for this section, as well as the following text:

“Then another student jumps up, “Let’s go down on the field.”

I said, “What the hell you want to go out on the field for? You want to go down on the field?”

“Yes, I want to go down on the field. I can’t sit up there.”

“Well, go ahead on. If you really feel like you want to go down there, you go down there. Why would it take a whole mob to back you up? Are you that insecure? Do you really believe in it? If you really believe in it, you don’t need anybody to go with you. Or you don’t want to be noticed? You want to be hidden in the crowd. See, that’s what happened at Kent. All those three kids that were killed, not a one of them were even in the demonstration! The odds are always for you! I’ve seen them at Berkeley. I’ve seen them shot down in the street. Not one kid was really doing it—the rock throwing, the bottle throwing—no, those guys don’t get shot. It’s all the other ones that get shot. Sure, you call the whole crowd down. Let them follow you down there, and let them get wiped out, and you get away free. Man, you go down. If you want to go down one by one, you go down.”

And the tension was getting really hot then.

97. Piper, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 135, 138.
98. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Ty Cobb, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 20.
99. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970. In her oral history, Frankie Sue Del Papa also makes reference to the “trickle down” motion of the demonstrators. Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970.
100. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
101. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970.
102. Nash, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 73.
103. Hazard would later testify to a similar progression of actions during Adamian’s trial.
104. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
105. David Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000.
106. Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
107. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
108. Hazard testified that he intervened when a lieutenant was ordered to remove the demonstrators forcibly, but Hazard intervened, knowing that it would be seen as a provocation: “bugging them now would be like agitating.” See McKinney, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 153; Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 185–186.
109. Blink, interview, May 27, 1970.

110. The university might have been concerned about perceptions lingering from the Sattwhite and McKinney troubles, but there's no evidence to prove that such arrangements were made.
111. Chamberlain, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 101; Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 187; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
112. Myers, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 166; Bruce Douglas, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 86; Metzger, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 147.
113. Blink, interview, May 27, 1970.
114. Anderson, interview, May 29, 1970.
115. Richardson, interview, June 16, 1970; Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970.
116. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
117. Emphasis added. Hudson, interview, June 10, 1970.
118. Emphasis added. When asked (in 2000) about Ralf's command to attack, Hug responded: "I never heard . . . [laughter] I don't remember any such thing." Gartenberg, interview, June 2, 1970; Blink, interview, May 27, 1970; Hug, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970; Procter Hug, Jr., interview with the author, tape recording, July 25, 2000.
119. Adamian was assisted by Vietnam Veteran and former Green Beret, Doug Sherman, a.k.a. the "hippie cop" (See chapter five). Joseph Alvin Elliott, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 125; Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970; see Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 188.
120. Hulse had left the field. Harvey, Hazard, Adamian, Backman, and Richardson were the remaining monitors on the field. See Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
121. According to David Harvey, Backman was stabbed in the back when one of the cadets went by, and the bayonet was close enough to rip his coat. See David Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000; Richardson to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.
122. *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2.
123. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Seufferle, interview, June 5, 1970.
124. Anderson, interview, May 29, 1970.
125. James Johnson, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 112.
126. Chamberlain, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 105.
127. *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2.
128. Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970; Richard G. Patterson, Jr., interview with the author, tape recording, June 3, 1970; Doherty, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970.
129. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Miller, interview, June 18, 1970.
130. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970.
131. Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, p. 1+; Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
132. Hulse, interview with the author, November 17, 1998.
133. Joseph Crowley, interview with the author, tape recording, February 12, 1999. Crowley went on to become president of the university, and at the time of his interview in 1999, had been one of the longest-standing university presidents in the country.
134. Paul S. Adamian, interview, tape recording, December 4, 1998.
135. Emphasis added. *Ibid.*

Chapter Five The January Deadline, the Adamian Affair, and Everything After

1. Using the work of James Wilkie, Eva McMahan notes that “elite” oral histories focus on “persons who develop accounts of their involvement in controlling society . . .” McMahan, *Elite Oral History Discourse*, p. 30. The focus on such elite chroniclers can lead to distortion, certainly, that may preclude some interpretations, and Ron Grele questions the role of such chroniclers because they are selected for their traditional (often elite) societal roles: “not because they present some abstract statistical norm, but because they typify historical processes” Grele, *Envelopes of Sound*, p. 131.
2. For example, had the activists responded to the focus on Adamian by targeting Hug, Miller, or Laxalt (and rallied their supporters against one individual like the regents had done), they might have had greater success as a social movement. See Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 35.
3. James T. Richardson, interview with the author, tape recording, July 26, 2001.
4. Fred Maher, interview, tape recording, June 15, 1970; Mike Nash, “Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony,” *Nevada State Journal*, May 6, 1970, p. 1+; “Student-Policeman Helped Organize Reno Campus Protest,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 5, 1970, p. 1+; Taber Griswold, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
5. “Week of Tension Starts Communication,” *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 3; Bob Mayberry, interview with the author, tape recording, June 4, 1999; Elmer Rusco, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
6. Miller refused to cancel classes for the strike. Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970; Kenneth Carpenter, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; “UNR Anti-War Strike Friday,” *Carson City Appeal*, May 6, 1970, p. 3.
7. Mike Graham, “Adamian Affair: A Chronology,” *Sagebrush*, November 13, 1970, p. 8.
8. Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970.
9. Glen Atkinson, interview, tape recording, June 4, 1970.
10. Carl Backman, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
11. See psychologist Elizabeth Young-Bruehl’s exhaustive analysis of obsessive prejudices in *The Anatomy of Prejudices*. She explains, “Obsessionals are often attracted to large bureaucratic institutions where they can be both lost in the crowd and enormously powerful in a small sphere of activity where they can treat people like scum, dirt to be cleaned up, or like uncivilized children. . . . Initially, the socially directed defense mechanism most frequently resorted to is displacement: obsessionals purge themselves of polluting thoughts and desires by displacing them onto others, who then are experienced as dirty and assertively polluting. . . . they must make sure that their enemies are identifiable, that they cannot hide in a crowd or—worse—infiltrate the obsessional’s own group, spreading their pollution through sexual contact or intellectual takeover” pp. 213–218. Also, while there are rhetorical theories that differentiate between “banish” and “exile” and “purge” (see Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 58), I use the terms interchangeably to indicate the obsessional’s general desire to remove the perceived threat.
12. “Nevada Students Planning Memorial, Boycott Friday,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 6, 1970, p. 1+.
13. Joseph C. Caldwell quoted in *ibid.*

14. Emphasis added. Ty Cobb, "Sweeping Away—The Cobbwebs," *Nevada State Journal*, May 6, 1970, p. 2.
15. Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, p. 1+.
16. James T. Richardson, letter to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.
17. John Marschall, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970.
18. James Hulse, interview with the author, November 17, 1998.
19. "Strike Called for Friday," *Sagebrush*, May 7, 1970, p. 2.
20. Emphasis added. Brian Whalen, Police Incident Report, statement to Police Chief Bob Malone, May 7, 1970.
21. Emphasis added. Jim Gardner, memo to Police Chief Bob Malone, May 7, 1970.
22. Lawrence Kirk, interview, tape recording, June 12, 1970.
23. Edward Olsen, interview, tape recording, July 14, 1970.
24. N. Edd Miller, interview with the author, tape recording, November 19, 1998. Mike O'Callaghan, Hank Thornley, Albert Viller, and Don Weber were all running for Governor in 1970.
25. "ASUN Senate Surrounded By 300 Pros and Cons," *Sagebrush*, May 7, 1970, p. 3. In the audience, four Reno residents who "repeatedly interjected loud remarks" would later be dubbed "the outside agitators" from California.
26. Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
27. According to Stanford SDS activist Lenny Siegel, the destruction of campus property was part of the "tantrum tactic" intended to force a response from the administration. Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 52.
28. Felony Crime Report #2475, May 7, 1970; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970; Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
29. Bob Malone, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970.
30. "Reno Campus Bombed" [AP News], *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 5/7, p. 1; "University of Nevada Firebombed," *Nevada Appeal*, May 7, 1970, p. 1.
31. "Reno Campus ROTC Is Firebombed, An Action Laxalt Says Is Criminal," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 7, 1970, p. 1+; "Laxalt Blasts UNR Violence," *Nevada Appeal*, May 7, 1970, p. 1.
32. Telegrams that day came from Churchill County Commissioners, City of Fallon Councilmen. Others congratulated Laxalt for "taking a stand" against the "revolting students" and "criminals" on campus. Other telegrams came in with apologies on behalf of the university, with some eyewitnesses coming forward who could identify the leaders of the protest. Nevada State Archives: GOV-0488 #010; GOV-0458 #025; GOV-0526 #023.
33. "Reno Campus ROTC is Firebombed, An Action Laxalt Says Is Criminal," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1.
34. Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970.
35. Piper, interview, June 17, 1970.
36. Emphasis added. David Slemmons, interview with the author, tape recording, July 21, 2001.
37. According to Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, rumors can flourish when officials cannot explain a dramatic incident, the incident itself allows multiple interpretations, and those spreading the rumor find the incident relevant, pp. 16–17.
38. Jim Blink, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; Joel Gartenberg, interview, tape recording, June 2, 1970.

39. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Blink, interview, May 27, 1970.
40. Attending were Chief Malone, Judge Hyde, Sam Basta (dean of Student Affairs), Gary Peltier (Faculty Senate president), Ed Pine (University business manager), Louis Test (ASUN Senate president), and Bob Mayberry. "Miller Deplores Bombing," *Sagebrush*, May 8, 1970, p. 2; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970; Gary Peltier, interview, tape recording, June 9, 1970; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970.
41. "Miller Deplores Bombing," *Sagebrush*, p. 2.
42. Ibid.
43. Edmund Barmettler, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
44. "Students Draft Letter, Make Plea For Unity, Decry Firebombing," *Sagebrush*, May 8, 1970, p. 2.
45. As Miller recalled, the "outsiders" were hardly the likely suspects for all that was happening on campus: "to blame it all on them is a mistake. They were nice—and I really mean this—fine young people from Reno and Sparks and Fernley and Las Vegas and Hawthorne, as well as California and other places, who I think just got carried away in what turned out to be, in my opinion, a most unfortunate disruptive situation." Miller, interview, June 18, 1970. Slemmons recalled that they had all gone to Reno High School. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
46. "UNR Strike Leaders Urge Students to Boycott Class," *Nevada Appeal*, May 8, 1970, p. 1.
47. John Doherty, "Consensus at the Bowl: Close It Down—Nonviolently," *Sagebrush*, May 8, 1970, p. 3.
48. Ibid., Elmer Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970.
49. The strike began at 8:00 a.m. Friday, and officials said 700 students didn't show for class. George Frank, "Bombing Probed; Protest Goes On At University," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 8, 1970, p. 1+.
50. "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 2+; Piper, interview, June 17, 1970; Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
51. Sam Basta, interview, tape recording, June 12, 1970.
52. "N. State, Nevada Collegians Modify War Protest Tactics," *The Sacramento Bee*, May 9, 1970, p. A12; "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, p. 2.
53. Basta, interview, June 12, 1970.
54. "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, p. 5; *ibid.*
55. "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, p. 2; Hyde, interview, May 29, 1970; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970. William Thornton announced the establishment of an annual peace prize during the memorial service: "awarded annually to a student who by word or by deed best puts forward the proposition that the use of force is not an acceptable means of settling disputes." The award is still given out annually at the university. Frank, "Bombing Probed; Protest Goes On At University," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+.
56. Carpenter, interview, May 27, 1970; Basta, interview, June 12, 1970.
57. Dennis Flynn, interview, tape recording, June 3, 1970.
58. "Regents Order Two Professors, Students Probed," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 9, 1970, p. 5; "Regents Don't Discuss Campus Unrest," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 9, 1970, p. 3.
59. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 130–131.
60. The accusation was that Maher was inappropriate in the classroom.

61. Maher was actually a teaching assistant and was promptly reassigned to a Research Assistant position, one that would limit his contact with students. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Board of Regents, Minutes, May 1970.
62. Regent James Bilbray was one of the more moderate voices in the room, calling for a month-long cooling off period before the regents continued with their policy changes and charges against faculty members. There was explicit instruction that a copy of the meeting transcript be sent to Governor Laxalt, along with the regents' apology for the protest. Both president Miller and chancellor Humphrey wrote similar apologies to Laxalt. Nevada State Archives: GOV-0526 #023.
63. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
64. Charles Seufferle, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970.
65. As a target, Adamian was quick to point out this possibility: "I hope this isn't an attempt of the board of regents to simply pick out a couple of scape goats in order to satisfy those applying pressure on the board to do something. And it seems peculiar to me that the Board of Regents hasn't directed itself in its meeting this weekend to the issues that have been raised by the activities on campus this week." "UN Regents Investigate Campus Riot," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 10, 1970, p. 2.
66. George Frank, "Investigation On Campus Draws Protest Petition; Regents: No Witch Hunt," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 11, 1970, p. 1.
67. Emphasis added. Procter Hug, Jr., interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
68. "Del Papa: Could Be Worse," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 3; Bruce Douglas, interview, tape recording, June 11, 1970.
69. "Laxalt Leaves," *Nevada Appeal*, May 10, 1970, p. 1.
70. "Laxalt Calls Nixon Talk 'Brilliant,'" *Nevada Appeal*, May 12, 1970, p. 1.
71. Emphasis added. Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970.
72. Altogether, there were petitions with over 800 signatures from irate Nevadans. University of Nevada Archives: AC20, box 1.
73. Emphasis added. Miller, interview, June 18, 1970.
74. George Frank, "Investigation on Campus Draws Protest Petition; Regents: No Witch Hunt," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1; "AAUP Starts Inquiry," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 2+; "Charges Filed Against Adamian, Maher," *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 1.
75. Marv Vyars (Byers construction); Jim Thornton (contractor); Jim Gardner (mechanical engineer); Thomas Reviglio (Western Nevada Supply); Terry Markwell (civil engineer); Robert M. Hawkins (Goodbody and Co.); Gary Bullis (attorney).
76. "Alumni, Citizens Support Regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 12, 1970, p.1+; "Alum, Citizen Group Supports Regents' Action," *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 3.
77. "Slattery Demands," *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 12, 1970, p. 1; David Keller, interview, tape recording, May 28, 1970; Piper, interview, June 17, 1970; Richardson, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970; George Frank, "Campus Scene Is Calm As Requested By Officials," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 13, 1970, p. 1+ [UPI].
78. In Randall M. Fisher's assessment of McCarthy, we can see striking similarities to the Nevada dynamic: "[McCarthy] had a crisis perception created for him by others; the devil cause had already been named; the solution was especially simple—just vote out the dupes and elect the get-tough-on-the-commie candidates like Joe and his friends. . . ." Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, pp. 107–111, 133. Cf. Richard Weaver on "Devil terms," in *Ethics of Rhetoric*, and Stephen Goldzweig on demagogue rhetoric, "A Social Movement Perspective on Demagoguery."

79. Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
80. "Week of Tension Starts Communication," *Sagebrush*, p. 3.
81. The other roommates were Ward Ryan and Woody Woodward.
82. Witnesses included Lacey Louis, Frank Polari, and Janet Harvey.
83. The description here is a composite drawn from the following accounts: John Doherty, "Sagebrush Reporter Awakes to Flames," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 1; "Firebomb Burns Building Used By Nevada Protestors," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 1+; John Crosley, "Blast Rumored Retaliation for ROTC Fire," *Nevada Appeal*, May 12, 1970, p. 1; Sheila Caudle, "Residents escape unhurt at 3 a.m.: Students Report Seeing Cougar Speed from Scene," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 1. John Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, May 12, 1970.
84. Economics professor Glen Atkinson. "Volunteer Crew Works to Rebuild Hobbit Hole," *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 1; "Are Professors Slaves Or Citizens?" *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 2; "University Inquiry Due In 10–15 Days," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 12, 1970, p. 1+; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970.
85. Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970.
86. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
87. Weeks earlier, Reno District Attorney Raggio had announced that he would seek a U.S. senate seat, with Nixon's help. "Raggio Seeks Senate Seat," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 3, 1970, p. 1.
88. In order of appearance, the senators were Floyd Lamb, James Gibson, Archie Pozzi, and Coe Swobe. Douglas Webb, "Unrest Jeopardizes Funds for University—Senators," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 15, 1970, p. 1.
89. Frank, "Campus Scene Is Calm As Requested By Officials," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+. "Avoid Political Issue On Campus Problems, Miller Asks Nevadans," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 15, 1970, p. 1+; "Unrest Jeopardizes Funds For University—Senators," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1; Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
90. Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
91. "New Firebombing On Campus." *The Sparks Tribune*, May 14, 1970, p. 3.
92. George Frank, "Campus Hearing Notices Given," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 14, 1970, p. 1+.
93. "Miller Tells Alumni, 'Can't Promise Campus Without Disturbance,'" *Nevada State Journal*, May 19, 1970, p. 12.
94. "Cannon: Dissent, But No Violence," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 18, 1970, p. 1+.
95. "Alumni Association Backs Miller in Efforts to Solve Problems," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 19, 1970, p. 1; "Legion Supports Regents In Reno Campus Hearings," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 18, 1970, p. 1.
96. Charlotte Morse, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Joseph Crowley, interview, tape recording, June 8, 1970.
97. An Italian nobleman who had taught foreign language for the university, Dandini was instrumental in securing land for the Desert Research Institute in the mid-1960s. Dandini was appointed University Marshal in 1958 (see Board of Regents Minutes, vol. 7, pp. 449–476, April 12, 1958) and held the title until 1974. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 95.
98. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
99. Police Statement, University of Nevada Police Department.

100. A graduate student, perhaps spreading misinformation, suggested that “law enforcement agencies have suspects with evidence of the people who burned the Hobbit Hole, but are refusing to arrest anybody until they also find some substantial suspects who they can take to court with a good case for the people who supposedly burned Hartman Hall.” Anonymous, interview with the author.
101. Paul S. Adamian, interview, tape recording, June 6, 2000.
102. Hug asked chancellor Humphrey to develop documents based on University of Oregon and University of Michigan procedures for similar interim codes.
103. “Rules prohibiting all members of university community from (1) use of force or violence against members or guests of university (2) interference with the freedom of movement of persons or vehicles (3) disruptions or interruptions of classes (4) disruption or interruptions of any university activity (5) unauthorized occupation of university facilities (6) destruction or removal of property (7) repeated use of vulgar, obscene, or abusive language in the classroom or public meetings (8) disorderly, lewd, or indecent conduct (9) use of threats or violence to secure preferential treatment (10) causing or threatening personal injury (11) academic cheating or plagiarism (12) supplying false information to the university with intent to deceive (13) forgery, alteration, or misuse of university documents, records, or ID cards (14) malicious destruction, damage, or misuse of university property (15) theft or conversion of university property (16) possession of weapons or firearms (17) inciting others to commit any of the aforementioned acts (18) other conduct prohibited elsewhere in catalogs or student handbooks . . . For Graduate Assistants, Graduate Teaching Fellows, and members of the Faculty (1) repeated discussion in the classroom of topics unrelated to the course of instruction (2) repeated failure to meet classes assigned without advance notification of the Dept Chairman or Dean of college.”
104. Ironically, after Hug had proposed the code, construction of a campus plaza was announced. It would be named in honor of Albert Hilliard, Reno attorney and former regent who was “a champion of academic freedom for instructors.” Neil Humphrey, letter to N. Edd Miller, May 29, 1970; “Campus Area Being Named Hilliard Plaza,” *Nevada State Journal*, May 24, 1970, p. 8.
105. Richardson, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
106. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
107. University of Nevada Archives: AC 20, Box 1.
108. Emphasis added. Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
109. Emphasis added. Richardson wrote to Hug and the regents, citing extensive passages from the University Code, and apologizing for “circumventing the usual channels of communication” but noting that Hug and the others had “circumvented usual channels by virtue of the procedure you have suggested for implementing your proposed code.” Richardson, to Hug and Board of Regents, May 30, 1970.
110. Richardson, interview, June 16, 1970; David Harvey and James T. Richardson, memo to professor Richard Siegel [n.d.]. University Archives: AC 221, box 3.
111. Goldwater found that foul language was used, but it was not slanderous; a voluntary discussion happened in Maher’s class, and he offered opinions only when asked; most students called him a fair, honest, and excellent teacher who followed his syllabus and allowed free discussion without overdoing his own political beliefs (even announcing at the beginning of the semester that he didn’t want to discuss the Vietnam War).

112. Mike Graham, "Politics or Civic Concern?" *Sagebrush*, 18 August, 1970, p. 2.
113. The regents authorized \$7900 of Special Projects Funds for history professor James Hulse to write *The University of Nevada: A Centennial History* over the following two years. This was certainly a challenging exigency for a historian: regents provided him with system funds to write about, among other events, a protest (in which he was a participant) against the system that resulted in a lawsuit against the regents. "Professor Barred From Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 10, 1970, p. 1+.
114. "Politics of Obscenity Draw a Prof's Answer," *Nevada State Journal*, August 29, 1970, p. 1.
115. "Professor Barred From Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+.
116. Adamian called the Western Regional Office of the AAUP, which sent telegrams to both Miller and Hug. Dan Adler (director, AAUP), letter to Paul Adamian, September 15, 1970.
117. "Professor Barred from Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1; "Adamian Not Allowed To Teach," *Sagebrush*, September 15, 1970, p. 1.
118. Emphasis added. Mayberry, interview with the author, tape recording, June 4, 1999.
119. Anne Howard, interview with the author, March 1, 1999.
120. David Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000.
121. Stewart et al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, p. 82.
122. "Paint On the Windows," *Sagebrush*, November 10, 1970, p. 2.
123. To his "utter dismay," Thomas O'Brien (dean of the Graduate School) was appointed head of the Ad Hoc committee that would hear Adamian's case in October, and attorney William Thornton was asked to serve as legal counsel. "Professor Barred From Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+; Thomas O'Brien, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 4. Minutes of the Faculty Senate, September 17, 1970.
124. "Raggio, Regent Respond to Adamian Accusations," *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 18, 1970, p. 1.
125. "Sweeping Away—The Cobbwebs," *Nevada State Journal*, September 20, 1970, p. 10.
126. John W. Swobe [Nevada Alumni Association], letter to Thomas G. Bell [Vice Chairman, Board of Regents].
127. "Appeal To Witnesses," *Sagebrush*, October 6, 1970, p. 2.
128. "Miller Points to Positive Side of University," *Sagebrush*, October 9, 1970, pp. 4–5.
129. Valerie Weems, "Paul Adamian Outlines 'Inevitable Changes,'" *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 3; "Regents Hear Five Problems," *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 7.
130. "Hearing Open If Adamian Agrees," *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 1.
131. Emerging in the mid-1960s, the tactics of guerilla theatre—small, mobile groups using simple tactics and the element of surprise—are an exemplary form of symbolic action, a guerilla rhetoric that aims via disruption to draw attention to a message. See Richard Schneider, "Guerrilla Theatre: May 1970," *The Drama Review*, 14, no. 3 (1970): 163–168.
132. "Council Hears Testimony," *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 6.
133. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
134. Robert Harvey, memorandum "for the record" October 14, 1970; Adamian, open letter, October 21, 1970; Robert Harvey, memo to Kirkpatrick, October 21, 1970.
135. Adamian, interview, June 6, 2000.

136. The Ad Hoc committee consisted of O'Brien and three other faculty members: Phillip A. Altick (College of Arts and Sciences); Charles V. Wells (foreign languages), and Holyoke P. Adams (agriculture). George Frank, "Adamian Claims Role As Monitor," *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 14, 1970, p. 1; Carol Haviland, "Adamian Tells Of Participation In Governor's Day," *Nevada State Journal*, October 14, 1970, p. 1; "Reno Professor's Discipline Hearing Ends, Ruling Pends," *Sacramento Bee*, October 14, 1970, p. C5.
137. Sheila Caudle, "Hearing Over For Adamian," *Sagebrush*, October 16, 1970, p1+.
138. "It Began At 9:31 a.m.," *Sagebrush*, October 16, 1970, pp. 4-5.
139. John Swobe, president Carson City chapter of Nevada Alumni Association, letter to N. Edd Miller.
140. "Adamian Petition To Be Circulated," *Sagebrush*, October 27, 1970, p. 1; "Adamian Petition," *Sagebrush*, November 17, 1970, p. 8; Dave Slemmons, "A Written Reprimand," *Sagebrush*, October 27, 1970, p. 5; "Speakers Discuss Adamian Petition," *Sagebrush*, November 3, 1970, p. 3.
141. Group consists of 30 African-Americans, 9 Mexican Americans, 5 American Indians, 5 Caucasian, and 1 Asian American. John West was kept on as director, with Rich Patterson and Jesse Sattwhite as new staff members. Funding was increased from 35 students to 50 students. Press release sent to *Sagebrush* from John P. West, October 20, 1970.
142. Mike Graham, "Closed Session Scheduled," *Sagebrush*, November 17, 1970, p. 1.
143. "Adamian Only Censured," *Morning Desert Free Press*, November 9, 1970, p. 1; see also Mike McGowen, "Censure Recommended for Adamian," *Sagebrush*, November 10, 1970, p. 1.
144. "Miller: Penalty Due But Not Termination," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, November 22, 1970, p. 1; *Sagebrush*, November 13, 1970, p. 2.
145. "Adamian Affair May End Soon At Regents UNLV Meeting," *Morning Desert Free Press*, November 18, 1970, p. 1; Graham, "Closed Session Scheduled," *Sagebrush*, p. 1; "Disruption Statements Planned," *Sagebrush*, December 4, 1970, p. 1; University Archives: AC 027, folder 27/3.
146. Only regents Anderson and Bilbray voted to have an open session. "Adamian Matter Is Protested," *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 11, 1970, p. 1.
147. A flyer circulated to provide an "Agenda" for the Friday rally: "1. Opposition to Indochina war, resumed bombing of North Vietnam, Commando raids, etc. 2. Show of support for Dr. Paul Adamian 3. Opposition to the Regents' tyrannical rule over the University of Nevada 4. Opposition to mandatory ROTC on campus 5. Opposition to censorship of publications 6. Opposition to the high price of food in the snack bar 7. Opposition to the bandit bookstore 8. Opposition to the way this institution is being run 9. etc, etc." George Frank, "Adamian is fired by the regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 12, 1970, p. 1+.
148. See Arthur Waskow's analysis of the early incidents of "creative disorder" in *From Race-Riot to Sit-In*, p. 225.
149. Three students and "all persons acting in concert therewith" were cited, with the Board of Regents and N. Edd Miller as plaintiffs.
150. Walsh wrote that defendants "have made unreasonable and illegal and unconstitutional demands . . . that the Board of Regents immediately adopt and pass said illegal and unconstitutional demands before the Board leaves the room." The student demands were the regents' resignations; a reconstituted board with four students,

- four faculty, and five citizens (with a separate faculty-student-citizen oversight committee). The new board would be given the task of making education free, reviewing ten years of personnel decisions, and ending the “university’s role as a Capitalist, imperialist, racist, chauvanist, elitist institution.”
151. As Bob Mayberry recalled, Del Papa sought out equal numbers of students who could speak against Adamian. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999; See *Nevada State Journal*, December 13, 1970; George Frank, “Adamian Is Fired by the Regents,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 12, 1970, p. 1+.
 152. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
 153. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
 154. Molly Knudtsen and James Bilbray opposed terminating Adamian, and the regents discussed Adamian’s control and leadership. Bilbray was the only dissenting vote. Board of Regents, Minutes, Executive Session, December 12, 1970, p. 114; George Frank, “Adamian Is Fired by the Regents,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 12, 1970, p. 1+; Carl Haviland, “U Of N Regents Dismiss Dr. Paul Adamian,” *Nevada State Journal*, December 13, 1970, p. 1+.
 155. Case No. 266527.
 156. Faculty Senate Minutes, January 7, 1971; Adamian, to Dan Adler, director AAUP, January 27, 1971.
 157. Peter Frank [of Franck, Hill, Stender, Ziegler and Hendon], to Eugene Grotegut, January 29, 1971.
 158. The committee was chaired by Richardson, with professor Glen Atkison as treasurer, and undergraduate Bob Mayberry serving as secretary.
 159. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 75–76, 87, 176.
 160. Of the \$8000 needed for legal fees that had been raised, roughly \$3000—about one-quarter of Adamian’s annual salary—had been pledged. *Morning Desert Free Press*, 8, no. 1 (January 4, 1971); Paul Adamian Defense Committee Newsletter, February 3, 1971; Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
 161. “Mordy Sues University For \$567, 733,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, July 11, 1971, p. 1.
 162. In March, Adamian wrote to the ACLU for support, and Richardson asked Miller to change Governor’s Day, warning that few faculty would be “there to help keep order” in the event of another protest. Combined with the existing Honors Convocation, the 1971 ceremony was held in the secure confines of the school’s gymnasium, where Crowley was awarded the first Thornton Peace Prize. Adamian, interview, tape recording, December 4, 1998; Adamian, to Hazel Erskine, Secretary, ACLU, March 17, 1971; James T. Richardson, to N. Edd Miller, March 21, 1971; “Crowley Receives Peace Prize,” *Sagebrush*, May 14, 1971, p. 1.
 163. Civil No. R-2530, July 23, 1971; Appellee’s Brief, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, p. 6.
 164. Miller, interview with the author, November 19, 1998. Miller also noted that “Sattwhite was one of the nominal leaders of the group . . . it was very clear that he was not making decisions; he was told what to do and say.”
 165. *Nevada State Journal*, October 29, 1971, p. 1+.
 166. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
 167. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
 168. During the November Board meeting, several regents expressed their dissatisfaction with Miller’s handling of the Reno campus, so Miller submitted his resignation, which was refused. And prior to the November election, David Towell used

- Adamian's name (and Bilbray's dissenting vote) as a campaign wedge against regent Bilbray for a seat in Congress. Towell won the election. Springer placed third in the 1970 Governor's Race, and in 1974 ran for a Supreme Court Justice position, which he lost to John Mowbray but would win another attempt in 1981. "Adamian Still In Court," *Sagebrush*, April 21, 1972.
169. The case was initially assigned to District Judge Bruce R. Thompson, but he suffered a heart attack and the case was reassigned.
 170. "Reno Professor Promoted," *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 13, 1972. Richardson's promotion was approved by his department, dean, and president Miller. Sheila Caudle, "Professor Denied Promotion by Regents," *Sagebrush*, May 7, 1971, p. 3.
 171. Richardson's letter was not intended to vindicate himself, but rather to speak out against the university's replacement of one-year teaching appointments with one-semester "Letter of Appointment" contracts that offered more flexibility in firing adjuncts and graduate students. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001; Richardson, to Paul Leonard, June 3, 1971.
 172. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001; "Reno Professor Promoted," *Reno Evening Gazette*; David Harvey, interview, July 10, 2000.
 173. "Professors Form Group to Bargain with Regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 4, 1972.
 174. It applied the "standard of vagueness" under the due-process clause of the 14th amendment, claiming the regulation was so overbroad that it could justify termination simply "for utterances which were inaccurate." "Court Strikes Down Version of AAUP Statement," *Advocate*, Winter 1974.
 175. AAUP, "Advisory Letter No. 11." Case law suggests that the court's ruling on the AAUP construction *before* the remand to district court was improper. See *Harrison v. NAACP*, 360 U.S. 167 (1959); *Grayned v. City of Rockford*, 408 U.S. 104 (1972); *Gooding v. Wilson*, 405 U.S. 518 (1972).
 176. Thompson also had served as a defense attorney for professor Frank Richardson in the 1950's Stout affair.
 177. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
 178. *Paul S. Adamian v. The University of Nevada, et al.*, May 24–25, 1976. Case No. R-2530. pp. 16, 48, 61.
 179. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
 180. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
 181. See, e.g., "University of Nevada Faculty Reacts to Rules on Mental Tests and Tenure," *The Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1983, p. 11.
 182. *Ibid.*
 183. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970.
 184. Howard, interview, March 1, 1999.
 185. Bob Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
 186. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
 187. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
 188. Frankie Sue Del Papa, interview with the author, tape recording, December 14, 1998.
 189. David Harvey, interview, July 10, 2000.
 190. Joseph N. Crowley, interview with the author, tape recording, February 12, 1999.
 191. *Ibid.*
 192. Dennis Myers, "Paul Adamian, Again," *Sagebrush*, September 30, 1975, pp. 6–7.

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- Adamian, Paul Serop: English professor
- Anderson, Elizabeth: Wife of the Dean of Engineering
- Atkinson, Glen: Economics professor
- Backman, Carl: Professor, Sociology
- Barmettler, Edmund R.: Agriculture professor
- Basta, Sam M.: Dean of Student Affairs
- Blink, James: Undergraduate student, ROTC drill team commander
- Carpenter, Kenneth J.: Associate Director of Library
- Cosgrove Thomas: Program Coordinator, Center for Religion and Life
- Crowley, Joseph N.: Political Science professor

- Doherty, John: Undergraduate student, *Sagebrush* reporter
Douglas, Bruce: Civil Engineering professor
Dwyer, Larry: Undergraduate student
Flynn, Dennis: Undergraduate student
Gartenberg, Joel M.: Graduate student
Griswold, Taber: Undergraduate student, USA member
Harvey, Robert: English professor
Hazard, Ben (Benjamin): Art professor
Hudson, Beverly: Graduate student, publications director for National College of State Trial Judges
Hug, Procter, Jr.: Chair, Board of Regents
Hulse, James: History professor
Hyde, Laurance Jr.: Dean, National College of State Trial Judges
Keller, David: Undergraduate student, ROTC
Kirk, Lawrence M.: Faculty, College of Agriculture
Kunstler, William Moses: Civil Rights activist
Maher, Fred: Graduate student, English teaching assistant
Malone, Bob: Police chief, University of Nevada
Marschall, John: Director, Center for Religion and Life
Miller, N. Edd: University President
Morse, Charlotte: Undergraduate student
Olsen, Edward: Director of Information
Patterson, Richard G., Jr.: Undergraduate student, USA member
Peltier, Gary: Education professor, Faculty Senate Chair
Pine, Edward L.: University business manager, Director of physical plant.
Piper, Brooke: Undergraduate student, USA member
Richardson, James T.: Sociology professor
Robertson, Joseph: Plant Science professor
Ross, Charles W.: Art professor, Department Chair
Rusco, Elmer: Political Science professor
Ryall, Alan S.: Physics professor
Sellers, Joseph: Graduate student, President of Sundowners (unofficial “Cowboy” club)
Seufferle, Charles: Associate Dean, College of Agriculture
Sherwood, Richard: Undergraduate student, ROTC
Richard, Siegel: Political Science professor
Teglia, Dan: Undergraduate student
Test, Louis: Undergraduate student
Thornton, William: Attorney, past President, University Alumni Association
Valline, William: Undergraduate student, ROTC
Watson, David: Undergraduate student, ROTC

Oral History Interviews 1998–2001

- Adamian, Paul: English professor, retired
Crowley, Joseph N.: President, University of Nevada, Reno
d’Azevedo, Warren: Sociology professor

Del Papa, Frankie Sue: Attorney General, State of Nevada
Doherty, John R.: Desert Research Institute
Harvey, David: Sociology professor
Harvey, Robert: English professor
Howard, Anne: English professor
Hug, Procter, Jr.: Judge, Ninth Judicial Circuit Court
Hulse, James: History professor
Maher, Fred: Counselor, Sparks, Nevada
Mayberry, Bob: English professor
Miller, N. Edd: President, retired
Richardson, James T.: Program Director, Judicial Studies; Former President, AAUP
Slemmons, David: Oklahoma Library for the Blind and Physically Handicapped
Stookey, Lorena: English faculty

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