

TOSAWIHI QUARRY

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Report to the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, Elko, Nevada office

February, 1990

WHO ARE THE WHITE KNIFES (TOSAWIHI)?

The White Knife Shoshone are known from anthropological literature (Harris 1938, 1940), but their existence as an actual socio-political entity was denied by Julian Steward (1938:162, 238; 1939) who is widely accepted as the ethnographic authority on the Great Basin. Named "Tosawihi" ("white" + "knife" or "sharp-thing-for-shooting") because of their use of white chert from a quarry near present-day Battle Mountain, Shoshones in that vicinity were designated as "White Knives" by Indian agents, other Shoshones, and various contemporary observers (Holeman 1852; Hurt 1857; Forney 1858, 1859; Wasson 1862; Powell and Ingalls 1874.)

The question of White Knife (Tosawihi) ethnic identity is one of the most intriguing problems in recent Great Basin culture history. Steward (1938: 248, 162) tossed off the question of Tosawihi identity with this assessment:

Among Shoshoni from the Snake River, Idaho, to Death Valley, California, the largest permanent organization was the village. There is not a single feature which warrants calling any of them a "band." There are no sharp dialectic, cultural, or political boundaries, nor well-defined named groups larger than the village....The much publicized Tosawi or White Knife people of the Battle Mountain region are so called because an excellent grade of white flint occurs in that country....They had no organization and were not a band. People who wintered on the Humboldt River above Battle Mountain were called Tosawi (tosa, white and wi, knife) because they procured...white flint for knives in the mountains to the north. This name, unfortunately, became prominent and led to the fiction that all the Shoshoni in a large area around Battle Mountain had comprised a band by this name. Because, like other Shoshoni group names, Tosawi did not designate a definitely bounded linguistic, political, cultural or even geographical division, no two writers have agreed on its use.

The Tosawihi chert quarry locality is the source of a knappable lithic material about 30 miles east of the Osgood Mountains, a generally agreed upon boundary between historic Northern Paiute and western Shoshone groups. There is ethnographic record of its use as far north as the Snake River plain. The archaeological distribution of this material has been interpreted as reflecting one of three sets of conditioning factors:

1. band territory, direct contact zone or trade networks;
2. variation in the physical characteristics related to knappability of available raw materials;
3. variation in the intended use of the manufactured tools (Rusco 1976: 2).

In 1974, Mary Rusco obtained a sample collection from the quarry and compared it, on the basis of macroscopic similarity, to Tosawihi chert in flake stone artifact collections from a series of sites up to as far north or east of the quarry as 150 miles, but all within historic western Shoshone territory. The chert was not found in collections west of the Osgood Mountains

although many of these sites are closer to the quarry than others where the chert has been found. A few sites in Northern Paiute territory have turned up some Tosawihi chert, but the apparent distribution of the Tosawihi chert in relation to the location of the quarry and to the historic boundary between Northern Paiute and Western Shoshone raises a number of questions (Rusco 1976.)

Does the distribution of the chert mark, in fact, the boundaries of a use area? Or does it mark the boundaries of an actual band territory? Could the availability of good quality obsidian from localities just west of the Osgood Mountains have simply made importation of the Tosawihi chert – however near – simply unnecessary? Or could it be that similar materials – that is, quartzite-type materials from other localities, two of which have been identified approximately 80 miles northwest and 150 miles southwest, respectively of the Tosawihi locality, have been mistaken for the Tosawihi chert (Rusco 1976: 3)?

In a monograph entitled “The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada,” Jack Harris (1940: 39) says:

Before the advent of the Whites, the TOSAWIHI Shoshone ranged over that portion of the Great Basin now included in the northeastern section of the state of Nevada....In the summer, the camps foraged for food as far north as the Snake River and some few went south to Austin and Eureka....It appears, however, that this term was restricted at one time to those camps in the immediate vicinity of Tuscarora and Battle Mountain where white flint for knives and other artifacts is found. The White Knives are not to be considered as having a band organization with the traditional ethnological connotations of restriction and cohesiveness. The term was primarily geographical, designating a shifting membership of Indians who were also known by a number of other names depending upon their temporary location or their principal food supply.

Indian agents' reports give a very different picture. They talk of White Knives being a distinct band, migrating between the Humboldt and Snake Rivers, and sometimes going south and interfering with groups in Ruby Valley. It is unclear whether these bands were mounted or not. Most Western Shoshone bands were not mounted prior to 1860, if at all; but the White Knives seem to have been mounted earlier than 1860, and being mounted permitted them greater mobility earlier than other Shoshones south of the Snake River.

One of the fuller accounts of “White Knives” in Indian agents' reports is in a letter by Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Salt Lake City, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1858. Forney mentioned meeting a group that he called “White Knives” numbering 200 or 300 people at Stony Point, near Battle Mountain. He said these people planned to winter on the Snake River where the fishing was very good. According to Forney, the group had a chief with “complete control.”

It seems that the White Knives, whoever they were, moved around quite a bit and did so en masse, as a group. In 1862, they were in Ruby Valley. Nye (1862) was “informed that about one-half of the Indians belonging in Ruby Valley had left for the ‘White Knife’ country in the Upper Humboldt on account of the late difficulties consequent upon the death of their chief

‘Sho-kub.’” The difficulty probably centered on whether Buck or Temoke would be the acknowledged leader, with Buck leading the Tosawihis back to the White Knife country and Temoke remaining in Ruby Valley (See Clemmer 1988 for a fuller account.)

Warren Wasson (1862), an Indian agent under Nye, also indicated the mobility and distinct identity of the “White Knives” in warning Nye that “the danger of interruption by Indians to the mail and telegraph lines apprehended during the coming Spring is from a band of the Sho shonees called ‘White knives’ occupying the country between the Upper Humboldt and the present mail road....” If there were White Knives on the Snake River, the Humboldt River, near Battle Mountain, and in Ruby Valley, they certainly must have had horses, and there must have been some mechanisms for White Knife people themselves as well as for others to keep track of the identity. If so, what were they?

In 1970, a Shoshone consultant living in Elko gave me the impression that White Knives had been a group with very definite “connotations of restriction and cohesiveness.” I was told that descendants of White Knives lived only at Wells, Nevada, and on the Duck Valley Reservation, and that they had been “sent” to Duck Valley as punishment for stealing cattle from Ruby Valley Shoshones, and that Duck Valley was their “concentration camp.”

The enigma of White Knife group-definition is part of a larger question concerning the nature of social organization in the Great Basin. Omer Stewart (1942, 1964, 1978) and Elman Service (1962: 98-99) argued directly against Stewart’s (1938) assertion that band formation in the Great Basin was a post-contact process. Stewart (1964) argued on the basis of his own empirical data on Northern Paiutes and on the basis of an analogy between territoriality in humans and territoriality in primates. Service relied heavily on Powell’s and Ingalls’ (1874) data reporting that the Shoshone of central Nevada had been divided into 31 “tribes,” each with a distinct, named territory, before being reduced to the “demoralized state” in which Powell and Ingalls found them as a result of White intrusion. (See Fowler and Fowler 1971: 38-107. The table on page 105 actually lists 33 “tribes,” not 31.) Stewart countered the arguments and assertions in 1955, 1965, and 1970.

Could “Tosawihis” have been an identity without being a “tribe” or “band?” If so, how would that identity be maintained over generations and how would it be expressed? No work had ever been done on how the “White Knives” perceived themselves; who they really were; and whether or not they would have survived the reservation era, either as an ethnic entity or as a memory. If Stewart were correct, their total disappearance would be a logical prediction, since the quarrying of white flint must have ceased shortly after construction of Camp Ruby in 1862.

The only research done on the “White Knives” was by Jack and Martha Harris on the Duck Valley Reservation in summer of 1937. Harris used the term merely to designate the Shoshone-speaking population of Duck Valley, and to distinguish it from the Northern Paiute-speaking population. In his short monograph, Harris (1940) did not address the question of White Knife ethnicity, its definition, or its parameters. He uses “White Knife” to describe people that Indian agents referred to sometimes as White Knives and sometimes merely as Shoshones. He does not say what the people he spoke with at Duck Valley called themselves, nor did he seem to consider the possibility that the White Knives were a distinct group who were moved

onto Duck Valley after intermarrying with other Western Shoshones south of Battle Mountain and in Ruby Valley for several previous generations.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The theoretical problem is, in terms of the controversy over “bandness” which led Steward and Stewart to publish a series of parries and thrusts over a 36-year period, actually threefold with regard to the Tosawih *ethnie*: (1) Did the label designate an actual group of people who alone, and exclusively, used the white chert to make knives, scrapers, and other items? and thus identify a way of life that had, as a substantial component, the quarrying of this white chert and the shaping of it into tools and the use of the area around the quarry?

(2) A derivation from the above question is: would quarrying of the flint have led to exclusive rights, ownership, trading monopoly and political hegemony such that one could recognize the existence of a distinct “band” defying Steward’s insistence to the contrary? At one level, the distinction of “White Knives” historically must have proceeded from a “we/they” dichotomy fundamental to ethnicity (Barth 1969: 14; Vincent 1974: 375-379.) Was the Tosawih identity confirmed by cultural norms that can be recognized as exclusive rights, that is ownership? And further: can the archaeological distribution of the white chert tools be taken as an indication of a pivotal position of this group as traders with exclusive trading rights? Or does the distribution reflect an area of use and occupation?

(3) The third problem is contemporary: Was there ever, and is there still, a “White Knife” ethnicity at Duck Valley? Or was Jack Harris merely using a convenient label? Barth (1969: 12) notes the problem in this way with regard to studies of culture change and acculturation in general:

What is the unit whose continuity in time is depicted in such studies? Paradoxically, it must include cultures in the past which would clearly be excluded in the present because of differences in form – differences of precisely the kind that are diagnostic in synchronic differentiation of ethnic units.

In other words, if White Knives were distinguishable historically by their use of white flint and their area of residence, as opposed to other Western Shoshone groups, would they as an ethnic group, be distinguishable from Indians living on the Duck Valley Reservation, or elsewhere, today? If so, how? If it does survive, why and how does it survive in the face of competing ethnicities?

The first two problems can be tackled only indirectly through ethnographic method. Only traditions and oral histories would be left from which to derive any inferences, and thus evidence would be very indirect. However, the third problem can be tackled directly through ethnographic method. It is possible to construct a set of hypotheses and alternate hypotheses that combine several different theories. For example, once a “tribe” such as the “Sho-Pai Tribe” has been “constructed” through a rational-contractual process such as referenda, the drawing up of a tribal constitution that regularizes relationships between the group in question and the U.S.

Government and establishes the rights and obligations of the members of the tribe, regardless of ethnic identity, might well put into place certain political, economic, and social processes that would create a certain uniformity of attitude, behavior, and social life that would result in a configuration of culture that would have many more specific characteristics of the particular reservation in question, and of reservations in general, than of the ways of life that had previously characterized the ancestors of the population on the reservation.

Thus, any previously existing ethnicity would be submerged under the new "tribal" ethnicity. If the "old ethnicities" had ever existed, they would survive as myths and memories marking a way for individuals to maintain ethnic identity – that is, as a set of stories and symbols expressing claims about the group's origins and lines of descent. Anthony Smith (1986: 57-58) calls this myth-symbol complex a "MYTHOMOTEUR," and assumes its existence only within a political context. Individuals would manipulate their identities by manipulating the symbolic pattern language associated with them. But without the political context, why should an identity such as "White Knife," so closely tied to use of a specific resource (white chert) from a specific place, persist, with no advantage to convey and no daily activity to reinforce it?

However, if ethnic identity is closely tied to kinship and social structure, and is reinforced by territorial association and language, then persistence of a Tosawihi ethnicity could be inferred to indicate the prior existence of an actual *ethnie*, that is, a group of people with some shared behavioral traits that did, in fact, distinguish them from other Western Shoshones. The question, of course, is just what those behavioral traits would be, and how they would be reflected in social structure, if at all. If Tosawihi ethnicity has not been submerged completely under new tribal ethnicities, then kinship, marriage patterns, and social structure would most likely provide the clues to its persistence.

THE HYPOTHESES:

Here, then, are the operating hypotheses: (1) With the creation of Indian reservations, distinct bands and identifiable groups were brought together and subjected to a uniform set of ecological, economic, and political conditions. These conditions derive from the nature of the reservations as geographically bounded areas and also as administrative units first of the U.S. Government and then of legal tribal entities. The social and political effects of non-Indian and Tribal jurisdiction over any particular Indian group would cause certain uniform cultural processes to operate on reservations that would result in the submergence of "old" ethnicities and identities under new Tribal ones.

Not only culture but also *ethnie* and ethnic identity in this model are dependent variables of political and legal administration, and their political and economic effects. Ethnicity is conceptualized as a social fact, but a social fact that is historical in nature, that is, one that changes with political and economic conditions. *Ethnie* and ethnic identity are derivative of culture and way of life, but culture and way of life can, in turn, be quickly and radically changed by political and economic forces of the kinds that Carneiro (1970) proposed in his theory of state formation.

(2) The ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESIS predicts that no White Knife *ethnie* exists, and that efforts to discuss the Tosawihi or the Tosawihi Quarry would either elicit a “blank” – that is, non-comprehension and no knowledge – or would elicit identification with it as a “monument” important in what Anthony Smith (1986: 51-52, 161-165, 186-190) would call a “movement for territorial restoration” – that is, a social movement seeking restoration of jurisdiction over territory that is perceived as being necessary for the economic well-being of a group, ethnically defined, that is associated with it. In that case, it could be expected that the Tosawihi quarry and the area around it would be spoken of as a historic resource or a monument tied to a specific reservation-tribal designation such as “Sho-Pai” or to a more general designation such as “Western Shoshone.” In other words, people would say, “That belongs to us because descendents of the people who used to use it are on this reservation” and would identify it as a Tribal resource belonging to the legal, corporate entity having jurisdiction on the particular reservation. Or, people would identify it as a general Western Shoshone resource and would perceive its significance in terms of its inclusion within Western Shoshone territory as circumscribed by boundaries established in bureaucratic, administrative, or contractual documents produced under United States jurisdiction, such as treaties or other legal contexts.

METHODS

The literature indicates Battle Mountain, Ruby Valley, Elko, and Duck Valley as locations where White Knives used to live. My previous research indicated Wells as an additional location. Thus, research concentrated on these five areas. Interviewing was done at South Fork as a kind of control measure and also to investigate relationships between Wadaduka – a possible “old” ethnicity similar to “Tosawihi” – and the Tosawihi themselves. The “key consultant” interviewing technique was used, both to acquire depth and detail for ethnographic data, and also to identify other key consultants.

Open-ended interviews were used to obtain kinship charts for all individuals asserting White Knife ethnicity; to push descent lines back into the past as far as possible; and to obtain qualitative information on the determinants of key informants’ interactions with others whom they identify as “White Knives.” If kin ties were primary determinants, it could be inferred that the behavioral coordinates of White Knife ethnicity would have been subsumed under conditions of reservation or community life that favor maintenance of kin ties rather than ties that formerly bound White Knives together or ones that would bind them to larger ethnic tribal entities.

Oral traditions concerning behavior relating to the solidarity of the White Knife *ethnie* were elicited. Specifically, oral history concerning the significance of the white chert and the quarry, as well as activities associated with the chert and the area around the quarry were elicited. One visit to the quarry site and a nearby area was arranged. Opinions concerning the Tosawihi quarry and its significance were also elicited. The genealogical, oral traditional, attitudinal, and kinship factors were each treated as independent variables.

THE CONSULTANTS

I interviewed 51 individuals: 21 females and 30 males. The 40-50 age cohort yield the largest number of interviewees (10) but the 50-60, 60-70, and 70-80 age cohorts had nearly equal representation. The largest number of interviewees were at Owyhee (17), with Battle Mountain (10) and Lee (8) running close seconds (The greater frequency of interviewees over 40 reflects the fact that generally they knew more than those under 40 and referred me to others who tended to be in the same age cohort or older.

Number of interviews totaled 77. Thirteen consultants were especially helpful. They were sufficiently interested in various aspects of the project, and had flexible enough time schedules, to be able to assist me with multiple interviews each. These individuals and several others constituted "key informants." They were especially knowledgeable and supplied depth and detail on various topics.

I approached a total of 54 individuals. Three people, all from one extended family and all over 80, declined to be interviewed. I was told that one of these individuals had declined specifically because he felt I might "capture" (*suuwaya*) his story. I would write it down and then it would no longer belong to him.

Interviews were loosely structured and open-ended. I told people what I was interested in knowing, and they responded accordingly. The topics I approached first were "Tosawihi;" "Tosawihi Quarry;" and the Tosawihi Homeland and specific uses of places and resources in the area, including use of the white chert. Sometimes I drew complete blanks on these topics. At other times, opening those topics yielded multi-faceted discussions with much ethnographic detail and personal reminiscence.

Following the thread of the alternative hypothesis also yielded fruitful results. Many consultants gave valuable information about what they considered to be the markers of the "old ethnicities" from which their personal heritage derived, and what they considered to be the essential characteristics of contemporary Western Shoshone identity. Invariably, opening this topic led to discussion of the land claim, the Treaty, and Treaty rights, because the ideology through which these topics are interpreted was regarded as an essential component of Western Shoshone-ness. It quickly became evident that Western Shoshone identity was something that had slowly developed over many years, but within the last three of four generations – that is, since about 1920 – and was coalescing as a nationalist movement growing out of an earlier Traditionalist movement (Clemmer 1972: 463-552; 1973; Clemmer and Stewart 1986: 554-555; Johnson 1986: 592-593. See Crum 1988, Rusco 1989 for similar views.) Therefore, some interviews opened specifically with the topic of Treaty rights.

PROCEDURE

In locating consultants, I followed several procedures: (1) Prior to initiating field work, I wrote letters to seven individuals and asked their assistance. Six I had known from previous field work. The seventh was unknown to me but was a tribal official. Three of these individuals

turned out to be basically unacquainted with the Tosawihis, but all but one proved helpful in some way. (2) Because the hypothesis predicted that Tosawihis would be found, if at all, in only four places – Duck Valley, Battle Mountain, Wells, and Elko – I decided to test this aspect of the hypothesis by first contacting two of the individuals to whom I had written whom I knew to be living on reservations where the hypothesis predicted there would be no Tosawihis, and another on a reservation where the hypothesis predicted there should be Tosawihis. All three were Tribal officials.

All three individuals assured me there were no Tosawihis on any of the three reservations. Later, however, through the procedure described under (4) below, I did locate a Tosawihis individual on the predicted reservation. The two Tribal officials on each of the negative-case reservations independently referred me to an individual on a fourth reservation where my hypothesis predicted there would be Tosawihis. Both officials told me that this individual knew all about the Tosawihis.

(3) This turned out to be true. The individual turned out to be Tosawihis. This consultant provided kinship data from which other Tosawihis individuals were identifiable. I followed my consultant's recommendations in locating and contacting other Tosawihis consultants.

(4) At Duck Valley I was assisted by a Tribal official who identified an individual who would know about the Tosawihis. I also had been referred to other individuals there through procedure (3) above. The individual turned out actually to be Tosawihis and provided me with kinship data and introductions to more Tosawihis. In turn, one of those individuals provided me with kinship data and introduction to additional Tosawihis relatives. In this way, I was able to consult the largest number of Tosawihis – 14 – concentrated on any single reservation.

(5) Contacting the other individuals to whom I had written and also obtaining permission to attend three council meetings provided me with additional consultants. These consultants were extremely valuable in helping me to:

- (a) Investigate the components and markers of another “old” ethnicity (Wadaduka); and
- (b) Achieve a better understanding of the nature of Western Shoshone nationalism and its ethnic character.

In accordance with standard ethnographic practice, consultants in this report are accorded complete anonymity.

In the first few days of initiating the project in the field, some information regarding the Tosawihis Homeland became available to me which both necessitated and facilitated some alteration of the original research design and the parameters of the project. Casual discussion with a BLM official in Elko within the first week of the project revealed that two projects were planned for areas that were either near the Tosawihis Quarry or actually included it. One was a gold mine. The other was a dam and reservoir. BLM assertion of jurisdiction over various parcels within the two areas made the BLM a stakeholder. Provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act and more than 30 associated federal Acts and Executive Orders,

including the (1978) American Indian Religious Freedom Act, required the BLM to assume a role as coordinating agency in assuring compliance with these laws and orders by the would-be developers. Thus, each of the developers had commissioned preparation of an Environmental Assessment. Both EAs were deposited in BLM files and thus were public information. I reviewed them.

For the Tosawihī Quarry area, no present use of the area other than hunting, off-the-road vehicles use, and livestock grazing were mentioned. Thirty-seven prehistoric sites were identified, of which two-thirds were either recommended for National Historic Register eligibility or were assessed as potentially eligible (ERT 1988: 3-14-3-18.) No consultation was done with Indians or Indian Tribes. Possible outstanding Western Shoshone claims to the area (Clemmer 1974; Rusco 1982, Clemmer and Stewart 1986: 554-555) were not mentioned.

For the area near the Quarry, known as Rock Creek, the EA mentioned cattle grazing and deer and bird-hunting, and stated that "the dam site is reportedly still utilized in annual ceremonies by northern Shoshone" (SEA 1988: 149.) No assessment of this latter identified use was done in the section on socio-economic impacts (SEA 1988: 162.) Only the inundation of the ceremonial grounds by the proposed reservoir water was noted. The EA identified 63 sites on the basis of an archaeological reconnaissance including four rock shelters, one with "a rock wall and a nearby stone alignment used for a hunting blind" (SEA 1988: 148.) No Indian individuals or Tribes were consulted.

However, the BLM did contact one Indian Tribe and several Indian individuals on its own. Additionally, one Indian individual contacted the BLM on his own initiative after reading about the proposed dam and reservoir in the newspaper. The BLM arranged tours of both areas for Indian individuals. Eventually, separate letters protesting both proposed projects, signed by several Indian individuals, were received and filed by the BLM.

These facts raised several possibilities in terms of the Tosawihī project. One was that in addition to being included by Western Shoshones in their land claim, both of these areas might be used extensively and intensively. If the users turned out to be Tosawihī, an exciting new dimension to the research would be introduced. In addition, such use would greatly strengthen the basic assumption of the primary hypothesis: that ethnicity is derivative of culture as defined in the project: that is, a way of life, daily activities, production and use of material items and food, as well as shared values, attitudes and knowledge. The facts from the BLM introduced yet another interesting possibility: that both of these areas were still actually used for a variety of activities, and furthermore, that there might be a historical continuity of use stretching back to prehistoric times. Such use would not clearly reflect development of a reservation-based Tribal ethnicity, but rather, would reflect either development of some larger identity, such as "Western Shoshone," or would have served to maintain a pre-existing "old" ethnicity, possibly that of Tosawihī.

Furthermore, reported ceremonial use of the Rock Creek Dam site raised several questions about the role of religion in identity. The hypothesis would predict that because ethnicity has strong political, economic, and social conditioning factors, the political and economic conditions of reservation life would promote development of religions that would

supplant older ones. Such processes are well documented for the Utes, the Fort Hall and Wind River Shoshones, and the Navajo, among whom either the Sun Dance or Peyotism have eclipsed traditional animism or shamanism (Jorgensen 1972, 1986; Aberle 1966.) But if ceremonies were “STILL” being held OFF reservations, what kinds of ceremonies were they? And who participated in them? Were they really “Northern Shoshones?” Or might they be Tosawihi? Why were they held at the Rock Creek Dam site? Were they alternatives to pan-Shoshone religions such as the Sun Dance?

Clearly, this new information and the questions it raised, required development of a couple of corollary-hypotheses and some additional interviewing priorities. One corollary was that use of the Tosawihi Homeland would be confined to identifiable Tosawihi. Another was that use of the area for religious purposes would also be confined to identifiable Tosawihi, and that religious use of the area would serve as a point of contrast between Tosawihi and other Shoshone. A third was that, in line with the alternate hypothesis, those who did not use the area and its resources, whether Tosawihi or not, would not have any perceptions of the area as having any religious significance and further, would not be able to supply any specific information documenting historical or contemporary behavior associated with the Tosawihi Quarry itself. Rather, non-users would either not know of the Quarry; or would know about it but be indifferent to its fate; or would speak of it as a historic resource or a monument tied to a much more general territorial ethnic identification.

Additional data-gathering goals were required to operationalize these corollaries. First, data on actual use of the area had to be sought. Second, consultants identifying themselves as Tosawihi had to be pressed concerning their knowledge and use of the Quarry and surrounding area. Third, some behavioral texture had to be given to whatever religious use was asserted for the area. This would be hard to do from interviews unless they were lengthy and extended. Finally, some systematic means of ascertaining non-Tosawihis’ perceptions and uses of the area had to be developed.

Procedurally, attaining these goals required building sufficient flexibility into the interview schedule so that I could return to knowledgeable and helpful consultants to follow up leads obtained from others or to check up on uncertain or perplexing items. Doing this demanded the ability to work seven days a week and 12 hours a day if necessary, and to shuttle a hundred miles or more between one reservation community and another.

By agreement with the Elko BLM Office, I acquired the temporary status of “BLM volunteer.” Status as a BLM volunteer enable me to finance a more ambitious work schedule and also facilitated one field trip to the Tosawihi Quarry and the Rock Creek Dam Site with 3 male Shoshone consultants, 2 of which are Tosawihi. All are between the ages of 55 and 65. Three additional “likely participants” in the field trip could not accompany us due to health reasons and other commitments. A fourth likely participant had, unfortunately, died recently.

The new information obtained from the BLM also required building in the interview schedule a substantial number of people who were definitely not Tosawihi, and doing so in some systematic way with regard to a topic and issue that derived from the research design. I did this

by using the concept of the World Heritage Site and applying it to the Quarry as a hypothetical suggestion and interview question.

The Tosawihi Quarry had already been assessed as being eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Thus it made sense for it to be proposed as a World Heritage Site. World Heritage Sites range from the Great Temple of Abu Simbel in Egypt to panels of rock art in arctic Norway. World Heritage Sites are designated and listed by UNESCO, a branch of the United Nations. They may be aesthetic landscapes of unique beauty; refuges of unique or endangered wildlife; actual monuments of unique human artistry; artifacts created by human beings and unique to a specific spot; or places where documented events important in human history occurred (UNESCO 1970; 1985; 1988.)

If the suggestion were made to Western Shoshones to designate the Tosawihi Quarry as a World Heritage Site, what would their reactions be? Clearly, general approval of the idea would not constitute documentation of the Site's significance. On the other hand, making the suggestions would likely elicit information from those to whom the Site was personally significant. Furthermore, it would be to no one's disadvantage to come forth with such information, and they would likely do so. Thus, the idea of the Tosawihi Quarry World Heritage Site was built into the research strategy.

I presented this idea at meetings of the Western Shoshone National Council and the Council of Elders. I found that the responses I obtained provided a controlled context for not only addressing the research problems uncovered by the BLM, but also for uncovering data that had important ramifications for the more general study of ethnicity and ethnic identity among Western Shoshones. Designation as a volunteer for the BLM enabled me to maintain my complete independence as a researcher for the Nevada State Museum and the Trumann-Orr Foundation, which had provided the major funding, but provided a little bit of additional financial support that enabled me to travel long distances, conduct more interviews, accomplish the field trip to the Tosawihi Quarry and Rock Creek Dam Site, and attend the Council meetings. Thus I was able to properly and systematically address the research problems in light of the new information provided by the BLM.

CAVEAT

The research results in this report should not, and cannot, be interpreted independently of the conclusions to which they lead and of the procedures that were followed in generating them. The conclusions are the results of research undertaken at a particular historical moment and by some one who is known personally or by reputation to a substantial number of the Western Shoshone people and has a prior record of research in the area. Because I used the "key informant" and "networking" approaches, the research results should not be interpreted in the same way as those that might have been obtained from either a random or a stratified sample often used in survey research. The results cannot be tested *statistically* for significance.

Rather, the conclusions drawn from the research are based on the assumption that interviewees represent a continuum of knowledge, values, attitudes, experiences, and behavioral

patterning that are identifiable as "Tosawihí," "Wadaduka," "Guwudaga," "Western Shoshone," "Indian," etc., who are either participants in the western Shoshone nationalist movement or who live at Wells, Battle Mountain, South Fork, Ruby Valley, Elko, or Duck valley. This continuum is a reflection of contemporary Shoshone culture, society, and identity, but it obviously does not constitute any sort of system or totality, because I did not systematically interview Western Shoshones on other reservations or even try to obtain any kind of "representative sample" of Tosawihí.

In other words, the NUMBERS and PERCENTAGES of persons in any particular category ("Tosawihí users of white chert" or "Wadaduka who identify primarily as Western Shoshones") neither indicate nor reflect anything statistically significant. They are simply presented as part of the reportage style. They cannot be interpreted either as the total universe of persons in that category or as any sort of percentages of responses that might be obtained for that category if all 6,000 estimated Western Shoshones had been contacted. Likewise, other inquiries by other investigators with different backgrounds, who use different techniques or who approach different people on different reservations might derive different results and reach different conclusions.

USE OF PLACE IN THE TOSAWIHI HOMELAND: TOSAWIHI QUARRY

Nine consultants knew about the Tosawihí Quarry area and knew where it was, of whom five were White Knife Shoshone. Of the White Knife Shoshone consultants, then 22% knew about the Tosawihí Quarry. All except one Tosawihí individual were favorable to the Quarry being a World Heritage Site. One was indifferent. Only one non-Tosawihí had knowledge of the area. With this exception, all the non-Tosawihí either expressed ignorance of the area or were not able to provide specific documentation of its significance. They approved the idea of it being a World Heritage Site because it constituted a monument tied to the much more general territorial ethnic identification of "Western Shoshone." Thus, for non-Tosawihí, the significance of the Quarry became apparent as one of several monuments symbolic of the shared territory claimed by the Western Shoshone Nationalist Movement.

For self-identified Tosawihí, however, the associations with the Quarry were quite different. They were much more specific. They were not, however, in conflict or contradiction with non-Tosawihí's appreciation and valuation of the Quarry. One man identifying himself as Tosawihí was sufficiently knowledgeable about the area to be able to tell me exactly how to get there. He described virtually every landmark. Three consultants from one family have used the Quarry area on a regular basis. It is their family's traditional use area. One man recalled specific oral traditions referring to the area that involved his named lineal ancestors to the fourth ascending generation. Two more consultants recalled their own former use of the area and residency in it but did not know about the Quarry specifically.

Use of the area falls into four categories: (1) Seasonal hunting; (2) Seasonal haying and buckarooing for nearby ranches; (3) Long-term residency and buckarooing; (4) occasional and regular gathering of chert. The latest date secured for seasonal hunting was 1988. Deer, rock chucks (groundhogs or marmots, YA'HAA in Shoshone), squirrels, and rabbit were hunted.

Deer used to be hunted with poisoned arrows. One consultant said that the poison was a paste made from smashed greasewood root. The paste was applied to the tip of the arrow. The poison took two to three hours to work into the animal's wound. At that point, the animal would drop. When they found the animal, the hunters would finish it off. An Indian doctor or prayer person would pray over the animal. That would make the meat edible. The poison would not have an effect – it would go away. That is the way the “old Indians” hunted. They never killed the animal with their arrows. They just hit it once or twice, then tracked it.

Hunting is done with the help of little men. These little men cannot be seen but they are always there. They whistle like a bird. That's how you know they're there. This is still the way Shoshones hunt. They will guide you right to the animal if you pray to them. It's important not to do anything to change the land because if the land is changed, those little men will go away and there will be no more deer to hunt.

Squirrels are also hunted, but the technique used in the mid-twentieth century in the Tosawihl Quarry area was more akin to gathering than to hunting. There are two types of squirrel. Gray squirrels (“kangaroo rats”) are called *davva?aih* (“sun-one”) because they like to sun themselves. Red squirrels (“prairie dogs”) are called *engatsippih*. To catch them in the summer, plug up their holes and/or station people around them. Hunting squirrels this way was done by men and women together. Take a 5-gallon can of water and pour it into their holes. They'll come right out. Then you wring their necks and throw them on the fire to singe the hair off. They are good to eat in the summer, but they are inedible in spring. In spring they eat greasewood roots and that makes them inedible. They don't taste good.

To keep a squirrel or rock chuck fresh while on the way back to camp, the “old Indians” used to wrap the game in rye grass (probably *Elymus condensatus* – cf. Steward 1938: 24.) Squirrels and rock chucks are prepared in the same way. The best time to hunt rock chucks is July. When you get one, singe the hair off the rock chuck in an open fire – the same way you do it with a squirrel. Then, roast them. Dig out a big hole and put hot ashes into it with a shovel. Then put the squirrels in, or the rock chuck. Cover them up with more ashes and dirt. Build a fire on top. When the meat (*yaa'han-dook* = rock chuck meat; *tsippiahndook* = squirrel meat) is done, the grease will shoot up out of the top. Dig them out and take a green willow twig and beat the ashes off them. They are delicious.

Anything can be cooked that way. One consultant averred that cooking with ashes was the secret to the success of “Indian cooking.” Ashes go into everything. That is why trash should never be thrown into a camp fire; it spoils the ashes.

This consultant recalled his uncle roasting a cow's head that way. The uncle also used to roast beaver heads in the same way. When the head was taken out, the meat would just fall away from the bones. “You never tasted anything so good,” he said. His uncle taught him to make bread in the same way. The dough was made from flour, water, and baking soda. A female consultant also recalled making bread that way. The bread became a favorite of cowboys and called “moccasin bread.” It can also be made in a cast-iron dutch oven.

Jackrabbits were hunted with rifles. They would use a spotlight at night. Sometimes they had jackrabbit every night. One consultant said she used the ranch kitchen where she worked to can the jackrabbit meat for use in winter. Another recalled his grandmother making rabbitskin blankets. A lot of skins were necessary for one blanket – 15 or 20. Usually two women worked on a blanket together. A skin would be cut into smaller strips and the strips would be sewn together. The cutting and sewing was done at the same time. The cutting was done with a chert knife. The woman drew the rabbitskin along the cutting edge of the knife which she held between her teeth. Knives of either chert or basalt could be used.

Three consultants recalled buckarooing in the Tosawihi area. One was a buckaroo. Another was a camp cook. A third had a husband who was a buckaroo. Among the ranches they worked for were Betty O'Neill, Eisenhood, Hadley, 25 Ranch, and Spanish Ranch. Two said they hunted during their buckaroo days. The earliest date I obtained for Indian buckarooing in this area was 1927; the latest was 1965. I was told that a lot of Indians used to come down to that area from Duck Valley and Fort Hall during the summer and fall to do seasoning work cutting, baling, and stacking hay for the white-owned ranches. They also used to come from Deeth and Starr Valley.

Ten consultants reported use of the area for gathering purposes. One consultant said that the women used to collect a red mineral called *avvee* or *pisa-pihh* ("BISHOP") (ochre – Miller 1972: 131.) It was powdered. She said the women used it for rouge. Ten consultants said they gathered white chert, although only three of them knew about the Tosawihi Quarry as a specific location. Three reported it as an on-going activity by them and other members of their families. One consultant keeps a collection of large knives, points, and scrapers in a "Velvet" can.

Two consultants gather unworked chert to make arrowheads and scrapers. One man said he mostly makes notched arrowheads because they are the Shoshone ones. The Paiute ones were unnotched. I was shown one white chert point that was hafted to a cane arrow with sinew. Sinew was taken from the deer's spinal column. Cane arrows would be effective for birds and small game. For increased strength and velocity, a cane arrow could be fitted with a willow splint.

Two Tosawihi consultants reported religious associations for worked chert. One man reported that he and his family search for the white chert because it is religiously important for them as White Knife Shoshones. They pick it up and use it for religious purposes. It is important in doctoring as well as for general protection. They must keep some of the white chert on their persons at all times. For them, the white chert has to be the specific kind that comes from the Tosawihi Quarry area because that is the kind that is necessary for them to use in terms of their religious practices.

One man demonstrated flint-knapping. He learned it from his father. His father used white chert from the Tosawihi Quarry area almost exclusively. But he said he found the white chert very hard to work. It breaks easily. He has never been able to work it all the way over – that is, to knap it on both surfaces – without it breaking. He tried heating it once, thinking that heating it might make it easier to work. He heated it for some hours in a camp fire. But that did

not help. Therefore, he uses obsidian. He got his obsidian from a spot near Golconda, about 50 miles east of the Tosawihī Quarry.

He demonstrated flint-knapping with some obsidian, starting with a nodule and breaking it into flakes. A thin flake is crucial to success. To work a flake, he used deer antlers, alternating among three that he had, depending on whether he wanted to do fine work or gross. He tried five flakes before being able to work one all the way to completion without it breaking. He worked for 15 minutes on one, but in the process of putting notches on it, he broke it. It took him about ten minutes, start to finish, to make the one that was finally a success, with notches.

A different consultant said that in earlier times, it was always the women who made the arrowheads, not the men. The men just used them.

A story was told about a contest held once between “a man from Oregon” and a Shoshone. This was more than 30 years ago. The man from Oregon made his arrowhead out of obsidian that he had brought with him. The Shoshone man made his arrowheads out of Tosawihī chert. When they were done, each hafted their points to arrows and shot the arrows at a railroad tie. The Oregon man shot first. His point stuck, but it broke. The Shoshone man got a couple of feet farther away and shot. His arrow went into the railroad tie farther, and it did not break. The contest demonstrated that the Shoshone flint was harder and thus better material for arrowhead than obsidian.

RELIGION

Western Shoshone religion revolves around the acquisition and legitimate use of *boha*, or *poha* (“*boha*”) – power – and the maintenance of proper relationships between human beings and the spirits of plants; animals life-giving forces such as sun, earth, and water; and guardian spirits generally called “Little Men” or “younger relatives” (*nu:nummi* or *neneue*.) Steward (1941) did not mention these for Nevada Shoshone but he did mention them for the Northern Shoshone at Fort Hall (Steward 1943: 271.) Non-legitimate use of *boha* is witchcraft, and to some extent, the counteracting of illegitimate use of *boha* as well as the “putting to right” of relationships between human beings and spirits that have been neglected or abused are also part of Western Shoshone religion.

There does not seem ever to have been a concept of a supreme being among the Western Shoshone aboriginally (Harris 1940: 56), although Hultkrantz (1986: 632) finds some evidence for its aboriginality among the Northern and Eastern Shoshone. Julian Steward (1938, 1941: 267) did little inquiry about the concept in his salvage ethnographic work and therefore it is impossible to confirm or deny the existence of the concept outside the contexts in which field work has been conducted since Steward’s time (Harris 1940; Malouf 1942; Clemmer 1972; Steward 1978, 1987: 265-272.) Harris (1940: 55-56) discovered the concept of “Father-Spirit” (*Apo* or *Appeh*) which his Tosawihī consultants at Duck valley equated with the power of the sun in 1937. But they did not say the *Appeh* was the same thing as “sun” (*dave*.)

I found *Appéh* to be a concept with which Western Shoshones were acquainted, but not to the exclusion of other sources of power. One man regarded *Appéh* as the source of laws by which Shoshones should live. In some cases, "Father-*appéh*" was equated with "Father Peyote," but only among those who are Peyotists. Peyotists are a tiny minority among the Western Shoshone (cf. Lieber 1972; Jorgensen 1986: 667-671; Stewart 1987: 265-272.) In other cases, the terms "God" or "Great Spirit" are used (cf. Jorgensen 1972: 206) synonymously with *Appéh*. I found *Appéh* to be connected with the sun and sun-power to be most prominent among followers of the Sun Dance religion.

The Sun Dance has been part of Shoshone religion since about 1800. But until about 1900, only the Eastern Shoshone put them up (Jorgensen 1986: 665-666.) The first one at Fort Hall was in 1907. The four Pabawena brothers, who were from the Ruby Valley-Starr Valley area but had close ties to Fort Hall, brought the Sun Dance down from there and put up the first one at Deeth. This was probably about 1920. There were at least two more in Deeth and Elko in the 1920s. Some Western Shoshone became initiated into the Sun Dance at that time.

Some of those initiates also put up Bear Dances. These were held in the 1930s and possibly in the 1940s at Elko and Battle Mountain.

In the late 1970s some Western Shoshones became initiated into a Sioux-style Sun Dance which was brought first to Fort McDermitt (Jorgensen 1986: 667-671) and later to Duck Valley. However, it was only done at Duck Valley one or two times. Some Western Shoshones who had been initiated into the Sun Dance in the 1920s also became involved in this "new" Sun Dance, but Sun Dancers, like Peyotists, remain a small minority, although they are larger in numbers than the Peyotists. The Sun Dance is a source of *boha*.

However, the most frequent forms of religious expression are individual prayers. These prayers may be done at any time, but they should always be done prior to eating because food is ultimately owned by the spirits of the plants and animals from which the food was obtained. Prayers are especially important in connection with places and the spirits that live there. Prayers are made to the spirits of plants and animals; to the "Little Men"; and to the spirits of places that are regarded as power spots. Some of these power spots are seen to embody anthropomorphic figures that represent the spirits that dwell there. Sometimes they can be brought out by prayer and song.

Some specific power spots mentioned to me were in the Rock Creek drainage; the Lamoille Creek drainage; the Ruby Mountains' crest; the Shifting Sands near Fallon; the Wildhorse Creek drainage; and the Skull Creek drainage. Springs were also mentioned as power spots where spirits dwell. The general association of spirits with lakes, springs, and water holes among all Great Basin peoples is well known (Hultkrantz 1986: 633.)

Hultkrantz (1986: 633) distinguishes "little dwarf spirits with poisonous arrows" from the guardian spirits that "own" plant and animal species, and distinguishes both of those from an individual guardian spirit that may assist a hunter in securing game. He also follows Steward (1941: 230) in conceptualizing the "owner of game" as a "coyotelike spirit."

In contrast, I found no distinction between Little Men who could potentially do harm and Little Men who could be beneficial. I was told that the Little Men, who live everywhere in Western Shoshone country, were the very ones who could be either beneficial or malevolent, depending upon how they were treated. For example, when going into an area you've never traversed before, you should pray and ask permission to be there. If you do that, then the Little Men there won't do anything to you. If you pray to them, they will guide you right to game. You also have to pray to the spirit of the game, who is different from the Little Men. If an area is disturbed or torn up, the Little Men will leave and so will the game spirits. There is no single spirit for all the game, except perhaps *Appeh*. After the game has been obtained, or, in the case of plant food, after the food has been gathered, a thanksgiving prayer is appropriate. If a lot of people have been participating, then they should sing a prayer while doing a round dance.

An individual's guardian spirit is different from game spirits, *Appeh*, and the Little Men. But not everyone has a guardian spirit. You get a guardian spirit by being put on the mountain. You have to be put on the mountain by a doctor (shaman.) Once you are there, you get instructions from the guardian spirit. You might be given a song there if that's the spot where songs can be acquired. Otherwise, you might be instructed to go to another spot to get a song. Or you might be instructed to pledge yourself in the Sun Dance.

Sweats are important for purification. They are important in curing and in doctoring. Sweat houses can be built anywhere. It is not the placement of a sweat house in a particular spot that makes that spot sacred or powerful. However, sometimes a sweat house is built at a power spot because purification is necessary in connection with a vision quest undertaken at that power spot, or because a *bohakanten* (shaman or doctor) gets his power from there and uses it to doctor.

Doctoring is distinguished from curing by the participation of a *bohakanten*. Curing can be done by any one who has special knowledge of where natural substances such as herbs or hot mineral waters occur; how to use them; and how to pray to the spirits – Little Men or Water Spirits or plant and animal spirits – that own those things. Thus, any individual can in theory, become a curing specialist.

Such an individual is not necessarily a *bohakanten*. A *bohakanten* is a man or woman who has special *boha*, that is, spiritual power. A *bohakanten* is able to channel spiritual power to change physical circumstances. There are lots of things a *bohakanten* can do with power. One of them is doctoring. Power can be inherited but inherited power is not as strong or as likely to be used as power that is acquired. Power can be acquired or strengthened either through dreams at the Sun Dance, or in a vision quest. A person who inherits power and then strengthens it in these ways is very powerful.

To be acquired through a vision quest, power must be sought at known power spots. Power spots are always on mountains or on the tops of prominent, isolated rock formations or in springs. In doctoring, the *bohakanten* uses *boha* to bring the person who is being doctored back into a state of wellness. The *bohakanten* may do this in the person's home or in a sweathouse or in an outdoor place. If the *bohakanten* has acquired power in a particular power spot, he or she may want to do the doctoring close to that spot.

Thus, today, Western Shoshone religion has three primary expressions: Sun-Dancing; individual prayer to the spirits of plants, animals, power spots, and to Little Men; and use of power spots for vision questing; curing; or doctoring. In addition, of course, a few are Peyotists, and some are Catholic, Episcopalian, or Presbyterian. Mormonism seems to have waned, but it seems that only those who are Mormon, Baptist, or Assembly-of-God adherents shun the constellation of religious activities that are strictly Indian.

Tosawihis individuals did not exhibit any particular constellation of religious activities that would distinguish them from other Western Shoshones except for some Tosawihis' use of white chert as a source of *boha*. However, among those who knew of the power spots in the Rock Creek drainage and used them, the majority were Tosawihis. Also, there was a tendency for Tosawihis to be strong adherents and advocates of the Sun Dance religion, more so than non-Tosawihis Shoshone that I interviewed. This tendency may well derive from the fact that not only the Pabawenas, who were identified to me as Tosawihis, but also several other Tosawihis who are no longer alive, were among those who put up and participated in the first Sun Dances at Deeth and Elko in the 1920s. It cannot be said, then, that there is anything like a distinct Tosawihis religion. But certain features of religion as practiced by certain Shoshones, such as religious use of white chert, are directly attributable to their Tosawihis heritage, and knowledge and use of certain power spots in the Tosawihis area, although not limited to those of Tosawihis descent, have certainly been maintained as a result of continuity between the generations among those with Tosawihis kindreds.

Shoshone religion, then, depends to some extent on maintaining the Sun Dance, but more on maintaining the pristine nature of power spots and on maintaining the presence of Little Men and the owner-spirits of plants and animals where Shoshones gather herbs, medicines and wild foods and where they hunt. Four consultants volunteered strong opinions on "California hunters" who, they said, not only failed to pray to the spirit of the deer, but also wasted the game. In contrast, they said, Shoshone hunters could not get away with doing things that way and if too many "modern" Shoshones hunted like that, then soon, the Little Men and the animals' spirits would go away and there would be no more game. Destroying the habitats of the Little Men by activities such as mining could also cause them to go away.

USE OF PLACE IN THE TOSAWIHI HOMELAND: ROCK CREEK AND VICINITY

The Tosawihis Quarry area was not used for settlements or permanent seasonal camps after the first decade of the twentieth century. Steward's (1938) map also shows no villages in this area for the protohistoric era. However, in areas to the west, south, and north, in Squaw Valley and in the Antelope, Rock, Boulder, and Willow Creek drainages, Shoshones did maintain settlements and camps until about 1927. These areas are part of the area that I have called the "Tosawihis Homeland." One large farm was on Antelope Creek. Another settlement with several families was located up on Rock creek. Steward's (1938) map shows two villages in approximately these two locations for the protohistoric period.

In addition to having settlements and camps there, Shoshones maintained the following kinds of relationships with the area: (1) Use as a burial ground. Recent archaeological survey

work (M. Rusco 1989 personal communication) indicates that this use represents a continuity with prehistoric use patterns, since the existence of prehistoric burials is well substantiated. Prehistorically, caves, crevices and rock shelters were used. However, one Tosawihi consultant reported hearing of a burial on a rock ledge when he was a young man, although he had never seen it. Another Tosawihi reported burials under rock piles and cairns.

(2) Historical use of several hot springs and one cold spring for curing was reported for the period prior to 1960, as was (3) historical and contemporary use of particular power spots for religious purposes including doctoring. Two of these power spots are located in the Rock creek Drainage. They are quite close to one another. One is a *bohapa*, a "power spring." Therefore, these power spots have been the site of many doctorings by at least two different *bohakanti* over the last 80-100 years. One of the power spots is also a vision quest site.

Other uses of the area include: (4) historical use for permanent residence and farming; (5) historical and contemporary use for hunting and gathering and for maintaining associated camps; and (6) historical occupancy as a result of buckarooing. These last two uses are variables of the same factors conditioning hunting and buckarooing in the Tosawihi Quarry area. They will be discussed below. (7) In addition, four consultants mentioned six specific geographical features or formations that mnemonically commemorate either specific events from Shoshone history and tradition or supply crucial components in the practice of Shoshone religion.

I could not ascertain a date for the most recent burial but it probably occurred between 1920 and 1925. One of the last Tosawihi to live in the area continued to "look after" some of the graves until he left in 1927. Three consultants, all in their 60s, said that all the individuals buried there are Tosawihi. Two individuals who are buried above the Rock Creek drainage were mentioned by name. A third was mentioned by one consultant, but other consultants said he had died elsewhere and was buried elsewhere and still others disagreed concerning the individual's identity, thus making it even more difficult to ascertain his burial spot. However, one consultant in his 60s who is part-Tosawihi identified two living Tosawihi individuals in the next ascending generation as having known ancestors buried in the Rock Creek area. One of these individuals was said to be able to name many of her ancestors and relatives who are buried there.

One consultant mentioned use of hot springs in the area for curing ailments. She said the "old Indians" used it and she did too, when she was living in the area as a young woman. Seven consultants identified one or both of the power spots mentioned above. An eighth knew the spots, but did not identify any religious associations with them, saying, rather, that the area nearby had been a frequent and familiar camping site in her youth. One consultant affirmed personal use of the spot for religious purposes. Five other specific individuals were known and mentioned by two consultants as maintaining on-going religious practices at these spots. Altogether, three users are Tosawihi.

Two different consultants each mentioned a different *bohagant* who used the spot for doctoring because they are power spots. One was also known to have used one of them to receive instructions ("visions".) One is recently deceased. He had used it between about 1925 and about 1980, while the other had died sometime earlier and had used the spot in the early 1900s, maybe until the 1930s. Other *bohagants* were said to have left some of their

paraphernalia in the cracks and crevices around the area. Some consultants said the spot also could be used for obtaining songs but others said that songs could not be obtained in that way. It is the special characteristics of the spots themselves that give them *boha*. Tosawihi consultants mentioned additional power spots at Hilltop near Golconda Butte, at Lamoille Creek, and at Sheep Creek, in the Wildhorse Canyon/Owyhee River drainage system. Each power spot has different specific characteristics, however, and is used for different purposes on different occasions. For example, to have a vision that will give you songs, you might go to one power spot rather than another.

Five consultants stated emphatically that full appreciation of the power of the white chert – physical and spiritual – and of the cultural significance of the Tosawihi Homeland in general, could only be obtained through familiarity with the land, its power spots, its subsistence resources, and the traditions associated with it. This familiarity is a key component of the Tosawihi heritage. Some non-Tosawihi Shoshone share this familiarity and appreciation, but unless introduced to the area by a Tosawihi, it was felt, non-Tosawihi are unlikely to acquire it.

This viewpoint was illustrated to me with two anecdotes, each given by a different consultant. One concerned a non-Indian who, outfitted as a “mountain man,” was credited with several erroneous statements and factual errors in newspaper reportage of a talk given to some school-age children in Battle Mountain. These were pointed out to me with some pique. The second example concerned a member of the Te-Moak Bands who had publicly supported a recreation facility that, if constructed, would inundate important parts of the Rock creek drainage. This man’s approval of the project as attributed to the fact that his ancestry was not Tosawihi, which was demonstrated to me in a detailed description of just what his ancestry was.

Other uses of Rock Creek and associated drainages by Shoshones include hunting, gathering, farming, ranching, buckarooing, and quarrying. One consultant said that gold used to be quarried and beaten into jewelry with hand-made, hand-held tools from exposed veins. He had heard about this from his aunt.

Parts of Willow Creek are used for obtaining willow material. Men and women do this together. The willow material is used to make cradleboards. Only women make the cradleboards.

Cradleboards seem to be in widespread use among Shoshones in Battle Mountain, Lee, Ruby Valley, and Owyhee. Three out of the four households that had small children either reported recent use of cradleboards or had them in use. Cradleboard bonnets are always decorated with either dyed willow or colored yarn. Straight, diagonally-slanting line designs are for a boy baby. A girl baby may have zig-zag line designs, diamonds, or any other design. One Tosawihi consultant said that every child should have its own bonnet, at least at first. As the child outgrows its first cradleboard, it can be put into ones made for older siblings that still have the old bonnets on them. A child’s cradleboard bonnet should, at some point, be taken by a parent and hung in a tree. A Tosawihi’s bonnet should be hung in the Tosawihi Homeland. Having it hung there maintains the person’s ties to that area.

When a child is born, the father should bathe in the cold water of a creek or the Humboldt River. One consultant reported doing that. But a younger man said that he used an outside bathtub full of cold water. The father's cold-water bath insures that the child will be protected from disease and ill health, and will grow up tough, strong, and robust, physically as well as spiritually.

All Tosawihis identifying themselves as Tosawihis said that the Tosawihis used to come through the area seasonally, on their way to the Snake River and back from it. They quarried chert and hunted, but they did not stay in the Quarry area long. However, they made their winter camp at Rock Creek.

There are five springs within a seven-mile stretch of Rock Creek and these were places where the "old Indians" camped. One of these springs is associated with otters. I was told that no one had seen otters there for a long time, however – 80 years or so. There used to be permanent settlements in the area then, where the Indians tried to farm. Indian settlements and homesteads were mentioned for Rattlesnake Creek, Antelope Creek, and Rock Creek. Four specific individuals were remembered to have had places there along with their families. Three had left by 1927, one moving to Battle Mountain and the other two to Duck Valley. One had already died.

Definite dates for these farming settlements could not be established. However, there seems to have been a direct association between non-Indians' establishment of cattle and sheep ranches in the general vicinity with Indians' efforts in the same direction. One consultant described what seemed to be a similar process in the Starr Valley-Deeth-Wells area, with Indians and non-Indians competing for arable land and water sources. Still other consultants recounted something similar for the Maggie Creek area and for an area close to the confluence of Antelope Creek and the Humboldt River, near present-day Battle Mountain. One woman in her 80s recalled that her grandfather had had a farm there along with other Indians. When the Battle Mountain Colony was established in 1918, they were told that they had to leave their farms and move to the colony because, they were told, that was "where they belonged." Non-Indians then took that land, she said.

Familiarity with these areas must have initially made these adaptations successful. Tosawihis already knew the locations of springs and potentially good land. Hunting and gathering continued to play an important part in food supply. As noted above, rabbit, prairie dog, and kangaroo rat were especially sought. Seasonal work such as bucking hay, irrigating, running horses and cattle, and cooking for ranch crews either out of a chuck wagon or in the ranch kitchen provided some cash as well as "on-the-job training" in some aspects of ranching. Cash would have been useful in purchasing capital equipment and horses. Consultants mentioned a rusting horse-drawn plow and parts of other equipment near the sites of former farms that were thought to have been used by Shoshones.

Traditional utilization of burial sites, *bohapa*, power spots, hunting and gathering areas, and the white chert – whether for religious or practical purposes – continued in the Tosawihis Homeland in the contact and post-contact eras alongside new adaptations which, if successful, would have enabled at least some Tosawihis to continue to stay. However, ecological and

economic conditions were against them. Irrigation over more than a few seasons results in alkali deposits that kill most domesticated plants except potatoes, grains, and grasses. An undependable growing season results in killing frosts in either June or September once every few years. Cattle and sheep are easily subject to disease, death, and rustling.

Legal interpretations of the times were also against them. Although Indians continued to hold title by right of use and occupancy, neither Nevada nor U.S. land tenure law gave them advantage or even equality with better-capitalized, non-Indian ranchers. One consultant said, also that White ranchers kept stealing water. When asked why the Indian ranches and farms had been abandoned, consultants responded that they could just "not make a go of it." Only one case of an Indian being forced out by gunpoint, on Maggie creek, 50 miles to the east, was recounted, although creation of the Battle Mountain Colony and non-Indians' assertion of fee-patent title over Indians' aboriginal title might also fall into that category. Tosawihi who continued to use the area after the mid-1920s were those who were employed in buckarooing or who lived at the Battle Mountain Colony and could reach the area easily.

CONCLUSIONS

The Tosawihi clearly, at one time, constituted an *ethnie*: a self-identified group of people with shared cultural characteristics distinguishing them from others and sharing ties to a well-defined, but not exclusively owned, territory. The distinguishing characteristics derived from use of the white flint from the Tosawihi Quarry area; trading of the flint and tools made from it to other groups; seasonal transhumance across three distinct ecological zones (the pine-nut territory of the central Nevada mountains and foothills; the Tosawihi Homeland; and the salmon and beaver areas of the Snake/Owyhee drainage); a dialect that tied them to other groups to the north and south but also set them apart, especially with regard to use of certain kin terms; kinship relationships, terminology, and marriage patterns forming a behavioral complex with pseudo-cross-cousin marriage, fraternal polyandry and sororal polygyny, and adoption as important components; and a greater tendency than other Nevada Shoshones to adopt and maintain customs and traditions practiced by Northern Shoshones. Their territory encompassed more than half of the area circumscribed in the descriptions in the Treaty of Ruby Valley as drawn on the Doty map, but was not held to the exclusion of other Shoshones.

Religion appears to have always been an independent variable in the continuum of identities under discussion – i.e., the "old ethnicities" such as Tosawihi as well as the newer "Tribal" ones and "Western Shoshone," "Shoshone," and "Indian." Only the systematic use of power spots within the Tosawihi Homeland by Tosawihi seems to distinguish Tosawihi religious behavior from that of other Shoshones. But Tosawihi also use power spots outside the Tosawihi Homeland, and the importance of religious concepts and behaviors tied to territorially-based spirits and power within the Tosawihi Homeland and without, is a general characteristic of Shoshone religion and thus of generalized Shoshone identity.

Ecological factors were quite significant in Tosawihi identity in the pre-reservation era. Historically and perhaps prehistorically, Tosawihi ranged over three ecological zones, but clearly their identity comes from the white chert deriving from the Quarry area. It is possible that the

working and trading of Tosawihi flint was the factor enabling the White Knives to travel as far as the Snake River and farther, and permitted them to further enhance their ecological niche by acquiring horses.

In the historic period, the Tosawihi became distinguished by two more characteristics: they became mounted and distinguished themselves as fighters, primarily, according to Indian agents, against U.S. troops and mail carriers, but possibly against Paiutes as well; and the identity became important as a component of a larger identity, "Shoshone-ness," as oppose to "Paiute-ness." It is possible that the reputation as fighters precedes acquisition of the horse, but it is unlikely that conflict with Paiutes was very frequent or intense.

Their distinction as mounted fighters raises the question, once again, of whether they were a true band and if so, whether they had been one before acquiring horses, or *became one as a result* of acquiring horses. Bands are defined as having a distinct territory, well-defined membership criteria and customs defining political leadership, authority, and succession. The Tosawihi come very close to fitting this definition. But they do not appear to have had a well-defined political leadership. Indian agents' reports clearly place Sho-kub as "Chief" of the White Knives in the 1850s. But when Sho-kub died, there was reportedly dissatisfaction with Sho-kub's choice of successor, Buck, and apparent fragmentation of the Tosawihi into several groups with different leaders. This fragmentation did not destroy them as an *ethnie*, but it certainly argues against their being a band. The fact that Temoke, who, contrary to Steward's (1938: 149-150) implication, did NOT rise to ascendancy due to his military leadership but rather rose to prominence as a good talker, was able to assert leadership in Ruby Valley against Buck, also argues against the Tosawihi having any sort of tight band-type organization.

Did the Tosawihi maintain themselves as an *ethnie* during the reservation period? No. But they did maintain themselves as an ethnic group and the ethnic identity, "Tosawihi" was maintained as an operable social fact through kin ties that united overlapping kindreds. Frequent daily contact among Tosawihi at Duck Valley as well as continued use of the Tosawihi Homeland reinforced these ties. Some Tosawihi who had moved away from Duck Valley after initially relocating there, returned to the Tosawihi Homeland for hunting, gathering, doctoring, curing, collecting and working the white chert, religious activities, wage work, and long-term and seasonal residence. Some attempted to homestead. Their relatives at Duck Valley maintained association with the Tosawihi territory through association within kindreds, despite intermarriages with individuals of other "old" ethnic identities.

When the old leaders died off, Shoshones formed their own council at Duck Valley and selected their own representatives to a reservation-wide council on which Paddy Cap Paiutes also had representation. Shoshone identity at Duck Valley forged itself from the "old" Shoshone identities such as Tosawihi, Bruneau, Agaiduka, Tubaduka, etc., constructing and maintaining the component ethnicities which gave it its form and character. Outside Duck Valley, the Traditionalist Movement started forming in the 1920s, and reinforced the components of Shoshone identity.

When the Sho-Pai Tribe was created in 1937 under the Indian Reorganization Act, it failed to submerge either their "old" identities or the emerging Shoshone identities under it. The

“old” identities, including Tosawihi, came to be maintained as components of “Shoshone-ness.” This process was aided by the growth in importance of descent from apical ancestors connected either with settling of the Reservation or with signing of the Treaty of Ruby Valley or both.

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