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Book Reviews

Front Cover: Roadside services on United States Highway 40 in West Wendover, Nevada, in 1936. *(Photo courtesy of West Wendover Branch Library/Don West Collection).*

Erratum: In the winter 2002 issue of the Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, Volume 45, No. 4, the reviewer of the book, *The Urban Indian Experience in America*, by Donald L. Fixico, was mistakenly identified as John Heaton. The book review was actually authored by Liza Black, University of Michigan.

Gambling and Community in Nowhere Nevada

Jackpot and West Wendover in the Twentieth Century

PAULIINA RAENTO

The gaming industry in Nevada has responded successfully to increasing competition in the national and international gaming market. In the 1980s and 1990s, Nevada's major gaming corporations served as a source of know-how and capital for new casinos springing up elsewhere in America.[1] At the same time the state's population and economy expanded rapidly. Nevada was the fastest-growing state in the country throughout the 1990s, boasting a growth rate of 66 percent from 1990 to 2000. In 2000, its population was two million.[2] The infrastructure and revenue of the gaming industry grew dramatically as well. The over 600,000 square meters of gambling space available in Nevada casinos helped to generate a gaming win of almost $9.5 billion in fiscal year 2000, and 49 million tourists visited the state in 2000.[3] It is thus no surprise that scholarly attention has focused on the history and growth of Nevada's largest cities and their gaming industry, especially on Las Vegas.[4]

A lot has happened in Nevada's small border towns as well, but the details of their community growth and tourism development remain relatively unexplored and in the shadow of big business in Nevada and gaming's development elsewhere in America.[5] Another look at the evolution of Nevada's rural gambling towns is worth taking, therefore, especially since the new gambling towns will perhaps face issues similar to those now concerning their more mature counterparts in rural Nevada. The local and regional significance of the small gambling towns along Nevada's borders also leads toward understanding the interconnectedness of local, regional, national, and even global realms in tourism community development.

Jackpot and West Wendover are cases in point. These two border towns have emerged as significant local and regional growth centers in northeastern

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Nevada. Together they have accounted for much of the growth in Elko County since the 1980s because the main focus of the population increase has been in the county's unincorporated areas. These areas accounted for 28 percent of the total population of 14,000 in Elko County in 1970, but by 1990 their share had reached 46 percent of a total population of 34,000. Despite the incorporation of West Wendover in July of 1991 (then, with a population of 2,030), the proportion had climbed to 58 percent in 1995.[6] In 2000, West Wendover had 4,721 inhabitants, and 1,537 others resided in its sister city, Wendover, Utah, located just across the state line.[7] A little over 1,000 people were estimated to live near the Idaho border in the township of Jackpot in the mid 1990s, a figure that had risen to 1,200 or 1,300 by 1999.[8] West Wendover and Jackpot together thus accounted for a little over one-tenth of the population in Elko County, but they clearly dominated the county's gaming industry. Of the county's thirteen casinos that produced at least $1 million in annual revenue and were thus included in the available Nevada gaming statistics in 1999, three were located in Jackpot and five in West Wendover. Together they account for 88 percent (16,000 square meters) of all casino gambling space and 87 percent of slot machines (5,500) and table games (190) in Elko County.[9] The largest casinos in Jackpot and West Wendover were among the county's largest employers and had a considerable impact on nearby communities across the state boundary. This growth and increasing regional significance suggest that Jackpot and West Wendover also had to face new challenges as the American gambling market expanded.

HISTORY OF GROWTH: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCATION

The concept of *location* is useful in explaining the success or failure of individual gaming destinations in relation to feeder markets, access to transportation networks and alternative recreational resources, and the impact of competitors.[10] West Wendover and Jackpot are prime examples of the importance of locational factors, since both exist primarily because of their location. The two communities emerged as isolated service stations catering to travelers crossing Nevada's boundaries, along U. S. Highways 93 in the case of Jackpot, and along U. S. Highway 40 (now Interstate 80) in the case of West Wendover. Their boomtown character evolved primarily due to one resource, gambling, which was not available on the other side of the state line in either southern Idaho or Utah, where the Mormon Church is prominent.[11] Individual business instinct and entrepreneurship have played a key role in the exploitation of these factors.

The two Wendovers in Nevada and Utah were a fruit of the need to connect America's eastern cities with the growing population centers of the West. A modest whistle stop was created in 1907 on the Utah side of the state boundary with the opening of the Western Pacific railroad. Because the new settlement

was located on a straight line across the continent, other parts of the nation's communication infrastructure soon followed. "The Wedding of Wires" at the Nevada–Utah border in June of 1914 completed the first, 3,400 mile transcontinental telephone line between New York and San Francisco.[12] Located "[s]ixty miles from Wells and over a hundred from Salt Lake City," the nearest settlements with services, "Wendover became a mandatory stop" for travelers on the new Highway 40, built in 1926 across the vast Bonneville Salt Flats.[13] As a result of one man's business instinct and the legalization of gambling in Nevada in 1931, slot machines and card tables were soon added to West Wendover's gas, car repair, food and lodging services as one can see in the 1936 photograph of the settlement. This enterprise was the beginning of what is today the State Line and Silver Smith hotel-casino complex a few yards across the border from Utah.[14]

World War II brought the first boom to the town of 125 residents.[15] Because of its isolation and, because, as an inland location, it was considered "safe and secret,"[16] the Army Air Corps chose Wendover, Utah, as the training site of its heavy bombardment units. What began as an extension of Salt Lake City's Fort Douglas soon became "the largest military reservation on earth."[17] In its heyday, the base consisted of 700 buildings located next to three 7,500-foot runways, including residential barracks, a hospital, a postal service, recreational facilities, a chapel, and hangars for the aircraft. The base accommodated military personnel of 17,500, two thousand civilians, and two hundred FBI agents, all of whom spent a considerable amount of their free time and money in the adjacent casino across the Nevada state line.[18]

The boom lasted until 1947, when the base became a reserve outpost and, after the conflict in Korea, was largely abandoned. The two Wendovers gradually declined, returning to the role of a stopover and drawing some additional income from a nearby potash mine and the annual Bonneville Salt Flats speed car races.[19] The casino on the Nevada side was able to expand gradually, but the next boom would not occur until the 1980s.

At the time of Wendover's decline, Jackpot came into existence. When slot machines were made illegal in Idaho in 1953, an opportunity to exploit its gambling market emerged. In 1954, "The Unincorporated Town No. 1," as Jackpot was called at that time, began as a single casino. This property, the Horseshu, was joined by Cactus Pete's two years later.[20] The two enterprises catered to travelers on Highway 93 and to a small group of Idaho gamblers who drove across the state line to gamble. In 1954, the volume of traffic on Highway 93 doubled as represented in Figure 1.

For several years, "the area lacked phone service, electricity and any full-time law enforcement."[21] The town, however, grew steadily. In the 1960s, it had six casinos, and it had obtained an elementary school and a post office. The post office operated in one of the casinos. Despite its growth, Jackpot did not appear on maps and road signs until the 1970s, when an aggressive

Roadside services on United States Highway 40 in West Wendover, Nevada, in 1936. *(Photo courtesy of West Wendover Branch Library/Don West Collection.)*

marketing campaign extended its market area beyond southern Idaho, particularly to the Pacific Northwest and Canada.[22] The growing flow of visitors was again reflected in the increase of traffic on Highway 93 as represented in Figure 1. In 1978, the Jackpot visitor found a town of some 800 residents and "two gas stations, three casinos and as many motels, two gift shops" and "a delicatessen."[23] In addition to gambling, the tourists were entertained by several outdoors events, such as cross-country horseback and motorcycle races, a golf tournament and a rock-hounding event. What had begun as a small group of hastily constructed service buildings now boasted an "apartment complex, a 90-unit trailer park, tennis courts, a fish pond and an ice skating rink," as well as peace officers, a judge, and a donation-funded Baptist church building, which allowed the service to move out from casino premises.[24]

The list of community amenities was augmentd over the next twenty years by other religious congregations, several small nongaming businesses, a high school, and—the local pride—a recreational center with a swimming pool. In 1999, the majority of the visitors to the town's five casinos still came from southern Idaho and were primarily elderly, although special events on summer weekends attracted younger clientele. Despite being too limited to qualify as a proper sample, a count of license plates in the casinos' parking lots in the summer of 1999 supported the results of previous studies and information obtained locally: Idaho gamblers accounted for roughly one-half of all visitors to Jackpot.[25] The rest came primarily from the Pacific Northwest, the upper Midwest, and Canada. Jackpot was also an important stopover for summer tourists en route to these regions, and for truck traffic along Highway 93. During its busiest weekends, the five Jackpot casinos accommodated an estimated 5,000 visitors.[26]

While Jackpot's economic expansion and growth were rapid, the speed of development in West Wendover over the last twenty years could be described as supersonic. The energy crises of the 1970s paved the way for West Wendover's new boom. Higher gasoline prices made many Utah residents shorten their trips to West Wendover instead of driving across the desert to Elko, Reno, or Las Vegas for Nevada-style entertainment.[27] Another factor promoting West Wendover's growth was the economic and demographic expansion of Utah caused by the shifting emphasis of the national economy toward the Sunbelt.[28] Gambling was also becoming an increasingly popular form of entertainment everywhere in America during this era. For the residents of Utah and southern Idaho, where strict attitudes towards drinking, gambling and sex still predominated, the closest places offering such twenty-four hour entertainment were at the Nevada border.

By the mid 1980s, the State Line's status as "the only game in town" had been challenged by four other enterprises, and the State Line itself had expanded its property to include the Silver Smith casino across the street.[29] New employment opportunities attracted new residents, housing was built in both

Wendovers, and the local water supply and sewage systems were improved.[30] Instead of "one trailer park on the Nevada side" as in 1980, by 1987, West Wendover had "two major apartment complexes, two trailer parks, and a residential home district".[31] New services included an elementary school, a clinic, a supermarket, and a library.[32] The demographic growth was dramatic. Between 1980 and 1986, the population on the Utah side increased by 51 percent, while on the Nevada side the increase was an astonishing 545 percent, according to United States Census Bureau estimates. This growth represented the highest rates in both Elko and Tooele Counties.[33]

West Wendover's growth continued in the 1990s. Retail and recreational services expanded, particularly after the city's incorporation on July 1, 1991. The five casinos expanded gradually. The town's casino gaming space had reached almost 12,500 square meters in early 1999, and the casinos boasted a total of 1,150 hotel rooms. The non gaming facilities offered an additional 770 rooms, two-thirds of them on the Utah side. The five casinos in West Wendover were the town's five largest employers, with a combined workforce of roughly 3,000 employees at the beginning of 1999.[34] The increasing flow of tourists to West Wendover was reflected in the strong growth of traffic across the Nevada–Utah state line on Interstate 80, represented in Figure 1, and on Wendover Boulevard shown in Figure 2. The busiest season for West Wendover's (and Jackpot's) tourism was the summer. In 1998, June, July, and August accounted for 52 percent of all the registered walk-ins to the information booth at the Wendover Area Chamber of Commerce as shown in Figure 3.[35]

OBSTACLES TO GROWTH AND CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY

Jackpot and West Wendover became contemporary boomtowns by becoming entertainment destinations. They thus joined the long list of Western settlements that in recent decades have grown rapidly due to the expanding "industrial, commercial, or service activities" that exploit a specific resource in an otherwise unattractive environment.[36] The gaming industry experienced dramatic growth in the two towns, as their principal market areas grew, and more people stayed overnight instead of just stopping on their way to someplace else.[37] The new job opportunities in the gaming industry attracted immigration, which created a demand, in turn, for the expansion of housing and services. The development of the community faced several complications, however, in both towns.

The most notable complication in this regard was a lack of available land for housing which made accommodating the newcomers difficult. Most of the land surrounding Jackpot and West Wendover is federal, as in most of Nevada's rural areas. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) is responsible for much of this land, and, until recently has been reluctant to give it up for other than

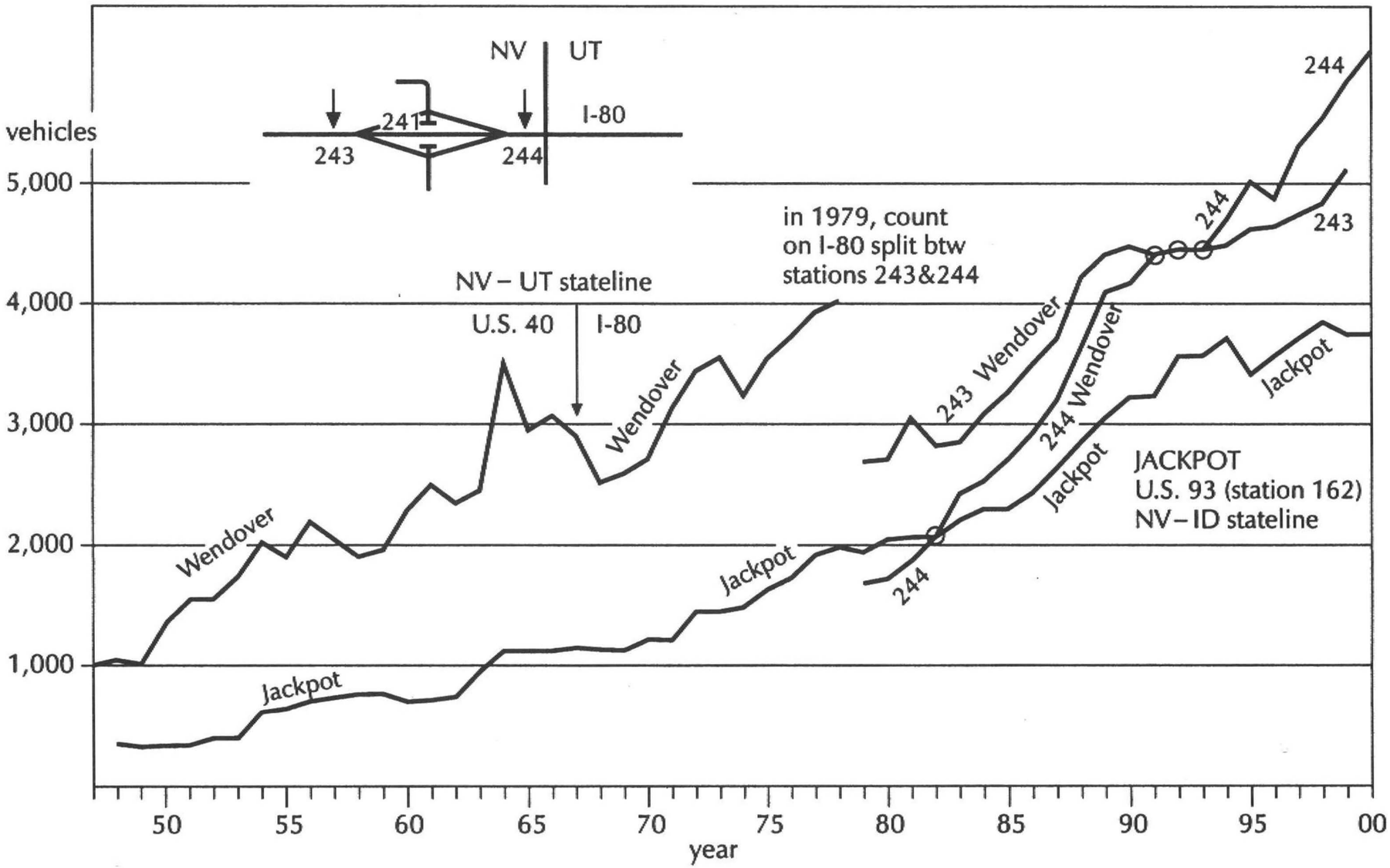

Figure 1. Traffic on United States Highways 93 and 40/Interstate 80, 1947–2000. Data source: *Annual Traffic Reports*, 1956/57–2000 *(Carson City: Nevada Department of Highways/Department of Transportation and <www.nevadadot.com>).*

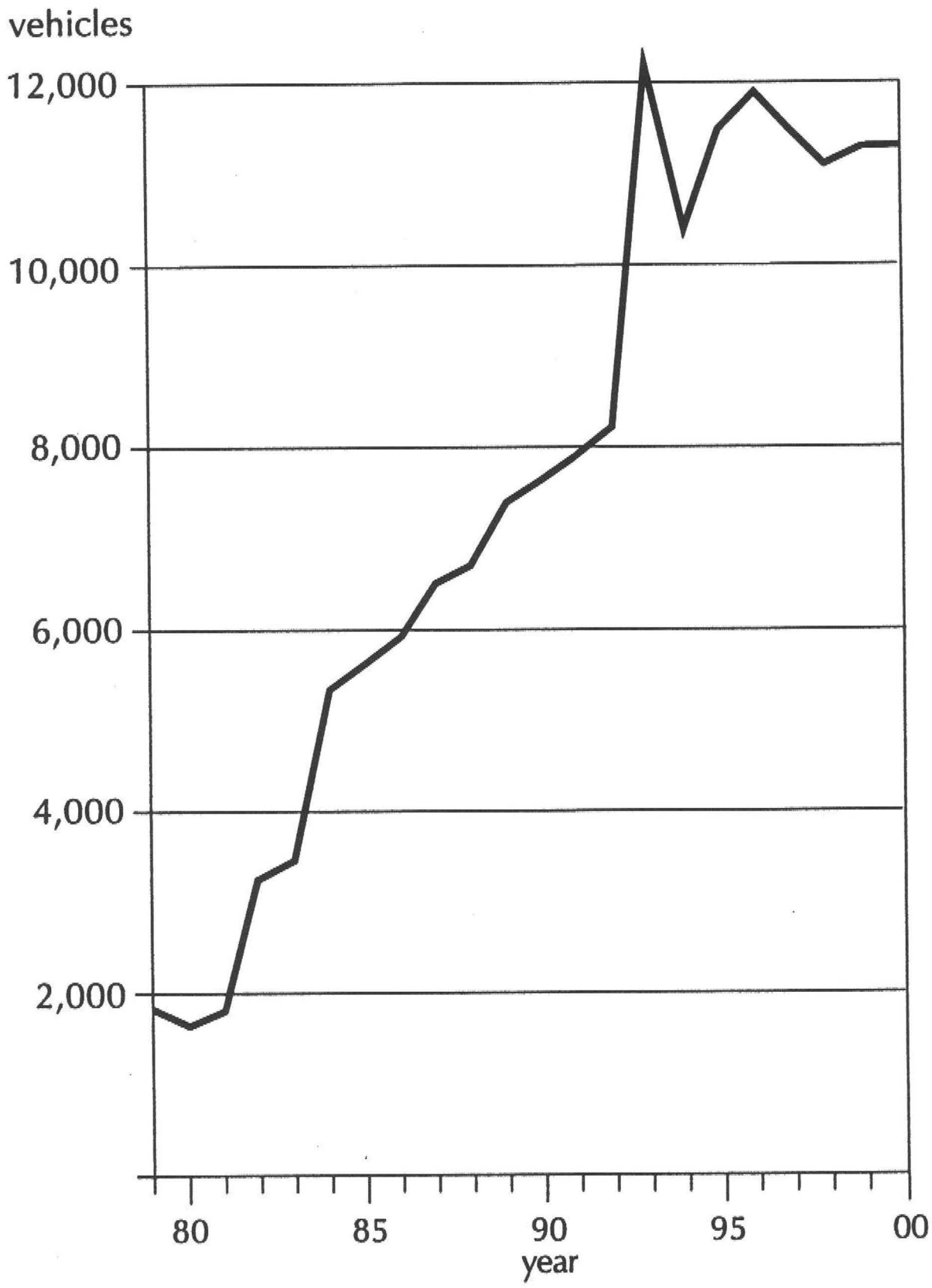

Figure 2 Traffic on Wendover Boulevard, 1979–2000. Data source: *Annual Traffic Reports*, 1980–2000 *(Carson City: Nevada Department of Highways/Department of Transportation and <www.nevadadot.com>).*

public or recreational purposes. The privately owned land belongs to the casinos and is reserved for their future expansion projects, or it is too expensive for real estate development. Much of the available, often low-quality, housing has been either the property of the gaming enterprises or, in the case of the two Wendovers, of the railroad company. In some cases, the houses occupy lots owned by them.[38] Housing is thus tied to employment in a manner that gives Jackpot and West Wendover a company town character. This situation accentuates the role of the gaming industry in guiding community development in Nevada.

In the summer of 1999, local residents saw the housing situation as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the arrangement offered people with transient lifestyles and often shaky socio-economic backgrounds an opportunity and a sense of stability.[39] On the other hand, the arrangement made the tenants dependent on their employer, since the loss of one's job automatically led to the loss of one's residence on short notice. In Jackpot, the ownership of the local services intensified this dependency because one gaming enterprise owns the only grocery store and gas station in town. As the two communities have matured, a need for more independent alternatives has come strongly to the fore. Alternatives would certainly diversify the local economy and job market. Many local residents saw the diversification, however, primarily from a personal perspective, as an improvement of their quality of life and as an increase in their independence.[40]

In 1999, housing developers in West Wendover were rapidly planning and constructing new projects, while anticipating land annexations from the federal areas surrounding the town.[41] In Jackpot, land for housing was obtained from the BLM after a four-year negotiation process. The upgrading of the necessary infrastructure and the construction of factory-built, relatively inexpensive houses was launched that fall.[42] The new housing opportunities were enthusiastically received and signaled a new sense of permanence in both towns. This sense of having a real community, as expressed by a long-term Jackpot resident, was to be further enhanced by the improvement of services. The plans for a library and a cemetery in Jackpot were also interpreted as significant signs of communal maturity and continuity in the eyes of its residents.[43] In both towns, local people had observed an increase in the proportion of families over single, often more transient, residents.

Despite the signs of maturity, Jackpot and West Wendover still suffered from weak civic identification, which complicated the construction of a more coherent and solid sense of community. In addition to the transient character of Nevada settlements in general, the towns' border location created a division of local loyalties. Demographic and cultural characteristics of the local community in both towns contributed to their division into cellular subgroups.

The border location of Jackpot and West Wendover is the most visible constituent of the towns' daily life and their identity. Their livelihood depends on

customers from Idaho and Utah, and, in practical matters, local residents get many of their quotidian services in the closest urban centers in these states. Thanks to the city's incorporation in 1991 and its constant demographic growth, West Wendover has gradually become more self-sufficient. In the summer of 1999, however, its residents still traveled 190 kilometers to Salt Lake City for shopping and specialized medical care. People in the unincorporated, smaller Jackpot found many of their quotidian services in Twin Falls 70 kilometers away, although county and state representatives offered some basic services to Jackpot by paying regular visits. A bookmobile and a nurse, for example, visited from Elko, and the Nevada Department of Motor Vehicles came to town once a month. The Magic Valley area was also a significant source of employees for Jackpot's gaming industry; the largest casinos in Jackpot were among the largest employers in southern Idaho.[44] An estimated one-half of the workers of Jackpot's largest casino commuted daily across the state boundary, many of them by a shuttle provided by the enterprise.[45] Some employees of Jackpot's municipal services and local churches also lived in Idaho.[46] To make this interaction easier, both Jackpot and West Wendover observe Mountain Time, thus being an hour ahead of the rest of Nevada.

This orientation towards the outside has created suspicion within Elko County's administration, according to local observers. This suspicion sometimes complicates the running of politico-administrative affairs and, in the case of Jackpot, undermines dreams of incorporation. In the two Wendovers, the administrative division has led to local coordination problems, unnecessary spending, feelings of inequality, and rivalry. The physically one town has two layers of infrastructure and public services due to the division.[47] The two jurisdictions upgraded their water and sewage systems at different phases in the 1990s, thus complicating the already problematic local resource management.[48] It is noted on the Utah side that Nevadans pay lower taxes, and this information draws customers and residents to Nevada and puts pressure on taxation and services in Utah. The gaming industry's wealth in Nevada and the impossibility of implementing similar services in Utah has created envy and led local entrepreneurs to lobby—unsuccessfully—for a special district that would be exempt from Utah's strict anti-gambling and anti-drinking legislation. The casino entrepreneurs in Nevada are grateful that these attempts have failed.[49]

In addition to multiple regional and cultural identities, Jackpot and West Wendover have developed a somewhat introverted sense of place.[50] There are multiple attachments to employers as a legacy of the company town mentality. For example in Jackpot, the two largest rivals of the local gaming industry are "often referred to as 'the one across the street,' depending on [the referee's] affiliations or recreational preferences."[51] As expressed by a non-gaming employee that had recently moved to Jackpot, "You are who you work for here."[52] A division between gaming and nongaming interests often influences local decision making in both towns.

Furthermore, in both towns, people are divided by a linguistic, cultural, and social boundary, into Anglo-American and Hispanic communities. For example, in the two Wendovers, 57 percent of the population on the Nevadan side and 69 percent on the Utah side was Hispanic or Latino in 2000, the majority originating in Mexico. These figures were considerably higher than the county and the state average.[53]

During the fieldwork conducted for this study in the summer of 1999, representatives of both groups denied any hostility, but described the relationship between the English- and Spanish-speakers as one of "indifference."[54] Representatives of the two communities in both towns had worked together to obtain the necessary immigrant status for some Hispanic residents, but, generally, there was very little social interaction between the groups. The new legal status had strengthed, the self-confidence of the Spanish-speaking population, and its participation in local affairs and events became more active.

The division of ethnicities had a negative impact on the generally optimistic tone of local developers and community activists in both towns. The transient lifestyle of some of their residents and the legacy of hopelessness characterizing many rural communities in Nevada undermined attempts to involve all segments of the population in community development and decision making. In the case of unincorporated Jackpot, these sentiments also weakened "the town's bargaining power at the county and state level."[55]

Future Development of Tourism: Focus on Image

The spread of the gaming industry across the United States contributed to the popularity of Nevada gaming in those areas where Nevada offered the easiest access to this entertainment. As gambling became a national pastime and was more easily accessible, competition over customers challenged, nonetheless, Nevada's small towns with limited recreational resources. Location near major urban centers and accessibility still guided decisions regarding the opening of new casinos, but the image, reputation, and identity of each destination became increasingly important in distinguishing one from another. Location was no longer enough in determining the success or failure of each destination in the saturating market.[56]

In the context of competition, Jackpot and West Wendover have benefited from their location along major traffic arteries at the borders of a liberal state, facing regions in which anti-gambling and anti-drinking attitudes predominate. Utah is one of the few states where all forms of gambling remain illegal, and the introduction of gambling to southern Idaho, where Mormon influence is also prominent, is unlikely. This setting makes Jackpot and West Wendover the most protected gambling markets in Nevada. Their status is further enhanced by Nevada's notorious gambling history, and its image as a place where

anything goes, which gives the entire state a distinctively maverick profile among American gambling destinations.[57]

Not even the most competition-proof locations can take their clientele for granted, however, any longer. In the 1990s, both Jackpot and West Wendover engaged in "more competitive and more aggressive" marketing with a special focus on image and reputation.[58] More emphasis was placed on attracting new customers by offering special events and package deals that combine gambling with entertainment, fine dining, and sports. The value of rewarding customer loyalty as a means of enhancing a destination's positive reputation became increasingly crucial. The goal for both towns was to promote themselves as entertainment destinations, although they still served as well-equipped, "fun" stopovers for passers-by. The specific strategies of the two towns differed, nonetheless, because of their different scales, resources, and customer bases.

The regular clientele of Jackpot's casinos consists primarily of elderly residents from southern Idaho who drive to Jackpot once or twice a week to gamble and have dinner.[59] Most of them are very loyal to one property. Since it is now recognized that "people don't necessarily go to the closest place, [but to] the place where [they] feel the most comfortable and enjoy [themselves]," the new marketing strategy makes an effort to attend to the needs of the "old-timers" more carefully.[60] Their loyalty is rewarded with special discounts and personalized service, made possible by the local industry's small scale. In the summer of 1999, it was hoped that this strategy would attract more elderly customers during the quieter weekdays and perhaps invite them to stay overnight, thus balancing the relatively strong weekly and seasonal fluctuation of Jackpot's customer flow.

To guarantee the continuity and expansion of the market, more energy was spent on creating a younger regular clientele. Special weekend events catering to families were already attracting new visitors, and some special services, such as a meat locker for hunters, were in place to serve particular customer segments. Some Jackpot casinos had designed entertainment packages, as well as golf and gambling tournaments, particularly for the younger market.[61]

An obstacle to Jackpot's development as a destination was the lack of a coordinated marketing effort. In 1999, Jackpot had neither an assigned coordinator of tourism development nor a Chamber of Commerce. The casinos remained highly competitive with one another, and each focused strictly on its own marketing. According to some local observers, Jackpot would benefit from bringing the gaming industry in closer contact with the promoters of the community and the region's non gaming attractions.[62] It was argued that the overcoming of insular, sometimes overlapping projects would serve the community's desires for economic diversification and improve Jackpot's image as a "positive little town."[63] Those who would like to see Jackpot's tourism evolve beyond the gaming industry saw the successful delivery of information as the key to keeping both the community's regular customers and its passers-by a

little longer: "If you can tell people what they can do, you can keep them in. Often two hours is enough, because in that time, they often decide to eat before they drive out."[64] A brochure featuring the recreational resources of Jackpot and the surrounding region has recently been published, and there was talk about putting an information booth on the highway that passes through the town. In order to make a more comprehensive approach realistic in a town where recreational amenities and appeal remain, three divisive issues need to be overcome. One is the division of the residential community along ethnocultural lines. The second is the competition within the local gaming industry, as it complicates any holistic plans to develop the town's tourism appeal. The third issue is the friction among local, country, and state officials.[65]

West Wendover's destination status, in turn, is supported by the larger scale and broader customer base of its gaming industry, the town's location on an interstate highway, an increasingly diverse economic structure, and promotional work by its Chamber of Commerce.

In 1999, West Wendover's main market consisted of young, relatively wealthy and open-minded urbanites from the rapidly growing Wasatch Front in the heart of the Mormon culture region. In marketing to these customers, the casinos in West Wendover successfully tapped into Nevada's reputation as a liberal haven for gambling, drinking, and sex.[66] The new advertisement portrayed gambling as a "cool" and exciting thing to do, together with fine dining and partying. Some properties placed a special emphasis on offering their customers ways to boost their self-image, thus following a marketing model developed by the new luxury-oriented, upscale Las Vegas.[67] It is now well known that table games, especially blackjack, are more fashionable than slots among the younger clientele, who often enjoys their cards with a high-quality cigar and drink.[68] Cigar shops are thus available in West Wendover's casinos, and fine-dining alternatives accompany twenty-four hour diners and all-you-can-eat buffets. West Wendover has emerged as an attractive, easily accessible, and still reasonably priced get-away destination for Utah residents, who, in mid 1999, comprised roughly two-thirds of its visitors.[69]

West Wendover has also begun to devise ways to increase convention visitation, now a major source of income for the largest gaming cities in Nevada.[70] According to a phone survey of 100 businesses in Salt Lake City, conducted by the Wendover Area Chamber of Commerce in January of 1999, 70 percent of those surveyed would bring conventions to West Wendover, if the town had facilities for it.[71] In the summer of 1999, the only convention space in town was the 250-seat facility at the State Line–Silver Smith resort. While it has regularly hosted small meetings, it has, at times, proven to be too limited even for local events.[72] According to the survey, local entrepreneurs believed that the expansion of convention facilities would benefit the town's economy as a whole and encourage new forms of cooperation within the local business community. Some believe that a larger venue for local activities would also help to boost the nascent community spirit of the rapidly-growing town.[73]

West Wendover's image will be crucial in the marketing of any new facility and to distinguish it from its competitors in the twenty-first century. The town and its amenities need to stand out because there are several competing travel destinations within a convenient distance from Salt Lake City. West Wendover's somewhat bizarre identity as a twenty-four-hour party town in the middle of a salt desert is curiosity provoking. Perhaps for some segments of the potential convention market the town's status in the world's military history as the training site for the Enola Gay crew and as a filming site for several Hollywood movies will add to West Wendover's attractiveness as a convention setting. To fully exploit the military legacy of West Wendover and its sister city on the Utah side, a considerable restoration effort of the former air force base and its buildings would, however, be needed. This project is still outside of the economic reach of the City of Wendover, Utah.[74] Another source of concern continues to be the deteriorating condition of the salt flats that have been placed under the care of a federal renovation program.[75] A considerable boost to the local tourism industry and positive publicity were also expected to come with the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City.[76]

The marketing campaign Nevada tourism officials launched in the late 1990s also recognized these elements and augmented the publicity efforts of the rural border towns, where marketing resources were limited. In the still ongoing campaign, Jackpot and West Wendover represent "Cowboy Territory," one of the state's six territories that each has a unique "personality." In the brochures, Cowboy Territory is portrayed as the home of wilderness, a rowdy frontier mentality, and modern tourist services. Local tourism promoters in both towns admitted in 1999 that inclusion in their town in the campaign had created new, positive attention locally and regionally, but some said that local voices had not been heard sufficiently in the design of the state-wide campaign.[77] From Jackpot's perspective, the campaign delimited the images of Cowboy Territory closer to the Interstate 80 than would have been desirable, thus downplaying the attractions of the self-proclaimed "Northern Gateway to Nevada." In a local tourism promoter's opinion, the hearing of local ideas could have promoted the state's marketing even further: "We could promote Nevada like you couldn't believe it."[78]

CONCLUSIONS

The evolution of Jackpot and West Wendover highlights the complex relationship between gaming, tourism, and community development on several contextual scales. Jackpot and West Wendover show that both location and more abstract elements, such as image, identity, and reputation, make mutually complementary contributions to a small gaming destination's status in the highly competitive gaming market. This contribution may be minuscule in

statewide or national comparisons of gaming destinations, but it may have a considerable impact on local and regional development.

From the perspective of big business, Jackpot and West Wendover may perhaps represent Nowhere, Nevada, but their locally and regionally significant tourism economy is a significant constituent of the whole. The change of regional, national, and global conditions determine local decisions and their outcomes, as the demographic growth of the Wasatch Front, the spread of gaming across America, and the 1970s oil crises exemplify. Some decisions in these larger contexts have been guided by the local conditions, such as the militarily desirable isolation of the two Wendovers. All these contexts are therefore obviously interconnected.

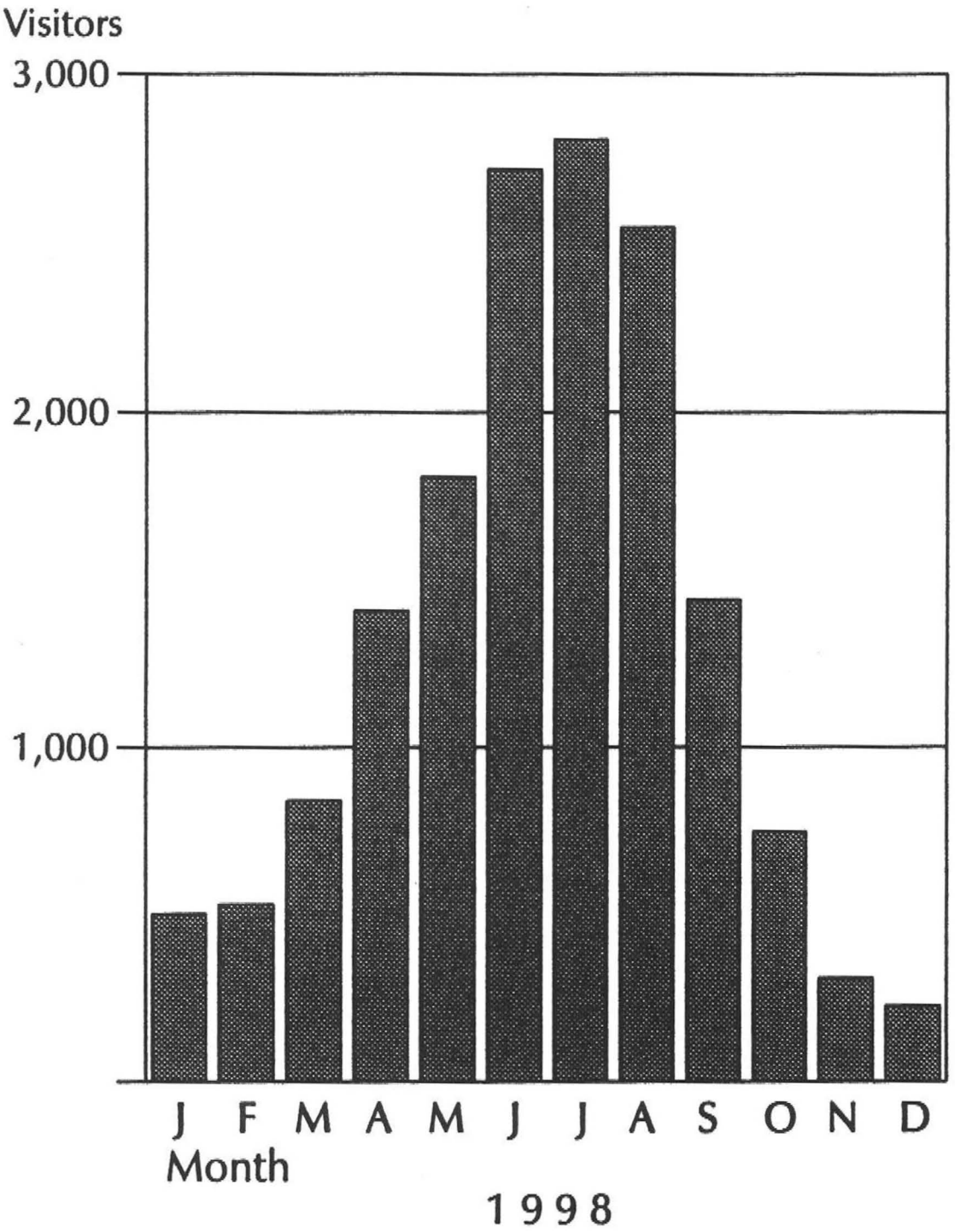

Figure 3. Walk-ins to the Visitor Center of the Wendover Area Chamber of Commerce, 1998. Data source: Wendover AreaChamber of Commerce, unpublished statistics.

NOTES

[1]The dramatic change that followed the proliferation of gambling across the United States in the 1980s and the 1990s attracted keen scholarly attention. Among the most popular case studies about gaming and community have been studies of the small Rocky Mountain mining towns in South Dakota and Colorado, where the first casinos opened in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Comparative studies of these cases include P. Long, J. Clark and D. Liston, *Win, Lose, or Draw?* (Washington, D. C.: The Aspen Institute, Rural Economy Program, 1994); P. Stokowski, *Riches and Regrets* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1996); K. Jensen and A. Blevins, *The Last Gamble* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); and P. Raento, "Gambling in the Rocky Mountains," *Fennia*, 179 (2001), 97–121. Equally attractive research topics have been studies of tribal gaming. Useful examples include B. A. Carmichael, D. M. Peppard Jr., and F. A. Boudreau, "Foxwoods Megaresort on My Doorstep: Local Resident Attitudes Toward Foxwoods Casino and Casino Gambling on Nearby Indian Reservation Land," *Journal of Travel Research*, 34 (1995), 9–16; A. M. D'Hauteserre, "Foxwoods Casino Resort: An Unusual Experiment in Economic Development," *Economic Geography, Special Issue* (1998), 112–121; and A. A. Lew and G. A. Van Otten, eds., *Tourism and Gaming on American Indian Lands* (New York: Cognizant Communication Corp., 1998).

[2]*Statistical Abstract of the United States 2000*, Tables 20, 21, and 22 (U. S. Census Bureau: 2000, <*www.census.gov*>).

[3]"Information Sheet," (Nevada Gaming Commission and State Gaming Control Board: 2000 <*www.gaming.state.nv.us*>). *Nevada Statistical Abstract 2001*. (Nevada Department of Administration: 2000 (<*www. budget.state.nv.us*>).

[4]Among the most recent of the numerous works are M. Gottdiener, C. C. Collins and D. R. Dickens, *Las Vegas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); H. K. Rothman, *Neon Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2002); and H. K. Rothman and M. Davis, eds., *The Grit Beneath the Glitter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[5]A handful of scholars has explored the rapid growth of Nevada's small border towns at the fringes of the Mormon culture region: R. Jackson and L. Hudman, "Border Towns, Gambling, and the Mormon Culture Region," *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 8 (1989), 35–48; L. M. Sommers and J. F. Lounsbury, "Boomtown Growth Issues along the Colorado River Border: The Case of Laughlin–Bullhead City," *Land Use Policy*, 5 (1988), 385–393; L. M. Sommers and J. F. Lounsbury, "Border Boom Towns of Nevada," *Focus*, 41 (1991), 12–18; J. L. Scholl, "Mesquite, Nevada: From Farm Hamlet to Resort City, 1880–1995, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 38 (1995), 89–104; L. E. Hudman and R. H. Jackson, "Mesquite, NV: From Mormon Village to Gaming Boomtown," *Casino Gambling in America*, eds. K. J. Meyer-Arendt and R. Hartmann (New York: Cognizant Communication Corp., 1998), 122–136. The primary foci of these studies are the boomtown characteristics, land use patterns, and cultural and infrastructural changes of these towns. The studies connect the growth to the towns' location on major traffic arteries and on the border of very distinctive economic, cultural, and moral realms. They also demonstrate how the growth at Nevada's borders has been linked to demographic growth in the surrounding regions – the principal feeder markets of the examined towns – and to the growth of the American Southwest in general.

[6]*County Statistics* (Carson City: Nevada Commission on Economic Development, 1995); *Snapshot of the City of West Wendower* (West Wendover: Community Development Department, City of West Wendover, 1999), 14.

[7]"Profile of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000: Wendover, Utah; West Wendover, Nevada; Elko County, Nevada." (U. S. Census Bureau, American Factfinder, <*www. census.gov*>).

[8]*County Statistics*; D. Choate, personal communication with the author, 8 June 1999.

[9]*Nevada Gaming Almanac 1999* (Reno: Nevada Gaming Publishing, 1999).

[10]See K. J. Meyer-Arendt, " Mississippi Casinos and Geographic Concepts," *Mississippi Journal for the Social Studies*, (1997), 1–12; K. J. Meyer-Arendt and R. Hartmann, eds., *Casino Gambling in America* (New York: Cognizant Communication Corp., 1998).

[11]See D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847–1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55 (1965), 191–220.

[12]*Berkeley Daily Gazette* , 26 January 1965.

[13]R. Menzies, "Bright Spot on the Border," *Nevada Magazine*, 44: 3 (1984), 35.

[14]A. Genovese, "Wendover," *Nevada Woman*, 1/99 (1999), 44; M. W. Devine, personal communication with the author, 10 and 11 June 1999.

[15]W. B. Wolfan, "Wendover Goes to War," *Nevada Magazine*, 51: 3 (1991), 24.

[16]D. Copelan, "Wendover: Winning Ways on the Utah Line," *Nevada Magazine*, 48: 1 (1988), 18.

[17]Menzies, "Bright Spot on the Border," 35.

[18]L. J. Arrington and T. G. Alexander, "World's Largest Reserve: Wendover Air Force Base, 1941–63," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 31, 324–351; C. Short, "Wendover Revisited," *Nevada Magazine*, 51: 3 (1991), 27; Wolfan, "Wendover Goes to War," 24; R. Menzies, "Wild about Wendover," *Nevada Magazine*, 57: 5 (1997), 84–85.

[19]See P. J. R. Holthusen, *The Land Speed Record* (Newbury Park: Haynes, 1986); G. D. Lepp, *Bonneville Salt Flats* (Osceola: International Publishers, 1988).

[20]*The Times-News*, 30 June 1996, Supplement, 2.

[21]*Ibid.*

[22]R. Menzies, "Jackpot's Unexpected Bonanza," *Nevada Magazine*, 38: 2 (1978), 23.

[23]*Ibid.*, 22.

[24]*Ibid.*, 23.

[25]Jackson and Hudman, "Border Towns, Gambling," 45. Author's note - It is unclear whether the authors recognize that their finding, "two-thirds of the cars registered to residents of Idaho," includes those who commute daily from Idaho to work in Jackpot casinos. *The Times News*, Supplement, 3; K. Boyd, personal communication with the author, 8 June 1999; B. Winans, personal communication with the author, 9 June 1999.

[26]Cf. C. Hayden, "Jackpot: The Town Created by Slot-Craving Idahoans," *Nevada Magazine* 48: 1 (1988), 15.

[27]C. Trillin, "U. S. Journal: Wendover, Utah. Space in Wendover," *The New Yorker*, (13 April 1981), 119.

[28]Sommers and Lounsbury, "Border Boom Towns," 12; see M. Bradshaw, *Regions and Regionalism in the United States* (Jackson: The University Press of Mississippi, 1988) and E. P. Moehring, *The Resort City in the Sunbelt*, Second Edition (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000).

[29]Devine, personal communication.

[30]Copelan, "Wendover: Winning Ways," 18.

[31]*High Desert Advocate*, 13 January 1988; cf. Trillin, "U. S. Journal," 118.

[32]*Elko Daily Free Press*, 17 October 1985; *High Desert Advocate*, 19 March 1986; Copelan, "Wendover: Winning Ways," 18; Menzies, "Wild about Wendover," 82.

[33]*High Desert Advocate*, 13 January 1988.

[34]*Snapshot*, 6, 9 and 11.

[35]K. Floyd, personal communication with the author, 11 June 1999.

[36]Sommers and Lounsbury, "Border Boom Towns," 12; cf. J. H. Lillydahl and E. W. Moen, "Planning, Management, and Financial Growth and Decline in Energy Resource Communities: A Case of Western Colorado," *The Journal of Energy and the Environment*, 8 (1983), 211–229; Sommers and Lounsbury, "Boomtown Growth Issues;" L. M. Roth, "Company Towns in the Western United States," *The Company Town*, ed. J. S. Garner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[37]Trillin, "U. S. Journal," 119; Devine, personal communication; see *Reno Gazette-Journal* (RGJ), (20 December 1981.)

[38]Trillin, "U.S. Journal," 120–121; *Elko Daily Free Press*, 9 October 1987; S. Feltman, personal communications with the author, 8 and 9 June 1999; P. Raento, 'It's a Fun Little Town, You Know' – Tourism and Community Development in Jackpot, Nevada," *Small Town*, 29 (1999), 22–29.

[39]Copelan, "Wendover: Winning Ways," 16–17; *Reno Gazette Journal*, (2 March 2000.)

[40]Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 24–25.

[41]*Snapshot*, 3–5 and "Appendix."

[42]Feltman, personal communication.

[43]Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 26.

[44]Cf. *The Times News*, Supplement, 8.

[45]Boyd, personal communication.

[46]Choate and Feltman, personal communications.

[47]D. Copelan, "Bright Lights on the Border," *Nevada Magazine*, 52: 1 (1992), 25–26; Genovese, "Wendover," 46.

[48]See *Elko Daily Free Press*, (4 August 1990.)

[49]Devine, personal communication; D. Trammell, personal communication with the author, 11 June 1999; see *High Desert Advocate*, 20 November 1985.

[50]For intriguing descriptions of the local sense of place, see C. Greenshaw, "Wall Street West: Action in West Wendover," *Halcyon*, 9 (1987), 185–192; D. Kranes, *Low Tide in the Desert* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1996).

[51]Cited in Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 27.

[52]*Ibid.*

[53]Profile, 2000.

[54]Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 27.

[55]*Ibid.*; see *Reno Gazette Journal*, (2 March 2000.)

[56]P. Raento and K. A. Berry, "Geography's Spin at the Wheel of American Gambling," *Geographical Review*, 89 (1999), 591–593.

[57]P. L. Bandurraga, "Desert Mirage: Casino Gaming and the Image of Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 29 (1986), 109–114, M. Tronnes, ed., *Literary Las Vegas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995).

[58]Boyd and Devine, personal communications.

[59]Boyd and Winans, personal communications.

[60]Boyd, personal communication, cited in Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 28.

[61]Boyd and Winans, personal communications.

[62]Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 28–29.

[63]Feltman, personal communication.

[64]K. Blake, personal communication with the author, 10 June 1999. Cited in Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 29.

[65]Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 29.

[66]Bandurraga, "Desert Mirage," and Tronnes, *Literary Las Vegas*.

[67]Devine, personal communication.

[68]D. Berns, "Back to the Future," *International Gaming and Wagering Business*, 19: 10 (1998), 17, 20–22; J. Bensley and S. Reilly, "Like, Let's Gamble Dude," *International Gaming and Wagering Business*, 19: 9 (1998), 48, 50, 106.

[69]Devine and Floyd, personal communications.

[70]See, for example, B. Shemeligian, "The New Target," *Casino Journal*, 12: 7 (1999), 56–58.

[71]Floyd, personal communication.

[72]*Ibid.*, Devine, personal communication.

[73]Floyd, personal communication.

[74]*Ibid.*; M. Potter , personal communication with the author, 11 June 1999; see *The Salt Lake Tribune*, (8 November 1993.)

[75]Genovese, "Wendover," 69.

[76]Devine and Floyd, personal communications.

[77]Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 28–29.

[78]Anonymous informant, communication with author. Cited in Raento, "It's a Fun Little Town," 29.

Notes and Documents

Decoding Southern Nevada Rock Art

A Personal Narrative

DON FRANKLIN SHEPERD

INTRODUCTION

My fingers stretched and my calves strained as I pulled myself up and across the last steeply–sloped rock formation leading to the broken cliff shelf above. A few more feet and I would be there. I had seen it from a distance. It had stood out clearly against the black–varnished and red–oxidized stone alcove, as the noonday sun bore down on the canyon from the East. The temperature soared above a hundred degrees, but I had to get closer. This one could not be missed. A dark shadow glided over me. I looked up. Was that a hawk circling its prey or just my imagination? I needed another swig of water to cool down and clear my vision. I took two and finished the bottle. It was my last bottle.

I reminded myself to bring more next time . . . if there were a next time. The hawk continued to circle. I reached the alcove, raised myself up, and stood before the object of my quest. It was a simple drawing etched into the precipice wall. Yet it was not simply any drawing. Its design was unmistakable; it was the same glyph that I had seen earlier at *Avi–Kwame*, Spirit Mountain, some ninety miles away from Red Rock Canyon alongside the Colorado River.

My suspicions were re-affirmed. The odds had been in my favor. I was, after all, just outside Las Vegas, the gambling capital of the world. So I laid my cards on the table and secured my footing on the ledge. Whoever carved this glyph could have wandered south, stumbled across the same glyph at Spirit Mountain, and *understood* it. The chance that these two identical glyphs, which were within easy walking distance of any of the lower Great Basin tribes, possessed different meanings was slim. Above and beyond this, these tribes shared a common mythology, a Coyote creation mythology, that entwined their

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cultures together. The realization startled me. I backed up a few inches and then stopped. Gravel from underneath my feet was already breaking away and plunging to the level below. I was not just looking at a glyph. I was looking at a language, but I did not know how to read it. To learn to read it, I would have to turn to the wisdom of Coyote's people, the ancestors of the modern Great Basin Indians, and to the members of the modern tribes themselves. But first I had to get down off the mountain, back to my car, and over to my friend's house, where a refreshingly blue–hued swimming pool and air-conditioned luxury awaited me.

COYOTE'S PEOPLE

Throughout Southern Nevada, Coyote's people, the ancestors of the modern Great Basin tribes, carved thousands of drawings into the region's weather–beaten boulders and cliff–faces. Some of Coyote's people believed that Coyote drew them himself. Gradually, the drawings began to change form, from abstract stylization to realistic naturalism, and then they ceased to be done altogether. In time, Coyote's people forgot what they meant, why they had been executed, and when they had been completed. Over the years, no Indian tribe from the Great Basin or the lower Colorado River region stepped forward to unravel the meaning of these glyphs. Even though Coyote figured prominently in Paiute, Shoshone, Washoe, and Yuman legend, these tribes did not aid the Western scholar in interpreting the glyphs beyond offering the most preliminary suggestions. The Paiutes emphatically denied that they knew their meaning.

The Shoshones maintained that the petroglyphs were unlike anything else in their contemporary culture. The Washos, though their religious mythology was more elaborate, followed suit. The Yumans related some of the glyphs to the origin myths of Mastamho (the local tribal equivalent of Coyote when the figure of Coyote was not directly employed), but a clear–cut explanation providing the meaning of each of the individual glyphs was never offered. Without assistance from the members of the Great Basin and lower Colorado River tribes themselves, Western scholars were left in a quandary. While they faithfully categorized and labeled the distinctive drawing styles characterizing the glyphs, they were forced to de-emphasize their interpretive aspects. To this day, Western scholars could not definitively state when they were drawn, by whom they were drawn, and for what purpose they were drawn. Thus, at the turn of the twenty–first century, the rock art adorning the valleys and gorges of Southern Nevada remained an enigma.

In order to solve that enigma, I was convinced that I had to look to the wisdom inherited by the descendents of Coyote's ancient people. Most of these descendents were telling me, however, that they did not know what the glyphs

meant. And, those who did attempt an explanation could not provide me with a frame–by–frame explanation for each individual glyph. I wanted, nonetheless, a frame–by–frame explanation. At first, this seemed to pose a problem. While I reflected on this problem, I thought back to my travels through the bush in the Grampians just outside Melbourne's cityscape in southern Australia. Grampians National Park contained numerous rock–art shelters, Bunjil's Cave being the most famous.

As I re–examined my photo albums and re–studied the aboriginal literature, one thing was clear:[1] Western scholars had not deciphered the ancient Australians' rock art either. But, as I turned my attention to the modern work of such artistic leaders as Yirawala from the Northern Territory in Arnhem Land, something else became just as clear: the modern pictures told stories. The idea that a picture painted a thousand words was suddenly infused with new meaning. While the modern Great Basin tribes had lost the meaning of the pictures, they still had the words. They still had the stories. They still possessed the Coyote mythology. At that point, my inquisitiveness turned into steadfast determination. Pictures painted words; the words were in the stories. All that had to be done was to relate the stories back to the pictures. It seemed fairly straightforward, but why had no one been successful at doing it?

As I ordered book after book detailing the Coyote creation mythologies, the answer to that question became just as straightforward. The stories were almost as difficult to interpret as the glyphs. It was by no accident that Charles Eastman, the mixed–blood Sioux known as Ohiyesa, had written that "the religion of the Indian is the last thing about him that the man of another race will ever understand."[2] Eastman was right. Yet, I knew that I had to make headway with the stories, if I was to get at the meaning of the glyphs. Coyote's people had not made it easy for me. Before I could do a case study of Southern Nevada rock art, I had to synthesize the Coyote mythology into a Great Basin model from which I could then confidently proceed.

The Great Basin Model

The first thing I had to do was construct a general model of the broader Great Basin regions for Coyote creation mythology.[3] Since the stories were difficult, I needed a template that outlined their most salient features. Once this template was constructed, the dominant characteristic in the general model could be applied specifically to southern Nevada's local rock art. It took some time, but I found that dominant characteristic in the notion of a lost golden age. The most prominent features in the Coyote mythology all intersected at this point. Although there were minor differences in the oral religious traditions of the Paiute, Shoshone, Washo, and Yuman peoples, they all shared the belief that an exemplary world once existed but slowly disappeared. This theme was

central to their retelling of the Coyote creation myths. By combining their tales, it became clear that there was essentially one conventional Great Basin Coyote mythology. I had my template. Though the sources were widely scattered, that conventional mythology read something like this:

> A long time ago, god–people and animal–people inhabited the earth. These early people possessed salient features unique to their time. First of all, they lacked a clearly defined gender. Second, they did not experience death. Third, they were giants.
>
> Wolf, or Toovuts, was in charge of life on earth during this far distant past. With Wolf in charge, the world remained harmonious and peaceful. But Wolf had a younger brother, Coyote. The younger brother, Coyote, or Soonungwuv, disrupted the passive order of rule established by Wolf, and the animal–people fell from their spiritual grace. Sexual reproduction emerged, death and suffering followed, and many of the children of the animal–people lost their giant stature. With these changes, a new race, the human–people, had been born.
>
> Coyote created the first human–people and gave them the necessary male and female genitalia. By knocking out the teeth of First Woman's lower extremities, Coyote made it possible for her to reproduce using that organ. Before this, reproduction took place from inside the body of the parent but not from inside the womb. Rather, the child would bud out from a body part, such as the hand, and detach like a spore. Once the women of the human–people were capable of reproducing through their new organ, Coyote taught them the rules of menstruation and its relation to the moon and childbirth. Other changes took place as well. Coyote introduced mortality to the human-people. Their physical bodies had to die, since they were no longer immortal. The chasm between the divine and the non–divine was widening. With this widening, the stature of the human–people shrank until the Great Basin Indians were so tiny that they could fit into Coyote's traveling bag.
>
> After First Woman gave birth to the human–people, a flood covered large portions of the earth. Wolf asked Coyote to take his children, the human–people, westwards out of the Atlantic ocean into the Americas. Jumping from island to island, Coyote brought the human–people to the Americas. The Grandmother of Many laid a feather across the ocean so they could cross and escape destruction from the floodwaters.
>
> The Great Basin tribes who followed Coyote to the Americas settled in different locations. But, as the human–people had changed, they no longer communicated so easily with the god–people. In addition, they no longer lived in harmony with the animal–people nor could they cooperate with the vile and monstrous beasts who resulted from some of the matings that had occurred through sexual intercourse. The human–people went to war against these opponents and won. Thus, Coyote's children, the human–people, multiplied and dominated the earth.[4]

The figure of Coyote subsisted at three levels within this narrative. From a chronological perspective, he lived among the god–people, the animal–people, and the human–people. This fact led Carl Jung to assert that Coyote symbolized "God, man, and animal at once."[5] But Jung confused the order of the three levels because he did not satisfactorily distinguish between animal–people and animals. For the Great Basin Indians, the animal–people were not strictly animals. When Jung placed God and animals at the opposite poles of "subhuman and superhuman, bestial and divine," he transformed man into the three levels' transitional middle figure.[6] This was an error. On closer examination, the animal–people actually represented the transitional mode "where there as yet existed no clear–cut differentiation between the divine and the non–divine."[7]

The animal–people, Jung's conceptualization of animal consciousness, were not the opposite of God but rather the point of passage from god–hood into human–hood. The Paiutes, Shoshones, Washos, and Yumans all recognized that the animal–people formed structured communities, communicated coherently, exhibited extraordinary mental powers as well as bodily strength, and were superior to men. At this level, the animal–people belonged neither to the gods nor to man. Rather, they belonged to another realm entirely. They belonged to a realm which, for the Great Basin Indians, was idealized as a golden age, an exemplary world that had long since passed away. Over time, Coyote's rule of the world led the human–people to forget the old ways of the animal–people and the god–people. With the introduction of sexual reproduction and physical death, the human–people became corrupted and were no longer able to integrate the old ways into their daily lives. The golden age had passed away.

In an attempt to reaffirm that they still remembered the old ways of the god–people and the animal–people, I suspected that the Great Basin Indians journeyed to their sacred places and marked that remembrance with very specific, repeating, ideographic symbols, telling of the transformation that had befallen their people. As I thought more about it, I became convinced that this was the best solution to the enigma posed by their rock art. After further introspection, it seemed clear that, despite the recent rush to restore the admiration the Romantics of the late eighteenth century held for Indian lifestyles, a fundamental but artificial division between so–called "primitive" and "civilized" societies, or "hot" and "cold" cultures as defined by Claude Levi–Strauss, had been overlooked by ethnologists.[8] As a result, contemporary Western scholars had created a false distinction between the way in which white and Indian religions functioned.

Modern assumptions asserted that Native American religion was more integrated into daily life than Judeo–Christian religion. While there may have been some truth to this assumption, it was not, I reasoned, entirely correct. If it were accurate, then there would have been no need for rock art. The adherents of any religion try to integrate the principles and teachings of their belief system into their daily lives. It is precisely at the point at which the ideal and the failure to live up to the ideal diverge, however, that people seek to reaffirm what they know to be true. They seek to reaffirm what they know to be true by telling stories and by revisiting the sacred places where those stories were said to have happened. In these two ways, all religious peoples have looked to the past as a type of golden age that they have tried to emulate. For example, in an attempt to emulate their golden age, Jews and Christians trekked to the Holy Land. But the journey to their sacred places was always prompted by stories telling of the magnificence of the people's hallowed past. In comparison, the case must have been the same with Coyote mythology and the Great Basin rock art sites. The Coyote mythology told of the sacred past, and the rock–art site signified the sacred place to which individuals journeyed to reaffirm what

they knew to be true but were not, in fact, putting into practice in daily life. Hence, the existence of rock art sites demonstrated that Native Americans, like everyone else, were not able to put all their religious ideals into practice. Why would Native Americans have been different from everyone else? In principle, they would not have been different, but scholars still tended to lump them into their own special corner and then lumped everyone else into the opposite corner. This practice was illogical and incorrect. In contrast to some scholars who erroneously and artificially separated Native-American religious culture from the more mainstream Judeo–Christian tradition, I had a more inclusive structural base on which to interpret the rock art. The working model from which I would interpret Great Basin rock art rested on the universal notion that an exemplary world once existed, disappeared, and had to be reaffirmed. This universal notion established the foundation of Coyote mythology.

If the Coyote creation myths did not contain the vestiges of a pre–Columbian golden age when human beings lived vastly different lives than they do today, their role in decoding Great Basin rock art would have been insignificant. But, since they did contain the rudimentary structure, albeit imperfectly developed, of a narrative explaining the fall of humanity from a previously exalted state, the Coyote stories were significant. Contrary to popular opinion, there was great consistency in many of the Coyote stories, just as there was great consistency in the repetitive nature of the glyphs. In both cases, the stories and the glyphs were diffused throughout the Great Basin and, even more broadly, the American West. Because Western scholars were uncertain as to who carved the glyphs, it made sense to interpret their widely diffused symbols by looking at widely diffused stories. The Coyote creation myths were considered by scholars to be the oldest mythology in the region due to their universal diffusion throughout it, so they were the logical tool with which to proceed. It was unknown, however, whether the stories and the rock art developed simultaneously, or whether one artistic form followed the other. If the rock art preceded the stories, then the Coyote myths would be an imperfectly developed reflection of what was pictured on the stones.[9] If the stories pre–dated the art, then the stones mirrored the stories. If the two developed simultaneously, then they obviously possessed a close relation. At first, this logic appeared to me to constitute circular reasoning. The only alternative, nonetheless, was to suggest that there was no relationship between the two modes of communication. Considering that both modes were universally diffused throughout the Great Basin and its neighboring regions, this seemed unreasonable. It was even more unacceptable when viewed within the scope of Raphael Girard's most fundamental ethnological tenet, "The themes [in communication] do not vary in the course of time; it is the forms of expression that differ."[10] It was just possible that, regardless of chronological time, the themes displayed in the rock art were the same as those displayed in the creation myths. The forms may have differed, but, I reasoned, that they might also be telling the same story.

I had my model, and I had a theory for how to use it. Now I just had to coax myself out of my friend's swimming pool, pull on my boots and trousers, and go hiking.

The Southern Nevada Case Study

In the southern Nevada case study, I wanted to walk the reader through a demonstration of how the glyphs in the region's rock art could be decoded by employing Coyote mythology. Since I had already decided to give frame-by-frame explanations of the glyphs, I knew I needed to narrow my focus to a single salient feature within the Great Basin model. After careful consideration, the theme of gender division and sexual reproduction seemed to be the key feature distinguishing the exemplary world from the modern world. I chose to concentrate my study on the three major, publicly accessible rock art sites outside Las Vegas. All three sites were within an hour's driving distance of the city. Grapevine Canyon lay to Las Vegas's south, Red Rock Canyon overlooked it to the west, and Valley of Fire was perched to its north. At all three sites, there were enough repeating glyphs to assert that they were either executed by the same tribe or by different tribes who spoke the same rock art language. It was unclear whether the present-day Southern Paiute or the Mohave and Hualapai tribes of the Yuman Indians had anything to do with the older rock art. Some scholarship suggested that these groups had only resided in the southern Nevada region for the last thousand years.[11] Early Anasazi farming-type communities would have been responsible, therefore, for the drawings. On the other hand, more recent scholarship paying less attention to linguistic theory and more attention to archaeological evidence suggested that the ancestors of these groups may have been in the area for many thousands of years.[12] It was likely that the ancestors of the Southern Paiute and the lower Colorado Yumans possessed a common rock art language, since there were identical abstract, geometric, representational, and stylized glyphs at all three sites. I wanted to stress this point. After all, I had climbed for over an hour in one hundred degree heat to figure it out. In the same way that these glyphs represented something more than simple "hunting magic," they also represented something more than the random byproducts of "shamanistic visions."[13] The glyphs, especially the most abstract ones, were repetitive. In certain cases, minor variations existed, but it was still essentially the same glyph. Therefore, southern Nevada rock art was a concrete formalized language. While it was not a syllabic language, it was a symbolic language. Instead of creating meaning by stringing together consonants and vowels, the glyphs created meaning by combining one picture with another. In the same way that conjoined letters created a word that produced a specific mental image in the mind of the reader or the listener, the union of picture combinations conjured up specific memories in the observer. Thus, the ability to decode the rock art's language depended upon my ability to reconjure the mental images that were supposed to be elicited by looking at the glyph

combinations. I studied the images over and over again looking for clues indicating they were related to the theme of gender division in Coyote mythology. Finally, I had it. Scanning over my notebooks, I settled on three combinations of glyphs. It was not much, but at least it was a start.

THE FIRST COMBINATION OF GLYPHS

I sat at my desk pondering a picture of the first combination of glyphs. Like the other two combinations, it was photographed at Grapevine Canyon. I had used Grapevine Canyon as my base of operations and then explored Red Rock Canyon and the Valley of Fire to see if the same glyphs could also be found at these sites. I bent over and looked more closely at the photo. In Photo No.1, there was a semi-humanoid figure at the center of the picture. It consisted of three squares connected by two thin ladder-like joints. A snake protruded from the side of its head and, next to the snake, was an ovoid cluster consisting of seven circular globules.[14] While the photo was shot at Grapevine Canyon, I had discovered variations on all three symbols in southern Nevada. Grapevine Canyon's *not-quite human* humanoid figure differed stylistically from the Valley of Fire humanoids, but its lack of complete modern human-ness in conceptualization was consistent with theirs. The double-lined, full-bodied snake was more representational, as well, than the single-lined snake figures at the Valley of Fire. The third figure, the ovoid cluster, was a common symbol throughout the southern Nevada region. I had stumbled across it, for example, on a rock panel in Red Springs at the edge of Red Rock Canyon. In that case, it had only contained three globules. Another rock slab standing outside the Lost City Museum in Overton contained an ovoid cluster that was composed, however, of what appeared to be five or six globules.[15] To the right of these glyphs, as displayed in Photo No.1, was a square figure and a faint imprint of a ram. They would, nonetheless, have to wait. I already had enough on my hands.

In order to decode the meaning behind this combination of three glyphs, I was glad to have the Great Basin model to which I could turn. The Great Basin model subdivided the history of the Native Americans into three periods: the time of the god-people, the time of the animal-people, and the time of the human-people. The event distinguishing the era of the modern human-people from its predecessors was the evolution of sexual reproduction within clearly defined gender categories. Childbirth and intercourse became a function of the female's sex organs. In the eras before the modern human-people, reproduction took place in a different manner. Wolf had argued to Coyote that children should come from the parent, not from the womb, and detach like a spore. Was it possible that the three symbols in Photo No. 1 depicted this early method of reproduction? I looked at the symbols again. It was just possible that they formed a motif capturing the exemplary world that preceded the era of the modern

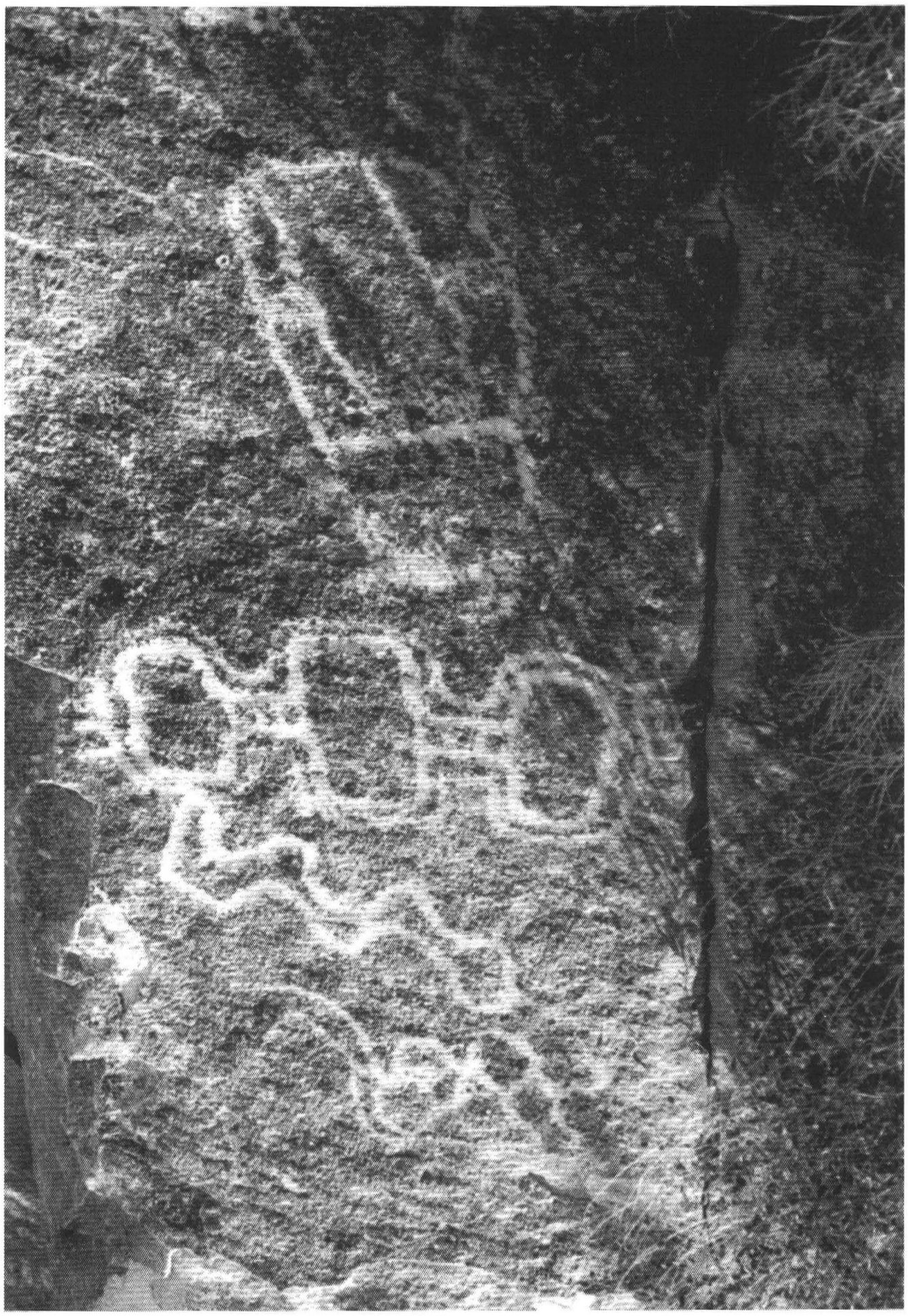

Photo No. 1 . *(Author's collection)*

human-people, and their descent into sexual reproduction, death, and physical diminution. The semi-humanoid figure was overtly amorphous and it lacked contemporary human body parts. Whereas the birthing process was often depicted in Western rock art as taking place within the belly of the figure with its offspring ultimately appearing from between the legs, no such image occurred in this case. Most important, the head of the semi-humanoid figure was crowned with the prototypical solar arc. The solar arc, which was stylized based on regional differences, denoted the divinity of the figure. As for the snake symbol, it could have been a phallic symbol, since it was issuing from the head of the divine figure; it simply represented, instead, generation. In regard to the ovoid cluster, it had to be snake eggs. The egg clusters were significant because snakes are oviparous. That is, they produce eggs which hatch outside the body. The glyph was representing, then, eggs that hatched outside the womb. This process was in sharp distinction to modern human birth.

I went over the evidence again in my mind. I had some sort of a divine figure. I could not be sure, but it was most probably one of the god-people. It seemed to me that the animal-people were more usually stylized as humanoid frogs, lizards, and sheep. Also, I had a snake coming out of its head. In Native American rock art, snakes were sometimes substituted for the male penis. The author of the glyph could have drawn the snake protruding from the lowest of the three squares, but it was not drawn in that manner. As such, the snake lost its phallic quality in a physiological sense but not in a generative sense. The divine figure was still clearly giving birth. Since the snake retained its generative aspect, the eggs identified that aspect: generation was oviparous. The eggs did not hatch from the womb of the god-person nor were they generated from that region of the body. I referred back to my notes on the manner of childbirth in the Coyote mythology. In one story, the Southern Paiutes told how Wolf wanted the "child to grow inside the arm" and then, when it was "big enough to be born," all one had to do was flip the hand and the baby would "come out of the hand without any pain."[16]

I paused. I had to find David Whitley's book again. It was urgent. There it was on the bookshelf. I grabbed it, flipped it open, and scoured the pages. Whitley had been closer to the truth than even he knew. On page twenty-one, he wrote that the shaman's "seat of power" was his *right wrist*.[17] This was the ethnological clue I needed. The Great Basin Indians were brilliant. I did not even have the words to convey it. In Coyote mythology, children under Wolf's rule would be born from the parent's hand. While it may still have been a physiological reference, it was also a metaphor. The wrist or the hand from which the child was born was a metaphor for *spirituality*. The child was born from the divine essence, or the "seat of power," of its parent. It was a spiritual birth. It was the birth of a god-person. I studied the amorphous figure that I had photographed on the rock panel. The snake was coming from its solar-arc crowned head. The figure was giving birth spiritually! I was looking at the way the chil-

dren of the god-people were born before Coyote altered the method of reproduction. The Coyote mythology was right there written on the rocks. The only difference was that in Coyote mythology the birth of a god-person was recorded in the metaphor of the flipping of the wrist, while the rocks depicted that divine birth as issuing from the sacred head of the god-person himself.

I kicked off my boots and crossed my feet on the desk. I leaned back in the chair and folded my arms. I clicked on the screen saver and closed my eyes. The three symbols conjured a vivid image; the god-people produced offspring in a very different way.

The Second Combination of Glyphs

I opened my eyes and picked up Photo No. 2. This was the second combination of individual glyphs taken at Grapevine Canyon. Once again, the ovoid cluster appeared. It consisted of eight globules. This time it was surmounted, however, by a cross centered within a square. To the left of these two glyphs was a double diamond-link chain. In this photo, the double chain was faint, but I had found the identical glyph at other places in the canyon and throughout southern Nevada. I captured a fine example of this symbol, in fact, at Red Springs. It is displayed in Photo No. 3. I also identified the symbol at Atlatl Rock in the Valley of Fire. In setting out to decode this second combination of three glyphs, I had already determined the significance of the egg cluster. It signaled a period of reproduction predating the era of the modern human-people. The meaning of the double chain was more difficult to discern. Fortunately, David Whitley's research provided me with some initial direction. In southern California, and in the far west generally, the symbol represented a snake (such as the rattlesnake). Yet, this snake was no normal snake. As in Central American culture, a marked distinction separated "natural and mythological animals."[18] Whitley believed that the snake, which figured prominently in the puberty rites of young women, served two functions. First, it created a "symbolic union" that "mediated the opposition between the sexes" and conjoined them into one.[19] Second, it guarded the sex organs of "mythic women" so they could not be penetrated.[20] In relation to the Great Basin model, these mythic women whose sex organs were so resolutely guarded would correspond to the god-people or the animal-people before Coyote knocked the teeth out of First Woman's vagina, thereby bringing the sexual reproduction of the human-people into the world. Thus, the purpose of the snake in the puberty ritual became clear. As her sexual organs shifted from inactivity to activity, the menstruating young woman signified the transition from the reproductive processes of the god-people to the human-people. As a young girl, she symbolized the mythic woman in whom the opposition of the sexes was mediated. Neither masculinity nor femininity predominated at this stage of her life. But just as

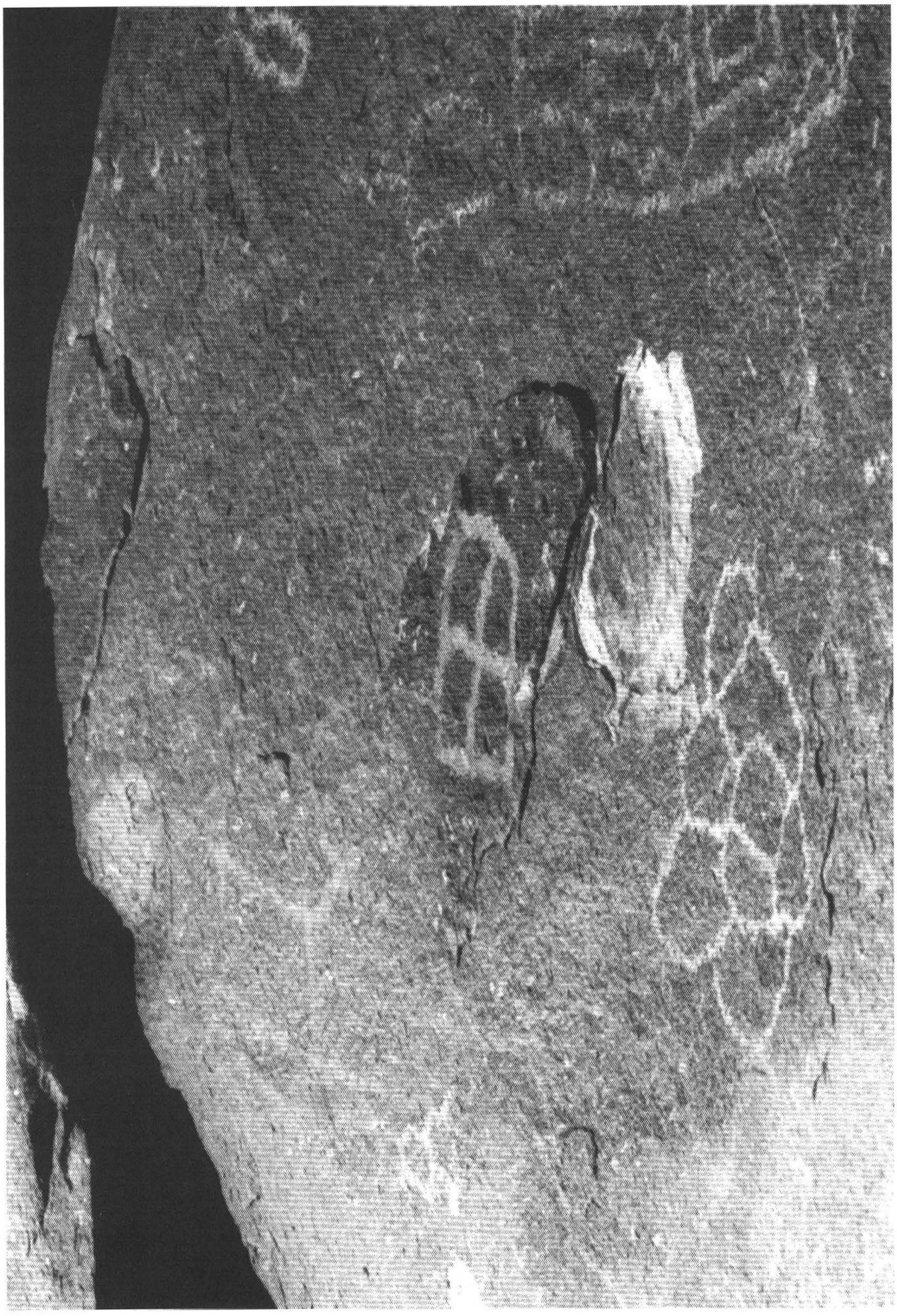

Photo No. 2 . *(Author's collection)*

Photo No. 3 . *(Author's collection)*

one color, either red or black, became predominant in the red racer snake, so one gender became predominant in the young girl. Its predominance was signified by her menstrual cycle. With menses she had come of age and fallen from her exalted state. The snake no longer guarded her virginal purity. From this perspective, the double chain was a sexual, or rather asexual, glyph.

Viewed in conjunction with these two glyphs, the meaning of the third glyph emerged. The glyph was composed of a cross centered in a square. Crosses were common throughout southern Nevada. In addition to being set within a square, they were also set within a circle or set within no enclosure at all. The cross within the circle was often interpreted as a solar or sidereal symbol. In an effort to find a good example of an unenclosed cross that justified a solar or sidereal connotation, I rummaged through my photo file. I found one and labeled it Photo No. 4. This rock panel was filmed at Mouse's tank in the Valley of Fire. The author of this set of glyphs had carefully cordoned off the cross and set two circular heavenly bodies above it. In this case, the two heavenly bodies in the upper left-hand corner gave a cosmic quality to the cross. If one looked more closely, there was also a squared cross in the bottom right-hand corner underneath the seven humanoid figures. Whereas the unenclosed double-lined cross was associated with the universe, this single-lined squared cross, which was the same as the squared cross in Photo No. 2, was associated with humanity. I knew I had something here. I had a squared cross that was distinctly associated with humanity rather than the heavens. This was key to understanding the squared cross in Photo No. 2.

Once again, I turned to the Coyote creation myths for a solution to a problem posed by the rock art. In the myths, the number four signified *completion*. For example, Coyote had to repeat his tasks four times before he was considered to be finished. Different tribes emphasized this repetition of Coyote's tasks to varying degrees. Like other Great Basin tribes, the Paiutes considered the number four to be a sacred number. As one example, it was sacred in its relation to the four directions: North, South, East, and West. The four directions were further subdivided into four parts. Each larger section was only considered complete when it had been split into quarters. This made a total of sixteen subdivisions.[21] Ruling one of each of the four directions was one of the "Four Old Men" who created and watched over the earth.[22] Thus, the number four was a number of *completion*. Both the points of the cross and the sides of the square embedded this number symbolism within the language of the glyph. Hence, the glyph was a sign of completion, but a completion of what? It was, I believed, a sign for the completion of the evolution of the human-people. It required the Four Old Men to transform god-people into human-people. By placing the individual squared-cross glyph in combination with the double chain glyph and ovoid cluster glyph, its meaning was elicited. It completed whatever was left uncompleted in those two glyphs. In this case, what was left uncompleted in those two glyphs was the modern mode of sexual reproduction.

Photo No. 4 . *(Author's collection)*

My wife came into the room. She asked how I was doing. I glanced up and gave her a smile. She smiled back and left the room. I stared into the mirror at the opposite end of my desk. I caught a glimpse of her as she turned the corner. Like the mirror, the three symbols conjured another clear image. The image reflected the separation of male and female; it reflected the development of sexual reproduction from asexual reproduction.

THE THIRD COMBINATION OF GLYPHS

My gaze shifted from the mirror to the work in front of me. I picked up the picture containing the third combination of individual glyphs taken at Grapevine Canyon. I marked "Photo No. 5" on the back. I flipped it over and scanned the set of images. It was too good to be true. It was precisely the reassurance that I needed. I had snapped Photo No. 5 standing next to a rock not far from the other two combinations of glyphs. I believed those other two combinations of glyphs displayed a form of reproduction that existed prior to the evolution of modern human-people. I also believed that there was enough ethnological evidence to suggest that the squared cross signified the completion of that human evolution. Here, in Photo No. 5, I was looking at . . . *myself*. I was looking at *my* history and the completion of *my* evolution. I was looking at how I had come to be what I was today. I was one of the human-people. At the bottom of the picture was a male penis. Above it was a female vulva. A two-horned ram stood next to them. My mind raced back to the Great Basin model. Coyote had separated the human-people into male and female. One of the alternate names that the Paiutes used for Coyote was "Yohuvuts" or "the one who always has sex."[23] But, in a way, the conceptualization behind the term was as sacred as it was sexual. In one of the Shoshone tales, Coyote's daughters complained to their mother that their father was "sex crazy."[24] Instead of reprimanding her husband Coyote, she became enraged at her daughters, scolding them that they "wouldn't be here in this world if Coyote hadn't done things like that."[25] The daughters owed their existence to Coyote; they owed their existence to the fact that he had become capable of having sex and producing offspring like themselves. The emergence of sex had given the human-people their modern identity.

I could not overstress the impact that this separation into distinct gender categories made on the Native American mind. This was the major cataclysmic event in the history of their people. Indian tribes throughout North America possessed a *berdache* culture of male and/or female transvestism. In later years, these men-women were often mocked and treated harshly, but there was a sacred mythological underpinning to what they were doing. The Zunis, the most profoundly mystical of all Southwestern tribes, boasted a strong *berdache* culture. Biological men like We'wha played the physical and psychological role

Photo No. 5 . *(Author's collection)*

of the hermaphrodite, thereby representing that point in the historical past when men and women were still "unfinished."[26] That is, they were not yet fully gendered. In his discussion of Zuni creation myths, Frank Hamilton Cushing explained that it was only in the "third great cave-world" that humanity entered into the "Vaginal womb, or the Place of Sex-generation or Gestation."[27] Further, he related the story of the brother and sister whose bodies, after engaging in incestuous sex, grew old, ugly, and hardened. As in the Great Basin model, sex brought infirmity and death. While I reviewed Zuni history, Cushing's stories took on monumental importance. The Zunis affirmed that the Lost City in southern Nevada was their home before they migrated to New Mexico.[28] That is, they may have been Great Basin Indians in the distant past. They possessed a hermaphroditic tradition; I believed that southern Nevada rock art captured that hermaphroditic tradition. They also possessed a Coyote mythology, and I believed that Coyote mythology was carved into the Great Basin's walls. I had discovered a new team player, but I would have to put them on hold. There was a team closer to home, and I was ready to play ball.[29]

At Grapevine Canyon, where the glyph combination in Photo No.5 was found, the Mohave Indians also possessed the hermaphroditic man-woman tradition. By the time George Devereux was able to recount Nawhara's first-hand knowledge of its initiatory rituals, the tradition had almost completely disintegrated. Nawhara, the last elder who possessed its ritual knowledge, recalled that from the "beginning of the world it was meant that there should be homosexuals, just as it was instituted that there should be shamans."[30] In his songs, he sang, "Ever since the world began at the magic mountain Avi-Kwame [Spirit Mountain, the site of the Grapevine glyphs] it was said that there would be transvestites."[31] When the god Matavilya (corresponding to Wolf) died, he told his people that some of them would have to become transvestites. When Matavilya returned to life, Mastamho (corresponding to Coyote) taught the man-woman rituals to the people. For the Kamia branch of Yumans in Southern California, this hermaphroditic "culture hero" also taught them agriculture.[32] But, over time, transvestism lost dominance as modern sexual reproduction emerged. Yuman creation myth explained this emergence in the following way, "a male inserted his penis into the woman's anus, and, upon being urged to insert it into her vagina, inserted his testes into her vulva."[33] With that act, the age of the god-people and the animal-people faded. Human-people, with fully-developed gendered instincts, came forth. The male and female glyph combination in Photo No. 5 depicted this phenomenon.

At Willow Springs in Red Rock Canyon, the male and female glyphs also adorned the cliff. These glyphs appeared in conjunction with a multitude of additional glyphs which are depicted in Photo No. 6. I was not ready to attempt an interpretation of all these glyphs, but I needed to draw attention to the male glyph near the center of the photo. In Photo No. 7, I took a close-up of this glyph and those nearest to it. In this photo, the male glyph was to the right

Photo No. 6 . *(Author's collection)*

Photo No. 7 . *(Author's collection)*

side of the picture. In the upper left hand corner there was a multi-legged, round-headed figure. Below it was an engraving that consisted of three parallel lines with four circular knots in each line. I felt that I could explain these three glyphs. The male glyph was clear enough; it was a symbol of sexual reproduction. As to the multi-legged figure, it has often been designated as a centipede. In accordance with the region's traditions, the centipede signified death. If this assumption was correct, then its correlation to the male glyph followed the Great Basin model. Death accompanied sexual reproduction. But when did this occur? The knotted-line glyph informed us. I could not be completely sure since the rock face had severely eroded underneath the glyph, but it did seem that the glyph portrayed only three groups of four knots. If so, it also seemed to me that this arrangement might conform to the Paiute number language involving the Four Old Men and the creation of the world. A fourth group of four, which would have brought the total knots to sixteen, did not appear. Therefore, death and the separation of the sexes took place under the auspices of the Third Old Man. This assumption conformed to the Zuni creation myth that sex-generation developed with the passage of humanity into the third great cave-world. I knew I was stretching the limits of interpretation here, but I had seen no better alternative for deciphering the twelve circular globes arranged on three parallel lines. The only other option was to ignore the glyph altogether, but scholars had been doing that for years.

I shifted my attention back to Photo No. 5. There was one final glyph that had to be identified. It was the double-horned ram which stood next to the male and female reproductive emblems. I knew that the ram figured prominently in diverse world mythologies, but I could not afford to do a comparative study. If I even considered a comparative study, I recognized that I would have to account for the migration of all these world peoples into the same regional contact areas, where these ideas could be transferred and shared. That enormous task was beyond my ken. A comparative study would have to be postponed. But the ram had puzzled Great Basin scholars for years, and I wanted, at least, to offer a basic explanation for its widespread inclusion in southern Nevada rock art. Some scholars had tried to equate the ram with the pursued prey in primitive hunting magic. I believed this theory was in error. The ram was intricately interwoven too often with cosmic symbols to be simply a beast of burden. So, I compiled the vast array of ram photos that I had taken in southern Nevada, spread them across the floor in front of me and gazed down upon them. The ram appeared with a wide variety of glyphs. There did not seem to be a pattern. There appeared, at first, to be no reason for the ram's inclusion in the pictures. In photo after photo, there were no figures depicting a hunt in progress. In southern Nevada rock art, therefore, the ram was not the object of the hunt. That much was clear. Suddenly one of the photos caught my attention. I swept down and snatched it up. Quickly, I labeled it Photo No. 8. I had taken this shot at Atlatl Rock in the Valley of Fire. One of the

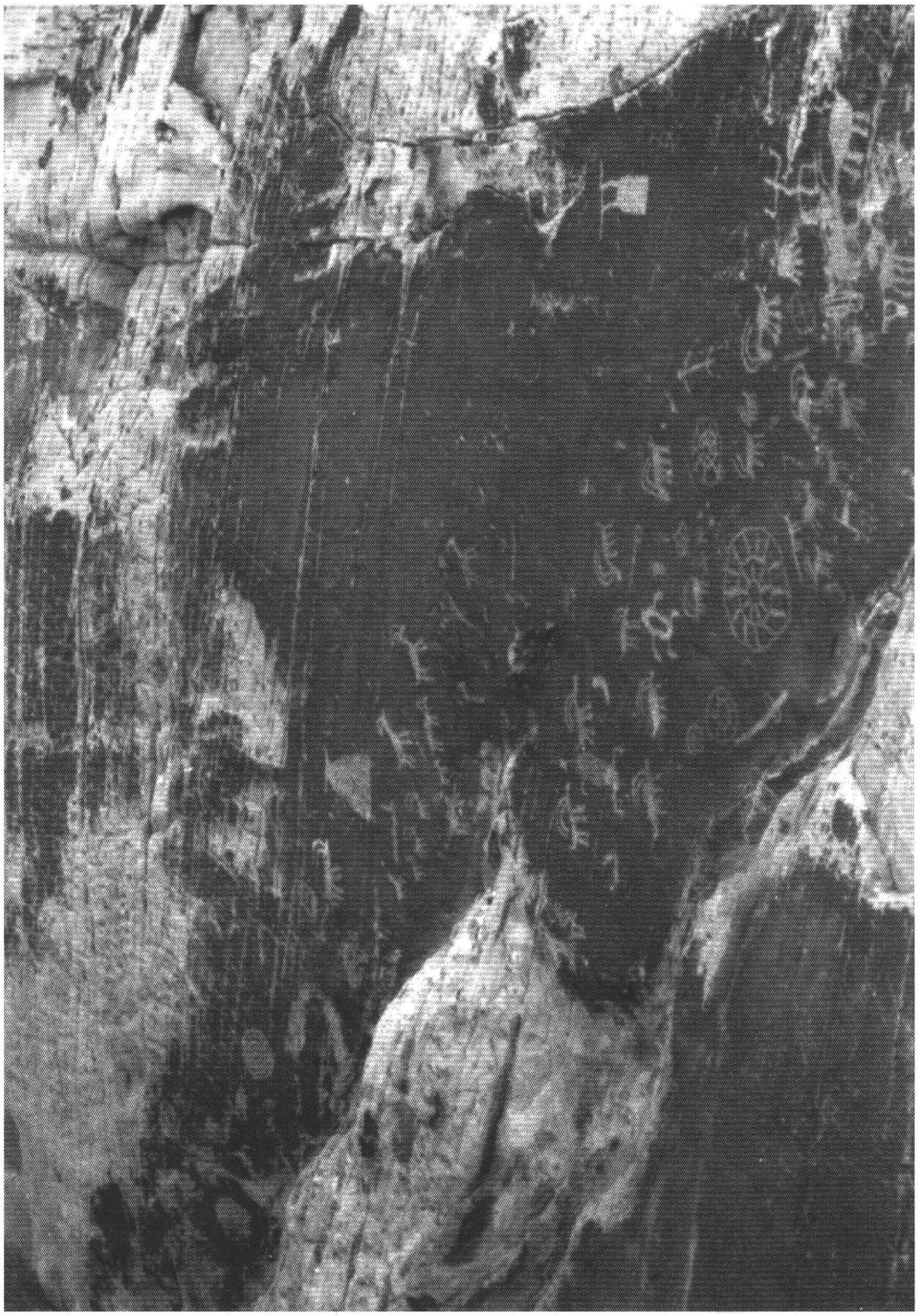

Photo No. 8 . *(Author's collection)*

rock walls which towered upward at least forty or fifty feet had been entirely covered with this marvelous display of swirling spirals, solar crosses, spinning wheels, animal-people, and rams. Creation blossomed forth all over the stone canvas. The ram was a sign associated with life, not death. In the Great Basin, the Rain Shaman was associated with the bighorn sheep. The bighorn sheep acted as his spirit guide. Through their aid, the shaman could bring rain to his people. Rain brought life and made their crops grow. The bighorn sheep were responsible for producing the yield of the harvest. Another photo captured my attention. I scribbled the words "Photo No. 9" onto it. This was the best known panel of petroglyphs at Atlatl Rock. Vibrant life poured down from the ram at the top of the picture. From the ram came the ladder descending from the cosmos into the worlds below, reaching down to the sacred trees and the animal-people until, finally, it ended with the *human foot*. I reached over to my desk and re-inspected Photo No. 5. The image of the ram, one faint and another clear, accompanied the male and female glyphs. I paused. The ram was not a glyph that represented a specific object or event. That was why it had caused so many interpretive problems. Rather, the ram explained what was going on in the rest of the picture. It was the ultimate generic glyph, so it could be placed with any combination of glyphs. When I looked at what was going on in the pictures where the ram appeared, I saw creative power, fertility, production, and increase.[34] Thus, the double-horned ram was generative. Depending on the combination of glyphs, this generative quality either related to the cosmos or to humanity. The ram was placed in the drawings to symbolize life and all the offspring that came with that life. It was the sign of manifestation or beginnings. In conjunction with the male and female glyphs in Photo No. 5, the means by which that life was produced became phallic. The ram, as the symbol of generation, completed the image conveying the beginning of sexual reproduction. But I needed a reference to Coyote mythology before I could be sure that I was on the right track. I opened up Anne Smith's collection of Shoshone tales which she had gathered together in the 1930s. As I read, I was astonished. In the "Origin Tale" which Arthur Johnson had related to Anne Smith, Coyote used the "bone of a mountain sheep" to put in, pry out, and break off the teeth in the woman's vagina.[35] Only afterward did Coyote engage in intercourse and impregnate the woman. Here was the link in Coyote mythology that joined the ram symbol to its phallic connotation. Coyote's ability to reproduce modern human children was dependent upon the phallic capacity of the bighorn sheep to penetrate the woman and make her receptive to sexual intercourse.

I collapsed into my chair. I heard music playing in the background. I listened closely. It was Bartok's First Piano Concerto. It was coming from my radio. It had been playing all along just a few feet from me, but I had not heard it. It was a massive percussion piece, but I had been too busy to notice it. I swept up the photos from the ground into my arms and collected them into a neat pile. Then I refocused on what I had done.

Photo No. 9 . *(Author's collection)*

Conclusion

In the three glyph combinations of the Southern Nevada case study, I concentrated on symbols that could be explained using the theme of gender division as found in the Great Basin model. Obviously, there were hundreds of additional glyphs that needed to be interpreted using alternative themes. By no means had I solved the entire riddle of the petroglyph writings. What I had done, in fact, was highly speculative. Solving the riddle of the glyphs had been my adventure. It had to be an adventure. Much of the rock art I analyzed was over five thousand years old, and no one was going to step from behind the curtain of time and tell me what it all meant. Western scholars could not tell me what it meant, and Native Americans could not tell me either. My so-called authorities were helpless on the matter. I believed, nonetheless, that I had discovered one crucial piece of the puzzle. Great Basin archaeologists were studying rock art, and anthropologists were studying Coyote mythology, but nobody was putting them together so that one plus one equaled two. By fusing the fields together, I had completely re-conceptualized the framework from which rock art had to be studied. And, if I was right, I had revolutionized our understanding of the world of the Native American Indian.

In Coyote mythology, gender division played a crucial role in shaping the way the Great Basin tribes viewed their own history. The separation of the sexes was a major event in their mythology. It was only natural that it should appear as a dominant theme in the rock art of the surrounding region. It also appeared in much of the rest of the United States. There was the story, for example, of Coyote sitting on top of a large rock relishing his boiled food for the last time before ascending into the heavens. After he left, the imprint of his "buttocks and testicles" remained on the boulder.[36] These markings would have been of no significance except for the fact that Coyote did not always possess genitalia. Over time, he evolved the modern form of these appendages. While this incident was recounted in Paul Radin's narrative of the Winnebago Trickster cycle (the Trickster was the figurative equivalent for the regional forms of Coyote, Raven, Hare, and Spider), it bore special relevance to the Great Basin Coyote mythology. The imprint of his testicles and vulva (Coyote could transform from man to woman at will) had also been left on boulders in Southern Nevada. In studying the Winnebago tradition, Radin essentially unraveled the mystery behind Coyote. In retrospect, his words also applied to the Coyote of the Great Basin. Radin wrote that the Trickster, or Coyote, was "primarily an inchoate being of undetermined proportions, *a figure foreshadowing the shape of man* [emphasis added]. What happens to him happens to us."[37] As such, Coyote symbolized the spiritual and physical evolution of the god-people into the human-people.

We were the human-people. In the same way that Coyote developed modern generative organs, we had developed them. As modern sexuality evolved

and the foreshadowed "lineaments of man" came into existence, the human-people forfeited the power of the gods.[38] On the one hand, biological maturity brought psychological maturity. On the other hand, the resultant death, disease, and diminution weakened the human-people to the point that they could not wield the tremendous forces that their ancestors had used so naturally. In light of this, some Native American tribes insisted on a period of sexual abstinence during special ceremonial events. This ritual abstinence hearkened back to the past when, devoid of sexual function, the god-people and the animal-people led supernatural lives. It was their remembrance of an exemplary world put into practice. The supernatural past, nonetheless, still eluded them. Men still engaged in sexual relations, men still raised families, men still died, and men still struggled with bodies ravaged and diminished by disease. In practical daily life, the exemplary world remained beyond their grasp. A few tried to recapture it through the *berdache* culture, but they ultimately failed. This distant exemplary world could be recorded, nonetheless, on the rocks, so that tribal members could gaze upon those inviolable glyphs and immediately read the sacred history of their people, Coyote's people. They might not live up to that sacred history, but they could at least know that it had once existed.

The theme of gender division was only one theme from among many that was written into the rocks to recapture Coyote's people's exemplary world. In the rock formations throughout Southern Nevada, those inviolable glyphs may have contained *all* the learning and knowledge of the Great Basin tribes throughout thousands upon thousands of years of otherwise unrecorded history. They had to contain all that knowledge because, as the Paiutes said, Coyote made them. He had sat on the rocks and his testicles were imprinted on them. He ascended to the stars and created the earth. These imprints were there as well. They had to be there because Coyote made them. *This was the metaphor*. Coyote symbolized the ages of the god-people, the animal-people, and the human-people all at once. He symbolized all that happened to them and all that became of them. The notion that he made the rock drawings was simply a thinly veiled metaphor for the fact that all of these events were recorded in the rocks. He *made* them because they told *his* story. They told us what happened to him. Without Coyote, there was no story to tell.

I raised myself out of the chair, switched off the light, and made my way to the bedroom. On the way, I heard my son stir in the corner room. I peeked in. He was still asleep; he must have muttered something in his sleep. Moments later, I entered my own chambers. My wife had already rolled over . . . a sure sign that she too was asleep.

My own bed was a few feet from hers. I climbed in and pulled up the covers. My mind wandered to my wife and son. Coyote had made it all possible. In scholarship, it may have been metaphor but, in real life, the flesh-and-blood people were sleeping next to me and across the hallway. Without Coyote, I had no wife or son. Coyote gave gender to my wife. He gave birth to my son. With-

out Coyote, I had no father, mother, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, nieces, or grandparents. I recalled my grandparents. Coyote brought death as well as life. I noticed that I had left the music on. No matter, I thought. The song had changed. The whispery chorus of Mozart's *Requiem* drifted through the house. My own mind began to drift with it. If only in my dreams, my neighbor's swimming pool awaited me. And I was going in for a long swim.

NOTES

[1]The best work on Australian aboriginal rock art is George Chaloupka's *Journey in Time: The World's Longest Continuing Art Tradition* (Chatswood: Reed, 1993). An excellent work that recounts the Australian mythological stories is Jennifer Isaacs, ed., *Australian Dreaming: 40,000 Years of Aboriginal History* (Sydney: Lansdowne Press, 1980). For a study of the men who most likely would have known the meaning of the rock art, see A.P. Elkins, *Aboriginal Men of High Degree: Initiation and Sorcery in the World's Oldest Tradition* (Rochester: Inner Traditions, 1994; originally published in 1945 by University of Queensland Press).

[2]Charles A. Eastman, *The Soul of the Indian* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1980; originally published in 1911), x.

[3]From this point on, I will be including the lower Colorado Indians near Spirit Mountain outside Laughlin as part of the Great Basin region. It should be added that the rock art of eastern California especially fits into the Great Basin style. Finally, I am also aware that some critics may disapprove of my relating the rock art back to the Coyote mythology of the present-day Great Basin tribes. Their reasoning will be based on the notion that these tribes may or may not have been in the region when the rock art was completed. But my reasoning for doing so is sound. First, scholars know almost nothing of the Native American religion in the Great Basin during the pre-Columbian era. Therefore, if these earlier tribes did execute the rock art, they did not leave behind sufficient resources for us to interpret their work. If the rock art is pre-Columbus, and most of it is, then there is nothing to proceed with in terms of an ethnological study. Scholars can know nothing of the Paleo-Indian, Desert Archaic, and Basket-maker religions except by turning to post-Columbus commentaries. Second, there must be lines of continuity connecting pre-Columbus and post-Columbus Native American religious history. For example, the modern-day Mayans have retained much of their religious tradition from thousands of years ago. It is safe to assume that the case is the same for North American Indians especially since they considered it their sacred duty to remember the Old Ways of their ancestors. Third, when the Paiutes, or any Great Basin tribe for that matter, spoke of their ancestors as having their roots in the Great Basin region from time immemorial, modern scholarship has no scientific way of denying it because historians and anthropologists have no idea who were their ancestors.

[4]While I feel that Lavan Martineau's interpretation of rock art in his book *The Rocks Begin to Speak* is incorrect, I have found his book *Southern Paiutes: Legends, Lore, Language, and Lineage* (Las Vegas: KC Publications, 1992) to be indispensable. In regard to the Shoshone Coyote mythology, Anne M. Smith's book, *Shoshone Tales* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993) is also indispensable. For the Washo, see James F. Downs, *The Two Worlds of the Washo: An Indian Tribe of California and Nevada* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966). For the Yumans, two good sources are Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (New York: Cooper Square Publications, Inc., 1970) and Leanne Hinton and Lucille J. Watahomigie, eds., *Spirit Mountain: An Anthology of Story and Song*, vol.10 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984).

[5]Barry Holstun Lopez, *Giving Birth to Thunder, Sleeping with his Daughter: Coyote Builds North America* (New York: Avon, 1977), xviii.

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 168.

[8]Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Scope of Anthropology* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967). Also, see Ray Allen Billington's *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1981) for a glimpse into the way that white views of Native Americans changed over the centuries.

[9]To this day, there is no satisfactory dating technique for determining the age of the rock art.

[10]Raphael Girard, *People of the Chan*, trans. Bennett Preble (Chino Valley: Continuum Foundation, 1995; originally published as *Las Mayas*, Libro Mex Editores, Mexico City, 1996), 4.

[11]Sydney M. Lamb, "Linguistic Prehistory in the Great Basin," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 24 (1958): 95-100.

[12]In his article, "Great Basin Prehistory," Kevin Rafferty stated, "Paiutes may have been in the Great Basin 7,000 years, based on the distribution and longevity of the Elko point, which has been traced to that time and found among Paiutes in the Utah part of the Great Basin as late as

the 1870's." See Michael S. Green and Gary Elliott, eds., *Nevada: Readings and Perspectives* (Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1997): 22-28.

[13]In regard to the "hunting magic" theory, see Robert F. Heizer and Martin A. Baumhoff, *Prehistoric Rock Art of Nevada and Eastern California* (Berkeley: University of California, 1962). If the animal engravings simply represented objects of the hunt, I would like Mark Harrington's discovery of the "composite monster with the fins of a fish and the tail of a rattlesnake" to be explained. How many of these animals were the Paiutes chasing down with their atlatl darts? Seriously though, animals in so-called "cold" cultures were figurative symbols for very complex mythological ideas. Animals viewed from within the Great Basin culture were no different. See James W. Hulse, *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted*, Second Edition (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 25. In regard to "shamanistic visions," I believe that David Whitley overemphasized the idea that the rock engravings reflected what the tribal priests saw while in their trances and underemphasized the repetitive nature of the engravings which would confirm that the engravings were a language. As a language, entrance into a trance-like state becomes unnecessary for its execution. I do not believe that the tribal priests needed to enter into a trance state to draw their symbols any more than I need to enter one to type the English letters on this page. See David S. Whitley, *A Guide to Rock Art Sites: Southern California and Southern Nevada* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1996).

[14]This is not a paper on comparative religions, but it is interesting to note that the same motif appears in the Brahmanical traditions in India.

[15]Mark Harrington established the museum in the 1930's while excavating the Lost City in Southern Nevada. For Harrington's publications on Native Americans in the region, see *Ancient Tribes of the Boulder Dam Country*, Southwest Museum Leaflets, Number 9 (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum) and *Gypsum Cave, Nevada*, Southwest Museum Papers, Number 8 (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1933). In addition, Harrington excavated the area eleven miles north of Las Vegas at Tule Springs. Early Native Americans used the site as a watering hole. It is now known as Floyd Lamb State Park. For a summary of this excavation, see Donald R. Tuohy and Terry Seelinger, "Review of Manuscripts and Publications Pertinent to a Background Study of Floyd Lamb State Park," Floyd Lamb State Park. In his work, Mark Harrington argued that Native Americans had been in Southern Nevada and the United States for at least twenty to thirty thousand years. While his views were subsequently ridiculed with the advent of carbon dating by Willard Libby in 1946, more recent scholarship has begun to vindicate him as researchers begin to push the entrance of Native Americans into the Americas back to the peak of the previous Ice Age some 65,000 years ago. See L.J. Ettinger's *The Amateur Archaeologist in the Great Basin* (Reno: L.J. Ettinger, 2000), 11. Mark Harrington was a man of courage for publicly stating his views. See Marie Harrington, *On the Trail of the Forgotten People: A Personal Account of the Life and Career of Mark Raymond Harrington* (Reno: Great Basin Press, 1985).

[16]Levan Martineau, *Southern Paiutes*, 11.

[17]David S. Whitley, *A Guide to Rock Art Sites*, 21.

[18]Raphael Girard, *People of the Chan*, ix.

[19]David Whitley, *A Guide to Rock Art Sites*, 26, 102.

[20]*Ibid.*

[21] William Palmer, *Pahute Indian Legends* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company). In fact, the four divisions of four, making a total of sixteen subdivisions, was simply one way of expressing a number language. At the Medicine Wheel in Wyoming, there are seven divisions of four, making a total of twenty-eight subdivisions. See Ralph and Mary Tillman, *The Glorious Quest of Chief Washakie: Chief of the Shoshones* (Palmer Lake: Filter Press, 1998), 29. Though this is not the place to develop the subject, Native Americans possessed a complicated number language. I do not want to overstress number language in this paper because many of the same glyphs in the rock art possess different numbers of strokes, lines, dancers, and so forth. Nevertheless, in reference to Photo #4, I have to be honest with myself and ask whether it is a mere accident that there are seven human figures associated with the four-sided squared-cross. Seven times four brings the total to twenty-eight. That mirrors the twenty-eight spokes of the Wyoming Medicine Wheel.

An excellent source for further study is William K. Powers, *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975). The Oglalas emphasized the number forty-nine. When one examines the headdresses worn by certain Native American tribes, there were often twenty-five feathers

comprising the outfit. Twenty-four was half of forty-eight. By adding one to forty-eight in order to symbolize the whole, the total was forty nine. By the same token, adding one feather to the twenty-four feathers made twenty-five. At first sight, twenty-five seems to have no relation to the number forty-nine. But in fact they are intimately connected. This shows the complicated structure of Native American Indian number language.

Central Americans also possessed a complicated number language. With the exception of the Washo Indians, the Great Basin Tribes all belonged to the Numic group of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Aztecs were the southern representatives of this language group. The numbers four and sixteen figured prominently in their traditions as well. Scholars need to study just what was the relationship between the Aztec and Great Basin number languages.

[22]Evelyn Eaton, *Snowy Earth Comes Gliding* (Independence: The Draco Foundation, 1974), 91.

[23]Levan Martineau, *Southern Paiutes*, 2. Also see Christian F. Feest, ed., *The Cultures of Native North America* (Cologne: Konemann, 2000), 332-333.

[24]Anne M. Smith, ed., *Shoshone Tales*, 7.

[25]*Ibid.*

[26]Will Roscoe, "The Zuni Man-Woman," *Ethnographic Studies of Homosexuality*, Wayne R. Dynes, ed., Vol. 2 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), 365.

[27]Frank Hamilton Cushing, *Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 383.

[28]*Ibid.*, 400. Also see Marie Harrington, *On the Trail of Forgotten People*, 160.

[29]Frank Hamilton Cushing, ed., *Zuni Coyote Tales* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998)

[30]George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology*, 9 (1937), 501.

[31]*Ibid.*, 503.

[32]*Ibid.*, 527.

[33]*Ibid.*

[34]It is interesting to note that the Two-Horn Society of the Hopi held the keys to the sacred tribal knowledge. By preserving that knowledge and correctly performing the rituals, the Two-Horn Society infused life into the community at large. The two-horns represented the horns of a ram. There are two-horned human figures in the rock art at the Valley of Fire.

[35]Anne M. Smith, *Shoshone Tales*, 42.

[36]Paul Radin, *The Trickster*, 53.

[37]*Ibid.*, xxi, 169. In this paper, I do not mean to "over-phallicize" the male and female glyphs of the Native Americans. In certain cases, these symbols might signify generation on a solar or sidereal scale rather than a human one. The same symbols would be implemented, but they would be combined with other symbols that would immediately signify to the observer that they were taking place on a cosmic level. But, for the purposes of this paper, I have been concerned with Radin's conceptualization for how the "figure" that foreshadowed man actually became man himself. Therefore, I have looked to see how these symbols can be identified with humanity rather than the heavens.

[38]*Ibid.*, 133.

Book Reviews

Finding the West: Explorations with Lewis and Clark. By James P. Ronda (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001)

Over the past two decades James Ronda has taken the interpretation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in remarkable new directions. In 1984 he crafted one of the finest volumes to be written on the expedition, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*. This work examined the labors of the Corps of Discovery through a lense that saw the West not as virgin land but as home to tens of thousands of Native Americans. Ronda transformed the encounters described in the expedition into two-way events of heretofore unexamined consequences. He then collected, edited, and contributed to *Voyages of Discovery* (1998), a work suggesting further opportunities for reassessing the expedition and its role in American history. *Finding the West* includes three of Ronda's previously published essays and joins them with four others.

In light of all of this essaying about what has been termed the "writingest expedition," has Ronda anything new to say? The answer is yes, unequivocally, for in this relaxed, at times personal, response to the labors of the Corps of Discovery, Ronda suggests a number of provocative avenues for looking at what was, most assuredly, a turning point in American history. Ronda makes a good case for his approach, asserting "Lewis and Clark saw themselves as representatives of a changing world. They embraced change, celebrated it, and made it visible in military parades, treaty talks, and trade goods" (p. xvi).

Nowhere does Ronda more vividly sweep through the winds of change than in "Coboway's Tale: A Story of Power and Places along the Columbia." This essay spins across a century of consequences felt by Chief Coboway and his band of Clatsops. The forces unleashed by Lewis and Clark were the undoing of a small nation. Ronda's almost poetic telling of the fate of the once-powerful Clatsops suggests that dozens of similar tales, sadly undocumented, befell other tribes, bands, and villages identified in the expedition's journals, field notes, and maps. This essay is both eloquent and provocative, suggesting a format for further plumbing the forces unleashed in the wake of the travels of the Corps of Discovery.

One of the most compelling of Ronda's essays is "A Promise of Rivers: Thomas Jefferson and the Exploration of Western Waterways." This commentary examines Jefferson's utilitarian fascination with rivers as arteries of commerce and builds a convincing foundation from the *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1780) to the president's letter of instruction in 1803 to Meriwether Lewis to seek a

commercial route across the continent by water. The completion of the dream of Columbus and the fulfillment of Jefferson's plans to provide Virginia with competitive economic advantages through water connections to the West hinged on navigability. Somewhere in the sloughs of the Jefferson River in Montana, the president's dream became mired in topographical realities, but the power of myth, or, as Ronda terms it "a set of fantasies about the West as a physical setting," inspired both Jefferson and the two captains who were to transact his instructions.

The least successful part of this volume is the "Map Portfolio: Maps and Storied Landscapes." The essay is but two and one-half pages and only scratches the surface in dealing with the wishful thinking, erroneous identifications, and troubled realities documented in the seven maps reproduced on pages 42-55. The maps of Peter Pond (1790) and Jedediah Morse (1801) are printed in handsome, two-page spreads. Sadly, the other four maps are exceedingly difficult to read. The classic, "A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track" (1814), engraved by Samuel Lewis, is so out of focus as to be illegible and gives lie to Ronda's sentence: "Perhaps no map in this sequence tells more influential stories than this one" (p. 54). Well, perhaps, but not in this rendering.

These essays confirm the importance of succeeding generations in rewriting history. Ronda has brought fresh perspective and compelling insight to his explorations of the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Stephen Dow Beckham
Lewis & Clark College

Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence. By Virginia M. Bouvier (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2001)

In recent years, the romantic myths surrounding the beginnings of the mission system in Spanish colonial Alta California have taken some hard knocks. As the devastating effects of the mission system on the lives and cultures of native Indian peoples have become clear, scholarly attention has focused on the precise ways the mission priests converted, domesticated and controlled the native population. Bouvier's study contributes a gendered analysis to our understanding of the Spanish conquest of Alta California and the role of the missions in particular. Further, Bouvier, who is a specialist in Latin American literature, argues that discourse theory—analysis of the biases shaping texts—can help scholars to fill in some of the silences about women in the historical record.

In fact, the sources for Spanish colonial California are pretty thin. There are hardly any private papers. Instead, there are largely demographic colonization

records, Franciscan archives of reports and correspondence from the missions, and the *testimonios* (oral histories) with elderly Spanish Mexicans conducted in the 1870s by interviewers employed by Hubert H. Bancroft for use in his histories. By using discourse theory in her examination of these historical sources, Bouvier analyzes the gender ideology that shaped the Spanish conquest of Alta California. Further, she argues that gender ideology distorted the later historical record: even when primary sources revealed the presence of women, later historians failed to report the amount of female activity and to recognize examples of female resistance to conquest.

In two opening chapters, Bouvier shows how gender ideology feminized the original Spanish conception of California (named for a beautiful black Amazon-like queen, Calafia), and influenced the Spaniards' initial contacts with its apparently peaceful and primitive native peoples. These chapters are especially useful because they employ the context of Spanish exploration and conquest throughout the Western hemisphere, not just the North American framework customarily used by American scholars. Two subsequent chapters on the colonization efforts that began in 1769 show that the difficulties and violence of the Spanish conquest were at odds with the earlier idealization. The author examines the activities of the Spanish Mexican women who colonized Alta California and held important positions in the missions. In this examination, she relies on, and somewhat extends, the work of historian Antonia Castaneda and the literary scholars Rosaura Sanchez and Genaro Padilla. The next three chapters focus on the missions and are devoted to uncovering the sexual violence, as well as other kinds of physical violence that were directed toward Indian women as a routine part of evangelization. These chapters also consider how this treatment led to their efforts to resist. The author makes a valiant effort to peer through the mission records and "see" the activities of Indian women. What she contributes here is a clear sense of how the gender assumptions of mission priests provided them with a rationale to change native gender roles, sexual behavior, and marriage patterns.

The full meaning of Bouvier's use of the notion of codes of silence only becomes clear in her concluding chapter. Until that point, I only vaguely understood the phrase to mean omissions in the historical record. But in the final chapter, Bouvier's assertion becomes both clear and sweeping: "If female experience (or that of any social grouping) is or was considered irrelevant by the chroniclers of history, then the reconstruction of a definitive history becomes impossible" (p. 172). Her study shows us how that happened in colonial California, and how we can go about imagining some of what was lost. This insight is useful to historians, but the postmodern perspective takes some getting used to. Historians generally want to build a picture from what we can recover from the fragmentary records of the past, while Bouvier's emphasis on discourse theory often made me think that she was more interested in what was lost than in what remains. Nevertheless, this study is a valuable contribution to the

so-far scanty history of colonial California. If nothing else, Bouvier's documentation of the extent of partiality should serve to keep future historians humble.

Susan Armitage
Washington State University

No One Ailing Except a Physician: Medicine in the Mining West, 1848–1919. By Duane A. Smith and Ronald C. Brown (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2001)

This reviewer enjoys reminding history students in quest of a golden age that, whatever the flaws of the time in which they live, at least they do not have to face the terrors of the nineteenth century's "Painless Dentistry." In *No One Ailing Except a Physician: Medicine in the Mining West, 1848–1919*, mining historians Duane Smith and Ronald Brown return us to an era when environmental, industrial, and occupational health problems were little understood; an era when catastrophic waves of infectious disease frequently swept over communities; an era when perhaps one in thirty mothers died in childbirth and one in twenty children was stillborn; an era when home remedies were the rule, and one called in a physician—often a person with dubious qualifications—as the last resort.

The authors detail the grim state of medical knowledge, education, and efficacy in the last half of the nineteenth century, a period one of their sources accurately described as the end of the medical middle ages. The American medical community substantially increased its size and received extensive training in dealing with carnage during the American Civil War. They applied some of these lessons to treating the occupational injuries suffered in the rapidly-industrializing mines of the West. The profession—if such a term can be used—was also beginning to gain a better understanding of public health issues, thanks to the work of European medical scientists such as Lister and Pasteur. Still, the range of treatments which even a skilled physician could conjure from his little black bag was pathetically limited. Beyond that, many of the persons claiming to be doctors in those years had only the barest of training or were purveyors of crank cures which did little, if any, good.

Given these medical realities, the authors quite correctly incorporate much more than the doings of physicians into their discussion of the era's health practices. "Medicine" in this context included issues of diet and hygiene, the salutary effects of taking "the cure" at nearby hot springs, traditional Chinese herbal treatments, the crank cures promised by "doctors" and patent medicine advertisements, and home remedies such as treating snowblindness with "pith of sassafras."

The book is organized for the most part chronologically and by region, with California, Nevada, Colorado, Alaska, and the "rest of the West" getting most of the attention. This may have been done to introduce novice readers to the Western mineral rushes in their proper order, but this reviewer would have argued for a topical rather than a regional organization of the text. If the authors or publisher felt an overview of the mining rushes was necessary, that could have been handled in an introductory chapter. That chapter could have been followed by others reviewing the health and safety conditions which prevailed in the mining rushes and discussing the treatments available—effective and otherwise. The concluding chapter could have examined the evolution of medical practices over the seventy years covered in the study. Such an approach might have focused the subjects better and eliminated some of the repetitions to which the work's geographic organization is prone.

Smith and Brown conclude that medical practices did improve, however modestly, in the era of the Western mining rushes between 1850 and 1920. They cite causes including better scientific understanding of infectious disease, improvements in anaesthetic and surgical practices, and the "Safety First" movement sponsored by governments and corporations after 1900. Proper sanitation was often a casualty of the mining boomtowns' notorious impatience with details unrelated to making money, but, as the years went on, mining camp residents experienced a rising consciousness of public health issues and an increasing willingness to make improvements necessary to insure their collective health. These latter years saw the construction of reliable water and sewage systems and the establishment of hospitals by communities, mining companies, or unions. Indeed, medical mutual aid in response to occupational injuries and disease was one of the foundation stones of nineteenth–century union building.

The authors conclude that "major medical advances made inroads slowly in most mining regions, especially after they went into decline. The mining West contributed little advancement to the medical profession or to the improvement of treatments." As if to emphasize the limits of the change, they end their discussion of public health problems by recounting the devastating consequences of the great influenza epidemic of 1918–19 in Western mining towns—particularly those at high altitudes. Here, with the close of the North American mining frontier, Smith and Brown conclude their brief and interesting study. Alexander Fleming's discovery of penicillin a decade after the great epidemic would lead to the discoveries on the medical frontier that have revolutionized the human condition in the last seventy–five years.

Eric L. Clements
Southeast Missouri State University

The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California. By Steven Stoll (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1998)

A quarter century ago, when I was twelve, my parents took me on my first visit to the golden wonderland of California. I retain three clear memories of that trip: Disneyland, Yosemite, and the fruit. The lemons were as big as oranges, and two could be had for a quarter. A paradise so lush, my L.A.-dwelling uncle assured me, that breakfast on his back terrace involved plucking an orange off a nearby tree, squeezing its sweet juice into a glass, and topping it off with a fresh-picked grapefruit.

In a superbly researched and written work, Steven Stoll shatters this California idyll, showing how early seekers after the good life in California transformed agriculture to suit the perceived natural advantages of the region and, in the process, created the mold for modern corporate agriculture. The protagonist in *The Fruits of Natural Advantage* is the farmer, but a very different kind of farmer than the Jeffersonian yeoman. Traditionally, American farmers had engaged in extensive cultivation, moving ever westward, improving yields by bringing new land under the plow without changing age-old methods of cultivation. Initially, California farmers tried this approach, and amber waves of wheat blanketed the California hillsides. Despite cartographic evidence that California lay at the geographic center of a vast grain market, wheat farmers fought a losing battle with the worldwide commodities market, inadequate transportation, and the vexing paradox of farming: as production rises, prices fall.

The railroads brought a new generation of farmers into California. These new arrivals were often middle class easterners seeking sun and a soft life. They lacked a multigenerational commitment to the land. They called themselves "growers" instead of "farmers." They balked at getting dirt under their fingernails and separated management from labor by hiring cheap seasonal workers. They came from an industrial world, where efficiency, order, and predictability could, in theory at least, be applied to all facets of human endeavor. And, they understood the economic law of comparative advantages. Grain was a global commodity, and easy cultivation in California could not offset disadvantageous transportation costs. But fruit, they argued, grew better in California's Mediterranean climate than anywhere else in America.

Everything that followed stemmed from this perceived law of natural advantage. Since California's climate could more accurately be defined as a variety of microclimates, growers selected those crops that grew best in each region, leading to a high degree of agricultural specialization. They shipped carloads of luscious fruit to the East, yet were appalled at how little money came back to them. The problem, the growers soon realized, was that they had turned specialized agricultural niche production into a finely oiled machine, yet lacked any control over the marketing and distribution of their crops. In the East, job-

bers and commission merchants sold fruit as a luxury item. This was understandable, considering how little fruit reached the marketplace in saleable condition. The problem was not the railroads, but rather the jobbers themselves. Anyone who has ever read Glenn Porter and Harold Livesay's classic *Merchants and Manufacturers* will immediately recognize the problems facing the growers. Jobbers had little experience with perishable commodities, and attempted to stockpile fruit in order to wait for higher prices and create artificial shortages—with predictable results. Acting as intermediaries between California growers and eastern wholesalers, the jobbers interfered with the flow of market information and profits. Even worse, growers who traveled to the East were horrified to discover that other states, closer to eastern markets, could produce perfectly acceptable produce. Just as manufacturing firms had already done, growers responded to the ineptitude of the jobbers by extending their activities into distribution. They established growers' cooperatives that were primarily marketing and trade associations and, as such, were vastly different from the Populist utopian ideal that was almost simultaneously being extinguished by the 1892 election. Growers used advertising to promote the virtues of regular fruit consumption and to create the mystique of California as a veritable Garden of Eden.

While the increase in the efficiency and certitude over the marketplace gratified the growers, their collective troubles were far from over. Monoculture created a paradise for unwanted plant and animal "pest" species, and growers responded with a blitzkrieg of chemicals, the likes of which had never before been seen in American agriculture. University researchers developed new chemical compounds to fight pests, and then often joined lucrative, private-sector chemical companies to make the miracles of lead arsenate available to all. Unlike the universities, the chemical companies lacked a mandate to protect California agriculture, and often sold adulterated, diluted, or otherwise fraudulent chemical compounds. In response, growers demanded government regulation. The necessity of quarantining afflicted groves brought California growers into close alliance with the regulatory mechanisms of the state, further eroding the image of a self-sufficient class of yeoman farmers. More ominously, growers incorrectly believed in chemical overkill, and excessive spraying damaged public health, created disease-resistant organisms, and displaced efforts to develop natural pest-control strategies.

Of all the obstacles that prevented growers from achieving the industrial efficiency of specialized agriculture, labor was the most intractable. Initially, growers adhered to the ideal, if not the reality, of yeoman agriculture and sought to make California a "white man's state"—hence their support of the 1882 Exclusion Act. They soon realized that they had made a terrible mistake, and spent decades searching for a labor force that was cheap, mobile, and willing to work tirelessly under brutal conditions without challenging the authority of the growers or the basic separation of labor from land ownership and

management. While growers dispassionately discussed the merits of various races and classes of potential workers, none seriously suggested that higher wages, better working conditions, or unionization might solve the labor shortage.

The labor "crisis" took place amidst a national debate concerning a crisis in agriculture. Before the First World War, many economists feared that rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration was outpacing the lackluster growth in farm productivity, leading to the Malthusian horror of a nation unable to feed itself. By the 1920s, however, the debate had shifted to the decline in farm incomes. In an attempt to attack the growing impoverishment of farmers without inconveniencing the pocketbooks of urban consumers, agricultural policy increasingly saw the solution already manifested in the California fruit groves. The national spread of the California model of specialized corporate agriculture tied to monoculture, pesticides, and the state, may have solved the "problem" as Commerce Secretary Hoover and others defined it in the 1920s. It also created a permanent agricultural underclass, impoverished our ecosystem, and destroyed the Jeffersonian ideal. By the 1930s, books and films like *The Grapes of Wrath* replaced the utopian promise of the golden good life with visions of robber barons amidst the orange groves.

Throughout *The Fruits of Natural Advantage*, Stoll deftly weaves together the disparate strands of prosopography, ecology, agricultural economics, and political and social history. In relying on an impressive array of manuscript collections, trade journals, and government documents, he ably recreates the growers' world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Stoll admits, this world was set amidst a universe that he analyzes only in passing. The policies and regulation of the railroad industry, the behavior of eastern consumers, the interplay of ethnic and racial rivalries, the struggle for migrant labor organization, riparian policy, and the evolution of the state's regulatory apparatus are all a part of the story, yet apart from it. Stoll's encapsulation of the growers is a practical necessity and is methodologically appropriate. This is the story, after all, of a small group that negotiated a compromise between traditional extensive agriculture and the capital-intensive model of big business. Even though the growers continually discovered that order and efficiency were just beyond their grasp, they also, perhaps unfortunately, succeeded in reshaping agriculture along the corporate model. It would be both naïve and inaccurate for any author to claim that agriculture could ever be fully reduced to an industrial system, and Stoll most emphatically does not make that mistake. Instead, he argues persuasively that California growers believed that they could emulate the order and the efficiency of industry, and, in their attempt to reach that goal, created profound ecological and social problems that rippled outward, far beyond the borders of the Golden State.

Albert Churella
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Wounding the West: Montana, Mining, and the Environment. By David Stiller (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2000)

The inside of this book's dust jacket states the author "argues that taxpayers should treat mining companies like the for-profit enterprises they are and insist that the hardrock mining industry pay a fair royalty for extracted minerals and then put this funding to work correcting the industry's worst historical abuses." The author, David Stiller, is a former hydrologist and environmental consultant. He makes his argument with the environmental history of the Mike Horse mine in western Montana.

The mine lies on the Continental Divide in the headwaters of the Upper Blackfoot River and is part of the Heddleston mining district. Prospector and miner Joseph Hartmiller discovered the Mike Horse Vein, a quartz-bearing diorite containing lead and silver, in 1898, and the Mike Horse Mining Company incorporated in 1902. The company or subsequent owners of the Mike Horse claims mined and shipped high grade ore or lead-silver concentrates to smelters until the late 1920s. During this early period, the mine reached its peak in 1923 and 1924 when it produced 1,120 tons of concentrate. Afterwards, the Mike Horse and the Heddleston district in general appear to have been mostly abandoned until 1940.

The author found little detailed information about the environmental impacts of the mine during this early period. However, waste rock from the mining operation piled up below the mine portals and began slowly to change its environment. Pyrite, a copper-iron sulfide commonly known as "fools' gold," in the mine and dumps played a key role in bringing about the change. It oxidized in the presence of water and air to form sulfuric acid and ferric hydroxide, creating acid water that flowed from the mine and from the waste dumps into the headwaters of the Upper Blackfoot River.

In 1940, the Mike Horse returned to life and entered an active period of mining that continued until 1952. The new owners incorporated as the Mike Horse Mining and Milling Company and brought electricity to the mine. They also improved the concentration mill by installing flotation technology and began work on the location of new ore reserves in the mine. In addition, the new company constructed a dam on Beartrap Creek, a tributary of the Upper Blackfoot River, to impound and store tailings from the new flotation mill rather than to discharge the waste into the river. The production of the Mike Horse more than doubled between 1941 and 1943, but the company still lost money. The American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) acquired the property in 1945 and further developed the mine. ASARCO operated the mine until 1952, when declining ore reserves and low metal prices brought about by the close of the Korean War forced its closure. Thus ended the only period of big-time mining at the Mike Horse. During this period, the mine produced an annual average of about 48,000 tons of ore a year. The next year, ASARCO leased

its claims to the Norman Rogers Mining Company, which worked the mine on a small scale until 1964. In late 1964, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the largest mining company in the state, leased or purchased most of the claims in an effort to explore the Mike Horse for suspected deep copper and molybdenum deposits.

The author uses the case of the failure of the Mike Horse tailings dam during the Anaconda period to illustrate his thesis that mining companies should bear responsibility for the environmental consequences of past mining activities. Mike Horse dam impounded nearly one million cubic yards of tailings when ASARCO abandoned the mine in 1952. Constructed of the same loose mill tailings, the dam rose as much as 60 feet above the creek. After flooding in 1964, the U.S. Forest Service found the structure to be unsound and requested that Anaconda, the new mine operators, bring the dam up to safety standards. Negotiations with the company, however, resulted in nothing being done. Another inspection by the Forest Service in 1972 found the dam to be deteriorating and in danger of failing. And, again, Anaconda convinced the federal agency that nothing needed to be done.

In June of 1975, three days of rain and a melting snowpack raised Beartrap Creek to flood levels and washed out the east end of the dam. The U.S. Forest Service estimated two months later that the broken dam released 200,000 cubic yards of pyritic tailings, which were carried as far as 10 miles down the Upper Blackfoot River drainage. Biological studies over the next several weeks showed a reduction of 80 percent in the brook and cutthroat trout population and a similar loss of bottom fauna in the river system. The river remained a "biological desert" for decades afterwards. In the face of what appears to be Montana's first environmental bad press over a mining-related incident, Anaconda quickly took dramatic measures to reconstruct the dam to higher engineering standards and to rehabilitate the river as a fish habitat. Despite enormous damage to the river, the author observes that neither the state of Montana nor any agency of the federal government brought criminal or civil charges. Certainly Anaconda's legendary power within the state made it politically risky for Montana's regulatory agencies to do so.

The period after the failure of the Mike Horse dam brought with it significant changes that ultimately led to an effort to clean up the abandoned mines in the Heddleston district. Anaconda merged with the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) in 1976, and ARCO gave up its plans to develop the Mike Horse and other mines in the Heddleston district in 1981, and returned its leases to ASARCO. By the mid-1980s, the regulatory environment had changed. The Montana Department of State Lands developed an aggressive abandoned mines reclamation program, and Montana passed a state equivalent of the federal superfund legislation regulating hazardous waste. In 1991, the state notified ASARCO and ARCO that they were obligated to clean up the acid mine discharges and other mining wastes in the Heddleston district. The clean up effort

is ongoing.

This book is written in the tradition of Duane Smith's *Mining America* (University Press of Kansas, 1987) and will appeal to the same audience. It alternates back and forth between scholarly and technical discussions of the geology and history of the Mike Horse mine and personal stories by the author. I enjoyed reading the book, learned a lot, and recommend it to anyone interested in mining or environmental history.

Donald L. Hardesty
University of Nevada, Reno

An Enduring Legacy: The Story of the Basques in Idaho. By John Bieter and Mark Bieter (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000)

Few could have told the story of Basque settlement in Boise as well as John and Mark Bieter, both sons of Boise's Basque colony. *Enduring Legacy* begins with the now famous march taken by Jose Navarro and Antonio Azcuenaga. These two Biscayans left northwestern Nevada in search of better pastures in 1889, and this volume presents their trek across the High Desert as the genesis of the subsequent 112 years of Boise's Basque history. The authors developed several themes contributing to the expansion of the Basque community in southern Idaho, including factors that encouraged Basques to leave their homeland and venture to southern Idaho between 1890 and 1930, the social and ethnic institutions that greeted them in Idaho after their arrival, and the Basque colony itself as it developed into a multi-generational ethnic community.

The Bieters present aspects of social historian Marcus Lee Hansen's theories on first, second, and third generation immigrants and use them to explain social and cultural developments within Boise's Basque community. As an example, they point to the history of the Bilbao-Bicandi family as thematic for settlement in Idaho's Treasure Valley. By including details explicating how a particular family responded to becoming American, the authors make this volume interesting for non-Basque and non-Boisean readers as well as for their Basque and Idaho audiences. In addition, allowing the members of the Bilbao-Bicandi family to speak for themselves throughout the book is one of its most charming aspects. The introspective quotes are well selected and keep the volume moving briskly. Through this device, we learn the reasons why grandfather Frank left home, why he came to America, and why he selected Boise. We also learn how his children felt about growing up Basque, about the family's return to *Euzkadi* years later, and about how the three daughters of son Julio view their ethnic identity today.

In addition, this volume goes a long way toward explaining a phenomenon

that Basques living in other parts of the American West have wondered about for sometime. That is, why does Boise's Basque community seem more vibrant than those found in other areas of the West? In *Enduring Legacy*, we read about Boise's more recent, more concentrated immigration pattern, about a strong concentration of ethnic boardinghouses through the 1930s and 1940s, about American Basques being elected to local and state offices, and about the early development of active societies and fraternities, which carry forward to the present. These are a few of the factors coalescing to explain why Boise's Basque community is unique among those found in the American West. Perhaps the most important factor, however, was the relationship that developed between Idaho's Basque and non-Basque communities. In an excellent chapter entitled, "Idahoans Get to Know the Basques," the Bieters discuss how the Basques have been viewed by their counterparts, and how a significant portion of the Basque population moved from itinerant herders to settled city dwellers.

While the Bieters are to be credited with focusing intently upon the Basques in Boise, they can also be faulted for leaving out some of the broader aspects of the American Basque story. For example, those unfamiliar with the Basque story in the American West might be led to believe that the first Basques coming to north America arrived in Idaho, or that Basques settled only in southeastern Idaho. Instead, five decades of post-Gold Rush immigration brought Basque settlement to each of the eleven western United States, and brought Basques in larger number to California, and in significant numbers to northern Nevada. The development and expansion of Basque colonies in other western states seems worthy of mention in this volume as well. And, while there are several inferences about the special character of Boise's Basque community, the volume stops short of making specific comparisons with other communities in the American West. In sum, the intense Boise focus of this volume piques the reader's curiosity about Basque settlement in other locations and could be handled easily by either an introductory discussion on the focus of this work or by occasional mention of other communities throughout the volume.

The Bieters rightfully reassert that "the Basques followed the sheep into Idaho," yet there is comparatively little treatment of shepherding to be found in this volume. Those who have tired of the depiction of the Basques as "lonely sentinels of the American West," forwarded first by author Robert Laxalt and subsequently by several others, might claim that as a benefit. On the other hand, those remembering that the sheep industry was the first employer of over 85% of Basque males entering the United States between 1890 and 1920 might offer another view. The Bieter brothers have assumed that the Basque shepherding story is well known by their readers and focused instead on the legacy of that inheritance. In this reader's view, the decision was a healthy one, allowing for new material to be presented and discussed.

The authors have conducted an impressive array of oral histories including representation from most of Boise's Basque families. They have skillfully folded

interview information into the extant written record and produced an even, balanced report that is pleasant reading. In *Enduring Legacy*, one can read how national events, such as the Great Depression, affected a successful Basque rancher, whose son described listening as his father paced the floor above him all night after receiving bad financial news. One can also read that many a Basque camp quieted, as the herders listened to music that reminded them of home, or how isolated herders looked forward to listening to Espe Alegria's weekly Basque-language radio show on KBOI, which broadcast that show from the late 1950s through 1981. And, one can read an excellent chapter on how Boise's non-Basques responded to the growing numbers of sons from *Euzkadi* in their midst.

This book sets a new standard for histories of individual American Basque communities. It far exceeds any in the collection of rather dated master's and doctoral theses on Basque communities that currently exist, and it challenges others to produce similar volumes. These two sons of a Basque mother and a German-Irish father who adopted Basque culture and language, who were raised in the heart of Boise's Basque colony, are to be congratulated for successfully avoiding the temptation of overplaying the significance of Basques in Boise, or of their own wonderful parents, to whom this volume is dedicated. It may be a long while before Basques in the United States see another such excellent volume. Congratulations to the University of Nevada's Basque Book Series, and to John and Mark Bieter, for adding another fine volume to its collection.

Jeronima (Jeri) Echeverria
California State University, Fresno

Dust Bowl, USA: Depression America and the Ecological Imagination. By Brad D. Lookingbill (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2001)

Reading Brad Lookingbill's statement in the Introduction to *Dust Bowl, USA*, that "because knowledge arises phenomenologically out of the sensory engagement with circumstances through languaging, the distinction between an objective reality and an observing subject is untenable in discourse" (p. 2), I was concerned. Here I am, a bench historian in an academic backwater who is used to saying that pigs is pigs, and having everybody pretty much get what I'm talking about. Could I understand a book freighted with post-modernist concepts and jargon seldom heard, mercifully, outside of departments of modern language? As it turns out, I could, or at least I believe I could, because what *Dust Bowl, USA* seems to be mainly about is the myths whereby outside observers and folks in the Dust Bowl region—conventionally and

narrowly defined by Lookingbill—conceived, explained, and understood what was happening.

Among the most popular myths were the Biblical ones. Plains folk and others with a religious bent saw the drought and dust as Divine retribution for the sins of the people, and allusion to the plagues of Egypt and other ancient catastrophes was common. The frontier myth was also popular, both among those who insisted that local victims would conquer the drought because they were made of the same stern stuff as their pioneer forebearers, and among those who saw the frontier striking back. The myth of the desert, it seemed, was conquering the myth of the garden. Those who prescribed something beyond rain for the parched region borrowed traditional myths and fashioned some of their own. Grasslands ecologists promulgated the myth of the climax community, for example, and government officials fashioned myths of rehabilitation and reform.

Lookingbill recounts these myths and others by borrowing liberally from published sources, most of them well known, which he paraphrases in extended passages. For example, he follows four paragraphs on John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* with four more on *The Golden Bowl* by Frederick Manfred and another four on Woody Guthrie's *Dust Bowl Ballads*. Going at his task in this way, Lookingbill eventually cobbles a whole book together, albeit a very short one of fewer than 130 pages of text.

Lookingbill is at his best when he unravels myths. When he attempts to convey what most historians would define as straight facts he runs astray. Among other errors, he misunderstands the relationship between Southern Plains Indians and the buffalo (p. 13), suggests that government price controls on wheat enacted during World War I did not end until the onset of the Great Depression (p. 21), accepts the erroneous notion that the drought triggered a massive outmigration from the Dust Bowl region (p. 22), and confuses the nature and effects of New Deal agricultural programs. Lookingbill might say that the products of scholarly research are themselves myths, and by his broad definition he may be right. But many historians would argue that some myths are more mythic than others, and that agreed-on and verifiable facts deserve more respect than Lookingbill gives them.

Lookingbill writes early on that "historians have yet to answer the question: How did Depression America conceive the dust bowl?" (p. 4) While that may be technically true in his terms, this is a subject to which a number of talented historians have turned their attention. Donald Worster looked at the phenomenon from a Marxist-environmentalist point of view, and Paul Bohnifield chronicled how the people living there viewed it. Douglas Hurt focused on government programs and Pamela Riney-Kehrberg on family survival. Ronald Tobey told the story of grasslands ecology, and James Malin, Walter Stein, and James Gregory have explored Dust Bowl migration. Scholars familiar with these works and others will appreciate *Dust Bowl, USA's* construction and

Lookingbill's prose, which is quite nice when not freighted with post-modernist jargon. What they will not find here is anything they did not know or have not seen. Indeed, *Dust Bowl, USA's* main accomplishment may be to indicate that this subfield has temporarily exhausted its possibilities. The topsoil has all been removed, and we are left with unproductive hardpan. Perhaps it's time to let the Dust Bowl lie fallow for a while, resolving to return to it only when its fertility is restored.

Pam Murphy
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New Views of Borderlands History. Edited by Robert H. Jackson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998)

For more than three centuries, Spain's northern borderlands stretched from Florida on the Atlantic to California on the Pacific. What we call Nevada today was included in that huge area (nominally as part of Alta California). Because much of the area comprising present-day Nevada, however, today was lightly populated and formidable to explorers, it would remain *terra incognita* until well into the nineteenth century. The Spanish expeditions that traversed portions of the Intermountain West in the 1700s searched for a route from New Mexico to the Pacific or assessed the region's potential for colonization. Although Nevada remained for the most part untouched (and never settled) by Spain, many other areas in a broad zone stretching across North America were effectively controlled by church and crown through the familiar combinations of missions, presidios, and pueblos.

New Views of Borderlands History is about this varied region's history, and it focuses largely on the challenges faced by Spain in settling the area in colonial times. The term "borderlands" suggests a zone of contact between different political realms, and Spain's northern frontier was just that. This book explicitly addresses the challenges that Spain faced as it encountered peoples of varied backgrounds in this region. Spanish expansion into the northern frontier not only brought Spaniards face to face with native peoples (whom they sought to convert and control), but also head-to-head with other European powers (whom they hoped to repel). These included the French, British, Russians, and North Americans, who, by turns, made life vexing for Spanish authorities throughout the period from the 1600s until Spain's departure from the North American mainland in 1821. Clearly, any interpretation of Spain's presence here needs to address both internal and external threats to stability.

As suggested by the words "new views" in the title, the anthology under review here promises to offer new interpretations of Spanish borderlands'

history. That promise itself is noteworthy, for the twentieth century was rich in interpretations and reinterpretations of this region, from Herbert Eugene Bolton (early to mid 1900s), to John Francis Bannon (mid to later 1900s), to David Weber (later 1900s to the present). The work of these leaders is often sweeping and visionary; yet, borderlands scholarship is also often enhanced and advanced by smaller essays like the ones included in this anthology. *New Views of Borderlands History* consists of seven essays, each intended to shed light on some aspect of, or locale in, borderlands history. After a brief but informative introduction by editor Robert Jackson, the essays begin with Susan Deeds's "Colonial Chihuahua: Peoples and Frontiers in Flux"—a fine synopsis of that province's crucial role (and strategic place) in Northern New Spain. Ross Frank's "Demographic and Social Change in New Mexico" is refreshing in that it emphasizes cultural contact and mobility, and is told (in part at least) through the words of native peoples. Robert Jackson's essay on "Northwestern New Spain: The Pimería Alta and the Californias" provides a good, detailed, comparative interpretation of two of Spain's more effectively settled frontier areas. In "Spanish Colonial Texas," Jesús F. de la Teja provides a nice synopsis of Spain's settlement in that province, effectively using a number of original historical records and correspondence to personalize the story. Robert Jackson's essay entitled "The Formation of Frontier Indigenous Communities: Missions in California and Texas" offers a solid comparative interpretation of why the California missions were generally more successful than those of Texas. Peter Stern's excellent essay on "Marginals and Acculturation in Frontier Society" helps explain the potency of ethnicity in creating and sustaining frontier identities. In "The Spanish Colonial Floridas," Patricia Wickham masterfully interprets Spain's tortured relationship to the region's Indians and other interloping European powers. This book concludes with editor Robert Jackson's altogether too short (less than two pages!) conclusion that explores "Some Common Threads on the Northern Frontier of Mexico."

Because this book promises "new views" of borderlands history, this reviewer kept track of what might constitute a "new" view—that is, something never before revealed or expressed—versus older or more accepted views. Although never specifically defined by the editor, the "new views" appear to fall into two areas an appreciation of geographical and spatial aspects of settlement, and a rather sophisticated view of the complexities of demographic change and cultural identity. These views, I might add, are fairly new to historians, but decidedly not new to geographers and anthropologists who have used them for more than a generation. Yet, when placed in historical context, the historians writing here have indeed added some new and refreshing perspectives to the historical literature on the borderlands. Although each of the individual essays might have been more effectively integrated with material in the other essays, each essay is well written, and most do shed some new light on the subjects under consideration. Sometimes that new light is in the form of rev-

elations about the actual conditions in the borderlands, as in newly discovered primary sources that help us better understand peoples' social and economic status on Spain's northern frontier. For the most part, however, those revelations are in the form of fresh—one might say constructively revisionist—interpretations of subjects that have been written about for generations. Although this reviewer hoped to see more comparison between the essays, that would have been difficult to accomplish. After all, this is an anthology and has the inherent strengths and weaknesses of such edited works. And yet, I would be remiss if I did not point out one flaw that relates, in part, to the challenges of editing a work by numerous authors: this book is plagued in a few places by gremlins that include typographical errors and occasionally misnumbered endnotes (one essay, for example, has two different endnotes with the same number).

I am left with one other concern about this book that I often have about other histories, revisionist or traditional: The term "new views" suggests not only new viewpoints, but also new visual content. Sadly, however, this book is sparsely illustrated. The only maps in it are reprinted from previously published books on the borderlands. True, these maps do help orient the reader to some extent, but many are so general that they do not even show some of the important places referred to in the essays. And, although a few illustrations of native peoples from the early 1800s are included, as are modern photos of historic missions, these appear in a separate section and are thus isolated from the text. Surely a book on "new views" could provide us just that—engrossing new images as well as new viewpoints. These few shortcomings aside, *New Views of Borderlands History* has much to recommend it, and deserves the attention of anyone seriously interested in the borderlands of New Spain.

Richard Francaviglia
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Mo: The Life and Times of Morris K. Udall. By Donald Carson and James Johnson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001)

Writing the personal and professional biography of a politician with a thirty-year career is a difficult enough task. When that politician was as prolific and influential as Morris K. Udall, the task is even more formidable. Udall's career spanned three decades and significant changes in America's political culture. He influenced Arizona politics, water policy, environmental issues, the Congressional response to the Vietnam War, national parks, race relations, and the institutional reforms of Congress in the early 1970s.

Morris Udall's relationships with other politicians, both Democratic and

Republican, were exceptionally complex. Because of his support for institutional changes that would increase the power of junior members in Congress, he often fought with the senior members of his own party. Even though he was considered a member of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, his relatively conservative district required that he sometimes cross Democratic groups, like labor, often to the detriment of his long-term political ambitions. For example, Udall believed that many of his attempts to rise to power both in the House and nationally were undermined by his vote against repealing the section of the Taft-Hartley Act that allowed states to implement right-to-work laws.

Finally, his personal life was as complex as his professional life. He suffered from many serious ailments throughout his life, including the loss of an eye, a bout with spinal meningitis as a child, and Parkinson's disease. He was raised Mormon but, as an adult, his relationship to the Mormon church was almost non-existent. He had complicated relationships with three wives, six children, and one stepson.

As an individual, he was widely considered intelligent, politically savvy, and highly ethical. He built political coalitions to achieve the best public policy, even when he knew the outcome would be problematic to his future political goals. He was a classic example of the conflict faced by congresspeople in attempting to reconcile meeting district interests, generating national policy, and staying true to their own political beliefs. He was also willing to revisit his previous actions, sometimes publicly, to determine if they led to the best outcomes, often verbalizing his dismay over his past decisions (e.g., the Central Arizona Project). This is a characteristic we rarely see in modern-day legislators.

Given the complexity of their topic, authors Donald Carson and James Johnson do an admirable job. While the focus is on Udall's role as a public servant (most interviews were conducted with political allies, contemporaries, friends, and former staffers), the authors manage to incorporate his personal relationships and personality traits into their discussion of him as a public person. For example, an entire chapter is dedicated to his use of humor in his personal and professional lives.

In addition, they often connects current day events to the policies that Udall helped develop, illustrating quite well the long-term impression he made on American politics and policy. For example, one issue they discuss is his work to protect the Alaskan wilderness, an issue that has just resurfaced given the current presidential administration's concern with energy and oil development.

While the authors highlight each of the important aspects of his personality, personal relationships, and career, the connection between his personal life and his professional life was not, however, fully realized because of the structure of the book. The authors organized the book chronologically only for the period of Udall's life prior to his election to Congress and then moved to an issue-based discussion of his achievements. However, Udall was an interest-

ing individual not just because of the influence that he had on American politics during a period of substantial cultural and political change, but also because he was such a unique person independently of that. While Carson and Johnson alluded to a connection between the two aspects of his life throughout the book, there never seemed to be a concrete discussion of the most important aspects of his character, how those characteristics developed, and the influence they had on Udall's activities as a politician.

Morris K. Udall was an honest, insightful, and thoughtful public policymaker. He had a celebrated sense of humor, which he used both to draw people to him and to keep a distance between himself and them. He clearly wanted to gain power in U.S. politics, but his ethics required that he often do what was right regardless of the impact on his political future. His decision to change his position on the Vietnam War, contrary to the interests of his own party's administration and his own district's opinion, was one such act.

In contradictory fashion, his vote on the Taft-Hartley right-to-work provision illustrates his willingness to take positions with which he may not have agreed in order to make his district happy and to win re-election, while undermining his relationships with his party. In other words, Udall was a complicated individual with many characteristics not readily found in modern, American politicians. While each of these unique attributes is discussed in the text, the issue-based organization of the second half of the book makes his personal considerations seem secondary to those political issues, rather than crucial to a complete understanding of the man that Udall was—both public and private.

In his foreword to the text, Udall's friend and political writer, Larry King, noted that Carson and Jackson had produced "the best and most complete record of Mo Udall's congressional career ever published." They certainly did. They also chronicled his childhood and family life quite well. They missed the opportunity, however, to connect the individual characteristics of the man to the public servant in a manner that would lead readers to understand not just his accomplishments, but why he felt compelled to achieve what he did.

Stacy B. Gordon
University of Nevada, Reno

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Founded in 1904, the Nevada Historical Society seeks to advance the study of the heritage of Nevada. The Society publishes scholarly studies, indexes, guidebooks, bibliographies, and the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly;* it collects manuscripts, rare books, artifacts, historical photographs and maps, and makes its collections available for research; it maintains a museum at its Reno facility; and it is engaged in the development and publication of educational materials for use in the public schools.


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