

Nevada

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Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

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The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* solicits contributions of scholarly or popular interest dealing with the following subjects: the general (e.g., the political, social, economic, constitutional) or the natural history of Nevada and the Great Basin; the literature, languages, anthropology, and archaeology of these areas; reprints of historic documents; reviews and essays concerning the historical literature of Nevada, the Great Basin, and the West.

Prospective authors should send their work to The Editor, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503. Papers should be typed double-spaced and sent in duplicate, along with a copy on disk (in MAC® or IBM® compatible form-WordPerfect® 5.1, 6.0, or Microsoft Word®). All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform to the most recent edition of the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and numbered consecutively. Submission guidelines are available on request. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor. © Copyright Nevada Historical Society, 2002.

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Contents

- 125 The Book Review Issue: An Introduction
MICHAEL GREEN

- 129 Native American Textbooks: A Review Article
CAROL HIGHAM

Book Reviews

- 147 *A River Running West. The Life of John Wesley Powell.* By Donald Worster
(Oxford University Press: Oxford and New York, 2001)
reviewed by Don D. Fowler
- 150 *Merging Lines: American Railroads, 1900-1970.* By Richard Saunders, Jr.
(DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2001)
reviewed by Albert Churella
- 151 *Saints in Babylon: Mormons and Las Vegas.* By Kenric F. Ward
(Bloomington, Indiana: 1st Books Library, 2002)
reviewed by Michael Green
- 154 *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s.* Edited by Tom Sitton
and William Deverell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)
reviewed by Merry Ovnick

Front Cover: Las Vegas Club (*Nevada Historical Society*)

- 157 *Betting the Line: Sports Wagering in American Life*. By Richard O. Davies and Richard G. Abram (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2001)
reviewed by Alan Balboni
- 160 *The Hand I Played: A Poker Memoir*. By David Spanier (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001)
reviewed by Dave Schwartz
- 162 *Bad Bet on the Bayou: The Rise of Gambling in Louisiana and the Fall of Governor Edwin Edwards*. By Tyler Bridges (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001)
reviewed by William B. Werner
- 165 *The Money and the Power: The Making of Las Vegas and Its Hold on America, 1947- 2000*. By Sally Denton and Roger Morris (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001)
reviewed by Robert E. Parker
- 168 *Murder in Sin City: The Death of a Las Vegas Casino Boss*. By Jeff German (New York: Avon Books, 2001)
- Quicksilver. The Ted Binion Murder Case*. By John L. Smith and Jeff Scheid (Las Vegas: Huntington Press, 2001)
- An Early Grave: A True Story of Love, Deceit, and Murder in the American Desert*. By Gary C. King (New York: St. Martin's, 2001)
- Death in the Desert: The Ted Binion Homicide Case*. By Cathy Scott (New York: 1st Books Library, 2000)
reviewed by Geoff Schumacher
- 171 *Origins of the Nevada Test Site*. By Terrence R. Fehner and F.G. Gosling (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Energy, History Division, 2001)
reviewed by William Gray Johnson
- 172 *Brothel: Mustang Ranch and Its Women*. By Alexa Albert (New York: Random House, 2001)
reviewed by Barb Brents
- 174 *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915*. By Catherine Cocks (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)
reviewed by Mansel G. Blackford

- 176 *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*. Edited by David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001)

Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century West. By Hal K. Rothman (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998)

reviewed by Kathleen A. Brosnan

- 179 *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Wakiki to Sea World*. By Jane C. Desmond (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)
reviewed by Hal K. Rothman

- 180 *Greater Portland: Urban Life and Landscape in the Pacific Northwest*. By Carl Abbott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002)
reviewed by Eugene P. Moehring

- 183 Cumulative Index

The Book Review Issue

An Introduction

MICHAEL GREEN

Whether you are an academic or a nonacademic, if you are reading this journal, one of your joys in life undoubtedly comes from wandering among bookshelves at a bookstore or a library, glancing at titles, and leafing through volumes in search of something to read, possibly to buy (at least, so the bookstore owner hopes). Another of your pleasures probably comes from reading book reviews, whether in popular publications or in academic journals. You may even derive a secret thrill out of seeing an author receiving comeuppance, or benefit from encountering a summary and analysis of a book. It helps you decide what to buy, or what you might need to read for research or enjoyment—or both, presuming the two are not mutually exclusive.

That is why we hope that this special issue of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* will be a book-browser's dream. It is a books issue, dedicated to reviews of books that will be, we hope, of interest to our readers.

We are in the process of expanding both our book review section and the scope of the books we review. Obviously, as with the articles and documents we publish, our main focus is on Nevada. However, Nevada does not exist in a vacuum, and the reviews—and articles—we publish reflect that fact.

First comes a review essay by Carol Higham of Davidson College, North Carolina. It symbolizes some of the ways in which we are changing this section. When approached about reviewing works in one of her fields of specialization, Native American history, she commented on the number of texts being published and the absence of reviews of them in historical journals. She suggested the possibility of a longer review that would address various books on the subject. She thought, and we agreed, that those who teach Native American history at any academic level might benefit from such an analysis. Her essay is the result.

Michael Green is book review editor of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* and is professor of history at the Community College of Southern Nevada. He is co-editor (with Gary E. Elliott) of *Nevada: Reading and Perspectives* (Nevada Historical Society, 1997) and editor and interviewer for *A Liberal Conscience: Ralph Denton, Nevadan* (University of Nevada Oral History Program, 2001).

The Higham essay is followed by an assortment of book reviews. Their topics vary, but the common thread is southern Nevada and its key industry, gaming and tourism—perhaps with a few surprises. All of these are related—not only to one another, but to all of Nevada, from Owyhee at the northeastern tip of the state to Laughlin in the southeast. For many years, Nevada was the exclusive home of legal gambling. Today, almost every state has some form of legal gambling—lotteries, riverboat casinos, and Indian gaming, to name a few. Many corporations that started in Nevada own casinos and various interests in other places, and other jurisdictions have imitated the gaming control system that Nevada instituted. What goes on elsewhere is of interest and importance to Nevada, and books on the industry that may appear largely unrelated to the state actually loom large. This issue includes a review of *The Money and the Power*, a controversial, path-breaking book that links Las Vegas to broader national and international themes, and an essay review looks at four books on the life and death of Ted Binion, a member of a powerful Las Vegas family whose colorful patriarch, Benny Binion, figures prominently in the pages of *The Money and the Power*. Other reviews related to these subjects deal with John Wesley Powell, explorer of the Colorado River; the history of sports betting and gambling in Louisiana; and the Mormon church in Las Vegas. All of these books are concerned with themes related to southern Nevada, and with further-reaching subjects as well.

This issue also examines the topic of the tourism industry in general. Tourism has been a crucial part of the Nevada economy for a long time. This state competes for the international, national, regional, and local entertainment dollar. Members and students of Nevada's tourist industry can learn from experiences elsewhere, and vice versa. Thus the inclusion here of books on the tourism industry in other areas—the beginnings of the urban tourism that is a hallmark of Las Vegas and Reno, and other facets of the history of this important industry.

The other reviews provide a similarly wide-ranging look at subjects related to Nevada. The growth of southern California in the 1920s affected how Las Vegas, and thus the rest of Nevada, has evolved. Railroads built many Nevada towns, and the way that industry changed in the twentieth century certainly altered the transportation, political, and economic landscape of Nevada and other states. The Mustang Ranch is one of many such places associated with Nevada in the public mind, but it can also provide a basis for the study of gender issues. And the origins of the Nevada Test Site tell us much about viewpoints dividing the country today. These works all give us much to think about, and the reviews try to put them into perspective and add to that food for thought.

These reviews also reflect our effort to include a wider variety of writers in this journal. The authors of reviews in this issue include names familiar to long-time readers of the *Quarterly* and scholars of western history, as well as some newcomers to the study of these topics. They have in common an interest

in subjects relevant to readers of this journal and a desire to spread their knowledge of these matters to a wider audience.

We hope to convey some of the exciting possibilities awaiting you. The number of published books related to Nevada is greater than many of us would think—or want, if you are committed to reading them. And the number of books on the state now being written, about to be published, or newly published and about to be reviewed is mind-boggling; if you doubt that, you should take a look at the shelves in my office. Some, as the reviews that follow make clear, are much better than others. But all of these books contribute to our knowledge of our time and place—and we hope that these reviews do the same. Enjoy this sample.

Native American Textbooks

A Review Article

CAROL HIGHAM

First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History. By Colin Calloway (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999)

Indians in American History: An Introduction. Edited by Frederick Hoxie and Peter Iverson (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1988)

Major Problems in American Indian History, 2^d edition. Edited by Albert Hurtado and Peter Iverson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000)

We Are Still Here: American Indians in the Twentieth Century. By Peter Iverson (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1998)

Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present 1492-2000. Edited by Peter Nabokov (New York: Penguin, 1999)

American Indians. Edited by Nancy Shoemaker (London: Blackwell Publishers, 2000)

Atlas of the North American Indian. By Carl Waldman (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2000)

They Made Us Many Promises: The American Indian Experience 1524 to the Present, 2^d edition. Edited by Philip Weeks (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 2002)

Carol Higham is an adjunct assistant professor at Davidson College, North Carolina. Her specialties are comparative United States/Canadian history and Indian/white relations. She has written *Noble, Wretched and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (University of New Mexico Press/University of Calgary Press) and is currently working on a book about Euro-American tales of Indian cannibalism in Mexico, Canada, and the United States and their impact on anthropology and ethnography.

With the rebirth of interest in Native American history, textbook and academic publishers have produced books aimed at this market. This review examines several texts that have appeared over the last few years. Unfortunately, for students and instructors alike, textbook authors approach this subject without thinking about the problems faced by instructors of Native American history. Sometimes, the authors assume Native American history exists as a subset of United States history and structure their volumes to reflect how Native Americans fit into the broader United States survey. Other authors assume students possess much more knowledge about Native Americans than they often do.

Native American history furnishes instructors with important pedagogical considerations and skills. If one approaches teaching Native American history as if the material is completely foreign to the students, the job becomes more manageable. Teaching Native American history is more like teaching the history of the Middle East, Africa, or Asia than it is like teaching United States history. One can assume very little accurate knowledge on the part of the students, and they will need help mastering the basics of geography, culture, economics, politics, and religion in order to better understand the subject. Therefore, when choosing textbooks and assignments, an instructor needs to consider what basic skills the students will need in order to complete them as well as what information will be required to better explore the topic.

Native American history also presents unique opportunities for teaching the skills necessary for research and critical thinking. It is the perfect place to help students learn to evaluate sources of information. Asking them to puzzle out the different benefits and pitfalls of oral versus written documents often teaches them that written documents are not sacred and oral documents are not inherently flawed. Requiring students to consider the audience and the purpose of a document also teaches them reasoning skills. Providing them with a congressional report from Protestant missionaries and asking them how the authors and the audience shaped the material in the document often opens their eyes to the ways that all documents become molded by agendas and authors.

The study of Native American history forces students to view the United States through a completely different lens. It is no longer the glorious march of progress, a democracy that sought to represent the voiceless. Native Americans thus become political and economic actors who made choices and decisions based on their own situations and experiences rather than historical props used to exemplify Manifest Destiny. For many students, switching perspectives opens their eyes to other issues in the world and to other views of the United States and their own history. Choosing textbooks that include native voices in an accessible manner encourages this perspective. Textbooks that provide vivid illustrations of the diversity of Native America, such as artwork, maps, and creation stories from different groups set side by side, help students grasp the complexity of the peoples and times being discussed.

Teaching Native American history requires teaching skills different from those needed for a general survey of United States history. First, an instructor must understand the depth of the audience's knowledge. In certain regions of the country (Minnesota, the Dakotas, Arizona, and New Mexico), students enter the class with lots of information and misinformation. While in a perfect world, well-informed students would be the norm, misinformed students do at least provide a basis for teaching criticism and critical thinking. An instructor can use student preconceptions to illustrate the difference between fact and fiction. In addition, in these regions, there may be more native students in the class, which also shapes responses to the texts.

In other areas (Texas, North Carolina, Connecticut), students come to class with little or no information about Native Americans, but with a vague interest in "Indians." In many ways, these less informed students present an interesting challenge. They usually come into class with very specific and regionally based stereotypes, and often expect the class to be only about those issues. Such students view natives as static peoples without change or conflict. By the end of the semester, they frequently express frustration that previous history teachers and texts withheld the Native American viewpoint from them.

Furthermore, students have been trained by the media to divide Native Americans into two categories: individuals of great consequence (Sacajawea, Pocahontas, Geronimo, etcetera) and broad group characterizations (chiefs, warriors, Indian princesses). While scholars such as Rayna Green have explored these concepts, few recognize how they shape the teaching of the subject matter. An instructor must be aware of the stereotypes that students bring with them when they enter the classroom. Failure to recognize the students' preconceptions opens an instructor up, unintentionally and invariably, to supporting these stereotypes. Quizzing students about stereotypes can ferret them out. Asking students who Sacajawea was or whether all Indians were nomadic can help identify, for both the instructor and the student, the unspoken stereotypes that may hinder learning. An awareness of the audience's preconceptions and misinformation should help define the structure of the class, the choice of textbooks, and the design of assignments.

The way most high school and college survey courses portray United States history creates the next challenge for teaching Native American history. Many textbooks today still depict United States history as an east-to-west march of Anglo-American culture. They devote little or no time to other empires and groups. Most sum up pre-Columbian history in a few pages, nod their heads at the Spanish, ignore the French (unless they clash with the English), and then charge westward. Because such textbooks tend to present United States history as a march of progress, one must be careful not to align a Native American history course too closely with the history of the United States. If students accept the idea that the history of the United States represents progress, then they struggle with understanding how natives could resist becoming part

of United States society. Thus, students may be predisposed to the idea that "civilizing" the "Indians" helped save them. Thanks to standardized textbooks, students have not been exposed to Native Americans' history except in a tertiary manner (Indian wars, Thanksgiving.) Therefore, one risks marginalizing Native Americans again by making them appear to be secondary actors in the history of a superpower.

In addition to the problems confronting the instructors, the challenges faced by authors who write about Native American topics are unique as well. If a textbook ties itself and its format too closely to United States history, students begin to see Native Americans as an ethnicity within United States history, not as separate governments, societies, cultures, and economies. This most often becomes apparent when discussing "Indians" in the Constitution and the Removal of the Five Civilized Tribes. A teacher's choice of books has failed if students are later shocked to discover that in some United States legal circles native peoples were viewed as separate sovereign nations and that they viewed themselves that way.

Often students equate natives with immigrant ethnic groups, assuming that after the American Revolution, they became part of the United States as other groups did. They may already believe that all immigrants assimilated quickly into United States society, so they expect the native peoples to do the same. The image of the melting pot predisposes many students to assume that Native Americans just blended into the general population of the United States when they could. In addition, few students enter the classroom understanding that there is no such thing as an "Indian" culture, language or society. Therefore, communicating the diversity of the Native Americans' experience and their desire to remain unique and distinct becomes twice as hard.

The authors of United States survey texts complicate the problem. Few survey texts organize United States history around thematic issues. Instead, they proceed chronologically. But thematic issues drive Native American history. First contact spans hundreds of years, depending upon the geographical location of native groups. Diseases roll and return back and forth across the north American continent. Even modern policies, such as termination, provoke different responses from different regions and tribal groups, all of which are historically grounded in individual tribal experiences. In other words, it is not possible to generalize about the experience of Native Americans because there is no such thing as one "Indian" experience. But students assume, at least on one level, that there is an American Experience and often try to apply this broad generalization to Native American issues.

Finally, instructors need to cover vast periods of time in a manner that conveys change and continuity without losing the students to minute details and myth or allowing them to form incorrect and dangerous stereotypes and generalizations. Unfortunately, students have been taught that history is generalizations. And that represents one of the main challenges for teaching Native

American history. How does one teach students to embrace the diversity and variety exemplified by native experiences in North America? How does one communicate to students that different groups viewed themselves as separate and unique from all other native and Euro-American groups even while their adversaries tried to lump them into the category of "Indian"? How does one demonstrate the clashes between ethnocentric policies and diverse societies? And in most cases, all these issues must be communicated in one semester with limited writing assignments.

This review evaluates several textbooks within the context of actually teaching a course, rather than looking at how they add to the historiography. Some of them have been test-driven in classes. Some have not. All will be evaluated in the following manner: How would this book work with an audience that possesses information and misinformation? How would this book work with an audience that has only a vague interest? Does the textbook manage to convey the political, social, and economic diversity of native lives? Does the textbook present native groups as independent of or tertiary to American history? What tools does the textbook offer to help students use critical thinking and conceptualize difficult issues such as ethnocentricity, assimilation versus acculturation, self-determination, etcetera?

To facilitate the use of this review essay, I have done two things. First, I have divided the books into two categories: textbooks and essay collections. Second, I have included the following codes: TD (test-driven in class), IA (works with an informed audience), UA (works with an uninformed audience), TT (provides useful teaching tools beyond or in lieu of strong text).

TEXTBOOKS

In the last five years, publishers have begun to realize that a market exists for textbooks covering Native American history. But editors have approached the topic as if it is merely a different version of the general United States history. Teaching with a text has both advantages and disadvantages. Since the organization of most textbooks is chronological, their use can drive a Native American survey course to follow chronology instead of themes. Because of choosing chronology over thematic issues, many textbooks then downplay the diversity of Native American history to make the subject fit better into the chronology of United States history.

Part of the problem comes from a deceptive trick in the chronology of Native American history. At first, it seems to run chronologically. For the pre-Columbian chapter, the native groups encounter the same variables but in different ways. But once the Europeans arrive, then different native groups encounter variables at different times. Thus the Pueblos encounter disease much earlier than the Mandan. Such differences can get lost in a chronological

approach to Native American history. The differing times of contact and conflict change the equation unequally and muddy the issue of diversity. Students struggle to understand the effects of disease because they see it as a period, the early 1500s. Then when it reappears in the nineteenth century, they do not understand how it could have an effect when "Indians" had already encountered disease.

By the late twentieth century, though, the original chronological pattern from the pre-Columbian period recurs. Most native groups confront the same types of legislation at the same time but in different manners. This, though, limits the number of influencing factors and helps highlight the diversity among tribal responses. Therefore, representing the diversity of the period from 1500 to 1900 poses a challenge for any textbook covering Native American history.

Despite these problems, textbooks can provide a common base of knowledge for the students. They can be great sources of illustrations and maps with which an instructor can help students visualize the history. And as more texts have entered the market, the quality of the reading lists and end-of-chapter questions has improved, giving students a chance to pursue their own interests outside the classroom.

Peter Nabokov, *Native American Testimony*. TD, IA, UA, TT.

Nabokov's work represents a one-of-a-kind textbook that is unparalleled in the field. He provides an extensive collection of primary accounts from natives on topics ranging from the creation of the world through self-determination. Each chapter is designed with a short entry that sets the stage for the time or conceptual period. Then, Nabokov creates labels for each account which describe the origin of the account, including the author, when and how it was recorded, and, when known, its underlying circumstances. Because he includes textual renditions of oral histories and lists the dates when they were recorded, he lays the groundwork for discussions of oral versus written history, an issue crucial to both the historical and ethnohistorical study of Native Americans. In some cases, he also provides excellent pieces with which to discuss how the anthropologists who recorded the oral histories might have shaped the documents. In addition, because the later entries are excerpted from published works, this book clearly demonstrates how literate the native population has become.

Nabokov touches on all of the major issues covered by other textbooks, such as first contact, missionary contact, and treaties, but in a minimalist way. He allows the natives to speak for themselves. This in turn demonstrates, especially in the chapters on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, how divided the Native American populations became over certain issues. He receives extra kudos for not including treaties and other government documents as evidence of native history. Nabokov's minimalist approach works well with students. It

allows the instructor to set the stage through lecture or other readings. And it provides the students with the space to read the entries for themselves and grapple with interpretation and meaning. In some cases, they must struggle to accept ideas with which they are uncomfortable. Or, in the case of first-contact accounts, students fight to understand the metaphors employed by the native authors. All of these problems help students better understand how unique and important native cultures are.

Students love this book. First, to be blunt, the essays are short and illustrative. More important, the documents provide the voices of native peoples. This can be especially important for the uninformed audiences, who may not have even attended a powwow, much less talked to a native person. It also provides the perfect medium for documentary studies, comparative papers, or discussions, helping students develop their critical-thinking skills. Asking how a document's intended audience or its author's position might have shaped it drives students to better understand how these conditions shape all documents. Because the entries tend to be short, even the most unprepared student can skim one and participate in class discussion. Finally, Nabokov provides unusual photos and pictures to depict events. He does not rely on the stale old standbys that so many books use. These illustrations provide students with a new perspective. Instead of the same old picture of Sitting Bull or Geronimo, they now see families and tribal councils.

Nabokov organizes the chapters in a thematic manner, allowing for wide chronologies within each. Although to students it appears to be a chronological book, it is actually thematic. For example, his chapter on first contact includes accounts from the 1500s and those recorded by anthropologists at the end of the nineteenth century. Because of this structure, more than any other current text, Nabokov's book succeeds in presenting native groups as independent parties. Because the chapters are thematically organized, they lend themselves to discussions of critical concepts such as ethnocentricity, assimilation versus acculturation, and self-determination. One caveat: students often panic over the wide variety of native group names listed within the book. One way to help them deal with the overwhelming sense of detail can be to have them map the different entries by cultural region. This helps them master how different topics affected various Native American regions from pre-European contact through the twentieth century. It also illustrates the flow of action.

Colin Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*.
TD, IA, UA, TT.

On the surface, Calloway's book looks promising for the classroom. In many ways, it is the first true textbook for Native American survey courses. It combines narrative text, documents, maps, and study questions in the traditional textbook format. *First Peoples* possesses several strengths. The first

chapters and the very last chapters appear to be the strongest. The section on the pre-Columbian period provides a good overview of North America and its diversity. The central chapters on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries become a little bogged down in the day-to-day detail of events. By the twentieth century, Calloway uses more Native American voices. He then quickly explains concepts and allows the actors involved to explain the conflicts themselves. The document collections at the end of each chapter, which are both written and visual, are effective to varying degrees. At the very least, they provide a valuable teaching resource for discussion and take-home assignments.

For many students, Calloway comes across as repetitive. He seems to have patterned the book after standard American history textbooks. Because of that format, students find the information redundant and often miss the different perspective conveyed. They skim for the chronology and overlook the perspective. For instance, after failing a quiz, students have confessed that they glanced at the material, recognized the names and dates, but did not see the different perspective. But the questions posed to them demanded that they explain the native group's reaction to American independence or another incident in United States history. Since that section looked familiar, the students assumed the story could be told from only one perspective. While Calloway intends to portray the native groups as independent and diverse, they come across not as major actors but as supporting characters in the development of the history of the United States. And students tend to mush the groups together to make them fit better into the chronology he provides.

Calloway does provide some important tools for teaching critical thinking and helping students conceptualize important facets of Native American history. Each chapter includes a visual essay. These aids help students understand stereotypes and ethnocentricity. One essay stands out. Calloway includes a series of portrayals of the Battle of the Little Bighorn. On the one hand, it shows Custer, with his flowing blond hair, single-handedly holding off the typical bloodthirsty Indians. On the other hand, it uses a Crow illustration of the battle, with less blood, and less romanticism. It immediately drives home to students how whites have romanticized the incident and how it became a turning point for many western native groups.

While Calloway provides maps, many rely too heavily upon the students already knowing their United States geography without reference points. Also, many maps are specifically targeted at select issues within the text. Calloway probably chose to make such specific maps in order to convey the diversity of the native experience. And from a scholar's perspective this works. But for overly pragmatic students, it raises the question, Will I be tested over this little map? Often broader and more striking maps catch the students' eyes and force them to read the text. Maps of total native land loss succeed, where a map of the reduction of one group's reservation often fails.

Because of the chronological nature of the book, some of the diversity gets

buried. The first and last chapters succeed the best at conveying the diversity of the native experiences economically, socially, and politically. If an instructor uses Calloway's text in place of lectures and supplements it with lots of discussions and several targeted monographs, this book could work well. But it will be necessary somehow to jolt the students out of their complacency when they hear the word *textbook* and see the study questions and the maps. If they can be trained to read the text critically and for its strengths, then it can be a useful teaching tool that raises important issues.

Carl Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian*. IA, UA, TT.

Waldman's work serves many purposes and audiences. I used it religiously as a graduate student because of its excellent maps, charts, and timelines. I also utilized its resources to write many of my early lectures and answer questions raised by students. A few years ago, a colleague suggested it as a textbook. Though it still ties its chronology to United States history, it lets students visualize a different form of United States history than they have previously seen.

First, the maps are spectacular. He is not afraid to use state lines to help students get a handle on where a group or issue existed. An instructor can explain intertribal pre-Columbian trade for hours, with vivid examples of parrot feathers and conch shells. But students really grasp it when they see Waldman's map, "Pre-contact Trade Routes." They get it! Waldman's visuals work better than Calloway's because they drive the text rather than vice versa. Students see large maps and then follow the textual explanation. The maps are the main text.

Waldman does stray a bit from the chronology of the United States in the early part of the book. He works hard to demonstrate to students the issues of resistance and survival by talking about religion and other issues through pre- and post-contact times. While this eventually helps the students, in the beginning they get a bit confused. As they are just being introduced to the different cultural and linguistic groups, they find it difficult then to add the political and economic differences on top. Teaching them how to create charts or biographies for each group can help them process and manage all this new information.

In addition to the excellent maps, Waldman employs lots of drawings that are culturally specific to different native groups. This serves two purposes. First, students see examples of the items described in the text. More important, they begin to visualize the diversity of the cultures, e.g., how a kachina differs from a ghost shirt. Again, visuals trump text overwhelmingly. As the book gets into the later time period, though, these advantages begin to fall away a bit. As more native groups get pushed into smaller and closer areas, the visual differences become less noticeable to the untrained eye, the exception being the maps of land policy. Students instantly grasp the damage wrought by dif-

ferent federal land policies when seeing how reservations shrank over the years.

Again, the biggest drawback to this book is that it looks like a textbook. Students have been trained for years to read textbooks in a specific manner. They learn to skim for names, dates and keywords. But when those are foreign, their methodology fails. This can lead to frustration as students discover that the text is not what they thought it was. Some students will then abandon the text altogether. With work from the instructor, Waldman's book can provide valuable information in the classroom, but one must be on the defensive to make sure that students do not treat it as a reference text instead of a history.

Peter Iverson, *We Are Still Here*. TD, IA, UI.

This work acts as a textbook for twentieth-century Native American history, one of the more difficult periods to teach. The twentieth century challenges students' biggest preconceptions about Native Americans. Suddenly, native leaders act like whites but with a different agenda. They protest, they lobby, they sue. And even though there are now many more written documents, they lack the romanticism of the earlier period, a romanticism with which most students feel comfortable.

Iverson does an excellent job of defining and providing examples of concepts that dot the twentieth century, such as termination. Too many authors let their guard down when they discuss the twentieth century. They assume much more knowledge because they assume a higher level of student interest. In addition, a generational gap has been appearing of late. Many authors who are now associate or full professors forget that today's students may not, and often do not, know, for example, who or what AIM is. Because media attention focuses on Native Americans only within certain contexts (cultural events, gaming, etcetera) students seem happily unaware of many of the current struggles for land, recognition, education, and power. Iverson, on the whole, does not make such assumptions. He clearly explains the various groups and their actions and motivations when they encounter challenges from the dominant society, the United States. Where students often find difficulty is with Iverson's level of detail. He provides lots of personal names and examples. While to an instructor this provides flavor and content, for some students this becomes overwhelming. It serves to delineate individual natives into political and economic actors, which is one of the main goals of teaching Native American history. But if a student has recently left a high school with an emphasis on dates and facts, he or she may cling to the names and miss the concepts. To correct for this, an instructor can retrain students to focus on concepts. Ask them to get into groups and try to explain termination to one another. Then require them to compare termination with nineteenth-century policies. These exercises can help wean students from names and dates and point them toward concepts and themes.

Iverson combines the chronological with the thematic, taking time out within chapters to explain legislation such as that relating to termination or the Indian Claims Commission. This ploy works well, especially since he then provides examples of how different tribal groups have reacted and responded to these policies. It also serves to emphasize some of the diversity of native governance and response to federal policy changes. Iverson also succeeds at providing native voices to explain how such policies and events shaped individual reactions. He utilizes native responses to the New Deal instead of government ones.

On the whole, the book functions as a straight informative textbook. It gives context and background to twentieth-century problems with few illustrations or documents. The text is short and concise, which students like. And when combined with Nabokov, it works extremely well because Nabokov's work records natives discussing various issues and Iverson's work explains the basic concepts of those issues.

ESSAY COLLECTIONS

Essay collections represent one of the most popular forms of classroom text available. Many combine scholarly essays with documents to help bridge the gap between discussing Native Americans in the abstract and actually hearing from them. Some of the collections rely heavily on edited versions of scholarly articles. These pose an inherent problem: their original audience. Few scholars write their articles for neophytes but rather for other scholars in their fields. This can limit their usefulness in a survey course. However, some editors have begun to recognize this problem and are focussing on having scholars write their chapters specifically for the student audience.

Frederick Hoxie and Peter Iverson, eds., *Indians in American History: An Introduction*. TD, UA.

This collection of essays starts with one of the best selections on pre-Columbian history on the market. Far too many of the essays on this topic are too in-depth, devoid of specific examples, or cover only one angle. In twenty-three pages, James Brown lays the groundwork for discussions of the cultural diversity of North America before the Europeans arrived. It illustrates to students how the economies and politics of the various regions interacted with and influenced one another while still demonstrating the variety in experiences. But this essay also illustrates one of the strengths of the book. The editors clearly asked the authors to write or rewrite essays—such as Brown's—on broad and important topics in Native American history, or essays on the policy of removal or on how natives viewed the South. The individual authors tend to

take traditional United States history topics and view them through the thematic lenses of Native American history. The editors intended to build on students' knowledge of United States history and make them view it from new angles.

To achieve this goal, Hoxie and Iverson tied the structure of this book to the basic timeline of American history. It covers important, and often underexplored, topics such as Indians in the American Revolution and the Indian response to westward expansion. But if an instructor designs his course around thematic issues rather than a chronology of United States history, the students struggle with the book. They often fight to understand how the mention of Indians in the Constitution represents issues of sovereignty, for past instructors taught them that the Constitution discussed freedom and individual rights. In addition, if a student's own background in United States history is weak, it is difficult to make sense of how the topics fit into that context. While the first half of the book succeeds in portraying the diversity of native North America, this diversity becomes increasingly narrow as the book continues. Most of the essays in the last half of the book must focus solely on one tribal group, limiting the broader scope found in the earlier essays. The blame for this cannot be placed at Hoxie and Iverson's feet, though. Again, the trick of chronology means that different groups experienced issues at different times from 1500 to 1900. That said, the book does succeed, in the second half, in portraying native groups as independent actors within, yet separate from, United States history.

The book provides few visual tools for the students. But some of the essays lend themselves extremely well to discussions. The chapter on Indians in the Constitution can act as an electrical shock to students who assumed that natives were just another social group within the United States. The chapter on how the West was lost demonstrates the depressing repetitiveness of events. It drives home to students how each group saw itself as different, and therefore attempted to give the United States the benefit of the doubt at every turn. The United States, on the other hand, did not see the diversity of the groups and assumed all Native Americans would respond in the same manner.

There are a couple of other interesting points about this book. When used in conjunction with Calloway, students complain it is repetitive. When used with other essay collections or monographs, students grasp the importance of the essays better but often expose their own lack of knowledge about United States history. Surprisingly, this book works extremely well in the United States survey course. Some of the essays have even driven students to review what they thought they knew about the history of the United States. Using it in a United States survey course helps students to realize that sometimes progress comes at the expense of certain groups. And it shows students how Europeans and Americans viewed the Native Americans and other peoples of color as expendable while those people saw themselves as important actors with goals of their own.

Philip Weeks, ed., *They Made Us Many Promises: The American Indian Experience*, 2^d edition. IA, UA

They Made Us Many Promises is Weeks's second edition of his book *The American Indian Experience: 1524 to the Present*. The first edition, while succeeding in covering issues such as the Civil War, Plains Indian warfare, and urban Indians, suffered from a number of important structural problems. Several of the essays in the first edition covered material explored by other essays in the volume. In addition, the volume lacked maps and illustrations, presenting a bland version of Native American life in North America. But the second edition corrects both of those flaws, creating a strong volume that is classroom-ready.

This collection of essays covers several important topics in a clear and concise manner. The essays begin with first contact and progress through the late twentieth century. But unlike other collections, these essays are grouped under thematic rubrics: "A World Turned Upside Down," "Visions of a New Order," and "The Night Is Far Gone, The Day Is New." The majority of the essays are tightly written and there are enough examples to engage the students but not inundate them. On the whole, the pieces no longer repeat each other, though Laurence Hauptman's article on the Nixon era and Clifford Trafzer's essay on native sovereignty in the Northwest do rehash quite a bit of information.

Despite that one flaw, this book succeeds in conveying the diversity of native responses to issues such as European contact, removal, and termination. The one constant present in most of the essays is that different groups of natives respond in different ways to crises. Even though the book runs chronologically, it is still thematically based rather than designed around American history. Each essay approaches a thematic problem in Native American history, such as the Cherokee Removal, the impact of the Civil War, or the Indian New Deal. This works because Weeks has no qualms about letting certain information overlap between the chronological periods. The article by Hauptman and by Trafzer provide a good example. They are in two thematically different parts of the book, both of which are organized internally by chronology. So Hauptman covers the 1970s and then Trafzer does it again one section later. But that works because they approach their topics from two different thematic and theoretical points of view. Therefore, this book would be effective with audiences having both vague and specific knowledge.

Weeks appears to have directed the essayists to write as if they were preparing lectures. The essays tend to provide historical context to the problem at hand, the problem itself, and then the outcome. There are no footnotes or references to other sources. On the whole, each essay flows quickly through its topic and raises important historical issues without wasting time on the historiographical debate. Several of these chapters stand out. Thomas Dunlay's article on Plains warfare presents the difficulties faced both by the Plains Indians and the United States Cavalry as they met each other in combat. Many of the

articles achieve this sort of balance without assuming that the readers know American history intimately or come to the reading with any knowledge of native histories. Then the essayists each prepared a detailed annotated bibliography, divided by subject. These bibliographies are priceless for the instructor. They include both secondary and primary sources accompanied by annotations as to what they cover and what information they may provide. The bibliographic essay at the end of Weeks' article on the Civil War proves the importance of this tool. First, it demonstrates, by the dearth of books and articles on natives in the Civil War, the extent to which Civil War historians tend to be Anglocentric. Then, it provides further readings on multiple issues addressed in the article: reservations, the Sioux Uprising, and the effects of the Civil War on Native Americans. It also includes biographies of major players. Thanks to this and the other editorial decisions, Weeks' work may be one of the more balanced collections available.

Finally, Weeks and his authors have added illustrations and maps. The maps are perfect. They provide enough detail to orient students and illustrate the point of the particular article. They assume no prior knowledge. The illustrations are also helpful and, in some cases, unusual. The picture of native women in military dress highlights a way in which students often do not perceive native peoples: as patriots. Visual additions such as these help drive home the lessons learned within the articles.

Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *American Indians*.UA, IA, TT.

This collection sets a new standard for essay/document collections. It combines the important thematic issues in Native American history with strong lessons on the craft and methodology necessary to being an historian. This book literally sings with the possibilities of pedagogical use. From its insightful introductory essay through its many chapters on specific problems, this book clearly considers many of the pedagogical issues raised at the beginning of the essay. Shoemaker chooses theme over chronology and avoids tying Native American history too closely to the chronology of the United States. This collection seeks to challenge students to approach Native American history as historians instead of as casual observers, and it forces them to think about what they read.

In her opening essay, Shoemaker openly identifies the stereotypes that students bring to class when they enroll in a Native American history course. This nine-page essay, though it ends with a whimper, outlines the stereotypes held by students and scholars. In addition, it discusses how historians and anthropologists who study Native Americans have contributed to these problems. Shoemaker's training as an ethnohistorian shines throughout the essay and the book. She has adopted a unique and pedagogically important method for

structuring each chapter. On the surface, it appears to be simple: scholarly essay and two documents supporting it. But it is Shoemaker's introductions to both sets of data that make this book unique. Far too many essay collections simply summarize the essay and/or document for the student reader. Then, they give away the elements by providing very pointed study questions. Students, after years of reading tests, know to read the questions first, then the article, thereby missing anything that falls outside of the questions. Shoemaker's treatment avoids these pitfalls.

First, her introductions to the articles are brilliant. She has chosen only seven issues in Native American history for the book. Therefore, she must place each topic within context before throwing the student into the essay and the documents. Usually, within a page, Shoemaker manages to set the stage for the article and documents. But then, instead of summarizing the article, she discusses the questions it raises and the methods used to answer those questions. She trains the students' eyes to see the article through those of a more practiced historian. For instance, when setting the stage for Katherine Brown's article on the gender frontier, she discusses how Brown examined colonial documents and pulled out all the references to gender she could find. Nobody explains this sort of grunt work to students. They all assume that historians have these nifty data bases where you type in "gender" and all the references to it appear. Then, you write your book or article. In less than a paragraph, Shoemaker conveys all the hard work that went into Brown's important and unique thesis.

When Shoemaker moves on to the documents, she repeats the process. She often chooses to include documents used in writing the article. This helps build a bridge between written history and the research on which it is based. Then, she summarizes the thrust of the document while pointing out its unique features. When she discusses the Cherokee Removal, she chooses regional censuses as published by *The Cherokee Phoenix* instead of letters or diaries protesting removal. In this manner, she subtly demonstrates how much Cherokee society and political structures looked like that of the burgeoning United States in the 1830s.

Another plus for this volume is the wide variety of articles utilized by Shoemaker. She includes accessible economic and material culture histories as well as the standard social and political ones. Therefore, not only will students see the history from the perspective of Native Americans, but also from different methodologies and viewpoints within the history profession. In many ways, this book would work in an historical methodology course for either undergraduate or graduate students, because it includes various types of history on one subject under one cover. This book would be particularly effective where several majors are enrolled in a Native American history course. Business and science majors would find articles that speak their language, potentially inspiring them to see how their own fields of study affect or are affected by Native American issues.

Albert Hurtado and Peter Iverson, eds., *Major Problems in American Indian History*, 2^d edition. UA, IA, TD, TT.

When the first edition of *Major Problems in American Indian History* came out several years ago, it stood alone in the marketplace. It represented the only combination of documents and essays available. It appeared to answer an instructor's prayers, especially if one's students had limited budgets. Unfortunately, the first edition was also flawed. Many of the documents were simply government documents, which students tend to see as bland and boring. Some of the other, more vivid documents, such as captivity narratives, were old standards that students may have read in other classes. Finally, the essays were all pulled from scholarly journals. While this may raise the level of discussion and help provide good examples of how to build arguments, many of the articles in the first edition had been edited so heavily that students viewed them with suspicion. Some articles seemed to have more ellipses than examples and students often questioned the validity of arguments when they could not see the footnotes or the examples. The second edition has fixed the first problem and smoothed over the second one.

Hurtado and Iverson bring together a wider array of primary documents for the second edition. They include everything from creation stories through articles on sex and manifestos for independence. In an interesting contrast to the first edition, the documents appear to be balanced between native perspectives and nonnative ones. This work has always worked well with Nabokov's book. Now, because of the new edition's more balanced choice of documents, Nabokov becomes extraneous. For example, at one point there is "Northwest Ordinance, 1787" followed by "Little Turtle (Miami) on the Treaty of Greenville, 1795." Then there is Tecumseh speaking out against land cessions next to an Indian commissioner explaining removal. These documents provide the perfect material for teaching critical thinking, either through a writing assignment or a class discussion. Simply asking students to identify the audience and the bias of each document should help them better understand the politics and the great losses at stake in these negotiations. Thus, the document choice is greatly improved.

In addition, the documents appear better related to the articles that follow them. This also helps students see how historians work. The introductions to the documents and articles, while blissfully short and sweet, could spend a bit more time drawing the lines between the documents and the articles. They could address the methodology of the articles more completely as well. Hurtado and Iverson still chose to reprint versions of scholarly articles. The choices are more engaging this time, as the majority do treat natives as historical actors rather than historical props. And the articles appear to be better edited, with fewer ellipses and gaps between the argument and the evidence.

But the problem of audience still exists when using scholarly articles. Let's

face it: Today's articles are not written to a broad audience, they are written to other historians in one's field. Recognizing this, Hurtado and Iverson have cut historiographical debates and references from the beginning of the articles selected. That does not relieve, however, the basic problem that these articles address educated audiences with in-depth knowledge. This, combined with the lack of maps and illustrations accompanying the majority of the articles, makes several of them very hard to teach within a survey course. The first two articles in the book provide an excellent example. Donald Fixico's and Richard White's articles are thought provoking to other scholars, but they address issues about which most students remain blissfully unaware. While these articles can be useful at the end of the semester, as opening articles they leave the students cold. Most, as stated before, enter the class with limited or nonexistent knowledge. They bring with them stereotypes and misinformation, not elaborate conceptions of how to study native peoples. Perhaps a better essay for this situation would deal with stereotypes and how rampant they are within United States society.

On the other hand, Hurtado and Iverson have updated the majority of the articles, providing several interesting and important teaching opportunities. Ari Kelman's article on John Ross's decision of 1861 gives instructors the perfect point of departure for having students visualize the negotiations. Ask students what they think the debates between Ross and the other factions looked like. Move them away from the image of the teepee and the peace pipe and into a setting with benches and men in suits. "The Right to a Name," by Ruth Wallis Herndon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau, represents another pedagogically useful article. Because it combines oral and written histories and provides critiques of both, it allows students to contemplate the difficulties of writing and researching native histories. The essay constantly points out how the written record ignored Narragansett people or hid them through sloppiness or lack of interest in their welfare. These discussions clearly illustrate how written records in general, not just those associated with native peoples, do not present a complete picture of society.

Despite its flaws, *Major Problems* is hard to beat as a catch-all textbook. It covers a huge scope of time (pre-Columbian to the present) in depth. It supplies both documents and articles in one place. Several of the new essays address future research issues which should excite that small minority of students who intend to take upper-level or graduate classes. And, perhaps most important, of all the books reviewed here, it addresses gender more often and more consistently. Gender remains the dirty little secret of native history. Outside of Nancy Shoemaker's *Negotiators of Change*, most books include only one essay on native women (as if that were one big happy category), if any. Hurtado and Iverson address gender through their documents and their articles, allowing instructors to point out that many people visualize natives only as males.

Over-all, the choice of textbook(s) for a Native American survey course

requires deep thought and a commitment to certain pedagogical standards. An instructor must consider not only the material to be covered but the particular students' likely level of knowledge and misinformation, the diversity of Native America, and the issue of critical thinking. In addition, it never hurts to understand how your colleagues teach their United States survey courses and how your anthropology department presents Native America to its students. Armed with this knowledge and an understanding of the pitfalls and pleasures of the books you choose, teaching Native American history can be one of the most interesting experiences of your teaching career.

Book Reviews

A River Running West. The Life of John Wesley Powell. By Donald Worster (Oxford University Press: Oxford and New York, 2001)

John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) is one of the iconic figures of nineteenth-century America. Explorer, scientist, conservationist, environmental visionary, masterful administrator, cranky and abstruse philosopher in his later years, he looms larger than life in the history of America and the West. He has since the 1940s been the subject of two major biographies, one by William Darrah (1951) and one by Wallace Stegner (1954), numerous smaller studies, a movie, and various television documentaries. Now we have a third, definitive, biography by the master environmental historian Donald Worster. Worster's book is magisterial; it matches the magnitude of his subject: 673 pages, many of them filled with new and newly interpreted information about Powell, his family, his professional life, and his impacts on America.

The general outlines of Powell's life are well known. He was the son of immigrant Methodist parents who came from Britain. The Powell family restlessly moved west with the great tide of humanity from the 1820s on to settle, to take up the land, but then to move on. Young Wes grew up in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois as his father sought new places to make a living, but more important to spread the Wesleyan variety of the Methodist doctrine. From his early years Powell was deeply interested in natural history and science. His education was catch-as-catch-can. In the Civil War he joined the Union Army, soon became a captain of artillery, and later a major, a title he retained throughout the rest of his life. At Shiloh he lost his lower right arm to a Confederate sharpshooter's skill. Undeterred, he returned to the war. Mustered out, he became a professor of nature at colleges in Illinois. But his sights were on the West. He made expeditions to the Rockies with family and students. In 1869, having garnered financial support from various sources, he set off down the Green River, thence on down the Colorado. The region was still marked "unexplored" on the maps of the day. He and his men were reported as lost. But ninety-nine days after it began, the expedition emerged from the lower end of the Grand Canyon and Powell returned to the East a hero. He parlayed his fame into the directorship of one of the four federal Geographical and Geological Surveys created after the Civil War. In the 1870s, his men mapped the Grand Canyon and the high plateaus of Utah. Powell studied the local Indian people, continuing a lifelong fascination with anthropology.

In 1879, the four surveys were merged by Congress to create the United States

Geological Survey. Powell quietly managed to get legislation inserted into the same bill creating what he called the Bureau of Ethnology (after 1894, Bureau of American Ethnology) under Smithsonian Institution auspices. In 1881, when Clarence King, the founding director of the Geological Survey, resigned, Congress appointed Powell as his replacement, allowing him to remain, concurrently, as director of the Bureau of Ethnology. As head of two federal science agencies, Powell came to have great power in Washington in the years 1881 to 1892. He tried, mightily, to impose a visionary system of rational planning, conservation, and land use on the American West. But it was a system in direct opposition to everything nineteenth-century American expansionist capitalism stood for: the unfettered and unmitigated exploitation of the public domain and its resources. In the end, Powell was defeated; one of his most powerful and strident enemies was Senator William Stewart of Nevada.

Powell retreated to the Bureau of Ethnology. By 1894, he was a revered has-been, at least in the eyes of the power brokers in Washington and across the land. His staff, especially W. J. McGee, supported him and saw to the operation of the bureau. Powell, basically in what might be called in-service retirement, turned to philosophy and produced a series of naïve, cranky, and difficult treatises on epistemology and scientific method and nomenclature. He even gave, and published, a college commencement address on geological and organic evolution, in verse. He died in 1902, one of the most famous and honored Americans of his day. Unlike many who have great fame at death, but whose ideas are forgotten soon after, Powell continued to be influential, indeed, his legacy grew over the years.

Worster, like Darrah and Stegner, gives us a chronicle of Powell's life. Like Stegner, in particular, Worster places Powell's work, his defeats, successes, and ultimate accomplishments in national and temporal contexts. But Worster brings new data, new insights, and new interpretations to both the life and the work. We learn new things about the Powell family and its dynamics over the years; there is new information about Powell's own work in the West: his geology and anthropology, and the studies underlying his vision for western water control and conservation in his famous *Report on the Arid Lands of the United States* (1878).

Powell recognized that many great and necessary tasks required teams of committed researchers working on large interlocking projects over the long term. In this he legitimized the idea that the federal government should support and be involved in basic research for the public good. In anthropology, Powell took up major scholarly tasks relating to American Indians, some pending since the late 1700s, including (1) a systematic classification of the several hundred languages, (2) a synonymy and encyclopedia of Indian tribes, (3) ethnographic descriptions of individual tribes and their histories, (4) resolution of the vexing question of the nineteenth century, Who were the Mound Builders?, and (5) a compilation of all the Indian treaties and related

documents since the beginning of the United States. These and other tasks were pursued by Powell's Corps of Ethnologists in the Bureau of Ethnology from 1879 onward.

Powell made major contributions to understanding the geology and geological processes of the Colorado Plateaus. Even more important, he was able to hire and set to work two of the great geological minds of the nineteenth century: Grove Karl Gilbert and Clarence Dutton. Gilbert's studies (1877, 1890) of the Henry Mountains in southern Utah and of ice-age Lake Bonneville are regarded as great classics in American, indeed world, geology. So too are Dutton's reports (1880, 1882) on the high plateaus of Utah and on the Grand Canyon. Also through the Geological Survey, Powell set in motion the systematic and accurate mapping of the United States. The process is still ongoing. The mapping program is one of Powell's principal legacies. Without it, much of the development of the United States could not have proceeded as it did. Worster gives us new insights into the mapping program and its importance.

Finally, there are the ideas embedded in Powell's arid lands report: that water conservation and control are central to the development of the West. When the report appeared in 1878, Powell was scathingly criticized by the proponents of unfettered western development. Their slogan, Rain Follows the Plow, was among the more foolish propaganda absurdities ever promulgated. Only as Powell lay dying, in 1902, did he learn that legislation in Congress was under way to create a reclamation service to harness the river waters of the West for development. The Newlands Project in Nevada was the first of the new agency's projects. It is of interest that the architect of the much larger project to harness all of the Colorado River, the river Powell had done so much to make famous, was his nephew, Arthur Powell Davis.

Donald Worster has provided us with a magnificent story, beautifully researched and elegantly told, a story about an individual whose impact on American life, and especially on life in the American West, in many ways is as great as that of any other person in the nineteenth century.

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Merging Lines: American Railroads, 1900-1970. By Richard Saunders, Jr. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2001)

Railroads were America's first big business and the progenitor of modern financial, accounting, and managerial techniques. They symbolized—and made possible—the nation's industrial might. They helped open the West to settlement and, throughout the country, epitomized the romance of speed, distance, and travel. And, by the 1970s, they represented one of the most visible examples of American industrial decline.

Saunders ably describes how railroads got themselves in this sorry state. And, he makes clear, it really was mostly their fault, or more precisely the fault of their often inept managers. Unlike many apologists for the railroad industry, Saunders does not blame the Interstate Commerce Commission, although he does criticize some of that agency's ill-considered, if well-meaning, decisions. Nor does he place much blame on federal transportation policy, the interstate highway, trucks, airlines, or labor unions.

The real problem in the railroad industry was, in a word, mergers. As its title suggests, this book is essentially a study of railroad mergers and acquisitions, both those that actually took place and those that were merely planned. *Merging Lines* relies heavily on court cases, congressional hearings, and ICC rulings. The result is a kind of extensive legal encyclopedia that reads like a first-rate historical narrative. Saunders presumes that many of his readers are not railroad historians, and he is careful to explain such underlying issues as ratemaking policies, and railroad technology, and to provide thumbnail corporate histories—all of it superbly set in a larger social and political context.

Saunders takes the reader back to the turn of the previous century, a time when railroads dominated the transportation industry. The public feared their power, and the ICC was designed to curtail that power, not to establish a comprehensive national transportation policy. Despite the poor performance of railroads during World War I and despite the growth of highway competition during the 1920s, neither the railroad industry nor its regulators could come to a decision on ways to preserve the weakest railroads in an oversaturated transportation market. After World War II, as weaker railroads began to succumb to

highway competition, and as the passenger market evaporated, the anti-communist hysteria of the Cold War meant that anything, even chaos, was preferable to the anathema of railroad nationalization.

Mergers were the consistent result. Not carefully researched, planned consolidations, but rather, haphazard and often ill-conceived agglomerations left strong railroads vulnerable and consigned weak railroads to extinction. Merged railroads rarely rationalized their facilities, reduced costs, or improved service. The ICC tried its best to impose some sort of order on the merger process but lacked the power to compel consolidation and could do little more than halt the worst merger proposals.

Like a runaway freight train, the merger fiasco was hurtling toward the wreck of the Penn Central. Railroads in the Northeast (and the book concentrates on that region, although not to the exclusion of others) faced aging facilities, high terminal costs, short hauls, burdensome commuter traffic, and excess competition. The bankruptcies of several large northeastern railroads sent danger signals that the ICC, the Congress, Wall Street, and the railroad industry all tried to ignore. Eventually, when the massive New York Central and the equally massive, and even more financially troubled, Pennsylvania Railroad sought to merge, everyone hoped against hope that, somehow, this would be the miracle that would save northeastern railroading. The NYC and the PRR had incompatible managerial cultures and operating systems, did little pre-merger planning and had only the vaguest idea of the cost savings that ought to accrue from the merger. Nevertheless, most regulators and industry officials allowed the merger to proceed because anything was better than the collapse of the railroad network followed by the horror of nationalization.

Predictably, the Penn Central collapsed within a few years of its inception. The book ends in 1970, perhaps the darkest hour of American railroading, before Conrail, before the Staggers Act, and before the demise of the ICC. The Penn Central disaster did not signal the end of railroad mergers, which included such lesser debacles as the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific merger. It would be unrealistic for Saunders to add post-1970 material to this already lengthy volume, leading one to wonder if such detailed explanations of all those consolidations (including the ones that never actually took place) are really necessary. Perhaps Saunders should consider a second volume, in the same vein as Albro Martin's *Enterprise Denied* (1971) and *Railroads Triumphant* (1992). While Martin's books (particularly the second, which Saunders did not consult for this work) verge on polemics, Saunders is careful to present a much more balanced account. It is of interest that *Merging Lines* is a thorough revision of the author's *The Railroad Mergers and the Coming of Conrail* (1978) which, Saunders admits, was too judgmental and biased, and lacked sufficient historical perspective.

Saunders has certainly corrected these earlier faults. While clearly someone who loves railroads, he is an astute enough historian to see their self-induced

problems in a dispassionate manner. He justly excoriates railroad management, although he has a tendency to divide managers into an "all good" category (particularly true of southern and western railroads) and an "all bad" category. His criticism of some managers, such as the admittedly unpredictable Alfred Perlman of the NYC, seems unjustly harsh. A few of the many (and generally superb) maps contain slight errors involving incorrectly labeled railroads. These minor criticisms aside, this book is superbly readable—remarkable, perhaps, given its case-study approach and its focus on law, regulation, and public policy. Every railroad historian should read this for enjoyment and edification, and keep a copy handy for reference purposes. More generally, historians of the twentieth-century United States should appreciate this book's compelling lessons for industrial policy and the political economy.

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Saints in Babylon: Mormons and Las Vegas. By Kenric F. Ward. (Bloomington, Indiana: 1st Books Library, 2002)

To outsiders, the idea of a thriving Mormon population in Las Vegas may seem improbable. After all, Las Vegas is supposed to be sin city. However, Mormons settled the area in the 1850s, and proximity to Utah and economic opportunity inspired more to follow. Unfortunately, their presence has yet to attract a full-fledged study of how Las Vegas has affected and been affected by them.

That need remains, but Kenric Ward's *Saints in Babylon: Mormons and Las Vegas* is a step in that direction. "As a journalist, I wrote this book to chronicle a distinctively American story of an ambitious church and an enterprising community," he said. "As a Mormon, I hope to dispel at least some of the stereotypes about the motivations and influence of Las Vegas Latter-day Saints" (p. v). The result is a readable account of the church's role in southern Nevada, and some conclusions and topics that might surprise a few readers. Ward addresses such issues as Mormons in gaming and politics, and how their actions relate to their religion. He also provides brief profiles of several church leaders.

The key word, and problem, is just that: brevity. This book is simply too short. It tells us too little about many of those it discusses, and about Las Vegas Mormons in general. That may not be Ward's fault; all books reflect the influence of their editors and publishers. As important as Mormons have been to Las Vegas, it hardly seems possible to tell their story fully in 144 pages of medium-sized print on small paper. For example, when Ward discusses Mormons in politics, he cannot devote enough attention to them as individuals and to public policy. When he delves into education, and the Mormons' long-stand-

ing influence upon the Clark County School District, he lacks the space to deal in detail with recent figures in that district and the accusations, occasionally voiced in public, that Mormon administrators favor fellow church members. Nor does he do more than refer to relations between Mormons and other religions; given the disproportionate number of Jews in gaming, and the ample research on the subject, this would have been worth considering. His coverage of North Las Vegas, where Mormons have been key political players and sometimes fight one another viciously, is limited. And the book lacks footnotes, end notes, and a list of interviewees.

Whatever the space limitations, Ward can be blamed for three other problems that mar this book. The first is a poor bibliography. To attempt a history of Mormons in Las Vegas—or anything else in Las Vegas—without listing, among others, Eugene Moehring's *Resort City in the Sunbelt* as a reference is unconscionable. That and other useful works on Las Vegas might have kept Ward from stating, for example, that the southern part of Nevada moved toward a Southern California orientation by the end of the twentieth century; the two areas have been linked in important ways since the nineteenth century.

The second problem is an outgrowth of the first: errors. Joseph Smith was not "a fourteen-year-old farmboy" when he established the church (p. 1). Utah territory did not include much of present-day Arizona (p. 6). Non-Mormon historians have given more reasons for the collapse of the mission in the 1850s than a dispute between the leaders (p. 7). J. Ross Clark technically may have headed the railroad that built Las Vegas, but it was under the control of Senator William Clark and the Union Pacific (p. 21). Berkeley Bunker did return to political office after losing his bid to stay in the United States Senate; he was elected to the House two years later, then tried to unseat the senator to whom he owed his first appointment—which Ward never discusses (p. 28). To say UNLV is known more for its "hospitality" program than "academic endeavors" reveals an ignorance of its hotel college, especially when its gaming institute receives attention from Ward because a Mormon runs it (p. 47). Howard Hughes's purchase of the Desert Inn was not simply "spur-of-the-moment," but involved negotiations and intermediaries (p. 57). "Clark County Court" should be district court (p. 60). Ward suggests that Harrah's moved its headquarters from Memphis to Las Vegas to "more easily tap the managerial skills of Southern Nevada's indigenous LDS population," but offers no support for the statement (p. 64). George Swarts served on the Gaming Control Board in the 1970s, not just the 1980s (p. 171). Robert List served as governor from 1979 to 1983 (p. 75). If reelected, Kenny Guinn would leave office in 2006, not 2008 (p. 88). Supreme Court Justice Myron Leavitt's Mormonism had less to do with political defeats in races for that job and for governor than did other factors (p. 137). If the Clark County Health District evolved from Mormon-run to Jewish-run, he needs to discuss the people involved to prove his point (p. 137).

The third problem relates to Ward's ideology—not religious, but political.

As his weekly column in the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* and his other writings demonstrate, he is conservative—indeed, right wing. That is his right, as an individual and a commentator, and in writing and interpreting history. When that colors his judgment, though, as it does in this book, the result damages his credibility, and thus the credibility of his book. In so brief a volume, it seems strange that he spends the better part of ten pages on three-term United States Senator Harry Reid—like Ward, a convert to Mormonism. He notes Reid's vote as gaming commission chairman to license Frank Sinatra and the singer's dalliances with organized crime, but not that Reid opposed licenses for casino operators such as Frank Rosenthal and participated in shutting down several organized crime operations in the late 1970s and early 1980s, prompting a death threat. When Reid ran for lieutenant governor in 1970, he was "long-haired and mod-dressing," a statement suggesting an affinity for 1960s counterculture, which is laughable. On several occasions, he calls Reid "liberal," which may be true according to a dictionary definition, but not in the way the word is now misused. Yet he says little about allegations of corruption against several other Mormon politicians, or conservative politicians whom Mormons have supported.

Ward made a good effort to tell the LDS story in Las Vegas. Whether it is historically accurate cannot be known for certain, of course, not only because of the lack of footnotes, but because Las Vegas does not easily surrender historical information. More than that, his factual errors and his desire to attack one Mormon politician cheapen what could have been a better book.

Michael Green

Community College of Southern Nevada

Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s. Edited by Tom Sitton and William Deverell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

Los Angeles jelled as a metropolis in the 1920s, but there is as yet no comprehensive and scholarly study of the period. In *Metropolis in the Making*, fifteen authors of previous monographic works bring together their findings in a collection of well-written and interesting essays, awakening readers to the rich complexity of this period of Los Angeles history.

Several essays in the collection take a revisionist position. Where generations of columnists and calumniators have lampooned L.A.'s flamboyant religious and burial practices, Michael E. Engh, S.J., and Philip Goff bring religion down to earth by matching the variety and subdivisions of denominations with the diverse needs of the newcomers pouring into Los Angeles in this period. The marketing strategies of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles and Forest Lawn

Memorial Park targeted these uprooted consumers, as Goff and David Charles Sloane point out.

Where textbooks and reformers have blamed individual and corporate powers for municipal corruption, metropolitan growth patterns, and the idiosyncratic cultural institutions of Los Angeles, several of these essays posit a dispersed and limited nature of power for this period. Greg Hise challenges the simple streetcar/real-estate explanation for L.A.'s suburban sprawl. He proposes a consensus among reformers, industrial managers, boosters, and tract developers to locate factories on the outskirts along with affordable housing for their workers, a promising theory that might be confirmed by evidence of interlocking investments among manufacturers and real estate interests. Hise also holds manufacturers responsible for racial segregation in industrial suburbs. Specific case studies might identify which tracts were industry-invested and racially restricted and what arrangements were made for minority worker housing. In the design and construction of Mulholland Highway, twenty-two miles long, civil engineers, largely free from the conflicting objectives of homeowners, boosters, and budgets, pursued professional priorities without having to submit to the normal compromise process. Matthew Roth concludes that the independent aims of bureaucratic experts must be considered a significant ingredient of policy issues.

In the political sector, Tom Sitton attempts to show, in an account of Mayor George E. Cryer and the machinations of his campaign manager, Kent Parrot, that Los Angeles was not controlled by a business elite. But running through his account is the *Los Angeles Times*, a newspaper enterprise so powerful that only an adroit and charismatic coalition broker like Parrot could hope to counter it. William Deverell, likewise, inadvertently reinforces our understanding of the power wielded by the *Times* in his look at an extremist group (the Better America Federation of Los Angeles) and an affiliated stalker fixated on persecuting liberal reformer Bromley Oxnam. In the corporate world, Steven J. Ross outlines his argument that motion picture moguls were restricted by concerns about censorship, the decisions of investment bankers, audience-development strategies, and anxieties about labor unionism.

Thanks to the intransigence of the *Times* and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, Los Angeles held out as a bastion of the open shop from the 1890s through the 1940s. Two authors discuss labor organization efforts. Laurie Pintar chronicles working conditions in the film industry and the obstacles to effective union representation. A 1921 strike quickly failed in the face of the united stand of the major studios' management, the *Times*, and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. Mike Davis provides supporting data for the industrial decentralization described by Hise, here presented as a business tactic to thwart unionization. His article is marred by a poorly documented but provocative digression on xenophobic eugenics promoted, he claims, by national and local business leaders, land developers, and transportation and utilities managers.

In keeping with recent trends in scholarship, this book gives more attention to the working class and racial minorities than to the elite and comfortable. Becky Nicolaides and Nancy Quam-Wickham look at working-class neighborhoods. Nicolaides believes that home and agricultural property ownership contributed to the economic and psychological security of Southgate residents. Quam-Wickham provides scattered details of an industrial workers' culture which, she argues, replaced the semirural lifestyle usually associated with suburbs. Curiously, her photographs depict the latter. Clark Davis investigates the lives of white-collar workers and the low pay and restricted economic mobility of many—points brought home by a close residential analysis. Douglas Flamming and Douglas Monroy introduce intergenerational tensions in minority culture formation. In a look at the behind-the-scenes leadership struggles of a 1925 pageant mounted by and for African-American Angelenos, Flamming celebrates the strength and leadership of black society in Los Angeles but leaves unresolved the tragedy of the spurned younger leaders. Monroy finds elements of Mexican popular culture recreated in Los Angeles in the 1920s but indicates an unmeasured and growing trend among youngsters to Americanize.

Jules Tygiel's introduction contrasts all this new scholarship to Carey McWilliams's 1946 *Southern California: An Island on the Land*. Over-all, the sequence and grouping of contributions is somewhat mystifying, except for the cemetery finale. There is no single unifying theme, other than the time period and the single-city focus. But partly because the book contains unresolved contradictions and conflicting interpretations on issues such as working-class culture, workplace restrictions, and the distribution of policy-making power; because it defines neither the extent to which industries and workers were dispersed to the city's outskirts nor the agents of such a policy; and because it touches on so many topics, *Metropolis in the Making* is an important book. It has the makings of a new appreciation for the region's social complexity and the importance of the 1920s to the city's structuring. The book raises serious questions about why Los Angeles developed spatially and politically as it did and, though directly addressed only by Engh, it stirs us to consider how these historical patterns continue to shape this imperfect but vibrant megalopolis today.

Merry Ovnick

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Betting the Line: Sports Wagering in American Life. By Richard O. Davies and Richard G. Abram (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2001)

Davies and Abram tell it like it was, and like it is, and provide appropriate odds for how it will be. Particularly given the paucity of scholarly investigations of sports wagering, their work sets an excellent standard for others to follow. They read thoroughly the rather scant scholarly material having even the slightest bearing on sports betting as well as the more abundant popular material appearing in publications such as *Sports Illustrated* and in national and local newspapers. Equally important, they talked extensively with people who have been intimately connected with sports wagering, including at least one who chose to use a pseudonym. Sports wagering is not a topic that Ivory Tower researchers should pursue.

Davies and Abram begin their introductory chapter with quotes from John Findley's *People of Chance* and Ann Fabian's *Card Sharps and Bucket Shops*, which drive home the point that while risk taking has been almost universally lauded by America's political, social, and religious leaders, gambling has almost as often been condemned as undermining the work ethic. As more and more states over the past three decades have derived an ever larger portion of their revenues from lotteries and other forms of legalized gambling, and even Las Vegas has become family friendly in recent years, the guardians of America's moral values, mostly self-appointed, have focused their concerns, and sometimes their wrath, on sports betting. The struggle between those who provide millions of their fellow citizens with an opportunity-wager on a sporting event and those who fear that such behavior will undermine the purity of athletic contests is as exciting and hard fought as any NFL game.

The authors, while providing some background on sports betting in eighteenth-and nineteenth-century America, focus on the twentieth century, especially the post-World War II period. Recognizing that several factors, including increased leisure time and more disposable income, were responsible for the tremendous growth of sports betting, Davies and Abram identify the television that was in almost all American homes by the mid 1950s as the primary force which transformed wagering on sports events into a multibillion-dollar industry. The expansion of cable television into American living rooms further enhanced the demand for athletic entertainment, which of course resulted in even more sports wagering. Every increase in the number of sports bettors produces more losers than winners, yet such gambling seems to enhance the pleasure of viewing the athletic contest for most, and few are those who become dangerously addicted to sports betting.

After providing the big picture to readers in the introduction and first chapter, Davies and Abram discuss the bookies, the bettors, and the moralists largely within the context of scandals that have periodically rocked baseball, basketball, and football since the 1920s. They explain that as soon as organized base-

ball began fans were betting on virtually every aspect of what soon became the national pastime. The infamous Black Sox scandal of 1919 was an almost predictable outcome of the relatively low salaries that team owners paid the players and the fortunes that those able to fix the scores could realize. Acknowledging that the complete story of this tragedy will never be known, the authors recount a Cook County trial that made a mockery of justice and discuss the recruitment by image-conscious owners of a baseball commissioner, Kenesaw Mountain Landis, whose decision to banish several players from the game gave the appearance that the scandal was only a rare aberration.

While much of American commerce stagnated during the Depression, Davies and Abram make a convincing argument that few bookies were unemployed. Broadcasters and sports columnists virtually deified the best athletes, and attendance at sporting events remained high during this time of economic hardship. Baseball and football pool cards made their appearance, and most of the quarter of a million bookies invested increased time and talent in providing baseball and football betting opportunities rather than focusing on horse-race betting.

The economic boom following World War II brought both prosperity and government scrutiny for those who provided services to meet the rising demand for sports wagering. College basketball point-shaving scandals rocked the nation at about the same time that a Tennessee senator, Estes Kefauver, a man not averse to placing a bet on a horse race, enhanced his presidential nomination prospects by conducting hearings across the country on organized crime. Kefauver and his fellow senators focused on illegal gambling as the driving engine of organized crime as well as on the concept of a shadowy conspiracy led by mostly foreign-born men who controlled the activities of about twenty-five thousand bookies throughout America. The authors point out that gradually through the 1950s this shadowy conspiracy took shape as the Mafia, even though many of those who achieved great financial success by providing wagering opportunities had no connection with Sicily.

As the moralists demanded harsher penalties for those who presumably were undermining American values, and politicians periodically initiated investigations of wagering and other forms of organized crime, sports wagering continued to be one of America's premier growth industries. While participation in horse-race betting among the increasingly better educated under-forty crowd may have declined, wagering on such sports as football, basketball, and baseball attracted the college educated not only as bettors but also as bookies and indeed as lines makers. The authors note the periodic scandals which focused on professional athletes wagering on the outcome or point spread of sports contests. The commissioners of these professional leagues would usually mete out harsh punishment and denounce the bettors for their aberrant behavior, yet the reasonable hypothesis of Davies and Abram is that those caught were merely the unwise and unlucky among the many professional athletes who gambled.

One cannot write about sports wagering without giving some attention to Las Vegas, and the authors do so. After giving the reader some understanding of Nevada's propensity for depending on a single industry—first mining, then railroads, mining again, and then for the past sixty years gaming—they discuss the turf clubs. These operations, often called sawdust rooms, functioned only on the margins of a booming Las Vegas until 1974, when Nevada's Senator Howard Cannon engineered legislation through the United States Congress, that reduced the federal tax on sports wagers from 10 percent to just 2 percent. Business immediately picked up, and soon thereafter Nevada's gaming regulators welcomed a proposal by Lefty Rosenthal, yet another individual with a shady past whose entrepreneurial skills were welcomed, at least initially. In a chapter titled "Setting the Vegas Line," the two University of Nevada, Reno, faculty members explain how three Las Vegas oddsmakers—first Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder, then Bob Martin, and finally Roxie Roxborough—set betting lines on sports contests that captured national attention.

In the concluding chapter and epilogue Davies and Abram discuss the efforts of the moralists to achieve passage of a federal law to make sports betting illegal. They note that the moralists, with considerable support from both the Christian Coalition and the National Collegiate Athletic Association, have organized a rather impressive campaign, with victory denied them partly because of the wise legislative maneuverings of Nevada's senior senator, Harry Reid. It is clear that the authors would welcome the legalization and indeed the taxation and regulation Nevada style of all sports betting nationwide. Yet, ever the realists, they put the odds of that happening in the near future at 15 to 1.

The final contribution to bringing a greater understanding of the sports-betting industry to even those readers with little or no experience in placing a legal or illegal wager is the authors' commendable appendix. This is a gem; indeed, one is well advised to read it before the rest of the book, and to read it again after enjoying the authors' insightful analysis of sports wagering. After explaining why the operators of sportsbooks have to work harder and smarter than the operators of race tracks, Davies and Abram inform the reader as to just about every sort of sports bet available. Appropriately enough, they close by reminding the reader that, in spite of the great variety of sports-wagering opportunities, it is difficult to overcome the house's natural advantage.

Alan Balboni

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The Hand I Played: A Poker Memoir. By David Spanier (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001)

There is no shortage of books about playing poker. There are biographies of famous players, how-to books designed to improve a player's skill (about four hundred in UNLV's library holdings, and probably just as many extant and uncollected), and even poker dictionaries (no less than three in the UNLV Gaming Studies Collection). So, on one level, it is easy to say that the last thing the world needs is another poker book. But Spanier's book both transcends genre, making poker stories interesting for those who don't play, and redefines what's already been written about poker by helping the reader see the mountains of poker books in a new light. As such, it is a book that everyone who studies gambling—or who wants to understand why people gamble—should read.

The book's subtitle is particularly apt, as the reader is treated to an autobiographical account of Spanier's lifelong passion for gambling, beginning in his early school years with betting on horses and continuing on through Cambridge, where he first discovered poker. His description of the London poker scene of the 1960s is particularly vivid, as are his tales of the games at Washington's National Press Club, and his ten-year participation in a London "Tuesday Night Game." And his account of a Caribbean poker cruise, on which he was a poker instructor, is a gem of a snapshot of the rituals and mores of the poker subculture.

Spanier's career as a journalist brought him around the world, and he recounts many of his experiences, both as a correspondent and as a player. This alone makes *The Hand I Played* an interesting book. But Spanier is also able to make the mind of the gambler intelligible to the nongambler. For example, when talking about the term *action* (p. 51), Spanier notes that it means "playing with chance, taking a challenge, the excitement of living in top gear. In gambling, this is the pay-off. In our routine urban lives, most of us are cogs in the wheel Gambling offers a fast way out . . . the player can give self-indulgence a whirl, briefly cast responsibility aside, and fantasize about a brighter, richer, easier life." Of course, Spanier knows that these fantasies are usually illusory, but they still give gamblers, "a little spoonful of hope, which, like honey, is pleasing while it lasts." This general sentiment has been voiced countless times, but rarely this articulately—or with such self-knowledge.

The chapter "Net Poker" is also valuable, not because it teaches the reader how to win at on-line poker or because it offers strong arguments for or against on-line gambling, but because it provides an account of the on-line poker industry in its earliest years by someone who knows poker intimately. On-line gambling may be a short-lived phenomenon or it may mature into a lasting industry, but future social scientists will be grateful for Spanier's thoughtful survey of the virtual poker world of the late 1990s.

Spanier also runs a quick historiographical romp through books on Las Vegas and gambling, giving his opinions on several works in the canon. Spanier's refined literary sensibilities temper his enthusiasm for gambling, so he is able to recognize that "it is easy to write about Las Vegas, as an abundance of bad journalism proves," (p. 209), but knows that it is difficult to catch the lightning of gambling excitement in a bottle. That Spanier is an arbiter of good and bad writings about Las Vegas may touch a nerve with some southern Nevadans who resent literary carpetbaggers who, after a weekend in town, claim to interpret Las Vegas to the rest of the world. This is not a point without merit; many of the misleading books about Las Vegas have been written by outsiders. But Spanier is no outsider to gambling; his lifetime romance with it qualifies him as an expert on the subject. But should his writings about Las Vegas be discounted because he is a carpetbagger? Absolutely not. While his views may not be the same as longtime residents, they are those of an intelligent, articulate observer who can place the city in the context of a larger global gambling scene.

The climax of the book is Spanier's own participation in the 1997 poker World Championship, held at Binion's Horseshoe in Las Vegas. For poker aficionados, this is the obvious equivalent of playing in any world championship. Though Spanier knew going in that he had about as much chance of winning as of beating Tiger Woods in golf, the honey spoonful of hope still held out that tiniest chance, which was no doubt intoxicating. There are several accounts of the World Championship, but few from a perspective this close.

In all, *The Hand I Played* reads like an extended conversation one might have on a long car or plane ride with an insightful, experienced gambler. A great deal of Spanier's personality shines through the narrative, so we get not only a look at how poker is played, but a look, sometimes unconsciously, into the mind of a player. This is all the more poignant because the book was published posthumously. But it is a testament to both Spanier and his editors that *The Hand I Played* is such a riveting work for both players and interested laypeople. A hint to the uninitiated—read the appendix, which explains the basics of Texas Hold 'Em, before starting on the book itself. It will add a great deal of depth to Spanier's accounts of games and hands, which otherwise may be impenetrable to nonplayers. Whether veterans of marathon poker sessions or merely people who simply don't understand the appeal of the game, readers of *The Hand I Played* will undoubtedly come away with a changed view of gambling, chance, and poker.

Dave Schwartz
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Bad Bet on the Bayou: The Rise of Gambling in Louisiana and the Fall of Governor Edwin Edwards. By Tyler Bridges (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001)

No collection of famous political bumper stickers is complete without the one that urged Louisianans in 1991 to VOTE FOR THE CROOK - IT'S IMPORTANT. The "crook" was Edwin W. Edwards, who was seeking a record fourth term as the state's governor. His long career of populist politics and his legendary charm provided Edwards a broad base of reliable support, but his prior administrations had been marred by allegations of corruption, graft, and cronyism. He'd been indicted, but not convicted, for bribery and extortion in his third term and was at least widely suspected of the kind of corruption and old-fashioned self-serving political patronage that Tyler Bridges calls the Louisiana Way in his new book, *Bad Bet on the Bayou: The Rise of Gambling in Louisiana and the Fall of Governor Edwin Edwards* (p. 32).

It was "important" to vote for Edwards in 1991 because his opponent was David Duke, the infamous ultraconservative and former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard. Duke had held lesser public office in Louisiana for several years and commanded enough political and financial support to present a formidable challenge, but his overt racism and political extremism, not to mention the national press attention to his candidacy, caused the formation of a rare coalition of Louisiana minorities and businesspeople determined to defeat him. After incumbent conservative Buddy Roemer ran third in the primary, the anti-Duke coalition had only one choice: to vote for the crook.

By this time, Edwards was already a political legend in Louisiana, the modern heir to the legacy of the original Kingfish, Huey Long. The "Cajun King," as Bridges calls him (p. 233), was well known throughout Louisiana, but not just for his legal battles, graft, and corruption. Despite all the problems, Edwards remained an icon in the state and easily won back the hearts, if not the trust, of the voters. In a classic display of his bravado and wit, Edwards proclaimed just before the run-off election that the only way he could lose to Duke was to be "caught in bed with a dead girl or a live boy" (p. 34). He was right, and he won the election easily, although 60 percent of the voters polled on election day still considered him a crook (p. 49).

Well before Edwards's fourth term, the decline of the petrochemical industry had left the state of Louisiana with a devastating revenue shortage, and casino gaming appeared the only hope of salvaging the state's economy without substantially raising taxes and thereby risking political careers. Gambling was legalized in Louisiana while Roemer was still governor, but Roemer had not yet licensed any casinos when his term ended.

Edwards was known throughout Louisiana not only for his bravado and sexual exploits but also for his love of high-stakes gambling, both at home (in high-stakes poker games at the governor's mansion) and in Las Vegas

(primarily craps at Caesars Palace). Before the election in 1991, he was forced to answer concerns about his potential involvement with the casinos and vowed that he would not push for the licensing of any casinos or get involved in the process. As competition mounted among casino interests for the limited number of licenses, however, he stood to personally appoint nearly every state officer and board member responsible for the selection, licensing, and regulation of the new riverboat casinos. Many of Edwards's own friends, political allies, and even some family members began to profit from the new industry almost immediately by means of high-priced consulting contracts to wholesale supply contracts. With the crook again at the helm, it seemed a given that the fierce contest for the limited number of casino licenses would surely be decided by a rare showing of crooked political patronage and deal making.

The four torrid years that followed are the primary subject of Tyler Bridges's chronicle. Bridges, who also wrote *The Rise of David Duke* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), is a career newspaper reporter who covered the gaming industry's early years in Louisiana from 1992 to 1996 for the *Times-Picayune* in New Orleans. Bridges himself was a part of this story, not only as a lead reporter in New Orleans but as one of the most vocal opponents of legalized gaming at the time. Much of the action is described in great detail from his inside perspective, but for the most part he leaves himself out of the story.

Bridges's accounts of the wild action are lively, thrilling, and sometimes barely believable, from incredibly dirty political tricks to blatant political manipulation. The book is thoroughly researched and, according to Bridges, reliably accurate, yet it reads like best-selling fiction. Bridges successfully avoids newspaper style, and claims to have applied a "higher than newspaper" standard to his research. The reports and opinions of the *Times-Picayune* and some of its editors, however, seem to play a larger than life role in the book, and the repeated injections of the paper's "eloquent" opinions and "stunning" reports become tiresome interruptions to an otherwise intriguing and fast-paced tale.

Bridges bills *Bad Bet* as the story of "when the most corrupt industry came to our most corrupt state" (p. 6). This is indicative of Bridges's opposition to legalized gambling, which is evident throughout the book, although he provides little other basis for his condemnation of the entire industry outside the handful of bribery schemes uncovered in Louisiana in the mid 1990s. Most of those schemes involved only local businessmen and politicians or gaming outsiders such as Eddie DeBartolo, Jr.

Gambling, of course, came to Louisiana long before Edwin Edwards was born. In fact, in the first third of *Bad Bet* Bridges recounts the growth of gambling (and attendant political scandals) in the state from before the Louisiana Purchase. The post-Civil War state lottery ended in 1892 in what Bridges (still) calls the worst gaming scandal in the history of the United States (p.8). Former governors Huey and his son Earl Long, reputedly in connection with mob families, stopped enforcement of the state's antigambling laws, and were

involved themselves in a number of gambling-related scandals, including fixing horse races.

This brief but detailed and unique history provides a natural backdrop to Edwards's fourth term as governor, where he seems destined to carry on the sordid legacy of his predecessors. The means and manner of his manipulation of the casino licensing process for his own benefit were astounding and Bridges's account is riveting. From rigged committee votes to intimidating showdowns, the story is packed with suspense and thrills.

But the centerpiece of *Bad Bet* is the final portion, in which Bridges describes the FBI's discovery, while investigating something unrelated, of a number of bribery and extortion plots by which Edwards and his family and friends were receiving casino payments during and after his final term. The intricate sting operation that finally netted Edwards and his cronies is detailed and provides a convincing case against the former governor. The FBI failed, however, to keep the operation secret long enough to set Edwards up for a direct sting. Although the circumstantial evidence against him was compelling, Edwards once again avoided being caught red-handed, leaving just enough doubt to make the trial interesting. Bridges, however, recounts the months-long trial only summarily.

Bad Bet's only substantive shortcoming is that the story was not quite over, for Edwards had not quite fallen. Faced with a jury deadlocked by a lone hold-out for acquittal, the judge in Edwards's case removed the holdout and the remaining jurors returned a full conviction a short time later. The removal of a juror, of course, is a serious matter in a criminal case, potentially violating a number of the defendant's constitutional rights, and thus provided Edwards an entirely plausible if not powerful argument for reversal of the conviction. In fact, the case drew the attention of constitutional scholar Alan Dershowitz, who appeared as Edwards's counsel in the pending appeal.

Following the conviction, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals almost instantly granted Edwards's request for bail pending appeal, so again he remained free. Bail pending appeal is not freely given in federal cases and the appellate court's early ruling in Edwards's favor suggested a very real chance of success in the appeal. The ruling surprised Bridges, who had already written an epilogue for his book describing the day when Edwards finally entered prison. The episode was removed just in time for publication. In August 2002, however, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected Edwards' appeal and upheld the convictions. As of September 19, however, Edwards remains free and publicly optimistic while he seeks a rehearing in the court of appeals. If the rehearing is denied, then the episode Bridges removed from his book will surely come to pass, and if local predictions come true, Edwards will be running the penitentiary within a month.

The book's jacket copy tells us that *Bad Bet* relates the "compelling story of Edwin Edwards and the lure of lucre that led to his downfall." The story is indeed compelling and fascinating, but little evidence or argument is provided

to establish the supposed causal link. Legalized gaming no doubt was on the rise as Louisiana turned to gaming for economic salvation, but were these "modern day carpetbaggers" (p. 258) the catalyst for Edwards's (yet incomplete) demise or merely the latest instrument of his lifelong vice? Edwin Edwards's ability and proclivity to manipulate the inner workings of state and local government to produce personal gain for himself and his family and allies is, according to Bridges, his tragic flaw. But if the entry of legalized casino gaming into Louisiana was, in Bridges's analogy, throwing gasoline onto a flame, then, following the analogy, can either the flame or the fuel alone be blamed for the resulting disaster, or does the responsibility lie with whomever put them together? The bad bet in Bridges's view, was the decision of the Louisiana voters to legalize casino gambling. The same voters, of course, elected Edwards. In proper casino lingo, the book might more appropriately be titled *Bad Parlay on the Bayou*.

One cannot safely argue that David Duke would have done the state of Louisiana more good as its governor, but it is tolerance for political corruption, if not the open expectation of it, that fuels its perpetuation in Louisiana. In most states a bumper sticker depicting a candidate as a crook would result in a defamation suit; in Louisiana, a landslide victory. To his credit, Bridges does not contend that removing the casinos would end Louisiana's political corruption. "Ultimately," he concludes, "the state will have to shed its affinity for practicing the Louisiana Way" (p. 375).

Bad Bet is thoroughly notated and indexed and contains a few classic photos.

William B. Werner

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The Money and the Power: The Making of Las Vegas and Its Hold on America, 1947-2000. By Sally Denton and Roger Morris (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001)

Sally Denton, a former investigative journalist with *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post* (as well as a third-generation Nevadan), and her husband, Roger Morris, a senior staff member at the National Security Agency during the Johnson and Nixon administrations and author of the highly respected *Richard Milhous Nixon* (1989) have collaborated on *The Money and the Power* to produce (in the authors' words) "an account of the rise of Las Vegas and its significance today and what that incomparable yet emblematic place reveals about the reality of America over the last half of the twentieth century" (p. 11). In this lengthy and thoroughly researched look at the underside of the recent

history of Las Vegas, the emphasis is more on the historical involvement of the United States with government corruption, organized crime, and the illicit narcotics trade than it is about the lives of 1.4 million southern Nevadans who reside in the most rapidly growing region in the nation. Given the urban dynamics involved in this massive human migration, the authors might have devoted more attention to the city's continuing appeal as a destination among Americans and to examining what the experience of living in Las Vegas is like for ordinary citizens. When they do briefly sketch contemporary life in Las Vegas, their observations are quite accurate, particularly when they highlight the region's substandard social infrastructure, which leads to some of the unhealthiest quality-of-life indicators among major cities. Such a sustained account would have offered a less one-sided and more evenly balanced view of what the authors label "America's first city of the twenty-first century" (p. 11).

Instead, the authors begin by providing relatively brief biographical sketches of some of the key actors to which they repeatedly refer as they weave intriguing, if not altogether convincing, accounts of crime, corruption, and scandal in the sunbelt's most heavily visited tourist destination. Given the copious amount of material currently available on Las Vegas, as well as on organized crime generally, the authors' biographical profiles of Meyer Lansky, Bugsy Siegel, and Estes Kefauver are too familiar and predictable. Many readers, even among those with only a minimal knowledge of the history of Las Vegas and organized crime, will find little that is original in the pages of *Money and Power*. As Denton has noted in an interview with *Publishers Weekly* (284:9 [26 February 2001], 69), all of the information in the book is in the public domain—"there are no secret documents in the book." The authors do, however, present a persuasive argument that several of the key actors in the city's ascendancy, such as Hank Greenspun and Estes Kefauver, among others, had both the potential and the opportunity to carve a different path for the future of Las Vegas—if they too had not been caught up in the seamy world of gamblers, gangsters, and corrupt politics.

Methodologically, the book is reminiscent of Harvard psychologist Stanley Milgram's "small world problem" and the experiments that he used to investigate alienation and connectedness, the subjects of an important academic debate in the 1960s. In response to the prevailing idea that modern society is becoming more disconnected, Milgram determined that it took just six individuals for someone living in Massachusetts to receive a letter mailed from an unknown correspondent in Nebraska; his conclusion was that in contrast to popular thought, we are actually closely-knit and bound together in an intricate social fabric (the origin of the popular expression "six degrees of separation"). It is the underlying premise of association contained within this concept that allows the authors of *Money and Power* to draw together nearly every president, every major underworld figure, every corrupt politician, and every narcotics smuggler into one organized, overarching Syndicate with its nexus in Las Vegas.

If there had been new documentation here, the authors' effort to portray the popular tourist destination as America's criminal city-state, and "shadow capital," would likely resonate with readers. Instead, tracing when and which gangsters were associated with which politicians, who in turn were involved with each vignette explored in the book, becomes a tedious exercise. The authors use the six degrees of separation approach to explain the shared Las Vegas connection of the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy, and the ways in which Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, and Clinton each benefited from the city's money and power. Moreover, through their lens, Las Vegas is key to understanding not only recent presidencies, but many of the major scandals that came to characterize each of them: Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs, Nixon and Watergate, Reagan and Iran-Contra. In each episode, as the title implies, Las Vegas is cast not only as the conduit for the cash that made these seedy operations possible, but as an important source for funds as organized crime greased the wheels of a corrupt political system with drug money laundered overseas.

In their unrelenting attempt to create an image of Las Vegas as emblematic of larger trends in American life—namely, as they see it, the widening scope of political corruption and the influence of international organized crime—the authors suggest that the life of everyone from Kit Carson to Ronald Reagan has mirrored the evolution of the city. Along the way, the authors not only uncritically accept the claims of organized crime figures, but also exaggerate them and their implications for the rest of the nation. In the end, almost no time is spent on the past decade of Las Vegas's history, a time when both its man-made and social environment have undergone profound change. And while most observers point to the increasing public ownership of megaresorts in Las Vegas as evidence of the growing diminution of organized crime in the city, Denton and Morris imply that only their role has changed—in their view, the desert metropolis is increasingly becoming the preferred playground for international money-laundering crime syndicates.

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Murder in Sin City: The Death of a Las Vegas Casino Boss. By Jeff German (New York: Avon Books, 2001)

Quicksilver. The Ted Binion Murder Case. By John L. Smith and Jeff Scheid (Las Vegas: Huntington Press, 2001)

An Early Grave: A True Story of Love, Deceit, and Murder in the American Desert. By Gary C. King (New York: St. Martin's, 2001)

Death in the Desert: The Ted Binion Homicide Case. By Cathy Scott (New York: 1st Books Library, 2000)

The long-held American fascination with murder seemed to peak during the last decade of the twentieth century. From Lyle and Erik Menendez, accused of killing their parents in Beverly Hills, California, to the mysterious death of six-year-old beauty pageant princess JonBenet Ramsey in Boulder, Colorado, the nation was transfixed by the twists and turns of true-life whodunits that Agatha Christie couldn't have dreamed up. A new cable channel, Court TV, was created to provide live coverage of high-profile murder trials. The granddaddy of murder circuses in the 1990s, the double-homicide case against football legend O. J. Simpson, had tens of millions glued to their television sets for months as the trial unfolded.

Another murder case that gained national attention during this period occurred in Las Vegas, Nevada, a natural setting for an elaborate melodrama involving sex, drugs, and big money. In addition to generating daily television coverage locally and nationally, with tabloid TV host Geraldo Rivera providing color commentary each weeknight, the case spawned four books.

And yet, when Ted Binion, son of Las Vegas gambling legend Benny Binion, died on September 17, 1998, few could have predicted the tumultuous two-year legal battle that tragic event would set in motion. At first, many people, including police investigators, thought Binion had died of a drug overdose. He was a well-known heroin abuser, so such an outcome would not have been a surprise to those close to him. And while a Binion overdose was big news, if that had been the long and short of the story, it would have ended with the sorrowful funeral.

But it soon became clear to family members and Binion's lawyers that there was more intrigue behind his death that deserved scrutiny. As private investigators and police detectives began probing deeper, eventually concluding that Binion had been murdered by his live-in lover Sandra Murphy, and her secret boyfriend, Rick Tabish, his death turned into the top news story in Las Vegas for two years running.

Jeff German was the first journalist to jump on the story. In part because of previous relationships with key figures in and associated with the Binion family, the veteran *Las Vegas Sun* reporter/columnist gained exclusive access to

new developments in the case as it unfolded. While some criticized his relentless coverage as overly pro-prosecution, in the end German proved to be on the right side. The trial of Murphy and Tabish revealed strong evidence that they had plotted to kill Binion and steal his riches. They are both in prison today, and although appeals are pending in the courts, both have been sentenced to more than twenty years behind bars.

German, then, was an obvious choice to write a book about the Binion murder case. Although German had never written a book before, he knew more about the case and had better sources than any other journalist. His book, *Murder in Sin City*, turned out to be the best of the lot. It's a tightly written, comprehensive, well-sourced rendering of the case, chronicling everything from Binion's colorful life to the events leading up to and following his death. And while the book lacks footnotes and a bibliography of his source materials, the text itself makes clear where German obtained much of his information.

The book makes such a strong case that Tabish and Murphy killed Binion that one wonders, in hindsight, how there could have been so much doubt in the first few months after his death. German does a thorough job of explaining that Murphy and Tabish both had significant police records—they weren't your typical middle-class do-gooders—and describes in detail Tabish's mounting financial debts. In addition, he explains how Binion and Murphy's relationship was deteriorating rapidly in the days before he was killed. Just a day before his death, Binion had called his attorney and told him to take Murphy out of his will.

Promotional materials for *Murder in Sin City* touted several new pieces of information German unveils for the first time in the book. But little of the new material is all that important other than to fill a few minor gaps in the narrative. The absence of a major new revelation, however, does not diminish the book's value.

Gary C. King's *An Early Grave* is very similar to German's book. King, a veteran writer for *True Detective* magazine and author of several true-crime paperbacks, is clearly at home with the police procedural aspects of the Binion case. Conveniently, he had moved to Las Vegas just three years before Binion was murdered.

Like German, King follows the case through the eyes of the investigators. This gives the book a strong narrative flow—King's a talented storyteller—though the book bogs down in places thanks to his penchant for quoting long passages from police interviews and court documents. King's book also suffers from an extremely weak photo section. Most of the photos of buildings and signs were taken by King himself, and reflect an amateur's inability to find interesting ways to shoot static subjects. The photos in German's book, most taken by *Las Vegas Sun* photographers, are significantly better.

Quicksilver, written by another veteran Las Vegas journalist, the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* columnist John L. Smith, does not contain the depth of detail of

the books by German and King. But it never was intended to be comprehensive. The book is 200 pages long, with Smith covering the entire case in a fast-paced 58 pages—the equivalent of a long magazine article. The remainder of the book is a collection of 250 photographs by Jeff Scheid. The photographs are mostly from the trial, and are accompanied by detailed captions and excerpts from columns Smith filed during the trial. Scheid's photos are excellent, giving the straightforward journalistic narrative an emotional texture. He captures all the key moments in the trial and presents them chronologically, giving the package a documentary feel.

The final entry in the Binion book sweepstakes actually came out first. Cathy Scott's *Death in the Desert*, is, essentially, self-published. Although printed by First Books Library out of New York, it came into being with almost no editing assistance, and that drawback really shows. Scott, a former *Las Vegas Sun* reporter and freelance writer, falters early in her Binion book when she confuses eras while quoting Mark Twain. Scott somehow suggests that Twain was around to witness what life was like in Las Vegas during the early 1950s: "About the time Benny Binion opened the Horseshoe Club, Mark Twain ventured into the Silver State and into Vegas. In his book *Roughing It*, he described those inhabiting Las Vegas as "the lawyer, the editor, the banker, the chief desperado, the chief gambler." This is by far the biggest mistake—the book also is littered with typos and grammatical errors—but *Death in the Desert* over-all has the feel of being hurried and untrustworthy. The one bit of interest Scott generates is that she's the only one of the four authors to take seriously the defense claims of innocence, and to explore potential alternative scenarios for Binion's murder.

If one is looking for a book on the Binion murder to offer some kind of contextual analysis of what the case says about Las Vegas and its unique position in American culture, or about the nature of greed at the end of the twentieth century, it's still to be written. None of these writers attempts this sort of literary or academic exercise along the lines of Truman Capote's masterful *In Cold Blood*. They provide the facts and faces and let you decide for yourself what it all means.

Geoff Schumacher
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Origins of the Nevada Test Site. By Terrence R. Fehner and F.G. Gosling (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Energy, History Division, 2001)

Nevada's history is inextricably tied to the legacy of nuclear weaponry. The emotions aroused by hundreds of tests (i.e., 100 atmospheric and 804 underground) at the Nevada Test Site have been the subject of numerous works including Carole Gallagher's *American Ground Zero*, Peter Goin's *Nuclear Landscapes* and A. Constandina Titus's *Bombs in the Backyard*. These classics reflect wider cultural views about societal issues involving radiation, environmental degradation, public health and safety, politics, and more. *Origins of the Nevada Test Site*, on the other hand, is much more of a cultural history of the site. The opening preface sets the tone for the book in a blow-by-blow description of the Able Shot, on January 27, 1951. The authors convey a sense of excitement with foreboding as the testing personnel on the ground in Nevada feverishly attended to last-minute preparations.

The book then begins with an introductory chapter outlining the prehistory and early history of the area. Prominence is given to the expansion of mining in Nevada and its effect on the regional economy. Chapter 2 provides a backdrop for the development of the nuclear age. Significant persons such as Albert Einstein, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Glen Seaborg are highlighted for their roles. The Oak Ridge, Hanford, and Los Alamos facilities are referenced to segue into a short description of Trinity, the first test of a nuclear device detonated on July 16, 1945. The chapter concludes with the role of atomic weapons in the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War.

The next three chapters are devoted to the establishment of the Nevada Test Site and the first test series, called Operation Ranger. Significant persons are described again, but with an increased emphasis on the political climate. Local reaction is teased out of newspaper accounts and reflects the prevailing mood of acceptance. The highlight of these three chapters, however, is the early photographs of the test site. The authors obtained great images of the first control point, instrumentation bunkers, targets, and mushroom clouds.

The final chapter jumps ahead to the present to look at the legacy of the Nevada Test Site. Short shrift is given to the in-between history, barely mentioning the Limited Test Ban Treaty (banning atmospheric testing), the Plowshare Program (peaceful uses for nuclear bombs), and nuclear rocket development (the beginnings of the Space Race). This should not, however, be seen as a weakness in the book as each of these topics is much too large for this type of publication. Rather, the authors use these as stepping-stones to arrive at their conclusion that the Nevada Test Site is to be viewed as a victory site for its role in winning the Cold War.

Many may disagree with the authors' conclusion but I have advocated a similar position in my own work. Indeed, when we review the twentieth century we find that the mushroom cloud is likely the most important defining

symbol. The one that is best remembered is the one that rose over Hiroshima. Yet, Hiroshima today is a thriving city that boasts itself as a tourist destination. Thus, it is the test sites of the world that provide us with the battlefields of the Cold War and, by proxy, the Nevada Test Site that represents victory for the United States.

Over-all, I have to congratulate the authors on this work. The book was written as part of the fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the test site and designed to be a coffee-table book for a lay audience. I believe they achieved this without compromising historical integrity.

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Brothel: Mustang Ranch and Its Women. By Alexa Albert (New York: Random House, 2001)

Sex makes even the driest of research sexy. So it is not surprising that Harvard medical student Alexa Albert, who entered the largest of Nevada's brothels to do research on condom use, gave in to the temptation to write the stories of the women and men she met there. Her book is a rare look at the inside culture of one of Nevada's most notorious but formative institutions, the Mustang Ranch.

The book is a series of stories about Albert's seven months at the Mustang Ranch and its smaller sister brothel, the Mustang II. Brothels are a contradictory and intriguing business, so much a part of Nevada's mining history while at the same time sitting on the cusp of modern attitudes about gender and sexuality. The accounts Albert writes are contradictory as well, stories both of antagonisms among the women, men, and customers who surround the brothel, and of profound emotional attachments. She spends some time on the history and politics of the brothels, but her focus is on the hearts and struggles of the people who work in the most stigmatized industry in the world.

In writing the details of her shocks and surprises, she both reproduces our images and confronts their contradictions. She tells stories of customers falling in love with the women, and vice versa. The men seemed to have more problems with the line between love and paid sex than did the prostitutes. Accounts of who gets hired, relations among the women, the lives of bartenders, and even the internet cult of customers are all related through series of simply told stories.

It is Albert's "in the brothel but not of it" that makes for the best stories in the book. Albert's curiosity drives her to struggle with the questions about these quintessential bad girls that all the so-called good girls want to know. How do they reconcile sex with customers with sex with loved ones? What are they

really selling? Were the moans coming from the next room genuine pleasure? How did the women get into the business, a question that is really just a thinly veiled version of "are they all that different from me?" This perspective sheds an interesting girl-like awe to, for example, the stories of being invited to watch not one, but two "business transactions."

However, over-all the book was disappointing. Succumbing to the desire to sell to the broadest audience, Albert rationalizes instead of providing useful information. The book relies entirely on reconstructed conversations and anecdotes. Even the little specific information she does provide is haphazard. In addressing an oft asked question about prostitutes' backgrounds, she avoids hard facts: "No easy formula fit the women I met in Nevada brothels While some of the prostitutes I met came from lower-income families, many grew up well-to-do. Some of the women came from broken homes with absent fathers, some had mothers who had prostituted themselves, but many grew up in intact, functional, two-parent households " (p. 71). Her discussions of the history and politics of the brothels cite no sources, but sound a great deal like they come solely from the recollections of brothel lobbyist George Flint. Albert speaks as if the Mustang were representative of all brothels, which is unlikely as most brothels employ fewer than six or seven women. As a scholar herself, she could have been expected to show more deference to the time-honored academic practices of citing sources, contextualizing information, discussing her methods, or even talking about how she dealt with informed consent. Compared to her effective, but dry, article on condom use among female commercial sex workers (*American Journal of Public Health*, 85:11 [1995], 1514-20), this book seems little more useful than a grocery store romance novel.

Nevada has a unique and potentially instructive approach to what may be the right policy toward the perennial problems associated with prostitution. Albert had a rare opportunity to speak to that debate. Instead, she makes hard assertions like "Politically, I thought prostitution degraded all women. But Nevada brothels were far less repugnant than I expected" (p. 32). To be sure, she goes on to say brothels "appeared to be clean, legitimate workplaces, and the women were not shackled hostages but self-aware professionals there of their own free will" (*ibid.*). She could have taken an even stronger stand. Instead, she says, "For a long time I debated inwardly the question of which model of prostitution seemed most palatable" (p. 67), then never tells us what she decided.

To be fair, it wasn't her goal to affect policy. Her goal was simply to "re-awaken readers to their humanity" (p. 33). That is extremely important. But that's all the few recent books about Nevada's brothels seem to do. We need to rigorously analyze brothels as businesses, and talk seriously about what prostitutes do, labor conditions, and workplace safety. Then we can move to the debate about the politics of gender and sexuality and the regulation of prostitution.

Albert does provide a glimpse into the heart and struggles of the women who work in the most stigmatized profession in the world. I agree with Albert's main point. Regardless of what you think about the job, the women deserve our respect.

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Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915. By Catherine Cocks (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

In this significant study based on her dissertation, Catherine Cocks argues persuasively for the importance of urban tourism in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cocks shows that the emerging tourism in cities, if not as important as other forms of tourism in the nation at that time, helped change how some Americans spent their growing amounts of leisure time. More than that—and this point may be the major contribution of this book—Cocks analyzes intersections between developments in nascent urban tourism and alterations in American culture. Deeply influenced by the work of Roland Marchand, Cocks adopts a broad cultural approach in her study of urban tourism. At the outset of her work Cocks observes that the “practice of urban tourism was an important sign of and contributor to the erosion of a Victorian, ‘refined’ understanding of class, gender, and ethnicity and the gradual emergence of a cosmopolitan, commercial conceptualization of these social relations in the early twentieth century”; and throughout the book Cocks discusses changes in “urban space, leisure, and commercialization” (pp. 1-2).

In her first three chapters, Cocks examines social and economic changes occurring in the United States that allowed urban tourism to develop. She begins by discussing why mid-nineteenth-century cities were not amenable to tourism: Lacking much in the way of history, art, or spectacle, the cities did not fit in with prevailing romantic views of travel and tourism. Then, too, poor transportation facilities and a dearth of appropriate hotels held back touristic-related developments. After about 1850, this dismal situation changed. Cocks chronicles improvements in transportation and accommodations that spurred the growth of urban tourism. Comfortable, extra-fare railroad cars (Cocks offers a particularly valuable description of what Pullman cars meant to travelers) and luxurious, big-city hotels devoted to tourists (Cocks presents cogent arguments about how divisions between public and private spaces in these hotels appealed to women) were especially important. So were changes in cultural norms. “The waning importance of refinement,” Cocks writes, “signaled an important shift in the spatial ideals of well-to-do Americans, one that opened up the possibility of urban tourism” (p. 41).

In three additional chapters, Cocks describes how cities took advantage of the possibilities for tourism and how, in turn, tourism had impacts on those cities. From the 1890s, organized tour companies and city businessmen's organizations actively sought to attract tourists. Then, too, as they began to mature, American cities, embellished by parks and city-beautiful movements and often adorned by world's fairs, had more to offer travelers. Changing conceptions of what tourism should be, and especially that it need not be a spiritually uplifting experience, also aided the spread of urban tourism. As urban tourism caught on, the growing number of tourists, Cocks shows, began to affect the nature of the cities they visited. Like some reforms of the Progressive-Era, tourist developments aimed at creating socially harmonious cities. "Organized city tours," Cocks notes, "also promised to restore the vital sense of community that the nation's sprawling cities had lost but on a new, modern basis that transcended older, parochial loyalties"; indeed, she concludes that the "spatial practice of tourism promised to weave the many fragments of the city together" (p. 144). At the same time, however, the discovery of "picturesque" ethnic and immigrant groups in cities and the development of slumming tours through their communities brought some recognition of urban diversity to tourism.

Cocks has written an important book. She reveals much about a neglected aspect of the history of tourism in the United States. More than that, she uses her examination of tourism as a window through which to observe social and cultural changes occurring throughout the nation. Generally well researched in a variety of written and visual sources, and capably written and organized, *Doing the Town* should appeal to scholars in a number of fields. Well-chosen illustrations fully integrated into the text and extensive endnotes enhance the value of the study. Yet, the book's strengths are also its weaknesses. While readers will learn a great deal about social and cultural change in America (with occasionally a bit too much jargon for my taste), important questions about tourism are sometimes slighted. Cocks notes, for example, that "urban tourism was in its infancy in the early twentieth century" and "never surpassed the popularity of rural resorts" (p. 144). She never, however, provides hard estimates of how many urban tourists there were or of just how important urban tourism was compared to other competing forms of tourism. Then, too, Cocks never fully takes readers into the minds of tourists. She comes close through her examinations of guidebooks and similar materials, but she does not completely succeed in discussing what tourism meant to tourists. These are minor criticisms. *Doing the Town* is valuable both for its own findings and for suggesting new directions for future studies: It is a book with which to reckon.

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Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West. Edited by David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001)

Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century West. By Hal K. Rothman (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998)

The result of a 1997 conference at the Center of the American West at the University of Colorado at Boulder, *Seeing and Being Seen* does not attempt to offer the final word on tourism in the American West. Rather, its authors open a genre-bending dialogue, and suggest the basis for a deeper exploration of the complex nexuses among tourism, economy, culture, and identity. As co-editor David Wrobel writes, "[tourism], like 'work,' is a part of everyday life in much of the modern West, and we need to move beyond the 'visited as victims' model in studying the 'toured upon,' just as we need to move beyond the authenticity-artificiality paradigm in studying tourists" (p. 21).

Drawn from various academic disciplines and the historical staff of the National Park Service, many contributors to this outstanding volume echo Wrobel's request for greater empathy for those who promote and those who partake in tourism. In the opening essay of the section entitled "Perspectives," Patricia Nelson Limerick reminds the readers to consider "the class differences within the unit we call tourists" (p. 40). Like Wrobel, she observes that scholars risk adopting the elitism of early twentieth-century critics who disdained the democratization of travel by failing to acknowledge that they appreciate the same comfort and convenience sought by modern tourists. Like co-editor Patrick T. Long, Limerick imagines a more innovative tourism as the way to stabilize local economies devastated by the decline in the region's extractive industries. Long optimistically adds that the rural West can experience revitalization when tourism is fully integrated into a community's economic and social fabric. A member of Colorado's business faculty, Long discusses the supply side and demand side of tourism for small communities, concluding that "successful and sustainable tourism development in rural settings depends on the synergistic relationship of effective leadership, thoughtful planning, and competent technical assistance" (p. 88).

The book's second section, "Processes," provides case studies, reminding us that while certain visitors experienced the openness and freedom of the West, tourist promotions often involved the objectification of the ethnic Other. Marguerite S. Shaffer notes that while many white upper-and middle-class Americans responded to the See America First campaign, their experiences reflected their concerns rather than the promoters' interests. Anxious about the implications of a modernizing, urban, industrial nation, they sought and celebrated the lost image of small-town America somehow captured in a mythic West. The only contributor to significantly address gender, Shaffer concludes that women who participated in cross-country travel found that it allowed them to cast off social conventions.

While Shaffer's female automobilers found their experiences liberating, the Indians and Hispanos depicted in the Fred Harvey company's promotions and in the art of the Taos community, respectively, frequently suffered the diminution of their cultures. Literary scholar Leah Dilworth describes the complicated images of Indian domestic life, artisan skills, and rituals offered by the Harvey company for railroad travelers. "The spectacle of these 'good Indians' amounted to a premodern, edenic fantasy; they seemed to represent a time before modernity and all of its attendant problems" (p. 153). At the same time, "bad-Indians" imagery confirmed the immutability of their primitiveness and justified their dispossession. Similarly, anthropologist Sylvia Rodriguez posits that tourism in Taos involved the commodification of ethnic symbols. "In a word, art has become a form of racial inscription, which enacts and bears the mark of stratification" (p. 197).

In the final section, "Parks," employees of the National Park Service provide three of four essays that consider the inherent tensions in the original mandate's call for both preservation and public enjoyment. Recent monographs on the parks have focused on their culturally constructed landscapes or the dispossession of native inhabitants. These authors alternatively argue that given the pressures for greater commercialization, the service has limited exploitation and provided a "relatively dignified" vision of nature for millions of tourists. As Dwight T. Pitcaithley, chief historian for the service, observes, "the tasteful development of the parks for the tourist was exactly what Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Stephen T. Mather had in mind as they championed the creation of the National Park Service" (p. 302). Questioning those who bemoan the supposed artificiality of earlier trips through Yellowstone, Paul Schullery, a naturalist-ranger and park historian, asks whether the fault lies in the eyes of the critics. "The 'homogenization' of the visitor experience [through standard park guides] could just as easily be viewed as an essential educational process" (p. 238). And while many contemporary commentators focus on the limitations imposed by viewing the parks through windshields, Park Service historian David Louter provides an alternative interpretation. "The introduction of autos—controlled through regulations, conveyed over a road designed for scenery—popularized the park and enabled modern Americans to experience it and to know the nature it preserved in a novel way that was central to our understanding of national parks in the early twentieth century" (p. 265).

Historian Hal K. Rothman's contribution to *Seeing and Being Seen* provides both a more negative assessment of the impact of tourism and an introduction to his larger work, *Devil's Bargains*. In his essay, Rothman summarizes the central thesis for his book, the first major overview of western tourism since Earl Pomeroy's 1957 effort. "Success creates the seeds of its own destruction as more and more people seek the experience of an 'authentic' place transformed to seem more 'authentic.' In search of 'lifestyle,' instead of life, these seekers of identity and amenity transform what they touch beyond recognition" (p. 118).

In his ambitious, thoroughly researched monograph, Rothman attempts to capture the entire twentieth-century and most of the trans-Mississippi West, leading the reader through four periods of western tourism. In the first era of hegemonic travel, promoters and visitors alike culturally reconstructed the Grand Canyon and Santa Fe to facilitate elitist interpretations of the landscapes and ethnic communities. During the second period, tourism reached the periphery and became more democratic through the extension of the automobile and roads. To the disdain of some critics, however, democratization allowed for less sublime destinations such as the dude ranches that offered only mimicry of real cowboys' work. Ski resorts remained at the center of third era, which Rothman defines as recreational tourism. Another apt title might be entrepreneurial tourism as he identifies various neo-native businessmen who became members of the very communities they hoped to transform, and consequently sought both cultural amenities and profits. The final period, of entertainment tourism, and best represented by Las Vegas, sees the displacement of mob influences and the emergence of corporate America. In each period, local residents accepted, had forced upon them, and at times even recruited development schemes that doomed their communities to inequitable wages and a loss of distinctiveness. In Rothman's opinion, these consequences outweigh the more beneficial aspects of tourism.

In considering whether the economics of the West and the nation are now postindustrial, however, the reader might wonder if Las Vegas unduly influences Rothman's interpretations of more recent events. Perhaps the nature of a broad overview precludes him from exploring in greater depth the variety of tourisms that persist throughout the West as well as the efforts at reindustrialization that followed recent international trade agreements. Certain aspects of Los Angeles's economy similarly point to a postindustrial world in which significant inequalities between rich and poor are heightened. Yet, while no one denies the importance of these two cities, do they represent all of the West?

Given Rothman's past experience as the editor of *Environmental History*, it also is surprising to see such little attention paid to the ecological impact of tourist activities through these four epochs. There is, for example, little analysis of the long-term implications of building a city of one million in a desert or the consequences of stripping mountain forests to create ski slopes.

Nonetheless, Rothman provides us with a provocative work, reiterating tourism's importance to the region's economy and its significance as a postmodern cultural experience—"a process of designing and defining intangible commodities that can be psychologically possessed through spending" (p. 2). Particularly impressive is Rothman's recurrent theme of masking. The veneer of tourism disguised the social turmoil that accompanied transformations in Sun Valley, Aspen, and the faux alpine town of Vail. "Westerners sold the riches in their land or their identity, both forms of the raw material of colony, often to the denizens of western cities (and beyond in corporate America). This

internal colonialism masked harsh choices for residents, obscured the pace of change, overshadowed the ways that the opportunity to develop fractured the fiction of community in so many places" (p. 370).

Kathleen A. Brosnan
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Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Wakiki to Sea World. By Jane C. Desmond
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)

Tourism is all the buzz these days and even academics have begun to find their way to the field. In the past decade, as postmodernism has taken hold and, as *New Yorker* writer John Seabrook has noted, a nobrow culture, neither high nor low and shaped by media, has gained sway, stodgy old academics have tried to hop on the bandwagon. As they laud each other for their theoretical advances, they tell each other what a world they know little about, and understand even less, means.

Staging Tourism is an example of this kind of intellectual self-indulgence. "Many, many people are willing to pay a lot of money to see bodies which are different than their own, to purchase the right to look, and to believe that through visual consumption they have come to know something that they didn't before," writes Jane Desmond in the introduction (p. xiii). "We remain tied to a late nineteenth-century idea/ideal of the 'real,' dependent on the body to anchor systems of knowledge that articulate social difference" (pp. xiv-xv). Maybe in the university.

Desmond concocts an elaborate rationale for her work, which is to say that if you go to see the hula while in Hawaii, you're doing the same thing as going to a zoo—only for people. She embraces every tenet of the scholarship of otherness, creating a racialized and even cross-species indictment of the practices of the western world. Her categories—"in-situ," "in-fake-situ," and "out-of-situ"—are clumsy in their construction and articulation, attempts to theorize when better models already exist.

Even more, Desmond's categories blur to the unrecognizable. No one thinks of Hawaiian luaus for tourists as cultural tourism. Even with the renaissance in hula since the 1970s that Desmond acknowledges, these are rituals of entertainment performed en masse. Only their location in Hawaii grants them even the bare minimum of authenticity, another concept Desmond perverts for her purposes. The characterization of zoos and even wild animal parks as a manifestation of ecotourism is a ludicrous concept. Zoos and other similar presentations are older, from a time before experience was carefully segmented to niche markets. The very act of walking on a path through a zoo negates what the

Ecotourism Society and the Adventure Travel Society lay out as the very basis of their credo. Only Desmond might contemplate seeing Siegfried and Roy's white tigers as ecotourism.

What's most intriguing in the volume is not what it contains but what it omits. Nowhere in her research did Desmond ask anyone other than herself what the rituals meant. Although she purports to tell us what mainlanders experience in Hawaii, she doesn't ask even one. Nowhere do tourists appear as actors—and they surely are actors on this stage. Nowhere does any version of a two-way exchange occur. Desmond has fallen into the most venal trap of scholars of difference: She has claimed that the subjects of tourism are denied humanity while simultaneously denying it to the people whose point of view she intends to reflect. This is the paradox of the cleverness that passes for analysis in much postmodern scholarship, the seizing of the story of others with glib confidence that the people in the story have no more claim on their experience than the author. In her rush to create categories of moral right and wrong, Desmond has engaged in the very kind of falsifying that she attributes to imperialist Americans and zoo-goers. It is a funny and stunningly self-referential conundrum.

Hal K. Rothman
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Greater Portland: Urban Life and Landscape in the Pacific Northwest. By Carl Abbott
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002)

Carl Abbott contributes further to his reputation as the West's foremost urban historian with this informative work on Portland. He begins with a brief historical overview tracing the municipality's rapid ascent from boat landing in 1845 to regional capital just twenty years later. Abbott then reprises, in compressed form, his insightful "network city" analysis explaining why Seattle surpassed its rival after 1900 to become the Northwest's premier metropolis. He concludes the section with a discussion of Portland's role in World War II as the center of Henry Kaiser's shipbuilding enterprise, whose rapid departure after 1945 left the city precariously dependent on commerce and a shrinking manufacturing base. Because its stodgy and aging political leadership largely ignored the aggressive pursuit of defense industries, Portland never experienced the Cold War bonanzas that Los Angeles, Phoenix, Denver, and other western cities enjoyed. But all that changed in the 1960s when a core of young, dedicated men and women began influencing city policy.

According to Abbott, several factors account for this growing wave of activism, but especially the increasing youth of the city's population—hastened partly

by the influx of new industries—and the tradition of community-planning involvement by neighborhood associations whose concern centered on Great Society programs, the deteriorating waterfront, invasive freeway proposals, and other controversial issues. Alarmed by 1970 census statistics indicating a substantial middle-class flight to the outer suburbs and pushed by a rising demand for reform, municipal leaders approved a comprehensive plan in 1972 to eliminate the blighted riverfront; build parks, plazas, parking garages, and high-density retail corridors downtown; and preserve longtime office and warehouse districts by making the central city more accessible. Under the effective leadership of Mayor Neil Goldschmidt, City Councilman Tom Walsh, and their associates, as well as subsequent administrations, these efforts largely succeeded. Over the next two decades, developers transformed the Burlington Northern Railroad yards into the thriving River District, an upscale neighborhood featuring thousands of new dwellings. At the same time, voters canceled a proposed suburban beltway in favor of a radial artery hugging the Central Business District's periphery and approved a light-rail transit system tying the city's various suburban sections (dubbed by Abbott "the Four Portlands") to downtown. This is significant, because so many western urban areas like Las Vegas have followed Southern California's example and built circumferential freeways that mostly bypass downtown, reinforcing its decline.

But Portland is significant for other reasons as well. As the author indicates, it is the showcase for Oregon's statewide system of land-use planning and is also home to Metro, America's first popularly elected regional government. In 1978, voters empowered this entity to make planning and government policy for the 1.3 million inhabitants of Multnomah (Portland), Washington, and Clackamas counties. Supported by a 1973 state law requiring that every Oregon city and county devise a plan that conforms to a series of mandated land-use goals, Metro adopted the controversial Urban Growth Boundary (UGB) in 1979 to discourage sprawl in the metropolitan area by providing an orderly transition from rural to urban land use. The move was intended to restrain low-density building and leapfrog growth by encouraging the infilling of vacant land in Portland's urban core and existing suburbs, while also requiring the construction of multi-occupancy dwellings to offer new housing to people at all income levels.

Unlike a similar measure in Nevada sponsored by State Senator Dina Titus (D-Las Vegas) in 1997, Portland's growth boundary has enjoyed the support of most constituencies, except for a core of determined builders who continue to oppose limitations on lot size. Abbott summarizes the advantages of the UGB approach, emphasizing the cost savings involved with building infrastructure and the preservation of rural lands beyond the metropolitan fringe. But his partisan enthusiasm for this policy colors his text in places. For example, Abbott devotes little space to the UGB's opponents, whose arguments he dismisses as "generic" and "theory-based." While he correctly asserts that Portland's

compact building and UGB promote "real neighborhoods," this position, like its counterpart, possesses a strong theoretical underpinning, which Abbott hardly mentions. No one can deny that, with a 25-percent growth rate between 1980 and 1994, Portland's achievement in devoting only 16 percent of new land to urban uses (especially when compared to Chicago's 4-percent and 46-percent rates, respectively, during the same period) is noteworthy. The same can be said of Portland's success in averaging five (in 1994) and now eight (as of 1998) dwellings per acre. But there is a price to pay for compact living. Even without a UGB requirement, Las Vegas-area builders have spent the last twenty years carpeting the foothills of Henderson and Red Rock Canyon with thousands of indistinguishable tract homes on postage-stamp lots for \$200,000 and up. After driving through the endless maze of traditional subdivisions and master-planned communities with their Spanish-tiled double deckers bounded by Brooklyn-like front and side yards, one begins to wonder whether proponents of larger lots have a point. Perhaps the author could have provided more coverage of this debate as well as the ongoing struggle between Metro and the developers who support commercial and residential projects beyond the UGB line.

These concerns aside, Abbott's work makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of postwar urban policy. In terms of the West, this book adds a useful northwestern dimension to a field that has been dominated by studies of California and southwestern sunbelt cities. Nevadans, in particular, will find this volume informative for the numerous policy issues facing not only Portland, but Reno, Henderson, Las Vegas, and other cities in the region. For those especially interested in the politically charged issue of controlling urban growth, this book is a must read.

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University of Nevada, Las Vegas

CUMULATIVE INDEX - VOLUME 44

2001

Compiled by MARTA GONZALES-COLLINS

Number 1	1 - 104	Spring
Number 2	105 - 190	Summer
Number 3	191 - 310	Fall
Number 4	311 - 402	Winter

*Numbers printed in boldface refer to
photographs and illustrations*

Abernathy, Ralph, **138**

*Acts of God: The Natural History of Natural
Disaster in America*, by Ted Steinberg,
review by William D. Rowley, 300-1

African Americans: role in westward
expansion of United States, 304-5

African Americans-Nevada: Black experience
in Nevada (1948), 117-29 passim; welfare
rights in Las Vegas, 133-45 passim; African-
American churches' role in civil rights,
270-82; on Comstock Lode, 272-75;
population in 1860, 272; population in 1900
and 1910, 275

Afton, Nevada, 354

agriculture-Nevada: sheep industry, 147-63
passim; dry farming on submarginal land
in Northeastern Nevada, 1909-1925, 353-70,
354 (Map), 356 (Map), 359 (Map), 365
(Map), 367 (Map)

Aird, Polly: photos by, **front cover no.
3, 199-201**; "Escape from Zion: The
United States Army Escort of
Mormon Apostates, 1859," 196-237

airlines-Nevada: casinos provide junket flights
to Las Vegas, 238-47

Alexander, Thomas G., review by, 295-97

America's National Historic Trails, by Kathleen
Ann Cordes, review by Andrew Kirk, 87-90

Amory, Thomas, 215-30 passim

Anaconda Copper Mine (Mason Valley,
Nevada), 82

Anderson, W.F., 340

*The Anointed One: An Inside Look at Nevada
Politics*, by Jon Ralston, review by Michael
Green, 187-88

architecture-Nevada: 1961 International style
of First Interstate Bank building in Reno,
376

Austin, Nevada, **41** (1870s), 380

Autry, Gene, 246

Baker, Hozial H., 214- 21 passim

Balboni, Alan, reviews by, 98-101

Ballenberg, M., 336

Bandurraga, Peter L., "Water: Life in a Dry
Land," 375-77

Banker, Lem, 7

Barber, Charlotte, 272

Basques: as sheepherders and sheep ranchers,
147-60 passim, 177-78; Robert Laxalt's
memoir of travel to Basque Country
(1960s), 175-77; Basque experience in
American West, 177-78; Basque boarding-
houses in American West, 180-81;
sheepherders' tree carvings in California
and Nevada, 306-7

Basques-Nevada: Basque ranching and
sheepherding, 145-60, 177-78

Batterman, Christopher C., 345

Battle Mountain, Nevada: Overland mail
station near, 218

Bayley, Warren "Doc," 238, 240-47

Bayliss, D.W., 210-11

Bear River, 204-16 passim

Beatty, William: as judge presides over
Alexander Cohn arson trial in 1873, 337-47
passim, **338**

Beckwourth, James P., 271

Beckwourth Pass, 271

Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach, edited by, *The
Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow*,
review, 387-89

Beehive House, **220** (Illus.)

Belmont, Nevada, 380

Beowawe, Nevada: Overland mail station
near, 218

"Bethel AME: The Oldest Surviving African-
American Church in Nevada," by Mella
Rothwell Harmon, 270-84, **271**

"Beyond the Margins: Abortive Farming
Endeavors on Submarginal Land in
Northeastern Nevada," by Marshall E.
Bowen, 353-74

- Birch, Logan, 336
Black Mass: the Irish Mob, the FBI, and a Devil's Deal, by Dick Lehr and Gerard O'Neill, review by Alan Balboni, 98-100
 Black Ridge, 355-59, 363, 367 (Map)
The Black West: A Documentary and Pictorial History of the African American Role in the Westward Expansion of the United States, by William Loren Katz, review by Earnest N. Bracey, 304-5
 Bonanza Airlines, 243
 book reviews, 85-101, 175-88, 295-307, 387-99
 Booker, Emmer Henry, 276-77, 280
 Boston Saloon (Virginia City, Nevada), 272
 Boulder Canyon Act, 330
 Bowen, Marshall E., "Beyond the Margins: Abortive Farming Endeavors on Submarginal Land in Northeastern Nevada," 353-74
 boxing-Nevada: Corbett-Fitzsimmons match (1897), 382; Johnson-Jeffries bout in Reno (1910), 5, 382; sports betting on matches, 15
 Boyle, Emmet: as Nevada governor intervenes during railroad strike of 1922 at Union Pacific Railroad's Las Vegas shops, 313-28 passim
 Bracey, Earnest N., "Ruby Duncan, Operation Life, and Welfare Rights in Nevada," 133-46; review by, 304-5
 Bradley, L.R., 340
 Brady, Margaret K., *Mormon Healer and Folk Poet: Mary Susannah Fowler's Life of Unselfish Usefulness*, review, 387-89
 Bringhurst, Newell G., *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life*, review, 295-97
 Brodie, Fawn McKay, 295-97
 Brousard, Christian, (Photo), **front cover, no. 1**
 Brown, William A.G., 272
 Bryan, Phil, 376
 Bubb, Daniel, "Hacienda Airlines: A First-Class Airline for Coach-Class Passengers," 238-49
 Buckner, Luther A., 340
 Burbank, Jeff, author, *License to Steal: Nevada's Gaming Control System in the Megaresort Age*, review, 92-96
 Bushman, Richard Lyman, review by, 297-99
 Butte Valley, Nevada, **148**
 Butterfield Overland Mail stage, **22** (Illus.)
 "C.L.R. James in Nevada," by Dennis Dworkin, 109-32
 Caesar's Palace (Las Vegas hotel-casino), 8, 138, 246
 Caliente, Nevada: Union Pacific Railroad shopmen's strike of 1922 in, 314-30 passim
 California Gold Rush, 85-87, 196-97, 380
 California Trail: U.S. Army escort of Mormon emigrants on (1859), 196-230 passim; old route along Humboldt River, 197, 212-18 passim; Simpson's shorter route from Salt Lake City to Genoa on, 197, 212-13, 217-30; Salt Lake Cutoff joining to, **200**, 216
 Calvin, E.E., 321-23, 328
 Camp Douglas (Utah Territory), 47, 57
 Camp Floyd, Utah Territory: established by U.S. Army, 197-225 passim, **199**
 Campbell, Fran, review by, 393-95
 Canavan, P.P., 343
 Candelaria, Nevada, 380
 Cannon, Howard, 10, 140-41, 246
 capitol building (state of Nevada): Nevada State Prison inmates quarry stone for (1868-1872), 340
 Carano, Lamise, 376
 Carl's Café (Yerington, Nevada), 80, 84
 Carlin Canyon, 217-18
 Carson City, Nevada: 339-41, 344, 382; African-American churches, social and cultural organizations established in nineteenth century in, 272, 275; boxing matches at, 5; population explosion in 1859, 196; station on overland mail stage route in Nevada, 36-37; United States district court at, 321-24 passim
 Carson River, 378
 Carson Valley, 196, 207, 209, 217, 272, 378
 Carville, E.P., 280
 Case, William Moll, 280
 casinos-Nevada: casino gambling legalized in 1931, 5, 384; legalized sports gambling at, 5-16; in Reno (1930-1981), 90-91; government regulation of, 92-96; racial discrimination against African-Americans by, 278, 280
 Cavanaugh, Alice May Galloway, 252
 Cavanaugh, Jack A., 252
 Cavanaugh, John Hobart, 250-67, **251**, **255**, **258**, **260**, **263**
 Cave Rock (Lake Tahoe), **36**
 Cedar Valley, Utah, 198, **199**
 Central Pacific Railroad: establishes Reno as point to handle silver ore shipments from Comstock Lode (1868), 380
 Cheatham, Ray, 280
 Chinese-Nevada: prejudice against in Eureka (1873), 339
 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: in Salt Lake City (1865), 44-52; doctrine toward apostates, 198 (1859); 202-15 passim; history of, 295-97
 churches-Nevada: Bethel AME Church in Reno, 270-1, **271**, 275-82; African-American churches established in nineteenth century, 272-275; first Baptist Church in Nevada at Virginia City, 274; Methodist Episcopal Church in Virginia City (1863), 275; AME church in Virginia City and Carson City (1863), 274-75
 Churchfield, Evelyn, 361
 Churchfield, John ("Jack"), 356 (Map), 357-69 passim
 Churchfield, John, Jr., 361-62, 368
 Churchill County, Nevada: Newlands Project transfers water from Truckee and Carson rivers to farmlands in, 378

- Churchill Downs (turf club), 6, 11
 Circus Circus (Las Vegas hotel-casino), 246-47
 Circus Circus (Reno hotel-casino): interpretive exhibition installed at casino's visitor's center near Verdi (2000), 375-76
 Civil Aviation Board (CAB), 241-46
 civil rights: racism and discrimination toward urban racial minorities, 96-98; African-American churches' role in, 270-82; civil rights legislation enacted in 1965, 281
 Civil War: Comstock Lode silver and gold help pay for, 380
 Clark, William A., 314, 328, 330
 Clemens, Samuel L., 250
 Clover Valley, 358, 360-66 passim
 Club Cal Neva-Virginian (Reno hotel-casino), 14 (1986); Nevada Historical Society installs "Water: Life in a Dry Land," downtown gallery exhibition in (2001), 376
 Cobb, Neal: his photograph collection housed at Nevada Historical Society, 376, 377, 386
 Cohn, Alexander, 333-47
 Cohn, Jacob, 335
 Cohn, Morris, 335, 337
 Cole, Frederick, 335
 Cole, Frederick Wadsworth, 343-45
 Colored Independent Political Club (1910), 278, 280
 Columbia, Nevada, 380
 Comstock Lode, 380, 382
 Comstock, W.H., 321-23, 326-29
 Consolidated Telephone Company, 319
 Copperheads, 50
 Corbett-Fitzsimmons boxing match, 382
 Cordes, Kathleen Ann, *America's National Historic Trails*, review, 87-90
 Coulterville (California), 28-34 passim
 courts-Nevada: United States district court in Carson City, 321-24 passim
 Cove Hotel (Las Vegas), 139-41
Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1875-1883, Vol 10, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes, introduction by Elliott West, review by Doris D. Dwyer, 178-80
 Covey, Edward N., 218, 224
 cowgirls: of professional rodeo, 1930-1945, 166-73, 168 (1900s), 169, 170, 172
 Cumming, Alfred, 208-11, 213
Daily Union Vidette (Salt Lake City newspaper), 49
 Dalghren, John A.B., 44, 47
 Dania Hall (Reno), 276, 280
 Danites, 206-8
 Davies, Richard O., "Only in Nevada: America's Unique Experiment with Legalized Sports Gambling, 1931-2000," 3-19
 Davies, Tamerlane W.W., 344-45
 Davis, Leah, 366, 368
 Davis, T. Leslie, 356, 362, 366-69
 Decoy, Nevada, 354
 Deeth, Nevada, 357
 DeLongchamps, Frederick, 382
 Demaris, Omar, 241
 Denver, Frank, 340, 347
Deseret News (Salt Lake City newspaper), 49, 209, 213
 Destroying Angels, 206
 diaries and journals: of Mormon emigrants on California Trail (1859), 214-221 passim; Mormon women's diaries, 387-89
 Dietrich, Frank S., 322
 Dini's Lucky Club (Yerington, Nevada saloon), 80
 disasters: history of natural disasters in America, 300-1
Distant Horizon: Documents from the Nineteenth-Century American West, edited by Gary Noy, review by Jeffrey Kintop, 398-99
 divorce-Nevada: divorce ranches, 109, 119-30 passim; Las Vegas as divorce mecca, 116; divorce trade in Reno, 382; residency requirement reduced in 1931, 384
 Dodson, Jacob, 271
 Douglas Alley, (Reno), 386
 Drackert, Harry, 119-21, 124-25, 127
 dude ranches-Nevada: as divorce ranches, 109, 119-27 passim
 Dumas Social and Literary Club, 272
 Duncan, Ruby, 133-45, 134, 141
 Dunes Hotel (Las Vegas, Nevada), 240, 243, 246
 Dworkin, Dennis, "C.L.R. James in Nevada," 109-32
 Dwyer, Doris D., review by, 178-80
 Eagle (Yerington saloon), 80
 Earley, Pete, *Super Casino: Inside the "New" Las Vegas*, review, 301-4
 East Humboldt Range, 355
 Echeverria, Jeronima, *Home Away from Home: A History of Basque Boardinghouses*, review, 180-81
 education-Nevada: schools racially segregated by statute in nineteenth century, 273
 Edwards, Jerome E., review by, 90-91
 Eff and Bee (Yerington restaurant), 80
 "The 1873 Fire at Hamilton, Nevada: Finding the Culprit," by John P. Marschall, 333-52
 Elko County, Nevada: dry farming districts in (1909-1925), 353-70;
 Ely, Nevada, 313, 339
 Embry, Jessie L., reviews by, 387-89
 emigrant trails: diaries from covered wagon women on (1840-1883), 178-80
 Ensign Peak (Salt Lake City, Utah), 219 (Illus.)
 environment: anthology of essays on American environmental history, 389-91
 "Escape from Zion: The United States Army Escort of Mormon Apostates, 1859," by Polly Aird, 196-237
 Escobar, Edward J., *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900 - 1945*, review, 96-98
 Eureka, Nevada, 380

- Eureka County, Nevada, 334, 337, 341-46
passim; prejudice against Chinese in (1873), 339
- Eureka Daily Sentinel*, 339, 343, 346
- Eureka and Palisade Railroad, 346
- Evans, K.J., editor, *First 100: Portraits of the Men and Women Who Shaped Las Vegas*, review, 91-92; author, *License to Steal: Nevada's Gaming Control System in the Megaresort Age*, review, 92-96
- Excalibur Hotel-Casino (Las Vegas, Nevada), 247
- Fallon, Nevada, 357
- Farrington, Edward S., 322
- A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act*, by Elmer R. Rusco, review by Kenneth Philp, 182-84
- Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life*, by Newell G. Bringhurst, review by Thomas G. Alexander, 295-97
- Ferrel, Charles P., Sheriff, 276
- Fiege, Mark, review by, 389-91
- Firemen's Ball at Hamilton, Nevada (1873), 335, 346
- First 100: Portraits of the Men and Women Who Shaped Las Vegas*, edited by A.D. Hopkins and K.J. Evans, review by Candace C. Kant, 91-92
- First Interstate Bank building (Reno), 376-77
- First National Bank of Nevada (Reno), 377 (late 1930s)
- Flamingo Hilton (Las Vegas hotel-casino), 5
- football: at University of Nevada, Reno, **front cover**, no. 1, 17 (c. 1900); and illegal betting on college sports, 4-5
- Fort Crittenden (Utah), 43
- Fowler, Mary Susannah, 387-89
- Freemasons: Masonic lodges established by African Americans in nineteenth century, 272
- freighting: on overland route from Placerville to Virginia City, 35
- Freitas Funeral Home (Yerington, Nevada), 80
- Fremont, John C., 271
- Friedman, Robert I., *Red Mafia: How the Russian Mob Has Invaded America*, review, 100-101
- Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890-1990*, by Kerwin Lee Klein, review by Don Franklin Shepherd, 395-97
- Fulmer, J.H., 323
- Galloway, James, 252
- Galloway, John Debo, 252
- gambling-Nevada: legalized sports gambling, 1931-2000, 3-17; Las Vegas casinos offer airline junket flights to attract tourists, 238-47; Las Vegas Strip megaresorts (1990s), 301-4; stimulates economy in Las Vegas, 330; casino gambling made illegal in 1910, 382; re-legalization of casino gambling in 1931, 384
- gaming-Nevada: tax revenue from legal sports gambling, 4-16 passim; history of Reno gaming, 1931-1981, 90-91; state regulation of, 92-96; impact on Nevada politics, 187
- Gay, Samuel, 321, 327, 330
- Genoa, Nevada: on route of California Trail, 196-97; stagecoach route from Salt Lake City to, 197; Overland mail transported over Simpson's route to, 218
- Gerlach, Nevada, 119
- Gloyd, Howard, 282
- Goiriastuena, Javi Cillero, reviews by, 180-81; 306-7
- Gold: The California Story*, by Mary Hill, review by Ronald M. James, 85-87
- Gold Hill, Nevada, 37, 380; gold discovered and silver mining begins in, 196
- Goldfield, Nevada, 313; boxing matches at, 5; mining boom in, 382
- Goose Creek, 216-17
- Goose Creek Mountains, 216, 227
- Gordon, Linda, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, review, 393-95
- Gould and Curry Mine, 37, 39
- Gould and Curry Quartz Mill, 39
- Gravelly Ford, 201, 217-18, 221
- The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, by Linda Gordon, review by Fran Campbell, 393-95
- Great Basin: 376-80 passim
- Great Salt Lake (Utah), 43, 50, 51 (Map), 55
- Greeley, Horace, 197, 212
- Green Felt Jungle*, by Ed Reid and Omar Demaris, mention, 241
- Green, Martin, 123
- Green, Michael, review by, 187-88
- Greenough, Alice, 166-73 passim, 169
- Greenough, Marge, 166-67, 169, 173
- Guinn, Kenny: election of as governor of Nevada in 1998, 187
- "Hacienda Airlines: A First-Class Airline for Coach-Class Passengers," by Daniel Bubb, 238-49, 239
- "Hacienda Holiday," 245
- Hacienda Hotel (Las Vegas, Nevada): resort's junket flights and promotional packages, 238-47
- Halsted, A.S., 321-24, 327-28
- Hamilton, Nevada, 335, 348; 1873 fire in, 333-47; silver mining boom in, 333-35, (1860s); becomes seat of White Pine County (1868), 334; registered voters in 1870, 334; fire department in 1873, 335-36
- Hammonds, O.H., 279-80
- Hannifin, Phil, 10
- Harley, Arthur G., 356, 362-66
- Harley, Minnie, 363-64, 366
- Harmon, Harley A., 318, 327-28
- Harmon, Mella Rothwell, "Bethel AME: The Oldest Surviving African-American Church in Nevada," 270-84
- Harolds Club (Reno casino): billboard advertising, 19; history of, 90-91, 384

- Harrah, William F. ("Bill"): his bingo parlor on Virginia Street, Reno, 384
- Hartman, Leon, 280
- Hawthorne, Nevada: charter airline junket flights offered by casinos in, 246
- Heffernan, Arthur Perkins, 334
- Henderson, Nevada, 136
- Henderson, "Prairie Rose," 168
- Hicks, George A., 198, 202
- Hight, Thomas, 223-24
- Hiko, Nevada, 151
- Hilke, L.H., 319
- Hill, Mary, *Gold: The California Story*, review, 85-87
- Hillygus's Texaco (Yerington gas station), 80
- Hilton Hotel (Las Vegas, Nevada), 246
- historic sites: critique of public monuments and, 87-90 passim
- historical documents: from nineteenth-century American West, 398-99
- Holbrook, Charles W., 341, 344
- Holliday, J.S., *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California*, review, 85-7
- Hollywood Sports Service (turf club), 6
- Holmes, Kenneth L., editor, *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1875-1883*, Vol 10, review, 178-80
- Home Away from Home: A History of Basque Boardinghouses*, by Jeronima Echeverria, review by Javi Cillero Goiriastuena, 180-81
- Homestead Act, Enlarged, 363
- homesteading-Nevada: in northeastern Nevada (1909-1921), 353-70
- Hoover Dam, 330
- Hopkins, A.D., *First 100: Portraits of the Men and Women Who Shaped Las Vegas*, review, 91-92
- horse racing: sports betting on, 5-10 passim
- Horseshoe (Reno casino), 13 (1977)
- Howard, Cecil, 277
- Hubbard, William, 279
- Humboldt River: old California Trail route along, 197-230 passim, 201
- Humboldt Sink, 204-30 passim
- Humboldt Valley, 204-21 passim
- Humboldt Wells, 217, 221
- Hunter, Charlotte, 118, 125
- Hyde, John, 209
- Hyman, P.C., 340-41, 345, 347
- Independence Valley, 354
- Indian Reorganization Act, 182-84
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 313, 318
- International Hotel (Virginia City, Nevada), 38 (pre-1914)
- irrigation-Nevada: irrigation project at Tobar Flat in northeastern Nevada (1909-1921), 353-70, 354 (Map), 359 (Map), 367 (Map); Newlands Project canal construction near Wadsworth and Fallon, 357-58
- Jackson, Andrew, 337
- James, Cyril Lionel Robert, 109-30
- James, Ronald M., reviews by, 85-87
- Jeffries, James J., 5
- Jester, James E.D., 210-11
- Jews-Nevada: in Hamilton (1873), 334-35, 346
- Johnson, Aaron, 202
- Johnson, Jack, 5
- Johnson, Ole, 344
- Johnson-Jeffries boxing match, 382
- Johnston, Albert Sidney, 204, 209-11
- Jordan River (Utah), 43, 50, 51 (Map)
- Jose, Richard, 254
- Kant, Candace C., review by, 91-92
- Katz, William Loren, *The Black West: A Documentary and Pictorial History of the African American Role in the Westward Expansion of the United States*, review, 304-5
- Kefauver, Estes: as chairman of Organized Crime Committee, 5-6
- Kerkorian, Kirk, 240
- Kimball, Heber, 49, 53
- Kintop, Jeffrey, review by, 398-99
- Kirk, Andrew, reviews by, 87-90
- Klein, Kerwin Lee, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890-1990*, review, 395-97
- Kling, Dwayne, *Rise of the Biggest Little City: An Encyclopedic history of Reno Gaming, 1931-1981*, review, 90-91
- L and L (Yerington saloon), 80, 84
- "Labor Strife in Las Vegas: The Union Pacific Shopmen's Strike of 1922," by Eric Nystrom, 313-32
- labor unions-Nevada: role in Union Pacific Railroad shopmen's strike of 1922, 313-30; support of miners striking for pay hikes, 313, 318-19; union activism after World War I in Las Vegas, 313-30 passim
- Lake Bonneville, 355
- Lake Clover, 355, 360
- Lake Lahontan, 355, 377
- Lake Tahoe, 377-78
- The Land of My Fathers: A Son's Return to the Basque Country*, by Robert Laxalt, review by David Rio, 175-78
- Las Vegas, Nevada: "the Strip," 5, 136-40 passim, 244-46; organized crime in, 5-6, 10; legalized sports gambling in, 5-11; as "Sin City," 12, 244; history of, 91-92; welfare rights in, 133-45; casinos provide charter airline junket flight to, 238-47; megaresorts on the Strip (1990s), 301-4; Union Pacific Railroad shopmen's strike of 1922 in, 313-30; major railroad repair facility in, 314, 315, 328
- Las Vegas Airmotive Terminal, 243
- Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, 238
- Las Vegas Hacienda, Inc., 244
- Las Vegas Review* (newspaper), 316-30 passim
- Las Vegas Sports Consultants, 12
- Las Vegas Sun* (newspaper), 8
- Last Frontier Hotel (Las Vegas, Nevada), 239
- law-Nevada: 1873 jury selection law, 337-47 passim

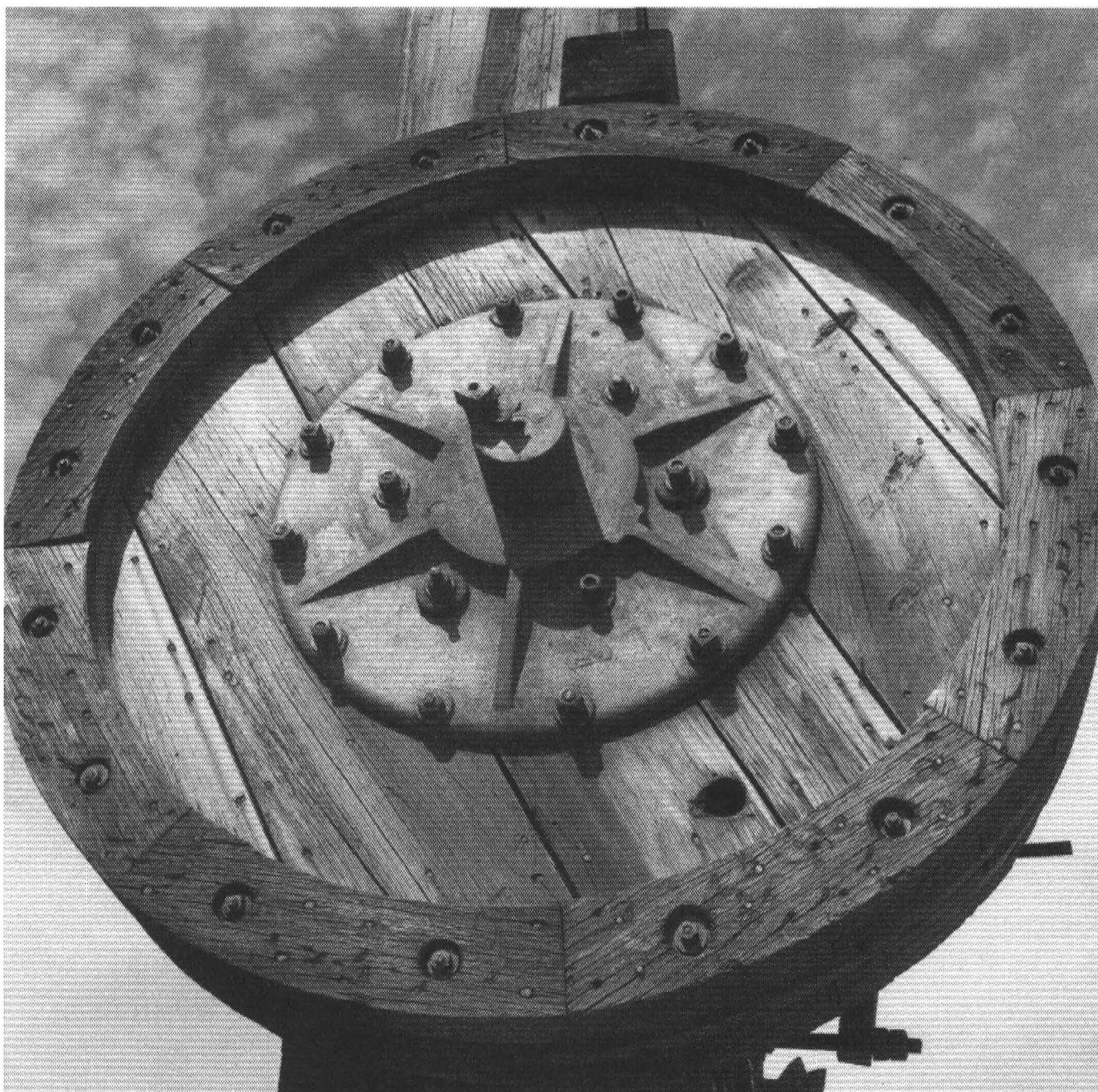
- Laxalt, Robert, *The Land of My Fathers: A Son's Return to the Basque Country*, review, 175-78;
Time of the Rabies, review, 175-78
- Lehr, Dick, *Black Mass: The Irish Mob, the FBI, and a Devil's Deal*, review, 98-100
- LeMond, Greg, 250
- Leon, Pericles, "Peruvian Shepherders in the Western United States: Will They Replace the Basques as the Dominant Ethnic Group in the Sheep Industry?" 147-65
- Lexicon, Inc. (Reno, Nevada), 376
- Liberace: An American Boy*, by Darden Asbury Pyron, review by Chris Rasmussen, 184-86
- License to Steal: Nevada's Gaming Control System in the Megaresort Age*, by Jeff Burbank and K.J. Evans, review by William N. Thompson, 92-96
- Liebling, A.J., 119-30 passim
- Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, by James W. Loewen, review by Andrew Kirk, 87-90
- Lightfoot, John H., 319, 330
- Lion House, 220 (Illus.)
- The Literary West: An Anthology of Western American Literature*, edited by Thomas J. Lyon, review by Ann Ronald, 391-92
- Little Harlem (Reno restaurant), 119
- Little Lake, 355-62, 359 (Map), 368
- livestock industry: sheep ranching in American West, 147-60 passim, 163 (Appendix B); epidemic of rabies kills livestock herds in northern Nevada (1920s), 177
- "Living on the Land" (Photo), *Water: Life in a Dry Land* exhibition, **front cover**, **no. 4**, 377-78, 379
- Livingston, Henry Brockholst, 224
- Loewen, James W., *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, review, 87-90
- Lovelock, Forest, 261
- Low, Frederick Ferdinand, 23
- Lower Slough Country (Tobar Flat, Elko County): dry farming district at, 355-70, 356 (Map), 367 (Map), 365 (Map)
- Lucas, Tad, 167, 169, 170, 173
- Lynde, Isaac, 197-230 passim
- Lynn, Mamie, 135
- Lyon (Yerington saloon), 80, 84
- Lyon County, Nevada: courthouse, 79
- Lyon, Thomas J., editor, *The Literary West: An Anthology of Western American Literature*, review, 391-92
- Mackay, John W.: statute of, 260
- Madrait, Salvadore, 327
- mail service: Butterfield Overland Mail stage, 22 (Illus.); passenger service on overland mail stage from California to Midwest, 22-62; passenger service on overland mail route by mud wagon, 22-52 passim
- Mallea-Olaetxe, Joxe, *Speaking through the Aspens: Basque Tree Carvings in California and Nevada*, review, 306-7
- Mapes, Charles, 384
- Mapes Hotel (Reno, Nevada): opens in 1947, 384
- Margie* (motion picture), 260-2
- Marmaduke, John S., 223
- Marschall, John P., "The 1873 Fire at Hamilton, Nevada: Finding the Culprit," 333-52
- Martin, Bob, 7, 11-12
- Mason Valley (Lyon County, Nevada), 80-84, 82-83; ranching and farming in, 378
- Masons *See* Freemasons
- Mathewson, J.H., 344
- McCarran, Patrick: involved in Pyramid Lake land rights conflict, 124; supports federal anti-immigrant act, 124
- McCarran Airport (Las Vegas, Nevada), 246
- McCleod, Norman, 44-46, 50
- McGill, Nevada, 313
- McLaws, Lafayette, 197-230 passim
- McNamee, Frank, 321, 324, 328
- McNamee, Leo, 319, 320
- The Merger: Conglomeration of International Organized Crime*, by Jeffrey Robinson, review by Alan Balboni, 100-101
- The Merry Wives of Reno* (motion picture), 260
- Metropolis, Nevada, 354
- Mexican Americans: and Los Angeles Police Department, 1900-1945, 96-98
- MGM Grand Hotel-Casino (Las Vegas, Nevada), 246
- Michael, Boyd, 241-42
- Miller, C.E., 319
- Miller, Char, editor, *Out of the Woods: Essays in Environmental History*, review, 389-91
- Mills, Polly, 169
- mining-Nevada: Virginia City mines, 37-39; gold discovered on Walker River, 196; silver mining boom at Hamilton in late 1860s, 333-35; mining camps boom and bust, 380, 382
- Mitchell, Jacob, 274-75
- Mono Lake; 196 casino gambling made illegal in 1910, 382
- Moore, William J., 239-40
- Mormon Church *See* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
- Mormon Healer and Folk Poet: Mary Susannah Fowler's Life of Unselfish Usefulness*, by Margaret K. Brady, review by Jessie L. Embry, 387-89
- Mormonism: in twentieth-century, 297-99
- Mormons: U.S. army escort of Mormon emigrants to Humboldt Sink on California Trail (1859), 196-230, 210 (Illus.); Mormon women's diaries, 387-89
- Morris Cohn and Brother (Hamilton cigar store), 335-36
- motion pictures: John Hobart Cavanaugh (actor), 250-67; motion pictures made in Nevada (1930s), 260-2
- Moulin Rouge (Las Vegas hotel-casino), 140, 282

- Mount Rose, 261
Mountain Democrat (Placerville, California newspaper), 206-7
 Mountain Meadows massacre, 202-3, 205-8 passim
 Mountain View Cemetery (Yerington, Nevada), 81
 "The Movie Star Nevada Never Claimed," by Dennis Myers and Guy Louis Rocha, 250-69
 movies *See* motion pictures
 "Mr. Wingfield's Reno" (Photo), "Water: Life in a Dry Land" exhibition, **back cover, no. 4**, 377, 382, **383**
 Muddy River, 378
 Mugnier, Andrea, "Ridin', Ropin', and Rodeoin': Champion Cowgirls of Professional Rodeo, 1930-1945," 166-74
 Myers, Dennis, author, "The Movie Star Nevada Never Claimed," 250-69
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 270; Reno-Sparks chapter, 270-82 passim
 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), 4, 15-16
 National Gambling Impact Study Commission, 3, 14-16
 National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), 137-38, 140
 Native Americans: tribal self government from 1920-1934, 182-84; emigrant trains and Mormon settlers impact food resources of (1859), 204-5, 216, 218; of Great Basin, 378; and water rights in the West, 390
 Native Americans-Nevada: Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation land rights conflict, 123-24, 130. *See also* individual names of tribes
 Negro Political Science Club, 280
 Nevada Bakery (Yerington), 81
 Nevada Board of Pardons, 344-45, 347
 Nevada Gaming Commission, 93-96
 Nevada Gaming Control Board, 6, 10, 16, 93-96
 Nevada Historical Society: "Water: Life in a Dry Land," (downtown gallery exhibition), 375-86; "Nevada: Prisms and Perspectives" (permanent exhibition), 375
 Nevada State Board of Prison Commissioners, 340
Nevada State Journal (Reno, Nevada newspaper), 276
 Nevada State Legislature: passes legislation legalizing casino gambling (1931), 5; passes bill to reduce divorce residency requirement in 1931, 384
 Nevada State Police, 323, 327
 Nevada State Prison: conditions at in 1870s, 334-47 passim; Nevada State Legislature directs prison to keep lean budget (1870s), 340, 343, 347
 Nevada State Supreme Court, 340-45 passim; declares school segregation unconstitutional in 1872, 273
 "Nevada: Prisms and Perspectives" (Nevada Historical Society permanent exhibition), 375
 New Frontier (Las Vegas hotel-casino), 241, 246
 Newlands Project: canal construction begins near Wadsworth and Fallon, 357-58, 360; transfers water from Truckee and Carson rivers to farmlands in Churchill County, 378
 Northern Paiutes, 378
 "Notes and Documents", 78-84, 166-74, 270-84, 375-86
 Noy, Gary, editor, *Distant Horizon: Documents from the Nineteenth-Century American West*, review, 398-99
 Nystrom, Eric, "Labor Strife in Las Vegas: The Union Pacific Shopmen's Strike of 1922," 313-32
 O'Neill, Gerard, *Black Mass: The Irish Mob, the FBI, and a Devil's Deal*, review, 98-100
 "Only in Nevada: America's Unique Experiment with Legalized Sports Gambling, 1931-2000," by Richard O. Davies, 3-19
 Operation Life (Las Vegas organization) 139-45
 Oquirrh Mountains, 199
 organized crime: Estes Kefauver's Organized Crime Committee, 5-6; and corruption of law enforcement, 98-100
 Ormsby County, Nevada, 340, 343-44
 orphan abduction in Arizona mining town (1904), 393-95
Out of the Woods: Essays in Environmental History, edited by Char Miller and Hal Rothman, review by Mark Fiege, 389-91
 "Overland from San Francisco to Halifax in 89 Days of Adventure, Apprehension and Surprise: Royal Navy Lieutenant Edmund Hope Verney's 1865 Letters and Narrative," edited and introduction by Dwight L. Smith, 20-77
 Overland Hotel (Reno), 278
 Overland Mail: route follows California Trail from Salt Lake City to Genoa, 197, 206, 218; mail stations, 218, 221, 230
 Owens Valley, 378
 Palmer, Ben, 272
 Parish-Potter murders (1857), 202-11 passim
 Patterson, E.O., 322
 Patterson, J.D., 343
 Pelligrini, Steven W., "Yerington: Millennium Bound," 78-84
The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, review by Jessie L. Embry, 387-89
 "Peruvian Shepherders in the Western United States: Will They Replace the

- Basques as the Dominant Ethnic Group in the Sheep Industry?" by Pericles Leon, 147-65
- Pettit, Fred E., 322-24
- Phillips, David, 144
- Philp, Kenneth, review by, 182-84
- Pileggi, Nicholas, 10-11
- Pioche Daily Record*, 339
- Piper's Opera House, 334
- Pittman, Key, 318
- Placerville, California: passenger service on overland stage to Virginia City from, 33-35
- Planet Hollywood (Reno restaurant), 382
- Pleasant Valley (Elko County, Nevada), 354
- Pony Express: route follows California Trail from Salt Lake City to Genoa (1860), 197
- population-Nevada: African Americans in 1860, 272; African Americans in 1900 & 1910, 275; in Las Vegas (1920), 314
- Powning Park (Reno, Nevada), 260
- Pratt, Parley, 203
- Price, Henry, 240-41, 244
- Primadonna (Reno casino), 13 (1977)
- "Professor Wilbur S. Shepperson, 1919-1991," by William D. Rowley, 194
- Progressive movement, 382
- Pyramid Lake, 119-24 passim, 377
- Pyramid Lake Dude Ranch, 109, 119-30 passim, 122, 130
- Pyramid Lake Dude Ranch Association, brochure promoting, 1936 (Illus.), **front cover, no. 2, 114-15, 120, 130**
- Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation: land rights conflict, 123-24, 130
- Pyron, Darden Asbury, *Liberace: An American Boy*, review, 184-86
- Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900-1945*, by Edward J. Escobar, review by Randall G. Shelden, 96-98
- Raft River, 200
- Raggio, Angelina, 261
- Raggio, Ben, 261
- Raggio, William J., 261
- railroads-Nevada: Union Pacific Railroad shopmen's strike of 1922, 313-30; repair shops on San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad route, 314-30 passim; Southern Pacific Railroad leases land to homesteaders in northeastern Nevada (1911), 358-61 passim; Virginia & Truckee Railroad links Reno and Virginia City, 380
- Ralston, Jon, *The Anointed One: An Inside Look at Nevada Politics*, review, 187-88
- ranching: sheep ranching, 147-63 passim
- ranching-Nevada: divorce ranches in northern Nevada, 109, **114-15**, 119-27; in Clover Valley, 358, 360-61; in Truckee Meadows, 378
- Rasmussen, Chris, review by, 184-86
- Raum, Edward, 343
- Red Mafia: How the Russian Mob Has Invaded America*, by Robert I. Friedman, review by Alan Balboni, 100-101
- Reese, John, 217
- Reese River, 41
- Reese River Reveille* (Austin newspaper), 339
- Reid, Ed, 241
- Reizner, Sonny, 7
- Renear, Dan, 323, 327
- Reno, Nevada, 375-86 passim; legalized sports gambling in, 5-6; casinos in, **13** (1977), **14** (1986); as divorce center (1930s), 109, 116-27 passim, 260, 382; airline junket flights offered by casinos in, 238, 246; motion pictures filmed in (1930s), 260-2; Bethel African American Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in, 270-1, 274-82; Western Union Telegraph office in, 322-23; Virginia Street in late 1930's, **377**; Douglas Alley in 1944, **386**
- Reno* (motion picture), 260
- Reno Chamber of Commerce, 376
- Reno Evening Gazette* (newspaper), 261, 276
- Reno National Bank, 382
- Reno Race and Turf Club, 6
- Reno Redevelopment Agency, 375
- "Reno's Golden Age" (Photo), *Water: Life in a Dry Land* exhibition, **back cover, no. 4, 377, 384, 385**
- "Riches from the Earth" (Photo), *Water: Life in a Dry Land* exhibition, **front cover, no. 4, 377, 380, 381**
- "Ridin', Ropin', and Rodeoin': Champion Cowgirls of Professional Rodeo, 1930-1945," by Andrea Mugnier, 166-74
- Rio, David, review by, 175-78
- Rise of the Biggest Little City: An Encyclopedic History of Reno Gaming, 1931-1981*, by Dwayne Kling, review by Jerome E. Edwards, 90-91
- Rising, Franklin S., 37, 39
- Riverside Hotel (Reno, Nevada), 120, 127, 382
- Robinson, Jeffrey, *The Merger: Conglomeration of International Organized Crime*, review, 100-101
- Rocha, Guy Louis, author, "The Movie Star Nevada Never Claimed," 250-69
- Rogers, Billy See William H. Rogers
- Rogers, William H., 209-10
- Ronald, Ann, review by, 391-92
- The Rose Bowl (turf club), 6
- Rosenberg, Howard, 262
- Rosenthal, Charles ("Lefty"), 10-11
- Rothman, Hal, editor, *Out of the Woods: Essays in Environmental History*, review, 389-91
- Rowley, William D.: "Professor Wilbur S. Shepperson, 1919-1991," 194; review by, 300-1
- Roxborough, Michael, 12
- "Ruby Duncan, Operation Life, and Welfare Rights in Nevada," by Earnest N. Bracey, 133-46

- Ruby Valley, Nevada, 354
 Rusco, Elmer R.: 279-80; *A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act*, review, 182-84
Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California, by J.S. Holliday, review by Ronald M. James, 85-87
 "Rush to Washoe," 196, 380
 Sadler, Reinhold, 336, 341, 342, 346
 Sahara Hotel (Las Vegas), 136
 Saint Paul's Episcopal Church (Virginia City), 252
 Salt Lake City, Utah: 51 (Map); passenger and mail service on overland stage from California to, 25-43 passim; overland mail stage route to and from, 37-59 passim; Mormons and Mormon Church in (1865), 44-53; Mormons at (1859), 197-230 passim
 Salt Lake Cutoff, 200, 216
 San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad: repair shops located on route of, 314-26 passim
 Saratoga (turf club), 6
 Sawyer, Grant, 246
 Schrader, Herman H., 356, 362-69
 Schrader, Minnie, 363, 366, 369
 Schroeder, Edna, 363-69 passim
 Schroeder, William F., 356, 362-66, 369
 Schwartz, David G., review by, 301-4
 Scott, Mike, 376
 Searchlight, Nevada: airline junket flights offered by casinos in, 246
 shepherders: Basque shepherders, 147-60 passim, 177-78; Peruvian shepherders in American West, 147-63, 148, 151, 153; 154 (Table), 155 (Table), 159, 161, 162 (Appendix A)
 Sheldon, Randall G., review by, 96-98
 Shepherd, Don Franklin, review by, 395-97
 Shepperson, Margaret, 194
 Shepperson, Wilbur S., 193, 194, 195
 Shipps, Jan, *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons*, review, 297-99
 Showboat (Las Vegas hotel-casino), 240
 Siegel, Benjamin ("Bugsy"), 5, 250
 Signature Air Service, 246
 Silver City, Nevada, 37, 380
 Silver Palace (Yerington saloon), 80
Silver Threads among the Gold (play), 254
 Simpson, James H.: establishes his new shorter route between Salt Lake City and Genoa (1859), 197-218 passim
 Skidmore, Mark, 238-39
 The Slough (Tobar Flat, Elko County), 355-70, 356 (Map)
 Smith, Dwight L., ed. and introduction, "Overland from San Francisco to Halifax in 89 Days of Adventure, Apprehension and Surprise: Royal Navy Lieutenant Edmund Hope Verney's 1865 Letters and Narrative." 20-77
 Smith, George A., 203
 Smith, Hyrum, 50, 203
 Smith, Joseph, 50, 203, 295-99
 Smith, William, 334
 Smith Valley: ranching and farming in, 378
 Snow Water Lake, 355-60, 369
 Snow, Eliza Roxcy, 387-89
 Snyder, Jimmy "the Greek," 7-8
Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons, by Jan Shipps, review by Richard Lyman Bushman, 297-99
 Solley, William, 275-76
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 380; leases land to homesteaders in northeastern Nevada (1911), 358-61 passim
 Southern Paiutes, 378
 Spanish Springs, Nevada, 382
 Sparks, John: as governor sends troops to Goldfield, Nevada, 319
Speaking through the Aspens: Basque Tree Carvings in California and Nevada, by Joxe Mallea-Olaetxe, review by Javi Cillero Goiriastuena, 306-7
 St. Thomas, Nevada, 327
 stagecoaches: Concord coach (mail stage), 24, 36, 40; passenger service on Overland mail route from California to Midwest, 22-62; stations on mail route, 24-62 passim; Butterfield Overland Mail stage, 22 (Illus.); stage route follows California Trail from Salt Lake City to Genoa, 197, 206
 Stallard, Fred, 81
 Stardust Hotel (Las Vegas): 139; sports and race book at, 10-11
 Stead Air Force Base, 280
 Steinberg, Ted, *Acts of God: The Natural History of Natural Disaster in America*, review, 300-1
 Stewart, Helen, 314
 Storey County, Nevada, 343
 Stout, Hosea, 208
 Stubbs, Joseph E., 17 (c. 1900)
 Summerfield, Lester D., 280
Super Casino: Inside the "New" Las Vegas, by Pete Earley, review by David G. Schwartz, 301-4
 Sutcliffe, Nevada, 119-20
 Taylor, Richard, 240, 243-46
 telegraph: installed along California Trail from Salt Lake City to Genoa (1860), 197
 Thompson, William N., review by, 92-96
 Thornton, Bill, 376
 Thousand Springs Valley (Photo), **front cover no. 3, 201**, 216-17, 227
 Thunderbird (Las Vegas hotel-casino), 240
Time of the Rabies, by Robert Laxalt, review by David Rio, 175-78
 Titus, John, 48, 52
 Tobar, Nevada, 355-56, 366, 368
 Tobar Flat, Nevada: dry farming district at, 353-70, 354 (Map), 356 (Map), 365 (Map)
 Tonopah, Nevada: boxing matches at, 5; airline junket flights offered by casinos in, 246; mining boom begins at (1902), 382

- tourism-Nevada: Las Vegas casinos offer airline junket flights and promotional packages to attract tourists and gamblers, 240-47; divorce trade helps create tourist industry in Reno, 382
- trading posts: Overland mail station and trading post near Winnemucca, Nevada, 218-221
- trails: guide to national historic trails, 87-90
passim; covered wagon women on emigrant trails (1840-1883), 178-80 *See also* individual name of trail
- transcontinental railroad, 45
- Treasure Hill, 380; silver boom at in late 1860s, 333
- Trebell, T.S., 330
- Truckee River, 377-80 *passim*
- Twain, Mark *See* Samuel L. Clemens
- U.S. Army: escort of Mormon emigrants from Camp Floyd, Utah Territory to Sink on Humboldt River (1859), 196-230; troops sent to Salt Lake City to put down Mormon rebellion (1858), 198
- Union Pacific Railroad, 380; and shopmen's strike of 1922, 313-30; Las Vegas becomes division point and home of major repair facility for, 314, **315**, **328**; provides electricity from its generators for Las Vegas, 318-19
- Union Plaza (Las Vegas, Nevada hotel-casino), 11
- United Sons of Freedom, 272
- University of Nevada, Reno (UNR): football (Photo), **front cover**, **no. 1**, **17** (c. 1900); campus locations used for filming motion pictures in 1946, 261
- Utah Lake, 43, 51 (Map), 211
- Utah Territory: gold discovered on Walker River and silver mining begins on Comstock Lode (1859), 196-97
- utilities-Nevada: Union Pacific Railroad provides electricity from its generators for town, 318-19
- Vacaro, Jimmy, 5-6
- Valley Tan* (Salt Lake City newspaper), 209-210, 215
- Van Bokkelen, Jacob L., 340
- Vegas Race and Turf Club, 6
- Ventosa, Nevada, 361
- Verney, Edmund Hope, 20-70
- vigilantes: carry out hanging in Virginia City (1871), 334
- Virgin River, 378
- Virginia City, Nevada, 250, 254, 380; arson fires in 334; passenger travel on overland mail stage from Placerville to, 27, 34-37; International Hotel in, **38** (pre-1914); passenger service on overland mail stage from Salt Lake City to, 40-43; African Americans in nineteenth century in, 272-75; Methodist Baptist Church in (1863), 274
- Virginia Evening Chronicle* (Virginia City newspaper), 252
- Virginia and Truckee Railroad, 252, 380
- Virginian Hotel (Reno), 376 *See also* Club Cal Neva-Virginian
- Wadsworth, Nevada, 357
- Wagner, Samuel T., 274
- Walker River, 80; gold discovered on (1859), 196
- Wasatch Mountains, 205
- Washoes, 378
- "Water: Life in a Dry Land," by Peter L. Bandurraga, 375-77; Nevada Historical Society downtown gallery exhibition, **front and back covers**, **no. 4**, 376-86
- Welbourne, Scotty, 251
- welfare-Nevada: welfare rights in Nevada, 133, 136-45
- Wells, Nevada, 217, 355-69 *passim*
- Wells, Thomas H., 340
- West, Elliott, introduction by, *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1875-1883*, Vol 10, review, 178-80
- Western American literature anthology, 391-92
- Western Federation of Miners, 319
- Western Pacific Railroad, 356, 359, 361
- Western Range Association (WRA), 147-57
passim
- Western Shoshones, 378
- Western Union Telegraph: office in Reno, Nevada, 322-23
- White, Vivian, **169**
- White Pine County, Nevada, 343-44; silver mining boom at Hamilton and Treasure Hill in, 333-35, 341; open pit copper mining begins in (1907), 382
- White Pine Daily News* (Hamilton), 335-36, 343, 346
- White Pine Mountains, 334
- White Pine Water Company, 335-36, 339
- Wiley, George, 137, **138**
- Williams, N.A., 324, **325**, 326-28
- Willis, William, 334
- Wilson, Reverend, 276
- Wingfield, George, 280, 382, **383**; Mr. Wingfield's Reno" (Photo), *Water: Life in a Dry Land* exhibition, **back cover**, **no. 4**, 377, 382, **383**; negotiates with miners seeking pay hike in Goldfield, 313
- Winnemucca, Nevada: Overland mail station near, 218, 221-22; airline junket flights offered by casinos in, 246
- Winslow, Dick, 241
- Yerington, Nevada: 78-94, **79** (1967); Episcopal Church in, 81
- "Yerington: Millennium Bound," by Steven W. Pelligrini, 78-84
- Young, Brigham, 298; and Mormon Church in Salt Lake City (1865), 44-53 *passim*; and Mormon Church doctrine toward apostates, 198, 202-13 *passim*; his Beehive House and Lion House, 214, **220** (illus.)
- Zentmyer, George, 324



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Time in Nevada

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