THE PAHRUMP PAIUTE-EUROAMERICAN FRONTIER REGION, 1830-1882

A Thesis

Presented

to the Faculty of

California State University, Chico

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Geography

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by

William Helmer 1994

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DEDICATION

With love and thanks to Guthrie, Erin, Tiffany, Kyle, and Alek (who all helped more than they will ever know); to Clark Akatiff, whose vision of geography inspired this thesis from beginning to end; and to the deep-rooted spirit of the Pahrump Valley *Nüwü*--past, present, and future.

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Many thanks go to Mary Rusco and her family for their hospitality during my trips to Nevada. Mary Rusco generously shared her extensive knowledge of southern Nevada; she also introduced me to some of the long-time residents of the Pahrump Valley whose insights greatly added to my understanding of the region: Steve Brown, Rose Arnold, the Sharp family, Mary Sackett, and Cynthia and Charles Lynch. Rob Fulton, manager of the Desert Studies Center, helped provide a comfortable living space during my extended visits to the Mojave Desert in 1992. The hospitality of my cousin, Jerry Brodine, and his wife, Pam, was greatly appreciated during my visits to Las Vegas. I am very grateful to the residents of Riparia for allowing me use of the "guest barn" to complete this work.

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The following scholars generously sent me difficult to obtain manuscripts: Richard E. Lingenfelter, Univ. of California, San Diego; Mike Evans, Univ. of Arizona; Thomas D. Hall, DePauw Univ.; Christopher Chase-Dunn, Johns Hopkins Univ. The world-systems research of the latter two scholars and Immanuel Wallerstein has been inspirational for my work.

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PREFACE

I grew up with stories about the western frontier. My ancestors came to North America from northern Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After losing a farm in Canada, my grandfather and his family (including my father) migrated to the western United States in a covered wagon, looking for work. I became familiar with the old photos of my father, grandfather, aunts and uncles standing with their saws among the huge old growth forests of western Washington. The dreams, accomplishments, and hard times of my family's legacy of destruction and reconstruction of the West can be acknowledged without shame or guilt. Any indictment found in this thesis is against the impersonal social structures which provide extreme wealth for a privileged few at a great social and environmental cost.

It is time we moved on, beyond the myths and historical interpretations which continue to divide us. As the character Arthur says in Walter Van Tilburg Clark's *Track of the Cat* (1949: 14), "Even a good dream, backed up, turns nightmare, and this wasn't a very good one to start with." I know we can do better.

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ABSTRACT

THE PAHRUMP PAIUTE-EUROAMERICAN
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The historical roots of the Euroamerican-Native American confrontation in North America are analyzed by examining a *frontier region* in Pahrump Valley, Nevada, during the nineteenth century. A *frontier region* can briefly be defined as a geographic area actively contested by two or more social groups. The frontier region ceases to exist when the conflicting social groups re-establish (along a continuum of coercion to cooperation) relatively stable geopolitical boundaries or zones.

Primary and secondary historical sources were utilized for reconstructing nineteenth century frontier region interactions. Local data were then integrated into a regionally-based, world-systems framework of historical geographic analysis.

A case study will examine the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region, 1830-1882. It is argued that

this frontier region, among thousands of others, was formed as a direct result of the global expansion of the capitalist world-economy from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. The antecedents of the capitalist world-economy are traced to the rise of imperialist state-level societies in Mesopotamia and Egypt approximately five thousand years ago.

A long range world-systems perspective provides the analytical means for placing the Pahrump Paiute-United States Frontier Region within a multi-scaled, historical context which integrates global, continental, and interregional/ territorial processes of the capitalist world-economy. The social and ecological problems which first arose in the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region remain unresolved.

CHAPTER I

THE FRONTIER REGION AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD-ECONOMY: AN OVERVIEW

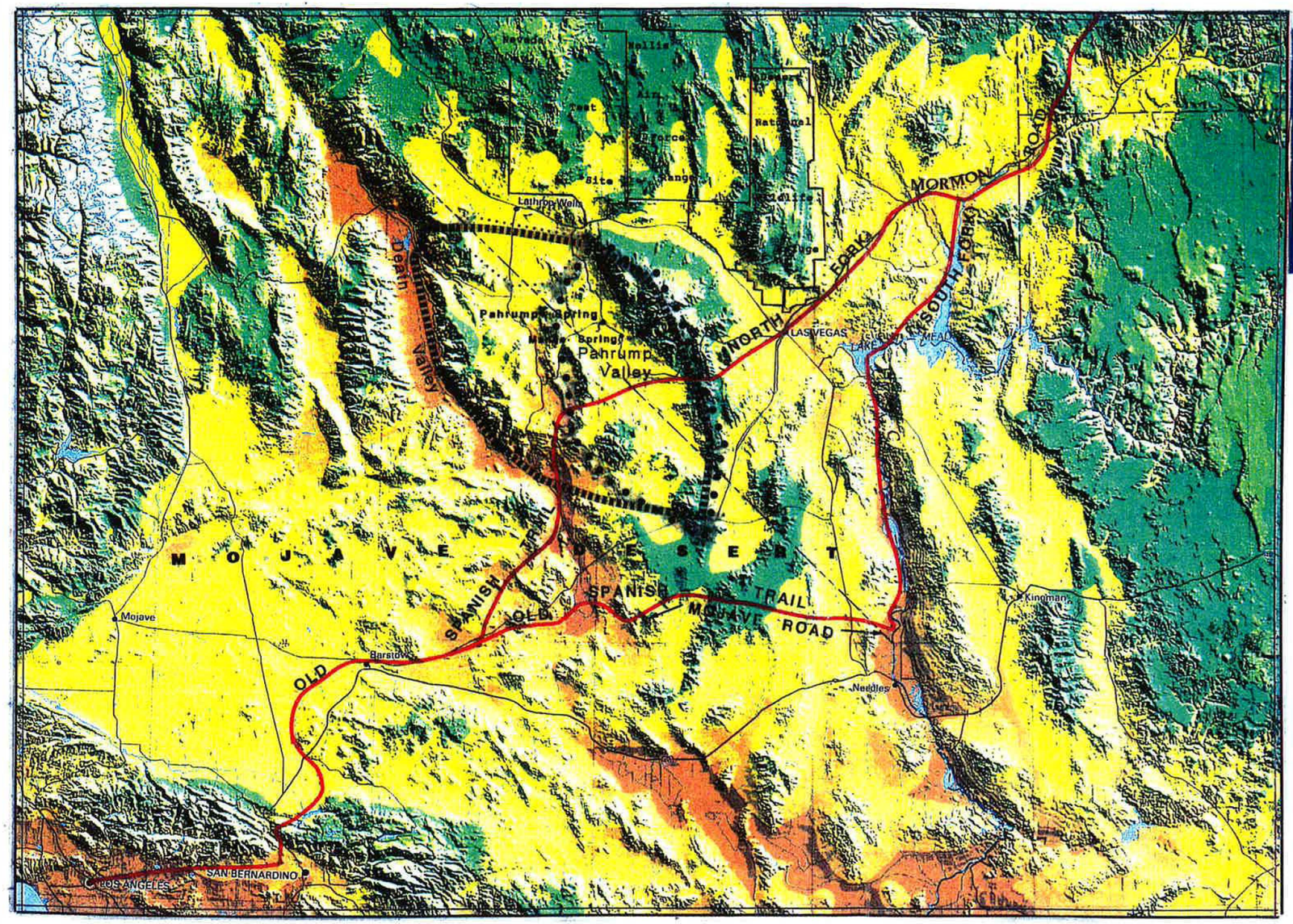
> The legacy of slavery and the legacy of conquest endure, shaping events in our own time.
>
> Patricia Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest

> "There's one frontier we only dare to cross at night," the old gringo said. "The frontier of our differences with others, of our battles with ourselves."
>
> Carlos Fuentes, The Old Gringo

Introduction and Overview

Five hundred years after the voyage of Columbus, Corbin Harney, a spiritual leader of the Western Shoshone, performed a healing ritual not far from the armed guards along the border of the Nevada Test Site, twenty-five miles north of the Pahrump Valley in Southern Nevada (see Figure 1). Harney and other members of the Western Shoshone National Council claim that the nuclear bombing range violates their sovereignty rights legally protected by the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley (Morris, 1991).

In October, 1992, individuals and groups from many parts of the world joined the Western Shoshone in their call for an "end to 500 years of genocide and injustice." Included among the protesters were representatives from Kazakhstan,



LEGEND

Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican Frontier Region, 1830-1882

(Pahrump Paiute Core Area) . . . . . • • • •

Pahrump Paiute Territory (after Steward). . . . ▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪

Pahrump Paiute-Ash Meadows Shoshone Joint Use Area . . . .

Rectangle shows area of enlarged map in relation to the hydrographic Great Basin

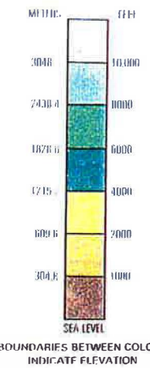


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Figure 1. Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region, 1830-1882. Base map by Kathleen Edwards and R. M. Batesman, *Experimental Digital Shaded-Relief Maps of the Southwestern United States*, United States Geological Survey (1990); Lambert Conformal Conic projection based on standard parallels 33° and 45°. Sources: Charles L. Camp (ed.), *George C. Yount and his Chronicles of the West.* (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1966), map, inside back cover; Dennis G. Casebier, *The Mojave Road.* (Norco, CA: Tales of the Mojave Road Publishing Co., 1975), map, inside back cover; LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles.* (Arthur H. Clark, 1954), map inside back cover; Julian H. Steward "Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans." *American Anthropologist*: n.s. 39, 1937:625-634, map following p. 626.

whose protests helped shut down the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site in the former Soviet Union (Davis, 1993: 68-69). Although the "communist" Soviet Union was supposedly the antithesis of capitalist democracy, the Kazakh and Western Shoshone experiences of invasion and subjugation bear a striking symmetry within very different regional historical contexts. What were the global historical processes which produced such similar conditions and resistance at opposite "frontiers" of the earth? What links the "legacy of conquest" throughout the ethnoterritories of the world?

This study will try to answer these questions by developing the concept of the *frontier region* within the world-systems geohistorical framework first developed by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974).[1] *A frontier region can briefly be defined as a particular geographic area in which dominant ethnoecological control is actively contested by two or more social groups.* From approximately 1830 to 1882, the Pahrump Valley of what is now southern Nevada was contested by the indigenous Pahrump Paiute (a subgroup of the Southern Paiute), and Euroamericans of the United States and to a lesser extent, Mexico. The global dynamics which led up to this crucial half-century will be explained by the long range perspective provided by world-systems analysis.

The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region was one of thousands of frontier regions which Europeans aggressively brought into existence after 1492. For the first time in history, every culture and region of the world

would eventually become subjugated by a complex social system of global proportions--the capitalist world-economy. Frontier regions of the capitalist world-system, including the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region, represent unprecedented watersheds of cultural and ecological change. This thesis will explain why frontier regions should be looked upon as epochal turning points still relevant today, rather than bygone stages in human evolution.

The origin of the capitalist world-system and its frontier regions can be found in the rise of the first state-level civilizations (and their inter-state relations) in Egypt and Mesopotamia beginning nearly five thousand years ago (Gills and Frank, 1991: 68-76). Although a later date is used for its inception, David Wilkinson (1987: 31) has named the regional fusion of these civilizations *Central Civilization*:

> The single global civilization [the present capitalist world-system] is the lineal descendant of, or rather I should say the current manifestation of, a civilization that emerged about 1500 B.C. in the Near East when Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations collided and fused. This new fusional entity has since then expanded over the entire planet and absorbed, on unequal terms, all other previously independent civilizations.

However, the development of the capitalist world-system beginning approximately five hundred years ago represented a "qualitatively new age in universal history" (Amin, 1991: 349), significantly different from past protocapitalist[a] manifestations of Central Civilization. Wallerstein (1992: 567) states:

> that modern capitalism is an historical system without conscious internal social constraints to its systemic activities is widely asserted, and it is this ceaseless accumulation of capital that may be said to be its most central activity and to constitute its *differentia specifica*. No previous historical system seems to have had any comparable *mot d'ordre* of social limitlessness.

A significant aspect of the capitalist world-system is its uneven and socially complex geographical expansion. Although Pahrump Paiute territory had been contested by a sequence of Spanish, Mexican, and United States *political* claims since the sixteenth century, actual intrusion by members of these nation-states did not occur until approximately 350 years after European encroachment in North America. The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region did not effectively begin until 1830 when the Old Spanish Trail (a Euroamerican trade route between New Mexico and California) was established across a portion of Pahrump Paiute territory. Although Euroamerican settlement did not occur in the core population center of the Pahrump Paiute until 1875, destructive socio-economic and ecological impacts caused by Euroamerican intrusion began to destroy Southern Paiute territorial autonomy. The most genocidal impact was surely the slave-raiding of Southern Paiute women and children by Euroamericans and neighboring indigenous groups involved in the exploitative capitalist frontier economy. Other impacts included environmental damage to springs, rivers, crops, and seeds due to heavy use of watered areas by large herds of horses and cattle. When miners began to overrun what is now southern Nevada in search of gold and

silver, no ecological zone in Southern Paiute territory was off-limits to Euroamerican encroachment. By the mid-1870s, Pahrump Paiute territory contained the mining communities of Ivanpah, Tecopa, and Resting Springs, thus creating a market for produce and meat. The major Pahrump Paiute spring and largest village site was taken over in 1875 by Euroamerican ranchers responding to these ephemeral urban enclaves (Stoffle et al., 1990a: 41-42; Lingenfelter, 1986: 162-169; Warren, 1980: 216).

As the decade of the 1870s progressed, the Pahrump Paiute had less access to their traditional sources of food and water, thus forcing them to become part-time laborers for the Euroamericans. Even though it is difficult to pinpoint precisely when Pahrump Paiute ethnoecological control was definitively lost, the sale of their largest village site (as the Pahrump Ranch) to another Euroamerican in 1882 documents the actual Pahrump Paiute loss of the ancient core of their land, and the effective ending of the Pahrump Paiute-United States Frontier Region (*Pioche Weekly Record*, 13 May 1882: p. 3, col. 3). After at least a thousand years of successful cultural and ecological integration with the relatively harsh living conditions of the Mojave Desert, the Pahrump Paiute subsistence economy was forcefully replaced by the capitalist world-economy.

The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region can be considered an example of what Carolyn Merchant has termed a *bifurcation point*, or an "ecological revolution" in which

"major changes in ecology and society" occur in "particular periods and regions" (Merchant, 1989: 13).[3] Although this bifurcation has often been described as an evolutionary, progressive advance over a "backward" type of social system, the social and ecological costs of the capitalist world-system (whether or not it is called that) are well known (e.g., Laszlo, 1985; Prigogine, 1986; Turner II et al., 1990). As Wallerstein (1992: 565) asks, "Did the West [capitalism and the modern world-system] really rise? Or did the West in fact fall?...Was it an exceptional breakthrough, or an exceptional breakdown?" The present study explores the implications of these questions by focusing on one cultural/ecological bifurcation point of the capitalist world-system--the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region.

Cultural and Environmental Setting

The Pahrump Paiute are a subgroup of the Southern Paiute (or *Nuwu*, meaning "the People," as they called themselves), a Native American ethnic group belonging to the Southern Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family (Steward, 1937: map, Fig. 1; Stoffle et al., 1990a: 15; Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 368). Although present day Pahrump Paiute consider themselves distinct from the Las Vegas Paiute (Stoffle and Dobyns, 1983: 33, 165; Stoffle et al., 1990b: 176; Brown and Arnold, 1988: 7), the historical Pahrump Paiute are not distinguished from the Las Vegas subgroup by Kelly and Fowler (1986: 369). Because there is some controversy and confusion in the literature concerning the

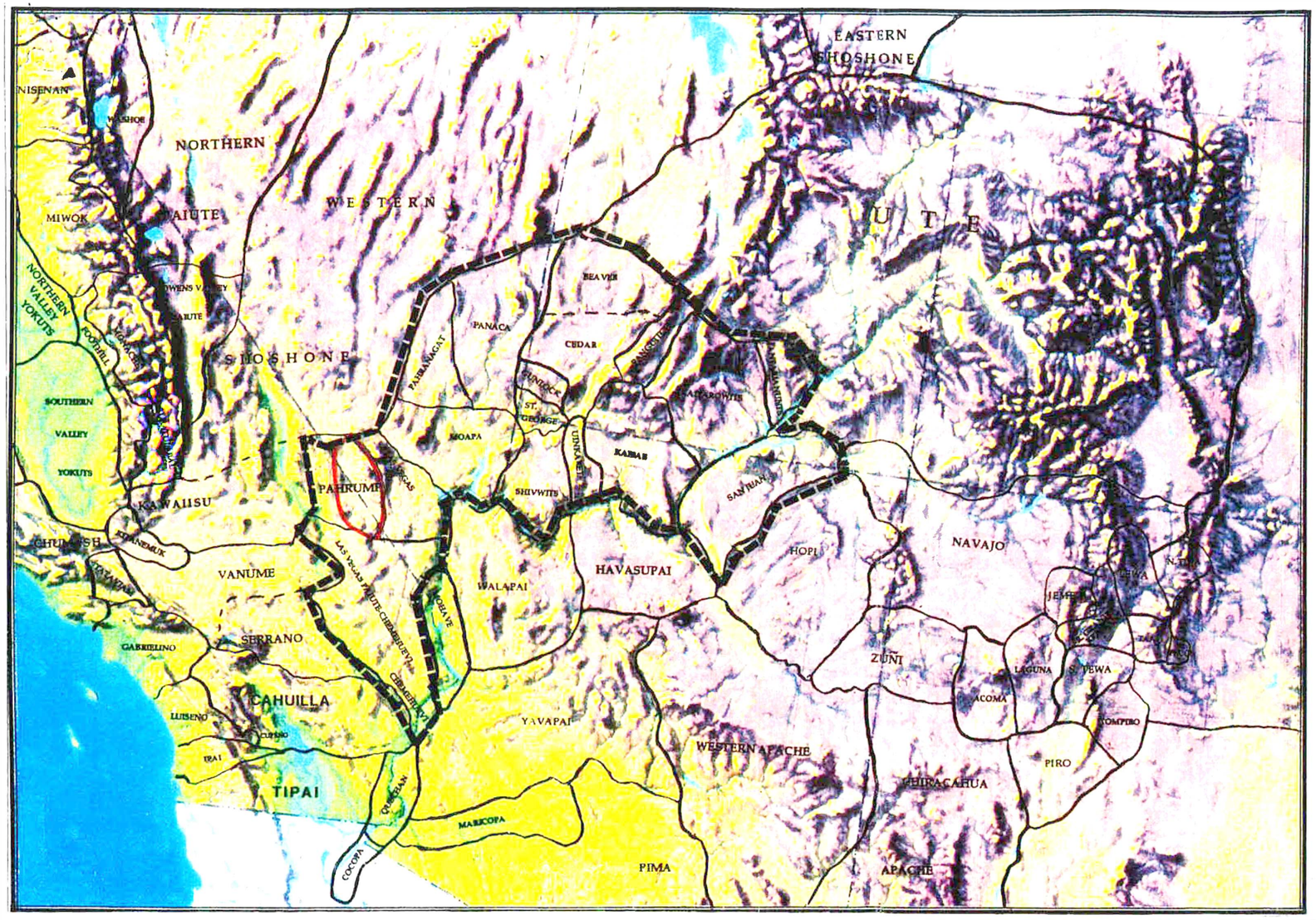
designation of linguistic, ethnic, and socio-political boundaries in the Great Basin, an explanation for the boundary of the Pahrump Paiute core area (as shown in Figure 1) will follow.[4]

Using data from the field work of Isabel Kelly (1934), Kelly and Fowler (1986: 394-396) delineate sixteen subgroups of the Southern Paiute. However, the criteria used for defining a subgroup is somewhat questionable:

> Kelly...felt that these were the primary "sub-groups, band, or tribes if you like...[essentially these are] dialectical units with political concomitants," though the nature of their political integration was never clearly documented, and the dialectal differences can no longer be confirmed. (Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 394)

Although Julian Steward (who also conducted fieldwork among the Southern Paiute during the 1930s) expressed doubts about Kelly's Southern Paiute band classifications, he provisionally accepted Kelly's designations except for a further division of the Las Vegas band: "From [Steward's] informant testimony, Paiute of the Pahrump and Las Vegas regions were never unified in a single band" (Steward, 1938: 185; also see Steward, 1937: 627, 634). Figure 2 illustrates tribal areas of southwestern North America; Southern Paiute divisions are based upon Steward (1937) and Kelly and Fowler (1986).

Each Southern Paiute subgroup (as defined) also consisted of a variable number of economic units, or as Kelly (1964: 22) previously referred to them, "economic clusters." Kelly and Fowler (1986: 380) state:



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Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican Frontier Region, 1830-1882 (Pahrump Paiute Core Area) . . . . . .

Southern Paiute Ethnic Boundary . . . . .

ELEVATION TINTS

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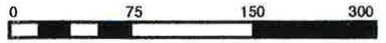


One inch equals approximately 75 miles

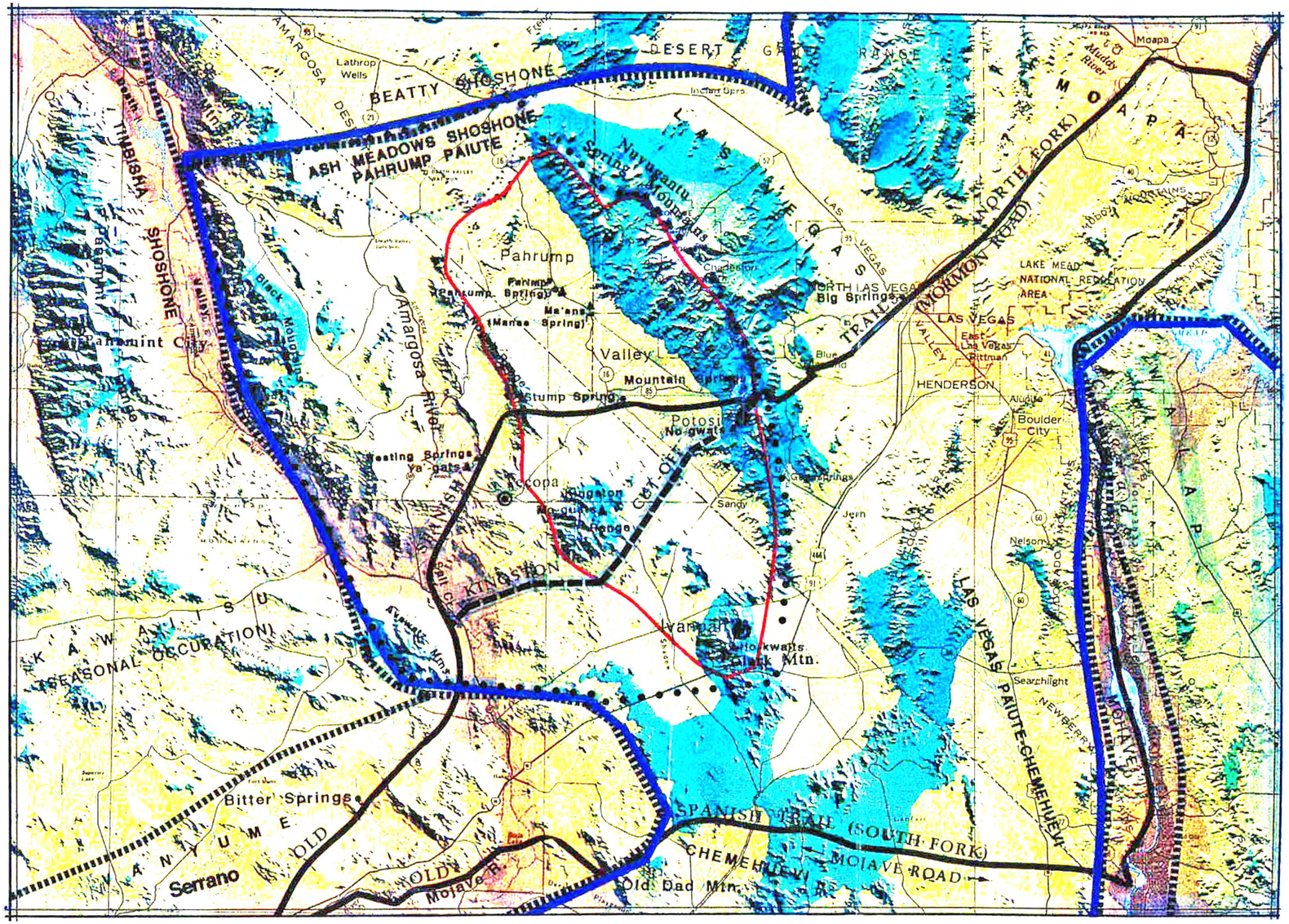
Figure 2. Tribal territories of southwestern North America, 19th century. Base map adapted from United States shaded relief map, Richard Edes Harrison, cartographer, United States Geological Survey (1969), Albers Equal Area Projection. Sources: Isabel T. Kelly and Catherine S. Fowler, "Southern Paiute." Pp. 368-397 in Warren L. d'Azevedo (ed.) *Great Basin*. Handbook of North American Indian, Vol. 11. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), map, p. 369; Julian H. Steward, "Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans." *American Anthropologist*: n.s. 39, 1937:625-634, map following p. 626; Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 8 (California), Vol. 9 (Southwest), Vol. 10 (Southwest), Vol. 11 (Great Basin): p. ix, (map) "Key to Tribal Territories." NOTE: The "tribal territories" depicted in Figure 2 are diagrammatic guides and do not represent actual borders. The caption for "Key to Tribal Territories," Vol. 11 (Great Basin) states (p. viii): "The groups mapped are in some cases arbitrarily defined, subdivisions are not indicated, no joint or disputed occupations are shown, and different kinds of land use are not distinguished."

> There was no central political control within any of the groups designated here...Some were composed of a number of economic units, some of few. These were assemblages of individual households that tended to move together on hunting and gathering trips, returning to the same spring or the same agricultural site. Settlement was mobile and scattered, but with recurrent residence in at least one fixed area...[O]ccupants were usually related by blood or marriage. Size varied from one or two households to "many," which seems to have meant about 10; the maximum number reported was 20.

Kelly (1964) provides a detailed record of economic clusters for the Kaibab (and to a lesser extent, other Utah Southern Paiute groups), but similar information was not obtained for the Pahrump Valley and other Southern Paiute areas in Nevada and California. In 1873, however, John Wesley Powell and G. W. Ingalls gathered ethnographic data in Southern Paiute territory while serving the United States government as Special Indian Commissioners. They recorded eleven "tribes" located within the area which Kelly designated as the Las Vegas band (Fowler and Fowler, 1971b: 104; Kelly, 1934: 557-560) [see Figure 3]. Although the "tribes" which Powell and Ingalls listed may have been "economic clusters" as defined by Kelly, she does not analyze them as such. Instead, Kelly persisted in accepting an assumed (but undocumented) dialectic unity as the criterion for Southern Paiute subgroup classifications (Kelly: 1934: 557-560).

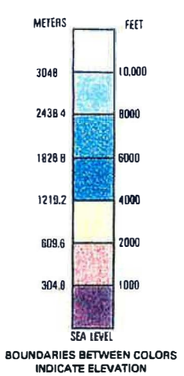
In contrast, Steward (1937: 634) writes:

> It is likely that a greater number of political units existed among pre-horse Southern Paiute than the fifteen bands recorded by Kelly and that Powell's and Ingall's list of thirty-one "tribes" [for all of Southern Paiute territory] may have been more nearly correct.



LEGEND

- Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican Frontier Region, 1830-1882
- (Pahrump Paiute Core Area)
- Southern Paiute Ethnic Territory
- Regional Tribal Territories
- Pahrump Paiute Territory (after Steward)
- Pahrump Paiute-Ash Meadows Shoshone Joint Use Area
- Indigenous Settlement
- Euroamerican Settlement



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MILES

Figure 3. Pahrump Valley and Vicinity, 19th century. (Present day place names and roads are from the base map and are shown in lighter type). Base map by Kathleen Edwards and R. M. Batesman, *Experimental Digital Shaded-Relief Maps of California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah*, United States Geological Survey (1990); Lambert Conformal Conic projection based on standard parallels 33° and 45°. Sources: Dennis G. Casebier, *The Mojave Road*. (Norco, CA: Tales of the Mojave Road Publishing Co., 1975), map, inside back cover; Don D. Fowler and Catherine S. Fowler (eds.), *Anthropology of the Numa*. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology No. 14, 1971), p. 104; LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles*. (Arthur H. Clark, 1954), map inside back cover; Isabel T. Kelly, "Southern Paiute Bands." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 1934: 548-560, map following p. 548; Julian H. Steward, "Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans." *American Anthropologist*: n.s. 39, 1937:625-634, map following p. 626; Elizabeth von Till Warren, "History of the Amargosa-Mojave Basin Planning Units." in Claude N. Warren et al., *A Cultural Resource Overview for the Amargosa-Mojave Basin Planning Units*. (Riverside, CA: Bureau of Land Management, 1980), map, p. 253.

However, such political units did not meet Steward's definition of a "band," which always involved "cooperation, some centralized political control, and a sense of solidarity among inhabitants of a well-defined territory" (Steward, 1937: 628). Yet the decentralized character of Southern Paiute socio-political organization--typical of non-hierarchical, stateless societies--prevented Steward from acknowledging levels of ethnic unity which did not match his preconceived notions.

Steward also defined another socio-economic unit, a "district," which seemed to actually occur in the Great Basin:

> It might seem that the inhabitants of each valley, which is an isolated topographic unit, would tend to associate with one another in such a manner as to form a band. As a matter of fact, they did associate sufficiently to have slight unity and each area of this kind is...a "district." But the unity was incomplete, people of one valley often cooperating with residents of neighboring valleys for various reasons. (Steward, 1937: 629)

The reasons, which Steward describes later, were often mutual aid agreements between neighboring groups (Steward: 1937: 629-630). Stoffle et al. (1990b: 32) summarize the territorial practices of the Western Shoshone and Southern Paiute which allowed their cultural survival in an arid and somewhat unpredictable environment:

> People's ties to the land, and their use of resources, extended even beyond that of the local district where they made their primary residence and had their closest kinship and social ties. People had widespread kinship and political ties to other local groups. They travelled extensively beyond their own territories to visit relatives, to engage in trade, to share in the harvesting of resources on a reciprocal basis, and to participate in major social events organized on a regional basis.

> Harvesting territories were often shared to alleviate annual variations in productivity. A group whose territory produced a poor pinyon nut crop in a particular year, for example, would be permitted to harvest jointly with a group whose pinyon nut crop was abundant.

A large economic cluster or concentration of economic clusters within a "district" would seem to define a *core area* as used by Stoffle et al. (1990a: 23):

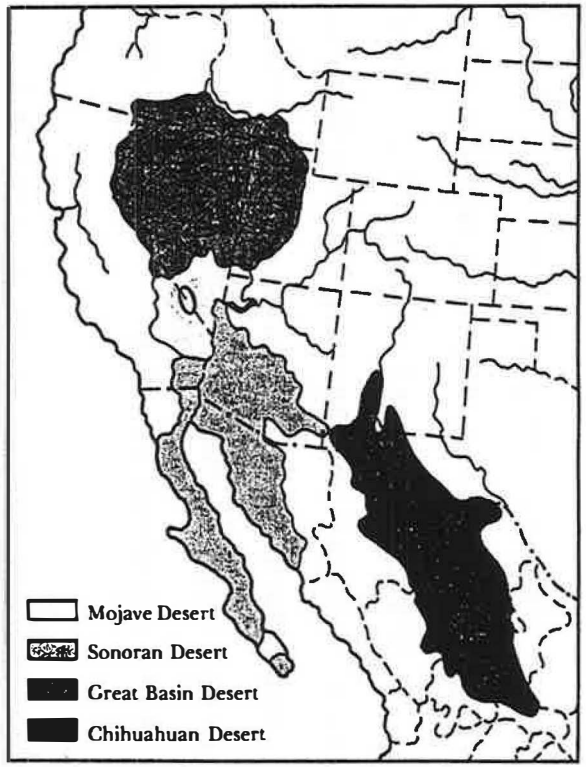
> The term "core area" is used to refer to places where large numbers of Indian people kept permanent residences and from which they went out to manage, harvest, and hunt other resources. Oasis Valley,...Ash Meadows,...and Pahrump Valley to the southeast have all been core areas of Native American occupation both prior to and since Euroamerican contact...Each of these core areas contains numerous large springs supplying abundant water...The core areas were continuously inhabited, though the roster of individuals and families present in the core areas varied over time...For their residents, these oasis core areas served as the primary residence within a much larger territory that included other places inhabited seasonally and areas used seasonally for harvesting plant, animal, and mineral resources.

Figures 1 and 3 illustrate the topographical relief of the area designated as the territory of the Pahrump Paiute as designated by Steward (1937). However, as Steward himself states, much of the territory between Ash Meadows and Death Valley "was unoccupied," while the Amargosa Valley in this vicinity as well as southern Death Valley were Shoshone-Southern Paiute joint use areas (Steward, 1938: 92, 181-182). It is thus reasonable to define the Pahrump Valley and its surrounding mountain ranges--the Pahrump Valley core area--as a distinct "district" within Steward's classification. An economic cluster was located near Pahrump Spring (the largest spring in the Valley), and was called "Pa-room'-pats" by Powell and Ingalls in 1873 (Fowler and Fowler, 1971b: 104).[5]

The interdependence of Western Shoshone and Southern Paiute groups was based upon the political autonomy of each group; consequently, a unified response to Euroamerican intrusions was inherently difficult to achieve (see Berkhofer, Jr., 1981: 60-66). On the other hand, the Euroamerican conquest of Southern Paiute territory had to be achieved by wresting ethnoecological control from each autonomous core area. Thus, the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region began with the first sustained Euroamerican encroachment into the Pahrump Paiute core area, rather than intrusions into areas occupied by other Southern Paiute groups.[6]

The Pahrump Valley core area is located within the Basin and Range Physiographic Province, the Great Basin Hydrographic Province, and the Mojave Desert Biogeographic Province (Trimble, 1989: 5-16) [see Figures 1 and 4]. The Pahrump Valley graben was formed by normal faulting along the margins of the Spring Mountains and the Nopah Range during the Cenozoic development of the Basin and Range Province (Harrill, 1986: 6).

The climate in the Pahrump Valley is characteristic of the Mojave Desert--arid, with low humidity, mild winters, and long hot summers. Average annual rainfall in the valley (elevation approximately 2,500-3000 ft.) is about four inches. The precipitation is highly variable, mostly occurring during winter Pacific Storms and isolated summer thundershowers (Malmberg, 1967: 10).



0 = Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region

Figure 4. Environmental setting: The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region in the Basin and Range Physiographic Province (Great Basin Section) and the Mojave Desert. Base maps excerpted from *The Sagebrush Ocean*, by Stephen Trimble (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989), pp. 7, 12. Used by permission of the publisher.

The Spring Mountains to the east of the Pahrump Valley rise to nearly 12,000 ft., with precipitation averaging up to 28 inches per year at the highest elevations. It is this water which provides the natural recharge for the groundwater reservoir of the Pahrump Valley. Before groundwater pumping dried the springs, the combined natural discharge of Pahrump and Manse Springs was almost 10,000 acre feet per year (Malmberg, 1967: 26-31; Harrill, 1986: 4, 38).

Besides providing the Pahrump Valley with some of the largest springs in the Mojave Desert, the Spring Mountains also contained a variety of vegetation communities--i.e., mountain-shrub, pinyon-juniper woodland, riparian--each with its own flora and fauna species (see Fowler, 1966: 13-31). Charleston Peak (Nuvugantu "Having Snow"), the summit of the Spring Mountains, is also a sacred mountain of creation for the Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi (Stoffle and Dobyns, 1983: 45-46; Kroeber and Kroeber, 1973: 44-45, n. 55).

The Frontier and Region as Concepts

Over three decades ago, historian Jack Forbes stated the need for more precise historical frontier studies because of the "great contemporary problem" of "ethnic rivalries and confrontation" (Forbes, 1962: 73). His words now seem almost prophetic in the current post-Cold War era of increased domestic and international ethnic violence, civil war, and genocide. As a continuation of Jack Forbes' work, this study will argue that ethnoterritorial struggles of the last five hundred years may be better understood by analyzing

the frontier region conflicts which formed during the expansion of the capitalist world-economy.

A preliminary question which must be addressed, however, is whether "a complex and a confused concept" (Norton, 1984: 96) such as the *frontier* is an appropriate framework for analysis. Western historian Patricia Nelson Limerick (Worster et al., 1989: 320) explains why she avoids using the frontier concept in her work:

> "Frontier" is one of the most difficult concepts in the world to pin down, and its value for analysis is further compromised by the heavy load of ethnocentric, nationalistic, white-centered associations that it has to carry around, clinging to the hull like barnacles.

Why continue to use the frontier concept--however defined--when there is such a legacy of unwanted baggage which might accompany the term? It will be argued here that by integrating a multi-scaled, historical frontier *process* within a specific *region* of inter-group territorial conflict, the well-worn terms of frontier and *region* can be reinterpreted so that their ethnocentric uses are exposed and transcended, thus clearing the way for a multicultural, regional perspective.

A broadly defined *regional concept* continues to be advocated by geographers (Hart, 1982; Richardson, 1992), although its interpretation is often sharply debated (Pudup, 1988; Murphy, 1991). Nonetheless, many geographers would probably agree with William B. Meyer et al. (1992: 274) when they state: "The challenge to geography is to devise a means for embedding the local and the global in the regional." It

will be demonstrated in this study that the world-systems framework can offer such a means, especially if a regional focus is the context of analysis (see Smith, 1987; Agnew, 1987: xvi-xvii; Taylor, 1988; Hall, 1989a).

Significance of the Study

The significance of the frontier region concept as illustrated in the case study of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region can be summarized as follows:

* The frontier region concept builds on and helps further the interdisciplinary field of frontier studies and ethnohistory through a historical geographic emphasis.

* The concept of the frontier region can be applied to any ethnoterritorial conflict of any historical period. The frontier region analyzed in this study is limited to that type which came into being by the expansion of historical capitalism, although ethnoterritorial conflicts were certainly involved in the expansion of proto-capitalist state-level civilizations as well as territorial encroachments by non-capitalist gathering and hunting societal groups. These latter types of frontier regions would then be analyzed according to criteria relevant to the particular historical systems involved.

* The world-systems perspective is regionally grounded within a specific multi-scaled framework--global, continental, and interregional/territorial--in which core/semi-periphery/periphery relations of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region are analyzed. Conversely, a

historical geography of the Pahrump Valley region is provided a multi-scaled, theoretical framework.

* Global ecological degradation since the sixteenth century is linked to the genocidal destruction of indigenous economies and their replacement by a capitalist world-economy in the frontier regions of the world.

Methodology and Limitations of the Study

The research for this study was divided into two broad categories: (1) interdisciplinary research focusing on frontier studies, the regional concept, and the world-systems framework; (2) primary and secondary written sources and field studies pertaining to the historical geography of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region within the three-tiered typology referred to above.

(1) Frontier studies, the regional concept, and the world-systems perspective were researched in order to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework for the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region. In addition to the field of geography, research was required in the disciplines of anthropology, history, sociology, economics, and political science.[7]

Recently, the value of a comprehensive theoretical framework itself--often termed a "metanarrative" in critiques--has been debated from various points of view (see Peet, 1992; Graham, 1992; Massey, 1991; Harvey, 1992; Resnick and Wolff, 1992). Although a full discussion of the debate

is beyond the scope of this thesis, it will be noted here that *any* form of conceptual work obviously remains only one standpoint of perception. The theoretical framework utilized in this study is not a "privileged grasp on reality" (Resnick and Wolff, 1992: 133) which denies the validity of other perspectives. Different viewpoints from women and men, indigenous and immigrant, local and non-local, are needed for a multi-dimensional, in-depth understanding of the Pahrump Valley as well as other particular places and the peoples which have inhabited them. The present study is one perspective (among others) which tries to look at the "big picture" by fusing together the fragmented knowledges of our collective past. It is a conceptual tool for interpreting the roots of human conflicts so that the basis of human cooperation can be better understood.

Another potential critique of this thesis is provided in a recent work by the historian Gerald D. Nash, entitled *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990* (1991). Nash analyzes Western historiography in terms of whether the writer interprets the "Western experience" of the United States in "positive" or "negative" terms. Without analyzing the content of their arguments, Nash criticizes the "negativity" of many western historians whose work this thesis builds upon--i.e., Jack Forbes, Patricia Limerick, and Richard Slotkin. For instance, the following passage is typical of Nash's bias against a stereotyped "generation," while illustrative of his aversion to analyzing the *validity*

of interpretations based upon substantive historical research:

> Like many historians of the 1960s generation, [Patricia Limerick] reflected the negativism and disdain for previous interpretations. In contrast to scholars of the first half of the twentieth century who had celebrated the conquest of the West as one of America's great achievements--even as a heroic saga--she chronicled what she perceived as a shameful legacy of conquest. In her account of the forming of the West, the record was one of unmitigated suppression, of women, of Native Americans, of blacks, and of Hispanics, not to speak of wanton despoliation and destruction of the natural environment...This perception reflected the *Weltanschauung* of many of the social critics of the 1960s. (Nash, 1991: 143-144)[e]

From the standpoint of a Native American, however, the "positive" interpretation of America's conquest of the West has historically been interpreted as negative. But Nash clearly states his position in the conclusion of his book:

> If the founding fathers had erred in overemphasizing what was right [about the history of the West], the generation of the 1960s concentrated on discovering what was wrong, leading to a lack of balance in the field. Perhaps the task of the generation entering the 1990s is to restore greater balance to the subject...If historians are also keepers of a nation's soul, the custodians of its sense of identity, one-sided indictments can serve the function of destroying the very fabric of national identity. To teach America's youth exclusively about the alleged depravity of the Western experience is to do a disservice to the profession. (Nash, 1991: 276)

In the above passage, Nash imposes a universal dichotomy of positive and negative interpretations of a region which inherently contains many interpretive standpoints. Viewing the acknowledgment of injustices as "one-sided indictments" is itself a very negative, unbalanced viewpoint. Limerick is especially aware of the need for

writing multicultural histories in which the past of all sides can be told. Limerick (1987: 349) states:

> Indians, Hispanics, Asians, Blacks, Anglos, businesspeople, workers, politicians, bureaucrats, natives, and newcomers, we share the same region and its history, but we wait to be introduced. The serious exploration of the historical progress that made us neighbors provides that introduction.

An inherently multicultural, multi-national "Western experience" does not *a priori* need to be concerned with preserving the ideological underpinnings of a nation-state's dubious legacy of conquest. In other words, an interpretation which negatively views a legacy of *conquest* opens the door for positive relations with those crushed or betrayed by someone else's "heroic saga."

(2) Primary and secondary written sources were compiled for reconstructing the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region within the multi-scaled typology mentioned above. While secondary sources were relied upon for the global and continental scales, research for the interregional/ territorial scale utilized primary as well as secondary source material. An accurate description of this frontier region required documentary evidence of Euroamerican military, settlement, and economic activities which actively contested the Pahrump Paiute's territorial control of the Pahrump Valley and vicinity.

Research was limited by the relative paucity of primary source documentation pertaining to Euroamerican-Native American interactions in the Pahrump Valley during the nineteenth century. This limitation was partially overcome

by archival research utilizing a variety of sources: census records, title searches, regional newspapers, military and Indian affairs documents, historic maps, boundary survey reports, journals, various unpublished manuscripts, and unpublished ethnographic field notes.

Most of the primary source research for this study was conducted at the following places: Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley; the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; the California State Library, Sacramento; Special Collections at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas and Reno; Special Collections at the University of California, Los Angeles; the Nevada Historical Society libraries at Reno and Las Vegas; and the Nye County Recorder's Office, Tonopah, Nevada.

However, time was always limited at these libraries, and research was consequently not exhaustive. In addition, it was not possible to conduct research at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Martha Knack's (1993) recent work on Kaibab Paiute-Euroamerican interethnic competition illustrates how National Archive materials can be meticulously woven to provide new information and substantive ethnohistorical reinterpretations.

Another research limitation was not being a native or a resident of the Pahrump Valley. Field studies in the Pahrump Valley region, however, provided an essential geographic familiarity of the area in lieu of actually growing up and living there. Besides numerous trips to the

Death Valley and southern Nevada region for the past twenty-five years, I specifically studied the historical geography of the Pahrump Valley during a hike across the Mojave Desert portion of the Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road in 1983 (see Figures 1 and 3). For two days I camped at Stump Spring, an historic watering place along the trail located in the southern portion of Pahrump Valley. I used copies of nineteenth century maps and journals to compare past perceptions of the region to my own. Trying to acquire a sense of past cultural/environmental perceptions in the Pahrump Valley by hiking its old trails and using its precious springs is one method of attempting to understand the meaning of a place beyond our own historical conditions. My *experiences* in the Pahrump Valley have led me to try to understand how it existed in the past, and *why* it exists as it does today. As Carl Sauer (1963: 362) states, "The reconstruction of critical cultural landscapes of the past requires...the most intimate familiarity with the terrain which the given culture occupied." I also understand that it would take at least a lifetime of living in the Pahrump Valley to scratch the surface of "intimate familiarity."

Outline of the Study

The literature review of Chapter II will explore the concepts of *frontier* and *region*, developing towards the definition of a *frontier region* as used in this thesis. Chapter III explains the concept of the *frontier region* in detail, integrating it in a multi-scaled typology within the

world-systems framework. The key concepts of primitive accumulation, incorporation, and core/semi-periphery/ periphery relations will also be discussed.

The theoretical framework presented in Chapter III will be applied in Chapter IV, a case study of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region, 1830-1882, as analyzed from a long range, world-systems perspective. The conclusion summarizes the results of the study and discusses possibilities for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW: THE CONCEPTS OF FRONTIER AND REGION

Early Definitions of the Frontier

The term *frontier* is derived from the Latin word *frons*, meaning "forehead" or "front." In Old French the word evolved into *frontiere*, meaning "the border of a country." The English adopted the word, and in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1775), "frontier" is defined as "...the border; properly that which terminates not at the sea, but fronts another country." It is interesting to note that in Johnson's definition, one of the usages of the word is taken from Edmund Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*: "Draw all the inhabitants of those borders away, or plant garrisons upon all those *frontiers* about him" (quoted in Mood 1948: 79).[9]

Spenser's example illustrates the sense in which "frontier" was sometimes differentiated from "border"--*frontier* was a type of boundary which was militarily contested and at the same time the "front" of an advancing culture. The French and English roots of this usage of *frontier* are linked to the Roman (and Greek) sense of the inherent right of a superior civilization to expand its political and military authority into the territory of an

"inferior" culture. For the Romans, "the frontier meant quite literally 'the front': the *frons* of the *imperium mundi* which expands to the only limits it can acknowledge, namely, the limits of the world" (Kristof, 1959: 270). It is apparent that the historical use of the term *frontier* has long been associated with military conquest and the expansion of empire.

By the nineteenth century, European usage of *frontier* became synonymous with the boundary between two countries. In the United States, however, the meaning of the frontier returned to the Roman sense of the word and became associated with the zone of contact between advancing Euroamericans and the indigenous peoples. In 1839, George Catlin (1989: 456) describes what "in common parlance is denominated the Frontier":

> The Frontier may properly be denominated the fleeting and unsettled line...which indefinitely separates civilized from Indian population--a moving barrier, where the unrestrained and natural propensities of two people are concentrated, in an atmosphere of lawless iniquity....[10]

Catlin's frontier becomes more than a boundary between two countries--in North America it is a transitory, moving zone between "civilization" and Native Americans characterized by an "unrestrained" concentration of cultural interaction. The word "unsettled" has the double meaning of describing an *area* not yet occupied by the "civilized," while simultaneously describing an area whose *control* is temporarily unstable or chaotic. As will be noted further in Chapter IV, the "lawlessness" and romantic "excess" of the

frontier provided a functional, *de facto* sanction of dispossession (and often, genocide), which cleared the way for Euroamerican capitalist expansion.

The 1890 edition of *Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language* adds to the standard "border" definition of previous dictionaries by offering a usage similar to Catlin's: "the border of the settled or civilized part of a country; as the frontier of civilization" (quoted in Mood, 1948: 81). In contrast to Catlin's definition, however, the indigenous side of the frontier is now ignored; its existence is implied only by the negative of what is stated--i.e., indigenous settlement thus becomes "unsettled," and indigenous culture is implicitly "uncivilized." As will be shown, the writings of Frederick Jackson Turner conform to this later definition, in which the Native American side of the frontier alternately materializes and disappears according to its value for Euroamerican character and nation-building.

Ratzel and Haushofer

Perhaps the first social scientist to systemize frontier concepts was the German geographer, Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). Inspired by German unification and the expansion of European colonialism throughout the world, Ratzel was one of the founders of modern political geography (James and Martin, 1981: 168; Glassner and de Blij, 1989: 5). He analyzed the growth and decline of political states according to organismic analogies in which the state was

guided by "the human spirit" (Hunter, 1983: 215-220). In his *Anthropogeographie* (1882), for instance, the growth and decline of political states is analyzed in terms of a culture's will-to-expansion, or utilization of potential political space: "the decay of every state is the result of a declining space conception" (Gyorgy, 1944: 152).

Later German geographers and militarists, such as the Nazi propagandist Karl Haushofer, took up Ratzelian concepts such as *Lebensraum* (the human and physical habitat of a political state), and transformed political geography into the geopolitics of German National Socialist expansion. In 1927, Haushofer wrote: "The expansive vigor of the human will invariably asserts itself in a process of political space domination" (Gyorgy, 1944: 186).[11]

When Ratzel travelled to the United States in 1873, he interpreted its territorial expansion as an ascending state's exemplary conception of space. Gyorgy describes Ratzel's geographic interpretations of the United States, first published in 1878:

> Ratzel devoted his work on the political geography of the United States mainly to a description of the "westward course of empire"; he viewed North American civilization as moving from one frontier belt to the next zone of territorial expansion...Fighting its way toward the Pacific Ocean, the American frontier appears as a distinct reflection of the growing idea of a North American national empire. (Gyorgy, 1944: 155)

Not surprisingly, Ratzel favorably reviewed Frederick Jackson Turner's, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893), a paper which was congruent with the German professor's previous works on the dynamics of

political states and frontier expansion (Kane, 1940: 398-400; Block, 1980: 40). Ratzel further refined these ideas in *Political Geography* (1895) and an 1896 article entitled, "The Laws of the Spatial Growth of States." The fourth law states, "The frontier is, as a peripheric organ of the state, the bearer of its growth, as well as of its security, and is affected by all changes of the state organism" (Hunter, 1983: 127). In 1927, Haushofer applied Ratzel's conception of a dynamic frontier to post-war Germany in his publication of *Grenzen* (*Frontiers*). He argued for the German people's "right" to expand to their "organic" frontiers for sufficient *Lebensraum* (Gyorgy, 1944: 228). Strausz-Hupe' (1942: 226) explains the implications of Haushofer's frontier concept:

> When Haushofer wrote that the "frontier had to become again the living experience of the German people," and the "whole people must become psychologically attuned to the true folkic borders lying far beyond the linear legal demarcations," he was not theorizing but calling his people to do battle. The Nazis were to follow his advice to the letter....

The interplay of an international "social science" and the national myths of Germany and the United States are easily seen in the historical development and use of the concepts of *Lebensraum,* the Frontier, and "manifest destiny" (e.g., Churchill, 1993: 7-8).

The Frontier Concept in Political Geography

After Ratzel, the study of frontiers continued to be a category of analysis within the subdiscipline of political geography. Kristof differentiated between *frontiers* and

boundaries by categorizing the former as informal contact zones between peoples while the latter were conceived as the geopolitical limits of a political state recognized by international law. Thus the concept of the political boundary grew with the development and legitimation of the nation-state. As Kristof (1959: 272-273) states, "The boundary is, in fact, the outer line of *effective* control exercised by the central government...It is in the interest of the central government to substitute a boundary for the frontier."

Recent studies on frontiers and boundaries have often relegated frontiers as historical artifacts completely replaced by political boundaries (Prescott, 1987: 44; Taylor, 1989: 145), thus categorizing the frontier concept within the subject matter of historical geography. Taylor (1989: 144) noted that the decline of interest in the concept since the early 1960s was probably due to the post-war stability of political boundaries in Europe and North America.

In other regions during the post-war era, however, the boundaries of less powerful nation-states historically have been *de facto* frontiers and political pawns in East-West rivalries. As Kristof implied, *effective* nation-state boundaries are determined by the dynamic power relations between and within political states. And now, after the breakup of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the complex frontiers of ethnic and cultural groups are once again showing that boundaries, like the nation-state itself, are

historical constructs and not eternal fixtures. Perhaps future studies in political geography will reassess the role of the frontier concept in the post-Cold War era.

Turner and the Frontier

Just as Ratzel's writings on the frontier were to become ideological weapons for Haushofer and other German expansionists, Frederick Jackson Turner's famous paper of 1893, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," glorified past American expansion and gave academic sanction to the intensified nationalism and imperialism in the United States during the late 1890s. As William Appleman Williams writes, "Turner gave Americans a nationalistic world view that eased their doubts, settled their confusions, and justified their aggressiveness" (1955: 383).[12]

Turner's (1921: 3) "frontier thesis" can be summarized:

> The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development...In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave--the meeting point between savagery and civilization.

Cronon et al. (1992: 14-15) describe the ideological centerpiece of the Turner Thesis: "Turner's 'free land,' in defining the frontier, 'explained' American history only by erasing the legitimacy of Indian claims to the continent. Just so could history rationalize conquest and empire."

In Turner's frontier, Native American dispossession is a given, and the "Indian frontier" becomes an arena for transforming former Europeans into "Americans."

For instance, the frontier helped unify Euroamericans because "the Indian was a common danger, demanding united action" and the "cooperation in the regulation of the frontier." Turner emphasized the importance of the frontier as a "military training school, keeping alive the power of resistance to aggression" (Turner, 1921: 15).

With a rhetoric which turned invasion into "resistance to aggression," it is not surprising that Turner's interpretation of the frontier had a timely influence on Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and other United States policy makers. These influential leaders shared a diverse but essentially unified ideology which welcomed a progressive or populist, national-heroic justification for any territorial or market expansion thought necessary for an emerging world power (Drinnon, 1980: 460-464; LaFeber, 1963: 64-72; Peet, 1985: 319; Slotkin, 1981: 608-637; 1992: 61-62; Williams, 1955). While Roosevelt glorified the ruthlessness of conquest and emphasized the superiority of the "white" race, Turner usually muted these "frontier myth" sentiments by simply ignoring the existence of the conquered. If Turner's paper had been as blunt as Theodore Roosevelt's characterization of the frontier in *The Winning of the West* and other writings, then perhaps the Turner Thesis would not have outlived the early decades of the twentieth century. Roosevelt describes the basis of the significance of the frontier for "white" Euroamericans:

> Whether the whites won the land by treaty [or] by armed conquest...mattered comparatively little so long as the

> land was won. It was all-important that it would be won, for the benefit of civilization and in the interests of mankind. It is, indeed, a warped, perverse, and silly morality which would forbid a course of conquest that has turned whole continents into the seats of mighty and flourishing civilized nations. All men of sane and wholesome thought must dismiss with impatient contempt the plea that these continents should be reserved for the use of scattered savage tribes, whose life was but a few degrees less meaningless, squalid, and ferocious than that of the wild beasts with whom they held joint ownership...The most ultimately righteous of all wars is a war with savages, though it is apt to be also the most terrible and inhuman. The rude, fierce settler who drives the savage from the land lays all civilized mankind under a debt to him. (Roosevelt, 1917: 56-57)

Turner approved of the above sentiments of Roosevelt in a review of *The Winning of the West*:

> The difficult question of the relations between the Indian and the pioneer he has handled in a courageous and virile way that enables the reader to correct the well-intentioned, but not altogether well-founded, criticisms of the Indian relations of the nation by Eastern writers. (Turner, 1896: 171; also see the comments of Nichols, 1972: 401)

Yet as David Nichols (1972) points out, Turner subsumed the outright racist ideas of Roosevelt within an abstract evolutionary perspective in which the "savage" (who happened to be Indian) is at the bottom, while the representatives of "civilization" (who happened to be white) were at the top. No matter what the cruelty or injustices manifested in the process, the "greater good" brought on by civilization was self-evident and beyond criticism for both Turner and Roosevelt. In this sense--although there are differences in emphasis--the frontier of Turner and Roosevelt occupied the same ideological ground at their core.[13]

Although the implications of using Native Americans as a foil for Euroamerican character development have often

been ignored, recent historiography indicates that Turner's sanitized ethnocentric paradigm is finally being replaced after nearly a century of criticism and defense (Robbins, 1991). The next section will explore the works of Patricia Limerick and Donald Meinig, two scholars whose writings have been influential in redefining the concept of the frontier.

Beyond the Turner Thesis: The Legacy of Conquest and the Frontier Geography of Imperialism

In *The Legacy of Conquest,* historian Patricia Limerick suggests that the frontier concept be dropped altogether so that Western American history can join the "modern scholarship" of comparative history and be seen as "one chapter in the global story of Europe's expansion. Studies in 'comparative conquests' promise to help knit the fragmented history of the planet back together" (1987: 26). Although Limerick's work is a refreshing change from the more traditional narrative accounts of the North American West, her critiques of the frontier concept inexplicably ignore contemporary frontier scholarship which *is not* a reduction or a parody of the Turner Thesis. For instance, she neglects to mention the work of her own thesis advisor, Howard Lamar, who co-edited an analysis of "comparative conquests" central to a reformulated and extremely insightful frontier concept (Limerick, 1987: 9-10, Lamar and Thompson, 1981). Other works which cite the need for frontier studies beyond a narrowly defined Turner thesis (although not necessarily transcending Turner's ethnocentric bias in all

cases), include Forbes (1959, 1962, 1968), Lattimore (1962), Miller and Steffen (1977), Savage and Thompson (1979), Lewis (1984), De Atley and Findlow (1984), Green and Perlman (1985), Slotkin (1985, 1992), and *Comparative Frontier Studies*, an interdisciplinary newsletter which was published at the University of Oklahoma from 1975 to 1984.

Even though the frontier concept may not be necessary for studying comparative conquests or the history of the North American West, Limerick unfortunately does not offer an alternative theoretical framework in its place. She states that we should "conceive of the West as a place and not a process" so that its legacy of conquest can be interpreted up to the present (Limerick, 1987: 26).[14] Yet without a more comprehensive analysis of the roots of the legacy--i.e., the *initial* frontier process--the historical bedrock of conquest becomes buried with disconnected narratives which still fail to explain a merciless historical continuity. Nonetheless, Limerick's work is a significant and highly influential contribution towards a multicultural reinterpretation of the North American West (see Robbins, 1991; Worster et al., 1989). The present study will try to demonstrate that the concept of a frontier region can be a useful way of understanding the "legacy of conquest" which Limerick has helped us to identify.

Donald Meinig has also rejected the Turnerian frontier model in favor of geographical studies of imperialism: "I think it is time that, in the broadest view,

the topic of the frontier be subsumed under that of imperialism" (1982: 77). Meinig's definition of imperialism is succinctly stated in a later work:

> I use imperialism as a generic term, to refer to a type of geopolitical relationship: the aggressive encroachment of one people upon the territory of another, resulting in the subjugation of the latter people to alien rule. (Meinig, 1986: xviii)

Meinig places European imperialism in North America and Africa within Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems framework: "the American and African sectors were parts of a new periphery of an emergent core now 'firmly located in Northwest Europe...,' a relationship that heralded the birth of the 'modern world-system' of capitalist economy" (Meinig, 1986: 75-76). In *The Shaping of America, Volume 2: Continental America, 1800-1867*, Meinig (1993: 262-263) contrasts Turner's "savagery to civilization" evolutionary schema with a diagram of the "North American Traditional System" and its incorporation into the "Modern World System" (see Figure 5). He explains:

> In such a view the triumph of Euro-American society involved a high degree of cultural change and violence arising from a long, complex interaction between disparate societies...In this view "development" refers to changes wrought by specific peoples with their instruments and power rather than to an evolutionary sequence led by modern Europeans; it is cultural, contextual, and contingent rather than unilinear and deterministic; it refers to marked transformations in societies and regions but always obtained at a cost; it reduces "progress" from an expanding beneficence to a cultural appraisal, subject to critique. (1993: 259)

Meinig emphasizes that a comprehensive scale of analysis such as the modern world-system requires detailed regional geographic studies before the concept can acquire

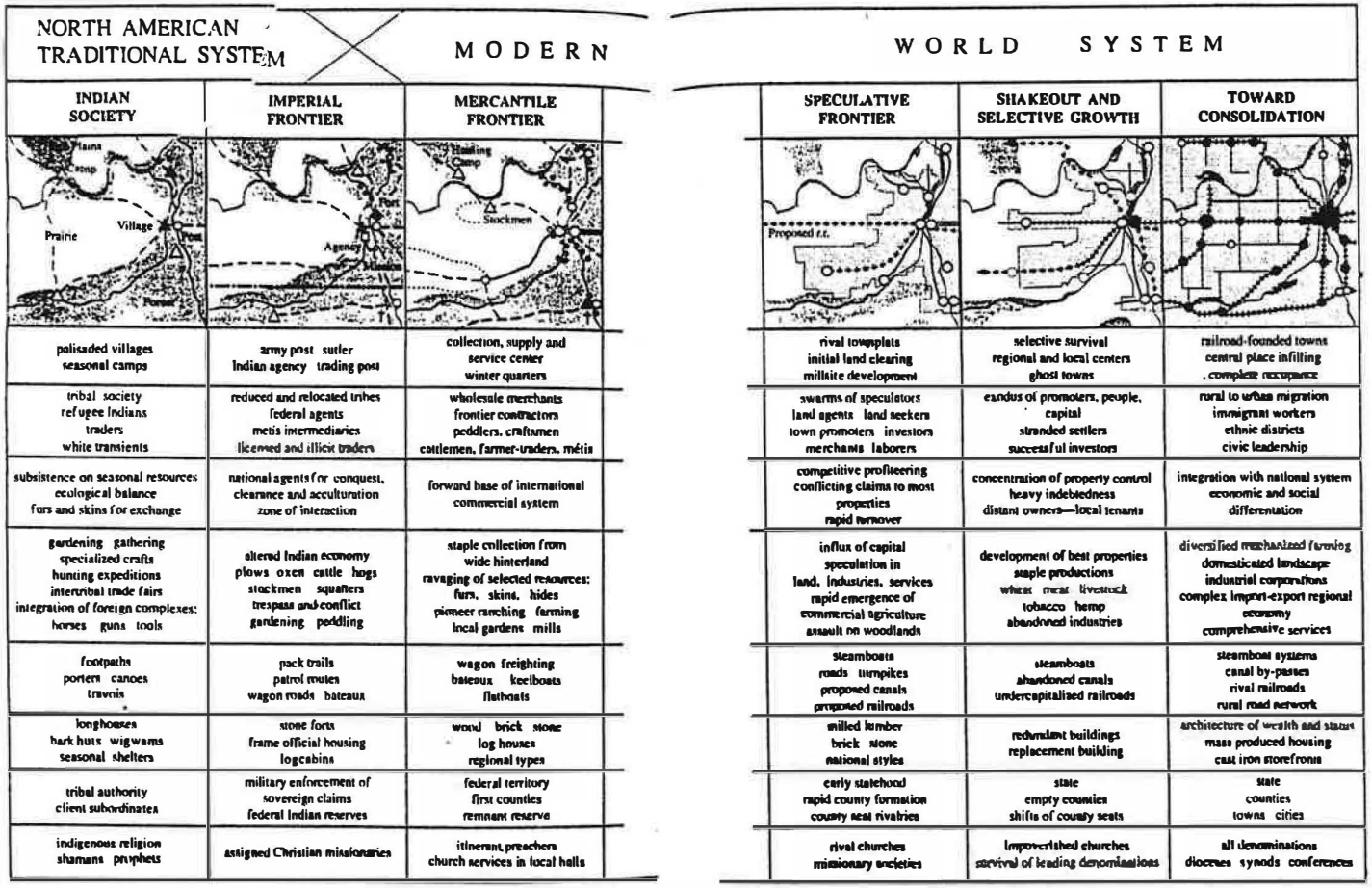


Figure 5. American System of Regional Development. From D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 2: Continental America, 1800-1867*, pp. 262-263. Reprinted with permission from Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, © 1993.

explanatory power. Specific areas during particular historical moments become geographical regions of imperialism, and Meinig (1986: 260-261) has also developed a "geographical transect" which illustrates specific core-periphery relationships between Europe and mid-latitude North America circa 1750 (see Figure 6).

According to Meinig, the frontier is commonly associated with the contact edge between Indian-dominated and European-dominated land. This is geographically represented as the zone between the outpost and the frontier *entrepôt*. Yet Meinig (1989: 196) points out that "a shared zone of joint occupancy, interlocking interests, and interlocking influences" between the outpost and the colonial port was the actual, culturally dynamic frontier. Meinig geographically separates these relationships into three zones (see Figure 7):

> a coastal zone of conquest and encapsulation, a second zone (partly coastal, mostly inland) of articulation and interdependence, and a third zone deeper in the interior beyond sustained contact but markedly affected by it. (Meinig, 1986: 208-209; cf. Forbes, 1962: 70-71)

In summary, Meinig has developed two excellent models for analyzing the geography of the frontier--the geographical transect and regionally-specific zones of encounter. These models are also useful for understanding the geopolitical dynamics of *incorporation*, a concept discussed in Chapter III. Although Meinig doesn't give a clear redefinition of the frontier in relation to these models, his valuable

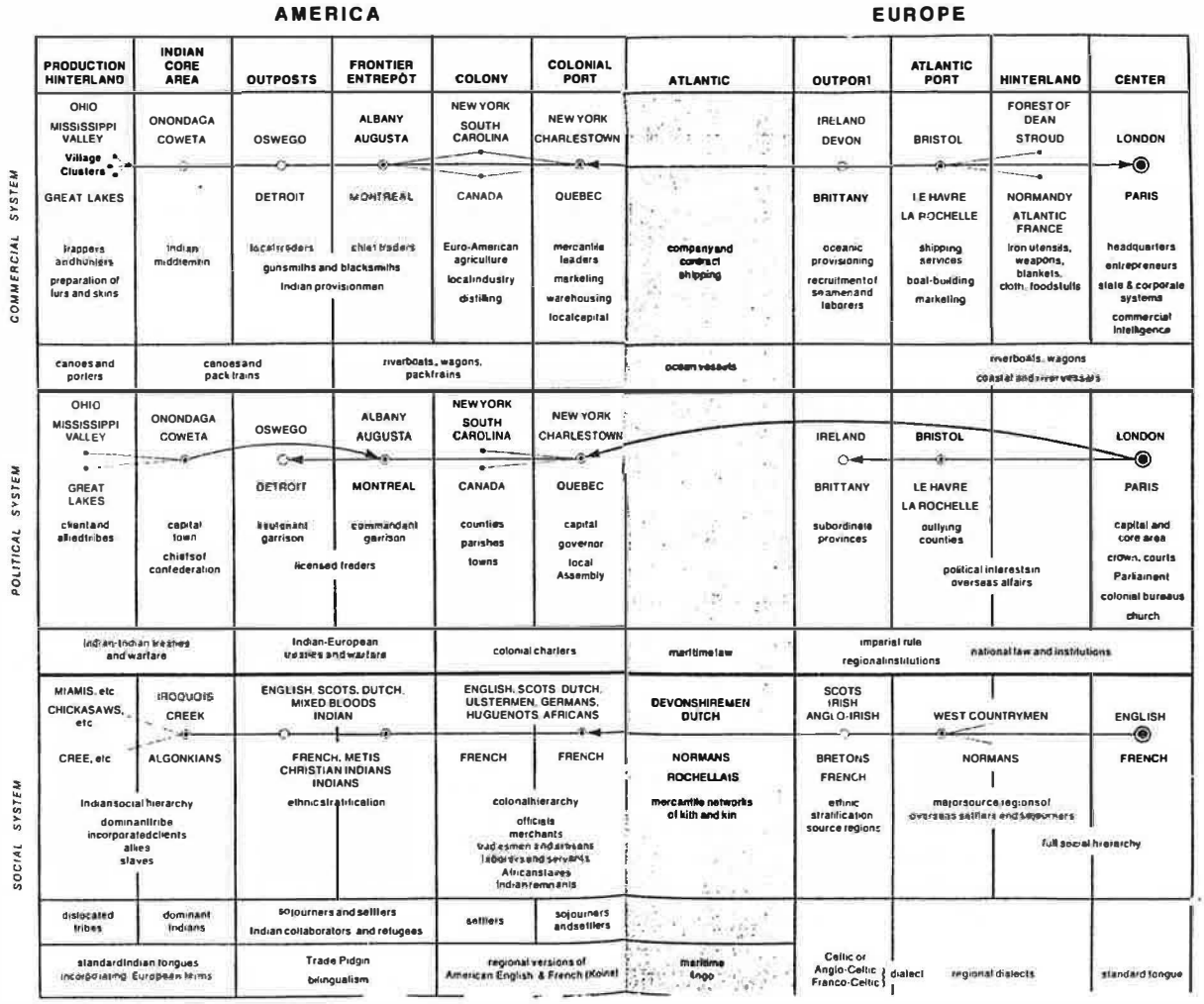


Figure 6. A geographical transect of the Atlantic world, c. 1750.

From D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, pp. 260-261. Reprinted with permission from Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, © 1986.

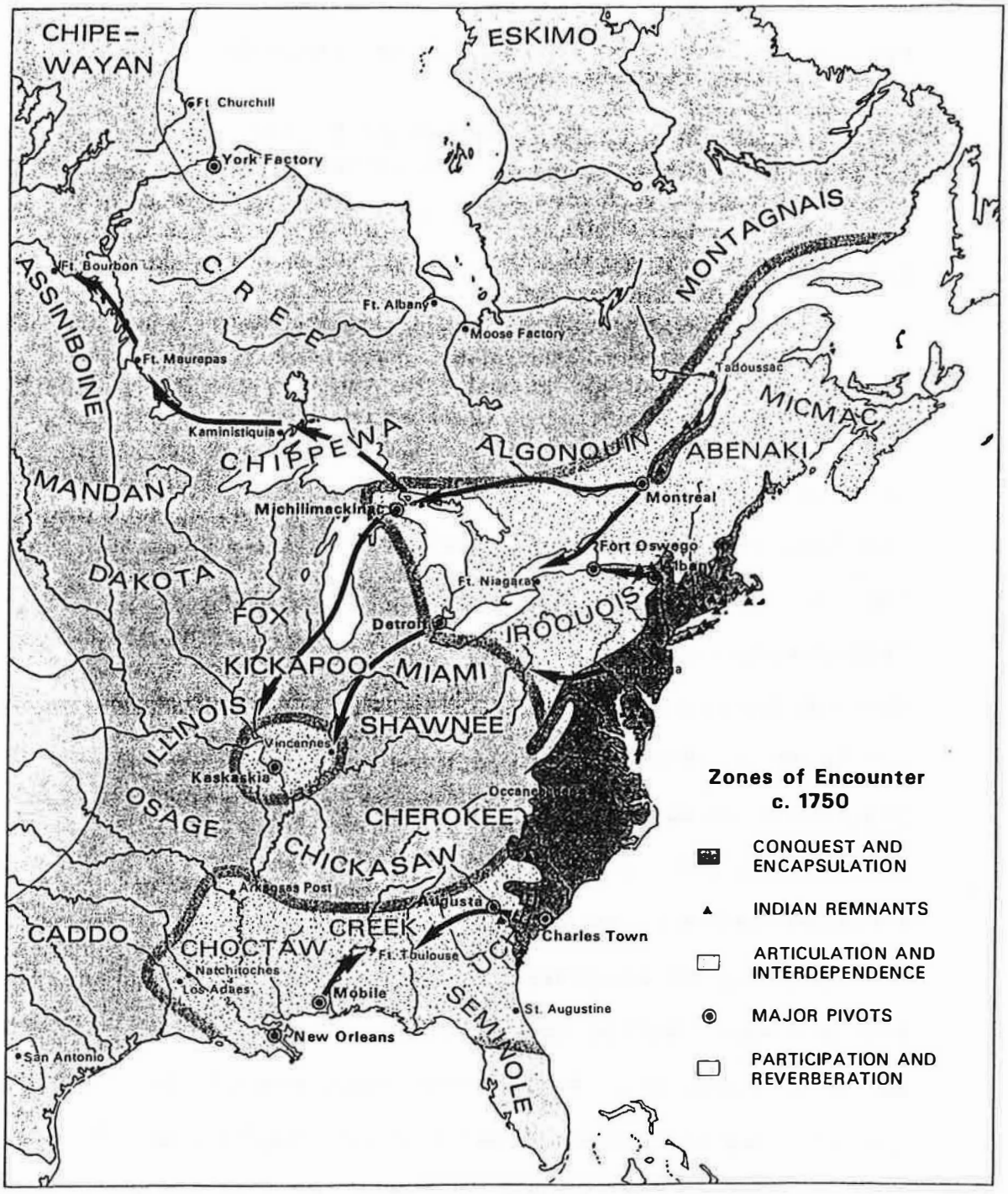


Figure 7. Zones of encounter, c. 1750. From D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, p. 209. Reprinted with permission from Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, © 1986.

insights are usefull for understanding the complex, sociospatial processes of frontier encounters.

The Frontier of Forbes, Lamar and Thompson

In a ground breaking article challenging traditional frontier studies, Jack Forbes (1959: 209-210) wrote:

> The Indian also had a frontier, an area where his culture met that of the European. This Indian frontier surely is a part of the American frontier as a whole.

Forbes refined his interpretation of the frontier in a later article entitled "Frontiers in American History." Rejecting the "one-sided and ethnocentric" frontier thesis of Turner and his followers, Forbes defines the frontier as an "intergroup contact situation" which is "an instance of dynamic interaction between human beings and involves such processes as acculturation, assimilation, miscegenation, race prejudice, conquest, imperialism and colonialism" (1962: 65). In reality, Forbes points out, there usually is not a single frontier between two groups, but a "*frontier complex*, a multiplicity of frontiers in dynamic interaction" (1962: 65). For instance, during the European conquest of the North American Southeast, there were frontiers of the "Franco-Spanish, Anglo-French, Franco-Creek, Anglo-Spanish, Hispano-Creek, Anglo-Creek, Creek-Cherokee, Creek-Choktaw..." (1962: 69).

Although Forbes concretely defines the frontier in terms of a dynamic, multi-cultural complex, this broad definition lacks an overall historical analysis with which to

systematically categorize the various types of frontier complexes which have formed between peoples throughout the world. In a later attempt to classify frontier types, Forbes continues to use an overly general frontier definition which defeats categorization by analytically lumping together any cultural contact situation in any time or place (Forbes, 1968: 220-231). For instance, Forbes's classification of Stable, Fluctuating, Fluctuating-Stable, Fluctuating-Stable Conquest, and Unilinear Expansive frontier types describe historical frontier situations within an ahistorical framework, thus making comparisons between different types of frontiers very difficult. However, the frontier classifications of Forbes were "presented as a preliminary effort" (Forbes, 1968: 225), and other scholars of frontier history have continued his extremely important work.

In the anthology, *The Frontier in History: North American and Southern Africa Compared,* editors Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson (1981: 7,10) have built upon the work of Forbes by retaining his concept of "an intergroup situation" while developing a more analytically useful definition of the frontier:

> We regard a frontier not as a boundary line, but as a territory or zone of interpenetration between two previously distinct societies. Usually, one of the societies is indigenous to the region...the other is intrusive. The frontier "opens" in a given zone when the first representatives of the intrusive society arrive; it "closes" when a single political authority has established hegemony over the zone...Subsequent relationships are relations of ethnicity and class within a single society, not frontier relationships between different societies.

According to Lamar and Thompson (1981: 8), the frontier situation described above is comprised of three essential elements: "territory; two or more initially distinct peoples; and the process by which the relations among the peoples in the territory begin, develop, and eventually crystallize." They explain that the specific characteristics of these three components combine to produce each "regional frontier process." In other words, the type of environment, the sociopolitical and economic level of the competing cultures, and the particular methods by which one culture conquers another all significantly influence the historical outcome.

Lamar and Thompson (1981: 11) then sketch various "species and subspecies" of the "genus frontier" according to different levels of abstraction. At the "highest level" would be a categorization of the common characteristics of frontier processes within and between all types of cultures at all times in history. Frontiers within historical eras (such as those associated with the Roman Empire or European capitalist expansion) constitute an intermediate level; "regional subspecies of the great imperial frontiers" (such as the European expansion across North American) would make up the next level of analysis; and finally, frontier situations in localities or small regions would be studied in depth.

As this thesis will attempt to demonstrate, the frontier classifications proposed by Lamar and Thompson can

be clarified by categorization within a long-range historical framework. For instance, there is a difference between migrations and conquests between indigenous peoples within North American territories before the European invasion, and the post-contact migrations and conquests directly related to reduced territories, inter-group rivalries stimulated by European intrusion, new technologies (such as the horse and gun), and defensive territorial occupations in response to the European settler conquests representative of the expansion of the capitalist world-economy. Thus, the definition of "indigenous territory" would be placed within a geo-historical context which would have to include much larger intersocietal networks across time and space.

Lamar and Thompson conclude by emphasizing the open and preliminary nature of their work in comparative studies: "we desperately need more studies of specific frontier situations as a basis for strengthening our comparative perspectives" (1981: 314). As will be detailed in Chapter III, the concept of a frontier region as developed in this thesis is based upon their innovative work. A regional/ world-systems perspective is particularly suited for refining the multi-scaled frontier studies which Lamar and Thompson call the "species and subspecies" of the "genus frontier."

The Frontier as Region

The concept of the *region* has been extensively utilized in geographic and historic studies of the United States, especially the Trans-Mississippi West. Frederick

Jackson Turner linked the development of cultural/geographic regions (which he termed *sections*) to the "moving frontier" across the United States (Turner, 1921: 6, emphasis added):

> Beyond this *region* of continuous settlement [defined by the census of 1790] were the small settled areas of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the Ohio, with the mountains intervening between them and the Atlantic area, thus giving a new and important character to the *frontier*. The isolation of the region increased its peculiarly American tendencies, and the need of transportation facilities to connect it with the East called out important schemes of internal improvement...The "West as a self-conscious *section,* began to evolve...By the census of 1820...the *frontier region* of the time lay along the Great Lakes...and beyond the Mississippi.

The above quote illustrates how Turner linked a differentiated "moving frontier" of Euroamerican settlement with regional geography, or the development of sections.

Frederic Paxson analyzed the frontier with the terms *process* and *region*, although the latter word bears a narrower interpretation than that used by Turner. The *frontier process*, according to Paxson, refers to the cumulative effects of frontier interactions upon United States sociopolitical institutions and values. In contrast, "the frontier as a *region* was that area of the United States in which the *frontier process* was going on at any moment" (Paxson, 1924: 43-44). Turner's concept of regionalism, or sectional development, is similar to Paxson's "frontier process." Paxson's "frontier as a *region*" is congruent with Turner's "frontier region," as quoted above. Unlike Paxson, however, Turner does not separate the frontier process from the richer meaning of *region*, especially as used in regional geography and the similar concept of sectionalism.

Patricia Limerick (1987: 26-27) utilizes *place* as a concept for understanding the regional history of the Trans-Mississippi West:

> Turner's frontier was a process, not a place. When "civilization had conquered "savagery" at any one location, the process--and the historian's attention--moved on. In rethinking Western history, we gain the freedom to think of the West as a place--as many complicated environments occupied by natives who considered their homelands to be the center, not the edge...deemphasize the frontier and its supposed end, conceive of the West as a place and not a process, and Western American history has a new look.

However, the above passage of Turner indicates that his conception of the frontier development of *sections* is similar to Limerick's concept of *place*. Moreover, Paxson's "frontier process" also seems similar to Limerick's interpretation of *place*, while Limerick's narrow interpretation of *process* can be equated with Paxson's *region*. It is no wonder that the frontier concept has been described as complex and confused!

In a cogent attempt to analytically unify the various interpretations of *frontier* and *region*, Cronon et al. (1992: 7) write:

> One should analyze frontier and region not as isolated, alternative ways of viewing the American past but rather as phases of a single historical process. We should worry less about trying to define precisely when a frontier ends and a region begins than about analyzing how the one moved toward the other. The narrative we have in mind carries us from frontier invasion and land taking to the settlement and formation of new communities--processes often at odds with one another--bringing us to the gradual emergence of local and regional identities with their attendant problems of community reproduction, conflict, and change.

In this conceptualization, *frontier* and *region* form a historical continuum from the past to the present. Although the frontier legacy--i.e., the legacy of conquest--is acknowledged in subsequent multi-ethnic regional formations, the original frontier interactions which lead to particular regionalizations are not a primary area of focus in their analysis. In a passage reminiscent of Lamar and Thompson (1981: 10) quoted above, Cronon et al. (1992: 17) go on to state:

> In frontier areas, peoples of different cultures confronted one another as independent political nations, but only for a time. Whenever native peoples found their freedom of action effectively constrained by the laws of another state, their frontier independence gave way to political dependency. They began to inhabit a region within the boundaries of a single nation.

While in general agreement with uniting the concepts of frontier and region into a "single historical process," this thesis argues that the initial contact between cultures in frontier regions needs more comprehensive and detailed examination. Native peoples' loss of control over their territorial ecosystems was not just one social process among many different processes; rather, it was a bifurcation point of monumental social and ecological significance. The frontier region is therefore conceived as a cultural/ ecological baseline from which subsequent studies can proceed; in no way is it meant to negate the need for understanding post-frontier region "legacies of conquest" as emphasized by Limerick (also see Knack, 1993).

Summary

The frontier region concept as developed in this thesis is based upon scholarship spanning over a century, primarily in the fields of geography and history. As will be shown in the next chapter, recent work in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology have also enriched and greatly expanded the scope of frontier studies. While these works emphasize the interdisciplinary nature of the topic, this chapter has underscored the early prominence of frontier studies in the sub-disciplines of political and historical geography. In his "Foreward to Historical Geography," Sauer (1963: 364-365) is influenced by the ideas of Ratzel:

> We are interested in the origin of a cultural system as to place of birth...Next, we are concerned with the energy that a growing culture shows as to manner and rate by which it occupies land, including the nature of the extending frontiers. Next, we are interested in the manner of stabilization of one culture area against another. Finally, there are the problems of decline or collapse and of succeeding cultures.

The next chapter will explain how the frontier region concept within a multi-scaled, world-systems framework continues Sauer's historical geographic inquiry by "expanding and reframing the line of questioning" (Mitchell, 1987: 11) that Sauer and other geographers began long ago.

CHAPTER III

THE FRONTIER REGION AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD-ECONOMY

The Frontier Region: Geohistorical Context

As stated in Chapter I, "A *frontier region* can briefly be defined as a particular geographic area in which dominant ethnoecological control is actively contested by two or more social groups." A frontier region can be conceptualized as the most unstable intergroup geopolitical relationship along a continuum which would place mutually respected political boundaries (or zones) as the most stable intergroup form. The frontier region ceases to exist as a functional region when relatively stable geopolitical boundaries or zones are re-established. Generally, this would occur by:

(1) mutual agreement or an intergroup sharing of previously contested territory;

(2) a geopolitical stalemate between the involved groups;

(3) extermination of one or more of the involved groups within the contested territory;

(4) expulsion of one or more of the involved groups from the contested territory;

(5) incorporation of one or more of the involved groups into the social system of the group which conquers the contested territory, i.e., internal colonization of the militarily conquered group.[15]

The above frontier region scenarios will be influenced by the following geohistorical criteria:

-- geographic location of the territories of the involved groups and their overlap within a frontier region.

-- historical context of each involved group within a frontier region, especially those historical factors which seemed to lead towards a confrontation within a particular territory.

-- the type of social groups involved within a frontier region, i.e., socio-economic, political, ideological, religious, technological criteria, level of militarization, mode of production, egalitarian/hierarchical, environmental relationship to the contested territory.[16]

Lamar and Thompson (1981: 11), as noted in Chapter II, sketched various "species and subspecies" of the "genus frontier." A detailed typology of frontier processes, however, would need to incorporate the geohistorical criteria listed above. The *frontier region* as defined in this thesis has greater conceptual value if it can be applied to widely different societal group interactions within a long range of historical periods. For a number of researchers, the world-systems perspective has provided a heuristic or a working model for such an analytical framework. Since the 1977

publication of Tomas Almaguer's monograph, "Interpreting Chicano History: The 'World-System' Approach to Nineteenth Century California" (Almaguer, 1977), various scholars have discussed the world-systems framework in relation to historic studies of the North American West (Crush, 1980; Hall, 1983, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1992a, 1992b; Hardesty, 1988: 1-5; Lewis, 1984: 14-15; Meinig, 1986: 75-76; Nichols, 1986: 228; Norton, 1983, 1984: 100; Opie, 1986: 20; Osborne and Rogerson, 1978; Robbins, 1986: 585; 1989: 438-439; 1991: 199, 213; Weber, 1982: 282-285). However, only the works of Almaguer and Hall contain detailed analyses of California and the Southwest, respectively, within the world-systems framework; their studies will be relied upon in Chapter IV. The following overview of Wallerstein's conception of the world-systems perspective will provide a basis for understanding its application to the frontier region concept as used in this thesis.[17]

Antecedents of The World-Systems Framework

In his chapter on "The Origins of the World-System Theory," Thomas Shannon (1989: 1) states:

> World-system theory is a continuation of the central concerns of such early social theorists as Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. They maintained that a fundamentally new kind of society had emerged in Western Europe in the centuries after 1500 (the modern era). They sought to identify the nature of this new society, explain its origins, and explore the consequences of its emergence.

Wallerstein's world-system perspective is an alternative approach to both liberal and orthodox Marxist

views of modernization. The latter two schools of thought are unified in the common belief that the expansion of capitalism throughout the world is a "progressive" force, superior to "backward," traditional societies. Traditional societies could, however, "take off" towards wealth and prosperity under capitalism (or a future socialism) if they would shun their backward ways by emulating the pioneering model of British industrialization during the late eighteenth century. Liberal analysts (such as W. W. Rostow, author of the influential *The Stages of Economic Growth* [1990]) view capitalism as the best means of ensuring democracy and a higher standard of living for all, while classical Marxists describe capitalism as a necessary evil required to harness the forces of production so that a later socialist revolution can usher in a new era of political and economic freedom. In any case, traditional societies were seen by these left and right wings of Western Civilization thought as intrinsically inferior to the vector societies of modernity (Marx, 1967: 79-80; Rostow, 1990).

Wallerstein's alternative can be considered an outgrowth of the dependency school of thought which began to critique modernization theories (such as Rostow's) during the 1960s. Andre Gunder Frank, an early dependency theorist, coined the phrase "development of underdevelopment" to describe how the developed world--the "metropolis"--has historically exploited and *underdeveloped* traditional

societies of the Third World, forcing them to become *dependent* "satellites":

> Economic development and underdevelopment are the opposite faces of the same coin...Thus they cannot be viewed as the products of supposedly different economic structures or systems, or of supposed differences in stages of economic growth achieved within the same system. One and the same historical process of the expansion and development of capitalism throughout the world has simultaneously generated--and continues to generate--both economic development and structural underdevelopment. (Frank, 1969: 9)

Such a theoretical orientation concludes that as long as the capitalist system exists, the "take off" to prosperity will never occur for the majority of the world's people located in the periphery because their poverty is either irrelevant or structurally necessary for the continued wealth of a relatively small, ruling capitalist class. While Rostow (1990) virtually ignores the issues of poverty and exploitation in relation to development, for the dependency theorists as well as Wallerstein (following Marx), the continued, systemic immiseration of the majority of the people of the world is theoretically and morally relevant (Wallerstein, 1984: 9; 1983: 97-110).

The *Annales* school associated with the work of the French historian, Fernand Braudel, is another major influence on Wallerstein's world-system theory. The *Annales* school places primary significance on understanding the genesis and spread of the capitalist system. Geographic factors, uneven development between centers and peripheries, and an analysis of various historical cycles of different time/space

dimensions are important elements in Braudel's work which have influenced Wallerstein (Shannon, 1989: 13-15).

In summary, Wallerstein's world-system framework is an approach to historical sociology which is heavily influenced by a critical reading of Marx as well works produced by the dependency theorists and the *Annales* school (Shannon, 1989; also see Ragin and Chirot, 1984). The next section will discuss the world-system approach as developed by Wallerstein.

The World-Systems Framework

Wallerstein (1988: 879) recently stated that "a 'frontier' is by definition a phenomenon of a 'world-system. Without the world-system, these 'frontiers' would not have existed." Instead of analyzing frontiers in terms of individual territories or nation-state histories (such as the "American frontier"), Wallerstein views the frontier concept within a larger theoretical and geographical context. As will be explained below, he is referring to the *capitalist* world-system, a "historical system" which has been in existence for approximately five hundred years.

Wallerstein (1991a: 229) analyzes "the social world as a succession and coexistence of multiple large-scale, long-term entities" which he calls "historical systems." He explains how such historical systems are defined and bounded:

> They are relatively autonomous, that is, they function primarily in terms of the consequences of processes internal to them. They have time-boundaries, that is, they begin and they end. They have space-boundaries, which, however, can change in the course of their life-

> history...I have tried to approach the issue of boundaries by starting with the social division of labor, the conditions of ensuring social survival. I assume that a historical system must represent an integrated network of economic, political, and cultural process the sum of which hold the system together. (Wallerstein, 1991a: 229-230)

Wallerstein proposes that "autonomous social divisions of labor" (1991a: 231) existed in two types of historical systems throughout history--*mini-systems* and *world-systems*. Mini-systems are "relatively small, highly autonomous subsistence economies not part of some regular tribute-demanding system" (Wallerstein, 1974: 348), while world-systems are comprised of multiple cultural groupings with "two major structural variants: those with a single overarching political structure, the world-empires; and those without one, the world-economies" (Wallerstein, 1991a: 231).[18]

According to Wallerstein, autonomous mini-systems (i.e., tribal peoples or hunting and gathering groups) comprised the only type of historical system throughout the world until the emergence of proto-state and state-level civilizations between five and ten thousand years ago (Barraclough, 1992: 6). Wallerstein (1991a: 247-248) explains:

> In the period between, say, 8,000 B.C. and A.D. 1500, there coexisted on the earth at any one time multiple historical systems of all three varieties. The world-empire was the "strong" form of that era, since whenever one expanded it destroyed and/or absorbed both mini-systems and world-economies and whenever one contracted it opened up space for the re-creation of mini-systems and world-economies.

The world-empire form of a world-system consists of a state-level (or possibly proto-state level) sociopolitical organization with authority over multiple social groups and ethnoterritories:

> The basic logic of the system is the extraction of tribute from otherwise locally self-administered direct producers (mostly rural) that is passed upward to the centre and redistributed to a thin but crucial network of officials. (Wallerstein, 1991a: 247)

The "great civilizations" of China, Egypt, and Rome met the definition of world-empires at particular times in their histories (Wallerstein, 1979: 5-6).

In contrast, a world-system without a center, or common political system is defined as a world-economy. Wallerstein (1991a: 247) states:

> The "world-economies" are vast uneven chains of integrated production structures dissected by multiple political structures. The basic logic is that the accumulated surplus is distributed unequally in favor of those able to achieve various kinds of temporary monopolies in the market networks.

The world-empires of China, Egypt, and Rome previously emerged from world-economies (Wallerstein, 1979: 5). World-empires expanded by incorporating mini-systems and the social groups comprising world-economies; when they contracted or disintegrated, mini-systems and world-economies would re-emerge, often in new configurations. Both mini-systems and world-economies were vulnerable to the military power and political ambitions of world-empires (Wallerstein, 1991a: 247-248).

Beginning in the sixteenth century, however, the political vacuum created by the collapse of feudalism in

Western Europe was replaced with a world-economy rather than another world-empire. Wallerstein argues that a particular conjuncture of historical events--"the collapse of the seigniors, the collapse of the states, the collapse of the Church, and the collapse of the Mongols"--provided the socioeconomic space for a capitalist world-economy to evolve in Western Europe rather than in other parts of the Eurasian-African ecumene (Wallerstein, 1991b: 191-193; 1992: 600-613). The decline of the Spanish Empire in the late sixteenth century precluded a world-empire from gaining control of the world-system's expansion beyond the Old World (Wallerstein, 1979: 26-27; also see Chapter IV, pp. 89-90).[19]

As stated in Chapter I (pp. 4-5), Wallerstein claims that the world-economy which emerged approximately five hundred years ago was the first *capitalist* world-economy; previous world-economies may have been "protocapitalist," but they lacked the "*differentia specifica*" of a capitalist system: "a structural priority given and sustained for the *ceaseless* accumulation of capital" (Wallerstein, 1991b: 190). As traditional moral values were replaced or molded to the values of the rising bourgeois class in Western Europe, social relations increasingly became mediated through the impersonal "market" relations which gave the bourgeoisie their power and wealth:

> Historical capitalism involved therefore the widespread commodification of processes--not merely exchange processes, but production processes, distribution processes, and investment processes--that had previously been conducted other than via a 'market.' And, in the course of seeking to accumulate more and more capital,

> capitalists have sought to commodify more and more of these social processes in all spheres of economic life... That is why we may say that the historical development of capitalism has involved the thrust towards the commodification of everything. (Wallerstein, 1983: 15-16)

A society based upon ceaseless capital accumulation insidiously restructured and dehumanized the ancient goals of the rulers of empire--power and wealth. While the ceaseless quest for power and wealth is related to the self-aggrandizement of particular humans, the "ceaseless accumulation of capital" refers only to an abstract representation of power and wealth which holds the social system together. In other words, human greed and exploitation are subsumed and "naturalized" into an "invisible hand" of the market, ostensibly beyond human value or control.

A social structure of this type necessitated the expanded commodification of *any* living thing, environment, or social relation which could possibly be utilized for capitalist production and reproduction. Wallerstein states:

> By *its* inner logic, this capitalist world-economy then expanded to cover the entire globe, absorbing in the process all existing mini-systems and world-empires. Hence by the late nineteenth century, for the first time ever, there existed only one historical system on the globe. We are still in that situation today. (Wallerstein, 1991a: 248)

Wallerstein defined three essential structural characteristics of the capitalist world-system: a single capitalist world market whose global division of labor is axial to the world-system as a whole; an interstate structure in which nation-states compete for hegemony, but in which it

is structurally impossible for any one state to dominate the entire world-economy (as in a world-empire); and a core/semiperiphery/periphery hierarchy in which inter-state competition and unequal trade relations are spatially manifested in regional zones developed during the historical expansion of the capitalist world-economy (Wallerstein, 1979: 18-19, 96-97).

A core nation-state extracts the surplus (via the unequal exchange processes of the world-market) from the periphery, while the semi-periphery extracts surplus from the periphery while being structurally exploited by the core. Core nation-states (and regions as well as localities within nation-states, forming core/semi-periphery/periphery nested hierarchies) contain "high-profit, high-technology, high-wage diversified production" zones, while peripheral areas are dominated by "low-profit, low technology, low-wage, less diversified production" activities. Semiperipheral nation-states (and/or regions) "act as a peripheral zone for core countries and in part they act as a core country for some peripheral areas" (Wallerstein, 1979: 97). Wallerstein explains how the changing roles of individual nation-states within the hierarchy has proven functional for the historical system of the capitalist world-economy:

> The geographical location of core and peripheral economic processes have constantly shifted over time, without however transforming to any significant extent the worldwide structure of unequal exchange based on the axial division of labor...Once Venice was a core zone and England semiperipheral; later Britain was core and the northern states of the United States semiperipheral;

> still later the United States [became] a core zone.... (Wallerstein, 1984: 103)

For Wallerstein and other world-systems theorists (Wallerstein, 1979; Chase-Dunn, 1982; 1989), the "one historical system" of the capitalist world-economy also includes socialist states as competitors within the interstate system:

> A state which collectively owns all the means of production is merely a collective capitalist form as long as it remains--as all such states are, in fact, presently compelled to remain--a participant in the market of the capitalist world-economy. No doubt such a "firm" *may* have different modalities of internal division of profit, but this does not change its essential economic role *vis-a-vis* others operating in the world market. (Wallerstein, 1979: 68-69)

This conceptualization of the global economy helps explain why the present capitalist world-economy creates intense economic pressure on all states, including those which are called socialist. Combined with their own internal class and ethnic struggles (intensified and/or created by global military, political, and economic pressures), it is not surprising that the collapse of the socialist states has occurred. In reality, however, the return to the "free world" means social chaos, regional warfare, and continued economic exploitation for those at the bottom rungs of a capitalist world-economy dependent upon new areas and peoples to fully exploit.

Other important structural characteristics of the capitalist world-economy include the following (Wallerstein, 1991a: 268):

* the large and continuing role of non-wage labor alongside of wage labor;
* the non-primordial character of states, ethnic groups, and households, all of which are constantly created and re-created;
* the fundamental importance of racism and sexism as organizing principles of the system;
* the emergence of antisystemic movements that simultaneously undermine and reinforce the system;
* a pattern of both cyclical rhythms and secular trends that incarnates the inherent contradictions of the system and which accounts for the systemic crisis in which we are presently living.

A detailed explanation of the above elements of the capitalist world-economy is beyond the scope of this thesis. The relationship between historical frontier regions and the social and ecological contradictions fueling the current ethnic conflicts throughout the capitalist world-system is also outside the range of the present study. However, the central features of historical capitalism can be summarized: a socioeconomic system based upon a global division of labor wherein the structural necessity of the "ceaseless accumulation of capital" drives dominant classes within nation-states to compete within the unequal relations inherent in a core/periphery hierarchy.

Wallerstein (1988: 881) clearly states that "the world-system is neither an 'actor' nor a 'factor.' It is the whole historical framework within which the actors act and the factors exist." In other words, there is no "world system" which determines historical events; rather, historical events are analyzed and interpreted within a world-systems framework which has explanatory as well as normative value. The human exploitation, inequality, and

environmental degradation inherent in the social relations of the capitalist world-system are acknowledged and critiqued within the world-systems framework used in this thesis. We need to know how the system operates as a human construction so that it can be replaced with alternative social systems--and not just slogans--which make human rights and democracy, the protection of cultural and biological diversity, and real ecological sustainability the highest priorities of social action.

The Frontier, Incorporation, and the Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy

As noted above, Wallerstein considers a "frontier" to be a "phenomenon of a world-system." Wallerstein's use of the frontier concept in this context relates to the contact zone between an expanding capitalist world-economy and the social groups previously outside of its influence--mini-systems and world-empires. Wallerstein uses the term *incorporation* to describe the process by which "at least some significant production processes" of a social group and their territory becomes "integral to various of the commodity chains that constitute the ongoing division of labor of the capitalist world-economy" (Wallerstein, 1989: 130). Hopkins and Wallerstein (1987: 763, 776) state that the capitalist world-economy expands over time "by 'incorporating' zones that were formerly 'outside' it..[by] upsetting or adapting land tenure arrangements, relocating labor forces, changing

the relations of production, altering balances of social power."[20]

Based upon his studies of social change in the Southwest from a world-systems perspective, Thomas Hall (1989a: 19-20) refines Wallerstein's concept of incorporation and categorizes historical geo-cultural zones within a "continuum of incorporation" (see Figure 8):

> At the weak pole of the continuum are areas external to the world-economy and areas where contact has barely occurred. These might be called "external arenas" and "contact peripheries," respectively. In the middle range of the continuum are found "marginal peripheries," or "regions of refuge" [synonymous terms indicating areas that are only partially incorporated into a state system]. Finally, at the strong pole of the continuum are found "full-blown," or "dependent," peripheries.

STRENGTH OF INCORPORATION	NONE	WEAK ←	MODERATE	STRONG →
MARKET ARTICULATION	None	Weak	Moderate	Strong
IMPACT OF CORE ON PERIPHERY	None	Strong	Stronger	Strongest
IMPACT OF PERIPHERY ON CORE	None	Low	Moderate	Significant
TYPE OF PERIPHERY	External arena	Contact periphery	Marginal periphery or region of refuge	Full-blown periphery or dependent periphery
WORLD-SYSTEM TERMINOLOGY		External arena	Incorporation	Peripheralization

Figure 8. The continuum of incorporation and associated factors. From Thomas D. Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880*, p. 20. Reprinted with permission from University Press of Kansas, © 1989.

Hall (1989a: 24) specifically connects the concepts of incorporation and the frontier: "A frontier is where, in social and geographical space, incorporation occurs." In a recent study comparing the frontiers of the American Southwest and the La Plata region of South America, Hall (1992b: 7) states:

> Incorporation occurs at several geographical scales--local, regional, global--simultaneously and recursively. The capitalist world-system serves as the larger, though not always determinative, context for national processes. Similarly, global and national processes serve as a context for regional processes. And finally, all these serve as a context of local processes. Thus, the creation and evolution of frontiers is the result of simultaneous and recursive interactions, all which have class, ethnic, geographic, gender, economic, and political components. Finally, the different levels and different factors may work to counteract each other.

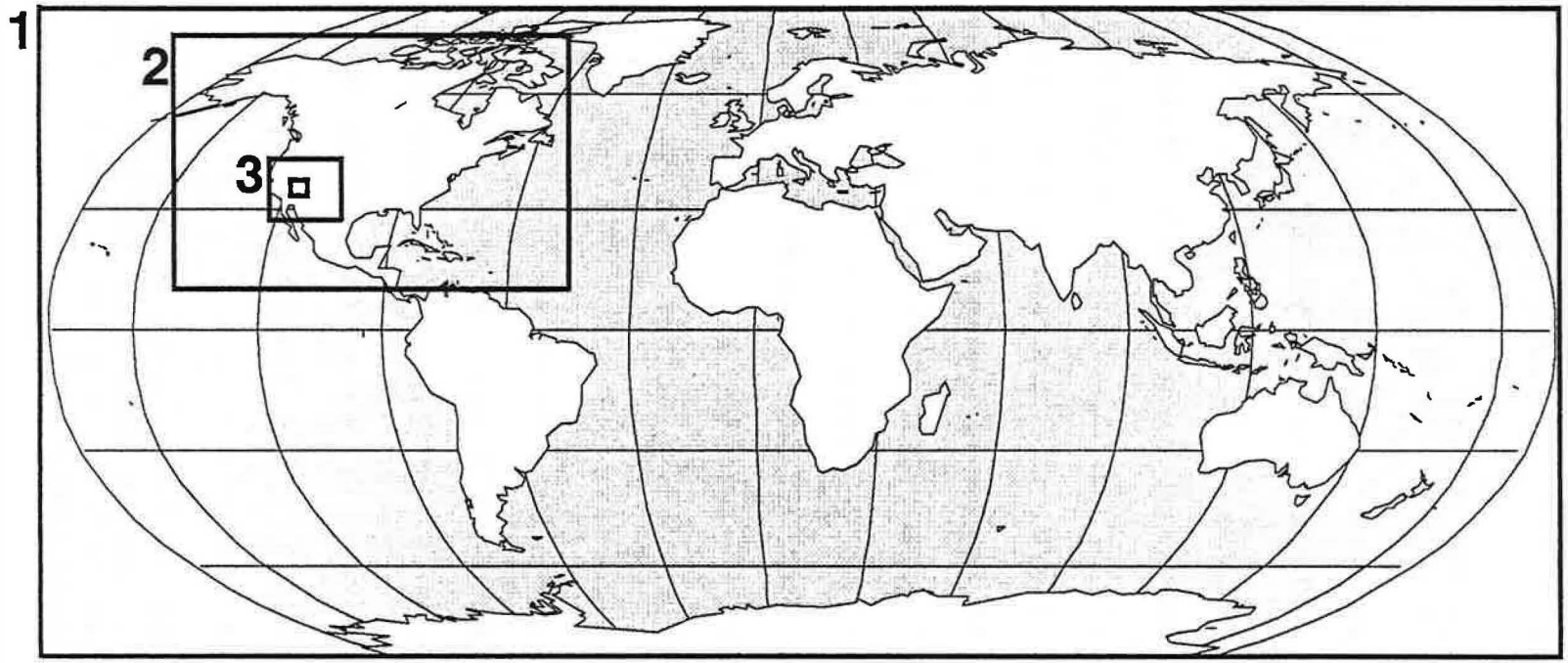
Hall succinctly pinpoints the complexity of the interrelationships within the global-local continuum. He also states that "geographic factors and processes must be given a more central role in explaining frontier processes and changes" (Hall, 1992b: 36). The analytical framework outlined in the next section will attempt to fulfill this goal as "frontier processes" are explained by linking *incorporation* with the concept of the frontier region.

Socio-Spatial Scales of Geographic Analysis

The problem of scale and regional classification has long been an issue of discussion within the field of geography (e.g., James, 1952; Whittlesey, 1954; Grigg, 1965, 1967; Minshull, 1967; Taylor 1981; Soja, 1980, 1989; Meyer et al., 1992). Although classification systems are inherently

reductionist, they can help us to understand--at least at one level of reality--a universe which is inherently interdependent and constantly in flux. It is a given that such classification systems are culture-bound; they may correspond to particular social or physical patterns, such as linguistic areas or regions with similar landforms, but these classifications merely correspond to a socially-developed perception of the earth and its inhabitants.

In the following typology (see Figure 9), three scales form a spatially differentiated "nested hierarchy" (Kasperson and Minghi, 1969: 71; Agnew, 1982: 164) which corresponds to significant periods in the eventual formation of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region between 1830 and 1882. In other words, each time/space scale is the foreground of pertinent developments, while the other scales form the background; at the same time, the interrelationships of each scale are recognized. This regional typology is specifically developed for analyzing the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region; other frontier regions, such as the Quechan (Yuman)-Euroamerican frontier region, 1769-1852 (Forbes, 1965a: 140-338) would be better understood by time/space categories pertaining to its particular geocultural histories. Although somewhat arbitrary and overlapping, each category is intended to be an internally consistent "effective scale,"--i.e., "a scale at which pattern may be comprehended or meaning attributed" (Marquardt, 1992: 107). The following sections will briefly



(1) Global----------5000 B.P.-500 B.P.

(2) Continental----------North America, 1500-1830

(3) Interregional/Territorial----------Pahrump Paiute territory within the California-Great Basin-Southwest Interregional Network, 1830-1882

Figure 9. Three scales of geographic analysis for the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region, 1830-1882.

explain the logical divisions of each scale; full references and analysis will be presented in Chapter IV.

(1) The Global Scale: 5,000 B.P. - 500 B.P.

The largest geographic area--the earth itself--and the longest time-frame constitute the global scale. The social/environmental processes which led to the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region in the nineteenth century had their beginnings (as previously noted) in the rise of imperialist state-level societies; in particular, the convergence of Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations approximately five thousand years ago (Gills and Frank, 1991). As George Berkeley had prophesied, "Westward the Course of Empire" did take its way, from Mesopotamia to North America (Gaustad, 1979: 73-77).

Although qualitatively distinct from previous world-systems of the African-Eurasian ecumene, the capitalist world-economy has been the manifestation of this "Central Civilization" (Wilkinson, 1987) for the last five hundred years, its production processes becoming increasingly global and integrated for the benefit of capital accumulation. As Karl Marx (Marx and Engels, 1972: 338) also prophesied in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848:

> The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

By the late nineteenth century, the Pahrump Valley became an "everywhere" as the global met the local on the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier.

(2) Continental Scale: North America, 1500 - 1830

The five thousand year process which led to the formation of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region in the nineteenth century began its North American phase with the first European invasion of Columbus in 1492. The analysis of the continental scale thus begins after his arrival and surveys the cultural and ecological changes set in motion across North America prior to European or Euroamerican direct contact with the Pahrump Paiute. The most important impacts were the slave trade, the fur trade, the introduction of the horse, the spread of European diseases, and the increase in indigenous conflicts stemming from the social and territorial pressures in the wake continuing Euroamerican intrusions (Malouf and Findlay, 1986; Shimkin, 1986; Denevan, 1992; Stoffle et al., 1990b).

(3) Interregional/Territorial Scale: Pahrump Paiute Territory within the Great Basin-California-Southwest Interregional Network, 1830-1882

In 1830, the establishment of a Euroamerican trade route (the Old Spanish Trail) across the territory of the Pahrump Paiute directly contested the control and use of certain areas in their own land; consequently, the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region begins at this time (see

Figure 1). Euroamerican activities along and between the Old Spanish Trail during the nineteenth century transformed the indigenous California-Great Basin-Southwest interregional network into an exploitative frontier capitalist zone comprised of Euroamericans as well as individuals from some indigenous groups. The previous centuries of indirect impacts heavily influenced the Pahrump Paiute's options for resistance in the nineteenth century.

By the mid 1870s, Euroamerican miners occupied Pahrump Paiute mountain zones while ranchers encroached upon the major springs of the indigenous core area of the Pahrump Valley (Stoffle et al. 1990b; Lingenfelter, 1986; Warren, 1980). The Euroamerican sale of the Pahrump Ranch (and spring) for $20,000 in 1882 concretely illustrated the Pahrump Paiute's loss of their historic socio-economic stewardship of their own territory. The transformation of Pahrump Spring from a centuries-old living space into a commodity outside the control of its indigenous occupants symbolically and materially signified the closing of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region. In the late nineteenth century Pahrump Valley, the local became inextricably and forcibly linked to the global.

Summary

The above historical geographic scales provide a framework for analyzing the expansion of the capitalist world-economy and the subsequent formation of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region. Wallerstein's world-

system perspective is chosen as a theoretical framework because it provides a holistic context for analyzing frontier processes within the local-global continuum. As Earle et al. (1989: 160) state:

> World-system theory promised to unify interdisciplinary approaches around venerable problems in historical and cultural geography. To wit: What happens when markedly dissimilar cultures come into sustained contact? What explains the remarkable success of expansionist Europe after A.D. 1400?

The world-systems framework is also chosen because levels of exploitation and inequality are used to define and compare the relations between social systems. While W. W. Rostow's (1990) macroscale study, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, virtually ignores how poverty and exploitation are related to capitalist development, a world-system analysis highlights such factors in the historical record because they are theoretically and socially relevant to the centuries-old cry for human liberation. Wallerstein writes (1979: 65):

> The process of analysis and the process of social transformation are not separate. They are obverse sides of one coin. Our praxis informs, indeed makes possible, our analytic frameworks. But the work of analysis is itself a central part of the praxis of change.

In the case study of Chapter IV, Hall's continuum of incorporation will be used to trace the formation of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region at each socio-spatial scale. In addition, Marx's concept of primitive accumulation will also be related to the incorporation process in North America.

CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY: FROM CENTRAL CIVILIZATION TO THE PAHRUMP PAIUTE-EUROAMERICAN FRONTIER REGION, 1830-1882

The Global Scale: 5,000 B.P. - 500 B.P.

Introduction

In the March 24, 1861, issue of the San Francisco *Alta California*, a member of the "Colorado Mining Company" described a grand vision for the future town of Potosi, a fledgling silver claim located in the southern Spring Mountains on the periphery of Pahrump Paiute territory:

> So far, the Indians are entirely friendly, and no difficulty is apprehended from them, and our proximity to Santa Clara valley will afford a market here for the Mormon produce that now has to be hauled to San Bernardino...
>
> There is no doubt that ere six months have elapsed, steamboats will convey our ores to market, and bring us our supplies almost to our mines. The Colorado is but 33 miles from here, and navigable...
>
> Situated as it is for supplies, this town will make a nucleus from which will radiate, as it were, hundreds of prospecting parties through the mountains, and an unexplored country...will be discovered and developed, that will give employment to thousands. Nor is this the only benefit to be derived. It will populate a hitherto desert waste, civilize the Indian tribes.... (San Francisco *Alta California*, 24 March 1861: p. 1, col. 5)

Although the dreams of this miner were unfulfilled, an eerie glow emanating from the direction of Las Vegas can be seen from the present scattered ruins of Potosi, providing

sardonic testimony to the power of the civilization he foresaw. After at least a thousand years of interacting only with other hunting, gathering, and horticultural societies, the Pahrump Paiute confronted the "civilizing" representatives of a large social group unlike any they had ever encountered--state-level society, or what is commonly known as "civilization." For the Southern Paiute and other indigenous nations in North America north of Mexico, the particular civilization which they first confronted was *Central Civilization* from Eurasia and Africa rather than Mesoamerican civilization. "Westward the course of empire takes its way" and "manifest destiny" implied an American culmination of a *civilizing* project with roots in the ancient Western empires of the past. It is thus important to understand where this Euroamerican civilization came from, and how it ended up in effective control of the land and people of the Pahrump Valley by the late nineteenth century.

As noted in the previous chapter, the cultural legacy of the Europeans who invaded North America can be traced to the beginnings of the African-Asian ecumene approximately 5,000 years ago in Mesopotamia and Egypt (Gills and Frank, 1991). The case study of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region accordingly begins with the global scale of analysis because the development of a particular type of human society thousands of years ago in distant parts of the biosphere would eventually encounter the Pahrump Paiute in the nineteenth century.

The global scale will be followed by the continental and interregional/territorial scales. Each socio-spatial scale should be seen as gradational and overlapping with the other scales; the intention is to emphasize the location of key events and processes at the most suitable level of abstraction. It is only at the interregional/territorial level that the contested space of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region is reached. The geocultural interactions of the two previous scales provide the historical context for the actual Euroamerican intrusion in the nineteenth century.

The Emergence of the Capitalist World-Economy From Central Civilization

Before the development of agriculture in the Near East approximately 10,000 B.P., all human societal groups were based upon hunting and gathering economies with kinship-based, socio-political authority (Barraclough, 1992: 6; Higgs, 1993: 172). Between 10,000 B.P. and 5,500 B.P., however, Near Eastern neolithic villages and "proto-cities" such as Catal Huyuk developed a new way of life based upon agriculture and animal domestication:

> Energy flows from solar radiation were channeled in chosen directions rather than following their natural channels through wild species. Minerals from soil, air, and water were directed in their cycles through crop plants and animals...(Dasmann, 1984: 38)

Beginning approximately 3,500 B.P. in Mesopotamia (and later Egypt), cities and city-states with state-level societies began to develop along the alluvial plains of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Nile (Barraclough, 1992: 16).

Such societies were characterized by urbanization, social stratification, economic surplus used to support a non-producing class, inequality and maldistribution of wealth, slavery and/or exploitation of labor, organized armies, and the exploitation of local and extra-local ecosystems to supply a ruling elite (Mumford, 1961: 39-60; Bodley, 1976: 32-34, 184-185, 200-206; Friedman and Rowlands, 1977: 250-255; Perlman, 1983; Wilkinson, 1991: 113). In a succinct definition of the state, Carneiro cites three essential criteria for the development of the above characteristics:

> "*A state is an autonomous political unit, encompassing many communities within its territory and having a centralized government with the power to draft men [sic] for war or work, levy and collect taxes, and decree and enforce laws.*"...[The latter three] are the functions that permit a society, eventually if not immediately, to manifest all the other attributes commonly associated with states. Thus they are the ones that should be used in a minimal or essential definition of the state. (Carneiro, 1981: 69) [Emphasis in original][21]

Gills and Frank (1991: 68) claim that the present capitalist world-economy is just the most recent manifestation of a single world system which originated five thousand years ago from intersocietal relations between the first state-level societies, Egypt and Mesopotamia. Similarly, Wilkinson (1991) dates the beginnings of what he terms *Central Civilization* from a synergistic fusion of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian empires by 1,500 B.P. Central Civilization expanded across the African-Eurasian ecumene to finally engulf:

> all the other civilizational networks with which it once coexisted and later collided. Now expanded to global scale, Central Civilization constitutes the single

> contemporary instance of the species 'civilization' (Wilkinson, 1991: 116).

Gills and Frank (1991: 72-73) describe the ecological/economic basis behind the expansion of urban, state-level societies:

> Economic and strategic instability and insecurity led to efforts to provide for the perpetual acquisition of all necessary natural resources...The ultimate rationale for the origins of the world system were thus embedded in the economic imperative of the urban based states. A larger and larger economic nexus was built up. Specialization within the complex division of labor deepened, while the entire nexus expanded territorially "outward." In the process, more and more ecological niches were assimilated into one interdependent economic system. Thereby, the world system destroyed and assimilated self-reliant cultures in its wake.

However, other world systems theorists, e.g., Wallerstein (1991b), Chase-Dunn and Hall (1991), and Amin (1991), agree that although the earlier civilizations were precursors to the capitalist world-system, a qualitative break from all past societies occurred during the emergence of the capitalist world-economy in the sixteenth century. Amin (1991: 352) succinctly states the difference: "the dominance of the economic replaces that of the political and ideological." In other words, wealth and power in the world-system of capitalism are maintained *primarily* through the manipulation of essentially *inhuman* economic processes (the accumulation of abstract capital) rather than by traditional political or religious/spiritual authority. The resulting social trajectory whose logical conclusion is the "commodification of everything" (Wallerstein, 1983: 16) thus

becomes an unprecedented organizing principle for a historical system.

Wallerstein refutes the position of Frank (1990, 1991) and Gills and Frank (1991) by stating:

> I do not believe that this trading network [the five thousand year old "world system" of the African-Eurasian ecumene] at any point in time was based on an axial division of labor involving integrated production processes. And therefore, for me, by axiom they did not form a single historical system, since I use that term to mean precisely something based on an axial division of labor involving integrated production processes. (Wallerstein, 1991b: 191).

Following an argument first presented by Wallerstein (1974: 348-349), Chase-Dunn and Hall provide a succinct criterion for distinguishing the difference between the capitalist world-system and world-systems of the past:

> The significant difference is that the most successful states in the modern world-system (the hegemons) do not try to create universal empires, but rather act to sustain the multicentric interstate system. In premodern systems the most successful states pursued a strategy of empire-formation by conquest. Our explanation for this difference is the predominance in the modern world-system of an alternative to the tributary strategy of accumulation--the accumulation of wealth through the production of commodities. Capitalist accumulation thrives on a politically multicentric system, and thus the most successful states, which are now *capitalist* states, act to sustain the interstate system, not to conquer it. (Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1991: 280-281)

Whereas Frank (1990) vehemently argues against any viewpoint which does not agree with his concept of a single, continuous world system for the past 5,000 years, Chase-Dunn and Hall (1991: 280) offer a reconciliation: "It is possible to acknowledge many of the continuities which Gills and Frank describe while still maintaining that the modern system is qualitatively distinct in fundamental respects." In the same

manner, it is also possible to accept Wilkinson's concept of "Central Civilization" for the purpose of tracing the geohistorical roots of the capitalist world-system before the sixteenth century. Although Wilkinson (1991) views Central Civilization as a continuous world system in which the emergence of the capitalist world-economy was not structurally significant, it will be argued in this thesis that the development of the capitalist world-system from the African-Eurasian ecumene of Central Civilization was as significant as the "coupling" of Egypt and Mesopotamia in the initial development of Central Civilization itself.

Wilkinson describes the expansion of Europeans into North America from the perspective of the westward expansion of Central Civilization from its roots in Mesopotamia and Egypt approximately 3,500 years ago. Its westward expansion from the Aegean civilization to the Roman empire was stopped at the Atlantic coast (after Rome's fall) for approximately 1,500 years. Wilkinson (1991: 140) states:

> Iberians, and then northwest Europeans, restarting the westward expansion, extend Central civilization to the New World from the late 15th century A.D., in the process reducing Mexican, Peruvian and Chibchan civilizations... European colonists carry the Central frontier with them beyond the civilizational boundaries of the engulfed New World civilizations.

Dasmann (1984: 49) summarizes the results of this process:

> ...Europe became organized along the ways of colonialism and imperialism, finally capturing the whole world in [its] network of raiding and trading. With this final development, civilization was no longer a threat only to local ecosystems, its passing not to be noticed elsewhere in the world, but a potential threat to the entire biosphere, to all life on earth.

Central Civilization versus Mesoamerica

Besides tracing the roots of European and Euroamerican expansion to the Central Civilization of the African-Eurasian ecumene, the global socio-spatial scale provides the perspective needed for analyzing the location of the Pahrump Paiute relative to the geographically closer state-level civilizations of Mesoamerica. For nearly three thousand years, various Mesoamerican states rose, competed, fell, and reorganized in regional networks in central and southern Mexico (Coe et al., 1986: 85-86).

However, by the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico between 1519 and 1521, the influence of the most powerful surviving Mesoamerican civilization, the Aztec, did not extend much beyond the Valley of Mexico. Although the Toltec empire (which collapsed circa 1200 A.D.) did extend its periphery further north than any Mesoamerican civilization, there is no evidence that any social group north of north-central Mexico was dominated as an exploited periphery of a Mesoamerican core (Diehl, 1983). It will be shown that the Pahrump Valley was effectively "closer" to the European capitalist world-system--with its Central Civilization roots stretching back five thousand years to Mesopotamia and Egypt--than to the Mesoamerican world-empires of North America.

Like the state-level societies of Central Civilization, Mesoamerican states relied on frequent warfare to conquer outlying social groups for slaves and tribute. If

the Southern Paiute had been one of the outlying hunter-gatherer-horticultural groups near central Mexico between 3200 B.P. and 1500 A.D., it is conceivable that they also would have been enslaved or exploited in a manner similar to the non-state societies who were unfortunate enough to live near the oppressive centers of North American civilizations (Hassig, 1988: 20-25; Diehl, 1983; Carneiro, 1992: 183-184). The next section will discuss in more detail the subject of Mesoamerican-Southwestern interactions in relation to the eventual formation of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region.

Mesoamerican-Southwestern Relationships

Although a New Mexican site contained specimens of Mexican-derived corn which were dated as early as 3100 B.P., the majority of the Mesoamerican influences in the Southwest (such as sedentary agriculture, ceramics, and certain cultural traits) began with the development of the Puebloan southwestern societies circa A.D. 900 (Wills, 1990: 322; LeBlanc, 1986: 105).

It has been postulated that after 700 A.D., the Virgin River Anasazi (an agricultural Puebloan group possibly contemporaneous with the Southern Paiute between 1000 A.D. to 1200 A.D.) was a stratified chiefdom which was "directly involved in the pan-Southwestern Mesoamerican 'World System' of political and economic relationships" (Rafferty 1989a: 573). In this interpretation, the Southwest is considered a

periphery of the core region of Mesoamerica (Whitecotton and Pailes, 1986: 195; Rafferty 1989a, 1989b, 1990).

Other archaeologists, however, do not believe that such connections can be reasonably proven (McGuire 1986: 244-246). Even though a down-the-line trade network may have existed between elites of the Chaco Canyon Anasazi and those of Mesoamerica (see Figure 10), it does not necessarily follow that such a trade relationship indicates that Chaco Canyon was a periphery integrated into a Mesoamerican core (Mathien, 1986: 234-236). Although the Virgin Anasazi were economically linked to other Anasazi communities to their east, such as the Kayenta and Fremont Anasazi, there is no evidence for regional economic linkages between the Virgin Anasazi and the Chaco Regional System (Lyneis, 1992: 84-89). Moreover, recent archaeological investigations at one of the largest Virgin Anasazi sites (Main Ridge) have found nothing to confirm the existence of elite social formations or elite control over long-distance trade items, such as turquoise (Lyneis, 1992).

The archaeological evidence thus far indicates that the Chaco Anasazi may have been a contact periphery (see Chapter III, p. 64) of a Mesoamerican world-system whose furthest northern extent was centered in the Toltec capital of Tula between 900 and 1200 A.D. At approximately the same time, the Virgin Anasazi may have been a contact periphery of the Chaco regional system, the largest Southwestern regional network with Mesoamerican influences.

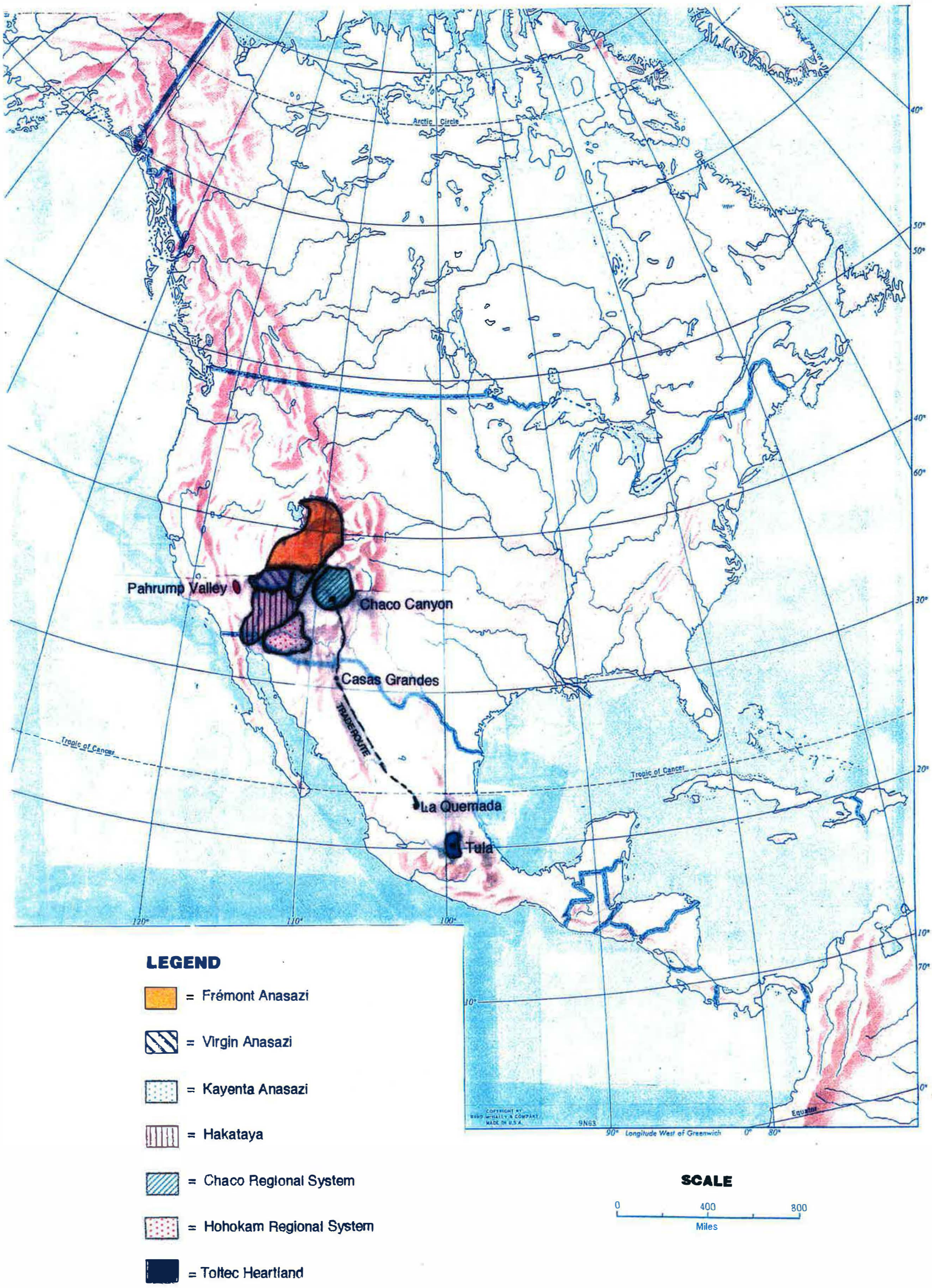


Figure 10. **Mesoamerican-Southwestern regional systems, 1000 A.D.** Base map © 1994 by Rand McNally, R.L. 94-S-189. (Lambert Azimuthal Equal Area Projection). Sources: Beazley International (ed.), *The World Atlas of Archaeology* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985), 335; Michael Coe, Dean Snow, and Elizabeth Benson (eds.), *Atlas of Ancient America* (New York: Facts On File Publications, 1986), 50, 54, 69, 133; Don D. Fowler, Robert C. Euler, and Catherine S. Fowler, *John Wesley Powell and the Anthropology of the Canyon Country* (Washington, D.C.: Geological Survey Professional Paper 670, 1969), 9; Margaret M. Lyneis, *The Main Ridge Community at Lost City: Virgin Anasazi Architecture, Ceramics, and Burials* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Anthropological Papers No. 117, 1992), 85; Albert H. Schroeder, "Prehistory: Hakataya," Pp. 100-107 in Alfonso Ortiz (ed.), *Southwest*. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 9. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 100; Claude N. Warren, "The Desert Region," Pp. 339-430 in Michael J. Moratto (ed.), *California Archaeology* (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984), 425.

In any case, the decline of the Toltecs, the Virgin Anasazi, and the Chaco Anasazi coincided approximately between 1100 and 1200 A.D.; although evidence for causality between these events is lacking, the simultaneity of the occurrences is still the subject of debate (Rafferty, 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Lyneis, 1992). A severe drought in the Southwest and Mexico during the early 12th century may have greatly influenced the abandonment and/or destruction of the Anasazi and Toltec societies (Larson and Michaelsen, 1990; Diehl, 1983: 161-165).

The role of the Southern Paiute in relation to the Virgin Anasazi territorial abandonment by 1200 A.D. is also debated (Rafferty, 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Ambler and Sutton, 1989). It is generally agreed that the Southern Numic-speaking, ancestral Southern Paiutes occupied their ethnographic territory at least by 1000 A.D. (Rusco and Myhrer, 1986: 12; Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386; Fowler et al., 1973: 73). Thus, there is an approximate two hundred year overlap between Anasazi and Southern Paiute occupation of part of the same or adjoining territories. While Ambler and Sutton (1989: 46-47) propose that the Southern Paiute and Ute militarily forced the Virgin Anasazi to relocate during this time, other archaeologists find no substantive evidence for this hypothesis (Rafferty, 1989b; Lyneis, 1990). Lyneis has recently summarized the indirect evidence which weighs towards more peaceful relations between the ancestral

Southern Paiute (or "more mobile peoples to the west") and the Virgin Anasazi to their east:

> There may have been a mutualistic relationship between Moapa Valley [Virgin] Anasazi and more mobile peoples to the west, instead of competition and hostility. Without further study, only indirect support can be brought to such a position. Support includes the pattern of scattered, undefended Anasazi households with their stores of food reserves along the edges of the Muddy River's floodplain, a continuous but diminishing quantity of Anasazi pottery in sites west of the rivers, the intermittent presence of small Anasazi communities in the Las Vegas Valley, and finally, the absence of any sense of boundary or "empty zone" dividing horticulturalists from their neighbors. (Lyneis, 1992: 79)

If peaceful relations were the case, then the ancestral Pahrump Paiute may have traded with the Virgin Anasazi; in addition, agricultural practices of the Anasazi could have also been introduced to them during this time. Although Southern Paiute and Anasazi ceramics have been recorded in the Pahrump Valley (White and Myhrer 1989), no systematic archaeological work has yet taken place there (Lyneis, 1993: personal communication).

If a co-occupance of Southern Paiute and Virgin Anasazi groups occurred in southern Nevada between 1000 A.D. and 1200 A.D., could the ancestral Southern Paiute be considered a contact periphery of the Virgin Anasazi? Although trade and cultural exchanges would have occurred at that time--the most important to the Southern Paiute being cultigens--there is no evidence that a core/periphery hierarchy and "unequal exchange" relationships existed between these two groups. Both societies were essentially

egalitarian (Kelly, 1964; Lyneis, 1992: 62), and as noted by Lyneis above, probably not antagonistic towards each other.

Yet after the drought of the early twelfth century, the Southern Paiute remained in the Virgin River region, while the Virgin Anasazi dispersed, possibly joining other Puebloan groups to the east between 1200 and 1400 A.D. (Plog, 1979: 130). The ancestral Southern Paiute were apparently not as drastically affected by the twelfth century drought because of a lower population density, more mobile and flexible living arrangements and social organization, and less dependence on agriculture as the primary means of food procurement (Larson and Michaelsen, 1990: 228). Archaeological evidence indicates that the Virgin Anasazi greatly increased their population and agricultural dependence during a very wet period between 1060 to 1120 A.D. The severe thirty year drought beginning in 1120 A.D. may have left abandonment of the area as a favored choice in difficult circumstances:

> The intensification of subsistence activities along the Virgin and Muddy rivers may have caused an increasing degradation of the environment, promoting soil erosion, salinization, and loss of fertility. It is our position, therefore, that drought did lead to abandonment, but only because population growth during the preceding 150 years of favorable conditions had produced such an intensive use of available resources. Adaptive strategies that had been employed during earlier droughts were no longer effective (Larson and Michaelsen, 1990: 243).

According to archaeological evidence cited by Lyneis (1992: 77), the ancestral Southern Paiute expanded into the more favorable riverine sites after the Virgin Anasazi dispersed to more favorable sites further east. After 1400

A.D., all Puebloan sites of the Greater Southwest were abandoned (i.e., the Verde Valley, Casas Grandes, etc.), leaving the Hopi, Zuñi, and upper Rio Grande communities as the only surviving Puebloan groups at the time of European contact in the early sixteenth century (Kintigh, 1990: 267).

Summary

After 1400 A.D., Mesoamerican influences and trade in the Greater Southwest became greatly reduced. The Aztec sphere of influence or long distance trade did not extend to the Greater Southwest in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Southern Paiute trade networks between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries extended from Southern California to the Hopi region, but not south to Mexico (Hughes and Bennyhoff, 1986: 254-255; Fowler and Fowler, 1971a: 102). Consequently, there would be no interaction between the Southern Paiute (and thus the Pahrump Paiute) and a state-level civilization until the Spanish Empire's sixteenth century expansion into the Americas brought the capitalist world-system in its wake.

As represented by the Spanish Empire, Central Civilization reached North America after three hundred years of the decline of Mesoamerican influence in the Greater Southwest, e.g., the dissolution of the Anasazi, Hohokam, and the Casas Grandes societies by 1400 A.D. (Hall, 1986: 393). Far flung trade networks and distant cultural influences--such as the trade in obsidian and spread of agricultural knowledge and seeds--are not in themselves constitutive of

being exploitative, core/periphery world-system interactions. They constitute what Chase-Dunn and Hall (1991) call "intersocietal networks" and are not necessarily based upon unequal trade relations. Such an intersocietal network seems to describe Southern Paiute relations with their neighbors and regional trading partners before the Euroamerican invasion.

It may only have been a matter of time before a renewed Mesoamerican expansion of empire may have incorporated the Greater Southwest into a dependent periphery. On the other hand, the cultural trajectory of exploitation, tribute, slavery, and social stratification may have continuously been defeated by its internal and external victims until the empires could have possibly been transformed into socially and environmentally-sustainable communities. In any case, the anthropologist Stanley Diamond explains the process which is not peculiar to specific "races" or geographic areas, and which, sooner or later, sows the seeds of its own destruction:

> In the beginning, conquest and domestic oppression were indistinguishable. As the earliest societies that began to consolidate as states expanded territorially, local peoples were conquered and incorporated as lower-class subjects or slaves into the evolving polity. We find this pattern everywhere--in the Nile Valley some 5,000 years ago; in England following the Norman invasion; among the Incas of the Peruvian highlands; in the valley of Mexico prior to the Spanish conquest; in the coastal forests of West Africa in the sixteenth century. Imperialism and colonialism are as old as the state; they define the political process. (Diamond, 1974: 5)

But as we know, Columbus's voyage and the Spanish conquest of Mexico in 1521 forever preempted the working out

of purely indigenous North American inter-societal possibilities. To understand the vast cultural and ecological impacts which would work their way towards the Pahrump Paiute after 1492, we must adjust the focus from the global to the continental scale of analysis.

Continental Scale: 1500 - 1830

Northwestern Europe and the Consolidation of the Capitalist World-Economy

Blaut (1989, 1992, 1993) offers a cogent analysis which argues that in the sixteenth century, northwestern Europe--rather than other more "advanced" regions of the African-Eurasian ecumene--became the core of the capitalist world system because of its geographical advantage in reaching the Americas via the Atlantic trade winds and westerlies. Blaut (1992: 53) summarizes this position:

> Africa, Asia, and Europe shared equally in the rise of capitalism prior to 1492. After 1492, Europe took the lead because of that continent's location near America and because of the immense wealth obtained through colonialism in America and elsewhere...

Colonialism in the Americas meant super-exploitation of the indigenous peoples and a continuous flow of large amounts of gold and silver into Europe. This gave western Europe, and especially the rising merchant class, a greater advantage "in their competition with the oriental traders who previously had dominated large networks of long-distance trade--the Europeans could offer better prices for all goods in all markets" (Amin, 1992: 82). In addition, the massive

enslavement of captured West African peoples contributed greatly to the wealth of European elites (Blaut, 1992: 43).

As the sixteenth century progressed, the initial advantage of Spain began to be challenged by other emerging northern European nation-states, i.e., England, France, and the Netherlands. The Hapsburgs gained ascendency to the Spanish throne after 1516, but their goal of old-style empire failed from military, political and financial overextension in Europe and the Americas. By 1557, the Hapsburg attempt at empire rapidly collapsed as Charles V abdicated the throne and the empire was partitioned between the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs (Garraty and Gay, 1972: 546-555; Wallerstein, 1974: 179-183; Barraclough, 1992: 72). Wallerstein explains the resulting core/semi-periphery/ periphery dynamics within the emerging capitalist world-economy:

> Once the Hapsburg dream of world-empire was over...the capitalist world-economy was an established system that became almost impossible to unbalance...Each of the states or potential states within the European world-economy was quickly in the race to bureaucratize, to raise a standing army, to homogenize its culture, to diversify its economic activities. By 1640, those in northwest Europe had succeeded in establishing themselves as the core states; Spain and the northern Italian city-states declined into being semi-peripheral; northeastern Europe and Iberian America had become the periphery... (Wallerstein, 1979: 26)

The almost constant wars, conflicts, and religious and economic rivalries within the African-Eurasian ecumene proved to be a training ground for the expansion of Central Civilization into the rest of the world. By the time of

Columbus, Spain and Portugal had already reconquered the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims and had begun imperialistic conquests into North Africa and the Canary Islands. The geographic position of these Atlantic-bordering states would have only remained an unused potential if their seafaring technological capability had not been combined with the institutions and ideology which continued to support conquest and colonization (Meinig, 1986: 4-11). On the other hand, Wolf describes how the *conquistador* tradition (which proved to be brutally successful for the initial invasions) became a liability for the Spanish in relation to the new terms of the capitalist world-economy:

> Warfare and seizure of people and resources, rather than commercial and industrial development, became the dominant mode of social reproduction. In this perspective the conquest of the New World represents but a prolongation of the *Reconquista* within the Iberian peninsula itself. The influx of silver from the New World from the sixteenth century on still further reduced Spanish industrial development through rising prices and inflation, rendering it uncompetitive with the industrial products of the Netherlands. (Wolf, 1982: 113)

Spanish Impacts in North America--Disease

The decline of Spain as a world power explains the slow growth of Spanish colonization in the Americas between the sixteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. By the mid-sixteenth century, Spain had conducted a few expeditions into the Southwest and the Southeast of what was to become the United States. However, its claim to this vast portion of North America (including, of course, the Pahrump Valley) was "a geopolitical frontier of the imagination that

existed as an abstraction on Spanish maps and documents" (Weber, 1992: 12).

Yet for three centuries, Spain would create devastating impacts on the lands and peoples which it did colonize as well as indirect impacts throughout the Americas; these events would later pave the way for further encroachments by other European powers, especially England and France. Within the overall context of genocide, totalitarian conquest, land theft, and enslavement (Ortiz, 1992), perhaps the most significant impact of the Spanish upon the North American continent was the introduction of European diseases. The indigenous peoples of the Americas had been isolated for thousands of years from the Eurasian pathogens which coevolved between people and domesticated livestock. Over many generations (and epidemics, such as the Black Death of the 1340s), the peoples of Central Civilization built up a hard won immunity (Merbs, 1989: 50-51; Butzer, 1992: 351). Denevan (1992: 7) states:

> Despite the disagreement about the size of the New World Indian population, there is little doubt about the massive and rapid drop in that population in the sixteenth century. The discovery of America was followed by possibly the greatest demographic disaster in the history of the world.

This demographic decline, to which smallpox was a major contributor, helped decimate the indigenous populations of central Mexico and Peru, thus easing the Spanish conquest in those regions and allowing the invasion to proceed north (Crosby, 1972: 35-63; 1986: 199-203; Lovell, 1992: 429-431).

Although European diseases may have sometimes preceded direct contact with the Spanish, the effects of European pathogens on pre-contact southwestern societies--including the Southern Paiute--is little known and a source of current debate. For instance, Dobyns (1983: 8-14; 1989a: 171-174; 1989b: 294) claims that a smallpox epidemic between 1520 and 1524 spread from (what was to become) central Mexico to Chile and all of the United States, killing approximately 75 percent of the indigenous population. However, other scholars criticize Dobyns for making broad assertions and extrapolations from nonexistent or dubious evidence (e.g., Henige, 1989; Reff, 1987, 1989; Snow and Lanphear, 1988; Weber, 1992: 372, n.57).

Even though the sixteenth century spread of European pathogens into North America remains controversial, most scholars agree that devastating epidemics did occur north of Mexico beginning in the seventeenth century, concomitant with Spanish colonization and increased trade with Mexico (Snow and Lanphear, 1988; Reff, 1987, 1991). It is even postulated by Reff (1990) that the latter Puebloan communities of the Southwest (Pueblo IV), which were thought to have been abandoned by the 1400s, may actually have been decimated by European diseases during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. (Reff, 1990). Needless to say, Reff's theory has also been challenged because of the lack of verifiable data (Wilcox, 1990: 310-311).

Evidence for the spread of European diseases during the pre-contact period (pre-1776) in the Great Basin is especially lacking. Fowler and Fowler (1981: 150-153) speculate that diseases which infected indigenous California groups during the eighteenth century could have spread to Great Basin peoples through long-established trade networks between these regions. However, the existing low population density of gathering-hunting peoples in the Great Basin and the Southwest may have militated against the spread of these diseases by indirect means (Leland, 1986: 609; Reff, 1987: 705).[22]

European Competition and Spanish Colonization

From their initial *entrada* in central Mexico in 1521, the Spanish established a colony in New Mexico in 1598, and nearly two centuries later, in California in 1769 (Hall, 1989a: 75-76; Hornbeck, 1983: 40-41). As Spain's descent into semi-peripheral status slowed its pace of colonization, its weakened state also encouraged competition for Spanish-claimed lands by other European powers, i.e., England, the Netherlands, France, and Russia. Ultimately, the threat of the Russians in northern California led Spain to establish its presidio-mission-pueblo colonization program after 1769 (Hornbeck, 1983: 44; Almaguer, 1977: 8-10).

The establishment of colonies in California provided the impetus for renewed Spanish exploration between the Pacific Coast and its established colonies in New Mexico. While trying to find a trade route between New Mexico and

California, the Domínguez-Escalante expedition in 1776 probably became the first non-indigenous group to enter the Great Basin and the territory of the Southern Paiute (Cline, 1963: 43; Malouf and Findlay, 1986; 501; Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386). Although the expedition failed to reach California, it did provide information for later Spanish and Mexican explorations. In 1829-1830, a trading caravan led by Antonio Armijo finally linked California and New Mexico. A variant of his route would later become known as the Old Spanish Trail, a pack trail (with various forks) which would continue to be used for the next twenty years (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 155-194). Since the devastating impacts of the Mexican and American use of the Old Spanish Trail occur at the interregional/territorial scale during the nineteenth century, these effects will be detailed in that section.

Spanish Decline and the Anglo-American Incorporation of Eastern North America

After a series of wars in Europe and throughout the world, Britain achieved core status within the capitalist world-economy by forging a social structure which helped form and in turn would be formed by the socio-economic requirements which facilitated the accumulation of capital. Kirkpatrick Sale states a few of the reasons why Britain would be at the forefront of North American conquest during the seventeenth century:

> Geography...had provided it with considerable insular protection...Thus England's was a society with much more dispersed power than elsewhere in Europe, in the hands both of the landed aristocracy and the rising new sector

> of rich farmers, wealthy merchants, and successful manufacturers...Other attributes [also predisposed Britain for a successful settler conquest of North America]: a great "surplus" population, forced off the land by the sixteenth-century enclosure movement...a large increase in Protestant immigrants who had been forced out of mainland Catholic countries, many of them artisans and skilled laborers, with no special ties to England and no barriers to overseas resettlement; and a religious ideology called Protestantism that not only removed impediments that hampered nascent capitalists elsewhere, but positively honored credit, profit, interest, and even usury, and held virtuous thrift, industry, wealth, and--it is undeniable--exploitation. (Sale, 1990: 265-267)

As the Spanish empire declined, France became the chief rival of Britain for world hegemony. After the British defeat of France in the Seven Years War (the French and Indian War in North America), European consolidation and expansion across mid-latitude North America would be dominated by the British and their colonies, the future United States (Agnew, 1987: 24-25). Meinig explains the significance of the new nation-state in North America:

> The United States was a successor to three hundred years of European imperial expansion in North America. The marks of northwest Europe--of its peoples; of commercial capitalism, its chief instrument of expansion; of a diversifying Protestantism, its great energizing sociopolitical movement--were everywhere upon it. But the United States was obviously something more than a federation...of Protestant Europeans...The basic dynamics of American expansion were unprecedented. Never had so many people acting in their own private interest under conditions of great political freedom had access to such a large area of fertile lands...; and never had such a wide array of private interests been further motivated by a deeply emotional corporate interest to act as a unified body of people with a mission to expand relentlessly, subordinating any other people that stood in its way. (Meinig, 1986: 417-418)

It is thus not surprising that the first people of European ancestry to reach Southern Paiute territory after the

Domínguez and Escalante expedition of 1776 was Jedediah Smith and his party of American fur trappers in 1826.

British hegemony in the developing capitalist world-economy was built upon the acquisition of the major portion of the capital resulting from the successful incorporation of regions in the world which were previously unknown (such as the Americas), or were outside the capitalist division of labor, i.e., "the Indian subcontinent, the Ottoman empire, the Russian empire, and West Africa" (Wallerstein, 1989: 129). While the latter four zones were contact peripheries (external arenas in Wallerstein's typology) of the capitalist world-economy, the North American continent was previously an external arena unknown to Central Civilization.

The incorporation of the North American external arena was accomplished by conquering each Native American territory and destroying each indigenous subsistence economy in hundreds of frontier regions. Meinig writes:

> This encounter can be seen as a vast collision of cultures that produced chaos: a long period of harassment, expulsions, wanton killings, warfare, destruction, punishments, executions, enslavements and subjugations that sooner or later engulfed every seaboard region and radiated ever more deeply into the continent. (Meinig, 1986: 206)

The incorporation process can be compared to the initial stages of capitalist *primitive accumulation*, the historical process which "clears the way for the capitalist system" by "divorcing the producer from the means of production" (Marx, 1967: 714; also see Luxemburg, 1951: 368-385; Frank, 1978: 239-248; Perelman, 1983). The logic of capitalist

incorporation negated even the *potential* of a sustainable coexistence with the indigenous peoples; the commodification of Native American land and the integration of native resources into an expanding capitalist world-economy by *necessity* destroyed indigenous means of subsistence. William Cronon explains:

> The landscape of New England thus increasingly met not only the needs of its inhabitants for food and shelter but the demands of faraway markets for cattle, corn, fur, timber, and other goods...New England ecology was transformed as the region became integrated into the emerging capitalist economy of the North Atlantic. Capitalism and environmental degradation went hand in hand. (Cronon, 1983: 167, 161)

The consequences of environmental degradation and the morality of conquest, however, became non-issues when compared to the British settlers' new dreams of expansion after independence. As the United States incorporated Native American lands, its economic strength and quest for ever more territory also continued to grow (Van Alstyne, 1960). The rapid westward expansion of an aggressive nation-state fueled by indigenous resources as well as by resources of the world-economy would directly affect the autonomy of the Southern Paiute by the early nineteenth century.

The Introduction of the Horse, the Slave Trade, and the Fur Trade

In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the Southern Paiute began to experience the indirect, negative effects of the regional convergence of Spanish (later Mexican) and American intrusions. The introduction of the horse, the slave trade, and the fur trade were three

early, interrelated Euroamerican influences upon the indigenous societies of North America which would directly contribute to the later formation of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region.[23]

The Spanish introduction of the horse into New Mexico was itself linked to slavery:

> Juan de Oñate's establishment of Spanish rule in New Mexico, 1597-1610, was facilitated by the importation of several hundred horses and, later, by the extensive use of Indian, especially Pueblo, slaves as herdsmen. Horses were rapidly dispersed by Spanish settlement, by escaped Indians, and by being captured by unconquered tribes. It is likely that Ute captives obtained knowledge of horses by 1637-1641...and that Utes escaping Spanish peonage first spread horses north.... (Shimkin, 1986: 517)

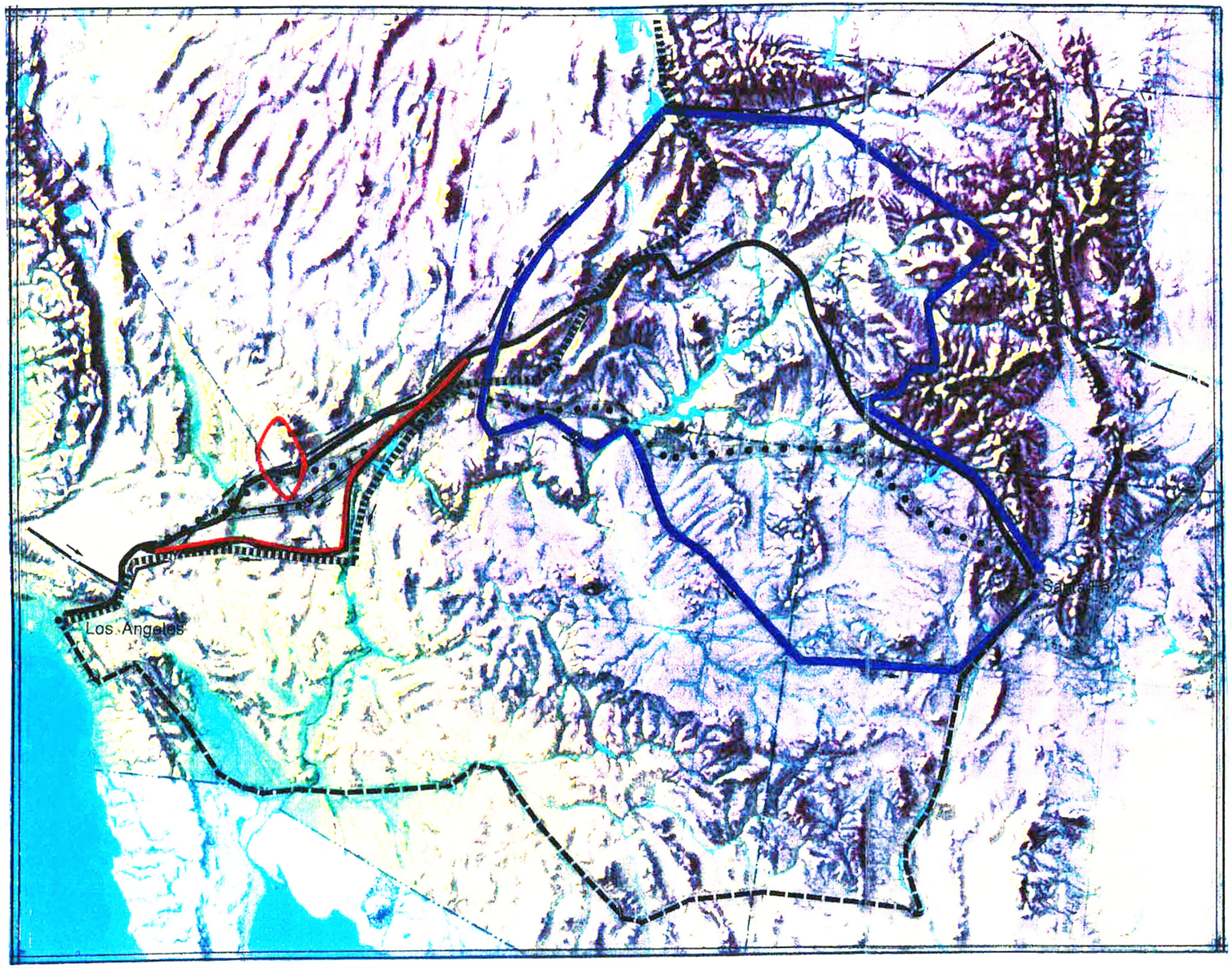
In the next two centuries, the Utes became integrated into the exploitative frontier economy of the Spanish. While the Southern Paiute essentially remained an external arena at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by this time the Utes had become incorporated as a marginal periphery of Spanish New Mexico. The Spanish created new trade relations with Utes and other Native American groups which placed the highest exchange values on slaves (especially women and children), horses, furs, and guns (Shimkin, 1986; Callaway et al., 1986: 354; Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386; Hall, 1989a: 68-69).

Between the late 1700s and the early 1800s, Southern Paiute women, children, and men began to be captured by mounted Utes and Navajos for the slave market in New Mexico (Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386). Because of their distance from New Mexico and Ute and Navajo territory (as well as

their location within the arid Mojave Desert), Paiutes living in the Pahrump Valley may not have been directly affected by the slave raids until after the establishment of the Old Spanish Trail during the 1830s.

Although furs (especially beaver) were among the commodities traded between the Utes and the New Mexican-based Spanish during the eighteenth century, the Southwestern fur trade rapidly intensified during the 1820s as American trappers expanded their operations into what by then had become claimed as the independent state of Mexico. The American trappers' push into the Southwest was a continuation of the United States' westward commercial expansion after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Even though the central Mexican government was wary of American intrusion, in 1821 the local merchants of New Mexico welcomed the establishment of the Santa Fé Trail as a new source of manufactured goods and commercial opportunities (see Figure 11). At the same time, the Santa Fé Trail stimulated the overall economic development of the United States. The Santa Fé trade especially benefitted Missouri, allowing it to become a financially successful trade hub and a "jumping-off place" for western-bound wagon trains during the 1840s (Hall, 1989a: 150-154; Meinig, 1993: 72).

Meanwhile, fur trappers used Taos and Santa Fé as a base for trapping activities in the upper Rio Grande and Colorado River watersheds (Wolf, 1982: 176; Meinig, 1993: 58-71; Hall, 1989a: 151). Weber explains how American trappers



LEGEND

Old Spanish Trail (North Fork). . . . .
Old Spanish Trail (South Fork),
[Wolfskill-Yount Route, 1830-1831]. . .
John C. Frémont Route (1843-1844) . . .
Gila River Trail. . . . . .
Santa Fe Trail. . . . . .
Domínguez-Escalante Route (1776). . . .
Jedediah Smith Route (1826-1827). . . .
Antonio Armijo Route (1829-1830),
[Hafen and Hafen] . . . . . .
Antonio Armijo Route (1829-1830),
[Warren]. . . . . .
Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican
Frontier Region (1830-1882) . . . . . .

SCALE

0 75 150 300

MILES

One inch equals approximately 75 miles

ELEVATION TINTS

Figure 11. Historic Trails of the Southwest. Base map adapted from United States shaded relief map, Richard Edes Harrison, cartographer, United States Geological Survey (1969), Albers Equal Area Projection. Sources: LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles*. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1993. Originally published by Arthur H. Clark, 1954), map following p. 9; David Hornbeck and David L. Fuller, *California Patterns: A Geographical and Historical Atlas*. (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing, 1983), p. 64; Charles L. Camp (ed.), *George C. Yount and his Chronicles of the West*. (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1966), map, inside back cover; Keith Myhrer et al., *Archaeology of the Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road, Technical Report 17*. (Bureau of Land Management, Las Vegas District, 1990), p. 5, 10-11. Charles Preuss, *Map of Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Fremont*. (Washington, D.C., 1848).

helped incorporate the region into the capitalist world-economy:

> Prior to 1821, Mexican frontiersmen had scarcely begun to exploit local fur resources, largely for want of markets. Americans, on the other hand, had well-developed channels to domestic and European markets. Since the seventeenth century, French, British, and their American offspring had scoured much of eastern North America in search of furs to supply voracious European markets where demand far outstripped supply, due in no small part to the male conceit of wearing top hats made of beaver fur. (Weber, 1982: 130)

In 1826, Jedediah Smith led a fur trapping expedition from the Bear River (in what is now southwestern Idaho) to Southern Paiute territory along the Virgin River, and then with the help of Vanyume guides, crossed the Chemehuevi territory of the Mojave Desert to California (Brooks, 1989: 91) [see Figure 11]. In this journey, Smith linked the well-known Ute-New Mexican trapper and trade routes with a route across the Mojave Desert to California. His use of the Mojave Trail helped establish a southern variant of the Old Spanish Trail, later used by the Wolfskill-Yount party and others (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 109-129; 140-153). In 1827, Smith made a high profit by selling California-bought horses at the trappers' rendezvous site at Bear Lake, thus stimulating the future trade (and theft) of horses along the Old Spanish Trail (Weber, 1982: 101).

Summary

By the time Antonio Armijo completed the first recorded journey across a variant of the Old Spanish trail in 1830, the capitalist world-economy had incorporated nearly half the indigenous territory of mid-latitude North America.

The incorporation process was uneven, as frontier regions opened and closed at different times, each with their own regional legacies of resistance and conquest. Yet even though a "middle ground" (to use Richard White's [1991] phrase) of Euroamerican-Native American parity sometimes existed in frontier regions for decades and even centuries, indigenous North American societies were no match for the lethal diseases, military technology, and conquest culture of Central Civilization, especially in its industrial capitalist form.

The European expansion across North America after 1492 was accomplished by various economic, political, juridical, and cultural practices which eventually seized control of all Native American lands. Many Europeans gradually stabilized their presence in North America by integrating new markets into indigenous trade networks:

> Indian economies were being drawn into new trading relations with European merchants....Precontact trading networks facilitated the movement of furs and European goods along known transport corridors; these in a sense simply expanded their repertoire to include new bundles of goods. Disruption of status systems in the wake of epidemic depopulation may well have contributed to the willingness of Indians to participate in the trade. (White and Cronon, 1988: 422)

Indigenous societies were not prepared, however, for a seemingly endless invasion of people from a densely populated continent who would transform their ancient trade routes into corridors of conquest.

In addition, the non-state, more egalitarian social structures of Native American societies (north of Mexico)

contributed to the difficulty of forging a united resistance against centralized European states whose social structures had institutionalized mass-scale warfare with sophisticated military technology:

> Indians lived within clan-structured local polities in which authority was diffuse, and each unit existed amidst a complex pattern of traditional relations with other Indian groups...The few large confederations were fragile associations dependent upon recurrent internal negotiation and adjustment. Thus in the unprecedented crisis of encounter with aggressive Europeans there was little possibility of concerted resistance at any scale and almost unlimited possibilities for internal division and ready disruption of traditional relations. (Meinig, 1986: 206)

Soon after the Armijo expedition returned to New Mexico in 1830, President Andrew Jackson helped push Congressional approval of the Indian Removal Act, thus sanctioning the expulsion of all Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River. The Act eventually led to the "Trail of Tears" in which 55 percent of the Cherokee people died in a forced march to what was to become Oklahoma (Rogin, 1975: 206-248; Meinig, 1993: 78-103; Churchill, 1993: 42-47). The Act signified that American occupation of North America would not tolerate an ethnically pluralistic, mixed social economy of indigenous peoples and Euroamericans. The discovery of gold in Cherokee territory, the lucrative business of land speculation after land theft ("without the settlement of the west [the speculator's] land would not increase in value" [Rogin, 1975: 81]), and the desire for new land to expand the cotton plantation slave economy were all

sociopolitical and economic factors which used racism as a means to expedite free market genocide:

> Indian dispossession is part of the history of American capitalism...Jackson and other political figures, freeing Indian land for the commodity economy, initiated a market revolution...The symbiosis between developed east and virgin west not only fueled American economic development; it also created the psychology and ideology which sanctified capitalist hegemony. Wilderness expansion established a heroic American identity transcending the petty transactions of market self-interest. Indian destruction generated a powerful nationalism...Primitive accumulation is the heroic stage of capitalism, and it found its hero in Jackson. (Rogin, 1975: 13)

As the first Americans penetrated into Southern Paiute territory in the beginning decades of the nineteenth century, the pattern of conquest had been set: "After the Jacksonian era there could be little doubt about the eventual complete subjugation of all Indians to American jurisdiction on American terms" (Meinig, 1993: 179).

"American terms" were also in store for the rival Euroamerican nation-state of Mexico, which inherited the Spanish claim to western North America. Independence from Spain did nothing to change the peripheral position of Mexico; in contrast, the independence of the United States from the capitalist core of Britain helped propel it from peripheral colonial status to a dynamic semi-periphery of the capitalist world-economy (Wallerstein, 1979: 27-29). While Mexico inherited an overextended and politically divided nation-state from the declining Spanish empire, the United States experimented with a form of democracy which helped facilitate elite power without the fetters of an aristocracy.

After 1830, the indirect Euroamerican impacts within the nation-state of Mexico would become direct impacts for the Pahrump Paiute as American encroachment quickly increased. After three centuries of Euroamerican-Native American encounters in other parts of North America, the previous advantage of distance from Euroamerican centers of expansion finally eroded for the Southern Paiute of the Pahrump Valley; for the first time, Pahrump Paiute territorial autonomy would become directly challenged as indigenous trade routes between California and the Southwest became transformed into corridors of conquest. The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region "opened" in the footsteps of these ancient paths.

Interregional/Territorial Scale: 1830 - 1882

The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican Frontier Region

During the nineteenth century, two very different sets of social systems developed a very complex arena of confrontation in the Great Basin. Indigenous societies such as the Pahrump Paiute could no longer depend on their customary means of living--gathering, hunting, and farming within the Pahrump Valley and surrounding mountain ranges. Euroamerican intrusions severely eroded the traditional economy of the Great Basin peoples as natural resources were destroyed or became off limits to their indigenous caretakers (Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386-387).

On the other hand, Euroamericans in North America saw new opportunities on the exciting fringes of their known world. The indigenous people were simply in the way of "civilized progress." Whether individual Euroamericans were sympathetic, fair, generous, or kind to the Native Americans with whom they came into contact was irrelevant to the overall trajectory of Euroamerican expansion.

The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region was characterized by hundreds of isolated encounters between individuals and groups rather than extended military conflicts and massacres. While the world-view and myths of the Pahrump Paiute led them to try and continue their old ways in their homeland, the world-view and myths of the Euroamericans led them to not only leave their own homelands but to justify--one way or another--the taking of the homelands of others. This Euroamerican way of relating to new lands and peoples was not born in North America but rather had its roots in the state-level societies of Central Civilization. Despite their different cultural backgrounds, the actions of Antonio Armijo and Jedediah Smith were united in a European-derived, socio-economic network held together by what has been termed the capitalist world-economy. An unofficial account of the Armijo expedition published in the Mexican *Registro Oficial* states: "It is hoped that in other trips a shorter road may be discovered and that from this discovery great usefulness will accrue to this territory and to all the Mexican nation." (Hafen, 1947: 91). Although

Americans cultivated an anti-Hispanic racism as an ideological tool in the conquest of western North America, both the Mexicans and the Americans (of all classes) could unquestioningly profess superiority to the gathering, hunting, and farming societies who stood in the way of "civilized" progress.

In contrast to state-level social systems, the indigenous societies of the Great Basin lived in essentially autonomous, localized cultural systems linked to each other through non-hierarchical intersocietal networks (Ford, 1983; Davis, 1961; Stoffle et al., 1990b: 29-34). Although there were indigenous territorial conflicts, amity-enmity alliances, and other forms of hostilities, wholesale conquests of land and enslavements of people did not occur (Davis, 1961; White, 1974; Chase-Dunn et al., 1992). Unlike the capitalist mode of production of the Euroamericans, the "domestic mode of production" (Sahlins, 1972: 41-148) of the indigenous groups did not economically necessitate--or encourage through ideology or myth--a continual conquest of other people and their lands.

After the opening of the Old Spanish Trail in 1829-1830, however, frontier capitalist interregional relations between California and New Mexico became inextricably linked with indigenous interregional networks partially modified by the forced Euroamerican intrusions. Although the indigenous intersocietal networks had been infiltrated and transformed in California and New Mexico for the last three hundred

years, the extremely arid Mojave Desert/Great Basin location of the Pahrump Paiute created a buffer zone against sustained Euroamerican intrusion before the Spanish Trail activities of the 1830s. Once the trail was opened, the Pahrump Paiute rapidly descended from external arena to a contact periphery in which even other indigenous groups (such as the Ute) exploited the Southern Paiute for goods obtained from the Euroamericans. Thus, the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region began within the context of the breakdown of a larger, indigenous interregional network. Figure 12 summarizes the incorporation process of the Pahrump Paiute (at the interregional/territorial scale) which will be discussed in the following sections.[24]

For the next half-century, the Pahrump Paiute would utilize various means of resistance and survival strategies as they tried to retain autonomy in their own territory, even as territories all around them became conquered. The disintegration of the indigenous interregional network and its partial incorporation into the frontier economy of the Euroamericans was a significant factor in the reduction of Pahrump Paiute local autonomy. Almost paradoxically, local autonomy was to a certain extent dependent on an intersocietal network which would (for the most part) respect and reinforce the autonomy of each society (see Spielmann, 1986).

The following sections explain the capitalist incorporation process--primitive accumulation--by describing

CONTINUUM OF INCORPORATION: PAHRUMP PAIUTE - EUROAMERICAN FRONTIER REGION, 1830-1882	
TIME PERIOD	INCORPORATION OF PAHRUMP PAIUTE--INTERREGIONAL/TERRITORIAL SCALE
1000 A.D. - 1830	EXTERNAL ARENA: Sociopolitical autonomy within the Pahrump Paiute core area; indirect impacts (i.e., European expansion into North America, the spread of European diseases, and the diffusion of horses and guns to other indigenous groups) occurring simultaneously at global and continental scales. No contact with Euroamericans.
1830 - 1860	CONTACT PERIPHERY: Period of uneven but sustained contact with Euroamericans. Linear zones of Pahrump Paiute territory used as Euroamerican expansion corridors of primitive accumulation to supply Euroamerican colonized regions in California and New Mexico. By the 1840s, slave-raiding of Southern Paiute women and children, Mormon colonization in Utah and southern Nevada, the California Gold Rush, and the consolidation of southwestern North America within the claimed territory of the United States all contributed to the rapid reduction of Pahrump Paiute autonomy.
1860 - 1875	MARGINAL PERIPHERY: Period of semi-autonomy with more territorial zones in Euroamerican control. Diffusion of Euroamerican miners from California and northern Nevada leads to the establishment of Ivanpah in one of the southern ranges of the Pahrump Paiute core area. Domestic mode of production still predominant, but must be supplemented by compensatory food or goods from the Euroamerican intruders. Peaceful trade, work as laborers or guides, raiding, or combinations of all of the above become necessary for survival. Indigenous interregional trade network deteriorates further as the U.S. military presence in the Mojave Desert increases.
1875 - 1882	DEPENDENT PERIPHERY: Ethnoterritorial control of core area is curtailed as Euroamerican encroachment of major springs and hunting and gathering areas becomes a permanent seizure of land. Euroamerican mining and ranching activities utilize semi-coerced indigenous labor. Land becomes commoditized and is sold to another Euroamerican at the end of the period. Pahrump Paiute maintain some degree of autonomy within their occupied territory by living part-time in non-Euroamerican areas while finding seasonal employment on Euroamerican ranches.

Figure 12. Continuum of incorporation: Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region, 1830-1882.

the multi-cultural encounters which characterized the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region. Although the focus will be on the interregional/territorial level because of the location at which the direct confrontations occurred, local actions will be explained within the global and continental contexts of the capitalist world-system during this time period. Hall (1989: 237) summarizes the multi-scaled context of intersocietal interactions during the incorporation process:

> At least three levels of social change shaped the incorporation of the Southwest into the European world-system. First, the evolving world-economy brought internal changes to the states that had imperial control of the southwest. Second, the actions of these states produced changes in the indigenous nonstate societies as they were incorporated. Third, the interaction between and among nonstate societies shaped the incorporation process.

The Capitalist World-Economy versus Indigenous Intersocietal Networks

Despite Britain's loss of its colonies in temperate North America (finally relinquishing its claim in the Oregon country in 1846), it remained the hegemonic core nation-state in the capitalist world-economy for most of the nineteenth century (Bergesen and Schoenberg, 1980: 248). At the same time, regardless of the widespread sweep of political revolutions, the new political states in the Western Hemisphere still occupied a dependent position within the world-system and were economically dominated by Great Britain. However, as Wallerstein (1989: 255) notes, "the United States was able to carve itself out a role as

lieutenant and, therefore, potential and eventual rival to Britain."

In contrast to the United States, Weber describes the world-system position of northern Mexico:

> The Mexican frontier is best understood as the periphery of an aspiring nation that was itself peripheral to the world's capitalist system. During the nineteenth century, while the United States made the transition from a peripheral agrarian state toward becoming one of the core nations of the industrial world, Mexico remained a peripheral state in the world capitalist system. (Weber, 1982: 282)

Hall (1992a: 23) explains why Mexico's position within the capitalist world-economy began to deteriorate:

> Mexico suffered the typical consequences of peripheral incorporation into the world-system: extensive British interference in its economy and politics; weak control over outlying areas; low integration and development of trade patterns and infrastructure; and a consequent high degree of internal social, cultural and economic variability...After independence, [colonial conflicts] became manifest in centralist-federalist competition... between protectionists and free-traders, and between agricultural exporters and nascent manufacturers.

While the Mexican government remained weak and factionalized in the decades before the Mexican war, American maritime merchants began to make economic inroads into Alta California as foreign trade became more liberalized (Hall, 1989: 147-157, 193). As Tomás Almaguer states, "California's sea otter trade, hide and tallow trade and whaling industry were to increasingly become the principal items which linked it to commercial capitalist interests in the U.S." (Almaguer, 1977: 16). The labor for this trade was largely supplied by conscripted indigenous peoples who had survived the epidemics of European diseases or who had not escaped to the interior

of California (Chartkoff and Chartkoff, 1984: 269-270; Almaguer, 1977: 20-21).

In addition to the maritime trade during the Mexican era, fur trappers such as Jedediah Smith, Thomas L. "Pegleg" Smith, and Peter Skene Ogden paved the way for further overland economic expansion into California and the Great Basin (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 135-194, 285-287). As Hafen (1965: 21) explains, since new territory "yielded the largest returns in pelts, there was a money reward for trailblazing."

When Antonio Armijo opened the Old Spanish Trail across Southern Paiute territory in 1829-1830--perhaps with knowledge of Jedediah Smith's 1826-1827 journeys along the Virgin River (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 156)--he essentially extended the Santa Fé Trail from Independence, Missouri, to Los Angeles (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 92). Thus, Armijo and later traders forged an overland link not only between Mexican California and New Mexico, but also between these regions and the United States. From the 1830s on, the routes of American overland expansion in California the Southwest would be from west to east in addition to east to west. After the defeat of Mexico in the United States-Mexico War (1846-1848), western North America would become more directly integrated into the capitalist world-economy via the United States.

Jack Forbes clarifies the indigenous context of American expansion in the aftermath of the United States-Mexico War, 1846-1848:

> A great Myth has been perpetuated in American history, and that is the story that the United States acquired the Southwest in 1848 through the Mexican cession. The United States began to acquire the Southwest in the early 1820s, when Anglo-Americans began to enter regions over which Mexico had no control, and the final phase of acquisition was not consummated until the 1880s, when the last free Indian tribes were conquered. (Forbes, 1965a: 295)

In other words, scores of frontier regions in California, the Great Basin, and the Southwest had to be resolved through conquest before American domination could be effectively achieved through incorporation. Once indigenous land and labor became "free (stolen) land" and coerced (or enslaved) labor, market articulation could proceed where possible and where needed for capital accumulation. Appropriated indigenous lands (and labor) became the primitive accumulation which helped advance the world-economy position of the United States from periphery to semi-periphery status by the second half of the nineteenth century (Almaguer, 1977: 23).

The Euroamerican establishment of trade networks in western North America overlaid the pre-existing, indigenous California-Great Basin-Southwest interregional network mentioned above. Trade items such as obsidian and shell artifacts have been recorded for these culturally diverse areas since the Early Holocene (Hughes and Bennyhoff, 1986: 238; Ford, 1983; Swagerty, 1988; Brand, 1938; Davis, 1961; Colton, 1941; Malouf, 1940; Tower, 1945) [see Figure 13]. This interregional trade also became linked to a greater

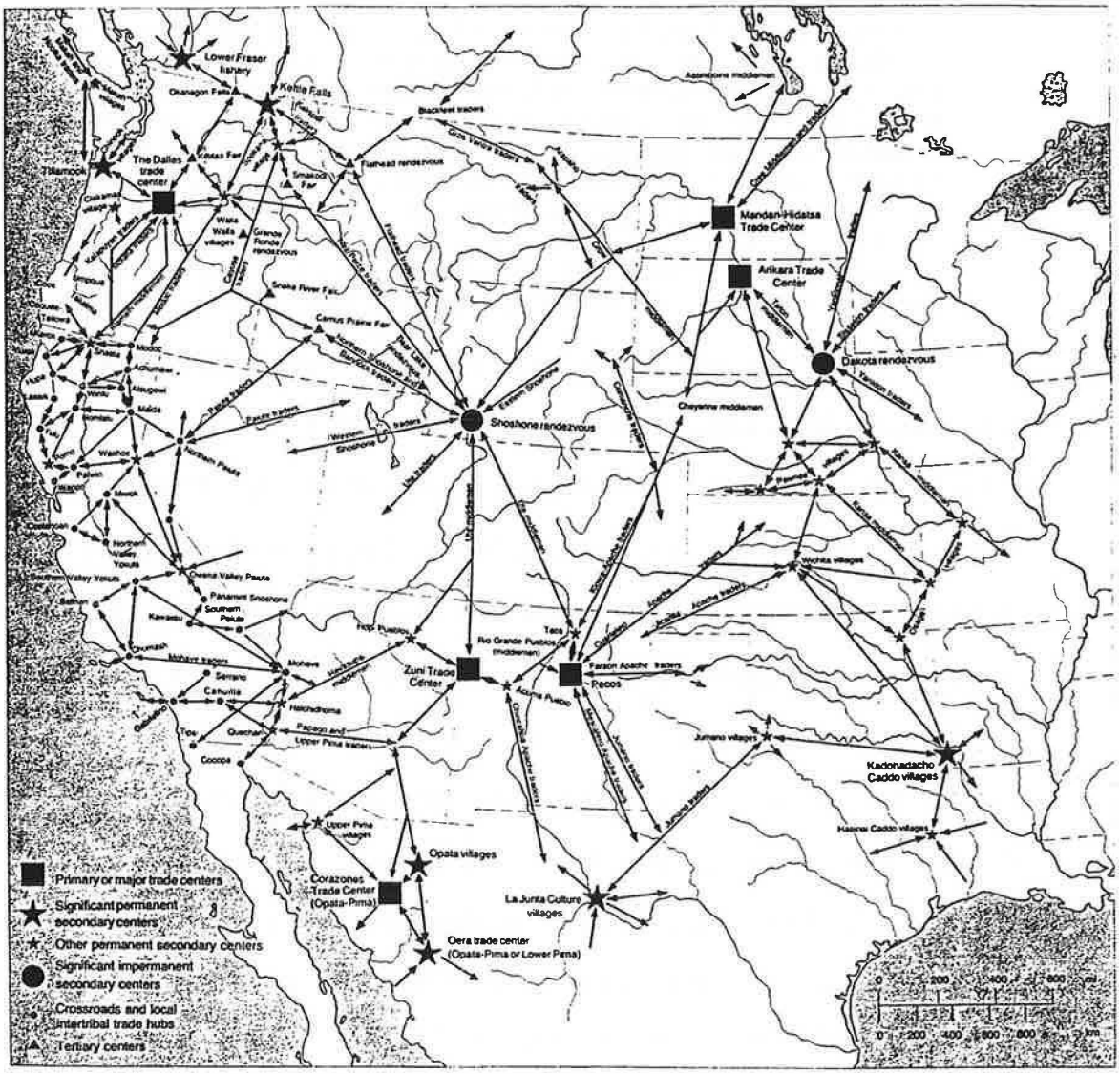
Shell artifact distribution: major sites and trade routes (after Tower 1945; J.T. Davis 1961).

Figure 13. California-Great Basin-Southwest indigenous trade networks. Source: P. 239 in Richard E. Hughes and James A. Bennyhoff, "Early Trade." Pp. 238-255 in Warren L. d'Azevedo (ed.), *Great Basin.* Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11. Reprinted with permission from the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., © 1986.

western North American trade network during the protohistoric period (see Figure 14):

> Items traded at The Dalles have been found in archeological sites from Alaska to California and over 1,000 miles east in the Missouri River trade centers... The extensive distribution network associated with the Pacific-Plateau trade system, like those of the Greater Southwest and Middle Missouri systems, confirms that the tribes of the trans-Mississippi West were linked by a web of commercial relationships on the eve of European contact. Indian-White trade relations must therefore be viewed as an elaboration of native patterns rather than as a European innovation (Swagerty, 1988: 353).

Much of the California-Great Basin-Southwest trade was down-the-line, and the Southern Paiute along with other nearby groups were often intermediaries for the further exchange of trade goods (such as shell beads) obtained directly or indirectly from Southern California Shoshonean peoples. Although trade relationships between indigenous Southern California and the Great Basin and the Southwest began to deteriorate after the epidemics and enslavements during the Spanish and Mexican eras, (Chartkoff and Chartkoff, 1984: 248-249), a diminished indigenous trade did continue within the interstices of the capitalist frontier economy well into the latter half of the nineteen century (Hughes and Bennyhoff, 1986: 255; Smith and Walker, 1965: 4-6; Kelly, 1932-1933). At the same time, regional indigenous groups, such as the Southern Paiute and the Ute, would take different positions within an exploitative frontier economy guided by the primitive accumulation process of the capitalist world-system.



Protohistoric Indian trade networks in the trans-Mississippi West. Primary trade centers had permanent resident populations and surplus subsistence economies in the form of garden crops for the Southwest and Plains (Wood 1980; Ewers 1954), fish for the Plateau and Northwest Coast. Permanent secondary trade centers with resident populations are differentiated by the relative volume of trade and density of the host trading population into 2 levels of significance. Significant impermanent secondary trade centers were at shifting locations. Tertiary trade centers, which usually lacked permanent resident populations, follow "minor trading points" (Wood 1980:101). Many correspond to trade fairs or subsistence sites (Griswold 1970; Chance and Chance 1985). Crossroads or local trade hubs served as points of intertribal trade (Davis 1961; vol. 8: 690–693).

Figure 14. Protohistoric indigenous trade networks, western North America. Source: P. 352 in William R. Swagerty, "Indian Trade in the Trans-Mississippi West to 1870," Pp. 351-374 in Wilcomb E. Washburn (ed.), *History of Indian-White Relations*. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 4. Reprinted with permission from the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., © 1988.

The Old Spanish Trail: Corridors of Conquest

The various forks of what is now called the Old Spanish Trail created a palimpsest upon parts of the indigenous trail system of the ancient interregional trade network noted above. For instance, the Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776 (see pp. 92-93 and Figure 11) pioneered the eastern section of the Old Spanish Trail through northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado by following a Puebloan-Ute trade route utilized by previous Spanish trading expeditions into eastern Ute territory in the mid-eighteenth century (Hill, 1921: 444-449; Shimkin, 1986: 521). Even though the Dominguez-Escalante expedition never succeeded in reaching the Spanish settlements of coastal California, their well-documented journey helped solidify the later Old Spanish Trail route from Santa Fé via Ute territory to California (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 73).

Antonio Armijo's success in reaching California from New Mexico over a half-century after the failure of Domínguez and Escalante was a major breakthrough for the Euroamerican residents of both California and New Mexico (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 157-159). Although the exact route of Antonio Armijo through southern Nevada is disputed, it is generally agreed that his party crossed Southern Paiute territory to reach the Amargosa River, an area shared by the Pahrump Paiute and the 1947: 87-101; Warren, 1974: 73; Steward, 1938: 93, 182) [see Figure 3]. On January 14, 1830, Armijo's journal states: "To the river of the Payuches where we found a settlement and

there was no incident because they were docile" (Spanish with English translation in Warren, 1974: 33-34). Lingenfelter (1986: 21) speculates that the indigenous settlement seen on the Amargosa River by Armijo was Ya'-gats, a village of 68 inhabitants recorded in 1873 by Indian Commissioners John Wesley Powell and G. W. Ingalls (Fowler and Fowler, 1971b: 104) [see Figure 3].

Armijo's journey from New Mexico to California was soon followed by the Wolfskill-Yount party in 1830-1831. Unlike Armijo's, the route of these American trappers traversed the more well-known trapping and trading routes in central Utah before reaching the Virgin River in southern Nevada. While the northern part of their route (through Ute territory) became the established trail for the northern section of the Old Spanish Trail, the southern leg of their journey down the Colorado River and across the Mojave Trail became the southern fork of the Old Spanish Trail (Warren and Roske, 1981: 21; Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 139-153) [see Figure 11].

Later New Mexican traders either took the Wolfskill-Yount route down the Colorado River to the Mohave Villages (the south fork), or forged an improved version of the Armijo trail in southern Nevada and arrived at the Mojave River via Las Vegas and the Amargosa River (the north fork of the Old Spanish Trail). Although the Gila (or Yuma) route along the Gila River is the only trail (besides the Wolfskill-Yount party) whose use is specifically documented for journeys

between New Mexico and California during the 1830s, there are a number of reasons why the north fork of the Old Spanish Trail would be a reasonable alternative to either the south fork or the Gila route. Jack Forbes explains the situation along the Gila:

> During the period 1830-1842, Mexicans were making use of the Yuma route between Sonora and California, although their right to its use was always at the sufferance of the Quechans [Yumans]. Understandably, then, travel was somewhat intermittent and was nonexistent when the Quechans were hostile. (Forbes, 1965a: 266)

Like the Quechans, the Mohave also had control of the strategic Colorado River in their territory; both of these indigenous nations during the 1830s and 1840s can be considered autonomous contact peripheries despite increasing American encroachment. Depending on the attitude of the visitor and/or the relationship between the Mohave and recent travellers, the Euroamerican experience along the Colorado River could either be amiable or violent. For instance, Jedediah Smith's first visit to the Mohave Villages in October, 1826, was without incident. However, when he returned in August, 1827, he and his party were attacked while crossing the Colorado River; ten out of eighteen in the group were killed (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 125-127).

The aggressive response of the Mohave was apparently triggered by a violent encounter with the fur trapping party of James Ohio Pattie in March, 1827. Pattie had refused to give a Mohave leader a horse in compensation for the right to trap beaver along the Colorado River. When the Mohave leader speared a horse, he was immediately killed by one of Pattie's

men. Subsequent fighting resulted in the deaths of two trappers, while scores of Mohaves were killed by the superior firepower of the Americans (Kroeber, 1974: 88-90). With vicious coolness, Pattie describes how his party dealt with a group of Mohaves who were camped "making their supper from the body of a horse":

> We put spurs to our horse and overtook them just as they were entering a thicket. Having every advantage, we killed a greater part of them, it being a division of the band that had attacked us. We suspended those that we had killed upon the trees, and left their bodies to dangle in terror to the rest; and as a proof, how we retaliated aggression. (Quaife, 1930: 147)

George Yount was a member of the Pattie expedition in March, 1827; when he returned to Mohave territory with Wolfskill in 1830, he brought (but did not use) a "brass cannon" mounted on his horse (Camp, 1966: 33-36; 48-53; 92-93).

It is reasonable to assume that horse traders with large herds might want to avoid travelling near the Colorado River in Mohave territory. As Dennis Casebier (1975: 30-31) explains:

> It seems to me that the Mohaves must be considered as the most important element of the Indian threat that was avoided by taking the circuitous route up through Utah. The Mohaves were situated on both sides of the Colorado for a distance of fifty miles and there was no way their country could be avoided. They were numerous; and, not being nomadic hunters, they were always concentrated "at home" so there was no hope that the traveler could slip by unnoticed...Undoubtedly, the fact that the Mexicans were on friendly terms with the Utes and had traded in their country in Utah for many years was an influence in selection of the Utah route for the Old Spanish Trail.

Although Warren (1974) makes a case that most Mexican caravan traffic along the Old Spanish Trail used the south fork, a close scrutiny of the documentary evidence does not

necessarily support this.[25] Casebier (1981: 287) proposes that travellers probably used both forks, and variations between the two. In summary, the geographical effect of the Mohave's autonomous contact periphery status was a probable increase of Euroamerican trade along the north fork of the Old Spanish Trail.

Although no Euroamerican settlement or mining activities occurred in Pahrump Paiute territory during the 1830s and 1840s, during this time the Old Spanish Trail became a Euroamerican zone of exploitative economic penetration which actively contested the autonomy of the Pahrump Paiute with repeated slave-raiding activities. Even though indigenous groups were involved in the slave-raiding, the market was largely for labor enslaved to support Euroamericans whose livelihood was tied to the world market of the capitalist world-economy. The north fork of this "corridor of conquest" cut through the southern portion of the Pahrump Paiute core area, thus opening the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region during the 1830s.

Slavery, Sexual Violence, and the Creation of the "Other" in the Capitalist Frontier Economy

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Spanish traders from New Mexico began buying Native American slaves (possibly captured Southern Paiutes) from the Utes (Hill, 1930: 17-19; Inter-Tribal Council, 1976: 30). Hafen and Hafen (1954: 263-264) state:

> In 1812 a Spanish law was passed prohibiting Indian slavery but the order seems to have been ignored by the

> traders of New Mexico. For the next fifty years pelts and Indian slaves were to continue as the chief objects of barter with the Utes, in the same pattern as had existed during the preceding half century. The practice would not be materially affected by changes of political jurisdiction, but would flourish in turn under the regimes of Spain, of Mexico, and of the United States. The traffic extended from present Colorado, through the far reaches of Utah and Nevada, and to California.

When Antonio Armijo opened up a trade route between New Mexico and California, he was also (perhaps inadvertently) expanding the slave market of New Mexico into California at the expense of the Southern Paiute. Mexican, Ute, (and to a lesser extent, American and Navajo) raiders captured Southern Paiute women, children, and (sometimes) men for sale to the elites of California and New Mexico (Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386; Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 269-270; Forbes, 1969: 50). Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial frontier societies often depended on domestic Native American slave labor to support at least the trappings of an upper class lifestyle. Men were valued less as slaves because they were more difficult to control and were not as useful for domestic chores. At the same time, male Native Americans were forced into various slave-labor jobs involving construction, animal-tending, and the hide and tallow trade (Gutiérrez, 1991: 180-190; Monroy, 1990: 135-154).

Between the mid-1830s and the 1840s, the traffic in stolen Californian horses and Southern Paiute slaves began to increase along the Old Spanish Trail. As the fur trade began to decline in the southwest due to the near extermination of the beaver, trappers (such as Thomas "Peg-leg" Smith) began

to join with New Mexicans, Utes, and various southern California indigenous groups to form a frontier raiding economy which sporadically plundered coastal California for horses and Southern Paiute territory for women and children slaves. Their base was often the interior California territory of the Southern Valley Yokuts, a semi-autonomous marginal periphery outside of Mexican control but tied to a raiding economy during this time period (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 227-247, 267-268; Phillips, 1993: 85-93; Hurtado, 1988: 43-54; Bancroft, 1886: 395; Cook, 1976: 230-232). Since the Old Spanish Trail was the conduit for stolen horse and slave traffic to New Mexico, the Southern Paiute were brutally affected by the intensification of the frontier raiding economy of the *Chaguanosos*, or "adventurers of all nations," as the Mexican authorities called the raiders (Lawrence, 1931: 33; Archives of California, 1841: 131).

Wallerstein (1989: 167) states:

> As a given zone is incorporated into the world-economy, this often led to an adjacent further zone being pulled into the external arena [Hall's Contact Periphery]. It is as though there were an outward ripple of expansion.

The interrelations between dependent, marginal, and contact peripheries within the California-Great Basin-Southwest Euroamerican frontier economy illustrate how a ripple of exploitation accompanied capitalist expansion.

The Gabrielino (Kumivit nation) of the Los Angeles basin and the Eastern Pueblo nations of the Rio Grande in New Mexico can be classified as dependent peripheries at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Northern New Mexico and

coastal southern California were centers of early Spanish colonization since the late sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively (Nostrand, 1987: 52-56). Although the Eastern Pueblo nations were able to create cultural enclaves of limited autonomy by the nineteenth century, the Euroamericans became the dominant sociopolitical group of New Mexico after the Spanish reconquest of New Spain twelve years after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Simmons, 1979: 186-187). In California, the Gabrielino began to be decimated after the establishment of San Gabriel mission in 1771. Despite mission rebellions and other forms of sporadic resistance, by the 1830s the Gabrielino who survived the genocide and diseases of the Euroamericans were a subjugated people within their own territory. Those that did not escape to the interior of California became actual or virtual slave labor for the Euroamerican coastal settlements; thus, the Gabrielino and their territory became a dependent periphery of the capitalist frontier economy (Phillips, 1975: 25-27; 1980: 427-451; Bean and Smith, 1978: 540-541; Almaguer, 1987: 12-23; Castañeda, 1993). Since the Gabrielino and the Eastern Pueblos were dependent peripheries and thus could no longer control the dominant mode of production in their respective territories, a Euroamerican economy based upon slavery and superexploited labor was allowed to develop.

Because of their relative proximity to the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, the Utes and their territory began to be incorporated as a contact periphery by the mid-

seventeenth century. As previously noted, Utes themselves were raided by the Spanish for use as slaves. However, as Utes obtained European items such as the horse and the gun while the Southern Paiute groups remained in external arenas, a differential power relationship developed to the disadvantage of the Southern Paiute. In the nineteenth century, Ute bands became more integrated into the Euroamerican slave, gun, and horse trade by conducting slave-raids upon Southern Paiute territories (contact peripheries after 1830), even as the Utes themselves were being encroached upon by Euroamerican settlers and other Plains groups pushed further west by American expansion (Delaney, 1974: 29-38; Jorgensen, 1972: 29-30; Alley, Jr., 1982).

Hall describes the general pattern of disruption among indigenous societies as the incorporation process followed the Spanish diffusion of horses and guns in the Southwest (although the same pattern was occurring in other parts of North America):

> As the Spanish advance displaced one group after another, inter-group fighting accelerated. This fighting generated many captives who could be traded to Spaniards [for] horses and guns...Where horses and guns could not be acquired by direct capture, they had to be acquired through trade...Thus, the demand for captives intensified inter-group fighting. (Hall, 1989: 68-69)

With their integration into the horse and slave-raiding frontier economy, the Utes became a semi-autonomous, marginal periphery within the primitive accumulation phase of the capitalist world-economy. At the same time, Southern Yokut territory in the southern San Joaquin Valley was a

marginal periphery not only for the Southern Yokuts but also for the indigenous California groups who escaped from the Mexican coastal settlements to join the *Chaguanosos* in raids against their former exploiters. Albert Hurtado explains the implications of marginal periphery status:

> [Fur trappers] provided a market for stolen horses and so presented new opportunities to the Indians. But...they were not powerful new allies helping the Indians against the Mexicans; at best they were neutral and sometimes they sided with the californios. Unintentionally, fur traders imported malaria and other infectious diseases. Trade, whether for pelts or horses, made the interior Indians dependent on the outside world for their livelihood. Whatever time and energy Indians devoted to these new pursuits had to be taken from traditional subsistence activities...Raiding, trading, and native labor linked California's resources and the interior Indians to outside forces--nationalist ambitions, imperial rivalries, and an expansive market economy.... (Hurtado, 1988: 53)

The exploitative ripple effects of capitalist expansion in its primitive accumulation phase can be summarized: a large segment of the indigenous California-Great Basin-Southwest interregional network became transformed into an exploitative Euroamerican frontier economy after the indigenous peoples of coastal California and New Mexico lost their autonomy and were forced into dependent periphery status. Marginal peripheries (such as the Ute) exploited less powerful contact peripheries (such as the Southern Paiute) as a means of survival before the consolidation of American state power reduced the Utes to dependent periphery status and the Gold Rush dramatically changed the economy of California and the West.

There is documentary evidence that Southern Paiute bands which were near the Old Spanish Trail, such as the Shivwits, were subject to slave raiding (Palmer, 1929: 39). There is no evidence, however, that the Southern Paiute of the Pahrump Valley were subject to these raids, although it may have occurred. Stump Spring and other Pahrump Paiute temporary camps bisected by the Old Spanish Trail were probably avoided when occupied by intruders. Nonetheless, the cumulative effects of slave-raiding on neighboring groups must have had increasingly disruptive consequences on inter-group kinship ties and social cohesion. Kelly and Fowler (1986: 368) write:

> Several Southern Paiute groups (Moapa, Shivwits, Saint George, Pahranagat) accused others (Beaver, Cedar, Gunlock, Panguitch) of capturing women and children for sale as slaves. In particular, the Shivwits suffered these depredations yet were themselves accused by the Moapa of similar practices.

Writing of the Southern Paiute groups in Utah, Holt summarizes the socio-economic impacts of slave-raiding:

> There is little doubt that slaving created an imbalance in the sex ratio, since young girls were a primary object of the slavers...The slave trade affected not only the population size and sex ration of the Paiutes but also their land-use strategies, by forcing them to move into more-protected areas, thus lowering their foraging and horticultural production...Slaving must have also affected the quantity and types of food available, since the Southern Paiutes practiced a sexual division of labor, in which females gathered wild resources, providing a significant portion of the calories consumed by the family groups. (Holt, 1992: 20)

Rape and sexual abuse of Native American women captured as slaves was a common practice among Euroamerican owners in California and New Mexico (Snow, 1929: 88;

Gutiérrez, 1991: 184-185; Monroy, 1990: 138-139; Castañeda, 1993). Antonia Castañeda states:

> While rape and other acts of sexual brutality did not represent official policy on this or any other Spanish frontier, these acts were nevertheless firmly fixed in the history and politics of expansion, war, and conquest. In the history of Western civilization writ large, rape is an act of domination, an act of power...[The] status of Amerindian women...made them twice subject to assault with impunity; they were the spoils of conquest, and they were Indian...[These] two conditions firmly established the inferiority of the Amerindian woman and became the basis for devaluing her person beyond the devaluation based on sex that accrued to all women irrespective of their sociopolitical (race, class) status...In California as elsewhere, sexual violence functioned as an institutionalized mechanism for ensuring subordination and compliance. It was one instrument of sociopolitical terrorism and control--first of women and then of the group under conquest (Castañeda, 1993: 25, 26, 29).

Although Castañeda is specifically describing eighteenth century California, the sexual abuse of Native American women as well as the general subjugation of Native Americans as slaves continued through the Mexican and American periods of conquest. As Castañeda (1993: 26) explains, "Europeans [and later Euroamericans of various ethnic origins] established categories of opposition, or otherness, within which they defined themselves as superior and Amerindians as inferior." As Native Americans became the "other" occupying lands desired by the Euroamericans, the "primary opposition" between Euroamericans and Native Americans became defined by a racial/class sociopolitical status, not sex (Castañeda, 1993: 26). This sociopolitical status was based upon a "racial division of labor" in which Native American slaves occupied the lowest racial and class category (Almaguer, 1977: 24-31; 1987: 19-20).

As Wallerstein noted (Chapter III, p. 62), racism and sexism are of "fundamental importance" as "organizing principles" of the capitalist world-system. Designating other human groups as inferior--and then backing up the claim with violence and terror--provided the ideological and moral sanction of conquest and the subsequent implantation of the European capitalist economy. Michael Omi and Howard Winant clarify the relationship between the social creation of race, class and economic transformations:

> Political and ideological factors [such as race and class social formations] are not the mere reflections of objectively determined "material" (i.e., economic) interests, but are themselves forces shaping the very definition of interests. In other words, as opposed to viewing these factors as being determined by the economic location of a race or class, we assert that such factors may be crucial to establishing the economic location itself. (Omi and Winant, 1983: 59)

The continuous subjugation of other peoples in the 5,000 year history of Central Civilization underscores the long record of ruling elites' use of racial and ethnic distinctions in the maintenance of class hierarchies and social power.

On the other hand, the references above to Native American slave-raiding of Southern Paiute women and children make it clear that it was not only the ruling elites who used ethnic distinctions of the "other" for economic exploitation. The nineteenth century frontier capitalist economy in western North America increased indigenous inter-group wars, conflicts, and territorial competition as Euroamerican encroachment rapidly broke down the sometimes tenuous inter-

group relationships required for relatively peaceful co-existence. As Fredrik Barth (1969: 17) states:

> [T]he persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences. The organizational feature which, I would argue, must be general for all inter-ethnic relations is a systematic set of rules governing inter-ethnic social encounters.

The indigenous inter-group rules broke down in the Great Basin partly because some groups (such as the Ute) strategically opted to sacrifice the Southern Paiute in order to acquire the means for their own survival (guns and horses) in response to attacks from Euroamericans and other indigenous groups (Callaway et al., 1986: 354-355). It is apparent that conceptions of the Other and ethnic conflict are intersocietal problems which do not only involve state-level societies and Central Civilization. However, when gender, race, and ethnic group exploitation become institutionalized for the purposes of capital accumulation and power, it is no wonder that such deep-seated human problems are far from being solved in human communities throughout the world.

The Old Spanish Trail and Environmental Degradation

Besides the genocidal effects of slave-raiding, the human ecological damage to food sources caused by the transport of horses and mules along the Old Spanish Trail was also extensive: "The Spanish Trail burdened the uplands and deserts with the grazing and watering of as many as 5,000 animals in a season" (Shimkin, 1986: 521). Fouling of

precious springs and rivers, theft of agricultural foods, the trampling and destruction of native grasses and seeds, and the cutting down of trees greatly impacted the subsistence economy of the Southern Paiute bands located along the trail. Malouf and Findlay (1986: 507) state: "Southern Paiutes living along the Muddy, Virgin, and Santa Clara rivers were hardest hit, while away from trails and streams traditional culture remained more intact" (Malouf and Findlay, 1986: 507).

Yet even those Southern Paiute groups whose core areas were away from the Old Spanish Trail--such as the Pahrump Paiute--became negatively affected on a territorial level because of the destruction or diminishment of strategic resources in outlying seasonal use areas located along the trail (Stoffle et al., 1990b: 40; Knack, 1980: 141, 171-172). In 1844, Brevet Captain John C. Frémont--of whom more will be discussed below--described the environmental effects which the Old Spanish Trail caravans inflicted upon the desert:

> We were now careful to take the old camping places of the annual Santa Fé caravans, which, luckily for us, had not yet made their yearly passage. A drove of several thousand horses and mules would entirely have swept away the scanty grass at the watering places, and we should have been obliged to leave the road to obtain subsistence for our animals. (Frémont, 1966: 259)

It is apparent that even though the Old Spanish Trail in the Pahrump Paiute core area was only a sporadically occupied, linear zone of Euroamerican transit, the cumulative effects of slave-raiding and environmental degradation along the

route created long-lasting negative impacts which directly contested Pahrump Paiute control of their own territory.

John C. Frémont and the Myth of the Frontier

The 1844 expedition of Brevet Captain John C. Frémont along the north fork of the Old Spanish Trail (see Figure 11) was a harbinger of the increased American encroachment soon to come. Frémont's work with the Topographical Engineers[26] was greatly influenced by his wife Jessie's father, expansionist advocate Senator Thomas Hart Benton. William Goetzmann (1959: 68) writes: "When the Senator from Missouri unfolded his own grandiose visions of a western empire, the Lieutenant became a part of the visions, both in spirit and as a practical instrument for achieving them." Frémont's Manifest Destiny world-view was the cultural lens through which he perceived the territory and peoples of western North America. He self-consciously acted out what Richard Slotkin describes as the Myth of the Frontier:

> At the core of the Myth is the belief that economic, moral and spiritual progress are achieved by the heroic foray of civilized society into the virgin wilderness, and by the conquest and subjugation of wild nature and savage mankind. (Slotkin, 1985: 531)

An incident at Bitter Springs (a watering stop along the north fork of the Old Spanish Trail in a joint-use area of the Southern Paiute, Panamint Shoshone, and Vanyume [Knack, 1980: 144]) illustrates Frémont's and (Kit Carson's) embodiment of the frontier myth. Frémont and his party of thirty-nine men arrived at Bitter Springs (known at that time

as *Agua de Tomaso*) on April 25, 1844. The day before, two Mexicans, Andreas Fuentes and a boy of eleven, Pablo Hernandez, came into the expedition's camp on the Mojave River and recounted how they were attacked by a large group of Indians while camped up the trail at Resting Springs (*Archilette*). Fuentes and Hernandez escaped, but the fate of the rest of the party--Andreas's wife, Pablo's parents, and a fellow New Mexican, Santiago Giacome--was unknown. In addition, the horses which Fuentes and Hernandez had left at Bitter Springs were no longer there and were presumed to have been stolen by the attackers. Frémont's guides, Kit Carson and Alexis Godey, decided to pursue the Indians; the rest of the party remained in camp at Bitter Springs. Frémont (1966: 262-263) writes:

> the next day, a war-whoop was heard, such as Indians make when returning from a victorious enterprise; and soon Carson and Godey appeared, driving before them a band of horses, recognized by Fuentes to be part of those they had lost. Two bloody scalps, dangling from the end of Godey's gun, announced that they had overtaken the Indians...[T]his expedition of Carson and Godey may be considered among the boldest and most disinterested which the annals of western adventure, so full of daring deeds, can present. Two men, in a savage desert, pursue day and night an unknown body of Indians into the defile of an unknown mountain--attack them on sight, without counting numbers--and defeat them in an instant--and for what? To punish the robbers of the desert, and to avenge the wrongs of Mexicans whom they did not know.

When Frémont's party reached Resting Springs, the mutilated corpses of Hernandez's father and Giacome were found; the women were gone and were assumed to have been taken captive. Many years later, Carson stated that "[S]uch was not the case, for a party travelling in our rear found

their bodies very much mutilated and staked to the ground" (Quaife, 1935: 85).

Yet instead of a vicious war party, the Native American camp which Carson and Godey attacked included women and children who were cooking horse meat: "Large earthen vessels were on the fire, boiling and stewing the horse beef" (Frémont, 1966: 263). After fourteen years of environmental destruction and slave-raiding along the Old Spanish Trail, Southern Paiute attacks against Euroamericans--mainly for the purpose of obtaining horses for food--became one adaptive response during this time period (Malouf and Findlay, 1986: 507). One wonders what would have happened to the New Mexican party if one or two horses had been given as a gift of passage to the Native Americans who had first entered the New Mexican camp at Resting Springs on friendly terms (Frémont, 1966: 261).

Charles Preuss, the German-born cartographer of the Frémont expedition, had a different interpretation of Carson and Godey's mission:

> Two scalps from the hands of Alex Godey. Are these whites not much worse than the Indians?...To me, such butchery is disgusting, but Frémont is in high spirits. I believe he would exchange all observations for a scalp taken by his own hand. (Preuss, 1958:127-128)

However, when a member of the expedition was murdered near the Virgin River a week and a half later, Preuss (1958: 130-131)) wrote:

> May God have mercy on the Paiutes who fall into our hands now. They lurk like wolves between the rocks along the road...We must guard against the Paiutes until we have

> crossed the Colorado; beyond it the land is free of the wolves of this desert.

Like Frémont and Carson, Preuss also did not question the fact that their expedition was an invasion of another nation's land, and that perhaps the murders were desperate actions in defense of that territory.

Twenty six years later, John Wesley Powell used the protocol lacking in the Frémont expedition to establish peaceful relations with the Southern Paiute groups of the Grand Canyon region. During Powell's first expedition down the Grand Canyon in 1869, three members of his party left the canyon and were later murdered by Shivwits Paiute. During a council with representatives of the Shivwits and Uinkarets groups, Powell found out that the three men had been mistaken for miners who had killed a Southern Paiute woman. Powell (1961: 322-323) relates the statement of a Shivwits leader:

> When white men kill our people, we kill them. Then they kill more of us. It is not good. We hear that the white men are a great number. When they stop killing us, there will be no Indian left to bury the dead.

Peace was negotiated, and Powell (1961: 323) writes that he "slept in peace, although these murderers of my men...were sleeping not 500 yards away."

But for the Myth of the Frontier, the responses of both Preuss and Powell were inadequate. In contrast, the scalping feat of Carson and Godey was repeated endlessly in books and dime novels during the nineteenth century (Slotkin, 1985: 198-207). Frémont, as the "soldier-aristocrat," and Carson, the "hunter-scout," embodied a mythic "regeneration

through violence" which glorified the ruthless power of upping the ante of savagery on the American frontier. The comparison of the attitudes of Preuss and Frémont shows that the violent extreme of the Frémont and Carson frontier myth was not a universal world-view, but a particular world-view which possessed the ideological force "needed" to clear the frontier of anything or anybody in the way of the Americans. The bloody display of two scalps regenerated Frémont more than the waters of the oasis of *Agua de Tomaso*.

Frémont's perception of the Southern Paiute whom he encountered in the Mojave Desert is summarized in the following passage: "In these Indians, I was forcibly struck by an expression of countenance resembling that in a beast of prey; and all their actions are those of wild animals" (Frémont, 1966: 267). Frémont's racism is explicit and self-fulfilling--any defensive or survival-based actions of the Southern Paiute only served to reinforce arguments for their dehumanization and justified elimination. Southern Paiute myths and cultural practices existed without destroying Euroamerican culture, but Euroamerican myths and culture (as they were manifested) could not exist without subjugating the Southern Paiute and their land.

The results of Frémont's expedition were published in 1845 under the title *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-'44*. Although no

acknowledgement was ever given to her, Jessie Benton Frémont actually wrote the report from her husband's dictation:

> While John's observations and experiences formed its solid core, Jessie's hand can be seen in the graceful style, the skillful pacing, and the vivid scenes and vignettes that make it so readable. Without her sharp eye for a good story, the report, if completed at all, would have been another dry treatise, to be filed and forgotten. (Herr, 1987: 82)

Elizabeth Warren describes the impact of Frémont's report and map upon the subsequent use of the north fork of the Old Spanish Trail:

> Frémont's contribution to development of the "Spanish" trail between Utah and California was unparalleled. His reports, published in the tens of thousands, had immense impact...on the development of the wagon route called the Mormon Road across the Mojave Desert and the southern Great Basin. (Warren, 1974: 157; also see Goetzmann, 1959: 108; 1966: 248-250)

One of the readers of Frémont's report would dramatically influence the American settlement of the Great Basin:

> Brigham Young, reading [Frémont's] report amid the disastrous breakup of Nauvoo [in which armed mobs of non-Mormons forced their departure from Illinois], decided that since the Salt Lake Valley was remote, and at the same time "bucholic," it was indeed "the place" of Mormon destiny. (Goetzmann, 1966: 248-249; also see Arrington, 1958: 18, 40-41)

In the late 1840s, the Mormon Road (as the next section details), incorporated a portion of the north fork of the Old Spanish Trail to link Salt Lake City with other Mormon colonies as well as the major supply center of Los Angeles (see Figure 1). While the caravan trade along the Old Spanish Trail ended after the United States-Mexico War,[27] Mormon colonization in the southern Great Basin would almost

sequentially continue the Euroamerican assault on Southern Paiute territory as the Old Spanish Trail became transformed into a Mormon Corridor of expansion during the mid-nineteenth century.

Mormon Settlement and Mining Diffusion in the Great Basin

Rooted in a New England utopian religious tradition, the Mormons [members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints] desired a "wilderness" to escape religious persecution and to provide the material means for self-sufficient, religious communities. While American troops were fighting Mexico for the imperial "rights" to western North America, on July 24, 1847, Brigham Young looked over Western Shoshone territory east of the Great Salt Lake and proclaimed to his followers, "This is the place!" (Meinig, 1965: 197; Steward, 1938: 220; Thomas et al., 1986: 262-264).

Rapid colonization of the eastern side of the Great Basin was soon to follow, as Brigham Young encouraged Mormons to settle in the far reaches of the intermontane West. Essential to such large-scale settlement was access to a commercial route to the sea; thus, part of the Old Spanish Trail from Utah to California became the "Mormon Road" during the late 1840s and 1850s (Meinig, 1965: 100; Pugh, 1949: 15-16).

In the autumn of 1847, Jefferson Hunt and Orrin Rockwell, veterans of the Mormon Battalion during the United States-Mexico War, were the first to use the route between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles as a wagon road for

provisioning Salt Lake City (Pugh, 1949: 4-7; Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 22-27). Two years later, after the news of the discovery of gold in California, Jefferson Hunt used his knowledge of the trail to lead a wagon train of gold seekers over what was to become one of the southern routes to the goldfields. Against the advice of Hunt, the possessors of a crude map showing a "short-cut" to the goldfields persuaded a majority of the wagon train to leave the Old Spanish Trail/ Mormon Road in southwestern Utah.[26] While most of the wagons found the new route to be impassable and soon returned to the Old Spanish Trail, others forged on to become lost in what later became known as Death Valley (Hafen and Hafen, 1954: 14-44; Manly, 1929).

Meanwhile, Hunt continued on the Old Spanish Trail/ Mormon Road to California. At Salt Spring, one of the watering stops along the trail, Hunt and other members of his party discovered the first gold in the Death Valley region. The expertise in identifying the gold was obtained from two former members of the Mormon Battalion (of the United States-Mexico War) who worked in the California diggings after the discovery of gold on the American River in January, 1848. Thus, the three major mid-nineteenth century events which would cause catastrophic impacts upon the Southern Paiute--Mormon colonization, the California Gold Rush, and the United States-Mexico War--were entwined in the lives and actions of these Americans. Although later attempts at mining Salt Spring were unsuccessful, the early discovery of

gold in this region would lure future gold seekers and contribute to the overall diffusion of mining from the Sierra Nevada foothills east to the Great Basin and the Mojave Desert (Lingenfelter, 1986: 36-58).

During the 1850s, the Mormon quest for self-sufficiency led them to seek out minerals as well as sites for settlements. Colonizers sought village sites along Southern Paiute springs and rivers, while minerals were often located in mountainous zones. These two types of intrusions made almost all ecological zones of indigenous territories potential "resources" for American settlement and/or exploitation (Malouf and Findlay, 1986: 507, 513).

Euroamerican encroachment into Pahrump Paiute territory edged closer with the establishment of the Mormon mission and fort at Las Vegas in June, 1855. Although the Mormons did not report any indigenous people at Big Springs of Las Vegas, they were visited by Las Vegas Paiute who were encamped in the nearby Spring Mountains during this time (Jensen, 1926: 131-137). One of the missionaries briefly described the history of Euroamerican-Las Vegas Paiute relations:

> Some of them [Paiutes] have come into camp rather suspiciously, as they have been shot at and drove away from the camps of the passing emigrants who have been on the road for years; they will show us the bullet holes and marks they have received from white men and tell us they will try and forget it, although their brothers have been killed, etc. (Jensen, 1926: 154)

While some Las Vegas Paiute left the valley upon Euroamerican settlement (Kelly, 1932-1933), the friendliness

of those that remained can perhaps partly be explained by the resource depletions and slave-raiding which had occurred along the Old Spanish Trail for over a quarter of a century. Las Vegas Paiute were recruited as laborers for the Mormons in exchange for food and other goods. A passage from a Mormon diary of the Las Vegas mission, dated December 1, 1855, states:

> Peace reigned with the brethren and the Lamanites [the Mormon term for Native Americans]. They [Paiutes] were with them [Mormons] every day, anxious to labor for them, that they might obtain something to sustain life. They were in some dread of the Utahs (Utes) making a visit. These traffickers in human flesh had already been to the Muddy and taken away three squaws [sic] to sell to the Mexican traders. (Jensen, 1926: 182-183)

In 1856, a party of Mormons from the Las Vegas settlement discovered lead deposits at Potosi Mountain on the southeastern periphery of the Pahrump Paiute core area (see Figure 3). While some Southern Paiutes were hired to work at the mine in exchange for food and clothing, the mining operation was clearly unwelcome. One of the Mormon miners, Bishop Nathaniel Jones, writes:

> Besides these difficulties [scant feed for the animals], the Indians threatening us upon every hand. They were stealing from us every chance they could get. Most of the Indians in the country had collected at a spring, about 3 hours travel from us, and were making their calculations to drive off all of our stock and drive us out of the country, or kill us. (Jensen, 1926: 275)

By 1858, the Mormons had abandoned the mission and the mine because of internal dissension, continuous raids from the Southern Paiutes, and the general abandonment of the outlying settlements after mounting tensions between Mormons and non-Mormon settlers in the aftermath of the Mountain Meadows

Massacre in September, 1857 (Jensen, 1926: 277, 281; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976: 76-80).[29]

As the California Gold Rush waned in a decade characterized by increased levels of genocide against the indigenous peoples of California (Chartkoff and Chartkoff, 1984: 296-297), the Comstock silver lode was discovered near Virginia City in 1859. Malouf and Findlay describe the post-Comstock era in the Great Basin:

> The discovery of silver on the Comstock lode launched a tremendous migration to western Nevada in the late 1850s and 1860s...The development of Comstock mining was felt most strongly by Indians in western Nevada and eastern California, but it had repercussions throughout the Great Basin. The sudden influx of Euro-Americans heightened the pressure on virtually all native cultures. It was no accident that the rapid increase of mining coincided with an era of intensified military hostilities between Whites and Indians throughout the intermontane West.... (Malouf and Findlay, 1986: 511-513)

Malouf and Findlay's broad depiction of mining diffusion in Nevada is borne out specifically in the Potosi region of the Pahrump Paiute core area. The grandiose dreams of the miner quoted above (p. 72) typified the general drift of prospectors east of the Sierras. In the summer of 1860:

> a prospecting party from the Comstock, working its way south toward the Colorado River, had discovered the abandoned Mormon lead mine...Some of the lead ore assayed as high as $750 a ton in silver. The Potosi Mining District sprang into existence....(Lingenfelter, 1986: 63)

Whereas the Mormons were driven from Potosi in 1857, in early 1861 the miner reported that "the Indians are entirely friendly" at the Potosi mines (*Alta California*, 24 March 1861: p. 1, col. 5). After the ores diminished and the Euroamerican miners left Potosi in October, 1861, a newspaper

report states, "The Indians are perfectly friendly--so much so, that the buildings, tools, furnaces, all the property of the companies at Potosi, had been placed under the charge of two chiefs" (Los Angeles *Star*, 5 Oct. 1861). Approximately ten years later, the State Mineralogist wrote the following statement concerning the Potosi mines: "In May, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, there were no white men in this district. Mormon Charley, an Indian, had charge of the mine and other property" (Nevada State Mineralogist, 1871 and 1872: 96).

The example of Potosi, the earliest significant (although short-lived) Euroamerican settlement in the Pahrump Paiute core area, illustrates the dynamics of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region. In exchange for food and clothing, Pahrump Paiute, Las Vegas Paiute, and probably individuals from other Paiute groups would work for the Mormons in the mines; later, perhaps after abuses or poor working conditions, the same individuals might later arm themselves to drive the intruders out (Jensen, 1926: 273-277). When the area was deserted by Euroamericans, the domain ostensibly remained Euroamerican, but effectively it returned to the Southern Paiute. It seems apparent that by the 1860s, the choice of remaining solely within a traditional subsistence economy was impossible for the Pahrump Paiute as well as other Great Basin groups. And as the traditional means of living became more constrained, the options of raiding, stealing, working at menial jobs, or

begging (i.e., asking for payment) began to be taken more often. In terms of the continuum of incorporation, the Pahrump Paiute core area was becoming a marginal periphery (at the interregional/territorial scale) of the capitalist world-economy. Even though market articulation at this time was minimal, the process of primitive accumulation was destroying the indigenous domestic mode of production (through slave-raiding, environmental degradation, and increasing Euroamerican settlements) as it created the potential for unchecked capital accumulation.

Military Intrusions and Commercial Expansion

In 1858 a Mohave war party attacked a Euroamerican wagon train camped near the Colorado River enroute to California via the Mojave Road; nine emigrants were killed (Kroeber and Kroeber, 1973: 52-54). At this time the Mohave were still an autonomous contact periphery, but resentment was building against the increasing encroachment of the Euroamericans. In 1903, Alfred Kroeber interviewed Chooksa Homar, a Mohave who remembered the discussions between the head men before the attack in 1858. He recalled the arguments of the men who wanted to fight:

> [They said]: I do not want the whites to come and own the land. They will take it and keep it. I want to stop them, to kill them all. The other Mohave said to them: "Well, if you five want to fight, go fight. But we will not help you. If you think you can fight them [successfully], go ahead. (Kroeber and Kroeber, 1973: 12)

But later in the day, the resistant Mohaves somewhat hopelessly decided to join the others:

> I have heard that these whites are everywhere, on all sides. You have heard that too. Nevertheless you want to fight. Well, we will follow your counsel: we will go to fight. (Kroeber and Kroeber, 1973: 12)

In the next year, hundreds of United States army troops overwhelmed the Mohaves and constructed Fort Mohave in their territory on the Colorado River. The Mohave were thus forced from contact periphery to dependent periphery status by the military power of the United States.

The first commercial freighting between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles along the Mormon Road (or as it was later called, the Salt Lake Road) was begun in 1853 (Reeder, 1966: 241). As commerce increased along the road, sporadic raiding of the Euroamerican travellers also continued. After the murder of two Euroamerican freighters near Bitter Springs in 1860, the business community of Los Angeles petitioned the federal government to establish military posts along routes of travel in the Mojave Desert. Besides keeping open the Salt Lake Road commerce, Los Angeles merchants were also interested in the lucrative business of supplying the military itself (Casebier, 1972: 4; also see Goetzmann, 1959: 347).

In the spring of 1860, Major James Henry Carleton established Camp Cady on the Mojave River as a base camp for "search and destroy" missions into the Mojave Desert. Carleton's troops were sent out to attack any Southern Paiutes sight. On April 19, 1860, two Southern Paiutes were killed southwest of Camp Cady and then hung on some makeshift gallows at Bitter Springs. On May 2, 1860, three other

Southern Paiutes were murdered by a detachment of Carleton's troops near the Kelso sand dunes. Upon the orders of Major Carleton, the heads of the victims were cut off and then sent to Bitter Springs to join the other Southern Paiutes hanging from the gallows (Casebier, 1972: 12-18).[30]

On July 1, 1860, twenty-four Southern Paiutes came with a white flag to Camp Cady. According to Carleton, they agreed to stop any of their people from harassing Euroamericans travelling across their territory. According to a newspaper report supplied with information from officers stationed at Camp Cady, Southern Paiutes from many areas as well as one Mohave were at the peace meeting:

> At the "big talk" with Major Carleton--there were eight of the head chiefs present--one from the Vegas; two from the Muddy; one from the Santa Clara; one form the Mohave, opposite the Fort; one from the Providence Mountains; and one from out on the Salt Lake Road. (quoted in Casebier, 1972: 47)

Although it is possible that representatives of the Pahrump Paiute were with the other Southern Paiutes who went to Camp Cady, only those groups with major settlements directly along the Salt Lake Trail or within the range of the military forays were accounted for.

In 1862, Camp Independence was established in Owens Valley Paiute territory in response to the conflicts caused by the increasing encroachment of Euroamerican settlers. As would happen later in the Pahrump Valley, ranchers seized strategic water sources for pasturage and produce to serve developing mining areas. The next year approximately four hundred Owens Valley Paiutes surrendered after a "scorched

earth" military campaign by detachments from Camp Independence (Liljeblad and Fowler, 1986: 430; Chalfant, 1933: 190-192). John Walton summarizes the relationship of state power and the pursuit of private economic gain in the frontier economy of the Owens Valley:

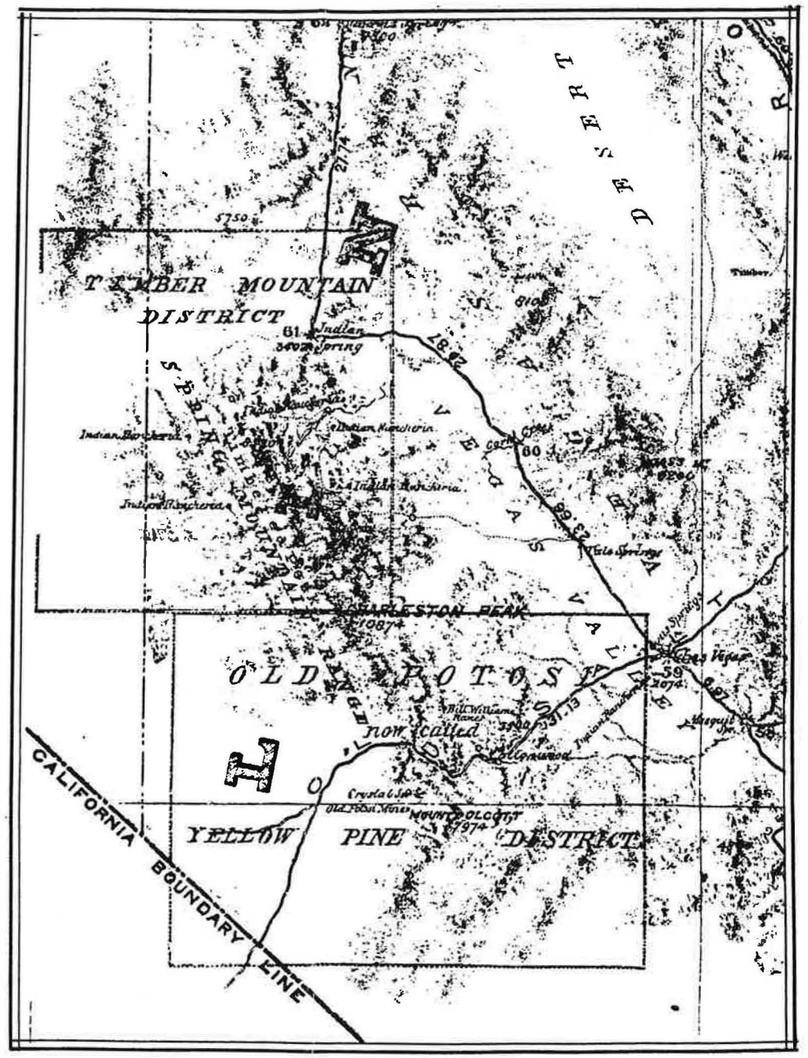
> [F]rom the beginning of its pioneer settlement the Owens Valley was conceived as a market economy. The establishment of commerce in food and minerals required state intervention by force and incentive. The indigenous population had to be brought under military control and the settlers subsidized with cheap public lands....(Walton, 1992: 12-13)

By the end of the 1860s, Euroamerican intrusions and military force in other Great Basin frontier regions forced numerous contact peripheries into dependent periphery status, including the Northern Paiutes, the Western Shoshone, the Washoe, and the Utes (Fowler and Liljeblad, 1986: 456-457; Thomas, et al., 1986: 263; Crum et al., 1976: 46-58; D'Azevedo, 1986: 494-495; Jorgensen, 1972: 34-38). In the next decade, the continued expansion of mining in Nevada and southeastern California would soon bring permanent Euroamerican settlers into the heart of the Pahrump Paiute core area.

Euroamerican Mining and Ranching in the Pahrump Paiute Core Area

In the 1870s mining activity escalated between Death Valley and the Spring Mountains. The map drawn for Lieutenant George M. Wheeler's Corps of Engineers reconnaissance survey through southern Nevada indicates that by 1871 parts of three mining districts occupied portions of the Pahrump Paiute core area (see Figure 15).

MAP A



MAP B

Figure 15. Map A: Southeastern California and Southern Nevada from Wheeler's map of 1871. Map B: The Spring Mountains and Las Vegas Valley from Wheeler's map of 1869. Sources: Map A: George M. Wheeler, "Preliminary Topographical Map...from Surveys...during the Summer and Fall of 1871," in George M. Wheeler, *Preliminary Report Concerning Explorations and Surveys Principally in Nevada and Arizona*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872. Map B: George M. Wheeler, "Map Showing Detailed Topography of the Country Traversed by the Reconnaissance Expedition Through Southern and Southeastern Nevada," in *Preliminary Report Upon a Reconnaissance Through Southern and Southeastern Nevada in 1869*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875. Maps courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

With the help of a Southern Paiute, in 1869 a prospector named Johnny Moss discovered copper and silver in the Clark Mountain Range on the southeastern periphery of the Pahrump Paiute core area (see Figure 3). Later that year, at least a hundred people were occupying the new mining camp of Ivanpah (Lingenfelter, 1986: 135; Crossman, 1890: 363; Nevada State Mineralogist, 1871 and 1872: 94; Visalia *Delta*, 6 Oct. 1869: p. 3, col. 1; Loew, 1876: 53). The following description of Ivanpah was written by a member of Wheeler's 1871 reconnaissance:

> After leaving Owen's River Valley [in August, 1871] no Indians were seen until Ivanpah was reached; here there are quite a number, who, for the most part, are employed by the miners to carry water to the mines...At present those at Ivanpah are perfectly harmless, but only from realizing the superiority of the whites over them...At the time I passed through I should judge there were nearly one hundred in all encamped about Ivanpah. (Lockwood, 1970: 74-75)

It can reasonably be assumed that some of the mine workers at Ivanpah were Pahrump Paiute engaged in traditional fall subsistence activities in addition to their employment as laborers. During the Powell-Ingalls investigation in September-October, 1873 (see Chapter I, pp. 10-13 above), a "tribe" in the "vicinity of Ivanspaw" was recorded with the name of *Ho-kwaits* (Fowler and Fowler, 1971b: 11-12, 104) [Figure 3 records Ho-kwaits and other "tribes" of Powell-Ingalls as indigenous settlements). The Powell-Ingalls report did not detail the conditions of the *Ho-kwaits*, but it appears that as Ivanpah grew, the Pahrump Paiute's marginal periphery status also became more entrenched.

A description of the Pahrump Valley in 1871 is provided by Lieutenant D. A. Lyle, an officer with the Wheeler expedition:

> The Pah-Utes in Pah-rimp Valley, and around Cottonwoods and Las Vegas, raise, in addition, corn, melons, squashes, and gather large quantities of wild grapes, which grow abundantly near the springs. They are quite intelligent, and were very friendly.... (Lyle, 1970: 89)

Map A of Figure 15 shows a "Charlie's Ranch" at approximately the same location as Ma'ans, the Pahrump Paiute settlement near Manse Spring (Kelly, 1932-1933) [see Figure 3]. Charles King, an early Euroamerican settler of Ash Meadows and guide for the Wheeler expedition, related the following itinerary for the reconnaissance: "After crossing [Death Valley] they went to Ash Meadows, thence to Indian Charley's ranch, thence to Stump Springs, on the old Emigrant road" (*Reese River Reveille* [Austin, NV], 13 Oct. 1871). Another contemporary reference to an "Indian Charley" is found in a newspaper article critical of Wheeler:

> On the trip [from Ash Meadows to Stump Springs] he [Wheeler] was surrounded by and placed completely in the power of twelve Indians, and only escaped with his life through an "Indian Charley," from Salt Lake, to whom extensive rations and goods were afterwards issued. (*Inyo Independent*, 18 Nov. 1871)

Could this "Indian Charley" also be the "Mormon Charley" in charge of Potosi (according to the State Mineralogist) in May, 1871? How did such a ranch relate to the indigenous community of Ma'ans? Although these questions remain unanswered, it is clear that after 1871, the major springs of the Pahrump Paiute are clearly on the map of future Euroamerican settlement.

In 1875, the mining camp of Tecopa was established near the Amargosa river in the joint-use area of the Western Shoshone and Pahrump Paiute (Lingenfelter, 1986: 137-142; Warren, 1980: 218-221; Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 395) [see Figure 3]. In the same year, the booming (but short-lived) mining town of Panamint City in the Panamint Range had a population of 2,000 residents (Lingenfelter, 1986: 123). In July, 1875, Ivanpah was reported to have had 100 Euroamerican and "40 or 50" Southern Paiute inhabitants (Loew, 1876: 53-54).

Also in 1875, Charles Bennett and his family took over Pahrump Spring in the heart of Pahrump Paiute territory for the purpose of raising produce to sell to the regional mines (Lingenfelter, 1986: 166-167). Two contemporary newspaper accounts indicate that the Bennett's move was an unwanted appropriation of the Pahrump Paiute core area:

> THE INDIANS.---Mrs. Bennett, who lives near Pahrump, in this county, became alarmed at some threatening demonstrations made by Indians and sent a runner after her husband and assistance to Ivanpah....(Pioche *Daily Record*, 11 Nov. 1876: p. 3, col. 2)

> Early on the following morning we started on an easy down grade for the Pah Rump ranch...Mr. Bennett was absent in Ivanpah, and Mrs. Bennett was very glad to see us, as they were threatened with a little Indian war. The Indians in the vicinity are very impertinent, and notwithstanding repeated warnings, had allowed their horses to run through Mr. Bennett's crop, and two nights before our arrival the men in Mr. Bennett's employ had shot two horses belonging to old Tecopah, the Chief. The following morning the old villain, with some twenty bucks [sic] in war paint and well armed, came over to Bennett's house, as Charley expressed it, and "tried to run a big bluff." We tendered the services of our little brigade of foot calvary, but there was no more trouble, and we camped on the meadow two nights in peace....[signed by

"Logan" of Resting Springs] (Pioche *Daily Record,* 29 Nov. 1876: p. 3, cols. 3-4)

The above passages reveal that by 1876, there was no united front of Pahrump Paiute opposition to drive away a single homestead from the major spring of the Pahrump Valley.

In 1877, Joseph Yount and his family arrived in the Pahrump Valley and gave the Jordan Brothers cattle in exchange for Manse spring (the site of Ma'ans), the latter Euroamericans apparently settling there the year before (Lingenfelter, 1986: 167; Doherty, 1974: 167; Yount, 1892; *Beatty Bullfrog Miner,* 11 Nov. 1905). Upon hearing that Yount had some horses killed by arrows on the way to the valley, Bennett is reported to have informed Mr. Yount "that the Indians were renegades that killed his horses, as all the Paiutes were peaceful and he worked a great many on his ranch" (Doherty, 1974: 167). Within the next few years, the Pahrump Paiute of Pahrump and Manse springs would (by necessity) adapt their traditional domestic mode of production to the Euroamerican seasonal cycles of the new ranches in their midst (cf., Knack, 1984: 62-63; 1987: 58-59). The United States Census for 1880 counted the following Native Americans in the Pahrump Valley (presumably associated with the Bennett ranch): 8 males, 4 females, and 5 children (U. S. Census, Pah Rump, Lincoln County, NV, Sept., 1880).

The Bennett ranch was based upon capitalist agriculture from its inception. Bennett combined capital-intensive mechanization (such as mowing, reaping, and threshing machines) with labor provided by "several permanent

ranch hands and a large seasonal crew of Paiute" (Lingenfelter, 1986: 169). Bennett's initial capitalization of his ranch relied on primitive accumulation--valuable land and labor were taken at virtually no cost and invested into a profit-making, capitalist enterprise. In contrast to the self-sufficiency of the pre-frontier region Pahrump Paiute, Bennett's ranch was economically dependent upon the isolated, unstable urban markets provided by the Euroamerican miners.

In February, 1882, a General Land Office survey was completed for Pahrump Spring and vicinity (see Figure 16). A few months later, Charles Bennett sold the Pahrump Ranch to Aaron Winters (who discovered borax in Death Valley) for $20,000 (Lingenfelter, 1986: 167; Pioche Weekly Record, 13 May 1882, p. 3, col. 3; Spears, 1892: 58-60). Needless to say, no compensation was given to any Pahrump Paiute for the theft of their land. Although Charles Bennett sold the land in 1882, he never acquired legal title, and the transaction was never recorded in the Nye County, Nevada, Recorder's Office (Deed Book, Nye County Recorder's Office, Tonopah, NV). Like land seizures throughout North America, "the United States failed to secure even partial title to the land at the time it was removed from Indian use (that is, no token payments were made and no treaty of cession was negotiated)" (Forbes, 1965b: 45).

The Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region was essentially closed after the unchecked, Euroamerican commoditization of the Pahrump Paiute homeland--the Pahrump

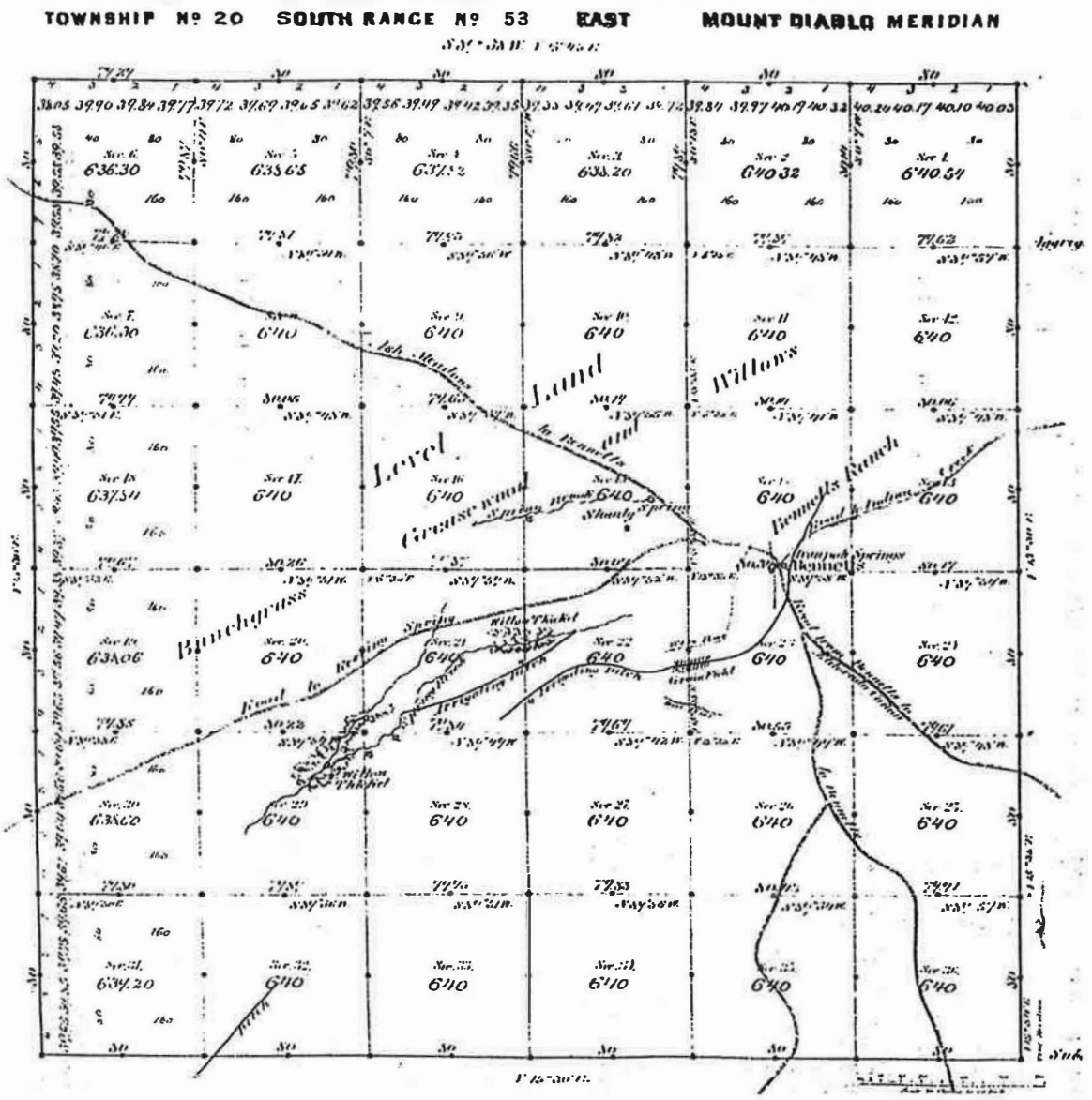


Figure 16. General Land Office Survey Plat (Township 20 South, Range 53 East, Mount Diablo Meridian) of Pahrump Spring [Ivanpah Springs on map], Charles Bennett's ranch and vicinity. Survey completed in February, 1882, by Theodore Binge and E. A. Carter. Map courtesy of Bureau of Land Management, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Paiute became relegated to permanent dependent periphery status. Today, the Pahrump Paiute continue to live in their homeland as a distinct people--an extraordinary accomplishment, given the circumstances--but ethnoecological control of their Pahrump Valley core area is clearly in the hands of the Euroamericans.

Summary

Between 1830 and the early 1880s, Euroamerican trappers, traders, miners, settlers, and military expeditions eroded and then destroyed the sociopolitical autonomy of the Pahrump Paiute within their core area. The Pahrump Paiute domestic mode of production consequently became incorporated into a dependent periphery of the capitalist world-economy. The comparatively rapid takeover of the Pahrump Valley by the Bennetts and the Younts was facilitated by Euroamerican intrusions begun a half century earlier, i.e., the opening of the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California. At the same time, five hundred years of indirect impacts at the continental scale as well as the five thousand year legacy of Central Civilization were powerful forces behind the first Euroamerican ranchers. The options (and therefore the responses) of the Pahrump Paiute changed significantly during the fifty plus years of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region. By the mid-1870s, the Pahrump Paiute's "choice" of trying to achieve coexistence with the Euroamericans probably seemed more practical than trying to drive them out of the valley. As occupiers of one of the

last frontier regions in North America (along with the Apache), the Pahrump Paiute were essentially surrounded by Euroamerican settlers while other indigenous nations within the California-Great Basin-Southwest interregional network were either decimated or in a severely weakened state. The end of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region signaled the beginning of an era wherein "the commoditization of everything" would be the underlying guide for the future development of the Pahrump Valley.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The ending of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region in 1882 was indeed a bifurcation point between past and present human/environmental relationships in the Pahrump Valley. When Euroamericans first entered the Pahrump Valley, water was abundant at several desert springs and a wide variety of flora and fauna continued to exist, despite centuries of use by the Pahrump Paiute. The continued existence of these natural resources attest to the real "sustainable development" practiced by the Pahrump Paiute over a millennium of learning how to survive in the desert. Since their subsistence was often precarious in the spring (at least in protohistoric times) [Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 370], a socioeconomic system which did not diminish natural resources was essential for Pahrump Paiute survival. Otherwise, there surely would have been a degraded environment and no Southern Paiute in the Pahrump Valley at the time of Euroamerican contact.

What will the Pahrump Valley be like after a thousand years if still under the socioeconomic control of the capitalist world-economy? After only six generations of non-Pahrump Paiute control, the groundwater reservoir of the Pahrump Valley is in a state of overdraft due to pumping

more water than the rate of natural recharge (Harrill, 1986: 50). The result of the groundwater pumping has been a lowering of the water table, the drying of most of the springs in the valley, and the subsequent destruction of rare desert riparian ecosystems (Harrill, 1986: 22; Helmer, 1991). Since the spring discharge was captured by pumping and used for a human population much greater than what the indigenous economy could sustain, the sacrifice of the riparian areas could be considered a trade-off for the "greater good." But "a 'greater good' for whom?" should always be asked when natural resource depletion is also linked to a social system based upon personal gain and the endless accumulation of capital.

A legacy of conquest continues to exist in the Pahrump Valley. Land that was illegally taken from the Pahrump Paiute has still not been returned. On the margins of Euroamerican real estate speculation schemes, the Pahrump Paiute as well as their land continue to bear the brunt of the social and ecological legacy of conquest.

How did this happen? It was argued that the present Euroamerican occupation of the Pahrump Valley can be traced back to the first state-level societies in Mesopotamia and Egypt--the beginnings of Central Civilization 3,500 to 5,000 years ago. After a literature review which surveyed past conceptualizations of *frontier* and *region*, the concept of the *frontier region* (a geographic area actively contested by two

or more social groups) was introduced so that the study would be focused on the following constants:

(1) a geographic area (the Pahrump Valley and surrounding mountain ranges) defined by the territorial core region of the social group which had occupied the area for at least a thousand years--the Pahrump Paiute subgroup of the Southern Paiute.

(2) The social group and historical system which actively contested the Pahrump Paiute during a specific period of time, 1830-1882--i.e., Euroamericans (i.e., Mexicans, Americans, and European immigrants). Whereas other indigenous groups participated in the exploitation of the Southern Paiute (and possibly the Pahrump Paiute) by participating in slave raids, only the Euroamericans actively sought control of Pahrump Paiute territory and its inhabitants.

The Pahrump Paiute core area became actively contested when a trade route, the Old Spanish Trail, was established through Pahrump Paiute territory by the Mexican trader, Antonio Armijo, in 1830. For the next fifty years, Euroamerican emigrants, settlers, miners, surveyors, and military and scientific expeditions encroached upon Southern Paiute lands and gradually destroyed the Pahrump Paiute's means of autonomous survival. Like other indigenous groups, the Pahrump Paiute engaged in various forms of resistance, but could not retain control of their territory.

Three scales of geographic analysis were used to delineate the socioeconomic processes which led Euroamericans into the Pahrump Valley in the first place--global, continental, and interregional/territorial. The rise of Central Civilization within the African-Eurasian ecumene eventually led to the Euroamerican invasion of the valley during the nineteenth century. The expansion of Central Civilization on the other side of the earth became significant at the continental level when Columbus opened up the Americas for European conquest. The development of the capitalist world-economy in North America led to impacts on a continental scale which indirectly affected the Pahrump Paiute--i.e., disease, the conquest of other indigenous societies, and the diffusion of the horse, guns, and the slave trade. These impacts were then analyzed in relation to the eventual development of the Pahrump Paiute-Euroamerican frontier region. By 1830, the interregional/territorial scale became the focus because the active contestation of Pahrump Paiute territory was inextricably linked to Euroamerican intrusions at an interregional level--i.e., between California, the Great Basin, and the Southwest--as well as direct impacts upon Pahrump Paiute territory itself.

Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems analysis was used as an overall framework for explaining centuries of societal interactions occurring simultaneously at local, regional, continental and global levels. Core/periphery relations, especially as modified by Thomas Hall, were useful

in understanding the complex inter-societal changes taking place at an interregional scale during the incorporation process of the Pahrump Paiute. The concepts of primitive accumulation, and the continuum of incorporation within the periphery were analytically linked within the historical narrative describing the Pahrump Paiute-United States frontier region.

One limitation of this study is the relatively terse and somewhat generalized depictions of the complex cultural systems of both the Euroamericans and the Pahrump Paiute. Linked to this limitation is the need for more exhaustive archival research in the ethnohistory of the Pahrump Valley. The specifics of how the Bennetts, the Jordan Brothers, and the Younts came to take over existing Pahrump Paiute settlements is still largely unknown.

Future studies of the Pahrump Paiute frontier region would benefit from:

(1) extended research at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.;

(2) a search for relevant historical diaries and journals which are currently undiscovered;

(3) more oral histories of the region and a synthesis and compilation of the excellent oral histories already recorded.

(4) intensive research pertaining to the complex interactions at the interregional scale in California, the Great Basin, and the Southwest;

(5) a more detailed investigation of the links between capitalist expansion and environmental degradation compared to indigenous impacts upon the land. The world-system framework itself should be challenged and/or refined in the process of this research; and last,

(6) regional studies which investigate past and present forms of resistance to the onslaughts of the capitalist world-system. What are the relationships between frontier regions of the past and current ethnic conflicts and ecological crises?

What conclusions can be drawn from the Euroamerican-Native American encounter in nineteenth century Pahrump Valley? To ask Wallerstein's question again (Chapter I, p. 7 above), "was [Western Civilization] an exceptional breakthrough, or an exceptional breakdown?" The anthropologist Stanley Diamond provides a response:

> Civilization has always had to be imposed...Native communities were the ground out of which the earliest, class-structured, territorially defined civilizations arose...No rationalization for the existence of the early state can alter the fact that the majority of the people were always taxed in goods and labor far more than they received from the state in the form of protection and services...The critical question, then, is that of the socioeconomic exploitation and concomitant loss of the cultural creativity and autonomy of the vast majority of human beings. (Diamond, 1974: 8-9)

As an imperial state, the United States required that no other truly autonomous nations could exist within its borders--all land and labor had to be utilized for the primary value of Euroamericans. Pahrump Paiute territory contributed to the aggregate accumulation of capital for the

capitalist world-economy as well as adding strength to the overall imperial political power of the United States. A significant legacy of conquest of such an imperial policy is certainly the loss of the "cultural creativity and autonomy of the vast majority of human beings"--including Euroamericans and their descendents.

In an essay which describes historical narratives as an age-old form of storytelling, William Cronon writes: "To try to escape the value judgments that accompany storytelling is to miss the point of history itself, for the stories we tell, like the questions we ask, are all finally about value" (Cronon, 1992: 1376). An underlying theme of this thesis is the value of human choice in developing social systems which are not fundamentally based upon the inhuman value of market relations.

There is also value in the non-human life of the drying springs of the Pahrump Valley, now dying because of the development-induced, dropping of the groundwater table. In the southern part of the Pahrump Valley there is a place called Stump Spring, once a temporary camp of the Pahrump Paiute and a watering stop along the Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road. Except in very wet years (such as 1983), groundwater pumping has caused Stump Spring and other springs in the Pahrump Valley to go dry over the last few decades (Harrill, 1986; Malmberg, 1967). Nonetheless, five willows and three cottonwoods still survive along the dry washes, much as such

trees have done for at least the last 10,000 years (Helmer, 1991; Mehringer, 1967; Quade and Pratt, 1989).

Is there an acceptable form of human life in the Pahrump Valley which can exist without water importation and without the groundwater basin being condemned to perpetual overdraft? Who is killing these last trees of a 10,000 year legacy? Can the people have their land back? Can floating seeds of cottonwood land against a moist bank again, and bring new old, old life back to the desert?

NOTES

NOTES

1. The world-systems framework will be explained in Chapter III.

2. The term *protocapitalist* describes "incipient capitalist" (see Blaut, 1993: 152-173) societies of the African-Eurasian ecumene. It is to be distinguished from precapitalist or non-capitalist societies whose social structures were antithetical to capitalism. No evolutionary or teleological implications are intended with the use of these terms.

3. See the discussion of Carolyn Merchant's work in the Conclusion below. *Bifurcation* is a term which Merchant derives from Ilya Prigogine's research on open systems and dissipative structures; see (Prigogine, 1986).

4. Due to the sketchy nature of Powell's and Ingall's data (Fowler and Fowler, 1971b: 104), it is difficult to determine if the Mo-quats and Ho-kwaits "tribes" (of the Kingston Range and Ivanpah, respectively) were seasonal camps of the Pahrump Spring group or economic clusters from somewhere else.

5. More discussion of Powell and Ingall's classifications in the Pahrump Paiute core area can be found in Chapter IV.

6. The interregional/territorial relationship will be more fully discussed in Chapter IV.

7. Wallerstein (1991a: 242) points out that there are no separate "logics" between the disciplines of the social sciences which can justify their intellectual separation. Human-environmental interactions are all historical, and "no useful research model can isolate factors according to the categories of economic, political, and social [as well as geographical], and treat only one kind of variable, implicitly holding the others constant."

8. The works of Forbes, Limerick, and Slotkin will be discussed in later chapters.

9. The following quote is from William MacLeod's *The American Indian Frontier*, Chapter 13, entitled, "Celt and Indian: Britain's Old World Frontier in Relation to the New":

> John Mason, responsible for the brutal burning and massacre of the Pequot village in Connecticut in 1637, learned his butcher's trade in warring on Scotch clansmen. (MacLeod, 1928: 152)

10. Also see the comments by Forbes (1962: 65) on this passage.

11. The translation of *Lebensraum* is derived from Hunter (1983: 426-427).

12. In a later essay entitled "Social Forces in American History" (first published in the *American Historical Review* January, 1911), Turner favorably compares past frontier expansionism with the "new" imperialism of the turn of the century. Turner (1921: 315) writes:

> Having continued its historic expansion into the lands of the old Spanish empire by the successful outcome of the recent war, the United States became the mistress of the Philippines at the same time that it came into possession of the Hawaiian Islands, and the controlling influence in the Gulf of Mexico. It provided early in the present decade for connecting its Atlantic and Pacific coasts by the Isthmian Canal, and became an imperial republic with dependencies and protectorates...This extension of power...was, indeed, in some respects the logical outcome of the nation's march to the Pacific, the sequence to the era in which it was engaged in occupying the free lands and exploiting the resources of the West...It was obliged to reconsider questions of the rights of man and traditional American ideals of liberty and democracy, in view of the task of government of other races politically inexperienced and undeveloped.

13. See Chapter II, pp.45-47 for a discussion of Turner's more fruitful ideas on regionalism. It is unfortunate that Turner is not best remembered for his pioneering contributions in regional geography and regional history (see Holtgrieve, 1974; Cronon et al., 1992: 6).

14. Limerick's conceptions of *process* and *place* are discussed further in Chapter II, pp. 46-47.

15. The general categories are based upon those of Lamar and Thompson (1981:7-8).

16. Similar criteria is provided by Lamar and Thompson (1981: 8-11); also see Sauer (1963: 49) and Forbes (1968: 218-233).

17. Dependency theory (see Chapter III, pp. 52-53) is used for analyzing Euroamerican impacts upon the Ute (Jorgensen, 1971: 67-111; 1972), the Choctaws, Pawnees, and

Navajo (White, 1983), and in a heuristic manner, the Southern Paiutes of Utah (Holt, 1992). White's orientation is congruent with the world-systems framework used in this thesis:

> [P]resent conditions are historically derived and must be historically explained by looking at the growth and consolidation of the present world system. It is the growth of this world system which affected the specific North American Indian societies under study here. The collapse of their subsistence systems and their integration into world markets brought increasing reliance on the capitalist core, lack of economic choice, and profound political and social changes within their societies. (White, 1983: xix)

18. Wallerstein (1991a: 321; 1979: 155-156) does not analyze mini-systems (also know as tribal cultures or indigenous nations), and discounts all anthropological research which question the existence of "mini-systems" as defined. However, other world-systems theorists, such as Chase-Dunn and Hall (1991, 1993), have reinterpreted the concept of the world-system so that non-state intersocietal networks can be analyzed within that theoretical framework (also see Chase-Dunn, 1991; Chase-Dunn et al., 1992). The work of Chase-Dunn and Hall will be more fully discussed in Chapter IV.

19. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explain and defend Wallerstein's world-systems interpretation of European social and economic history. For a more detailed examination of these arguments, please refer to the three published volumes of *The Modern World-System* (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989). For critiques of Wallerstein's methodology and analysis of European history, see Brenner (1977), Skocpol (1977), Stinchcombe (1982), and Ragin and Chirot (1984). Other critiques of the world-systems framework include Kearns (1988), Harvey (1987), Wolf (1982: 22-23), Shannon (1989: 137-179) and Gibson-Graham (1993). Hopefully, at least some of their concerns are dealt with in this thesis.

20. The concept of *incorporation* is closely related to that of the *articulation of modes of production*. Peet (1991: 67) explains the later concept:

> Stimulated by the Althusserian debate, Marxists have re-theorized the connections, or articulations, between different modes of production, with the objective of elucidating the general tendencies in inter-societal relations. Articulation is thought of in terms of historical transitions (one mode giving rise to another) and in terms of geographical relations across space (one mode affecting another at a given historical moment).

In addition, Taylor (1979: 101-102) states that dependency theory should be rejected in favor of the analysis of social formations with multiple, co-existing modes of production:

> *a social formation [is] dominated by an articulation of (at least) two modes of production*--a capitalist and a non-capitalist mode--in which the former is, or is becoming, increasingly dominant over the other.

Debates between proponents of articulation theory and those who use dependency and world-systems frameworks seem to revolve around different interpretations of definitions of capitalism, the origins of capitalism, and different conceptions of what constitutes a *mode of production*. Discussions of articulation theory can be found in the following works: Taylor (1979), Wolpe (1980), Peet (1991), and Forbes (1984).

21. *Why* state-level societies began in the first place is an extremely important question; the literature on the subject is very extensive. Increased population densities, the growth of long-distance trade, the institutionalization of violence, ethnocentrism and slavery, and the social development of hierarchies based upon gender, kinship lineages, place, and special religious knowledge may have been elements to one degree or another. A few sources which investigate this topic include Clastres (1977), Diamond (1974), Dodgshon (1987), Earle (1991), Friedman and Rowlands (1977), Giddens (1985), Harris (1979), Leacock (1981), McNeill (1963), Mann (1986), Perlman (1983), Renfrew and Cherry (1986), and Upham (1990).

22. Stoffle and Evans (1976: 177-179) rely on the North American pre-contact population estimates of Dobyns to conclude that pre-contact depopulation of the Kaibab Paiute (dues to the spread of European pathogens) was extremely high.

23. The slave trade and the fur trade will be discussed further in the Interregional/Territorial section of Chapter IV.

24. Only the most salient inter-ethnic interactions which occurred during the incorporation process will be discussed in the following sections; the complexity of a more comprehensive analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis and must be a subject for further research.

25. Warren's thesis is nonetheless a groundbreaking study which is a necessary reference for any discussion of the Old Spanish Trail.

26. Goetzmann (1959: 4) succinctly characterizes the nineteenth century role of the Army's Topographical Corps of Engineers:

> The Engineers were concerned with recording all of the western phenomena as accurately as possible, whether main-traveled roads or uncharted wilderness. As Army officers they represented the direct concern of the national government for the settling of the West...the Corps of Engineers was a central institution of Manifest Destiny, and in the years before the Civil War its officers made explorations which resulted in the first scientific mapping of the West.

27. During the United States-Mexico War, more direct routes (such as Cooke's road) were developed for wagon travel. The more watered Humboldt route in northern Nevada also was favored over the Old Spanish Trail. After the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the Mormon Road segment of the Old Spanish Trail became obsolete for freighting purposes.

28. The producers of the crude map may have been influenced by an imaginary mountain range drawn by Preuss on Frémont's map of 1848: "Even Frémont's great map of the West, published just the year before, showed a grand but imaginary east-west "dividing range" at about that latitude, and along its stream-fed base a good trail was sure to lie." (Lingenfelter, 1986: 34)

29. The Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred in southwestern Utah in September, 1857. Under times of increased Mormon-"Gentile" tensions, a few members of a non-Mormon wagon train bound for California insulted Mormons while travelling through Salt Lake City. Later, 120 men, women, and youths above the age of 10 were murdered at Mountain Meadows by a group of Mormons. Although some Southern Paiute bands were also involved, "they played a secondary role to the local [Mormon] settlers in the actual murders" (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976: 80).

30. Carleton's superiors later gave him orders:

> to prevent mutilation of the bodies of Indians who may fall, and to remove all evidences of such mutilation from public gaze...[Brigadier General Clarke] cannot approve of such acts, tho' the effect upon the Indians may, or may be thought to be good. (quoted in Casebier, 1972: 38-39)

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