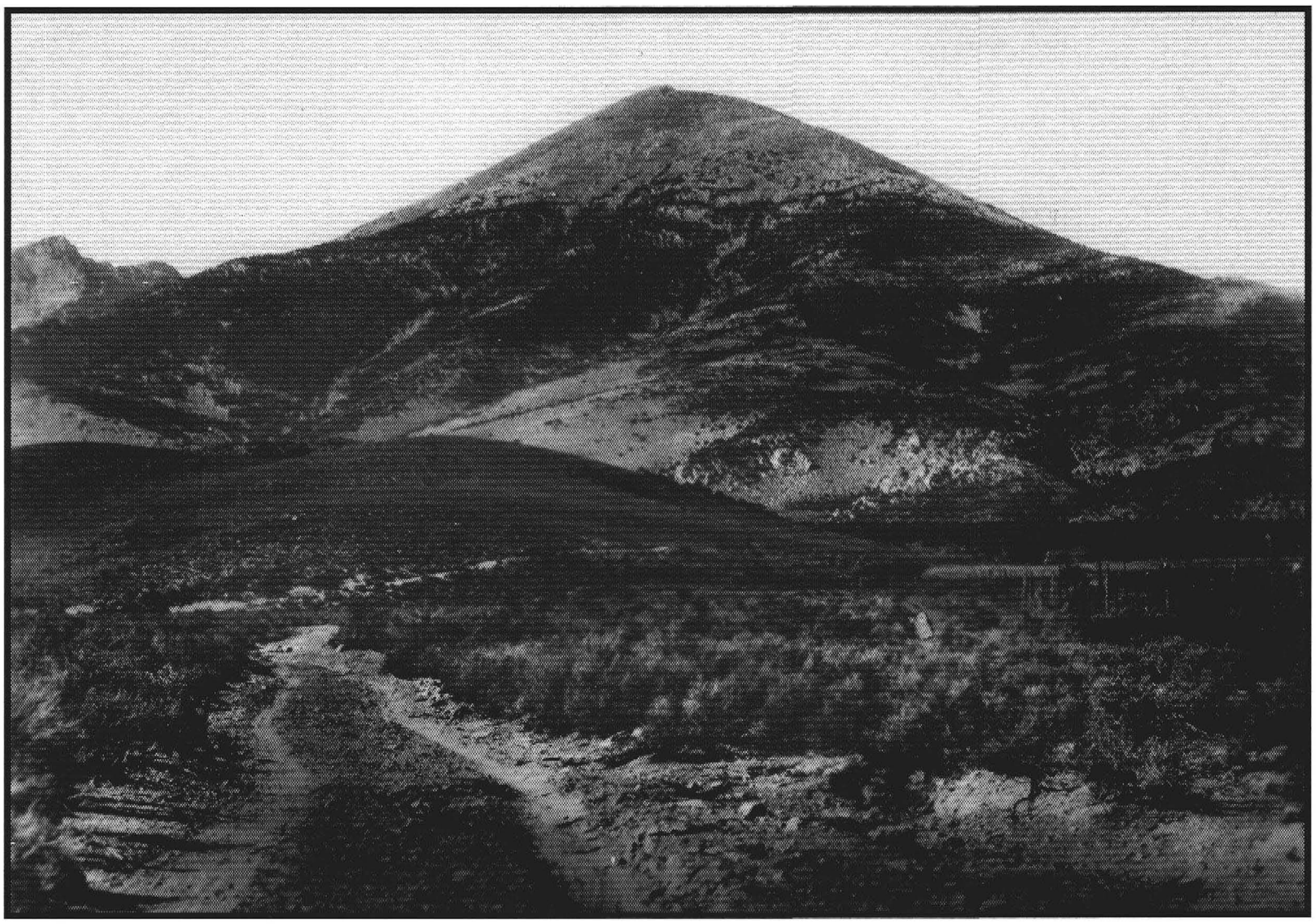
Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly



FALL 2005

Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

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

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Book Reviews

Front Cover: Postcard of Mt. Wheeler, ca. 1920.
(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)

Native Americans, the Lehman Caves, and Great Basin National Park

STEVEN CRUM

INTRODUCTION

From the mid-1990s forward, a number of scholars have become deeply interested in the subject of Native Americans and the national parks. This academic interest is reflected in recent scholarship that includes one master's thesis, two doctoral dissertations, five journal articles, and the following three books: Robert Keller and Michael Turek's *American Indians and National Parks* (1998), Mark Spence's *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (1999), and Philip Burnham's *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (2000).[1]

Perhaps the best explanation for the shift to this subject is that it is an area that has been largely ignored by the academic community. For the most part, scholars who have written about Native American history over the years have focused on the Indian tribes and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In doing so, they have bypassed Indian interactions with other federal agencies, including the National Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and of course, the National Park Service.

Combined, the recent scholarship shows that several Native American tribes have had both historical and recent interactions with the federally-run National Park Service. Some tribes used to live within designated park land but were removed by park officials so that the American government could create an "uninhabited wilderness" for the public.[2] Some tribal individuals continue to reside within park boundaries because of their determination not to leave the home of their indigenous ancestors. Some Indian reservations share common boundaries with parks. Some park land lies within the boundaries of some reservations. In short, the recent scholarship shows the connection between Indian tribes and individuals and the National Park Service.[3]

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As for the Great Basin National Park, formerly called the Lehman Caves, it does not fit the pattern described in the recent scholarship. When the American government created this park in east-central Nevada, no Native Americans lived inside the newly designated park area. This does not mean that Indian people had never lived in the region. Instead, the area of the park had previously been the homeland of indigenous people for centuries up to the closing years of the nineteenth century. But because of Indian removal and other factors, tribal people no longer lived inside or adjacent to the designated area. And it was thus unnecessary to initiate Indian removal to make way for the establishment of the Great Basin National Park.

This article examines the earlier Native American history of the area called the Lehman Caves, which is now inside the Great Basin National Park. The first part examines the precontact period up to the mid-nineteenth century. The second covers the period after Euro-American settlement, from the mid-nineteenth century forward. A good part of the study focuses on the native history of Snake and Spring valleys located near the park.

THE PRECONTACT PHASE

One important source for reconstructing the Native American past is the archeological record. Over the years, various scholars have examined human remains and human-made objects left behind by native peoples. These remains give us a glimpse of past times. One of the earliest findings of native existence was based on remains that came from the Lehman Caves area itself. In 1922, the location around the caves became part of the land base of the National Park Service. To encourage public visitation to the caves, the park service decided to improve the area. In 1937, park employees enlarged the cave opening and quickly found human bones at the base of the entrance. Initially, they unearthed two human skulls they "believed to be several hundred years old."[4]

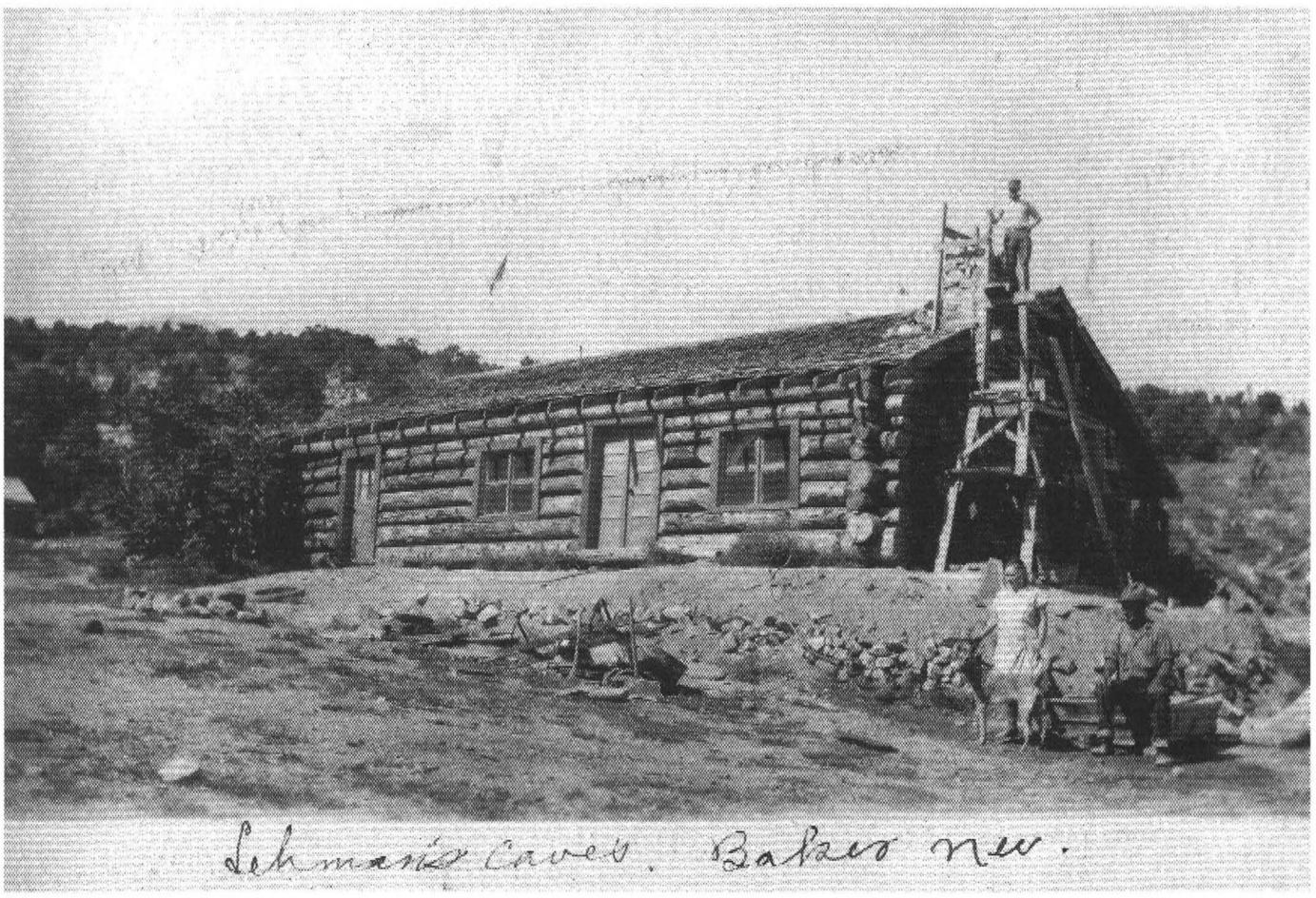
Over the next several months, in late 1937 and 1938, various scholars examined those remains and produced tentative reports. T. Dale Stewart of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., examined the skulls and concluded that one was "Shoshonean" and the other was "more northern." Without doubt, the Smithsonian scholars were referring to the Western Shoshone people living in eastern Nevada. But their rationale for labeling of the other skull as "more northern" remains unclear, for they left no explanation.[5] In addition, M. R. Harrington, curator of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, carried out a separate examination. He concluded that the "roundskull" was of "early Pueblo origin" and the "long skull" was "probably basketmaker."[6] But Harrington never elaborated on the two cultures he identified. Had he done so, he would have specified that the skulls belonged to ancient Anasazi Pueblo Indians who established numerous sedentary settlements in the Southwest and a few even

further north, including the area near the Lehman Caves. Harrington also did not discuss the two time periods he denoted. As to the early Pueblo period, other scholars referred to it as Pueblo I and II, covering the years A.D. 700 to 1100. The Basketmaker period of Anasazi culture refers to Basketmaker I, II, and III, and covers the years 200 B.C. to A.D. 700.[7]

Harrington was both right and wrong in his conclusions. He was correct in recognizing the fact that ancient Anasazi people did live near the caves years earlier. But he also did not recognize the existence of Shoshonean-speaking people who also lived in the area. S. M. Wheeler, a colleague of Harrington, also commented about the remains, concluding that they were not associated with grave sites. Rather, they might have been "thrown in."[8]

For a number of years after 1938, no one expressed an interest in the human remains unearthed in the Lehman Caves. But in the late 1950s and early 1960s, certain officials wanted the area of Lehman Caves to be classified as an official and enlarged national park. This movement sparked an interest in re-examining the earlier history. In 1962, the acting assistant to the regional director of the National Park Service, with headquarters in San Francisco, recapped his knowledge of the area based on the earlier reports. He indicated that the skulls were of two types: "Shoshonean" and "Puebloid." However, he could not put a date on the remains, and stressed that "these burials may be as old as 1,000 years ago, or as recent as 100 years ago." Unlike the previous investigators, this park official pointed out that the earlier Pueblo lived in the area "until around 1200 or 1300 A.D."[9] But he did not indicate what had happened to them. He also pointed out that Paiutes lived near the Lehman Caves area in the early 1960s. On this point he was wrong, for the Paiutes lived farther to the south and southeast, or at least a hundred plus miles away. Rather, it was the Western Shoshone and Goshute tribal people who lived closest to the Lehman Caves at this time. In addition to the park official in San Francisco, some people in Ely, Nevada, located some sixty miles west of the caves, also highlighted the recent interest in the Lehman Caves. The *Ely Record*, one of two newspapers in Ely, included an article entitled "Indians Knew of Caves before Lehman's Find." The article was not based on oral interviews with the Indians but on the earlier archeological reports; it noted that eight human skeletons had been unearthed, a figure not specified in the reports.[10]

This renewed interest prompted the National Park Service to contract with archeologists to carry out a more thorough excavation of the Lehman Caves area in 1963. One year later, with the new work finished, archeologist Charles Rozaire released his findings in still another report that basically confirmed the older findings; but it did have one new conclusion, that ancient Indians had used the cave as a temporary occupation site. This finding was based on eighteen hearths identified inside the cave. These fireplaces of years ago were used for either "light or heat." But because native peoples left behind limited material culture such as tools, arrowheads, etcetera, Rozaire could not provide



Lehman Caves, near Baker, Nevada, 1920s. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

a more comprehensive picture of those who once used the Lehman Caves. Thus he concluded, "Unfortunately most of the evidence bearing on aboriginal man's association with Lehman Caves is negative and inconclusive due to the relatively small amounts of cultural data recovered."[11]

Finally, in 1986, the federal government classified the Lehman Caves area as the Great Basin National Park. The new park status prompted the park service to carry out one more archeological assessment, in 1990. Susan Wells's report, "Archeological Survey and Site Assessment at Great Basin National Park," was based not on further archeological excavations, but on the earlier studies. One interesting feature of her report was the classification of four precontact phases of early Great Basin history: (1) the Paleo-Indian Period (12000 - 9000 B.C.), or the period of the big-game hunters who existed before the end of the last ice age, (2) the Great Basin Desert Archaic Period (9000 B.C. - A.D. 500), the period of hunters and gatherers, (3) the Parowan Fremont Period (A.D. 500 - 1300), the period of the Anasazi Pueblo farmers, and (4) the Western Shoshone Period (A.D.1300 - present).[12] Although this time line helps the reader to grasp a clear picture of the earlier history, it contains some major problems. One difficulty is that it gives us the impression that Western Shoshone Indians were late arrivals into the Great Basin area of the Utah-Nevada border area, that they entered the scene around A.D. 1300. This was not the case, for the Shoshone people had no history or memory of having migrated into their current home in recent years,

not even seven centuries ago, around 1300. Rather, the Shoshone people maintain that they have always lived in the Great Basin area. When the Shoshones encountered the first Euro-Americans in the mid-nineteenth century, they were, for the most part, hunters and gatherers. In other words, their native lifestyle was like that of the so-called Great Basin Desert Archaic peoples who lived in the area from 9000 B.C. to A.D. 500. Thus, the Shoshones have a long history of occupation in the Great Basin area.[13]

Other archeological studies give us an even clearer picture of some of the early precontact native peoples who lived in the area near the Lehman Caves. In the early 1950s, one archeological team excavated the so-called Garrison Site located near Garrison, Utah, and Baker, Nevada, and, of course, close to the Lehman Caves. Having examined this site along the Utah-Nevada border, archeologists identified the people who had lived there as Anasazi Pueblos who grew corn, constructed semisubterranean structures made of adobe walls, and produced painted pottery within the Pueblo I and II periods (A.D. 900 - 1100). These early sedentary dwellers represented the northernmost periphery of the earlier Anasazi culture whose nucleus lay farther south, in northern Arizona and the Four Corners area. The author of the Garrison study indicates that these Anasazi people left this Nevada-Utah area permanently around 1276 when an extensive drought hit the region. They never returned after having lived in the area for some seven or eight centuries.[14]

If much of the Garrison report focused on the earlier Anasazi people, it did not ignore completely the modern-day Indians who lived in the area in the early 1950s. The archeologists contacted the Goshutes living on the Goshute Reservation that straddles the Nevada-Utah border and is located some eighty to ninety miles to the north in Deep Creek Valley. Based on their informal talks with the Indians, they included in their report that, at the time of Euro-American contact, the Goshutes' practice was to place their deceased inside the entrance of cave openings. In addition, the archeological team did not excavate one particular cave near the Garrison site "because of opposition from local Goshutes, who thought that we would disturb their ancestors."[15]

In the early 1970s, other archeologists conducted excavations at Smith Creek Cave near Baker and the Lehman Caves. In the Smith Creek Cave they unearthed old corn kernels and corn cobs most likely left behind by the Anasazi farmers who had settled the Garrison area centuries earlier. They also found painted Pueblo pottery in another nearby cave. Thus the identification of solid material culture (pottery shards, adobe walls, etcetera) gives us a somewhat visible picture of the Pueblo people who once lived in the area but who left some nine centuries ago.[16] The fact that scholars have identified at least one "Puebloid" type skull in the Lehman Caves tells us that some early Pueblos were well aware of the caves.

THE POSTCONTACT PHASE

The archeological evidence provides only an incomplete picture of the precontact indigenous peoples who lived near the Lehman Caves area and it tells us very little about the Shoshone and Goshute people who still live in the larger region. To gain information about the Shoshonean-speaking people and their way of life before, and at the time of, white contact, we must examine the work of anthropologist Julian Steward. In 1935 and 1936, Steward, now regarded as one of the big names in American anthropology, studied the tribal peoples of the Great Basin, including the Western Shoshones, Northern Paiutes, and the Goshutes. He produced several studies, and his *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938) is still regarded as a classic.[17]

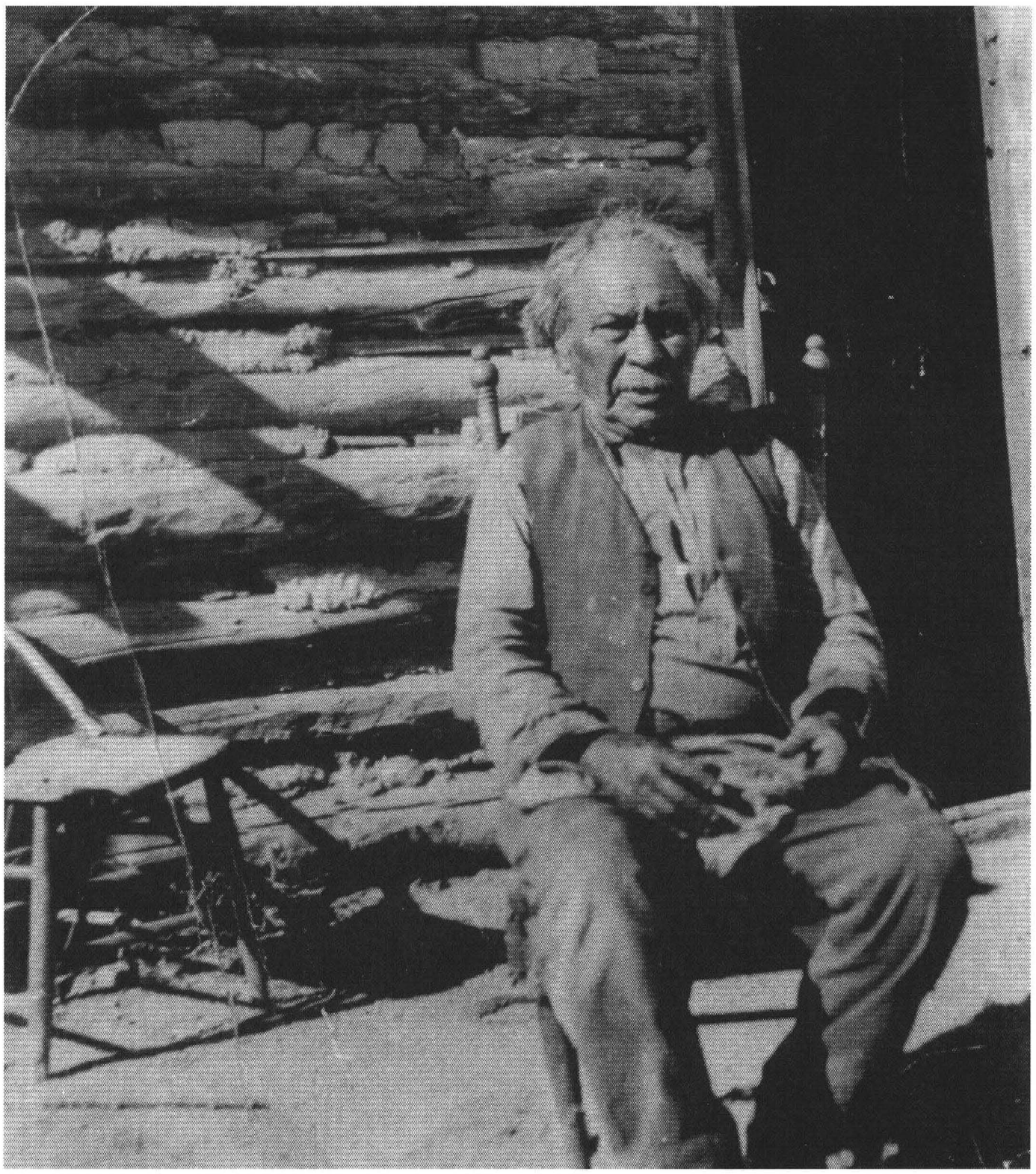
Based largely on field work, including oral interviews with native informants, Steward's *Basin-Plateau* contains important data, especially about the Shoshone way of life at the time of contact. One important finding was the identification of mid-nineteenth-century native encampments around present-day Baker, Nevada, or just below the Lehman Caves area, and in nearby Spring Valley, which lies to the west of Lehman Caves.[18] Although Steward never used the name Lehman Caves in his study, he clearly put the locality within the territory of the Shoshones. He stressed that the Shoshones occupied nearly all of Snake and Spring valleys, but the Shoshones shared the extreme southern ends of both valleys with Southern Paiutes. The Shoshones also shared the southern end of Snake Valley with the Utes, whose primary homeland lay farther east, in central and eastern Utah.[19]

Steward made no distinction between the Shoshones and the Goshutes living in eastern Nevada. He considered both to be one and the same, and not two separate tribes. Here are some of his comments about these peoples:

> Gosiute are Shoshoni . . . Gosiute [or Goshute] are wholly Shoshoni . . . . Culturally . . . the Gosiute were essentially like their Nevada neighbors . . . there is no reason to regard them as fundamentally different from other Shoshoni . . . . Gosiute, who were indistinguishable, culturally and linguistically, from Shoshoni lived in the region bordering the Great Salt Lake Desert.[20]

On the above matter, Steward is essentially correct, for the Shoshones and Goshutes speak the same language (although there are some vocabulary and dialectical differences) and share the same culture. But, because of geographic location and postcontact historical and political developments, the two now view themselves as two separate entities, which will be discussed later in this article. Most, but not all, of the Shoshonean-speaking people who lived in both Spring and Snake valleys until the late nineteenth century are now classified as Goshutes and live on the Goshute Reservation some ninety miles north of the Lehman Caves.[21]

One of Steward's informants, identified only as "JR," was a full-blooded Shoshone who was born around 1880 in Spring Valley and lived in Baker



Antelope Jack was a Native leader in Eastern Nevada until his death in 1928.*(Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints Church Archive)*

and Ely as an adult. JR told Steward that the Shoshones/Goshutes probably practiced agriculture and used irrigation in Snake and Spring valleys before white contact.[22] Although Steward gave the impression that JR was uncertain about his knowledge, JR's information is correct, for the Shoshones/Goshutes did practice small-scale subsistence agriculture before Euro-American contact and in the early years of American settlement in eastern Nevada in the 1860s and 1870s.[23]

Steward never discussed the origins of Shoshone/Goshute farming in his studies, but the Indians' knowledge most likely came from one of two sources. It could have been a carryover from the earlier Anasazi period when the Shoshones and Anasazi were neighbors who had lived side-by-side for some centuries. Unlike the Anasazi, however, the Shoshones had always placed most of their emphasis on hunting and gathering. Some of them, specifically a few living in the Snake and Spring valleys before white contact, could have learned agriculture from the Pueblos. They maintained this practice until the late nineteenth century, when the white Americans entered the scene.[24]

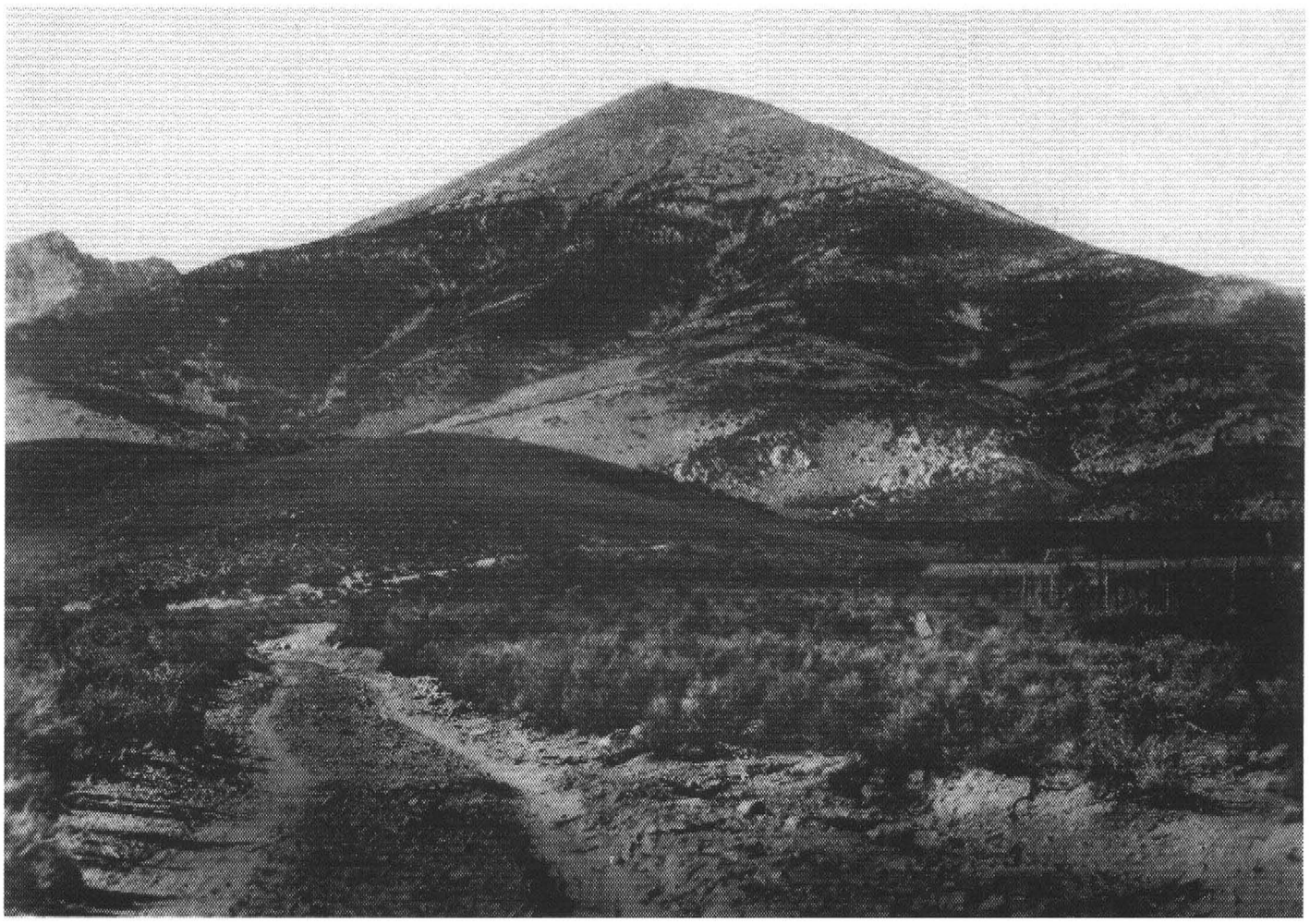
If the Shoshones did not acquire farming from the Anasazi centuries earlier, then they definitely acquired it from their neighbors, the Southern Paiutes. For example, the Spanish-speaking Escalante expedition that explored south-central Utah in 1776 found Paiutes practicing farming: "there were three small corn patches with their very well made irrigation ditches."[25] In 1856, George Armstrong, a federal Indian Bureau agent hired to work with the Southern Paiutes in Utah, found that some Paiutes in southwestern Utah had constructed an irrigation ditch that was "half a mile long, four feet wide, four feet deep, and had been dug principally through a gravel bed."[26] Not until 1859 did a federal Indian Bureau agent, Robert Jarvis, come to the area of the Utah-Nevada border and encourage the Goshutes of Deep Creek to farm.[27] However, Jarvis never traveled farther south to Snake or Spring valley. Thus, the Indians of the area between Deep Creek and the Lehman Caves area never learned agriculture from the Americans. Rather, they had a knowledge of it before white contact.

Besides archeological and anthropological studies, we also have a knowledge of the Great Basin based on the written accounts left behind by nineteenth-century observers who came into contact with the Indians. Captain James H. Simpson encountered Shoshones/Goshutes in 1859 when he crossed the northern ends of both the Snake and Spring valleys while searching for a wagon route that would connect Camp Floyd (near Salt Lake City) with California. In Spring Valley, his expedition identified several Shoshones who wore rabbit-skin clothing, lived in small three-foot-high cedar brush dwellings, and who possessed large woven gathering baskets for collecting roots.[28] Essentially, Simpson described part of the Shoshone way of life as it existed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

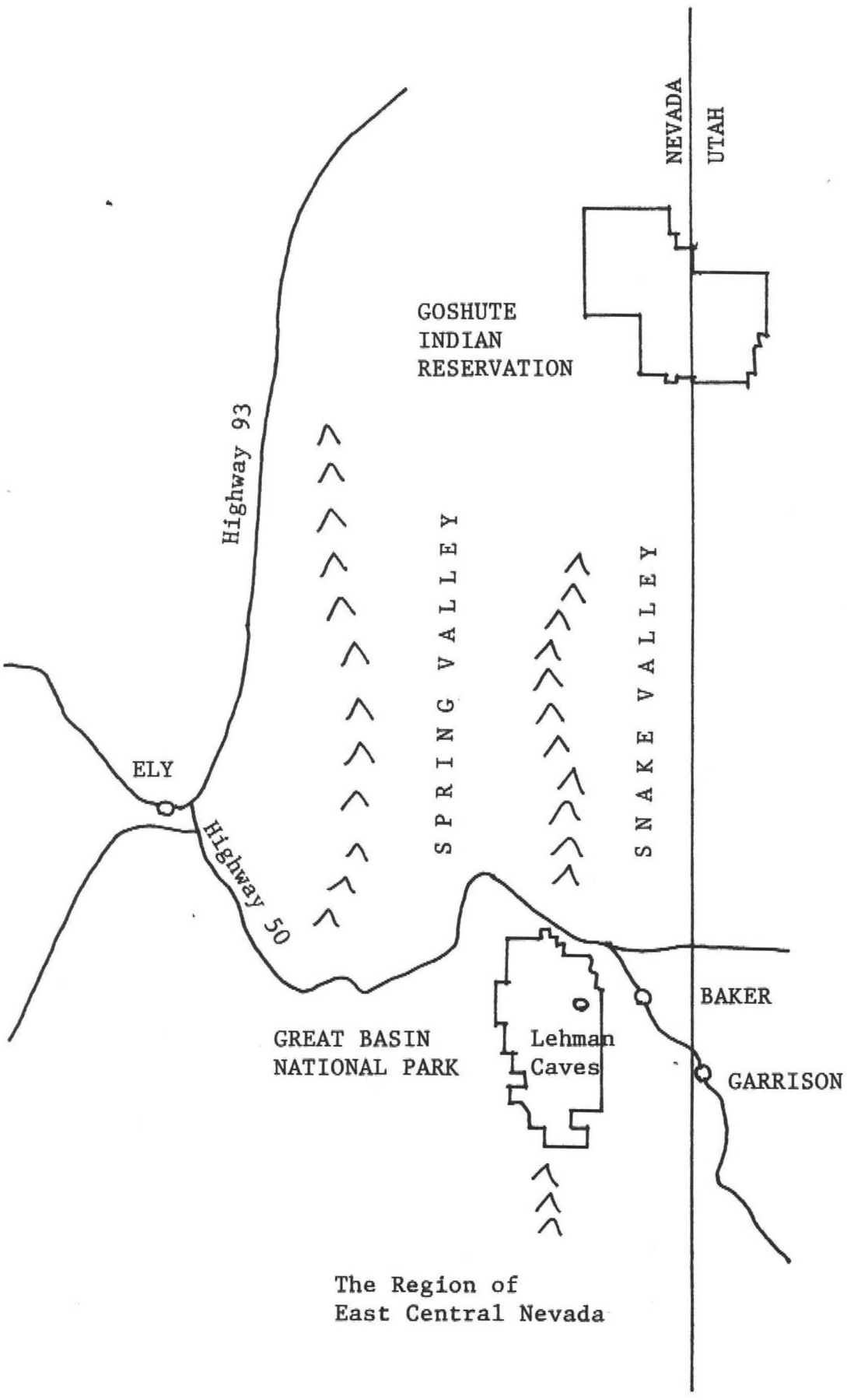
The increasing number of Euro-Americans moving into the Great Basin by the 1860s logically led to friction between whites and Indians. At times the

federal government brought in the military to deal with the Indians. Harboring a low opinion of the Indians, the military conducted some massacres. One such massacre took place in Spring Valley in 1863 when a force led by Colonel Patrick Conner killed a group of Shoshones who were having a traditional round dance. This action was in retaliation for the act of one of the Indian dance participants who had earlier stolen an army horse from a military camp in Steptoe Valley to the west.[29]

To make peace with some of the Indians in the Great Basin, the federal government negotiated several peace treaties with various native groups. It made two treaties with the Shoshonean-speaking people of western Utah and eastern Nevada in October 1863. On October 1, federal officials negotiated the Treaty of Ruby Valley with the Shoshones of northeastern Nevada. Although the treaty was basically one of peace and friendship, it was more than a peace compact, for it specified that the Shoshones occupied a large land base, primarily in eastern Nevada. The treaty denoted the Steptoe Valley (the area of today's Ely) as the eastern boundary of Western Shoshone territory.[30] Several days later, on October 12, officials negotiated the Treaty of Tuilla (Tooele) Valley near Grantsville, Utah, with the Shoshonean-speaking people who would soon be called the Goshutes. The treaty was similar to the Treaty of Ruby Valley, for it emphasized peace and friendship, defined the Goshute territory, and denoted Steptoe Valley as the western boundary of that territory.[31]



Postcard of Mt. Wheeler, ca. 1920. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*



The Region of
East Central Nevada

The two treaties left behind several important imprints. From 1863 forward, the Shoshonean-speaking people of eastern Nevada became divided into two political entitles: the Western Shoshones and the Goshutes. After 1863, the federal government labeled the Indians by these names, and many of the Indians themselves accepted the names and use them today. What must be emphasized, and as Steward pointed out, is that the two were essentially the same people before white contact. A second big legacy of the treaties is that the Shoshonean-speaking land base had become divided along the Steptoe Valley in eastern Nevada. Hence, the government labeled all people in the valley and west of the valley as Western Shoshones, and those east of the valley were labeled as Goshutes.

After the 1863 treaties the government exerted more paternalistic control over the Great Basin Indians. For example, one year after the Treaty of Tuilla, the government told the Pahvants (Utes/Southern Paiutes who traditionally lived in central Utah along the Sevier River) to leave Deep Creek because this valley, near the Nevada border, now lay within Goshute treaty territory.[32] The Pahvants were now regarded as aliens. What the federal officials failed to realize was that some Pahvants lived among the Goshutes because of intertribal marriage. One individual was Peanum, who was the brother of Chief Kanosh. Kanosh served as the principal leader of the Pahvants who farmed land at Corn Creek, near today's Kanosh and Fillmore, Utah. Because their crops were destroyed by grasshoppers in 1869, most of the Pahvants left Corn Creek and settled down on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in eastern Utah and became part of the Uintah Utes.[33] A few Pahvants stayed in or near their ancestral place of Corn Creek, where they intermarried with Southern Paiutes. Still a few others moved westward and eventually intermarried with the Shoshonean-speaking people living along the Utah-Nevada border region, especially in Snake Valley. Peanum was one such individual who married a Goshute woman. Over the years he became recognized as a Goshute leader.[34]

Under the Ruby Valley and Tuilla treaties of 1863, the federal government wanted the Shoshonean-speaking people to become "herdsmen and agriculturists." For this reason the Indian Bureau (today's Bureau of Indian Affairs, or BIA) hired Levi Gheen as "farmer in charge" in April 1869 to teach the Indians how to farm.[35] Gheen taught some Shoshones in eastern Nevada how to grow American-style crops, but he did not have to instruct the Shoshones/Goshutes living in Spring and Snake valleys because of their already existing knowledge of farming. In fact, the same year Gheen was hired, George M. Wheeler, who conducted a federally sponsored expedition through eastern Nevada, identified Goshutes as "raising scanty crops" in Snake Valley.[36]

By the late 1860s and early 1870s, increasing numbers of Euro-Americans, responding to local boosterism and promotion, had settled both Spring and Snake valleys. Perhaps the biggest promoter was the *White Pine News*, the newspaper published in Ely. To encourage more whites to settle in eastern Nevada,

the paper highlighted the excellence of the nearby valleys. In one of the May 1869 issues, its editor wrote: "Spring Valley is quite broad, of unknown length, and contains an abundance of the finest agricultural land in the Great Basin, while the foothills and mountains afford superior grazing land."[37] This kind of promotion brought various settlers into the eastern Nevada valleys. One of settlers was Absalom S. Lehman, who left Ohio and established a small ranch in Snake Valley about ten miles north of today's Lehman Caves. After a short time he sold his ranch and returned to Ohio. He returned to eastern Nevada by 1870 and established a new ranch, roughly a mile below the caves that were later named after him. In 1873, his brother, Ben Lehman, established a dwelling at the place now called Baker.[38]

White intrusion into both Spring and Snake valleys disrupted the Indians' way of life. White-owned cattle ate the natural food sources the Indians had depended on for centuries. The ranchers claimed the water runoff from the surrounding mountains for their own farming purposes. These changes caused the Indians to suffer hard times. Although the Indians continued to farm, sympathetic whites remarked that the Indians were poor. Some turned to wage labor to survive. In 1871, at least thirty Goshutes worked as laborers in a salt marsh located about forty miles south of Deep Creek.[39]

Despite the changes brought about by white intrusion, the Shoshones/Goshutes of eastern Nevada remained within their native valleys and continued to practice small-scale farming. In fact, the largest numbers of Indians lived in the two valleys closest to the Lehman Cave—Spring and Snake valleys. In 1873, Levi Gheen took the first federal census of the Shoshonean-speaking population of eastern Nevada. He identified 150 Indians living in Spring Valley and 200 in Snake Valley, for a total population of 350 living near the Lehman Caves area.[40] Two years later, in 1875, the state of Nevada conducted its own census and confirmed Gheen's figures by identifying 340 "Goshutes" living in Spring and Snake valleys.[41]

Soon after their settlement in eastern Nevada, the white settlers began to feel uncomfortable about living near the Shoshones and Goshutes. They viewed themselves as being superior to the Indians. They regarded the Indians as savages prone to warfare and other bad habits. When the white Nevadans heard accounts of Indian-white wars in other areas of the American West, they quickly assumed that the Indians in their back yards might be preparing for war against them. To justify warfare or possible warfare against the Indians, the whites created so-called Indian scares, or fabricated stories of Indians preparing for war. This development happened in May 1873, when the whites of Ely heard about the Modoc War of northern California. Immediately, the Ely residents assumed that the Indians in the Schell Creek region, east of Ely, might be preparing for war against the whites.[42] Nothing, however, developed from this fabricated account.

Two years later, in September 1875, the whites of eastern Nevada created

another, more serious Indian scare that ultimately led to all the Indians being removed from the Snake and Spring valleys. Called the White Pine War, this conflict started on September 1 when a Goshute named Toby killed a mining prospector who refused to pay him for having identified a mining lode that turned out to be worthless. This incident took place near Mount Moriah, around twenty-five miles north of the Lehman Caves. Albert Leathers, a well-known miner of the region who had escaped the crime scene, started the scare by telling the settlers of eastern Nevada that the murder was the beginning of a large-scale Indian war against the whites. The settlers immediately elevated their anti-Indian stance and murdered three Indians over the next few days. False rumors of Indian warfare led the settlers of Baker, Nevada, some five miles below the caves, to build a moat for protection.[43]

After a few days, when settlers had calmed down a little, they decided to confront the Indians and interrogate them. They demanded that all the Indians in the Spring and Snake valleys congregate at Absalom Lehman's ranch. By September 11, some 150 Indians led by Peanum, Gunister, Duck Creek Charley, and Antelope Jack had arrived. Indian agent Levi Gheen, well aware of white hysteria, disarmed the Indians to satisfy the settlers. The settlers themselves still harbored the false notion that the Indians might be planning an uprising. They therefore asked the Indians some serious questions. "Why did all the Indians flee to the mountains at about the same time?" The Indians replied that they left for the higher mountain elevations to harvest pine nuts, an important food source. Because the nut crops had been poor during the four previous years, the Indians were excited about the 1875 bumper crop. For this reason they traveled in large numbers to the nearby mountains. Of course, around September 1 the whites interpreted the Indian movement and excitement as a case of uprising.[44]

The whites asked another question: "Why did the Indians . . . refuse to work any more [for the whites]?" The question referred to Indians who had become wage laborers on the white-owned ranches of eastern Nevada in the first half of the 1870s. The men worked as ranch hands and the women as house maids, and the whites had become somewhat dependent on Indian labor. The Indians explained that with the bumper crop of pine nuts, they decided to leave their ranch jobs and travel to the nearby mountains. Also, they chose to leave because the whites did not pay them immediately and the wages were meager.[45] A few days earlier, the whites had interpreted the Indians leaving the ranches as a sign of war preparation.

Finally the settlers asked a third question: "Why . . . did the Indians tell the ranchers that the soldiers were coming?" The Indians naturally expressed fear of American soldiers because of Patrick Conner's 1863 massacre of some Indians in Spring Valley. Realizing that the settlers were accusing them of war preparation, the Indians assumed that the whites would call in soldiers, who would conduct another massacre. In fact, one military unit led by Lieutenant George Jaeger did travel to Lehman's ranch to investigate the so-called White

Pine War.[46] The soldiers, however, conducted no military action against the Indians in September 1875.

After the interrogation, the settlers demanded that the Indians find and capture Toby and bring him in for punishment. The Indians thought about the demand and quickly made the decision to bring Toby to Lehman's ranch. They made their decision for two reasons. First, they knew Toby already had a history of unruly behavior. Second, they realized that if Toby were not captured, the rest of the Indians might be punished. After all, three Indians had already been killed after September 1. In the end, two leaders, Duck Creek Charley and Antelope Jack, found Toby at Deep Creek and brought him down to Lehman's ranch as a prisoner.[47]

Levi Gheen, as federal Indian agent, took charge of Toby. However, he concluded that some forty-five or fifty angry and restless settlers might resort to mob violence and lynch Toby. To ensure order, Gheen decided to make a quick trip to nearby Spring Valley and bring in a Nevada militia unit that was stationed there awaiting further orders. He asked Lieutenant Jaeger and his eight soldiers to guard Toby while he was gone.[48]

Once Gheen left, the settlers took advantage of the situation and demanded that Jaeger release Toby to them so they could carry out quick punishment. Jaeger acquiesed to their demand for several reasons. He had concluded that a battle between his small force and the much larger number of well-armed settlers might occur if he didn't release Toby. In addition, he believed that Toby was a "savage" not worth fighting for and that the settlers were "not a mob but the citizens of this country." Therefore, the respectable ranchers of Snake and Spring valleys were deemed fully capable of punishing Toby for the earlier murder.[49]

To legitimize his decision, Jaeger asked the settlers at Lehman's ranch to sign a petition to acknowledge themselves as the punishers of Toby. Twenty-eight ranchers, including Absalom Lehman and Albert Leathers (who had started the fabricated war), signed the statement, and Jaeger surrendered custody of Toby.[50] The settlers seized Toby and hanged him about a hundred yards from Lehman's ranch house.[51] Thus, on September 14, the White Pine War ended for the white settlers of eastern Nevada.

But the fabricated war did not end for the Indians, for the white settlers wanted the Indians removed from the Snake and Spring valleys. Understanding that the whites would make life uncomfortable for the Indians in the future, agent Gheen persuaded most of the Indians to leave their native valleys. On September 16, he escorted some 160 Indians (or those who had congregated at Lehman's ranch) northward to Deep Creek. Along the way, he encouraged other Shoshones/Goshutes to move. Deep Creek therefore became the new home of nearly all the Indians who used to live in the Spring and Snake valleys.[52] Moreover, the two lower valleys became almost void of the larger number of Shoshonean-speaking people who used to live there.

There were several reasons why the whites created the White Pine War to drive the Indians out of the Spring and Snake valleys. First, the ranchers knew that a sizable Indian population lived in the two valleys, some maintaining small gardens. They stood in the way of white economic development, especially cattle grazing. In addition, some white settlers came to believe that the Indians were forming an alliance with the white Mormons, and that the two entities as a unified force would drive the non-Mormons (Gentiles) out of the region. Although Mormon settlers had not yet established a foothold in the Snake and Spring valleys, they had already gained a base in Deep Creek Valley among the Shoshonean-speaking Goshutes/Shoshones who had traditionally lived there. Some settlers in eastern Nevada falsely believed that the Mormons were urging the Indians to conduct an uprising against non-Mormons. Still another reason for the conflict had to do with the settlers hearing about the various Indian-white wars of the far western region in the 1870s, and the predictions that Indian warfare was imminent in eastern Nevada. Of course, the assertions of Indian warfare along the Nevada-Utah border were completely false.[53]

The White Pine War of 1875 was not the last white-created scare of eastern Nevada. Two years later, in September 1877, federal Indian agent Levi Gheen heard a rumor that "the 'Mormons' were drilling and arming the Indians and embittering them against the Government [including white people in general]" along the Utah-Nevada border in and near Deep Creek. Fully aware of the invented war of two years earlier, Gheen did not bother to investigate. Rather, he requested W.J. Friday (ironically a settler of Spring Valley) to visit the area around Deep Creek. Having done so, Friday reported that the local Mormons had not armed the Indians nor had they encouraged the Indians to harbor anger toward the Americans.[54]

In the end, the White Pine War had a marked impact on the Indians, for it almost eliminated the native populations of both the Snake and Spring valleys. In the years immediately after 1875, very few Indians lived there, and the few who remained became invisible. For example, in January 1876, the *White Pine News* reported the following: "What has become of all the Shoshone Indians? . . . Who is to saw our wood? . . . Who is to do the drudgery work for our wives?"[55] Without doubt, the newspaper editor was referring to the ranchers of eastern Nevada who used to rely on Indian labor. Now they had lost that labor force, which now lived farther north, in Deep Creek. Moreover, when W.J. Friday investigated the rumor of "armed" Indians in or near Deep Creek in 1877, he identified Indians living there, but did not report any Indians living in Spring Valley where he currently lived.[56]

Although the Shoshonean-speaking population in the Snake and Spring valleys had been reduced significantly immediately after 1875, some of those who experienced removal gradually moved back to their native places. According to the 1880 federal census, thirty Indians lived in Snake Valley and another forty-two in nearby Spring Valley.[57] According to the 1900 census, twenty-one

Goshutes lived in Snake Valley.[58] Thus, a few persons had moved back. But these small numbers contrasted markedly with the earlier, much larger populations up to 1875. As already mentioned, Levi Gheen had identified 350 Indians in the two valleys in 1873. The post-1880 Indian populations of these valleys remained so small and invisible that a later generation of whites in eastern Nevada wondered if Indians had ever lived there. In 1908, the editor of the *Ely Record* published an article entitled "Was Spring Valley Peopled by a Pre-Historic Race?"[59] The editor had no idea that Spring Valley had a sizable Shoshonean-speaking population up to the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

As for the larger number of former residents of Snake and Spring valleys, they made Deep Creek their permanent home. Mormon missionaries established an Indian mission there and helped the Indians raise crops for subsistence purposes. In 1884, the Indians had cultivated 120 acres of land, and by 1889, with more acreage under cultivation, they harvested 2,100 bushels of grain and 75 bushels of potatoes.[60] By the early years of the twentieth century, the federal government came to realize that Deep Creek had a sizable Indian population, and a reservation was established for the Goshutes in 1914. Located in Utah, but adjacent to the Nevada border, this reservation could not accommodate all the Goshutes who were living in Deep Creek, and in the 1930s the government enlarged the reservation under the Indian Reorganization Act.[61] Some individuals who were caught up in the White Pine War also experienced early reservation life, including Antelope Jack.

Although several Indians who had resided in the Snake and Spring valleys possessed tribal enrollment on the Goshute reservation in the early years of the twentieth century, they also left the reservation and established residence at their earlier native places. Peanum established a small homestead in Snake Valley near Gandy, Utah. When he died, his land was passed on to his son Charlie Peanum and a blood relative, Tommy Muggins, both enrolled at Goshute.[62] In 1934, Annie Jack and her son Norton Jack made Baker, Nevada, their home.[63] Of course, their ancestors, including Antelope Jack, had lived in this locality near the Lehman Caves up to 1875, before removal. Another enrolled member, Albert McGill, made nearby Spring Valley his home in his old age.[64] Still another tribal member, Ruth Bishop, was living in Spring Valley in 1969.[65]

Not all the Shoshonean-speaking people of Snake Valley ended up at Deep Creek in the late nineteenth century. At least two small groups of "Shoshones" (they did not call themselves Goshutes) remained in the valley: one at Garrison, Utah, and the other at Baker, Nevada. Without doubt, some local whites allowed the Indians to remain at these settlements because they needed Indian labor. The Garrison group lived in Indian Camp, located about a half mile outside of Garrison up to the early twentieth century. Their community consisted of Indian-style dwellings and some American-style log cabins. The men worked as laborers for the whites and the women as domestic servants. After 1900, some of the Indians moved to nearby Baker when a fire destroyed part of the camp.

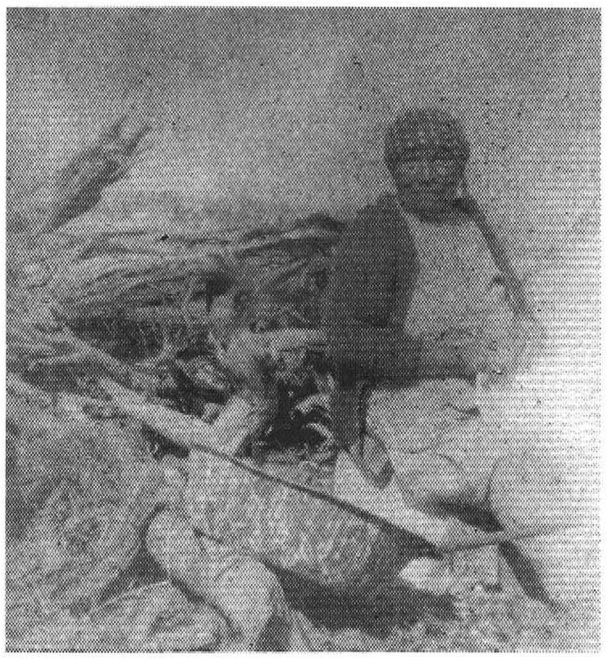
By 1910, only two Shoshone families remained, Sam and Mary Boup and Tom and Gootrea Tootseap (along with their four children and the grandmother, Erwitch).[66]

The Baker group of Shoshones lived slightly west of the present-day Baker Indian cemetery up to the early 1930s. The most visible was the Joseph family. Mary Joseph made Indian baskets and sold them to the settlers in Snake Valley. Her family and other Shoshones traveled to Indian Peaks in Utah to harvest pine nuts. Mary died in October 1932 and was buried in the Indian cemetery. One of her grandchildren, Richard Joseph, was born and reared in Baker; he moved to the Goshute reservation around 1933, where he worked as a range rider, and later moved to Ely to work as an equipment operator in a mine. His sister Dorothy also left Baker in the early 1930s; she moved to Ely and later married Glen Stark, a Shoshone from the Ely Shoshone colony. The family members now have tribal enrollment on the Ely colony. Dorothy returns to Baker periodically to take care of the Indian cemetery.[67]

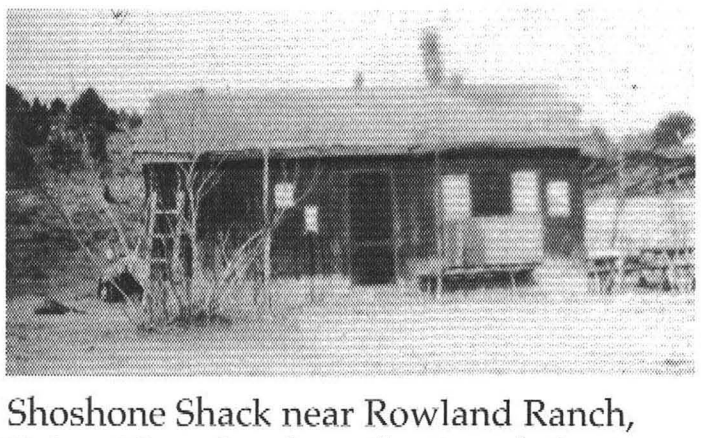
Thus, some Shoshones enrolled on the Ely colony are direct descendants of the earlier large Shoshonean-speaking population of Snake Valley. Like the Goshute reservation, the Ely colony also came into existence in the early twentieth century. In 1931, Congress appropriated funds to purchase ten acres of land on a hillside in Ely as a home for the Shoshones. The Indians did not move to the newly declared colony site. Rather, they were already living there. Some Indian heads-of-household at this Indian Camp included Harry and Addie Stanton, George and Mattie Adams, and Harry and Mamie Johnny, to name only three families. They all made the new colony site their permanent home. In 1977, Congress provided funds to purchase ninety additional acres of colony land, which is located in today's East Ely. The Baker Indian cemetery is now part of the jurisdiction of the Ely colony.

Conclusion

In recent years, both Native Americans and non-Indians have become more aware of the earlier native connection to the area in and around the Great Basin National Park. This awareness surfaced after Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990. A major aspect of that law was the return of native remains to their tribal people for proper reburial.[68] In response to the law, the National Park Service held a meeting with representatives from the Goshute, Southern Paiute, and Western Shoshone tribes in 1997. The discussion concerned human remains taken from the Lehman Caves years earlier; they had been stored in a park service facility in Tucson, Arizona, for several years. It was agreed that the remains needed to be returned. In a quiet gathering in 1998, the remains found their resting place in the area we now call the Great Basin National Park.

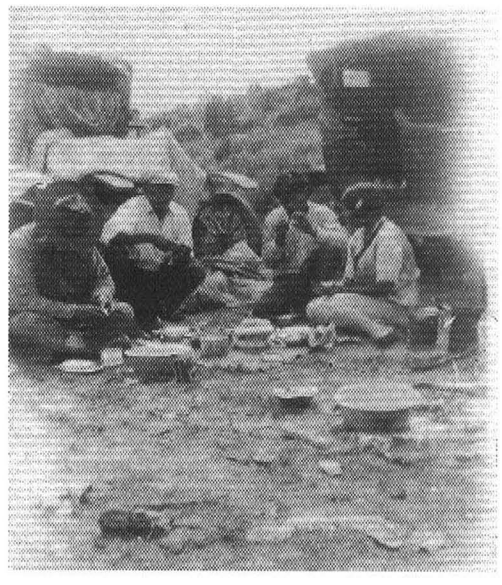


Grandma Swallow. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*



Shoshone Shack near Rowland Ranch, Baker, Nevada where the Joseph family resided. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

The Joseph family, ca. 1917. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*



Baker Shoshones enroute to Lehman Caves area. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

Dorothy Joseph *(right)* and her sister Ilene Joseph, ca. 1929. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

Ilene Joseph and friends, 1929. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

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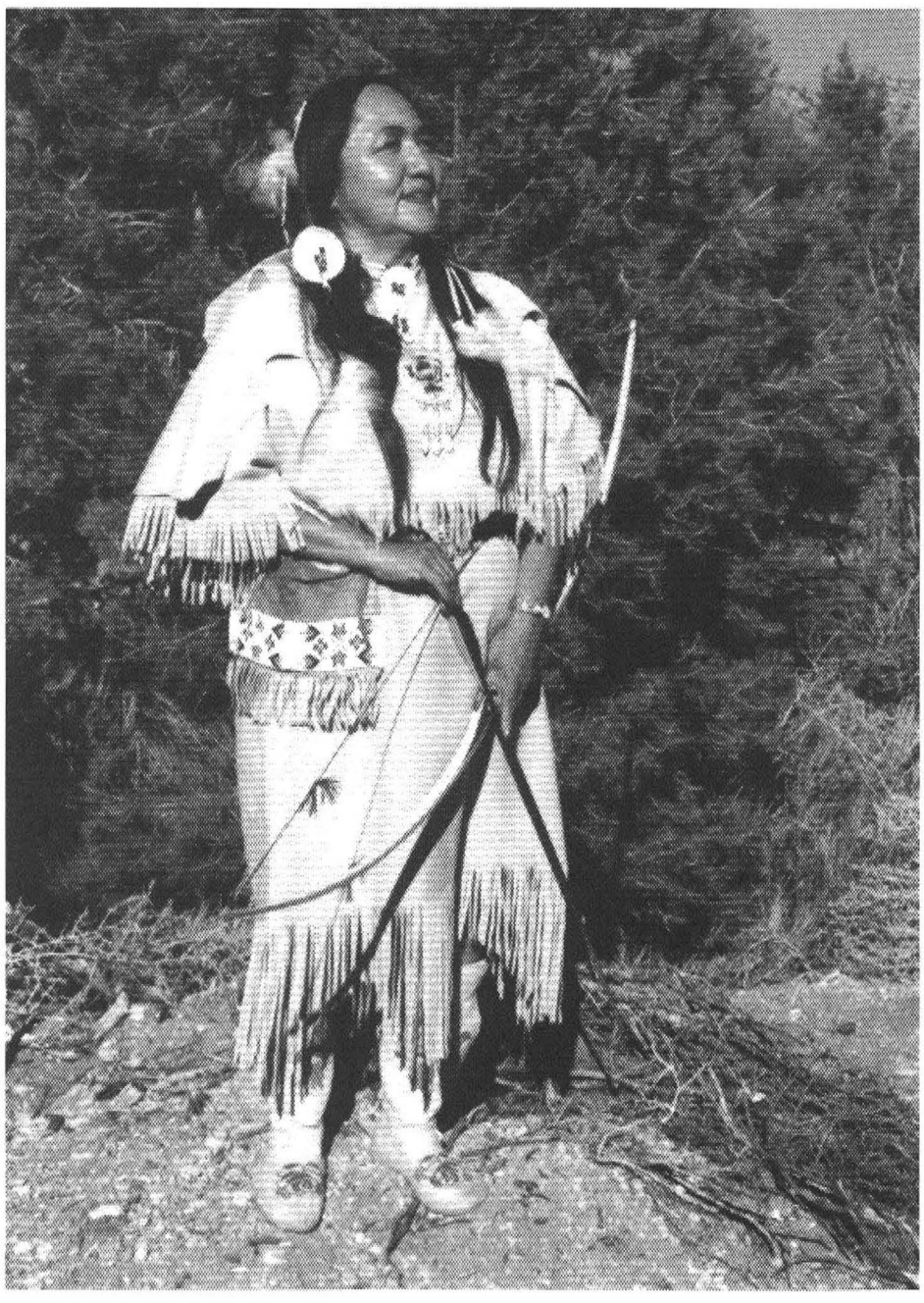


Delaine Spilsbury of Duck Creek Basin near Ely, Nevada.
(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)

"Nightmare" in Pen and Ink
'Pinto' Colvig as Silver State Cartoonist

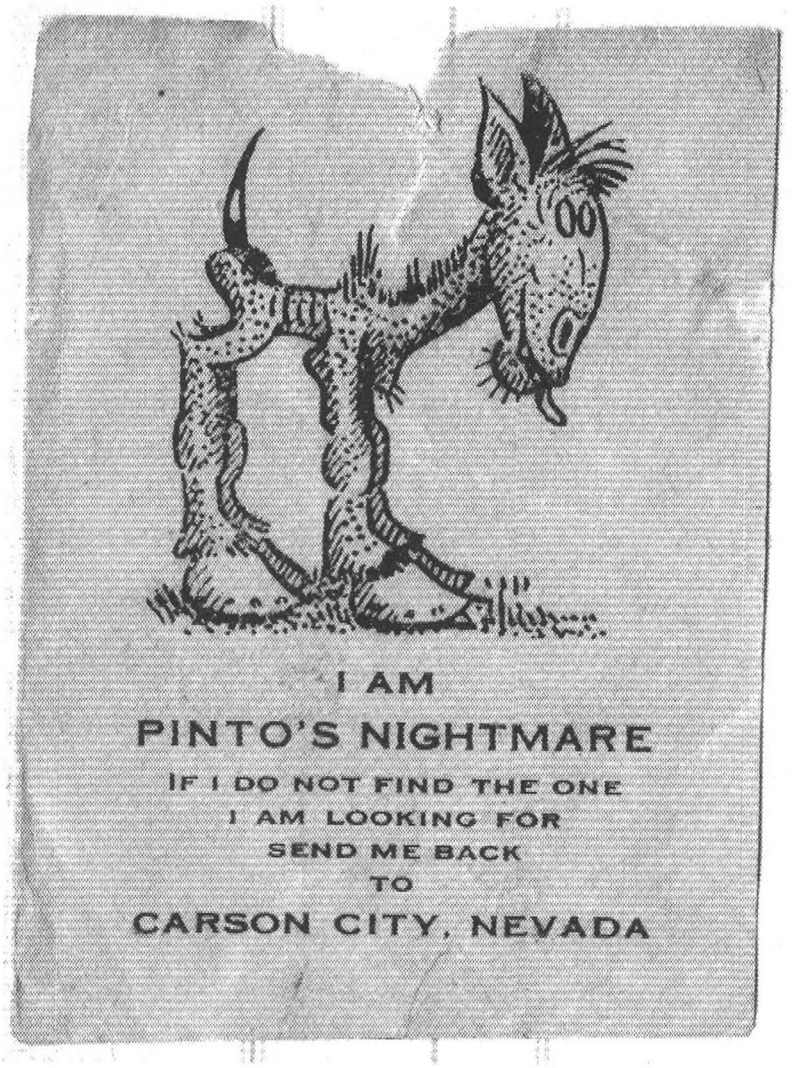
BILL ALLEY

The odd moniker Pinto Colvig is hardly a household name, but it would be a difficult task indeed to find someone in the United States who was not familiar with at least some facet of Colvig's work. The silent comedies of Mack Sennett's Keystone Studio; the voice characterizations of Walt Disney's Pluto, Goofy, Grumpy, and Sleepy; the catchy lyrics of "Who's Afraid of the Big, Bad Wolf"; and the creation of Bozo the Clown are merely the highlights in the remarkable career of this Jacksonville, Oregon, native. Unknown to most, however, is Colvig's fleeting contribution to Nevada's newspaper heritage.

Vance DeBar Colvig was born into a prominent family in southern Oregon's Jackson County seat on September 11, 1892. Possessed of a seemingly overabundant amount of freckles, the youngster acquired the nickname Pinto at an early age; he would continue to use that name personally and professionally for the remainder of his life. Blessed with a talent for music and drawing, as well as a penchant for clowning around, Pinto developed a deep affinity for clowns and circuses, a fascination that remained an integral part of his personal and professional life.

Colvig was thirteen when he first donned grease paint and red nose. While visiting the midway at the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, the freckle-faced youngster wrangled an informal audition for Harry L. Blitz, who operated The Crazy House. The former carney was apparently impressed with Colvig's funny faces and clarinet playing and hired him on the spot. Colvig later recalled, "Blitz dug down in his trunk and hung an old misfit suit on me; smeared my face with clown white grease paint; reddened my nose, slapped a battered old derby over my head, and into a size-14 pair of shoes." A number of years later, after graduating from the University of Oregon, Pinto returned to show business and embarked on a brief tour with

Bill Alley is a historian and certified archivist. He recently curated the new Alexander Pearson exhibit for the Pearson Air Museum in Vancouver, Washington and wrote the companion biography, *Not Without Hazards: The Extraordinary Career of Lt. Alexander Pearson, Jr.*, which is being published by the *Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust*. He also edits the Archivists' Page feature in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.



"Pinto's" Carson City business card.
(*Southern Oregon Historical Society*)

"Pinto" Colvig's business card from his brief tenure with the *Rockroller* in the summer of 1914. (*Southern Oregon Historical Society*)

the Pantages vaudeville circuit, developing a comedy act showcasing his burgeoning cartooning skills.[1]

Pinto's cartooning act soon led to more steady employment as an editorial cartoonist in Nevada. In 1914, "after receiving numerous flattering offers," Pinto went to work for Colonel Carl Young, editor and publisher of *The Nevada Rockroller* in Reno. There, Pinto told the Oregon Agricultural College newspaper, he would be "drawing curved lines for the gratification of the editor's ire."[2]

Colonel Young, who appeared to be a character as colorful as the pages of his newspaper, which was printed on rose-colored paper, introduced the *Rockroller* on June 27, 1914. He envisioned the *Rockroller* as a reformist vehicle set on weeding out corruption, graft, nepotism and other such ills that he saw afflicting Nevada politics. "The declaration of this paper," the first issue proclaimed, "will be non-partisan, and it will be the official organ of the Union League Non-Partisan Club, commonly known as the Rockrollers." "We will publish all mismanagement of our state and county government WITHOUT FEAR," Colonel Young declared. "WE ARE NOT HOG-TIED TO ANY MAN OR PARTY." The sheet, published twice a week on Wednesdays and Saturdays, was "launched on a mission to fight existing evils and to weed out violators of public confidence as the time has come to put the lid on political grafters."[3]

The first Pinto cartoon appeared on the front page of the August 8, 1914, issue of the *Rockroller*. This cartoon depicted Pinto and Colonel Young riding on a rock rolling-machine running off "grafters." This particular cartoon had served, undoubtedly, as Colvig's audition for the editorial cartoonist's position, as it was published a full month before the artist actually arrived in Nevada.[4]

Colvig made his appearance in Reno on Friday, September 4. "Vance D. Colvig, better known to the artistic Knights of the Rail as 'Pinto,' the tramp cartoonist, box-car idol, and circus-band-wagon enthusiast, arrived Friday evening from Portland, Oregon," the *Rockroller* announced on its front page beneath a Pinto self-caricature. Young also prompted his readers to watch for "a queer, non-corpulent little animal which resembles a horse" in Pinto's cartoons. He was referring to Nightmare, Pinto's signature character, who appeared regularly in Colvig's cartoons with his own commentary, much like the little character seen today in the political cartoons of Pat Oliphant. "It will be interesting to note," the *Rockroller* continued, "just what this little creature will have to say from time to time."[5]

Colvig wasted no time in acclimating himself to his new surroundings, and his cartoons began gracing the rose-tinted front page of the *Rockroller* regularly on September 9. Unfortunately for Pinto, however, his tenure at the paper was not to last long; the *Rockroller* ceased publication a week later, after its September 16 issue. A brief explanation appeared in the Oregon Agricultural College student newspaper. "Vance Colvig, famed as 'Pinto,' writes that the career of the Reno Rock-Crusher [*sic*], the political sheet on which he was employed, came to a sudden end when the publisher got the small pox." Without its flamboyant and fiery editor, *The Nevada Rockroller* quickly faded away.[6]

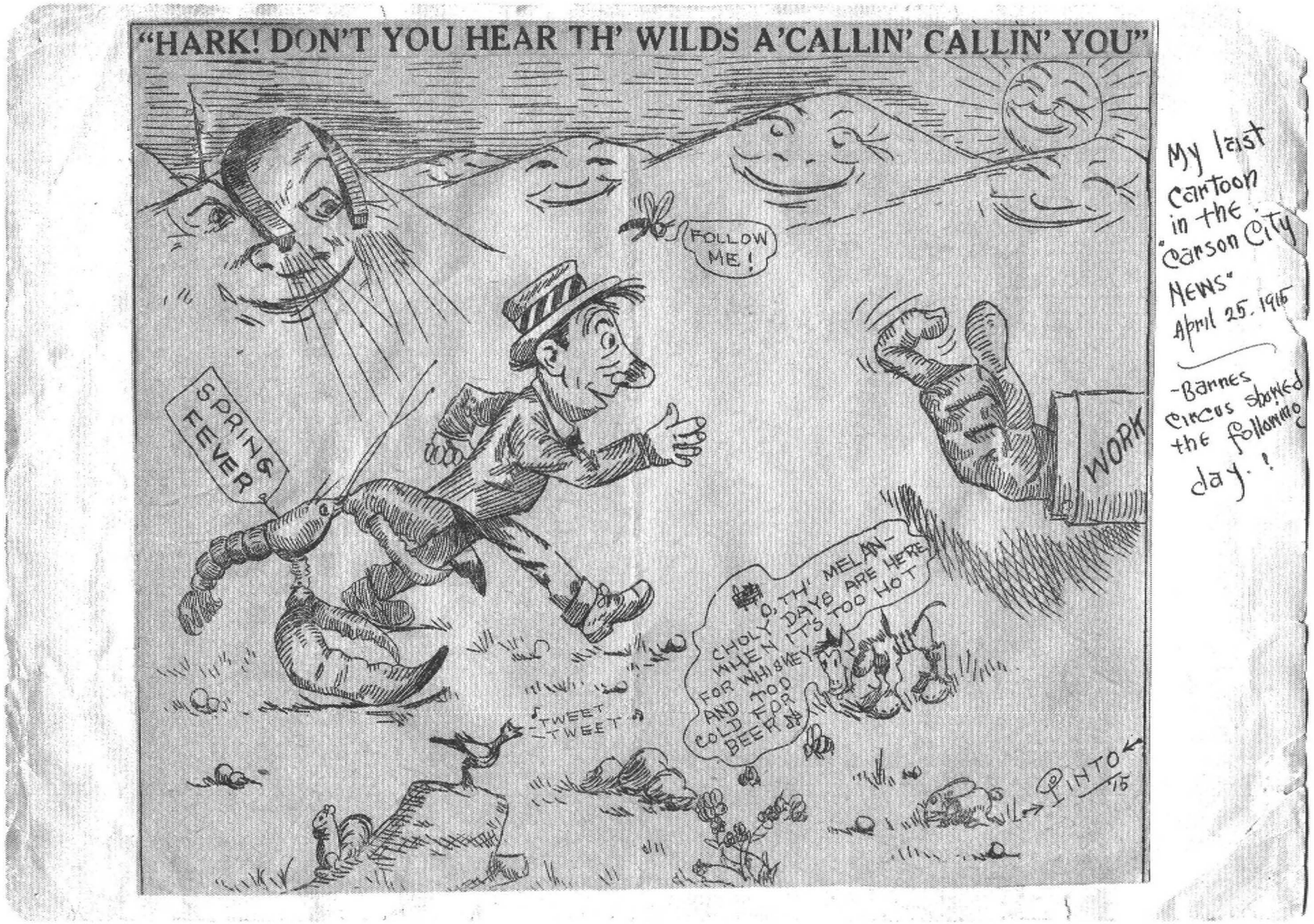
Colvig did not linger long in Reno after the *Rockroller's* untimely demise, and he made his way to the state capital. On September 25 a brief item appeared in the *Carson City News*. "Vance DeBar Colvig, the cartoonist known as Pinto," the paper recorded, "is a visitor to this city for a short time." Within three weeks this short stay resulted in Colvig's transferring his talents to the *Carson City News*. There, under the editorship of George Montrose, Colvig continued to support his employer's editorial policy with his own peculiar brand of humor, while striking up friendships with some of the capital's political elite.[7] A great many of Nevada's public and elected officials would find themselves immortalized on the front page of the *News* through the vehicle of Pinto Colvig's cartoons. Pinto's work proved to be so popular, in fact, that the *News* published a reprint compilation of his cartoons in a small booklet titled Cartoons and Caricatures of the 27th Session, "(A collection of drawings of the members of the 27th Session of the Nevada Legislature) by 'Pinto,' and published in the *Carson City News* during the session."[8]

When the Al. G. Barnes Circus came through Carson City on April 26, 1915, however, Pinto finally succumbed to temptation. On the day the circus came to town Pinto signed on as a clarinet player in the circus band. "'Pinto' is gone," Montrose lamented on the front page of his paper. "No more out of the columns of this paper will his 'Nightmare' view the world and comment on things as they are. The smell of the sawdust was too much for 'Pinto' and he has gone with the circus again." Montrose followed this farewell with a singular tribute, his own rendering of Pinto's Nightmare under the heading "Our First and Last."[9]

Pinto remained with the Al. G. Barnes Circus until 1916. In that year, he was faced with the choice of remaining with the circus or rearing a family; he chose the latter and married Margaret Bourke Slavin. Now with a family to support, Pinto decided to return to newspaper work, securing a position with the San Francisco *Bulletin* as a cartoonist. During this period he also began working in the field of animation, forming a small company with Byington Ford and Benjamin Thackston "Tack" Knight. This company made numerous popular short animated features and is credited with creating the first color cartoon in 1919.

Pinto's successes with animation led him to Hollywood in 1922. There he was associated with a number of studios, including Mack Sennett's Keystone Studio, where Pinto worked as a gag man, animator, and one of the original Keystone Cops. He also appeared in many other silent films produced by Universal, Fox, and RKO studios, earning the reputation as "the Man with a Thousand Faces." Shortly after Disney released *Steamboat Willie*, the first talking cartoon, Pinto teamed up with another young artist named Walter Lantz (who would later originate the Woody Woodpecker cartoons) to make *Bolivar, the Talking Ostrich*, an early talking cartoon that failed to generate much interest.

The advent of sound in motion pictures and cartoons, however, was to prove the crucial springboard for Pinto's career, for, in addition to his innate talents as a musician, artist, and gag writer, Pinto possessed an uncanny gift for creating



"Pinto" Colvig's last cartoon before joining the circus in 1915. (*Southern Oregon Historical Society*)

voice characterizations and sound effects. In 1930, Pinto signed a seven-year contract with the Walt Disney Studios, working first as a gag-writer and storyboard artist for Disney's *Silly Symphonies*, and later developing the voices for many of Disney's best-known characters. He provided the voices for Grumpy and Sleepy in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, and originated the voice characterizations of Pluto the Pup and Goofy. Pinto also provided the voice for the practical pig in *The Three Little Pigs*, and wrote the original lyrics to the song "Who's Afraid of the Big, Bad Wolf."

At the conclusion of his contract with Disney, Pinto went on to work with MGM, where he provided some of the voice-over work for the Munchkins in *The Wizard of Oz*, and with the Max Fleischer Studios, where he created the voice for Gabby in that studio's cartoon version of *Gulliver's Travels*. Pinto also began working in radio, originating his own program titled "Pinto, the Oregon Appleknocker," and providing the sound effects for Jack Benny's famous Maxwell car.

In 1946, Pinto again broke new ground when he teamed with Alan W. Livingston, a Columbia Records producer, to create the original character of Bozo the Clown for a series of children's recordings and books. Pinto later pioneered the early television version of Bozo on the Los Angeles ABC affiliate in 1949. In 1956, the Bozo franchise was purchased by Larry Harmon, forcing Pinto to develop a new clown persona of his own, Pinto the Village Clown.

Over the course of his later years, Pinto was constantly at work. He continued to do all manner of voice work, including the voice for Disney's Goofy, and wrote numerous short stories for magazines, mostly featuring life in small towns or the circus. He also continued to write music and treatments for television programming. In 1950, his wife, Margaret, died. Two years later, Pinto married Peggy Allaire. A longtime smoker, Pinto succumbed to lung cancer on October 3, 1967, leaving his second wife and the five children from his first marriage. His eldest son, Vance, Jr., nicknamed Ditto, had followed his father into show business. For many years the two provided voice characterizations for television and films. Vance also served for a time, as his father had, as one of the television Bozos. In 1993, the Disney Corporation recognized Pinto's contributions by making him a Disney Legend, their equivalent to a hall of fame.

For Pinto Colvig, a man long possessed with the soul of the clown, that role and the grease paint undoubtedly embodied the pinnacle of the entertaining arts. Thirty-seven years after his death, he was finally recognized with a singular honor. On May 28, 2004, Pinto Colvig was inducted into the International Clown Hall of Fame in recognition of his work in developing the character of Bozo the Clown.

The Southern Oregon Historical Society in Medford, Oregon, has two separate collections of Pinto Colvig materials. The first (SOHS MS-9) consists primarily of Pinto's correspondence with friends in his native southern Oregon, original artwork, photographs, press clippings, and a copy of Pinto's unpublished

manuscript, "Clowns Is People," which chronicles his years growing up in Jacksonville, Oregon. The second collection (SOHS MS-804) includes original musical scores, radio and television scripts, short stories, photographs, original artwork, and a copy of a second unpublished manuscript, "It's a Crazy Business," Pinto's memoir of working in Hollywood.

The manuscript of "It's a Crazy Business" is undated, and it is unclear exactly when Colvig wrote it. Since, however, the memoir recounts events in Pinto's life through the completion of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, and contains no references to any later work, it must be assumed that Pinto composed this memoir in the period immediately following the completion of the Disney classic in 1937. Contained in the memoir are Pinto's recollections of his brief tenure as a political cartoonist in Reno and Carson City. This excerpt, published here for the first time, provides a rare first-hand glimpse into the politics and journalism of the Silver State during 1914-15. While Pinto Colvig was in Nevada for only a brief time, he left an important legacy behind. Not only does his memoir shine light on the activities of the region's newspapers, it is also a lasting treasure of more than one hundred cartoons and "Pintographs," providing commentary on the events of the day, as well as portraits and caricatures of dozens of Nevada's political elite during the legislative session of 1915.

"Pinto" Colvig at work at the *San Francisco Chronicle,* ca. 1921.
(Southern Oregon Historical Society)

EXCERPT FROM "IT'S A CRAZY BUSINESS"

Let's see what happened next. Well, I monkeyed around southern Oregon for a spell, took a little trip south for the winter on an advertising job, went back north, had my appendix manicured and got a foolish notion into my head that I would like to attend Oregon University Summer School to study art and music, but went there and took up canoeing on the Mill Race, instead.

Then came two offers for my services. One was to go with a Government Surveying Crew to Alaska and be snowed in for nine months (which sounded different and tempting) and the other was to go to Nevada to be a regular front-page editorial cartoonist on a political sheet, "The Nevada Rockroller." I chose the latter and was on a Reno bound train that same day.

I landed in Reno with a desire to become the second Homer Davenport or Thomas Nast; but when I met the editor and saw that the sheet was printed on pink paper, I changed my mind.[10]

The editor was a white-haired, ghostly looking sort of figure who told me, and showed me some of the scars, that he had seventeen bullet holes in his body. He had a couple of stiff, broken fingers on each hand with which he pecked out red hot editorials on a typewriter—parts of which I wouldn't dare print in this book.

How he loved to "burn up" an off-color politician. He always worked with his right top desk drawer open; in it he kept a loaded six-shooter. He was a grand guy and I liked him. His name was Colonel Carl Young—a political fighting newspaperman of the "old school." I drew cartoons to fit his editorials. The paper was backed by a group of wealthy, well-meaning politicians, so all I had to worry about was to keep out of the way of flying bullets. One morning I received word that the editor had been taken to the pest-house with smallpox and, with election only three days away, there would be no more "Rockroller."[11]

In Reno and adjoining towns, I occasionally went on campaign tours with various politicians. In this way I struck up a swell acquaintance with George Brodigan, incumbent candidate for Secretary of State. George was a great Irishman and was loved by everyone. One night I drove with him to Carson City. I liked the looks of the little capital town from the moment we approached its main stem. Muddy streets, thirty-six saloons, gambling joints and stately cottonwood trees. That was in the fall of 1914.[12]

Since it was George's home town, for his political years at least, we made the rounds of all the saloons. While George bought drinks and talked politics, I drew cartoons of the natives and became well acquainted with most of the town's male population that night. (Remember—no cocktail lounges in those days. Just good old, real he-man, sawdust floored saloons.)

That night I met a Mr. George Montrose, then the editor of The Carson City Daily News. "Monty" was a former "muckstricker" in the mines, a poet by nature, a lawyer by profession and an editor because he just naturally liked getting out a small town sheet.[13]

The true Nevadan Spirit among its people so struck my fancy that I "moved right in on 'em" and the following week I went to work as cartoonist on The News. There being no engraving plants in Nevada in those days, for the making of line cuts from pen and ink drawings, I had to learn the old-fashioned method of what is known as "Chalk-plate" cartooning. A process whereby the cartoonist mixes up a certain number of ingredients—French chalk, English chalk, silicate of soda, Le Page's glue, powdered gum Arabic and water. Stir it up and when it looks like waffle batter, pour it out onto a hard surface of flat, blue steel and then put this in the drum of a stove, or oven, and bake it until thoroughly dry. Now, scrape off the top crust, indent lightly your cartoon into the chalk. Now, take a stylus and begin scratching and blowing out the lines. Your plate now resembles a newspaper matrix. Now, build up your fire and melt some line-o-type metal to a red heat—screw your steel plate into a casting box form and pour in your metal; if by chance, there's a speck of dampness in your casting box, chances are that BOOM!—the red-hot metal will zoom up to the ceiling and rain back all over you. Well, pour in some more metal and go next door and get yourself a beer while your casting box is cooling off. Return and unscrew the gadgets, and out falls not a "half-tone," but what the old time printers referred to as a "half-ton"—it being cast 7/8ths of an inch in depth, equal to type-high thickness. Now, it is ready for the presses and the composite cartoonist, chemist, cook and metal-molder is ready for another trip next door to drown his sorrows.

Nowhere have I ever spent such an enjoyable fall and winter as I did in Carson City, the only town in the world, at that time, to have a saloon in its county courthouse. That was old Henry Rosenbrock's famous Magnolia Saloon, situated directly across the street from the State Capitol building—and I'm sure that more Ship-of-State was launched in the old Magnolia than ever inside of the Capitol Building.[14]

Nearly every old man I met in Carson City would point to a certain board in his barn or woodshed and proudly tell me that it was the identical board upon which either Corbett or Fitzsimmons (I forget which) took the count in the 26th round of that famous fight in 1896 (or was it '97?). That was the biggest day Carson City had ever seen since the unveiling of the town pump.[15]

Naturally, these reflections went back to my memorable age of nine when that cigarette drummer gave me the animated flip-the-pages book, all about the fight.

On snowy winter nights, a few of the state's officials would come in and hang around the news-shop stove in the editor's office and chaw, spit, whittle and argue politics, while I drew cartoons and "Monty" wrote editorials. Many's the time I've heard "Monty" say to governor Boyle, while handing him a batch of news copy, "Here, Gov, you're a college graduate. If you expect to hang around here sopping up our heat, you might as well be proof-reading some of tomorrow's edition!" Whereupon the Governor would take the attitude of an

office boy and work like a Trojan going over and correcting the copy.

Then, a moment later "Monty" would reach behind his desk, bring out a big two-gallon can and yell to the Secretary of State, "Hey, Brodigan, how about your trotting next door to Paxton's and rush th' growler and bring back some sandwiches?" So into Paxton's the Secretary of State would go, returning later with the food and drink![16]

I liked that—real old time Nevadans. All former "muckstickers" who stuck together and climbed by their own stamina and wits out of the muck and mire. They were proud of their state and ran it like gentlemen to suit not only themselves, but their neighbors as well.

Years ago "Colliers" magazine printed an article under the caption, "WESTERN EDITOR THROWS STATE'S GOVERNOR BODILY FROM HIS OFFICE." The article was authentic and the editor in question was George Montrose. The Governor was Governor Dickerson—a real, he-man, partly Indian and one of the staunchest political leaders Nevada ever had.[17]

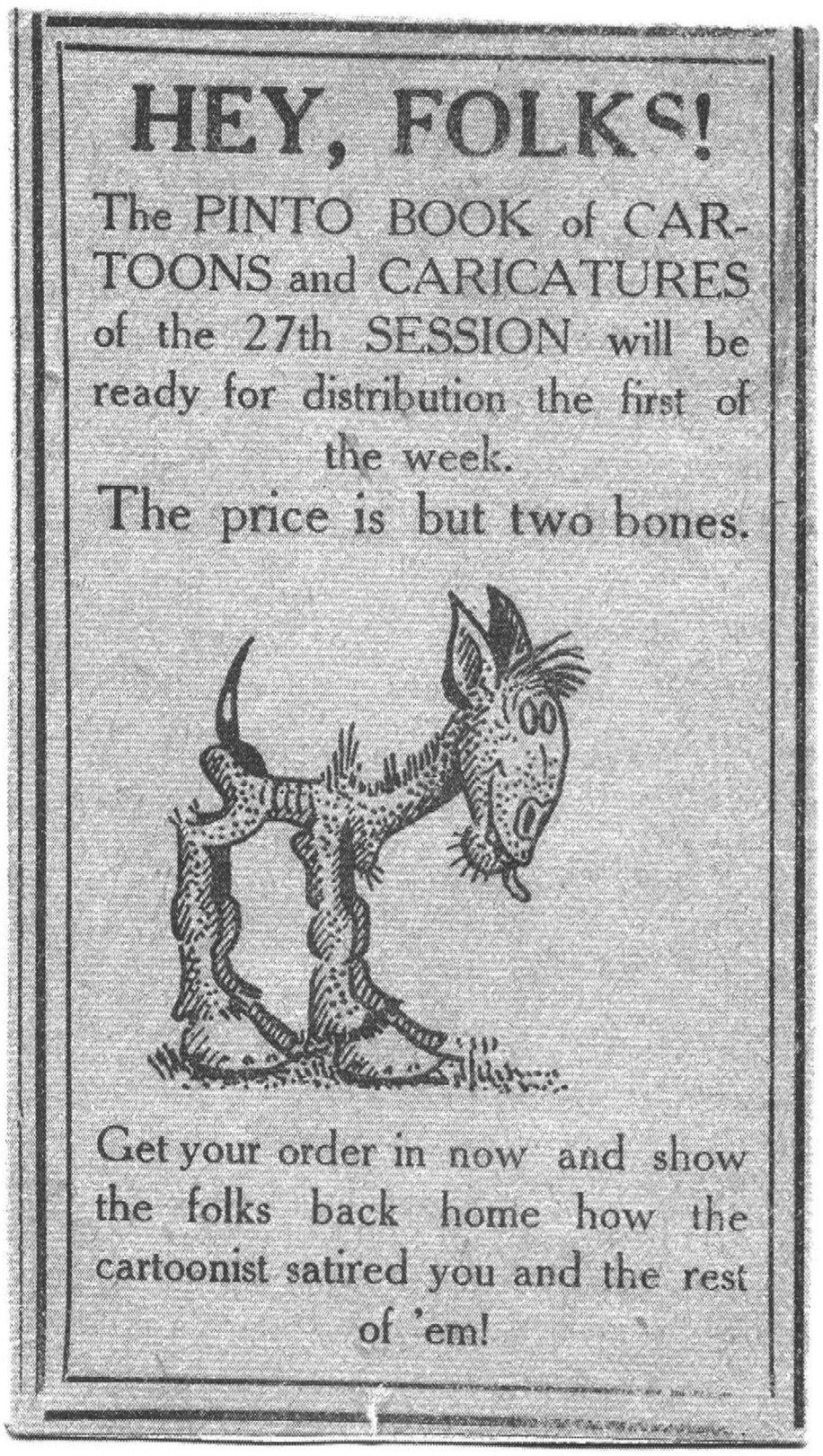
It was a political argument that started in Montrose's office. Before the finish, type cases, chairs, tables and what-not were turned topsy-turvy.

I would have liked to have owned the motion picture rights to that fight, but movie cameras in those days were far and few between. It ended with "Monty's" tossing the Governor out of the door and onto the sidewalk. Then "Monty" calmly went back into his office and resumed his duties of turning out his daily sheet. An hour later the two contestants were seen together, arm-in-arm, going from one bar to another, each praising the other's physical prowess. That's what I call real fellers!

Then came the 27th Session of the Nevada Legislature. What fun! The wintry winds blew and the snow snew, all through the grand old state's 60 days of Dignity—and nights of Revelry.

With the melting of the winter snows and the coming of spring, I began getting those itchy feet again. I had no definite plans in view, but one day a man came into the News office and announced himself as Murray Pennock, General Manager and Advance Agent of the Al. G. Barnes Great Big Three-ring Wild Animal Circus. "Monty," the editor to whom all winter I had been telling about some of my former circus experiences, came over and shook hands with me and remarked, "Here's where I lose a cartoonist!" And he did.

On "circus day" I was up bright and early with all of the Carson City kids to watch the train arrive and unload its many wonders. The first to get off the train was Eddie Woenecker, the bandmaster. A half hour later I had signed my name to one of his contracts, as E-flat Clarinetist in the "big top" concert band.



A 1915 ad for "Pinto's" book of cartoons.
(*Southern Oregon Historical Society*)

NOTES

[1]William Alley, "Jackson County Goes to the Fair," *Southern Oregon Heritage Today* (September 2002), p. 11-12.

[2]Undated clipping, SOHS MS-9, Colvig Manuscript Collection, Southern Oregon Historical Society Archives, Medford, Oregon.

[3]*Nevada Rockroller* (27 June 1914), (8 July 1914).

[4]*Nevada Rockroller* (5 August 1914), (5 September 1914).

[5]*Nevada Rockroller* (5 September 1914).

[6]Undated clipping, SOHS MS-9.

[7]SOHS MS-9. George Montrose edited the *Carson City News* from 1909 to 1915.

[8]*Carson City News* (25 September 1914). A copy of *Cartoons and Caricatures of the 27th Session* can be found in SOHS MS-9, one of the two collections of Colvig materials preserved in the collections of the Southern Oregon Historical Society.

[9]Transcribed from the unpublished manuscript with the permission of the Southern Oregon Historical Society.

[10]Thomas Nast (1840-1902) is perhaps the best known of all political cartoonists, famous for his cartoons attacking the corruption of William "Boss" Tweed and New York's Tammany Hall. He is also credited with popularizing the donkey and elephant as symbols of the nation's major political parties. Although not as well remembered today as Nast, Homer Davenport (1867-1912) was also one of the leading editorial cartoonists of his time, gaining widespread fame for his cartoons attacking the growth of corporate trusts in general and Republican leader Mark Hanna in particular. He is perhaps best known for his famous drawing of Uncle Sam endorsing Theodore Roosevelt with the caption, "He's good enough for me."

[11]The final issue of the *Nevada Rockroller* appeared on September 16, 1914.

[12]George Brodigan (d. 1938) was a Democrat who served as Nevada's secretary of state during 1911-1923. He was born in Sonora, California, and attended the University of Nevada. He was the business manager for the *Territorial Enterprise* and engaged in a number of other occupations before entering politics, serving six years as county auditor and recorder of Esmeralda County before being elected secretary of state in Nevada. *The History of Nevada*, Sam P. Davis, ed., (Reno and Los Angeles: Elm's Publishing Company, 1913), II, 1132-33. He later served as chief clerk for the Nevada Supreme Court from 1934 until his death in 1938.

[13]George A. Montrose (1875-1950) was a native Nevadan. He worked for a number of years in mining and newspapers, assuming the editorship of the *Bridgeport Chronicle Union* in 1901. From 1909 to 1915 Montrose served as editor of the *Carson City News*, and during that time took up the study of law. He was admitted to the Nevada and California bars in 1914 and established a law practice while still editor of the *Carson City News*. Upon leaving the newspaper, Montrose continued to practice law and served as an assistant United States attorney under presidents Harding and Coolidge. Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen Rix Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984), 44; *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land*, James G. Scrugham, ed., (Chicago: American Historical Siciety, 1935), p. 502-3; *Nevada State Bar Journal*, 16:1 (January 1951), 39-40.

[14]The popularity of the Magnolia can be attributed in part to the fact that Rosenbrock "made a name for himself with the cold lunch he sets out for the patrons at his bar." *Carson City Daily News* (23 September 1914), 1.

[15]Nevada's first world-championship boxing match took place in Carson City on March 17, 1897. After fourteen rounds (not the twenty-six that Colvig remembered), reigning champion James "Gentleman Jim" Corbett was defeated by the challenger, Robert Fitzsimmons.

[16]"Paxton, the man who put the kick in cocktails," read Paxton's advertisements in the *Carson City News*.

[17]Denver Sylvester Dickenson (1872-1925) was governor of Nevada during 1908-10. The incident recounted here obviously took place years before Colvig's arrival in Nevada.

[18]Denver Sylvester Dickenson (1872-1925) was lieutenant governor of Nevada during 1907-08, and became acting governor upon the death of Governor John Sparks. Dickenson later served as warden of the state prison. His son Harvey later served as attorney general (1955-59, 1963-71). Another son, George, a longtime Las Vegas attorney, chaired the Nevada Gaming Commission. The incident recounted here took place before Colvig's arrival in Nevada. Making the incident all the more interesting is that Dickerson owned and edited the *White Pine News* in Ely before seeking statewide office, and his son Denver later edited and wrote for several Nevada newspapers.

A Brief History of Water in the Reno-Sparks Area

MALCOLM IAN MCCASKILL

Nevada has had a colorful and diverse history: pioneers, gold rushes, farmers, railroads, bandits, brothels, the mafia, casinos, and even Indian wars. Today, Nevada is one of the nation's fastest-growing states, with huge housing developments, a prosperous mining industry, and a thriving gaming industry. Northern Nevada is also growing as a West Coast distribution center for various companies. However, one factor has always played a major role within the Reno-Sparks area and will no doubt determine its future: water.

Although it may be hard to believe now, approximately a hundred years ago the Truckee Meadows area was largely a marsh with an abundant supply of water. The first people to make use of this resource were the Native Americans, who inherited spots along the Truckee River and Steamboat Creek, and set up tule traps to catch fish. Eventually, however, others joined the Native Americans.

In the 1850s, H. H. Jamison established one of the first white settlements along the Truckee, east of present-day Reno. Jamison traded with the emigrants. He traded healthy wagon teams for tired, thin ones coming through the Forty Mile Desert. He then allowed the thin oxen and mules to graze on the nearby Boynton Slough, making a tidy profit by selling them to the next group of pioneers and settlers to come through.

Next, entrepreneurs like C. W. Fuller and Myron Lake built toll crossings for the many settlers and pioneers passing through Nevada. Nevada was a crossroads for the West. Before long, settlers began to divert water from the rivers

Malcolm Ian McCaskill was born April 16, 1987. At the age of 3, his family moved to Indonesia, where his parents worked as missionaries. He lived on the island of Bali for nine years, and at the age of 12 they moved to Penang, Malaysia, where he lived until his junior year of high school. Malcolm completed his senior year at McQueen High School in Reno. He is currently a freshman at the University of Nevada, Reno, studying international relations and economics.Malcolm Ian McCaskill is the first student to win the Nevada Historical Society Docent Council's scholarship since the inception of the program in 2003. The scholarship is available to high school students, with the primary requirement being the submission of an essay on some aspect of Nevada history. Not only does the winning student receive $500, his or her essay is published in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. It is an honor for the *Quarterly* to publish Mr. McCaskill's winning essay, "A Brief History of Water in the Reno-Sparks Area."

to farms and mills. One such was English Mill in the small town of Auburn, to the north of Sparks, whose canal brought water as far north as Spanish Springs. Numerous communities then dotted the valley.

Then, in 1874, the Reno Water Company installed the first water pipes and delivered to homes and businesses in the area that is now downtown Reno. Later, however, because the system lacked proper screens or filters, small fish filled the pipes and died. By the 1880s, the water was practically useless. Residents began to call the water Reno Chowder.

At about the same time that the water company installed the first pipes, the hay industry began to develop as farmers sought to supply hay to the multitude of teamsters who provided goods for mining and other industries. But when the Virginia and Truckee Railroad moved into the area and began providing supplies to the area, the need for teamsters was mostly eliminated. The valley was now becoming a major livestock center, particularly in beef cattle, but also in sheep and pigs.

Farmers dug canals and channels to supply their various farms and grazing lands with water. These canals stretched from the Truckee River and Steamboat Creek to Sparks and Spanish Springs. There were often conflicts over who was entitled to how much water, arguments that sometimes resulted in gunfights. The growth in livestock was also joined by a growth in agriculture. Nevada's cheese, honey, and potatoes all won first place at various world's fairs in the 1880s. However, these water improvements came with a price: the distribution of water throughout the valley increased the amount of evaporation as it decreased the water table.

The development of agriculture and cattle ranching had some detrimental effects, particularly in terms of water, that would come back to haunt the Reno-Sparks area. During the late nineteenth century, farmers cut down much of the forest and brush in the valley to make room for alfalfa fields and other crops. Lumber mills also cut down forests to provide the mining industry with timber. Snow caps no longer lasted through the summer because the natural insulation had been cut down or burned off.

While all this was taking place, industrial fishing began to take tons of fish annually from the Truckee, resulting in the depletion of the Pyramid Lake cutthroat trout. Simultaneously, the lake level dropped because of the many canals diverting water to the hay fields and various other crops. The trout stopped spawning and eventually died off. The trout that are currently in Pyramid Lake are actually Lahontan cutthroat trout.

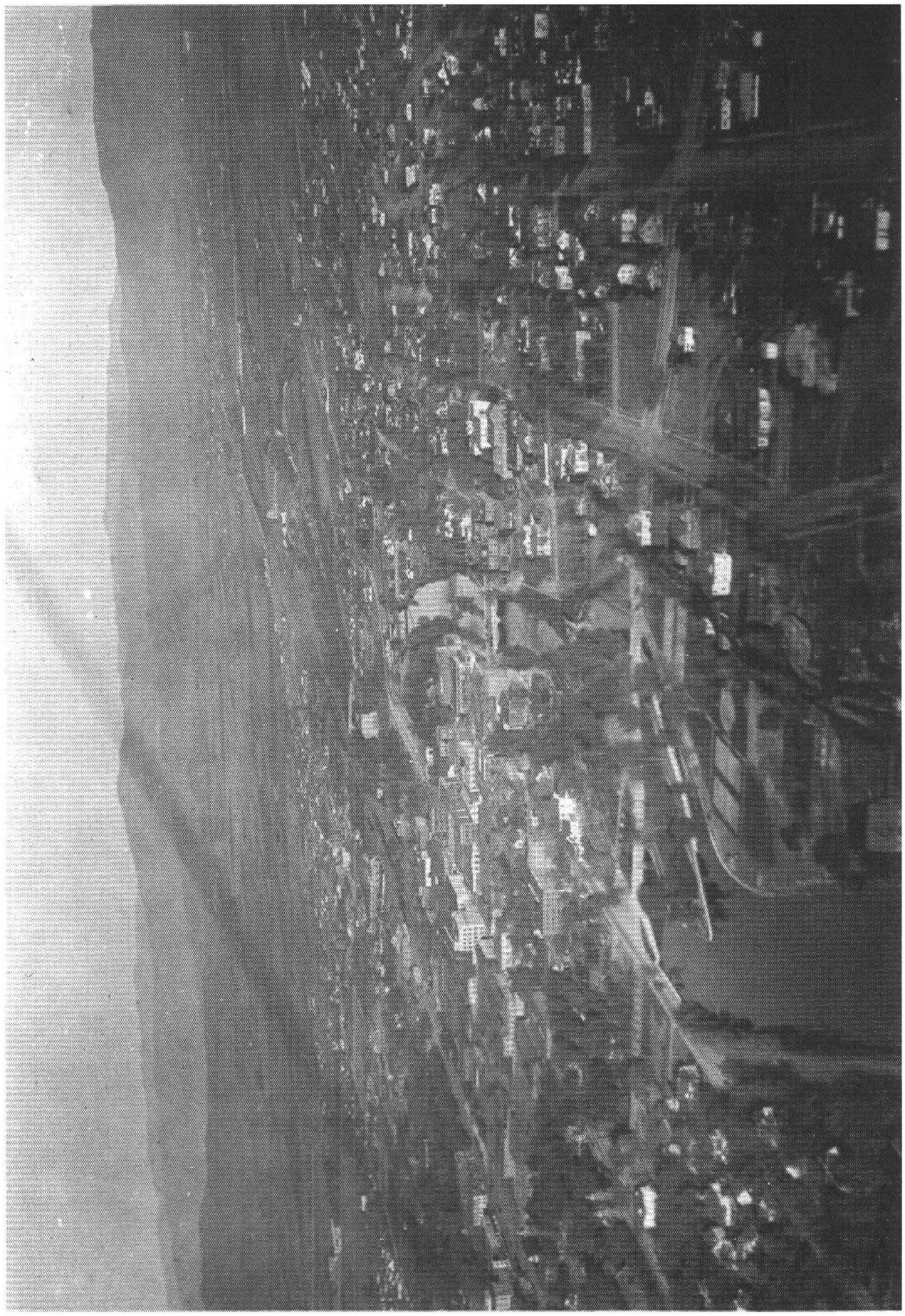
Pyramid Lake began to lose even more water when farmers in the Fernley and Fallon area built additional canals as a result of the creation of the vast Newlands Irrigation Project. The ever increasing demand for water brought with it more conflict over water rights.

Although many dams and reservoirs were built during the twentieth century, primarily in the Carson and Sierra ranges, major conflicts over water rights

erupted, as supply could not meet demand. Pyramid Lake continued to drop, as did the water table, and eventually the Boynton Slough simply disappeared. Springs and geysers in the Steamboat area also stopped flowing. The Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, in particular, was distressed over the dropping water levels. They were worried that the cutthroat and cui-ui would not be able to survive in the diminishing lake and the Truckee River.

Eventually these conflicts resulted in lawsuits and court cases. The state legislature and the United States Congress also began to address these issues. The Paiute were given the Stampede Reservoir and other watershed runoff in the Sierra to supply the Truckee River and Pyramid Lake whenever the need arose. Congressional legislation divided water rights between California and Nevada, and set up a program to re-establish the cui-ui and cutthroat trout in Pyramid Lake.

Despite these advances, however, the battle over water rights is not over. According to the *Reno Gazette Journal*, in 1981 approximately 130,000 acre-feet of water rights from the Truckee existed. Most of these were privately or corporately owned. "One single-family home uses between a half acre-foot and an acre-foot per year," says an article in the *Gazette-Journal*. With the explosion in population and development that Nevada has experienced, water rights are again a major issue. How will the Reno-Sparks area address this rising demand for water? Once again, water will determine the future of Nevada.



Aerial view of Reno, Nevada, ca. 1920. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

Notes and Documents

New Acquisitions at the Nevada Historical Society

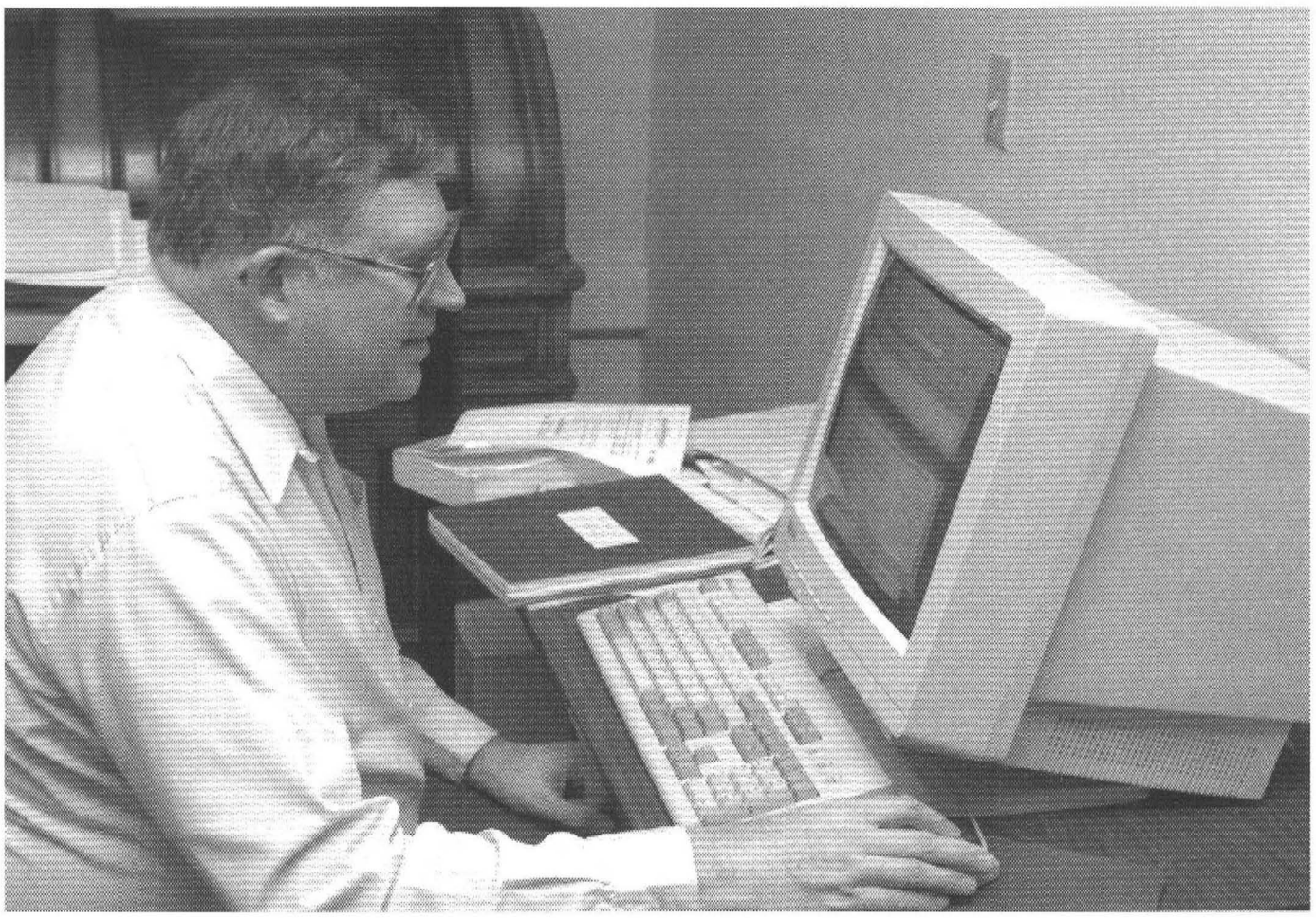
NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY STAFF

LIBRARY

It has been a busy and productive time for the Nevada Historical Society's library. A 2004 Library Services and Training Act Cataloging Grant Project ended June 30, 2005. It was a very successful endeavor with much accomplished. Since the project's inception in August 2004, Richard Kelly, an experienced cataloger, has been cataloging materials that have been hidden away and unused on shelves at the Historical Society. Richard has put fifteen hundred individual items—many one-of-a-kind—into the online catalog CLAN (Co-operative Libraries Automated Network). As Richard works on each item he also evaluates it for its conservation and preservation needs. Items needing conservation measures have been placed in acid-free envelope storage binders. This procedure greatly increases the lifetime of the items and ensures their existence for use by future generations.

Beginning in January 2005, Richard has been working exclusively on cataloging items from the pamphlet collection, one of the most unique collections of Nevada-related materials housed at the Nevada Historical Society. The collection contains material about mining, Native Americans, railroads, Nevada politicians, and agricultural issues, to name just a few. The mining material includes mining company annual reports and prospectuses. They contain photographs, stockholders' reports, graphs, and maps, and they provide useful information to researchers. All of these items, many of them rare and existing nowhere else, are now in the CLAN catalog. I will end with exciting news—funds have been donated to the Historical Society to continue this cataloging project for another full year, making it possible for even more of the Society's collection to be searchable online.

Michael Maher
Research Librarian



Richard Kelly, cataloger. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

MANUSCRIPTS

Recent additions to the Nevada Historical Society's manuscript holdings have included significant materials from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among these are records of Marlette and Folsom, 1882-1890, an important logging firm that conducted operations in the Lake Tahoe Basin; records of the Sierra Watercolor Society, 1989-2004; personal papers of the Moore-Griggs family of early Goldfield, and later Sparks; a group of financial and operational records from the Tonopah-Goldfield Meat Company, 1918-1921; correspondence of Nevada Governor Roswell K. Colcord while he was superintendent for the Consolidated Esmeralda, Limited, mining company in Aurora during the 1880s and early 1890s; and an extensive collection of personal papers and photographs from the Roberts-Hale family, which includes letters and other documents of James D. and Thurman Roberts, prominent early residents of Washoe Valley and Carson City (donated by King McPherson of Nevada City, California).

Other important manuscript acquisitions include an impressive collection of military certificates and appointment papers of Reno namesake and Civil War General Jesse L. Reno (on indefinite loan from the City of Reno); records of Carson City's Capital Community Concert Association (donated by Dorotha Schneider); personal papers of Rodney F. Stock, many of which deal with his long career in law enforcement; personal correspondence and papers of Reno lawyer and public official Russell W. McDonald, which constitute an addition to the large collection of McDonald's historical research files and writings

previously deposited with the Society; records of the Reno Press and Virginia Club, 1979-1988 (donated by Chuck Bratton); personal papers, photographs, and films of George J. Vucanovich, most relating to the gaming industry and his decades-long involvement with the Reno National Championship Air Races (donated by Barbara Vucanovich); and the business and personal papers of William R. Black, who was a Nevada Civilian Conservation Corps camp supervisor in the 1930s, and later owned and operated the pioneering Nevada Fire Extinguisher Service in Reno (donated by Robert and Barbara Harmon).

Eric Moody
Curator of Manuscripts

PHOTOGRAPHY

In recent months, the Nevada Historical Society has acquired a number of important photographs made possible through the generosity of our librarian-emeritus Lee Mortensen, who established a trust fund to allow the Society to purchase new collections. These include a series of rare photographs of nineteenth-century Eureka. One, a bird's eye view of the town in the 1880s, is our only original example of this genre by Louis Monaco, Eureka's leading photographer of the day. Additional Monaco works show the interior workings of a silver refinery during Eureka's heyday. These views are essential for illustrating Nevada's mining history because methods for extracting silver from the deeper sulfide ores were first perfected at Eureka. Other major purchases from this fund include exceptionally sharp original carte-de-visite and stereo views of Gold Hill and Virginia City in the 1870s and 1880s.

Many of the Society's photographic holdings come from individuals who generously bring in family photographs or privately purchased collections to be copied. More than a thousand such copy photographs have been added in the last year alone. These range from rare views of early mining camps and Native American encampments to dude ranches and the divorce trade. The most important single such donation in recent months comprises several hundred images documenting the operation and final demise of the Eureka-Nevada Railway, which ran between Eureka and Palisade during the early twentieth century. Neal Cobb, who previously donated much of his family's Modern Photo collection, continues to collect photographs that he allows the Society to copy. Dave Stafford has similarly made available for copying his personal collection of rare real photo postcards of Reno. These include views of stores and parades on Center Street in the days before Virginia Street became the dominant thorough fare. Postcard views of such seldom-photographed streets as Second and Fourth are also among these new additions.

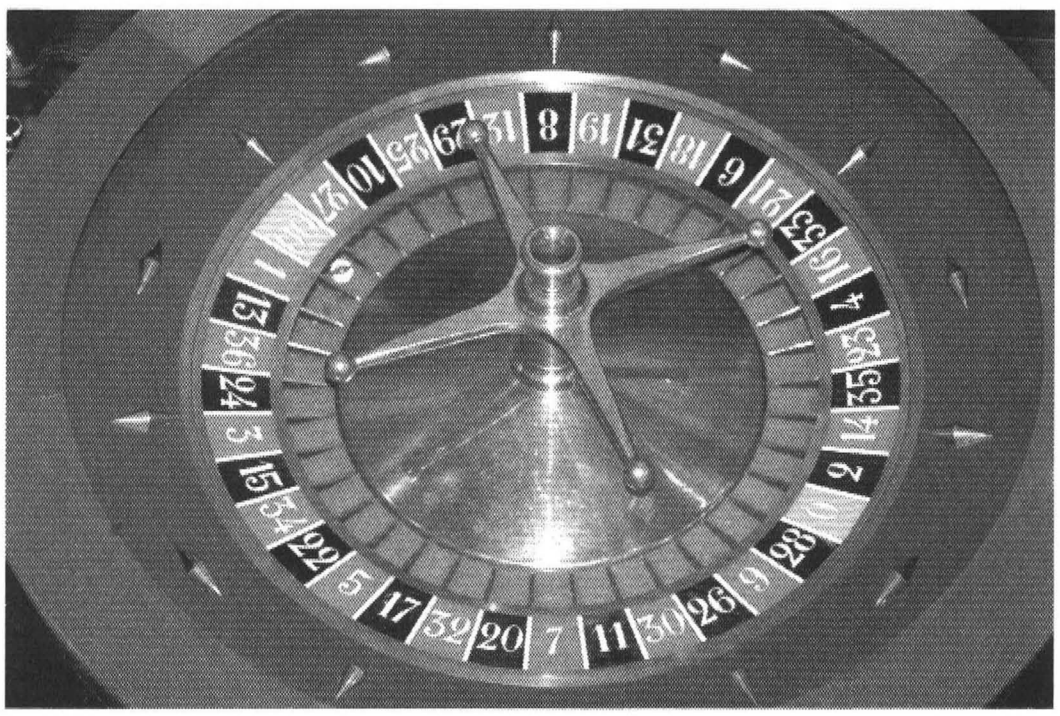
Lee Brumbaugh
Curator of Photography

A Louis Monaco image of miners in Eureka, Nevada. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

MUSEUM

In recent months, the Nevada Historical Society has acquired a number of important artifacts through generous donations. Without funds to purchase artifacts, the Historical Society must rely on the generosity of the public. Obtaining artifacts from historic Nevada families is a crucial part of the Society's collecting mission. These items represent important aspects of Nevada's history that might be lost to future generations. The King McPherson donation is an outstanding sampling from the Roberts–Hale family. James Doane Roberts came West in the 1850s and settled in Old Washoe City, where in partnership with the Corbett brothers, he worked in the saloon business. By 1875, Roberts and his wife moved their family and their Gothic Revival home to Carson City. The Roberts House is currently operated as a house museum. Calvin Hale was the founder of the Hale and Norcross mine in Virginia City as well as a direct descendent of American patriot Nathan Hale. James Roberts's grandson Thurman and his wife, Hattie Hale Roberts, gave these family treasures to King McPherson's father, a close friend before he passed away. This donation includes a sole-leather trunk that was used by James D. Roberts while crossing the Plains, some family household items, and a basket collection comprising

Baskets from the Roberts-Hale donation. *(Nevada Historical Society)*



Roulette wheel from the Fitzgerald Casino hoard. *(Nevada Historical Society)*

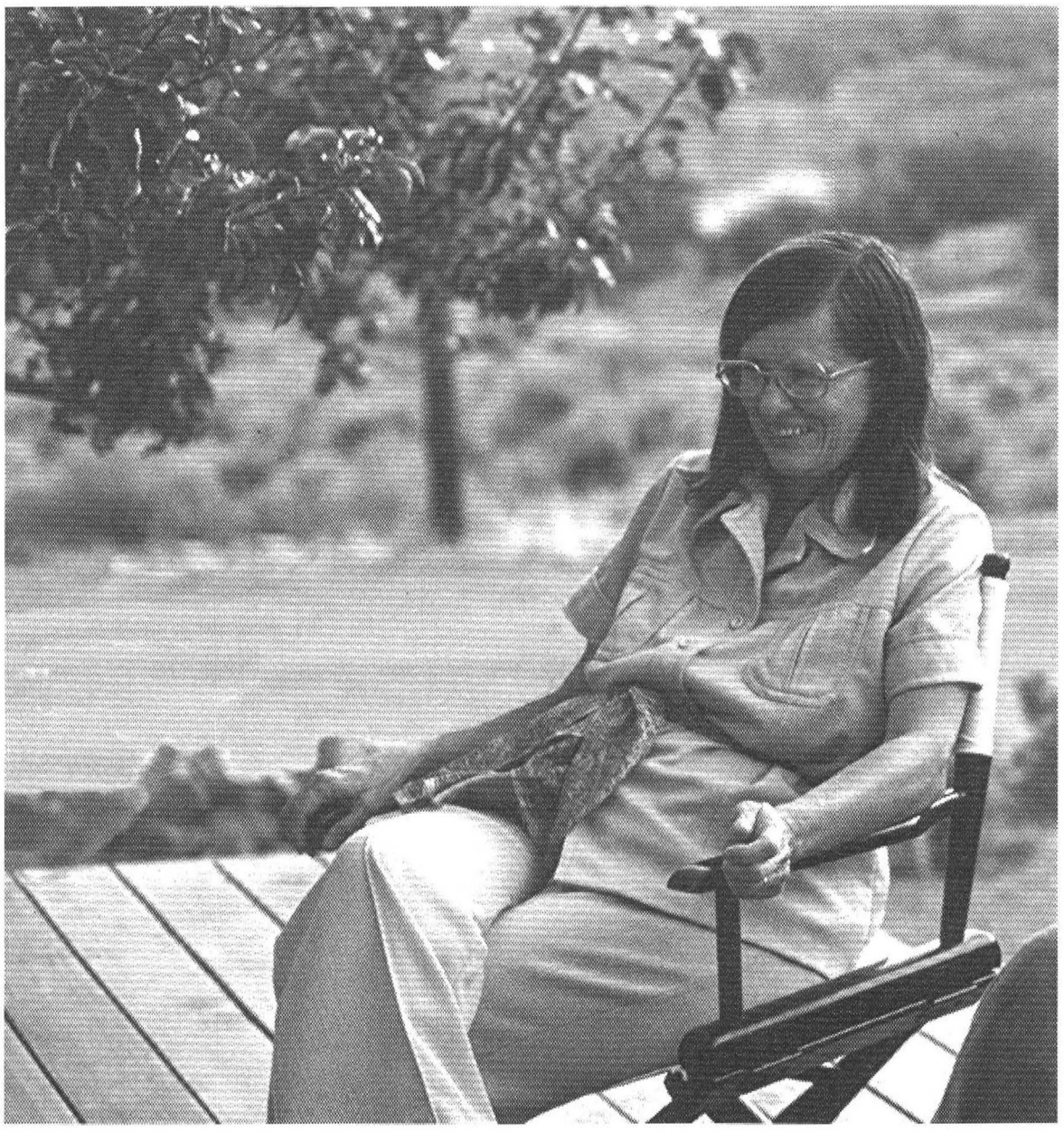
eighteen small baskets of Paiute, Washoe and Northern California origin that were collected before 1900.

The Society struck it rich this summer with casino and gaming memorabilia. Until three months ago, the museum did not have a roulette wheel in its collection and today it has two. The first donation is referred to as the Fitzgerald's Hoard. The Hoard was acquired by Ronald J. Gillio, a coin collector who purchased the contents of a 6,000-square-foot warehouse. Mr. Gillio's donation includes an unused "00" roulette wheel made in Paris, new table felts, a silver dollar counting machine, one 1878 Carson City Morgan Dollar, $1 tokens from the Nevada Club and other Nevada casinos, as well as trays, casino chips, key rings, and other memorabilia from the Nevada Club, Fitzgerald's, and the Nevada Lodge. In addition to architectural plans of Fitzgerald's casino, there is a 1960s architectural rendering of the Shamrock casino, which was never built.

The second donation came from the Nevada State Gaming Control Board. One of the artifacts is a rare dice cheating kit, which will be put on display in the museum in 2006. The kit dates back to the mid-1950s, and includes dies, levels, shavers, drills, completed logos, type face, foils, unmarked and completed dice in carrying cases. Most of the logos are from casinos in Nevada but there are also examples from the VFW, Elks and several East Coast casinos. This kit is an excellent example of our gaming heritage that demonstrates how cheaters learned to work the system. In addition, the Gaming Control Board donated two slot machines, a roulette table top, and a "0" roulette wheel made by Reno resident Paul Tramble.

Sherlyn Hayes-Zorn
Registrar

In Memoriam



Mary K. Rusco

1927 – 2005

Mary K. Rusco
1927 – 2005

Former Nevada State Museum archaeologist, Mary K. Rusco, age 77, passed away on May 23, 2005 in Reno. She was married to the late Elmer R. Rusco, University of Nevada, Reno, political science professor (emeritus) and noted Nevada civil rights activist and historian, who died in July 2004. Mary earned her bachelor of arts degree in anthropology from the University of Kansas, and a master of arts degree in anthropology from the University of Nebraska, and she completed coursework toward her Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of California, Davis. Mary left her studies at Davis to work as an ethnographer in southern Nevada and eastern California with Dr. Catherine S. Fowler of UNR's anthropology department.

Mary began working in Nevada in 1967 when she assumed the role of records manager for the Nevada Archaeological Survey. She later directed the Nevada Archaeological Survey at the museum between 1974 and 1983. Under Mary's direction, the museum completed a number of significant historical and prehistoric archaeological projects throughout the state.

Particularly notable was Mary's work on the Lovelock Chinatown Site in the mid 1970s. Although best known by many as the project where a "pot of gold" was discovered, this remarkable site yielded a wealth of important historical and archaeological information on Lovelock's Chinese community from the 1880s to the 1930s. The Lovelock project was an early historical archaeological investigation on overseas Chinese, and the first of its kind in Nevada. Mary continued her research on the Nevada Chinese, and she and Elmer worked with Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, of UNLV's history department, in these later studies.

Mary was co-principal investigator, with the late Dr. Jonathan O. Davis of the Desert Research Institute on investigations at Rye Patch Reservoir. Their investigations provided glimpses into Nevada's Ice Age and the ensuing millennia. Broken and worn mammoth, horse, and camel bones, and Great Basin Clovis and stemmed points held promise of a PaleoIndian extinct fauna association. Careful excavations, field observations, and analyses, however, convinced most observers that the contemporaneity of ancient humans and extinct megafauna was not revealed by these sites.

Mary made many other significant contributions to Nevada's archaeological studies. She directed or co-directed work at Tosawihi Quarry, Carlin bypass, Treaty Hill, and Fort Churchill. Among her ethnographic contributions was her role with Professor Fowler in assisting the Timbisha Shoshone with their successful recovery of tribal lands within Death Valley National Monument in 2000. She was an active researcher until shortly before her death. In 2004, Mary was the first recipient of the Nevada Archaeological Association's Lifetime Achievement Award.

On a personal note, Mary was very kind and generous. She loved fieldwork, and she provided many aspiring archaeologists with opportunities to undertake positions of responsibility in the field, lab, and office. Her closely knit museum crew kept Mary organized, and she relied on them heavily. Many professional archaeologists worked under Mary's supervision when they were high school or university students. I am fortunate to count myself among Mary's "students."

Eugene M. Hattori
Nevada State Museum

CUMULATIVE INDEX - VOLUME 47
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Compiled by
MARTA GONZALES-COLLINS AND MELLA ROTHWELL HARMON

Numbers printed in boldface refer to photographs and illustrations

Book Reviews

Riding the High Wire: Aerial Mine Tramways in the West. By Robert Trennert. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2001).

Riding the High Wire does not attempt to break ground in new western history, and it does not try to explore a deep, significant theme. It is instead a brief history of a technology that mining historians have often overlooked: aerial tramways. And I can attest to that neglect. Over the past decade, I have joined the Mining History Association on its annual trek to western mining sites. At each location, we take note of the mines, head frames, mills, and railroads. The only person taking particular note of aerial tramways has been Bob Trennert. He not only points out trams, but Bob also talks about them during program sessions. His old passions of mining and railroading have combined and given way to a new interest in tramway transportation. And this little volume does an excellent job in explaining the significant role tramways have played in western mining history.

Trennert's organization is straightforward, moving from origin to obsolescence. The rationale behind tramway development seems simple. Mines were often found in remote areas, hidden deep within mountain ranges. Moving ore and supplies was an expensive proposition, and mine owners sought ways to reduce those transportation costs. Aerial tramways, crossing all obstacles in a straight line, emerged as possible alternatives. First appearing in Europe, tramways made it to the United States in time for the post-1865 mining boom.

Known as the Endless Wire Rope, the first tramway in the United States was manufactured by Andrew S. Hallidie. Although he did not build the first tramway in the West, an honor that went to Charles Hodgson of England, Hallidie dominated the early tram business. Starting in 1871, Hallidie had installed about two dozen mine tramways by 1883. His system was fairly simple: A single wire rope held and pulled the mine cars. A number of problems appeared, but when successfully adapted, aerial transportation could reduce hauling expenses by one third. Hallidie's success soon brought competition from Charles M. Huson, and these two companies placed as many as a hundred single-rope tramways before the turn of the century. While the single-rope system would be phased out, Trennert argues that it "paved the way for even greater use of aerial tramways."

The Hallidie and Huson systems fell out of favor because of flaws inherent in the single-rope system. The rope carried great strain, wore excessively, and could only be moved at low speeds. Out of Germany came the Bleichert double-rope

system, which addressed the single-rope's weaknesses. Double-rope systems had a stationary cable along which the buckets rolled, and a traction cable which pulled the buckets. While more expensive to build than the single-rope models, this new system could haul larger loads at greater speeds with fewer problems. The Trenton Iron Company manufactured the first double-rope system in the United States, and constructed about twenty during the early 1890s. The success brought competition and Trennert states that "hundreds of double-rope tramways went up in the mining West between 1900 and 1920" (45).

With the types and evolution of tramways covered, Trennert moves on to a variety of topics. In discussing construction and operation, he deals with the practical experiences of tram operation, such as accidents involving runaway ore buckets. Trennert then talks about what he calls the "great western tramways." These are the most significant tram operations, and he labels the San Juan Mountains of Colorado as the tramway capital (65-66). Here, the rugged terrain caused the mining entrepreneurs to build at least eighteen trams in the Animas River Valley. While other locations in the West did not have as many trams, they still had some important operations. The longest tramway in the United States was in southern Wyoming, serving the Grand Encampment mine. Trennert praises this set-up as a "mechanical marvel" (78).

Decline, obsolescence, and preservation round out Trennert's discussion of aerial tramways. The decline began when hard times came to mining in the 1920s, compounded by the Depression, with more demolition coming in World War II. In recent years, conveyors and high capacity trucks further made tramways obsolete, although a few still operate. In terms of preservation, Trennert expresses dismay that "so little has been accomplished in the realm of historic preservation" (105), and he forecasts that "they will all be gone sooner than we would like" (108).

Trennert's brief book, just over a hundred pages of text, does an excellent job discussing the development, use, and end of tramways. Further, he examines the primary people and significant locations involved in the undertakings. Adding significantly to the high quality of the text are forty-five illustrations. There are many things this book is not, however. It is not an engineering or technical piece, although some technical aspects naturally work into the story. Also, it is not a business history of tramway manufacturers or mining companies. I mention these disclaimers because some readers may expect more detail on certain topics. For instance, I know that the Grand Encampment company was primarily a speculative venture, and probably never had the money to pay for its tramway. I am curious about how such financial dealings worked out. Yet, that question is beyond the scope of the book. I enjoyed *Riding the High Wire*, and heartily recommend it to mining and transportation historians. Others interested in more general western history may also like it, but the topic may seem a little remote for the general reader.

David A. Wolff
Black Hills State University

Hydraulic Mining in California: A Tarnished Legacy. By Powell Greenland.(Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2001)

California, in the second half of the nineteenth century, represented the land of golden dreams—for the miners who first opened the treasure box, for the farmers who followed them and for immigrants, over-all. Here a fortunate individual could make a fortune—sometimes, it seemed, almost overnight.

Mining offered the quickest possibility. As the forty-niners swiftly discovered, the more gravel that could be worked, the more gold that would be found. That resulted in the evolution of mining methods from the pan, to the rocker, to the long tom, and finally, to hydraulic mining. Simply stated, that last method meant turning water, shot out of a nozzle under high pressure, against a bank or hill and washing the gold-laced gravel through some sort of sluice to trap the gold. By this time, it took money to make money in California mining because reservoirs and flumes had to be constructed and a fair amount of property purchased.

This all happened within a decade after the amazing rush of 1849, although the great days of hydraulic mining did not emerge until the 1870s. When they did, the operations ranged from small companies to corporations that moved vast amounts of earth to recover gold. The tailings went into streams, with little regard for what happened to them afterward. Therein lay the problem and the eventual demise of hydraulicking.

Powell Greenland, a fourth-generation Californian, turned what must have been a lifelong interest in California and hydraulic mining into the first book that traces the entire history of the industry in the state. In doing so, he filled a void in the history of mining. His research is most impressive.

Hydraulic Mining covers the subject from A to Z. It almost seems that the reader could start his or her own hydraulic operation by carefully studying this book. This proves a solid strength and a bit of weakness.

The scholarship that went into Greenland's research is extensive and thorough. The footnotes and bibliography are a gold mine for future researchers. In fact, this will be the starting point for any additional study, as well as a reference book on the subject.

Chapter 1 provides an excellent introduction and competently sets the stage for what will follow. Chapter 5, "The Summit," carefully traces the history of the three major mines, and chapter 6 describes the downfall of the industry, when farmers and city dwellers in the valleys arose to protest the "slickens" that were inundating field and home.

This is a highly detailed volume. As the author states, "During the course of this study, we have traced in some detail the various elements encompassed in the technology of hydraulic mining" (159). It is not easy reading. *Hydraulic Mining* sometimes slows down to a crawl, as the author travels county by county to describe hydraulicking operations. Readers will need to concentrate and

push ahead to finish, perhaps finding out all that they ever wanted to know, and more, about the industry.

Greenland sympathizes with his subject, concluding that "today, it appears, that the treasure of an unaltered landscape is more highly esteemed than that which lies buried beneath the ground" (226). By the 1880s, many Californians had reached that conclusion, and that is what killed hydraulicking. That the miners up in the hills did not and could not resolve the problems their mining created ended the great days of the industry by the mid 1880s. Judge Lorenzo Sawyer's decision, in the famous North Bloomfield Company case involving the Yuba River, granted an unconditional and perpetual injunction, and ended a thirty-year run of hydraulic mining.

With ample illustrations and a glossary of placer mining terms, the author has provided assistance for his readers as they move along through his detailed story. A few more maps would have been helpful. This book is recommended for scholars of mining, libraries, and those who have a deep interest in mining history.

Duane A. Smith
Fort Lewis College

When the Land Was Young: Reflections on American Archaeology. By Sharman Apt Russell (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

Writers who are not specialists in fields they write about often produce engaging and insightful books; John McPhee, Dava Sobel, and John Noble Wilford come immediately to mind. Their talent lies in their ability to take seemingly complex ideas from the sciences and humanities and make them simple. My understanding of geology, for example, has greatly benefited from John McPhee's wonderful books on the subject. Sharman Apt Russell, who teaches writing at Western New Mexico University, has written a book about American archaeology from the outside looking in. She has done so by interviewing professional archaeologists and visiting archaeological sites around the country. Unlike McPhee, Sobel, and Wilford, however, Russell deliberately avoids objectivity; one learns in the first chapter, for example, that the field of American archaeology is permeated with racist, sexist, and mercenary agendas.

To her credit, Russell recognizes that most Americans are easily fascinated with those things that connect us to people of the past. She begins her reflections on American archaeology by describing family outings to nearby archaeological sites and the wonderment that she and her children feel when confronted by some ancient petroglyph or potsherd. She eloquently describes the humanistic

empathy that seems to emanate from objects made and used generations ago. In the first few pages of the book *When the Land Was Young* we are all on the same page, so to speak, insofar as we are all members of the same biological genus and species. There is something universal about the human condition; we have the ability to relate at some level to others regardless of time, place, or race. On page 7, however, this psychic unity of humankind unravels swiftly with Russell's interpretation of the history of American archaeology. By making the connection between the nineteenth-century concepts of Social Darwinism, the idea that human cultures can be placed on the same unilineal evolutionary trajectory, as American Manifest Destiny, she suggests that twentieth-century archaeologists who have studied culture change are guilty by association. This is quickly followed by arguments that archaeologists who have studied the sexual division of labor in prehistoric Native American societies are sexists, and that laws meant to protect and preserve cultural resources have created an employment boon for professional archaeologists, who as a group are both mercenary and arrogant. The first chapter concludes with the sense that archaeology is inherently interesting, but those who take up this field as their chosen vocation somehow lose their ability to appreciate the past without prejudice and personal agenda. Her journalistic foil is the popular conception of loss of innocence in the transition from amateur to professional. It happens in sports, why not archaeology?

Chapter 2, entitled "Emotional Baggage," describes Russell's experience attending the 1994 annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Anaheim, California. She is bored, and describes symposia participants as "the kind of people, by and large, who skipped oral interpretation in high school" (20). She went to the conference in order to research questions concerning initial human occupation of the Western Hemisphere, a topic she describes as "dominated [by] an aggressive and sometimes slanderous debate" (21). Admittedly, the question of when humans first arrived in the New World has been central in American archaeology, and Russell correctly identifies prominent archaeologists, such as Vance Haynes, James Adovasio, and Tom Dillehay, who have been in the vanguard of research. She also identifies archaeological sites, such as Calico Hills (California), Meadowcroft Rockshelter (Pennsylvania), and Monte Verde (Chile) that have received considerable attention in this regard. However, her rendering of the debate over breaking the so-called Clovis barrier, named for the late Pleistocene (ca. 11,000 years before present) type site in Clovis, New Mexico and scores of similarly dated sites throughout North America, devolves into acrimony. A professional polemic may exist, but her portrayal of it makes it sound like a family feud; arrogant archaeologists "intone," they are "greedy" in their expectations, and those who don't get their way "grump."

The next five chapters of the book are devoted to a cultural history of North America, and are organized and presented in more or less chronological fashion. Happily, the professional insults diminish, although Russell does make reference

(81) to archaeology's "cowboy mentality" (whatever that means), which could be an oblique reference to her book *Kill the Cowboy: A Battle of Mythology in the New West* (1993). Chapters 3 and 4 pertain to Clovis and Archaic traditions, and describe her visits to the important sites of Blackwater Draw (New Mexico) and Windover (Florida), as well as interviews with archaeologists Paul Martin and Patty Jo Watson, among others. She seeks their advice on subjects such as the extinction of late Pleistocene mammals and the origins of agriculture. The next chapter discusses cultural diversity around two thousand years ago. Russell describes her visits to the site of a Northwest Coast fishing village, the Pueblo Grande Museum in Phoenix, and the Newark Earthworks in Ohio. This is followed by tours of Cahokia (Illinois) and Chaco Canyon (New Mexico), two incredible cities that were regionally important around A.D. 900-1200. Russell's adventure through the past concludes with an examination of early Spanish exploration in the Southeast. With the help of specialists Rochelle Marrinan and Kathleen Deagan, she enters the realm of historical archaeology, focusing specifically on the ill-fated Narváez expedition and the published odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca.

The next two chapters of the book consist of Russell's investigation of two archaeological acronyms: NAGPRA and CRM. The former, the federal law known as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and the latter, cultural resource management, both figure largely in the practice of professional archaeology today. Unfortunately, Russell misses the point that professional archaeologists, who work within the context of historic preservation law, have been advocates for the respect of cultural heritage. Instead, she makes disparaging remarks such as "Archaeology's neglect for [Native American] oral history borders on disdain" (167).

When the Land Was Young concludes with a brief essay describing Russell's inspired visit to an Anasazi cliff dwelling. This aerie vista of wild canyon lands that once supported generations of extended families prompts her reflection that "awe is one of our gifts" (208). Clearly, the ability to connect with our past is a gift; it is why so many are drawn to the field of archaeology. I suppose that is why the anthropologist Miles Richardson once dedicated a book thusly: "To Australopithecus, who first caught a glimpse of the human soul in a piece of rock."

Aside from the professionally denigrating tone of Russell's book, which some may consider a clever journalistic device, her work contains some unfortunate errors. For example, she uses the term *paleolithic* out of context (57); it is a term that was developed to describe an evolutionary sequence of stone-tool manufacture in Europe, and is not part of New World archaeological parlance. In addition, she mistakenly places the famous Anasazi site of Chaco Canyon in northeastern, not northwestern, New Mexico (125). I can recommend *When the Land Was Young* as an exercise in creative writing, but its antagonistic

bias causes me to refer readers interested in the study of North American archaeology to several more balanced works currently available.

Peter B. Mires
Eastern Shore Community College

Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade. By Barton H. Barbour (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001)

As Barton Barbour's preface humbly foretells, the possible impact of his work, *Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade* may not receive enough publicity among a high-flown professional crowd by "bucking the current of contemporary historical thoughts" (xi). In the past few decades, the waning interest in early fur trade studies coincided with the steady decline of fur trappers' celebrity status in frontier history. Any successful attempt to rework this abandoned field requires extraordinary fortitude and dexterity. With such virtues, however, this book is an emphatic reminder that the history of the fur trade still contains many viable topics and issues pertaining to current intellectual debates.

More than just providing the first biography of a remote commercial depot, this book introduces readers to a broad history of the western American fur trade and the nation's frontier experience. Located on the upper Missouri River in the northwestern corner of today's North Dakota—first as a part of John Jacob Astor's fur-trade empire and later as an asset of Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Company—Fort Union from 1830 to 1867 was the busiest, longest-lived, and best-documented fur trading post on the northern plains. By looking into the post's complicated business operations, Barbour has judiciously argued for the prominence of the fur trade in the process of westward expansion and the development of national character. Often gathering their capital from the East or even Europe, conducting their fieldwork in the American West, and marketing their merchandise in Asia, the fur companies helped lay the foundations for both modern financial structures, such as the joint-stock company, and advanced international trading systems. As the first entrepreneurs in western North America, these rugged fur traders unintentionally brought this least-developed region into the world's most sophisticated economic orbit. Meanwhile, this kind of economic power allowed them to exert a tremendous amount of political and cultural influence on the West; their activities constantly affected the nation's Indian policies, military operations, miscegenation laws, and even foreign relations. By containing the discussion within the large historical context, *Fort Union* seems to imply that a person with global perspectives will have more appreciation of the fur-trade history.

Further evincing the complexity of the American frontier experience, this

work presents a fine reconstruction of the entire society of Fort Union. Ordinarily, talk of a fur-trading post immediately evokes thoughts of an uncultured place with a few ramshackle buildings and unsavory white traders. But Barbour presents the fort as a robust multiethnic, multicultural community rather than a dull frontier habitation. Since the fur trade demanded mutual reliance and cooperation among all participants, Fort Union, like many other posts in the West, was a place for cultural exchange as well as business transactions. As both financial and social ambassadors, fur traders were the first to expose Indians to white culture. Because of that contact, tribes such as the Assinibone, Cree, Crow, Sioux, and Blackfeet experienced a significant transformation in their societies. However, Barbour discounts the dependency argument that the trade impoverished Native Americans and deprived them of their culture. In fact, the Indians were shrewd business partners who knew how to work for their own best interests and to influence the conduct of others. At Fort Union, Indians, mixed bloods, Blacks, and Euro-Americans together created and maintained a unique frontier society. In addition, the fort served as an intellectual outpost of white civilization as Pierre Chouteau, Jr., generously supported the investigation of natural history, geology, and ethnology. During its heyday Fort Union sheltered many distinguished artists, scientists, explorers, and missionaries, including Duke Paul Wilhelm, George Catlin, Prince Maximillan, Karl Bodmer, Rudolph Friederich Kurz, Pierre Jean De Smet, Carl Wimar, John James Audubon, Governor Isaac Stevens, and Lewis Henry Morgan. Their magnificent writings and illustrations and writings of events and people at the site later became invaluable sources for historical and scientific studies. Despite its geographical isolation and physical simplicity, a fur trade post like Fort Union still functioned as a sophisticated society with ethnic diversity, social progression, and cultural depth.

In addition to these major ideas, *Fort Union* also contains several important subthemes. Although fur traders were often viewed as the first envoys to bring change to native tribes, it was not the fur trade but the United States military campaigns that eventually demolished the old ways of life for Plains Indians. Fur companies and the government never had a perfect marriage. Domestic politics often determined the prosperity of the fur trade. Finally, the rise of Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party spelled the end of a once glorious American commerce. Along with fresh arguments, the extensive documentation and beautiful narrative make *Fort Union* a superb piece of scholarship that will become a classic in the field. A catchier title accompanied by the current one as the subtitle would have increased the book's appeal. However, the real appeal of this work is that it points out a new way to look at the history of fur trade.

Liping Zhu
Eastern Washington University

Out of the Jungle: Jimmy Hoffa and the Remaking of the American Working Class. By Thaddeus Russell (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001)

Jimmy Hoffa remains one of the most vilified and enigmatic figures in twentieth-century American history. While he was very much a public figure during his tempestuous career as a Teamster leader, most speculation about Hoffa centered on his behind-the-scenes dealings, including his reported links to organized crime. Within the standard narrative of American labor history, in which the craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor is superseded by the industrial unionism of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930s, Hoffa's energetic union leadership, which largely eschewed ideology, is considered an aberration. The Teamsters, one of the largest and most powerful trade unions in American history, are thus left out of many interpretations of labor history.

In *Out of the Jungle*, Thaddeus Russell addresses Hoffa's life and leadership by examining both the details of his life and career and the larger social and economic forces that shaped the world he lived in. But Russell does more than paint a more accurate picture of James Riddle Hoffa, Teamster president; he demonstrates that the outstanding reason for Hoffa's popularity among the rank and file was his responsiveness to "the desire of his union's members for material improvement in their lives and their willingness to act on that desire" (5-6). Instead of loafing around loading docks idly waiting to be duped by the scheming Hoffa (as others would have it), the Teamster rank and file, as interpreted by Russell, willingly chose Hoffa's leadership and genuinely believed that he delivered higher wages to members. In other words, Hoffa became a union power because he was consistently able to make good on his promises to give his union members better lives.

Russell intricately traces the evolution of Hoffa into a labor leader, and how "an unregulated and amoral political economy" (6) produced such a field general for twentieth-century industrial America. From Hoffa's beginnings with Detroit's Local 299, he evinced a pugnacity—and ruthlessness—that would boost his ascension within the union hierarchy. This pugnacity was in consonance with the spirit of Hoffa's constituents, a spirit that differed markedly from the corporatist social visions of leaders like Sidney Hillman and Walter Reuther, who sought to bring collective bargaining "out of the jungle and into civilization" (22). Russell asserts that the Detroit Teamsters (and later, Hoffa's national Teamster constituency) eschewed the mutual sacrifices that "civilization" demanded, confident that Hoffa could successfully bring them better wages and working conditions through his "jungle unionism."

So Hoffa's rise to power, though undoubtedly spurred by his personal ambition, is easily understood as the end product of the social and economic forces that drove Teamsters away from the broad social agendas and visions of business/labor cooperation harbored by industrial unionists like Hillman and

Reuther. Hoffa did not win the loyalty of his rank and file through manipulation and terror—rather, he was selected as champion of the union because he was a master of using manipulation and terror to better secure the union's goals.

Hoffa's career was dogged by questions of his association with organized crime, and his 1975 disappearance is widely believed to have been the result of a falling out with organized crime. The most crucial question about Hoffa and organized crime is when exactly the alliance began. Most scholarly and journalistic accounts accept that Hoffa, unable to dislodge the CIO from his Detroit Teamster fiefdom in 1941, made a "pact with the underworld," in particular with Detroit mobster Santo Perrone, that transformed him "from union reformer to labor racketeer" (p. 88). Russell demonstrates that, while Hoffa's organization made liberal use of "independent" criminals as organizers and enforcers, he didn't initiate contact with Perrone until the late 1940s, and makes it clear that Hoffa's dealings with organized crime—and his eventual end—were anything but inevitable, but rather the results of a series of decisions made by Hoffa throughout his career.

Out of the Jungle has the benefit of solid research that rests more on documentation than on uncorroborated statements from "former associates." It therefore delivers an explanation of Hoffa's career that is entirely convincing. Russell's grounding in labor history allows him to connect Hoffa's career to larger trends, something that is vital for a better appreciation of both the man and his times. Readers unfamiliar with labor history will be interested in the earliest chapters, which sketch the world from which Hoffa emerged, as they paint a compelling portrait of the "Depression City" into which Hoffa stepped as a young Teamster organizer. The following chapters may drag a bit, as Russell walks the reader through the jurisdictional and intra-union battles that Hoffa fought to consolidate his power (a bit repetitive, as Hoffa eliminates threat after threat). But these chapters hold the key to understanding Hoffa's behavior later in his career and demonstrate, if nothing else, his consistency and resourcefulness.

For those interested in labor history or the life of Hoffa, *Out of the Jungle* is a mandatory read. It places Hoffa's leadership into the context of a broader American labor history in ways that no other Hoffa work has to date. Combining primary resources with a solid understanding of the larger picture, Russell has crafted a book that, if it does not explode Hoffa's mystique, certainly makes him much more understandable.

David Schwartz
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To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1960-1975. By George Pierre Castile (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998)

The premise of *To Show Heart* is that "good ideas don't become policy just because they *are* good ideas. There has to be some political force to overcome political inertia" (177). Castile convincingly argues that the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, signed into law in 1975, was a "milestone for Indian people" (174). It enabled tribes to contract directly with the federal government for services formerly provided to them by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Previously, tribes only had the choice between assimilation into the American mainstream under programs designed and administered by BIA bureaucrats, or termination of all federal relationships including cancellation of tribal status, treaties, and reservation lands.

Castile traces the origins of the self-determination policy to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which was not an Indian-specific program at all. Castile calls the OEO a "federally funded revolution" (28) because it by-passed the federal-state-county bureaucratic chain of funding, and hence control, and introduced a logic of issuing block grants directly to local organizations of the poor, including Indian tribes. While not solving pervasive Indian poverty, the OEO programs did give a generation of Indian leaders the opportunities to make their own decisions and mistakes, enabled the better educated to find employment at home instead of emigrating to urban areas, and enlivened the political debate in native communities.

Castile follows the shift toward self-determination through years of deflection of domestic issues during the Vietnam War, demise of the OEO under President Richard Nixon, shifts in focus within the Department of the Interior under various secretaries, political deadlock between a Democratic Congress and Republican White House, to final resolution under President Gerald Ford.

Unlike other scholars, Castile concludes that the American Indian Movement and other native activists' dramatic and often violent seizures of the BIA building and of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, did not force the BIA to release power to tribal self-governments, but rather retarded the gradual shift of a federal policy that had already been evolving for fifteen years (125). This and other scholarly arguments are tightly and well supported with specific documentation. Throughout, Castile avoids the kind of simplistic blaming of Indian ills on a monolithic federal government or on an anonymous BIA that has become *de rigueur* in Indian histories. While consistently supporting the ideal of tribal self-determination, neither does Castile fall into an insistence that all tribal leaders are wise and selfless or that tribal autonomy comes without a price. He criticizes liberal and conservative politicians, Democratic and Republican administrations alike, without selecting out Good Guys and Bad Guys. He has resisted the temptation to turn Indian history into a morality play, and in the process has given us a politically astute analysis.

Castile uses far more sources than the usual laws, smattering of congressional hearings, and selected presidential speeches. He has dredged through the presidential libraries all the way from John F. Kennedy's to Gerald Ford's and reached a true depth of research. He skillfully employs draft reports, meeting notes, politicians' memoirs, leaks to journalists, campaign pledges, and stump speeches, as well as his own ethnographic interviews with politicians and bureaucrats. From this broadly conceived and rigorously executed research Castile has assembled a sophisticated analysis informed by an understanding of how bureaucratic structures actually work. Many of his most significant actors include the invisible men of Washington—career bureaucrats, appointees, White House staffers, and independent consultants. He places his analysis not only, as he has promised, within the larger political scene, but also squarely in the throes of jealousies over power and budgets, self-interested career strategies, party pressures, and the thousand other routine impediments to the implementation of "good ideas."

Throughout this book there lurks a subtle, wry sense of humor, perhaps best exemplified by the hysterically funny photograph of a self-conscious Richard Nixon "playing Indian" for the press that appears without comment on the back cover. The editing and physical production are good, and only chapter 5 seems to shift narrative tone and be overly long. The statement of hypothesis appears in the introduction (x), rather than in chapter 1, so it should not be overlooked.

It is a real pleasure to read this volume by a mature scholar who has researched long and thought deeply about a subject of significance.

Martha Knack
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Lee's Ferry: From Mormon Crossing to National Park. By P.T. Reilly, (Robert H. Webb, ed.) (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999)

Water has played an important role in the West's history. In many western places the lack of water said much about what a place was or what it would become. In others, such as the Platte River Valley, water's constant presence shaped the landscape into a corridor for human traffic. In northern Arizona, the Colorado River has for years nearly uncountable held a crucial place in the landscape, but as an obstruction to human overland traffic. The best crossing points collected human travelers as if a funnel had gathered them from miles around and dumped them into those fords and ferries. Near present Page, Arizona, such a place has gathered travelers representing the gamut of humanity for

hundreds of years. It makes sense that writing the history of such a place—this one came to be known as Lee's Ferry—would produce a lively account.

P. T. Reilly first visited Lee's Ferry in 1947 during a Colorado River expedition just before his thirty-seventh birthday. The trip's guide, Norman Nevills, spiced the river adventure with tales of the region's history and hooked Reilly immediately. Reilly recognized the ferry's historical potential and devoted a substantial part of his life to researching and writing about this transportation bottleneck traversed by a who's who of southwestern and American history. Although living and working in the Los Angeles area, Reilly returned to the Colorado River during subsequent years using his vacation time to work as a boatman on Nevills's expeditions. He became an accomplished boatman and ultimately led trips of his own. Reilly's intimate ties to the river and its people formed the foundation for his research into Lee's Ferry. He interviewed longtime residents gathering information to be supplemented with substantial archival research. Twenty years' worth of work ended in 1986 when Reilly stopped writing what had become a sizeable manuscript. Unfortunately, he died in 1996 before the work could be brought to press. The task of turning the two-volume, thousand-page manuscript into a single volume fell to Robert H. Webb in 1997. Within a year, and without Reilly to answer questions about certain vague or incomplete passages, Webb edited the manuscript into the product at hand. Given the peculiarities inherent in such an arrangement, Webb achieved excellent results. Nowhere does the reader feel abandoned by Reilly or led astray by Webb.

Lee's Ferry acknowledges American Indian use of the ferry region before European contact, but the book's story truly begins in 1776, when the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition arrived. In short order (by page 3), Mormon pioneers enter the narrative and usher the reader into 1858. From that point, the colorful cast of characters parading through the ferry tells its story. In that it tells an extraordinarily rich story of a small region, the book resembles works of the Annales historians or William Least Heat Moon's "deep map" of Chase County, Kansas, in his *PrairyErth;* but the book's soul wells from the humans who crossed the Colorado at the ferry. Lee's Ferry saw high-ranking Mormon leaders such as Wilford Woodruff going into exile to avoid persecution during the United States government's anti-polygamy crusade. Buffalo Bill visited in 1892, scouting the locale for a possible hunting lodge. In 1912, a photographer captured Theodore Roosevelt in a characteristically vigorous moment chopping wood at the ferry. These examples show only the most recognizable names, many of the lesser-known who passed through had more interesting stories. The narrative concludes in 1979, shortly after the National Park Service took ownership of the ferry. Appendices include material some researchers will find helpful, such as information on children born at the ferry, deaths at the ferry, and lists of various owners, custodians, ferrymen, and administrators.

For all its strengths, which include remarkable detail, painstaking research,

excellent photographs, and skillful editing, the book contains shortcomings. General readers will marvel at the detail, but wish that Reilly or Webb had included more analysis or interpretation. Why, they might ask, do some of the more obscure characters deserve mention? Readers intimately familiar with Mormon, Arizona, and Utah history, though, will likely revel in Reilly and Webb's inclusive approach. Those interested in Nevada history will find some tangential appeal. For example, "Nevada" does not appear in the index. The book's map shows excellent detail of the ferry area, but includes some unexplained notations and would benefit from a larger map locating the detailed section within the Arizona-Utah or Southwest region. Overall, general readers may struggle to make sense of this wealth of information, but those grounded in the aforementioned fields will find this a rich resource.

Todd M. Kerstetter
Texas Christian University

Edward Abbey: A Life. By James M. Cahalan (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2001)

From the first line of this book James M. Cahalan makes his intentions clear. He explains that *Edward Abbey: A Life* "is a book in which I seek to separate fact from fiction and reality from myth" (xi). Cahalan's work is not one of blind Abbey worship; he has never even met his subject. This distance, however, along with his desire "to stand clear of the Abbey cult" serves Cahalan well as he assembles the facts detailing the public and private life of one of the most famous contemporary American western writers (xiv). Cahalan's is not an authorized biography but an engaging record, tracking Abbey's lifelong development as a writer. He surveys a range of Abbey's writing that begins with youthful letters he wrote to his father describing camping trips and continues with articles he wrote for his high school newspaper, recounting his hitchhiking adventures. Cahalan ultimately follows the trajectory of Abbey's professional writing through almost forty years of publishing.

During his lifetime, Abbey wrote some of the most evocative literature of the Southwest; but readers familiar with Cahalan's previous work that explored Abbey's Appalachian roots will know that the East was and remained extremely important to Abbey throughout his life and writing. In looking for the man behind the legend, Cahalan starts with Abbey's true birthplace of Indiana, Pennsylvania, offering a corrective to the stories Abbey often told of being "born and reared entirely on a hardscrabble Appalachian farm . . . near a village with the strikingly appropriate and charming name of Home, Pennsylvania" (3). Abbey's fictionalized background was an essential part of the literary persona

he cultivated throughout his life, but Cahalan's own research effectively tempers "Abbey's selective mythmaking" (9). *Edward Abbey: A Life* succeeds in showing readers a figure quite different from the legendary Abbey.

Cahalan portrays Abbey not as the rowdy gadfly Cactus Ed, defending the wilderness by any means necessary, but as a complex individual who faced ordinary struggles in trying to achieve a happy and fulfilling domestic life. Abbey had numerous relationships with women, five marriages, five children, and a series of odd jobs—beyond his famed employment with the Park Service—that kept him migrating around the country for the better part of his life. Even with such personal and geographical upheaval, Abbey consistently practiced his craft. One of the best features of Cahalan's book is how clearly he sets Abbey's works within the context of his life. For example, readers witness the gradual, yet deliberate, evolution of *Desert Solitaire* (1968) that dispels Abbey's own narratives of how easily he wrote this most famous work. Cahalan maps the decades of thinking, writing, and revising that went into this book. *A Life* recounts Abbey's actual experience as a ranger at Arches in 1956 and 1957; his first plans to write such a book in 1958, and its initial publication in 1968 and subsequent revival in paperback in 1970. Cahalan's portrait of Abbey depicts a meticulous writer whose success came largely from a method he perfected throughout his life of selling each piece he wrote at least twice—sometimes even three times—first as a magazine article, then as a book chapter.

Abbey often drew from personal experience in writing both essays and novels, yet Cahalan's account maintains the distinction between the writer and the persona. Of course, any close examination of a person's life will reveal sides less appealing or admirable than others. Cahalan addresses Abbey's well-known philandering but also his less-known alcoholism. Much to his credit as a serious scholar and researcher, Cahalan does not turn such information into tabloid journalism. On such controversial issues as Abbey's misogyny, chauvinism, and racism, Cahalan comes very close to becoming an apologist for his subject. One gets the impression that Cahalan would like to acquit Abbey of such charges. For example, he cites a young Abbey's desire for a Spanish dictionary and his brief editorship in 1959 at the Latino newspaper *El Crepusculo de la Libertad* as evidence that Abbey was not a racist. In another instance, Cahalan works to counter Abbey's infamous jibe at Gary Snyder's "Hindu-Zen bullshit" in 1970, noting that he had to give a guest lecture on Eastern religions for a humanities course in 1956, when he was a graduate student at University of New Mexico (64). While these examples certainly show Abbey's multicultural awareness, they simplify Abbey's own conflicted relationship regarding such complex issues. Cahalan's approach to these knotty issues makes sense, given his interest in freeing the "real" Abbey from the persona of Cactus Ed. Still, Abbey's love for a good argument and tendency to stir up trouble, as Cahalan well knows, makes one wonder if he needs such a defense, or would even desire one.

In constructing the life of this important American writer, Cahalan

conducted over a hundred interviews with Abbey's family, friends, colleagues, and even enemies; spent many hours in the Abbey archives at the University of Arizona in Tucson; and traveled many miles in Abbey's beloved Southwest. His book provides the most extensive bibliography of Abbey's writing to date. Readers expecting some kind of psychoanalysis of this enigmatic writer will not find it here, and Cahalan offers little in the way of literary analysis—neither of which has been his goal. In writing *Edward Abbey: A Life Cahalan* wants readers to "make their own informed decisions" (273) about this writer, and his book provides Abbey scholars and fans with the information to do so.

Susan Lucas
University of Nevada, Reno

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