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

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Contents

Book Reviews

Front Cover: Beading a belt, Wadsworth Paiute, ca. 1905. Photograph by Esther L. Linton. Matte collodion or gelatin-silver. *(ETH-752, Nevada Historical Society)*

The Paddy Cap Band of Northern Paiutes:
From Southeastern Oregon to the Duck Valley Reservation

Steven Crum

Northern Paiute and Western Shoshone tribal people currently live on the Duck Valley Reservation, which straddles the Nevada-Idaho border. The White Knife—Tosa Wihi—Shoshones are indigenous to Duck Valley.

Other Shoshones and Paiutes migrated in from different places from the late nineteenth century onward. One group of Paiutes, the Paddy Cap Band, represents its own distinct group and has its own separate community called Miller Creek, located on the north end of the reservation. Like other tribal entities, the Paddy Caps of both past and present developed a deep attachment to their indigenous world, which they called Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen (also "Tepia," which means land). This native connection explains why the band has remained connected to its ancestral homeland of what is now southeastern Oregon, even though it has lived at Duck Valley for some hundred and twenty years. This article examines the connection and provides a historical overview of Paddy Cap history from its early days in eastern Oregon to its present in Duck Valley.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and into the middle of the twentieth century, the Paddy Cap Band experienced a range of challenges. This article centers on those struggles, which include warring against the Euro Americans; dealing with various facets of the federal government's "Indian" policies, including the reservation system and Indian Removal; interacting with the Shoshones once the band settled down on the Duck Valley Reservation; confronting the

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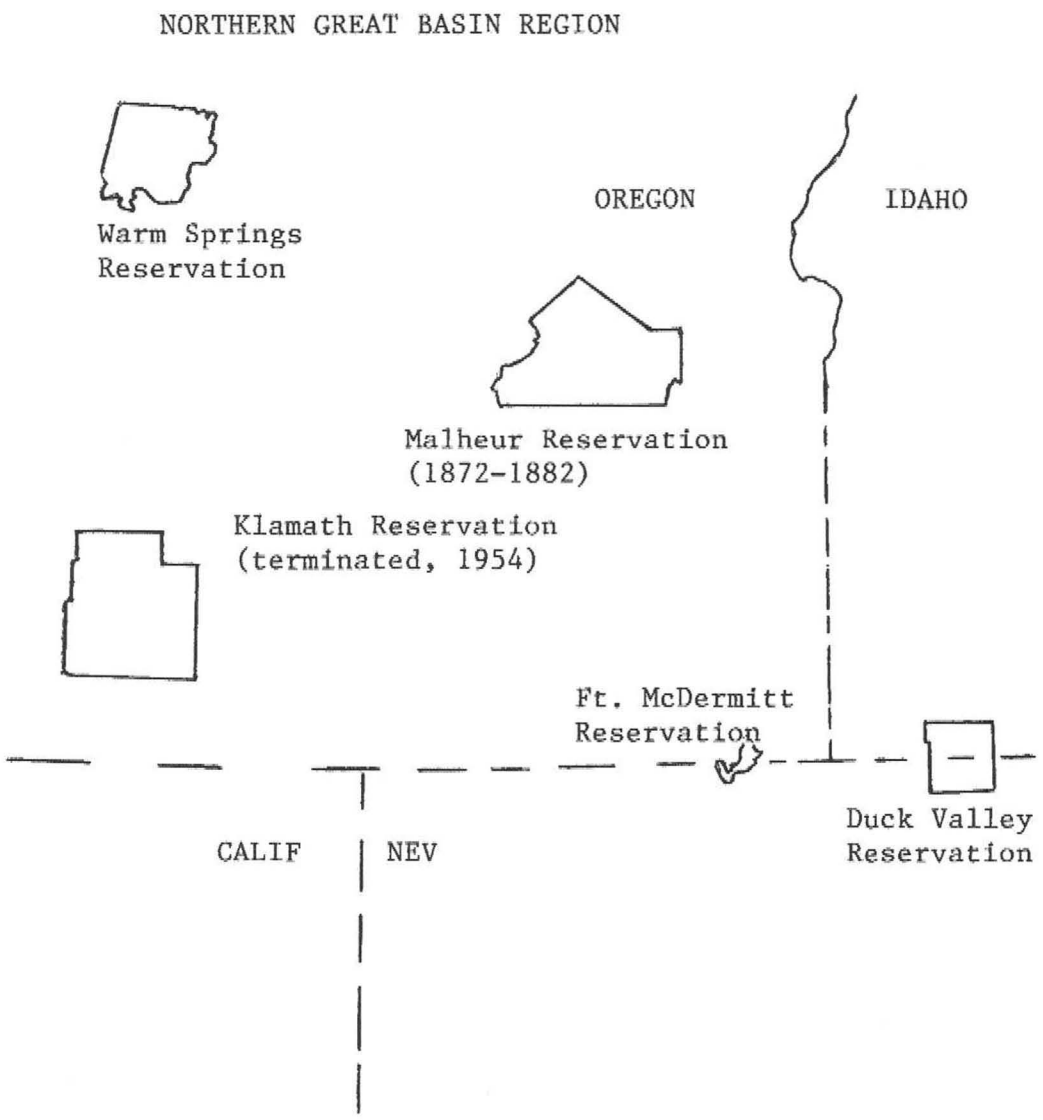
politics and practices of the New Deal of the 1930s; and, finally, focusing on the issue of claims against the federal sector stemming from inequitable treatment during the nineteenth century. Despite these difficulties, the Paiutes have survived and remained a culturally resilient people throughout their history. The theme of struggle is a central point of this article.

As a starting point, the ancestors of the Paddy Caps lived in the area around Harney and Malheur lakes near today's Burns, Oregon. Many of the Paiutes of this region called themselves Wadateka'a, "Seed Eaters," and they survived by hunting, gathering, and fishing in their native area.[1] They represented the northernmost population of the Northern Paiutes who live in a large region that stretches from southeastern Oregon to the Owens Valley region of southeastern California. Most of the Northern Paiutes live in the central area, or in western Nevada.

The Wadateka'a of southeastern Oregon successfully lived within their environment until white settlers invaded their homeland in the mid nineteenth century. By the 1860s, the Paiutes decided to take a stand and fight for their homeland, Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen. Over a two-year period, from 1866 to 1868, they declared war against the settlers, who received the support of the United States military. General George Crook fought various Paiute bands, led by Wewawewa, Oitz, Egan and other noted Paiute leaders. Finally, in 1868, the two sides brought an end to what the whites called "The Snake War of 1866-68."[2]

The war was terminated with a peace treaty on December 10, 1868, at Fort Harney, in southeastern Oregon. The American negotiator, J. W. Perit Huntington, told the Indians they must become peaceful; the Indians agreed. In turn, the various Paiute groups, led by Egan and Oitz, requested that they remain in their ancestral homeland and not be sent elsewhere. Huntington agreed, and both sides favored a Paiute reservation to be established in southeastern Oregon. However, the United States Senate failed to ratify the treaty.[3]

The federal government realized that, with the rapid encroachment of whites into eastern Oregon, more warfare would soon follow. Therefore, the government decided to remove all the Wadateka'a bands from their ancestral homelands. In November 1869, A. B. Meacham, the new superintendent of the Oregon Superintendency of the Office of Indian Affairs (today's Bureau of Indian Affairs, or Indian Bureau), held a large council with the Paiutes and told them they must leave their native area and move two hundred miles to the west, or to the Klamath Reservation of southwestern Oregon. Immediately, the Paiutes rejected this proposed removal. Some Paiutes, led by Chief Winnemucca, boycotted the meeting to express their opposition. The majority who attended the meeting ardently opposed removal. Egan asserted, "When we made a Treaty [1868 treaty], I said we would stay here, as long as we lived."[4] In the end, only a small number of Paiutes moved to Klamath, but because they remembered their southeastern Oregon homeland and remained deeply attached to Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen, most of these had left Klamath by 1871.[5]



Source: Map adopted from Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11, Great Basin (Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 456.

By the early 1870s, federal officials had decided to establish a reservation for the Wadateka'a in southeastern Oregon. Concerning this matter, military officer Edward M. Canby wrote in 1871, "the only adequate remedy is the relocation of the Basin Indians upon a reservation within the limits of their old country."[6] As a result, the federal government, by presidential executive order, created the Malheur Reservation on September 12, 1872, in southeastern Oregon for the various Wadateka'a bands.[7]

Unfortunately, reservation life for the Paiutes turned out to be miserable for several reasons. First, the reservation agent of the mid and late 1870s, W. V. Rinehart, never developed friendly ties with the Paiutes. In one instance, he physically abused a Paiute boy. Second, Rinehart required all Indian men, ages eighteen to forty-five, to work for their food rations. The Paiutes became

angry over this policy, probably because not all men could work, owing to injury or other problems. Third, the Indian Bureau never provided the Indians with enough support for subsistence purposes. The Paiutes received limited food rations and limited farming implements for agriculture. Fourth, white settlers illegally used the new reservation for grazing their cattle. There were 10,839 white-owned cattle inside the reservation boundaries by 1877. And lastly, some of the Paiute groups or bands did not get along with each other. This was the first time in their history that they were confined to a small area. Some Wadateka'a of southeastern Oregon called the northern Nevada Paiutes, led by Winnemucca, an "inferior race of rabbit-hunters."[8]

By 1877, having lived on the Malheur Reservation for only three years, many of the Wadateka'a began to leave, returning to their hunting, gathering, and fishing areas in southeastern Oregon and other nearby places. Egan's band moved to the Payette Valley of southwestern Idaho, near the Oregon border. Winnemucca's band, which in earlier times moved back and forth between northern Nevada and southeastern Oregon, went to northeastern Nevada; they settled temporarily along the Owyhee River after hearing rumors that the federal government planned to establish a new reservation for the Nevada Shoshones.[9] Obviously, Winnemucca favored a new reservation home instead of a return to Malheur.

However, the various Northern Paiute bands did not permanently rule out the Malheur Reservation. After all, its locality was Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen. Rather, they returned periodically to Malheur to receive available government food rations and other supplies, and then left to pursue hunting and gathering.[10]

The Bannock War of 1878 emerged as one of the most prominent affecting the Wadateka'a in the late nineteenth century. The roots of this war started on the Fort Hall Reservation of southeastern Idaho. The Shoshones and Bannocks living on the reservation had experiences similar to the Wadateka'a of Malheur. Specifically, they received only limited food rations from the Indian Bureau. Some Bannocks therefore made the decision to leave the reservation and return to the Camas Prairie area of south-central Idaho, which was one of the most popular places for Bannock food gathering. They possessed a legal right to gather in that region based on treaty rights. Upon arriving at Camas Prairie, the Bannock discovered that white-owned cattle had destroyed native food sources. Immediately angered, the Bannock decided to rid southern Idaho of white settlers. They attacked white ranches, killed a few settlers, and destroyed property. Furthermore, the Bannock sought Indian recruits from the larger region. By June 1878, forty-six Bannock recruiters had reached the Malheur Reservation and encouraged the Wadateka'a to join them.[11]

Angry at the white settlers of southeastern Oregon, and frustrated with reservation life, several Wadateka'a joined the Bannock. Specifically, the bands led by Oitz and Egan joined forces with the Bannock. At this point, Paddy Cap, a Wadataka'a, recognized as a "prominent Piute [sic]" but "not a sub-chief,"

became an active fighter against the white settlers. According to one account, Paddy Cap and his followers burnt ranch houses in Barren Valley. The Bannock War lasted from early June to early August 1878. The Indians killed nine soldiers and thirty-one settlers, while the military killed seventy-eight Indians.[12] With the entry of the United States military, the Indians eventually lost the war. In August, all the Wadateka'a surrendered; they became prisoners of war and were confined at Camp Harney located on the Malheur Reservation.

Although only some Wadateka'a had participated in the Bannock War, the federal government chose to blame nearly all of them for the warfare. The government decided to punish the Paiutes by removing them from Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen. Some federal officials suggested taking the principal leaders to Indian Territory (today's Oklahoma). Others suggested confining the Indians on the Lummi Reservation in Washington. The commissioner of Indian affairs of the Indian Bureau wanted the Paiutes to be taken to Florida. Operating under the assumption that most Northern Paiutes of southeastern Oregon were guilty, the military gathered up 543 of them—including Leggins's band, a group who remained friendly to the whites during the war—and marched them to the Yakima Reservation in Washington.[13] Since the Wadateka'a had to travel a distance of three hundred and fifty miles in the middle of winter before arriving in February 1879, this removal experience became the Wadateka'a version of the Trail of Tears.[14]

Many of the Wadateka'a spent the next half decade as prisoners of war on the Yakima Reservation. However, the Paiutes never forgot Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen, their homeland in southeastern Oregon. Here is another example of remembering and remaining connected to their homeland in the late nineteenth century. The Paiutes looked for every opportunity to escape Yakima and return home. Seventy-one left Yakima in 1880, crossed the Columbia River, and returned to Oregon, places unknown. In September 1881, a few more escaped and settled on the Warm Springs Reservation, which the government had established in 1856 for the Warm Springs and Wasco tribes of central Oregon. Before the outbreak of the Bannock War, some Northern Paiutes of Oregon had also moved to that reservation, making Warm Springs their permanent home. This explains why the Paiutes who left Yakima in 1881 went to Warm Springs.[15] Paiute escapees presumably could have returned to the now vacant Malheur Reservation, but they chose not to because agent Rinehart remained in charge.

In the early 1880s, various individuals, both Indian and non-Indian, wanted the Paiutes to be returned to Oregon. One of these was Sarah Winnemucca, an English-speaking Northern Paiute and the daughter of Chief Winnemucca. Sarah herself briefly lived on the Malheur Reservation when she served as a schoolteacher in the mid 1870s. She argued that the federal government committed a great injustice by gathering up nearly all the Oregon Northern Paiutes and sending them to Yakima, even though many, including Leggins's band, were not guilty of any crime. Sarah made a trip to Washington, D. C., in an ef-

fort to persuade the secretary of the interior to allow the Paiutes to return. The secretary initially favored her request but later retreated from that position.[16] In addition, sympathetic military officials favored the Paiutes' return to Oregon. The most vocal, Arthur Chapman, stationed at Fort Vancouver in Washington, asserted in December 1881 that the Paiutes were "very anxious to return to their own country."[17]

The federal government remained firm that the Paiutes must remain in Washington, and the Paiutes remained convinced that they needed to return to their homeland. However, they could never return to the Malheur Reservation because a presidential executive order abolished it on September 13, 1882.[18] Thus, those Paiutes who sought to escape Yakima had to consider other places. Many chose Warm Springs. In July 1882, roughly two hundred crossed the Columbia but were quickly captured. Only twenty made it to Warm Springs. For reasons not entirely clear, the Indian Bureau agent at Warm Springs was not motivated to return the runaways. But in one instance, in September 1882, he did escort to the Columbia some thirty Paiutes, who were returned to Yakima.[19]

The biggest escape effort took place in the summer of 1883 when roughly 300 Paiutes crossed the Columbia and successfully returned to Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen in southeastern Oregon. One federal official counted 263 individuals, led by Leggins, who were living at Camp Harney, the still-existing military camp located within the boundaries of the now defunct Malheur Reservation. On discovering that the local settlers of the region were anti-Indian, many of the Paiutes left Harney and dispersed themselves. A few remained at Harney and others moved to Steens Mountain, located south of the former reservation. Still others moved 175 miles to the south and settled around Fort McDermitt, which straddles the Nevada-Oregon border.[20]

Angry that the Paiutes had left his reservation, agent R. H. Milroy of Yakima requested that the military round them up for return to the Yakima Reservation. But the military refused to carry out this request, realizing that it could lead to open warfare and the loss of lives on both sides. The military instead recommended placing the Paiutes on one of three reservations in Nevada—Duck Valley Reservation (set aside for the Western Shoshones in 1877), the Walker River Reservation, or the Pyramid Lake Reservation, the latter two having been established in western Nevada for the Nevada Northern Paiutes.[21]

In the end, agent Milroy gave in and asserted that "it would be better to locate them on another reservation, among Indians related to them in blood."[22] Realizing that their escaped relatives would not be returned to Yakima, and that Milroy had softened his position, the remaining Paiutes decided to leave Yakima in 1884. In June, Paddy Cap and his band of fifty left Yakima, traveled around in Oregon for a few months, settled down at Fort McDermitt for awhile, and finally arrived at the Duck Valley Reservation in August 1885, more than a year after leaving Yakima. In August 1884, the last group of Paiutes, led by Oitz, left Yakima and moved in with other Northern Paiutes living at Warm Springs.[23] By the mid 1880s, no Paiutes remained at Yakima.

Two questions emerged as work on this article proceeded. First, why did the Paddy Cap Band decide not to return to Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen, its ancestral Oregon homeland after leaving the Yakima Reservation? Second, why did the Paddy Caps select the Duck Valley Reservation as their future home, and not some other place?

Two important reasons explain why the Paddy Caps did not return to southeastern Oregon. In the first place, they had no reservation to return to: The Malheur Reservation had been abolished in 1882. The more important reason had to do with the whites' abuse of the Paiutes. As previously mentioned, some Paiutes did return home and settled near Burns, Oregon. However, some white settlers, still harboring an anti-Indian position because of the earlier Bannock War, harassed the seventy Paiutes who made Harney Valley their home. One newspaper account indicated that unruly whites committed "repeated outrages" against the Indians, although it never specified what the outrages were.[24] Perhaps anti-Indian sentiment was the biggest reason why many or perhaps most Wadateka'a did not settle the area in and around the former Malheur Reservation.

As to why the Paddy Cap Band chose the Duck Valley Reservation, several explanations are possible. First, Duck Valley is slightly more than two hundred and fifty miles from the old Malheur Reservation site. The topography and climate of Duck Valley in northeastern Nevada are nearly identical to that of southeastern Oregon. Both areas are dry, high desert regions, and the similar landscapes appear to have been a major factor in the Paiute decision to choose Duck Valley.

Second, the Paddy Caps already had some familiarity with Duck Valley because of its close proximity to southeastern Oregon. Many of the Indian residents of the former Malheur Reservation hunted, gathered, and fished in southwestern Idaho near Duck Valley. They fished for salmon in the Owyhee River, which originates in northeastern Nevada, flows through the Duck Valley Reservation, moves across southwestern Idaho, proceeds through extreme southeastern Oregon, and finally empties into the Snake River about forty miles east of the once-existing Malheur Reservation. Obviously, many of the Indians who once resided at that reservation had traveled up the river for hunting and fishing purposes. And although they never made Duck Valley their home, it being part of the Western Shoshone area, they nevertheless became familiar with this area before the 1880s.

Third, the Paddy Caps favored Duck Valley because of its isolation and distance from white settlements. Very few if any settlers lived around or near Duck Valley at this time. In fact, the largest white settlement to the north was Mountain Home, Idaho, some ninety-seven miles away. The nearest white settlement to the south was Elko, Nevada, some ninety-three miles distant. Duck Valley became the perfect haven for a new home where no whites would bother the Paddy Caps. We have to remember that the Paddy Caps and other Wadateka'a had been troubled by the influx of settlers who made southeastern Oregon their permanent home.

For the above reasons, the Paddy Cap Band favored Duck Valley and rejected other places in the mid 1880s. Federal officials encouraged them to move to reservations set aside for Northern Paiutes living in Nevada, specifically the Pyramid Lake and Walker River reservations. But they rejected these reservations because they were located too far to the south in western Nevada and too close to white populations.

As for the Western Shoshones already living at Duck Valley, some of them did not want the Paddy Cap Band to live permanently in Duck Valley because they viewed the reservation as their own indigenous homeland. But the Paddy Caps pushed to remain. To resolve the issue, the reservation agent John S. Mayhugh suggested adding some territory at the north end of the reservation to be a permanent home for the Paiutes. Federal officials in Washington, D. C., favored this idea, and on May 4, 1886, by presidential executive order, the government added a strip of land, twenty-two miles long and six miles wide, to the north end of the reservation, north of the Idaho-Nevada border. The order specified that this new land base was intended for the "Paddy Caps band of Pi-Utes and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon."[25]

At the time of the 1886 executive order, the government interpreted "such other Indians" to mean other Northern Paiutes who used to live on the once-existing Malheur Reservation. For this reason, the Bureau of Indian Affairs asked Paddy Cap and his followers to encourage other former Malheur residents to settle at Duck Valley. This included those Paiutes living at McDermitt in northern Nevada, Harney Valley, and Steens Mountain in southeastern Oregon, and those at Silver City in southwestern Idaho. This effort was somewhat successful. The Paiute population nearly doubled from sixty in 1885 to one hundred and fifteen by 1887. Even Leggins, the Paiute leader who had been unjustly taken to Yakima, settled down at Duck Valley in 1887.[26]

Having made Duck Valley its permanent home after 1885, how did the Paddy Cap Band remember and remain connected to Neweh Ma Nee Be Neen, its southeastern Oregon home? The Paiutes did so in several ways. One, they moved back to Oregon and adjacent areas on a temporary basis. Several Paiutes followed this pattern after the anti-Indian sentiment associated with the Bannock War began to fade. For example, Leggins left Duck Valley sometime in the late 1880s, was living in Jordan Valley, Oregon, by 1890, and finally died near South Mountain in southwestern Idaho.[27]

A few other Wadateka'a did return to their ancestral area around today's Burns, Oregon, where their descendants remain. In 1897, the federal General Land Office set aside one hundred and fifteen small land allotments of a hundred and sixty acres each, near Burns for these Paiutes. One Paiute allottee, Joe Paddy, became recognized as chief of the Burns Paiutes in the 1890s.[28] It should be stressed, however, that most of the Burns Paiutes came directly from Yakima, whereas only a few came directly from Duck Valley.

Still other Paiutes shifted places of residence over the years. One of these was Simon Been, whose ancestors came from the Malheur area. At the turn of the century, Been lived on the Warm Springs Reservation, where several Northern Paiute families resided in the late nineteenth century, including some who moved there directly from Yakima. By 1910, Been was living at Duck Valley, and the tribal council adopted him as a tribal member on January 17, 1914.[29] However, Been and other Paiutes shifted places of residence over the years, living for a while with relatives at Duck Valley, Burns, and the Warm Springs Reservation. By following this pattern, they remained connected to Paiutes who lived at various places and to their homeland around Burns.

As for the Paddy Caps who remained at Duck Valley permanently, many longed to return to their native homeland. In October 1921, three of them—John Damon, Dick Stanley, and Arthur Yakima—traveled to the Warm Springs Reservation and met with the local Indian Bureau superintendent. They apparently told him that they wanted to return to Oregon. In response, the superintendent, whose Oregon jurisdiction included the Burns Paiute locality, wrote that "the Indians [Paiutes from Duck Valley] in Nevada wish to come back to Oregon and live with the rest of the tribe."[30] In 1935, some Paddy Caps, including Andrey and Charles Damon, Jr., considered leaving Duck Valley and moving to Burns after hearing that the Indian Bureau had purchased a small settlement of 771 acres (called New Village) for the Paiutes living in and around Burns. But the bureau stipulated that only those Paiutes who had lived in or near Burns for the two years prior to January 1935, and who were enrolled at Burns, could move to the new village. This action made the Paddy Caps at Duck Valley ineligible.[31]

The Paddy Caps of Duck Valley did travel back to southeastern Oregon on occasion for important events. Doing this also enabled them to remain connected to their native homeland. In the early 1930s, the descendants of those who once lived on the Malheur Reservation filed suit against the federal government over the loss of their earlier reservation. In 1933, they worked with Father Peter Heuel, a Catholic priest in Burns, who helped them file a written suit to recover money for the loss of Malheur. One year later, in 1934, they signed a formal contract with Heuel, recognizing him as their legal agent or representative. In November 1936, the Paiutes held a five-day gathering and created a larger political organization called The Federation of the Snake or Piute [*sic*] Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation in Oregon. The participants, who came to Burns from a number of places including Burns itself, the Warm Springs Reservation, McDermitt, and Duck Valley, elected a council to conduct business on behalf of the descendants of the former Malheur residents. They voted Nat Paddy, son of Chief Paddy Cap who had moved to Duck Valley in 1885, as the second assistant president. Two other Paiutes from Duck Valley—Dick Stanley and John Damon—served on a committee to determine whose ancestry came from the former Malheur Reservation.[32] In the 1930s and early 1940s, various

Outdoor shade at Miller Creek, Duck Valley, Nevada, ca. 1953. *(Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno Library)*

congressmen who supported the Paiutes' claim submitted legislation in Congress designed to allow them to file suit in the United States Court of Claims. But none of these bills ever left the halls of Congress.

Finally, with the passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act (ICC) of 1946, the descendants of the Malheur residents successfully filed suit against the federal government. They organized a new committee to sign contracts, and the committee included two from Duck Valley, Willy Pretty and John Damon. The ICC designated the Malheur claims as Docket 17, which the Paiutes won on December 4, 1959. The ICC awarded them $567,000 for the loss of their reservation, and the descendants, including those at Duck Valley, received their claims money in the 1960s.[33]

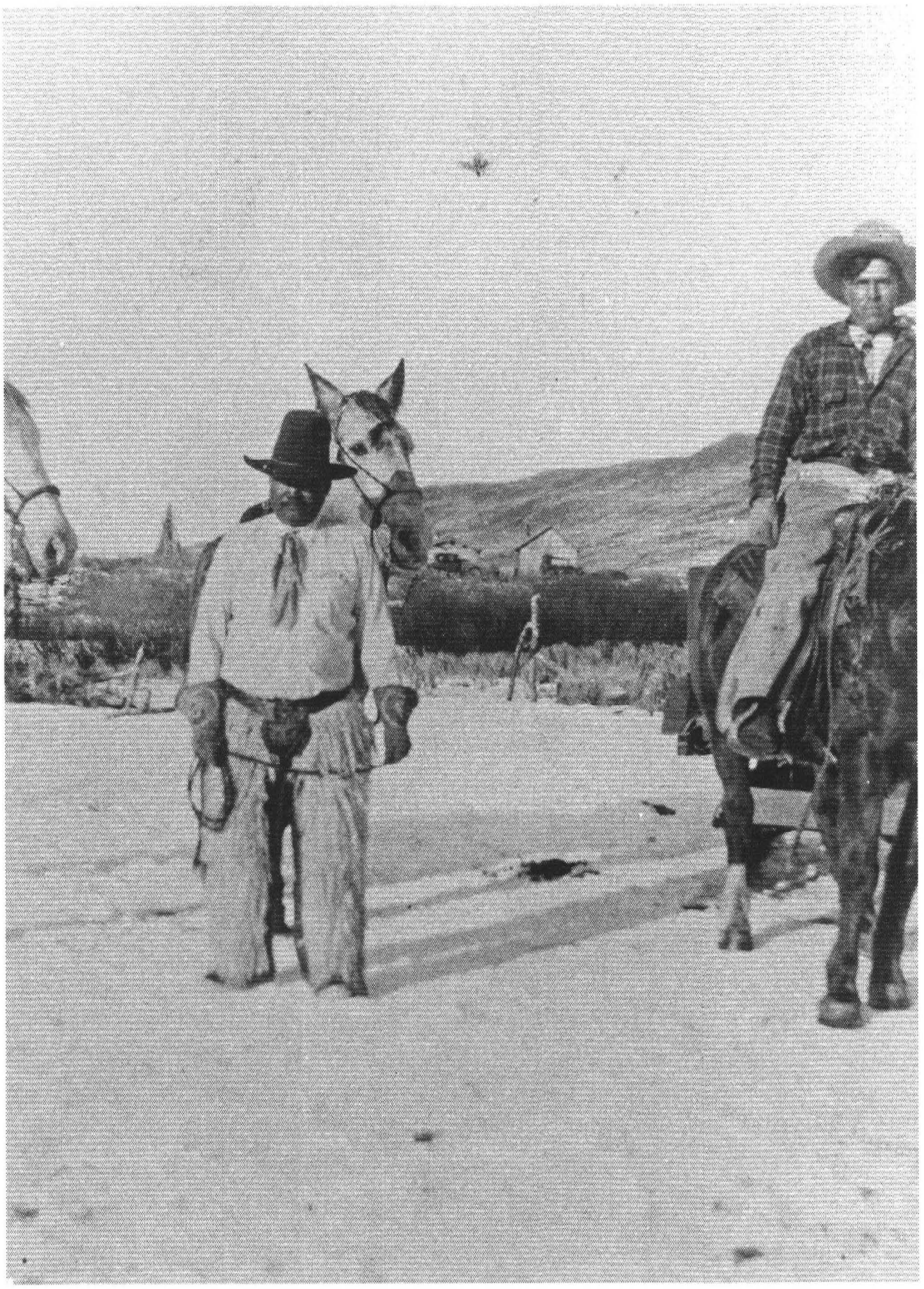
The Malheur claims case allowed all the Wadateka'a of the former Malheur Reservation to return to southeastern Oregon at various times from the 1930s to the 1960s for meetings in Burns, near the former reservation. Of course, these trips allowed them to remain connected to the home of their ancestors.

The Paddy Caps who remained on the Duck Valley Reservation accepted it as their new home. However, they became dissatisfied with certain changes that developed after 1930. One was the closure in 1931 of the small Bureau

of Indian Affairs day school located at Miller Creek. The bureau justified the closure on the grounds of low enrollments and the high expense of maintaining the school. There was, however, another reason the bureau closed the school. It wanted the Paddy Caps to leave Miller Creek and move to the Nevada side of the reservation, near the agency headquarters, Owyhee. At this location, their children could attend the one remaining centralized reservation school, and the adults could benefit from arable land located near the agency.[34] But the Paddy Caps refused to move because, as will be seen, they considered the area covered in the 1886 executive order to be their exclusive domain.

The second and larger factor that angered the Paddy Cap Band was the Indian New Deal, the Indian version of the larger national New Deal that was designed to combat the Great Depression of the 1930s. The Indian New Deal was the product of John Collier, who served as commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Collier's program for Indians included economic, political, and social reforms. He made sure that certain Indian tribes benefited from regular mainstream New Deal programs.[35] The bureau therefore used Public Works Administration (PWA) funds to build the Wildhorse Dam thirty miles upriver from the reservation. It also used PWA funds to build a reservation-based diversion dam and a series of canals to channel water to different parts of the reservation. The entire PWA project allowed several Indian families to grow two crops of alfalfa, instead of one, each summer after 1937. More hay meant more cattle and an improved reservation economy. However, the PWA project benefited only the Shoshones and Nevada Paiutes (the non-Paddy Caps or non-Oregon) living on the Nevada side of the reservation. None of the canals reached the far northern end of the reservation where the Paddy Caps lived, and they became angry because the project did not benefit them.[36] But this problem was not the fault of the federal government; rather, it was the fault of the reservation geography.

Another aspect of the Indian New Deal was political reform. In 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which was largely the brainchild of Commissioner Collier and his associates. One of the more important provisions of the IRA was political reform, in which the federal government would recognize Indian tribes as quasi-sovereign entities. The IRA allowed tribal groups to create new tribal governments with tribal councils, to sponsor tribal elections, and to develop tribal constitutions and charters.[37] The Shoshones and Paiutes (non-Paddy Caps) at Duck Valley chose to become an IRA tribe because this meant increased political power. In the name of reorganization, the tribal politicians in May 1936 disbanded the older, twelve-member council that had existed since 1911. They also abolished the three electoral or voting districts, which had four members from each district. In the council's place they created a smaller, seven-member business council and made voting at large. This new arrangement benefited those tribal politicians who were "progressive" (an Indian Bureau label) and familiar with Euroamerican notions of governance.



Bert Little and Muskrat Little, descendants of the Paddy Cap Band.
(Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno Library)

The beneficiaries of political reorganization were some Shoshones and Nevada Paiutes living on the Nevada side of the reservation.[38]

The Paddy Caps did not participate in the 1936 reorganization decisions to dismantle the twelve-member tribal council and dissolve the three reservation voting districts. Nor did they favor the creation of the new IRA tribal government or attend the reorganization meetings because they had been discouraged from participating in the political process. Three years earlier, in 1933, weeks before Collier had stepped into office to initiate his Indian New Deal, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the so-called progressive tribal politicians specified that so-called nonprogressives could not serve on the twelve-member council. Although the Paddy Caps continued to represent one of the three electoral districts, and thus had four members on the pre-IRA council, they too were labeled as nonprogressives, along with some Shoshones and Paiutes living on the Nevada side of the reservation. For this reason, they did not or could not participate in the reorganization efforts of 1936.[39] Had they been allowed to be involved, they would have favored continuation of the twelve-member council and the three voting districts, and they would have opposed reorganization because it dissolved the districts and made voting at large.

The Paddy Caps also opposed the new IRA tribal constitution of 1936 because it gave the new IRA council complete jurisdiction over the entire reservation, even the 1886 executive order area. To reduce soil erosion caused by overgrazing in response to an argument advanced by the Indian Bureau, the IRA council, along with its authorized Indian cattle association created grazing districts. The tribal government required all Indian cattle owners to place their cattle within certain seasonal districts. It also created special bull and steer pastures. The 1886 executive order area became the designated steer reserve in the late 1930s. Except for steers, the Paddy Caps had to remove their cattle from the 1886 area and place them in one of the authorized grazing districts. Of course, the new grazing policy angered the Paddy Caps because they regarded the 1886 area as their exclusive area.[40]

Another IRA council decision that disturbed the Paddy Caps was the attempt to outlaw the practice of the Peyote religion on the reservation in 1939. The religion originated south of the Rio Grande in the region of present-day northern Mexico. The tribes there used cacti buds (buttons), derived from particular cactus plants that grow in northern Mexico and certain parts of the southwestern United States, for sacramental purposes.[41] In 1936, a few Shoshones and Bannocks from the Fort Hall Reservation introduced the religion to Duck Valley. The Paddy Caps became the principal followers because they favored the anti-alcohol message and other positive aspects of the religion. The IRA council, however, sought to outlaw the religion for several reasons: It believed that peyote was harmful to a person's health, that some were taking peyote only to become high, and that some were using their government pension payments to pay for peyote buttons. However, Commissioner Collier, who firmly

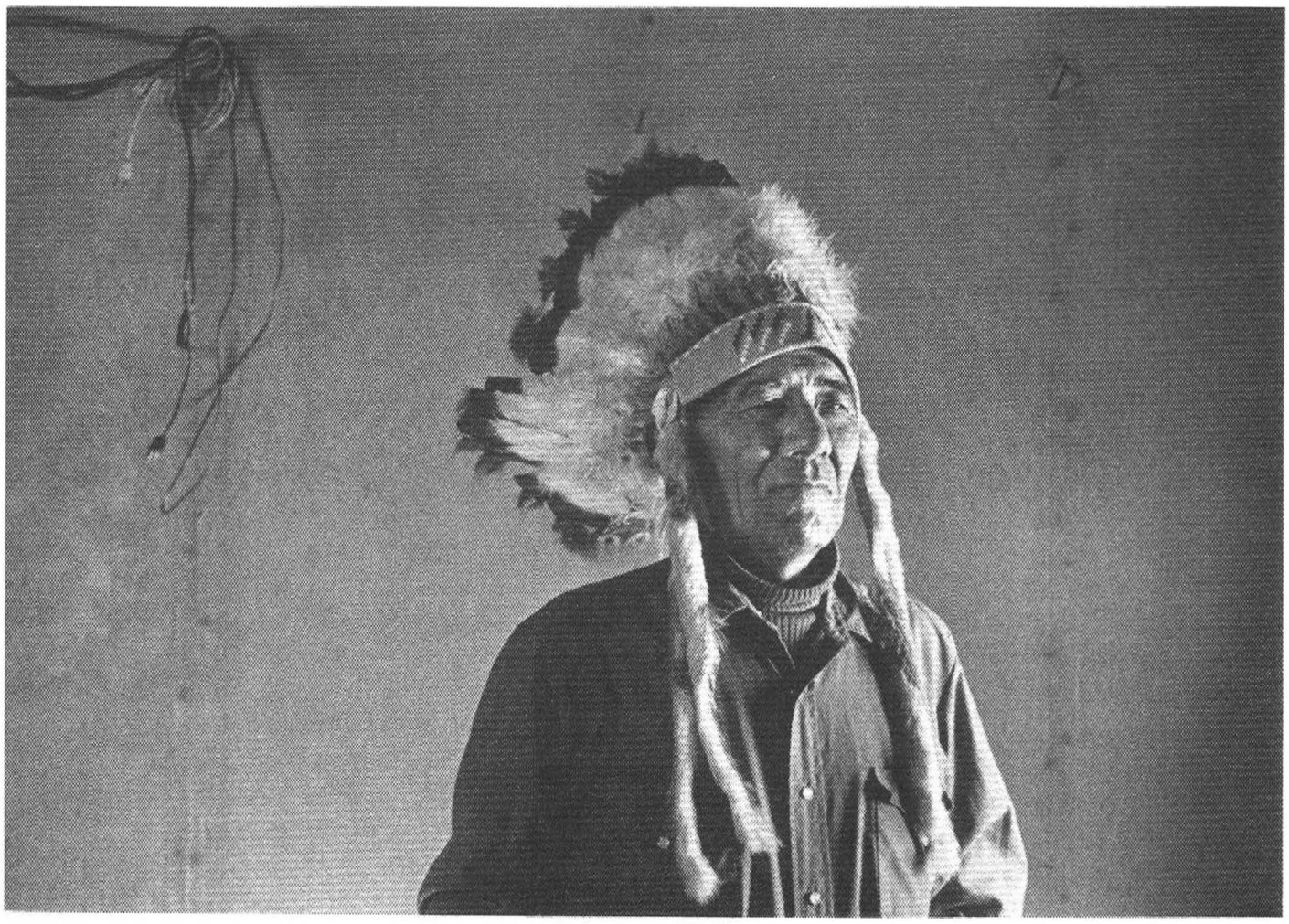
believed in religious freedom, one component of his Indian New Deal, told the IRA council that peyote had no harmful health effects and that individuals should be allowed to practice the religion. The IRA council eventually backed away from its stance against peyote, but the damage had been done.[42] The Paddy Caps and some other tribal persons at Duck Valley opposed the Indian New Deal, not because of Collier's religious-freedom policy, but because of the proposed action of the Duck Valley IRA council.

By the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Paddy Caps had become thoroughly opposed to the Indian New Deal. Their earlier electoral district no longer existed, and because of voting at large, the reservation population elected only one Paddy Cap member for a two-year term between 1936 and 1944.[43] The Paddy Caps therefore complained about being largely excluded from the political and economic affairs of the reservation. In 1943, they asserted:

> We Puite [*sic*] Wish to think for Ourselves. . . . We Puite Indians have No Tribal Council. . . . The Relief. . . in regard to Irrigation was all spent on the Shoshone Land in Nevada Side Not, in Idaho. . . . We Puites Do Not Have Any Benefit here in Our District. . . . This land was given to Puite Indian Chief Captain Paddy year 1886 and Puite Indians now claim this land.[44]

The Indian Bureau and the Indian politicians on the Nevada side of the reservation temporarily took the Paddy Caps' outcry seriously, and two band members were elected in 1944.[45] But after the mid 1940s, the Paddy Caps were no longer voted into office, except in rare and isolated instances. In essence, they lost representation after the elimination of the earlier voting by electoral districts.

In the period after World War II, the Paddy Caps remained against the Indian New Deal, continued to oppose the IRA council, and developed a dislike for the Shoshones and Nevada Paiutes living on the Nevada side of the reservation. In 1945, they stressed that the 1886 executive order area was their "District" and that they did "not want to be Rules [*sic*] by an Ironclad Ruler," or the IRA council.[46] In 1947, Nat Paddy, then ninety-five years old, made a trip to Washington, D.C., to tell the Indian Bureau that the Paddy Caps wanted seventy-nine Shoshones living on the 1886 area to be removed.[47] In 1949, he requested that the bureau build a fence along the southern boundary of the 1886 area to separate the Paddy Cap district from the rest of the reservation.[48] When Nat Paddy died in the early 1950s, his son Joseph became the new Paddy Cap leader. He, too, remained anti-IRA and asserted in 1960 that the band wanted its own tribal council separate from the IRA council.[49] Finally, in the 1960s and 1970s, some officials began to agree with the Paddy Caps. In 1967, James Officer, a higher-level Indian Bureau administrator, told a Duck Valley leader that that area's IRA constitution could be amended to create voting "districts" to give



William Paddy, ca. 1950s. Photograph by Diana Hagaman. *(Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno Library)*

"representation" to disempowered individuals on the reservation.[50] And in 1975, the administrative assistant to Senator Frank Church of Idaho suggested that the IRA council could create "voting districts" for "representation" purposes.[51] However, the IRA council and the Indian Bureau have taken no action on this matter in recent years.

Today, the descendants of the Paddy Cap Band continue to reside on the Duck Valley Reservation, participating in the daily affairs of the larger reservation community. In April 2008, the Shoshone and Paiute voters of Duck Valley chose Nancy Egan as the new tribal chairperson of the IRA council. She thus became the second female chairperson in Duck Valley history. She is the direct descendant of Chief Egan, who fought against the United States military in the Bannock War of 1878.[52]

NOTES

[1]Omer C. Stewart, "The Northern Paiute Bands," *Anthropological Records* (*University of California*) 2 (1939), 132; Minerva T. Soucie, "The End of a Way of Life: The Burns Paiute Indian Tribe," in *The First Oregonians*, Carolyn Baun and Richard Lewis, eds. (Portland: Oregon Council for the Humanities, 1991), 72-76; Matt Bischoff, "Aspects of Punishment: Indian Removal in Northern Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 33:4 (Winter 1994), 263-81. For a recent academic assessment of the Oregon Paiutes, see Susan Stowell, "The Wada-Tika of the Former Malheur Indian Reservation" (Ph.D. diss. University of California, Davis, 2008).

[2]Summary Report, The Snake or Piute Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation, In Oregon, Petitioners v. United States of America, Defendants, 21-22 (hereafter cited as Snake v. U.S.), Records of the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), Docket 17, Box 106, Record Group (RG) 279, National Archives (NA); Hank Corless, *The Weiser Indians: Shoshoni Peacemakers* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 40-48.

[3]Snake v. U.S., 23.

[4]*Ibid.*, 24-26; "Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney. . . ," 8 November 1869, ICC, Docket 17, Box 108, RG 279, NA.

[5]Elmer Otis to Adjt. Gen., 5 June 1871, ICC, Docket 17, Box 112, RG 279, NA.

[6]Edward M. Cany to Asst. Adjt. Gen., 3 November 1871, ICC, Docket 17, Box 108, RG 279, NA.

[7]Snake v. U.S., 39.

[8]Snake v. U.S., 43-47; Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co., 1883), 128 (reprint, Bishop, Calif.: Sierra Media, Inc.); Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1983), 110, 112, 114; H. Linville to Elmer Otis, 1 March 1874, ICC Docket 17, Box 112, RG 279, NA; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, (1877) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 172-74. (hereafter cited as ARCIA).

[9]W.V. Rinehart to Adjt. Gen., 30 June 1877, Records of the Malheur Agency, Letter Received (LR), RG 75, National Archives-Pacific Northwest Region (NA-PNW), Seattle, Washington.

[10]W. V. Rinehart, 17 July 1877, Malheur, LS, RG 75, NA-PNW.

[11]Snake v. U.S., 48; ARCIA (1878), 116. For more information about the Bannock, see Brigham D. Madsen's *The Bannock of Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd, 1958) and Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1980), 75-89.

[12]Corless, *Weiser Indians*, 112; Snake v. U.S., 50; O. O. Howard to Asst. Adjt. Gen., 20 Dec. 1878, Microfilm (M) 666, Roll (R) 377, Frames (FF) 219-27, RG 94, NA; C. Curry to Secretary of War, 31 January 1879, M 666, R 377, FF 245-46, RG 94, NA.

[13]Leggins was a sub-chief under Winnemucca.

[14]Snake v. U.S., 54; Carl Schurz to Secretary of War, 24 October 1878, ICC, Docket 17, Box 108, RG 279, NA; ARCIA (1879), 129-30, 158.

[15]Wilbur to H. Price, 24 July 1882, Yakima Agency Records, Vol. 2, Box 298, NA-PNW.

[16]ARCIA (1881), 174-75; Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca*, 135-61.

[17]A. J. Chapman to Nelson Miles, 6 December 1881, M 574, R 74, FF 193-194, NA.

[18]Richard O. Clemmer and Omer C. Stewart, "Treaties, Reservations, and Claims," *HandBook of North American Indians*, Vol. 11, Great Basin, Warren L. D'Azevedo, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 532.

[19] Wilbur to Price, 27 July 1882, Yakima, Vol. 2, Box 298, RG 75, NA-PNW; Wilbur to CIA, 31 July 1882, Yakima, Vol. 3, Box 294, RG 75, NA-PNW; Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs (CIA), 2 October 1882, Warm Springs Agency Records, Box 10, RG 75, NA-PNW.

[20]R. H. Milroy to Price, 8 June 1883, Yakima, Press copy letters, Box 11, RG 75, NA-PNW; Milroy to Price, 13 June 1883, Yakima, Box 11, RG 75, NA-PNW; Milroy to Price, 11 August 1883, Yakima, Box 11, RG 75, NA-PNW; P. H. Mican to Secretary of War, 23 January 1884, M 689, R 56, FF 223-34, RG 94 NA.

[21]James Pope to Adjt. Gen., 3 January 1884, M 689, R 56, FF 305-307, RG 94, NA.

[22]Milroy to Price, 11 August 1883, Yakima, Press copies, Box 11, RG 75, NA-PNW.

[23]Milroy to Price, 1 July 1884, Yakima, Press copies, Box 11, RG 75, NA-PNW; Alonzo Goesner to CIA, 3 September 1884, Warm Springs, LS, Box 10, RG 75, NA-PNW; John S. Mayhugh to J. D. C. Atkins, 8 August 1885, LR, 14126-85, RG 75, NA; Whitney McKinney, *A History of the Shoshone-Paiutes of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1983), 63-70.

[24]"Harney Valley Affairs," [Winnemucca] *Silver State* (3 February 1885), 3.

[25]Mayhugh to Atkins, 8 August 1885; Mayhugh to Atkins, 29 May 1886, LR, 14915-86, RG 75, NA.

[26]Mayhugh to Atkins, 29 May 1886; J. J. Lewis to Atkins, 22 December 1886, LR, 469-86, RG 75, NA; Western Shoshone Reservation Census, 30 June 1887, M 595, R 646, RG 75, NA.

[27]W. J. Plumb to CIA, 14 June 1890, LR, 18917-90, RG 75, NA.

[28]T. Jones to CIA, 15 September 1897, LR, 40462-97, RG 75, NA; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, *Numa: A Northern Paiute History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1976), 46-48.

[29]Indian Council Statement, Western Shoshone Reservation, 17 January 1914, Central Classified Files (CCF), 69577-13-Western Shoshone-053, RG 75, NA.

[30]Charles Ellis to CIA, 18 October 1921, CCF, 42566-21-Warm Springs-313, RG 75, NA.

[31]Soucie, "End of Way of Life," 73; Elna N. Smith to Peter Heuel, 14 May 1935; Elna N. Smith to Mrs. Charles Damon, 17 May 1935, CCF, 4354-34-Warm Springs-360, Pt. 2.

[32]Minutes of the Meetings of the Federation of Snake or Piute [*sic*] Indians, 6-10 November 1936, Records of the Special Committee on Indian Affairs, Sen 85A-F9, Malheur Reservation, Box 125, RG 46, NA.

[33]Minutes of the General Council meeting, 30 January 1947, ICC, Docket 17, Box 117, RG 279, NA; John O. Crow to Frank Church, 18 July 1961, File: Senate Bill 2027, The Frank Church Papers, Special Collections, The Library, Boise State University; "Descendants of Drifting Tribe of Indians Seek Government Payment for Reservation," *Sunday Oregonian* (11 August 1963).

[34]Paddy Cap Paiutes to Lynn J. Frazier, 19 September 1932, CCF, 46333-32-Western Shoshone-255, RG 75, NA; E. E. McNeilly to CIA, 11 October 1932, CCF, 46333-32-Western Shoshone-255, RG 75, NA.

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[36]Steven J. Crum, "The Western Shoshone of Nevada and the Indian New Deal" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1983), 77-81.

[37]For a good source on the development of the Indian Reorganization Act, see Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), pp. 66-182. Also, see works by Thomas Biolsi, Kenneth Philp, Donald Parman, Graham Taylor, Laurence Hauptman, and Harry Kersey cited in note 34.

[38]Crum, "Western Shoshone of Nevada," 118-19, 122-23.

[39]*Ibid.*

[40]*Ibid.*, 134-135; House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Relief of Needy Indians*, Hearings, 21-22 March 1940, 67th Cong., 3d sess. 1940, 52.

[41]For the best over-all historical study on the Peyote religion, see Omer C. Stewart's *Peyote Religion: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

[42]Crum, "Western Shoshone of Nevada," 131-33.

[43]Tribal minutes, Duck Valley, 14 October 1941, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC-ID), 76105-36-361-P-2, RG 75, NA.

[44]Paddy Cap Paiutes to C. L. McNary and Peter Heuel, 20 May 1943, CCF, 21322-43-Western Shoshone-308, RG 75, NA.

[45]Report of Council Elections, Western Shoshone, 1936-1947, CCF, 7206-41-Western Shoshone-055, RG 75, NA.

[46]Paddy Cap Paiutes to Glen Taylor, 1 February 1945, CCF, 9794-C-36-Western Shoshone-057, RG 75, NA.

[47]"Idaho Piute Object to Nevada Shoshones; 95-Year-Old Chief Asks Government settle Troubles," *Elko Free Press* (22 October 1947), 1.

[48]Nat Paddy to BIA, 23 September 1949, CCF, 37678-47-Western Shoshone-071, RG 75, NA.

[49]Joseph Paddy to CIA, 8 January 1953, CCF, 552-53-Nevada-302, RG 75, NA; Wayne A. Grammer to Frank Church, 17 May 1960, MS 56, Box 1, Folder 3, Series 25, Frank Church Papers, Boise State University Archives.

[50]James E. Officer to Arthur Manning, 17 August 1967, CCF, 3081-67-Nevada-050, RG 75, NA.

[51]"Duck Valley Voting Districts?" *Native Nevadan* (25 July 1975), 9.

[52]"Egan Wins Race for Chairman," *Sho-Pai News*, 16:158 (April 2008), 1.

(Re)Writing the Captivity Narrative
Sarah Winnemucca's Life Among the Piutes *Records White Male Sexual Violence*

GREGORY WRIGHT

On March 9, 2005, the State of Nevada presented a bronze statue of Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins to the National Statuary Hall Collection in Washington, D.C., effectively returning her to the city of American political power and the place where American Indian policy is formed. A plaque affixed to the bottom of the statue describes Winnemucca as a "defender of human rights, educator, [and] author of first book by a Native woman." Indeed, Winnemucca's *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, published in 1883, asserts the rights of the Northern Paiutes, and all indigenous peoples for that matter, in an era when Native American peoples were not granted rights, either as citizens of the United States or as human beings; she attempts to educate a largely Euro-American, Protestant female audience as to the circumstances endured by native peoples.[1] Winnemucca employed the rhetoric of the colonizer to counteract Native American cultural constructions prominent in the nineteenth century and which persist even to this day, yet she also relied on the rhetorical traditions of her tribal culture to convey Northern Paiute cultural identity and sovereignty. Although Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Peabody Mann, Winnemucca's influential white benefactors, wanted a political text that would move Americans to political action, Winnemucca's intention was not solely to recount a history of her people's interaction with the white invaders and to describe the abuses of the reservation system, but also to respond to Euro-American constructions

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Sarah Winnemucca, full-length portrait, albumen paper on boudoir card, unidentified studio, ca.1883. *(ETH-80, Nevada Historical Society)*

of native women. The hegemonic assumption that Native Americans were godless and amoral, if not explicitly immoral, created various cultural models. These commonly recognized and understood types included the sexualized, mysterious "dark woman" or Indian "squaw" and the forceful, insatiable Indian "buck." The Pocahontas myth and the Indian-captivity narrative tradition further fueled these cultural constructions. Indian gender and sexual construction perpetuated sexual degradation of native women and fostered hysteria and fear of native men. In her speaking engagements and later in her text, Winnemucca carefully outlines moral differences existing between the two cultures, speaks to the complexity of existence for Native American women, and situates Native American women as objects of white desire and victims of white rape—a contradiction of the traditional white-constructed stereotype.

Sarah Winnemucca, whose name as a child was Thocmetony, which meant "shell flower," was born most likely sometime in 1844 along the Humboldt River.[2] She was the daughter of Winnemucca, frequently referred to as Old Winnemucca in historical records, a powerful antelope shaman, and Tuboitony, the daughter of Truckee, the leader of the Kuyuidika-a band.[3] Her maternal grandfather Truckee was the greatest influence on her younger years, and his imprint can be seen throughout Winnemucca's life. Truckee advocated a peaceful relationship with the white immigrants who streamed across Northern Paiute lands on their way to the gold fields in California despite previous violent encounters with Euro Americans.[4] Despite Sarah Winnemucca's sometimes overwhelming fear of the white settlers, she and her family, except for her father, followed Truckee into California to work for Jacob Bonsall and Hiram Scott, who ran a ferry across the San Joaquin river and owned an inn for travelers making their way to San Francisco from the gold mines in the Sierra Nevada. These early experiences working with and for white emigrants demonstrated to Winnemucca that the means to "healing" divisions between the Northern Paiute and whites could be found not in armed conflict, but through the power of language. Winnemucca, largely self-educated, learned to speak, read, and write fluently in both English and Spanish.

She used her literacy to present Northern Paiute concerns to the United States government and military as well as to a white readership and audience. In the fall of 1864, twenty years prior to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Exhibition, Winnemucca became a "show Indian," translating the speeches that her father made in the streets and halls of Virginia City. While the family's success was limited, they received enough of a response that they decided to present a theatrical performance at the Metropolitan Theater on October 22, 1864 in San Francisco, titled "Romantic Entertainment." Much like Buffalo Bill's later enterprise, the Winnemucca family's presentation played on the Indian stereotypes held by the white audience. The San Francisco press roundly panned the exhibition but did praise Winnemucca's "sweet English voice."[5] Her letter to Major Henry Douglas, the superintendent of Indian Affairs for Nevada, which provided information

on the deplorable condition of her people and the poor treatment they had received at the Pyramid Lake Reservation, found a much wider audience when *Harper's* published it in 1869 and later when Helen Hunt Jackson included it in *A Century of Dishonor*. Her notoriety as a powerful speaker and advocate for her people led to speaking engagements that took her to Philadelphia, Providence, Hartford, New York City, and Washington, D.C. She lectured in the homes of Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Senator Henry L. Dawes. With the financial and editorial assistance of Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Peabody Mann, Winnemucca produced her tribal narrative, *Life Among the Piutes*, which expands on the lectures she delivered throughout the country between 1864 and 1883. The proceeds from the publication and sale of her book went to the establishment of the Peabody Institute in Lovelock, Nevada, where Winnemucca undertook the teaching of Northern Paiute children in their native and English languages. The Peabody Institute offered an effective alternative to the assimilationist-directed policies of the Indian boarding-school system. Winnemucca devoted her life to educating non-natives on the history and culture of the Northern Paiute, while denouncing the horrific abuses committed by white men on Native American women.

One of the most important condemnations in *Life Among the Piutes* can be found in the chapter "Domestic and Social Moralities," where Winnemucca describes and decries the Euro American propensity toward sexual aggression and violence. The threat and practice of rape by white settlers causes Northern Paiute mothers to fear giving birth to girls because they "are not safe even in their mother's presence."[6] Winnemucca anticipates the claims that Native American women, and more specifically herself, are sexually promiscuous and corrupt. Winnemucca was aware of these charges made against her, as evident in the affidavits filed by William Rinehart with the Board of Indian Commissioners, and those against other native women. While Northern Paiute marriage customs differ from the dominant society, Mary P. Mann, Winnemucca's editor, determined the necessity to include an appendix with letters written by other Indian reformers and military personnel, which testified to Winnemucca's virtue and worked to deflect criticism of Winnemucca's sexuality and sexual history. Brigitte Georgi-Findlay has argued that the inclusion of the testimonials directly places Winnemucca's tribal narrative as a text concerned not only with "the issue of dispossession of tribal land, an issue a white audience dedicated to the rhetoric of national westward expansion would not have espoused without restrictions, but also the outrageous issues of sexual violence and miscegenation revealed in the violation of native women's bodies by white men."[7] Essentially, Winnemucca attacks the morality of Euro Americans and asserts and defends the morality of her people, and especially that of Native American women.

Winnemucca signals that this form of violence is particularly destructive and demoralizing for her people. From the point of first contact, Euro Americans had constructed Native Americans as a corrupt, degenerate race, lacking the beneficence of God. To the Judeo-Christian patriarchy, Native Americans appeared to

practice pagan forms of religion and needed to be rescued from the damnation that awaited them. Key to the construction of Native Americans as immoral and godless was, and still is, the common view of Indians as highly sexualized. The dominant culture imagined Native American men as having an insatiable sexual appetite with a particular penchant for beautiful white women—a result of the popularity of the Indian-captivity narrative. The construction of Native American women in the Judeo-Christian understanding of morality was much more precarious. Rayna Green (Cherokee) terms this construction of Indian women as the Pocahontas perplex. In the minds of Euro-American men, native women could fill only two roles, either the Indian "princess" (virtuous, kind, and always willing to help white men, even at the cost of her own life) and the Indian "squaw" (exotic, venal, dangerous, the great tempter of Christian men). The princess role incorporates the virgin/whore dichotomy, where the princess is admired for her goodness and aid, yet also serves as an object of unattainable white male sexual desire. The construction of the squaw role is more simplistic. According to Green, "Squaws are understood as mere economic and sexual conveniences for . . . men."[8] Winfred Blevins, in *Give Your Heart to the Hawks: A Tribute to the Mountain Men*, his "lusty saga of the Great American West," exemplifies the hegemonic imagery of Indian men as bucks and Indian women as squaws:

> When alien peoples meet, the saying goes, first they fight and then they fornicate. The trappers and Indians did both, as mood and circumstance might dictate. The opportunity for some great sex was probably one of the primary lures of the mountains for the whites, and the squaws seem to have relished it with the trapper, in or out of marriage, avidly enough to fulfill his wildest fantasies.
>
> The status of women in Indian tribes was low. They were property and treated as such. They were saddled with all the domestic work, because a brave's honor would not allow him to touch it. They were made beasts of burden and traded like horses. Like many "primitive" peoples, Indians made women the objects of distrust, hostility, and taboos. . . . So the women certainly could expect no worse from the white man than they would get at home.
>
> Compared to white attitudes toward sex, Indians were utterly uninhibited. They suffered from no embarrassment, shame, or secretiveness about it. With rare exceptions, they had no concept of chastity, in the sense of abstinence before marriage. . . . Public ceremonies in which men and women copulated with anyone other than their own husbands or wives were common among the plains tribes.[9]

Sexual exploitation of Native American women was acceptable, and, after many early fur trappers and traders had taken Indian wives, they discarded them with the arrival of European women on the frontier. As Sylvia Van Kirk

notes, frontiersmen did not always give up their relationships with their former wives, keeping them as prostitutes and mistresses: "In well-settled areas in the post-union period, there was a growing tendency for Indian women to be reduced to the state of prostitutes, a situation conveniently blamed upon the supposed immoral leanings of their race."[10] Whether as a princess or as a squaw, a Native American woman's identity was always constructed and, as Green remarks, defined by her relationships with white men: "They are both tied to the definition by relationships with white men."[11] Winnemucca understood the dualities of this formulation: She was called the Paiute Princess but also slandered by the white men she challenged, and labeled a common prostitute.

The popularity of both factual and fictitious Indian-captivity narratives further perpetuated the construction of Native Americans as sexually promiscuous and immoral. Mary Rowlandson's historical account of her captivity, *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson,* appeared in thirty editions.[12] The Indian-captivity narrative was an immediate bestseller in both Europe and America, and, as Christopher Castiglia notes, these accounts, "remained popular even after Anglo-America had won its wars for possession of the continent and its resources because they offered sensational stories of explicit or implied sex and violence."[13] The Indian-captivity narrative, according to Annette Kolodny, became the means by which Euro-American women interacted with the New World landscape and expressed the captivity they felt in its wildness and in the sexual metaphors of conquest that men had created.[14] Furthermore, the narrative served the larger Judeo-Christian mythos as it provides "a more affecting image of New England as *Judea capta* than in the languishing figure of a Puritan woman held captive in the rugged wilderness retreats of the Indian."[15] Castiglia reaffirms the importance of the Indian-captivity narrative in the colonization and subjugation of the New World landscape and its indigenous inhabitants: "Dominant narratives of manifest destiny, from the colonial era through the present day, have relied for dramatic tension on the threatened sexualization of white women by men of color who possess uncontrollable, violent, and animalistic lusts."[16] Ultimately, as Susan Scheckel explains in her examination of the role Indians played in nineteenth-century American nationalism, "the white female captive becomes a 'national symbolic' in which the boundaries of the nation are aligned with the boundaries of the white female body. . . insofar as the woman/captive remains sexually and culturally intact and is eventually reincorporated within national boundaries."[17] As these critics have found, the Indian-captivity narrative serves multiple purposes, but what most fail to recognize is that the program of self-definition that Euro American writers undertake relies on portraying Native American identity as "savage" and sexually violent and corrupt.

Novelists such as James Fenimore Cooper and Nathaniel Hawthorne capitalized on the popularity of the historical accounts and recast them in their fiction, further ingraining these stereotypes into the national consciousness. Cooper

made the Indian-captivity narrative popular in his *Leatherstocking Tales* and tapped into white fears of rape and miscegenation, although, as the historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich relates, "Puritan writers were amazed at the sexual restraint of Indian men, who never raped their captives."[18] Rowlandson's own narrative supported this assertion when she claimed that during her captivity "no one of them ever offered the least abuse of unchastity to me in word or action."[19] Yet Cooper presents his hero, Natty Bumppo, as the national defender of white female virtue and purity. He finds himself continually in the position of rescuing a beautiful woman, kidnapped for her Otherness and her perceived ability to provide sexual pleasure and stimulation to her Indian kidnapper. Invariably, Bumppo always manages to save the heroine before her captor has the chance to rape and abuse her, protecting the delicacy and propriety of white chastity and morality.[20] From these early American writers, the captivity narrative continued through Beadle's Dime Novels to the westerns of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. John Ford's *The Searchers* does not have Cooper's optimistic resolve and has his white captive incorporated into Comanche society, becoming a wife to the war chief Scar. John Wayne's racist character Ethan Edwards reflects the ideas that Hawthorne presented in *The Scarlet Letter*: The Indian captive cannot return and exist in white society (although Ethan relents and spares her life); he or she must be eliminated. Consequently, white captives are forever stigmatized, existing between two cultures, and white readers are left with fear and dread of the possibility of Indian atrocities. With the popularity of such writers as Cooper and Hawthorne, and filmmakers like Ford, the Indian-captive stereotype, and the fear it engendered, became firmly embedded in the collective consciousness of white society.

Winnemucca's tribal narrative inverts the traditional model of the Indian-captivity narrative, offering her audience an alternative: the White captivity narrative. Undoubtedly, Winnemucca's reader was familiar with the Indian-captivity narrative tradition but was either ignorant or dismissive of the Euro-American practice of taking Indian peoples captive. Pauline Turner Strong, one of the few scholars to examine Euro-American captivity of Native Americans, presents Squanto and Pocahontas as examples of Indians who have become "legendary figures in hegemonic representations of American identity because both are tragic heroes," but who were "captives among the English before they became valuable allies."[21] Most Americans revere Squanto and Pocahontas for the assistance they provided to European colonists, but neither know nor learn that captivity often compelled their assistance. The suppression of this fact, Strong argues, happens "because it is inconsistent with their personification of peaceful and voluntary acquiescence in the colonial project."[22] Winnemucca's text challenges the stereotypes that depicted native peoples as "savage" and reveals the Euro-American practice of captivity and rape.

Rape is a central issue in *Life Among the Piutes* not only for Winnemucca, who escapes being raped on at least five occasions, but also for the Northern Paiute,

the Bannock, and all other Native Americans. The act of rape is more than a form of physical violence. As Susan Brownmiller notes in her study *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, rape "is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all* men keep *all women* in a state of fear."[23] In this assertion, Brownmiller argues that instead of being simply an individual, singular, physical act, rape is also a communal, continuing, emotional, and spiritual project. Brownmiller, while tracing the recorded history of rape and the criminalization of rape, believes that "by anatomical fiat—the inescapable construction of their genital organs—the human male was a natural predator and the human female served as his natural prey" (6). The ensuing fear of being "hunted" by sexually aggressive men, Brownmiller hypothesizes, "led first to the establishment of a rudimentary mate-protectorate and then sometime later to the full-blown male solidification of power, the patriarchy," which inevitably positioned woman as man's "first piece of real property" (8). The construction of women as another male possession allows patriarchal systems to justify rape. Playing on Blevin's statement that "first they fight and then they fornicate," Brownmiller connects the rape of women to the conquest of the Americas, adding, "When men are men, slugging it out among themselves, conquering new land, subjugating new people, driving on toward victory, *unquestionably* there shall be some raping" (23). The raping that accompanies the "conquering [of] new land" and the "subjugating [of] new people" affects native peoples in devastating ways. Andrea Smith (Cherokee) remarks, "We cannot limit our conception of sexual violence to individual acts of rape—rather it encompasses a wide range of strategies designed not only to destroy peoples, but to destroy their sense of being a people."[24] Smith's perception of the "genocidal" consequences of rape points to the "ideology that Native bodies are inherently violable—and by extension, that Native lands are also inherently violable."[25] Winnemucca's text demonstrates an understanding of these concepts as she focuses the reader not just on the attempted rapes she avoided but also on the rapes of numerous native women and the rape of the land.

Many critics who have explored the relationships between white men and Indian women have failed to see rape as more than a sexual crime. For example, Walter O'Meara, in his book *Daughters of the Country: The Women of the Fur Traders and Mountain Men*, examines the roles that women, both native and white, served in fur-trade society. O'Meara, while acknowledging the fear that Native American women had of White men, attributes this emotion to the fallacious dichotomy: "Yet there was a gulf that was never bridged: a chasm, not just of race but of archeological time, that perhaps no civilized man has ever succeeded in closing between himself and a primitive woman."[26] O'Meara dedicates an entire chapter to the subject of rape, looking particularly at white atrocities on Indian women. O'Meara naïvely concludes that the majority of rapes occurred during the early years of first contact, as the Spanish, primarily, looked for sexual slaves. In fur-trade society, by contrast, he argues that trappers, normally the first

wave of Euro American contact, neither raped nor abused women: "[I]t seems quite safe to say that sexual violence against [Indian] women seldom occurred."[27] O'Meara bases this denial of rape on the precarious nature of the situation in which the mountain man found himself: surrounded by "hostile savages." Although permanent white settlement began later in Nevada, white emigrants had almost raped Winnemucca's older sister years earlier, proving O'Meara erroneous in his conclusions on the frequency of rape on the frontier.

Winnemucca signals her reader to the fear of rape at the beginning of her tribal narrative and restates this fear throughout the text. Because the geography and climate of Northern Paiute land is remote and arid, the Paiutes had "never seen a white man" until a few years after Winnemucca's birth, when a wagon train of California-bound emigrants arrived. Winnemucca's initial reaction to the presence of the white emigrants was fear, not unlike the reaction that Jedediah Smith encountered as he rode into an Indian village in the Rockies, where a girl of nine or ten fled before him and his trapping party and then fell dead because of her immense fear.[28] While many agents created and intensified Winnemucca's fear and distrust of white men, from her narrative one can see that at the center of her dread was the fear of being raped. At a very young age she had known this fear to materialize in the rape of her older sister Mary when the family stayed at and worked on the Scott homestead:

> The men whom my grandpa called his brothers would come into our camp and ask my mother to give our sister to them. They would come in at night, and we would all scream and cry, but that would not stop them. My sister, and mother, and my uncles all cried and said, "Oh, why did we come? Oh, we shall surely all be killed some night." My uncles and brothers would not dare to say a word, for fear they would be shot down. So we used to go away every night after dark and hide, and come back to our camp every morning.[29]

Winnemucca's mother pleads with her oldest son to leave his employment with the Scotts because she fears her daughter will be taken forever and either be killed or forced into prostitution: "Mother said, 'Dear son, you know if we stay here sister will be taken from us by the bad white man. I would rather see her die than see her heart full of fear every night.'"[30] Winnemucca does not explicitly claim her sister was raped, but as Margo Lukens reads this passage, "The characteristic delicacy of Winnemucca's narration suggests, despite an absence of prurient detail, that her sister may have been raped, since the family's tears and noise 'would not stop them.'"[31] Throughout her text, Winnemucca avoids the "prurient details" and adopts "a synonym of rape or sexual assault that was familiar to white women, [which] asserts not only that such violations occurred but that they were, indeed violations."[32] Mary's rape, while not explicitly detailed, still occurs and has powerful consequences for Winnemucca and for her people.

Winnemucca does not always provide details of her own narrow escapes from Spanish and other white men who intend to rape her, yet her text implies that she, too, has survived attempted rapes. In the most detailed account, Winnemucca tells how, on a trip to the Yakima Reservation, she had been warned by her cousin Joe Winnemucca that "very bad men" along the way "sometimes . . . would throw a rope over our women, and do fearful things to them . . . most terrible outrageous things to our women." Thus alerted, she and her sister stopped at a Mr. Anderson's and narrowly escaped being raped:

> I said to sister, "Oh, how my heart jumps. Something is going to happen to us, dear."
>
> "I feel that way too," sister said. We sat a long time, but it was very cold, and at last we lay down and I soon fell asleep.
>
> Some one laid a hand on me and said, "Sarah!"
>
> I jumped up with fright and gave him such a blow right in the face. I said, "Go away, or I will cut you to pieces, you mean man!" He ran out of the house, and Mr. Anderson got up and lighted a candle. There was blood on the side of the bed, and on my hands and the floor. He said,—
>
> "Oh, Sarah, what have you done? Did you cut him?"
>
> "No, I did not cut him; I wish I had. I only struck him with my hand."
>
> He said, "Well, a man who will do such a thing needs killing."[33]

While Winnemucca does not make plain the man's intentions, her account of the experience signals to the audience that she, as well as her sister and Mr. Anderson, believed he was determined to rape her. Furthermore, Winnemucca's response to the attack demonstrates the means that she and other Native American women employed to protect themselves from white male violence, essentially positioning themselves as subjects who act rather than objects who are acted upon. She follows through with her vow that "if such an outrageous thing is to happen to me, it will not be done by one man or two, while there are two women with knives, for I know what an Indian woman can do" (228).

Winnemucca's tribal narrative also demonstrates how singular acts of captivity and rape are collective acts, and how they lead to larger conflict and destruction. The catalyst that pushed the Northern Paiute into the Pyramid Lake War and the Bannocks into the Bannock War was the rape of Indian women. Winnemucca recounts the story of two twelve-year-old Paiute girls who were abducted and raped in 1860. The Williams brothers, two traders who lived on the Carson River near the Paiute camp, denied seeing or taking the girls, but on the discovery of a hidden cellar, Paiute men found the kidnapped girls and killed the Williams brothers for the atrocities they had committed. The local white population requested that the government send soldiers to protect the community and kill the "bloodthirsty savages [that] had murdered two inno-

cent, hardworking, industrious, kind-hearted settlers" (71-72). The resulting Pyramid Lake War, as Winnemucca recounts, "lasted about three months, and after a few precious ones of my people, and at least a hundred white men had been killed . . . a peace was made" (72). In 1878, a band of Bannock arrived at the Malheur Agency from Fort Hall Reservation with sad news: "One of the Indians had a sister out digging some roots, and these white men went to the women who were digging, and caught this poor girl, and used her shamefully. The other women ran away and left this girl to the mercy of those white men . . ." (139). The Bannock retaliated by killing the rapists. To punish the Bannock for their carriage of justice, white authorities confiscated their ponies and guns. The starving Bannock on the Fort Hall Reservation and the similarly starving Northern Paiute at the Malheur Agency joined together in revolt against the oppressive Indian agents and the reservation system, beginning the Bannock War, the last significant Indian/white conflict in southern Oregon and northern Nevada. The consequences of the Bannock War were extreme for the Northern Paiute: The government closed the Malheur Agency and, in the winter of 1879, forced the Northern Paiute to walk three hundred and fifty miles through deep snow to the Yakima Reservation. The cost in human life was great as five hundred and fifty Northern Paiutes died on a march that is reminiscent of the Cherokee Trail of Tears. Winnemucca signals that her text is a narrative of her people's captivity when she charges the United States government of holding "us in places against our will, driving us from place to place as if we were beasts" (244-45). Winnemucca's accounting of the captivity and rape of the Northern Paiutes not only inverts the literary and popular conventions of the Indian-captivity narrative, but also takes the rhetoric of colonization and fashions it into a tribal narrative form.

While numerous and complex factors contributed to the commencement of the Bannock War, Winnemucca suggests that a white settler's rape of one Bannock girl caused the death of so many of her people and the further loss of Paiute land. Winnemucca's account of Native American interaction with white colonists presents a history that counters the traditionally held images of native peoples being highly sexual and immoral. She defiantly proclaims the morality of her people and decries the hypocrisy of Judeo-Christian white men: "Ah, there is one thing you cannot say of the Indian. You call him savage, and everything that is bad but one; but, thanks be to God, I am so proud to say that my people have never outraged your women, or have even insulted them by looks or words" (244). Instead of seeing the popular tradition of white women taken and raped by Indian men, Winnemucca accuses white men of committing the atrocities that the dominant culture affixes to native men.

Winnemucca's challenge to white-constructed images of Native Americans and her indictment of white masculine violence against native women continues as she expresses the horror and fear she has of the practice of cannibalism, which she learned of when the Donner party became stranded in the Sierra Nevada

in 1846. Winnemucca accuses Euro Americans of engaging in cannibalism—a justification that colonists often used for the extermination of native peoples. Maggie Kilgour finds the concept and definition of cannibalism centered in the struggle between societies who want to impose their cultural and religious ideology on other groups, and when the hegemony labels the Other as cannibal, it condones "the oppression, extermination, and cultural cannibalism (otherwise known as imperialism) by the rule 'eat or be eaten.'"[34] Kilgour further argues, "In the case of the New World, a similar logic also justified the appropriation of property: The Indians' lack of a concept of possession, on the one hand, supported comparisons of America with Paradise, where there had been no private property; on the other, it made appropriation totally excusable, as no individual was being harmed."[35] W. Arens asserts that cannibalism, whether "exocannibalism" (the eating of people outside of the cultural group) or "endocannibalism" (the eating of people from inside the group), is largely a myth put forward by overly zealous anthropologists as a means of demonizing someone else—the racially and ethnically Other.[36] Arens's claim faced strong criticism from anthropologists, who understandably felt their arguments and investigations would be dismissed. Don Gardner, in defending his research, insists that "there is ample evidence that, for many peoples, attributions of cannibalism to alien others is an effective instrument of demonization."[37] Gardner's statement maintains that non-Western peoples practice cannibalism and that Western anthropologists are correct in demonizing them. Gardner, however, does not address Western cannibalism, nor does he demonize those who have engaged in the practice.

Winnemucca's fear of being eaten alive by white settlers is just as palpable as her fear of being raped. With the memory of the Walker party's massacre of almost eighty Paiute in 1833 and the "fearful story" that Paiute mothers told their children of "whites . . . killing everybody and eating them," Winnemucca and the members of her band flee before the arrival of a group of emigrants to the Humboldt River in 1848.[38] Unable to keep up with the rest of the band, Tuboitony tells her sister, "Let us bury our girls, or we shall all be killed and eaten up."[39] Winnemucca describes the fear she felt as she waited through the day in the burning sun for her death: "Oh, can any one imagine my feelings *buried alive*, thinking every minute that I was to be unburied and eaten up by the people that my grandfather loved so much?"[40] Gae Whitney Canfield suggests that Winnemucca's fear and the tale her mother told her and her sister derived from a well-known tale of a "Cannibal Owl, a Paiute boogeyman who . . . carried away crying, misbehaving children, pounded them into a tender pulp, and ate them with relish," but Winnemucca's tribal narrative does not support this assertion and instead suggests accounts of the cannibalism committed by the Donner party that passed through Northern Paiute land in 1846, report that Winnemucca's band story they would have heard through their contact with the Eastern Miwok.[41]

The Donner party, armed with Lansford Hastings's *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* and having little frontier experience, made a late start for California and almost died of thirst in the western deserts of Utah before being rescued by volunteers who brought them needed water and supplies. They then became trapped by the first snows in the Truckee basin without adequate shelter or food. In mid December all of the men and women who were strong enough to walk left the Truckee Basin camp in an attempt to traverse the mountains by snowshoe. While the first acts of cannibalism among the Donner party were white on white, and only the bodies of those who had died of natural causes were consumed, two members of the party were actually killed for food: the two Miwok guides, Luis and Salvador. Luis and Salvador had willingly accompanied Charles Stanton, who had crossed the Sierra Nevada in advance of the main company to secure needed supplies from John Sutter so as to assist the wagon train in their late passage. Luis and Salvador joined the group of snowshoers in their attempt to cross the Sierra Nevada and refused to consume human flesh, while the white members cannibalized their dead.[42] After several hard days in the mountains and having eaten all of the dried human flesh left from the body of Patrick Dolan, members of the group decided that, rather than drawing lots on who would be sacrificed and consumed, Luis and Salvador would be killed. George R. Stewart states that William H. Eddy warned the two Miwok guides of the intentions of the remainder of the group, allowing them to escape their imminent deaths; yet, Charles F. McGlashan argues that they fled because they were "horrified at the sight of human beings eating the flesh of their comrades."[43] Their escape was to be short lived. Eliza W. Farnham, a survivor of the small group, recorded in her journal the horrific fate of Luis and Salvador:

> Suddenly they came, one day, upon the two fugitive Indians, resting. Poor fellows! They had had nothing to eat since they fled from the camp of death on that terrible night. They had traveled on, feeble and hungry, but hopeful; for they knew that abundance was before them, and that it was really not far off, could they but struggle forward.

They never saw their bountiful home again. The starving emigrants, who could not slay each other, thought with less scruple of the fate of these.[44] News of the party's gruesome actions quickly reached the Northern Paiute and further cemented their belief that whites practiced cannibalism and particularly enjoyed Indian flesh.

In his travel narrative *Life in the Far West*, George Frederick Ruxton relates a similar account of four trappers working in the Great Basin, northwest of the Great Salt Lake, during the winter of 1847. The trapper and hero of Ruxton's narrative, La Bonté, led his small group of four trappers on the trail of some "Digger" Indians (Western Shoshone), who had stolen two of his party's horses.

After a single day's pursuit, La Bonté and his party came upon the Western Shoshone village and exacted their revenge. The trappers quickly murdered nine Indian men and then turned to their spoils: "All this time the women, half dead with fright, were huddled together on the ground, howling piteously; and the mountaineers advancing to them, whirled their lassos round their heads, and throwing the open nooses into the midst, hauled out three of them, and securing their arms in the rope, bound them to a tree, and then proceeded to scalp the dead bodies."[45] The three Indian women were particularly valuable to the trappers because they were not only sexual partners but could also serve in a domestic function. The kidnapping and subsequent marriage of Native American women to white fur trappers, termed marriage *à la façon du pays*, was widespread. Indian girls could also be procured through trade or purchase at the slave markets in Taos and Santa Fe.[46] For La Bonté and his men, these Western Shoshone lacked a spiritual or moral center; they were not human beings like themselves but a commodity to be bought and sold.

The captivity of these three women elucidates Winnemucca's fear of rape and cannibalism, while enforcing the commodification of Native American women as objects to be used. After the trapper raid on the Shoshone village, La Bonté and his party travel southeast, crossing the barren salt flats west of the Great Salt Lake. With their supply of water and food entirely depleted, the men and their captives march for four consecutive days, looking for water and eating their horses as they give out. The trappers, on the point of starvation, according to La Bonté, then murder their still-living captives and eat them:

> "There's the meat, hos—help yourself." La Bonté drew the knife from his scabbard, and approached the spot his companion was pointing to; but what to his horror to see the yet quivering body of one of the Indian squaws, with a large portion of the flesh butchered from it, and part of which Forey was already greedily devouring.[47]

To the four trappers, the Shoshone women are property and may be disposed of as they wish, even butchered for meat. In the trappers' understanding of the role and purpose of Native American women, their actions, while horrific to La Bonté, are justified because, as Forey says, "meat was meat, anyhow they fixed it."[48] The Western Shoshone, neighbors of the Northern Paiute in the Great Basin, often crossed paths in their patterns of subsistence. One must assume that through inter-tribal contact the Northern Paiute, and Winnemucca herself, would have heard of the events that Ruxton describes in his narrative. Coming only a year after the Donner party, another episode of cannibalism by the white invaders would have solidified and justified Winnemucca's fear of captivity, rape, and cannibalism.

A critical reading of Winnemucca's tribal narrative reveals a connection between rape and cannibalism (other than that they are both appalling and

gruesome acts) and speaks to the connection of body and spirit. Georgi-Findlay argues that Winnemucca uses her knowledge of white rape and cannibalism to create an "inversion of the pattern of the Indian captivity narrative," in which "she casts white people in the role of savages."[49] While Georgi-Findlay identifies the importance of these two fears for Winnemucca and for her people, she does not recognize their connection. In *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation*, Kilgour examines not just the act of cannibalism but also its representations in Western culture. She argues that rape and cannibalism are forms of "incorporation, . . . a process concerned with embodiment and the bringing of bodies together."[50] Kilgour makes the connection between sexual intercourse and cannibalism, explaining that "like eating, intercourse makes two bodies one, though in a union that is fortunately less absolute and permanent."[51] Because sexual intercourse "is an incomplete act of incorporation," Kilgour argues that it "may be seen as intensifying desire to the point where it becomes transformed into not art but aggression."[52] For Winnemucca, rape and cannibalism constitute forms by which white men control and possess native peoples and native women in particular. In the act of rape, the male takes the female's virtue, forcing his identity and sexual desire upon her, while simultaneously repressing hers. Nicholas Groth, in his study of rape offenders *Men Who Rape: The Psychology of the Offender*, argues that "rape is a pseudosexual act, complex and multidetermined, but addressing issues of hostility (anger) and control (power) more than passion (sexuality)," and, "for the offender it is not his desire to harm his victim but to possess her sexually."[53] Cannibalism more demonstratively develops this idea. Peggy Reeves Sanday points out that the act of cannibalism is a form of domination and power: "The victim taken in warfare is tortured and reduced to food in the ultimate act of domination. At the same time, by consuming enemy flesh one assimilates the animus of another group's hostile power into one's own."[54] The incorporation and consumption of another human being represents the ultimate act of possession, taking the flesh, blood, nutrients, and soul of the victim into the consumer. People who practiced cannibalism throughout history have believed that in killing and eating one's enemy they gained their victim's strength and power. Winnemucca's dread of being raped and eaten is based upon the fear of losing her strength, identity, virtue, and spirit, and the fear that her tribal people will continue to dwindle in strength, numbers, identity, and spirit.

Life Among the Piutes is most often read as a political text, something that Winnemucca expected and wanted, that would move its readers to demand changes in United States Indian policies. Within recent years, scholars and critics of both autobiographical writing and Native American literature have read the text as the autobiography of an Indian woman who used Western, and more distinctly Western American, literary traditions to cast herself as a Western hero or as a woman warrior. Postcolonial theorists argue that *Life Among the Piutes* is an excellent example of a cross-cultural literary collaboration. In staking out

Western theoretical positions, scholars and critics have overlooked the presence of countless stories of captivity, rape, and cannibalism. Winnemucca's text displays a subtle sophistication, where she inverts the dominant, hegemonic literary discourse and writes the white captivity narrative. Her account of tribal events during 1846-1883 may be read as a defense and affirmation of Northern Paiute culture, morality, and identity, countering imagery that saw Native American women, as sexual objects of white male desire.

NOTES

[1]Winnemucca uses the variant spelling *Piute* in her title, although, as she writes, "I do not know how we came by the name *Piutes*. It is not an Indian word. I think it is misinterpreted" (75). Scholars, however, use the more common and preferred spelling Paiute. The Northern Paiute self-designation is *nimi*, which means "people." See Catherine S. Fowler and Sven Liljeblad, "Northern Paiute," in *Great Basin*, Warren L. D'Azevedo, ed. vol. 11 of *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 435-65.

[2]Several biographies of Winnemucca have been produced during the past thirty years. Gae Whitney Canfield's *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (1983) provides a historical record of Winnemucca's life constructed with the use of contemporary newspaper accounts and government documents. Dorothy Nafus Morrison's *Chief Sarah: Sarah Winnemucca's Fight for Indian Rights* (1991) focuses largely on what Morrison perceives as Winnemucca's position as chieftain among the Northern Paiutes. Sally Zanjani's *Sarah Winnemucca* (2001) recounts her subject's life with emphasis on how Winnemucca constructs herself as a Northern Paiute and as a woman who challenges the white construction of Native American feminine identity.

[3]Kuyuidika-a translates relatively to "cui-ui eaters." Northern Paiute band names derive from the food source most commonly found in the region where they lived. The cui-ui is a large plankton-eating fish that lives only in Pyramid Lake in northern Nevada and is currently on the federal endangered list. For more information on Northern Paiute band names, see Fowler and Liljeblad, "Northern Paiute," 436-37.

[4]Jedediah Smith, in 1826,was the first white man to cross the Great Basin, but another trapper, Peter Skene Ogden, was the first white man to encounter the Northern Paiute, in 1828. In 1833, Joseph Rediford Walker led a group of trappers into the Humboldt Sink, where they encountered and attacked a group of Northern Paiute, massacring upwards of eighty men, women, and children. For a more detailed history and opposing perspectives of the Walker party massacre, see Lalla Scott, *Karnee: A Paiute Narrative*, Robert F. Heizer, ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), and W. F. Wagner, ed., *Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Fur Trader and Trapper, 1831-1836* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1904).

[5]Sally Zanjani, *Sarah Winnemucca* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 77.

[6]Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, Mrs. Horace Mann, ed. (1883; reprint, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994), 48.

[7]Brigitte Georgi-Findlay, "The Frontiers of Native American Women's Writing: Sarah Winemucca's *Life Among the Piutes*," in *New Voices in Native American Literary Criticism*, Arnold Krupat, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 229.

[8]Rayna Green (Cherokee), "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," in *Native American Voice: A Reader*, Susan Lobo and Steve Talbot, eds. (New York: Addison, Wesley, Longman, 1998), 189.

[9]Winfred Blevins, *Give Your Heart to the Hawks: A Tribute to the Mountain Men* (New York: Avon, 1973), 191.

[10]Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 160.

[11]Green, "Pocahontas Perplex," 191.

[12]June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 9.

[13]Christopher Castiglia, *Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 2.

[14]While agreeing with Annette Kolodny's hypothesis that the Indian-captivity narrative acted as the conduit for early Euro-American women to interpret their experiences in the wilderness, Pauline Turner Strong points out that men took over the literary production of captivity narratives shortly after seeing the success Rowlandson's account had: "In contrast to Rowlandson's first-person interpretation of captivity, the narratives of other New England captives published over the next several decades were written or improved by prominent clergymen, including Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and John Williams, a frontier minister related by marriage to the Mathers who was himself taken captive in 1704. In 'improving' the narratives of captives, just as in 'improving' the land, Puritans sought to make a 'profitable' use of the resources at their disposal." See Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder: Westview, 1999), 103.

[15]Annette Kolodny, *The Land before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers,1630-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 21.

[16]Castiglia, *Bound and Determined*, 123.

[17] Susan Scheckel, *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 74.

[18]Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Images and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 97.

[19]Mary Rowlandson, *The Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682; reprint, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 71.

[20]The Indian-captivity narrative is not limited to the kidnapping of white women. Historical accounts of male captivity include John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion. A Faithful History of Remarkable Occurrences in the Captivity and the Deliverance of Mr. John Williams* (Northampton, Mass.: Hopkins, Bridgman, and Company, 1853), and John Tanner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Sault de Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* (1830; reprint, Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1956). Fictional representations of male captivity include Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (1850; reprint, New York: Bantam Books, 1989).

[21]Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others*, 19.

[22]*Ibid.*, 20.

[23]Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York: Bantam Books, 1975), 5.

[24]Andrea Smith (Cherokee), *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 2005), 3.

[25]*Ibid.*, 12.

[26]Walter O'Meara, *Daughters of the Country: The Women of the Fur Traders and Mountain Men* (New York: Harcourt, 1968), 3-4.

[27]*Ibid.*, 110.

[28]*Ibid.*, 3.

[29]Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 34.

[30]*Ibid.*, 37.

[31]Margo Lukens, "Her 'Wrongs and Claims': Sarah Winnemucca's Strategic Narratives of Abuse," *Wicazo Sa Review*, 13:1 (1998), 98.

[32]Cari M. Carpenter, "Tiresias Speaks: Sarah Winnemucca's Hybrid Selves and Genres," *Legacy*, 19:1 (2002), 75.

[33]Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 228, 231-32.

[34]Maggie Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 148.

[35]*Ibid.*, 148.

[36]See W. Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[37]Don Gardner, "Anthropophagy, Myth, and the Subtle Ways of Ethnocentrism," in *The Anthropology of Cannibalism*, Laurence R. Goldman, ed. (Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1999), 28.

[38]Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 11.

[39]*Ibid.*, 11.

[40]*Ibid.*, 12.

[41]For extended discussion of the "Cannibal Owl" story, see Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983). For a specific discussion of inter-tribal contact in the Great Basin, see Fowler and Liljeblad, "Northern Paiute," 438. Also, see Martha C. Knack and Omer C. Stewart, *As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnohistory of the Pyramid Lake Reservation* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984).

[42]For a more detailed history of the Donner party, see Kristin Johnson, ed., *"Unfortunate Emigrants": Narratives of the Donner Party* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996); Charles F. McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party: A Tragedy of the Sierra* (1880; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004), and George R. Stewart, *Ordeal By Hunger* (1936; reprint, New York: Pocket Books, 1971).

[43]McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party*, 81.

[44] Eliza W. Farnham, "From California, In-doors and Out," in Johnson, ed., *"Unfortunate Emigrants,"* 151.

[45]George Frederick Ruxton, *Life in the Far West*, Leroy R. Hafen, ed. (1849; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 83.

[46]For a discussion of the slave market in Taos and Santa Fe, see O'Meara, *Daughters of the Country*, 134.

[47]Ruxton, *Life in the Far West*, 86.

[48]*Ibid.*, 85.

[49]Georgi-Findlay, "Frontiers of Native American Women's Writing," 232.

[50]Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism*, 6.

[51]*Ibid.*, 7.

[52]*Ibid.*, 8.

[53]A. Nicholas Groth, *Men Who Rape: The Psychology of the Offender* (New York: Plenum Press, 1979), 25.

[54]Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6.

Through the Lens of History
The Native American Photograph Collection of the Nevada Historical Society

LEE P. BRUMBAUGH

The Nevada Historical Society collections include around fifteen hundred photographs of Native Americans. Most of the photographs are housed in the general collection, as the first and largest section of the ethnic-groups file. The general collection consists of a geographic file of photographs for each county, as well as separate files for commonly requested subjects, such as communications, transportation, military, education, and biography (or portraits). A separate storage area for "individual collections" contains photographic images kept together under the name of the photographer or donor, as well as photography albums and collections with restrictions upon use, such as fragile glass plates. Two significant items in this section are a family-snapshot album showing Native American life in the Reno area and an album by Esther L. Linton of Native Americans in Reno and Wadsworth at the turn of the last century.

Most of the Native American photographs in the Society's collection are not major fine-art achievements comparable to Edward Curtis's portraits of Plains warriors or Laura Gilpin's images of the Pueblo dwellers of the Southwest. Nonetheless, the Society's collection is an important and widely used documentary resource for anthropologists, historians, textbook publishers, film makers and, perhaps most important, contemporary Native American descendants of

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the individuals photographed. Reproductions of photographs from the Society's Native American collections are housed in most tribal archives of Nevada, eastern California, and western Idaho. Virtually every textbook, CD, or film on women's history, Native American history, or history of the American West includes photographs of Nevada's Native Americans from the Society's collections.

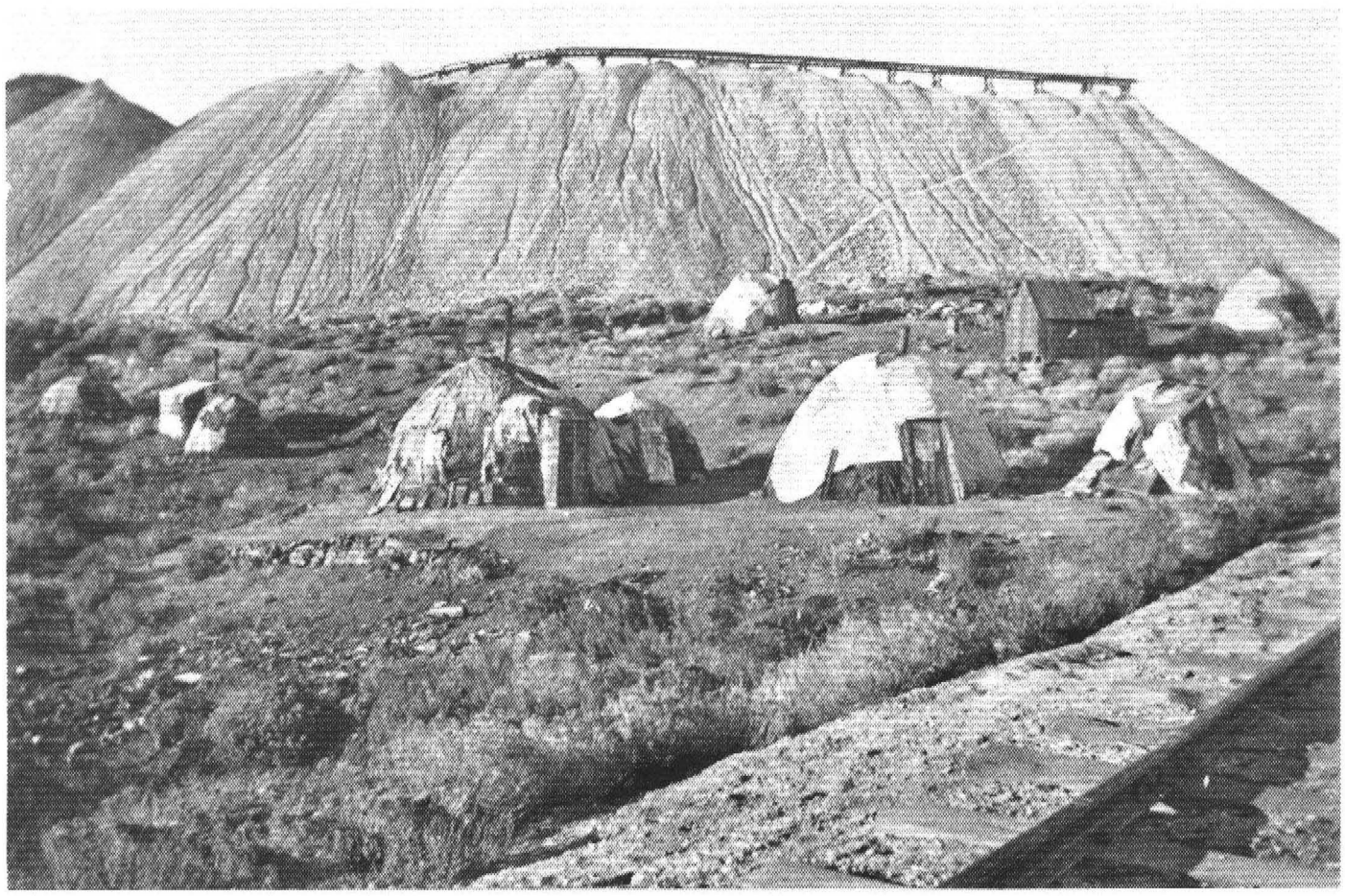
The photographs in the collection fall into a number of contextual as well as media types. The two most basic categories are studio portraits and on-location shots. Most of the photographs from the pioneer period (or, from the Native American perspective, the early-conquest period) are studio portraits. In the middle of the nineteenth century, photographers looked for inspiration to the grand vistas of the American landscape painters, the Hudson River School from back East and the Luminists in the West. The most famous photographers of the post-Civil War period were the Western-survey photographers, William Henry Jackson and Timothy O'Sullivan.[1] Like the Luminists, they portrayed the West as a grand, pristine, and, most important, empty wilderness waiting for the arrival of European civilization, as reformulated in America. Portraying the West as a land fully occupied by thriving Native American nations did not fit the expansionist plans of the United States government and the business interests it represented. When Jackson and O'Sullivan were later hired as railroad photographers to document the building of railroads, human activity remained subordinate to the expansive landscape concept. The images are decidedly not intimate work portraits, as that genre would be later defined in the photography medium.

A second model for early photography of the West was the popular bird's-eye view of towns created by traveling artists and published as lithographs. Carleton Watkins's famous mammoth-plate views (sixteen-by-twenty inches) of Virginia City in 1873 fall into this category. Watkins, incidentally, may well have been the first fine-art photographer, in that he sold his landscape views, most famously those of Yosemite, as framed decorations to be hung on the wall in the manner of paintings. Watkins, like the earlier survey photographers, did not include Native Americans in his landscapes.

Street scenes and ground-level views of any kind did not become common until the late 1880s. The exception would be the occasional shots of depots by railroad photographers such as Alfred A. Hart.[2] The earliest known photograph of Native Americans in Nevada in the Society's collection is probably Hart's circa 1868 stereograph of the Reno depot, which shows a group of Native Americans waiting for the train, possibly back to Wadsworth, near the Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation.

Among the first extensive ground-level documentation of human activity in Nevada is the work of the Utah photographer, James H. Crockwell, who traveled widely in Nevada and maintained a studio in Virginia City in the late 1880s.[3] His views include group portraits of miners, students, tourists, and railroad excursionists, as well as images of shopkeepers and patrons posing in front of

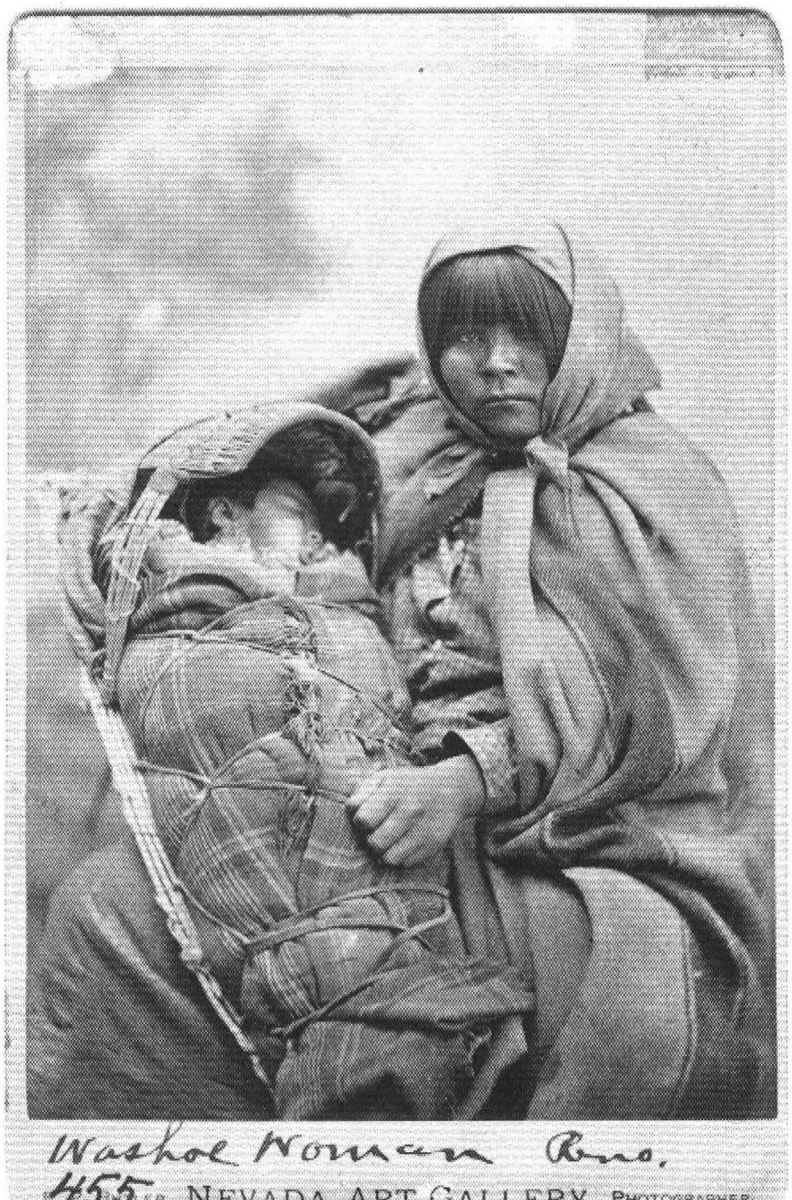
John Howe, Washoe, working as a boiler keeper, Virginia City, ca. 1895. Photographer unknown. *(ETH-497)*



The Native American camp at Virginia City, ca. 1895. Copy of print by William Cann. *(ETH-704)*

stores. However, Native Americans appear in none of his photographs in the Society's collections. The next major photographer on the Comstock and the one with perhaps the grandest studio interior was William Cann. Cann had emigrated from Cornwall[4] to the Comstock at age eleven and upon taking up photography, seems to have found Nevada's Native Americans to be a new and interesting subject. Original Cann prints, as well as copies from Cann's personal Comstock album, show that he made numerous location portraits of Native Americans working and living in Virginia City during the 1890s (ETH 497 and ETH-704). Although important as virtually the only such record, his work by no means attempted an in-depth ethnographic study. His perspective is that of the casually inquisitive, but sympathetic, outsider, a perspective that typified photographs of Native Americans in the state generally. This is not intended as a criticism. Cann's photo essay, as it might be termed, is one of the best known. Without the work of amateurs and occasional studies by professional portraitists, the photographic record of Native American life in Nevada would be sparse indeed. William Cann went on to open Reno's first major drug store, while also working as a postcard and sports photographer. So far as is currently known, he did not again document the lives of Native Americans in Nevada.

Captain Pete, a noted Washoe leader, 1881. Studio portrait by A. L. Smith. Printing-out-paper print on imperial card. *(ETH-17)*



Washoe mother and child, ca. 1890. Cabinet card by the Nevada Art Gallery, Reno. The woman and her baby are not identified. *(ETH-455)*

A. L. Smith, known as Al,[5] is famous for his first-on-the-scene views of the new mining camp at Tonopah. However, in the 1880s he made two excellent portraits of Washoe leaders, Captain Pete (ETH-18) and Captain Jim (ETH-19). The first portrait depicts Captain Pete in full ceremonial regalia, including a feather headdress, shell-bead necklaces, and beaded moccasins. To his right is a small collection of the geometrically patterned, highly artistic baskets made by the women of his tribe. The second portrait shows Captain Jim in everyday attire, a suit and wide-brimmed hat, holding a walking stick. Less sanguinely, Smith also created and sold a decidedly insensitive postcard that made fun of the role of Native American women as washerwomen for the whites, a form of domestic servitude forced upon them by the European invasion, not a personal choice.

Two of the finest nineteenth-century portraits in the collection were made at E. P. Butler's studio in Reno, the Nevada Art Gallery (earlier the Nevada Gallery).[6] Butler

This unidentified photo probably depicts a Shoshone mother and her daughter in the Tonopah area, ca. 1905. Matte collodion or gelatin-silver print. Photograph by E. W. Smith. *(ETH-547)*

took over the Nevada Gallery from the previous proprietors, Cook and Schnieder, in 1884. Butler's portrait of an unidentified Washoe woman and her baby is artistic, in the terms of the time, in its apparent effort to capture the spirit of motherhood rather than the mere visual facts (ETH-455). The second excellent portrait shows a young man posed with his repeating rifle; it has not yet been identified by tribe. Both portraits were probably created in part with the intention of selling copies to tourists and local history enthusiasts. The images are stereotypes, but positive ones, the Hallmark version of Nevada's Native Americans, if you will.

At the turn of the last century, population and economic power in Nevada began its great shift south, first to Tonopah in 1900, the site of the greatest silver strike of the day, then in 1902 to Goldfield, host to America's last major gold rush. Two photographers who had gained varying degrees of fame making photographs of the Klondike gold rush, P. E. Larson[7] and E. W. Smith, themselves rushed south to see

and record the new elephant, or the next big thing in mining strikes. E. W. Smith made at least three excellent portraits of Native American women. One shows a woman and a girl who appears to be her daughter. They are probably members of the Shoshone tribe, in whose territory Tonopah was located. Taken with a tripod-mounted view camera, the image (ETH-547) is carefully composed, but somewhat more intimate and revealing of individual personality than are Al Smith's stiff and distant poses. E. W. Smith, who had attended a photographic trade school as a youth,[8] seems to have consciously employed the technique of visual repetition and contrast. The mother is shown seated with her large basketry water bottle, while her daughter stands next to her holding a smaller, child-size water bottle. The second image, a real photo postcard, is a candid shot of Alice Hicks Graham and Hattie Smith. They are wearing fine beaded dresses and each has a single flower in her hair. They are looking to the right, not at the photographer, and are probably watching a Fourth of July or similar parade (ETH-543). The third image is a studio portrait of two beautiful young women, both wearing long cotton dresses adapted to the then current Shoshone style. The older girl's dress has a beaded diamond pattern around the top.

Anonymous photographers created the vast majority of the photographs in the Society's collection. They were the new breed of amateur snap-shooters, whose descendants thought the subjects merited donation to the Society. Many snapshots were made by local historians and educators using the new, inexpensive hand-held cameras. These images are distinguished more by their ethnographic sensibility than their technical quality. Still others are copies of low-grade newspaper reproductions. Numerous commercial postcards and even studio portraits were sold without their maker's mark (ETH-501).

Two important commercial postcard photographers, who always identified their work and covered Native American subjects, were A. E. Holt and Burton Frasher, Sr. Holt was a photographer and businessman in Rhyolite from the time near its beginnings to its decline in 1908. He sold postcards and photo albums illustrating local history. Several of his images show the camps of Panamint Western Shoshone bands near the mining towns (HOLT-160). Frasher's studio was located in Pomona, California, but he made postcards for Nevada's tourist market from the 1920s to the 1970s.[9] One of Frasher's postcard series documents Native American activities and public cultural demonstrations at the Stewart Indian School and at reservations.

A brief survey of the organization of the collection may help give a sense of the breadth and scope of subjects available to the researcher. The collection begins interestingly enough with photographs of the 1960 ceremony commemorating one hundred years of peace between the Pyramid Lake Paiute and the United States (wording derived from the original caption). The event, somewhat surreal by today's standards, featured the unveiling of an historical plaque and an Air Force honor guard salute. Among the dignitaries on the Paiute side were Mark Jones, Harry Winnemucca and Katie Frazier, while the United States side was represented by, among others, the commandant of Stead Air Force Base in Reno (ETH-10).

Card game, Rhyolite, ca. 1906. Possibly Panamint Shoshone players. Matte collodion or gelatin-silver print. *(HOLT-160)*

Ceremony commemorating one hundred years of peace between the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe and the United States, 1860-1960. Mark Jones, in regalia, shaking hands with the commandant of Stead Air Force Base. Original, 8 X10-glossy, gelatin-silver print; photographer unknown. *(ETH-10)*

The next section, labeled Chiefs, is followed by sections on Nevada's most famous Native Americans: The Winnemucca family, Sarah Winnemucca (in her own section), Louisa Keyser (Datsolalee), Johnson Sides, Jack Wilson (Wovoka), and Shoshone Mike. In Nevada, the term *chief* was created as part of the colonial process of conquest. Before contact, Nevada's Native Americans lived in small bands that followed a seasonal round of hunting-and-gathering activities within their local territories. There were consensual local band leaders, but not hereditary or elected tribal chiefs. As the Euro Americans took over the Native American lands, they created the fiction of chiefs and helped raise certain leaders to that status so that they could officially cede the tribes' land to the Euro Americans. These chiefs were not always just stooges for the invaders. Many of them worked tirelessly and valiantly to preserve what land and economic opportunities they could for their tribes. However, for various reasons, Native Americans beloved by the Anglos, such as Sarah Winnemucca—whose commemorative statue now resides at the National Statuary Hall—are sometimes seen as controversial figures by contemporary Native Americans.

Native American leaders represented in the first section include Captain Pete of the Washoe, Captain John from Benton, California, at ninety-eight years of age; Captain David Numana; Chief Long Charlie of Paradise Valley; Mark Jones of the Pyramid Lake Paiute; Hank Pete, a Washoe chairman in the 1950s; and Chief Richard Bender, a police officer at the Carson Agency around 1915. The word *captain* was an Anglo term for the traditional band leaders. Such captains may or may not have been elevated to the position of tribal chiefs in a political sense. In the early twentieth century, *chief* was often used for any Native American authority figure, such as a police officer. Today, of course, Nevada's Native American reservations have elected officials, including tribal chairmen or chairwomen.

The Winnemucca family section includes original cabinet- and boudoir-card portraits of Chief Winnemucca, the widely reproduced image of Numaga (or "Young Winnemucca") in warrior regalia (ETH-59), as well as images of Sarah Winnemucca's brother Natches and his sons Jackson Overton (Bow-E-An), also known as Skinny Dave, and Gilbert N. Overton.

Chief Winnemucca is said to have argued against open warfare with the invading Europeans and to have facilitated the construction of the transcontinental railroad through Paiute territory. As a reward he received free railroad passes and was lavished with gifts. In gratitude, the United States Army presented Chief Winnemucca with the military uniform shown in his portraits (ETH-63).[10] This family section includes additional photographs of the Pyramid Lake Paiute tribal chairman Harry Winnemucca, great-grandson of Chief Winnemucca. The time range of this section is dramatic, from the 1880s portraits of Chief Winnemucca in his army uniform to the last image, which shows Harry Winnemucca in ceremonial regalia riding on a float during a 1950s Saint Patrick's Day parade in Sacramento (ETH-885).

Numaga, studio portrait, ca. 1870. Copy print, photographer unknown. *(ETH-59)*

Chief Winnemucca, boudoir-card portrait, ca. 1870s. Photographer unknown. *(ETH-63)*

Pyramid Lake Paiute parade float, Reno, 1960. Glossy, 8x10, gelatin-silver photograph by Ernie Mack. *(ETH-885)*

Portrait of Sarah Winnemucca in one of her lecture-tour dresses, ca. 1883. Imperial card photograph made by Imperial Art Studio of Baltimore. *(ETH-82)*

Sarah Winnemucca is by far the most famous Native American woman from Nevada, and her portraits are the photographs for which the Nevada Historical Society receives the most requests for use in exhibitions and publications. Her circa 1884 portrait in which she is posed, standing with one foot forward, and wearing her lecture-circuit regalia and what some term her Indian-princess crown, is the most ordered single photograph (ETH-82). For many Euro Americans, Sarah Winnemucca was and is among the most admired women of her time. As an advocate of education, she opened one of the first schools for Native Americans. As an author, she wrote what is possibly the first autobiography by a Native American woman. Her lecture tours, in which she advocates better treatment for her tribe, and Native Americans generally, were wildly popular among white audiences. In Sally Zanjani's words, "from the spring of 1883 to midsummer 1884, Sarah took the East by storm, lecturing more than three hun-

Sarah Winnemucca, oval bust portrait on a cabinet card, by the Bradley and Rulofson studio, San Francisco, ca. 1880. The inscription reads, "Your Loving sister, Sarah Winnemucca." *(ETH-78)*

dred times."[11] However, within the political arena of the Eastern Establishment, her railing against the corrupt but lucrative (for whites) Indian-agent system fell on deaf ears. The alternate allotment system, far from being real reform, tended to be just another means to steal Native American lands. While Sarah's historical standing may be cloudier for some members of her tribe today, the details of this critique are perhaps best left to the Native American experts.

Besides the famous portrait, the Society holds an original cabinet card with an oval portrait (ETH-78) and an inscription suggesting the portrait was given to Natches in late 1879 or 1880.[12] In this portrait, made at the Bradley and Rulofson studio in San Francisco, Sarah is wearing the medal given to Natches after the 1878 Bannock War. Another portrait, possibly the earliest, shows her wearing a beaded-and-fringed buckskin dress with leggings and moccasins, and

Portrait of Louisa Keyser (Datsolalee) with two of her baskets, 1894. Printing-out-paper print on imperial card, studio not recorded. *(ETH-88)*

a satin bow in her hair (ETH-80). A cabinet card from a Boston studio shows her wearing a dark dress with a thin beaded belt and a less elaborate beaded choker (ETH-79). The card style suggests a later date, possibly from her last lecture tour back East in 1884. An additional copy print (ETH-77) shows a fourth beaded dress and accompanying regalia. Portraits of Sarah's husband Major Hopkins and her sister Elma Smith conclude this section.

Nevada's most famous basket maker, Louisa Keyser (Datsolalee), is represented by several portraits in which she is posed with her baskets, as well as four images showing her at work making them. Her baskets today are regarded not as craft products, but as major art masterpieces, each worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. By far the most famous portrait (ETH-88) shows her in front of a crude cloth background posed with baskets from her "masterpiece" series titled, "Light Reflection" and "Hunting Game in a Proscribed District," on each side. A more surreal portrait (ETH-92) shows her seated like a queen, holding an elaborate walking stick in her right hand, in the manner of a monarch's staff of

Louisa Keyser (Datsolalee) posing with nine of her baskets in an unidentified photography studio, 1894. Printing-out-paper on imperial card. *(ETH-92)*

Johnson Sides, three-quarters bust portrait, boudoir card, ca. 1880s. Photographer unknown. *(ETH-164)*

power. The backdrop painting presents a palatial setting with elaborate arabesques that seem to be a fantasy fusion of Persian and Gothic elements. A selection of her baskets is spread in a curved arc at her feet, like the subjects of her artistic empire. Rounding out this section are portraits of Datsolalee's relatives, including her sister-in-law, Cese (spelling varies). Cese's son is shown wearing his army uniform from the American Expeditionary Force in France. The portrait was made in 1917. The following section of the catalog presents photographs of Datsolalee's baskets, including one example held by Abe Cohn, her patron and dealer.

The next catalog section, devoted to Johnson Sides, features both studio portraits and location work. The style of the photographs and card mounts suggests Al Smith may be the photographer for several of the portraits. A 1880s cabinet card from Smith's Riverside Studio in Reno (ETH-164) provides a three-quarters view of the famous "peacemaker." He is wearing a blanket and a cloth headdress with three eagle feathers at the rear. In a second portrait, he wears a secular suit and wide-brimmed hat. Johnson Sides was a rescued orphan of unknown tribe who represented the government in peace talks with a number of tribes including the Paiute.[13] Johnson Sides reappeared on the public stage briefly in 1890, when, with the Pyramid Lake Paiute tribal police, he orchestrated a foray to arrest Wovoka, the Ghost Dance prophet. Wovoka received a warning and disappeared until the expedition gave up.

Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, whose photographs are gathered in the following section, may well be the single most famous Native American from Nevada other than Sarah Winnemucca. At this time in Nevada history, most Native Americans worked for the ranchers who had taken over their tribal lands. The ranchers either believed that the land was unoccupied, because hunting-and-gathering groups cannot physically occupy all of their land at once, or simply did not care. The Wilsons, who owned the ranch on which Wovoka lived, treated Jack Wilson in some ways like a son (albeit a son who, of course, lived in the yard, as it were), teaching him the basics of Christian belief at weekly bible readings. Although appreciative of the Wilsons's Christ-inspired kindness, Wovoka certainly had no illusions about the nature of relations between the two cultural groups, or races, as they were then termed. Nonetheless, Wovoka's syncretic Christian-and-Paiute religious movement, the so-called Ghost Dance, actually advocated peaceful coexistence with the whites. Wovoka is reported to have been angry and appalled that his unifying vision of peace had led inadvertently to the infamous 1890 slaughter of Sioux men, women, and children by the United States Army at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

The Society's collections in the Wovoka section and elsewhere include several snapshots of the famed prophet during his many visits to Yerington (ETH-174, ETH-176, ETH-1005, etc.). Although not as respectful as the anthropologist James Mooney's classic posed study, the Yerington portraits, captured by tourists and newspaper reporters, represent one aspect of Wovoka's life. Immediately after the Wounded Knee tragedy Wovoka became a recluse, fearful

Jack Wilson, also known as Wovoka, the Ghost Dance prophet, poses for a photograph in Yerington, ca.1920. Anonymous gelatin-silver snapshot. *(ETH-174)*

no doubt of further reprisals by the United States government or the Paiute police. Although largely discredited among local Paiutes when the world did not end as predicted, Wovoka's religious theories gradually evolved into more permanent forms that were not dependent on the immediate return of Christ. Always an advocate of hard work—his nickname, Wovoka, means *woodcutter* in Paiute, after his trade early in life—Jack Wilson later took up the somewhat softer trade of preacher-entrepreneur. He seemingly combined the medicinal techniques of a traditional Paiute doctor with the capitalist business model he had learned from the Wilsons and local shop owners.[14]

Anthropologists would term such a strategy a coping mechanism typical of conquered and oppressed peoples. One might also consider Wovoka as one of the first participant-observers to fully grasp the nature of the American Way and the meaning

of celebrity status within our cultural system. On the whole, it seems hard to deny that Wovoka helped many Native Americans to survive and endure. Throughout it all, Jack Wilson, the person, maintained a level of dignity and self-assurance that is often missing among today's celebrities. Other images related to the life of Jack Wilson include views of the Wilson ranch (ETH-178) and of Wilson's original plain wooden grave marker in the Schurz cemetery, which reads simply "Jack Wilson, died Sept. 20, 1932" (ETH-1055).

The final biographical section in the first volume of the Native American photography catalog contains the images related to Shoshone Mike's supposed murder of a party that included two Basque sheep men and their employee in northern Washoe County, an event that could, for the grandiosely minded, be termed America's last Indian War. Shoshone Mike's band indeed may have been the last group of Native Americans to attempt to return to the traditional hunting-and-gathering lifestyle. Years of over-hunting and exterminating wild animals, perceived as competition for cows, had left cattle as the main game that Captain Mike's band could find in the winter of 1911. Local cattle ranchers, who might well themselves have been considered possible suspects, blamed notorious "cow thief" Shoshone Mike for the murders. A posse headed by Captain J. P. Donnelley, superintendent of the Nevada State Police (ETH-194), guided by Native American tracker Skinny Pascal (ETH-181), succeeded in arresting the remnants of the band after a shootout that left Shoshone Mike and most of his band dead.

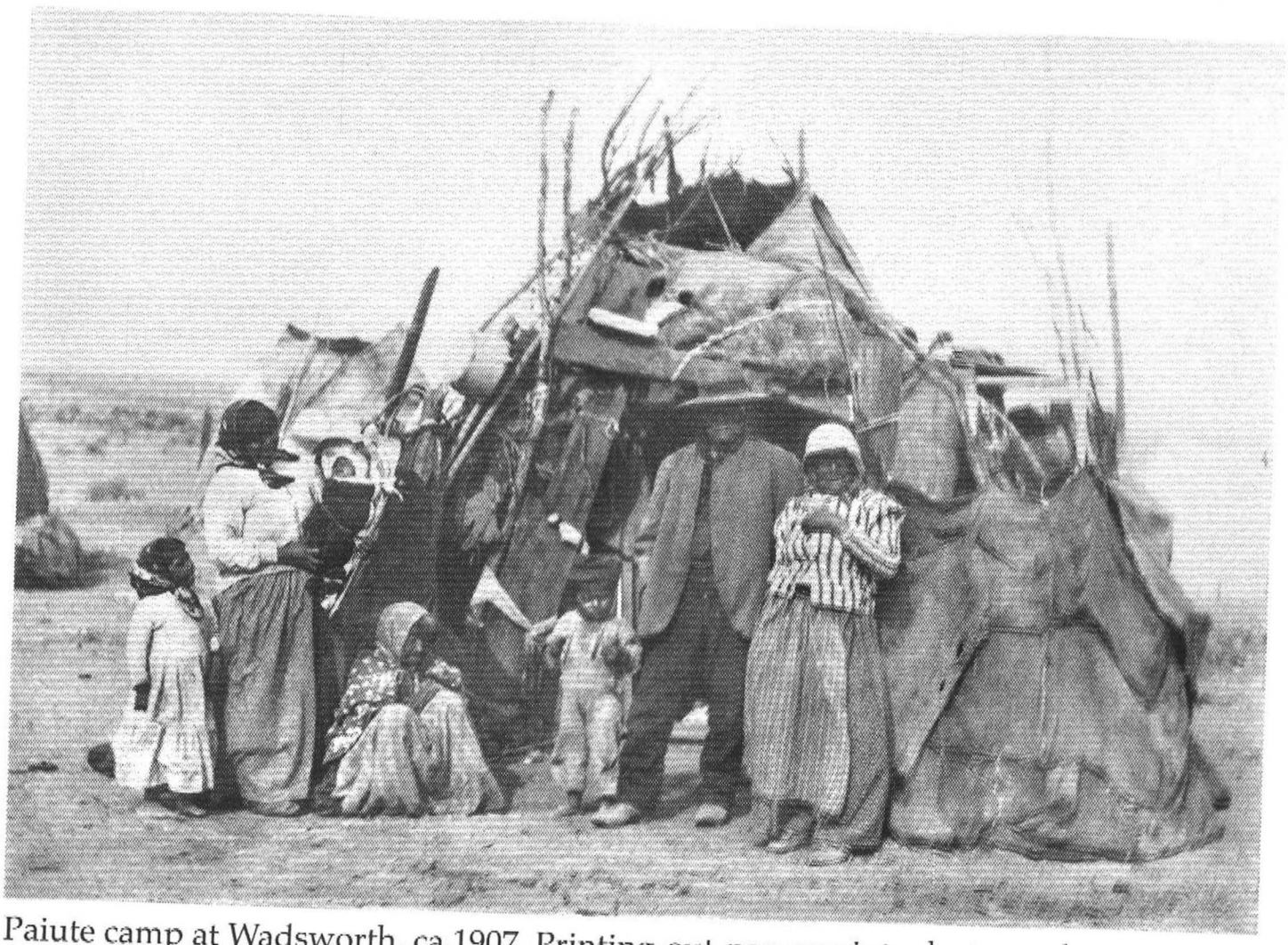
Shoshone Mike posse members in back of saloon, Golconda, 1911. Copy print, photographer unknown. *(ETH-199)*

The Society's photographs from the event include hand-held snapshots of the posse, as well as professional images made by a commercial photographer (ETH-203, ETH-204, ETH-208, ETH-210, etc.); also included are photographs of the captured band remnants being imprisoned, first at the Golconda jail (ETH-184 through ETH-190) and later in Reno (ETH-197). Additional photographs show Captain Mike's ceremonial headdress, termed a war bonnet by whites (ETH-200), and the shotgun he used, in his view, to defend his band (ETH-202). Rubbernecks shown gathered on verandas and rooftops (ETH-195, ETH-198) watching for the return of the posse and a shot titled "four members of the posse in back of a saloon" give clues as to the atmosphere of the event (ETH-199).

According to Native American oral traditions reported by Phillip I. Earl on a Reno television program, Shoshone Mike was framed.[15] Native American leaders have also asserted that the bullets from the bodies do not match those from the weapons owned by the band members. They believe that "cowboys working for the Miller-Lux outfit were the killers, mutilating the bodies to make it appear that [Native Americans] had done the deed."[16] Further, according to this version of events, Shoshone Mike's band discovered the bodies and only then picked up the items said to incriminate them. On the other hand, surviving members of Shoshone Mike's band, both at the time and much later when coercion was not a factor, are said to have admitted to the killings, but they characterized the event as a shootout rather than murder.[17]

One fact is clear, Shoshone Mike was from Idaho and a member of the war-like Bannock band of the Shoshone tribe. In Nevada, relations between the two groups remained comparatively friendly during this period, with many Native Americans volunteering to serve in the armed forces during World War I. For example, Hugh Bryant, son of Louisa Keyser (Datsolalee) served with the American Expeditionary Force in France (ETH-93). Calm is restored, so to speak, by a succeeding section of early basket masterpieces by women from all three Nevada tribes (ETH-211 to ETH-300).

The second volume of the photocopy catalog features candid portraits and location shots of Paiute life in the early post-conquest period (ETH-301 to ETH-428). The shots range from views by Esther Linton, possibly intended to document the sad hardships of a people dispossessed of their land (ETH-301, ETH-310, ETH-317, etc.), and those by various photographers that record the perseverance of traditional life ways and values. The latter include traditional Paiute camps of the period. The images show a combination of traditional brush and tule-reed structures with European additions, such as canvas coverings for houses and metal implements for cooking. Traditional gathering and storage baskets are also shown in use, not as art objects. Other images document the Paiute cabins typical of ranch workers and of early reservation housing (ETH-336, etc.). Traditional women's work, besides basket making, such as firewood gathering and child care are covered (ETH-323, ETH-321, and ETH-361, etc.) The new forms of survival based on wage earning, including working as maids



Paiute camp at Wadsworth, ca.1907. Printing-out-paper print, photographer unknown. *(ETH-321)*

Paiute family at a circus, ca.1910. Copy of anonymous snapshot. *(ETH-366)*

Waiting in line at Griswold's Store, Wadsworth, around 1910. Copy print, photographer unknown. *(ETH-384)*

Louisa Tom, Washoe basketweaver, with reconstruction of Washoe slab house, ca.1950. Real photo postcard on Kodak stock. Photographer unknown. *(ETH-501)*

and laundresses, are shown. Also included is Paiute participation in the new forms of entertainment such as attending a circus (ETH-366) or playing poker. Less entertaining new experiences, such as standing in long lines to obtain goods and services that were previously free (i.e., free to be hunted or gathered) are documented as well (ETH-384). Photographs of the Paiute reservations at Schurz (ETH-384 to ETH-404) conclude this section. One important image (ETH-404) shows the local version of the traditional domed reed house, around 1901. The image was titled, "Judy King and her father stand in front of the house." A metal stovepipe and a canvas door flap represent the European additions to the house. The catalog section on the Paiutes of northern Nevada concludes with modern snapshot images of the first 1860 Pyramid Lake War battle site, in which the Native Americans won (ETH-406 to ETH-409).

A comparatively small section showing life among the Paiutes of southern Nevada follows (ETH-412 to ETH-428). The section includes copies of John K. Hillers's photographs taken during John Wesley Powell's expedition exploring the Colorado River. These seem to have been staged without great regard for ethnographic accuracy. Several later images, including a portrait of a mother with her young daughter in a baby basket (ETH-429), may be more accurate, although this has not been confirmed with experts on the area. The next section, "Women and Children," (ETH-431 to ETH-486) consists mainly of Paiute babies in baby baskets, although two Washoe and even one stray Cayuse (Oregon) example are present.

The next catalog section is devoted to images from the Washoe tribe, again taken during the early years of the twentieth century. One excellent photograph shows two women washing clothes at Hobo Hot Springs in the Carson Valley around 1900. The traditional bark slab houses typical of the Washoe in camps in the Sierra Nevada mountains are illustrated in photographs ETH-501 and ETH-505. The latter is the most published Washoe photograph aside from those of Datsolalee. According to the original caption, the photograph was taken by Arthur M. Hill and was the home of Big Louise, a traditional medical practitioner, and her husband, a sub-chief of the Washoe tribe in this area. The photograph was made near Lakeside Park at Lake Tahoe.

The following all-Shoshone section (ETH-508 through ETH-541) begins with a portrait of three women identified by the photographer as Shoshone at Carson City, circa 1900 (ETH-510). The women all wear the long dress, blanket, shawl, and headscarf standard for the time in Nevada. The second portrait is an A. Forbes postcard from 1910 showing "Nettie" from Death Valley. Forbes was a commercial photographer based in Bishop, California. Also included is an image of Toi-Toi, an important Shoshone leader. Chief Toi-Toi is noted for keeping his tribe out of the 1860s wars against the settlers and the Army. Another significant photograph documents a Shoshone dance at Battle Mountain in the early 1900s (ETH-513). The dancers' regalia combines blue jeans with the traditional Nevada-style feathered headdresses of the time. The dance style and regalia are very different from the Plains-style regalia and Pow Wow dances seen in photographs from the 1950s.

Hand game, Lovelock Paiutes, ca.1905. The anonymous photograph was probably taken for Indian agent and amateur anthropologist, John T. Reid, who stands on the left, wearing a bowler hat. Matte collodion or gelatin-silver print. *(ETH-590)*

The Northern Paiute Veterans Marching Band Posing on the steps of the Washoe County Courthouse, probably 1940s. Glossy gelatin-silver print. *(ETH-674)*

As the next group of photographs indicates, Shoshone men of eastern Nevada often worked as cowboys, both on Euroamerican ranches and on reservation ranches (ETH-518 through ETH-525, etc.). The photographs show Native Americans engaged in fence mending, roping, and branding. For those interested in research on the Shoshone tribe, it should be noted that although the collection next switches to an alphabetical county organization, three of the six counties listed (Esmeralda, Nye, and White Pine counties) are in Shoshone territory and contain mainly photographs from that tribe. The section on Esmeralda and Nye includes A. E. Holt's widely published photographs of Panamint Western Shoshone in the Rhyolite area (ETH-544, ETH-549, and ETH-550, etc.). One image shows a group of men playing poker in front of a very simple brush shelter of the kind typical of all human adaptations to extreme desert conditions. The next picture of the same camp was titled, in longhand by the photographer, "Indian Neighbors at Bullfrog, Nevada." Additional images in the section show Shoshone tribal members in Beatty, Lida, and Tonopah.

Photographs primarily of Paiute individuals and events from Humboldt and Pershing counties follow. Some of the photographs from Lovelock were taken or commissioned by the well-known amateur anthropologist John T. Reid. Although his notorious theory of ancient red-headed giants occupying Nevada has been discredited, photographs from his collection show an understanding of the importance of visual anthropology (ETH-590, etc).

The general collection order next moves alphabetically to Storey County, which, especially for Virginia City, includes images of individuals from both the Washoe and Paiute tribes. As mentioned before, the next county, White Pine County, is in Shoshone territory. It is home to the Duckwater Shoshone Reservation. The extensive section on the Duckwater provides excellent documentation of reservation life in the 1940s. School lunch programs served from a chuck wagon (ETH-631 and ETH-632) and tents (ETH-635, etc.), as well as classroom scenes, are among the subjects featured.

A short "Miscellaneous" section of photographs follows, and should not be overlooked by researchers who want to see every photograph for a given tribe. One rare shot, taken in White Pine around 1915, shows Paleface Johnny of the Shoshone tribe with Carl Muir's pack train (ETH-636). For researchers seeking scarce photographs of Paiutes in southern Nevada, there is one of two women using food-gathering and preparation baskets on the Stewart Ranch, near where Las Vegas would later be founded (ETH-640). Another important photograph shows the Northern Paiute Veterans Marching Band (ETH-674) with their instruments in front of the Washoe County Courthouse, probably during the 1940s. Identified band members include Robert Johnson, Raymond Abraham, Hastings Poncho, Dewy Joe, Carl Tobey, Robert Cromwell, Harry Sampson, Simon Harris, William Smith, and Albert Aleck.

The photography collection concludes with a series of subject categories, such as "campoodies" (traditional houses), labor, food, education, celebrations and

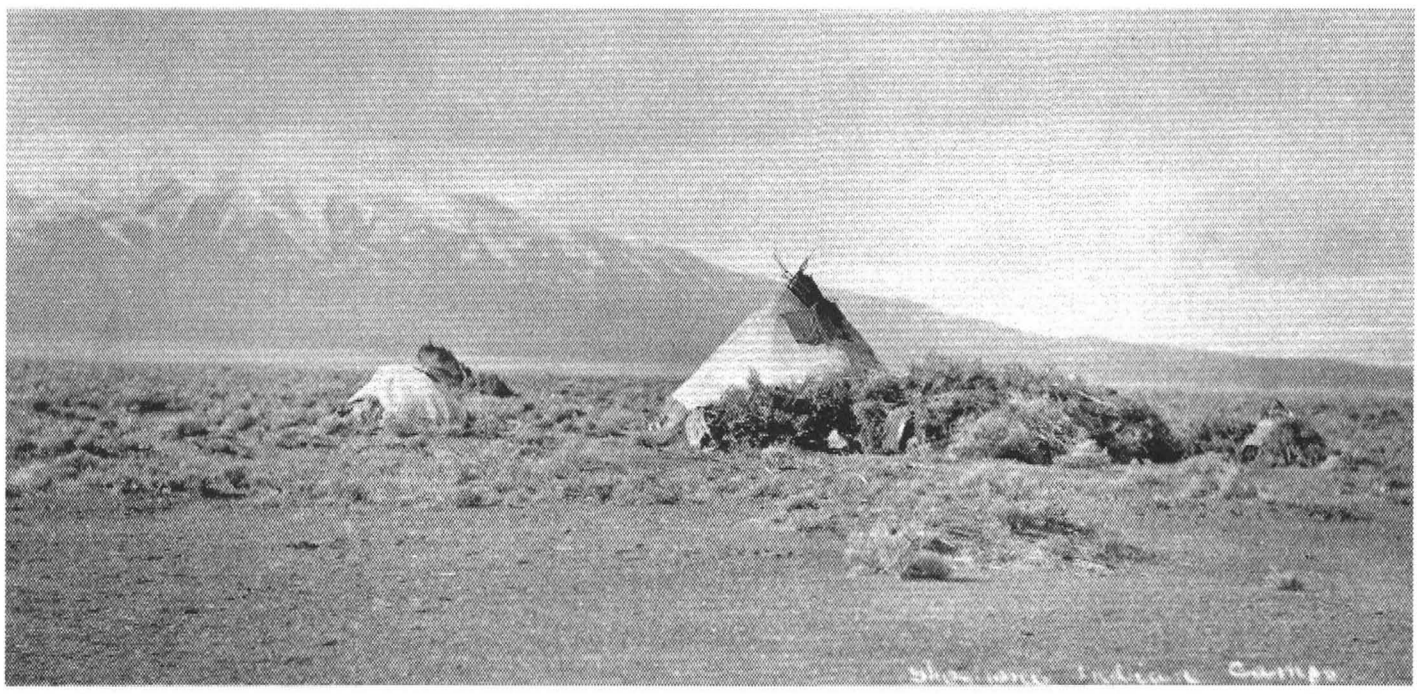
Daisy Shaw and children (left), in front of her rye grass house, ca. 1905. Paradise Valley Paitue. Copy print only. *(ETH-681)*

Tommy Dunn's fish camp at Sutcliff, ca. 1895. Although a Nixon Paiute, Mr. Dunn, according to a note on the photograph, lived his entire life at Sutcliff. Printing-out-paper print, photographer unknown. *(ETH-682)*

parades, and gambling. These sections include images from all three Nevada tribes, although pictures from the Paiute tribe are the most common. A final small section on the Nixon Paiutes ends the subject section. The rest of the collection and corresponding catalog consists of miscellaneous additions of new photographs. The original organizers of the collection showed skill in sorting out the various tribes and their locations, but seemingly did not consider how new acquisitions would be added to the collection to maintain the original catalog organization. Researchers who want to view all the images for a given tribe will have to look not only through the multi-tribe, "life way," or subject categories, but also through all the miscellaneous "Add-ons," at the end of the catalog.

The first subject section, "Campoodies," shows the wide range of traditional home construction employed in Nevada in the 1890s and early 1900s. The house in image ETH-681, identified as the home of a Paradise Valley Paiute family, is almost completely traditional. The caption indicates that the structure was made with a willow frame covered by rye grass held in place by willow-stem bands. Daisy Shaw, holding her daughter Buleah [*sic*], smiles for the camera. Her son Clifford and Ruth Diwash stand to her left. Tommy Dunn's fishing camp at Sutcliff on the Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation is recorded in ETH-682. It shows him drying the very large "prehistoric" cui-ui fish for which the lake is famous, as well as one trout. The only European feature of the camp structure is the addition of canvas over the conical shelter.

Another outstanding documentary snapshot (ETH-683) shows a Paiute woman near Hazen weaving a basket in front of her very simple brush shelter. An early published postcard shows a Western Shoshone camp near Elko. The camp consists of teepees, and this depiction may well be accurate, as Shoshone



Shoshone camp, eastern Nevada, ca. 1890s. Printing-out-paper print on boudoir card, studio not marked. *(ETH-731)*

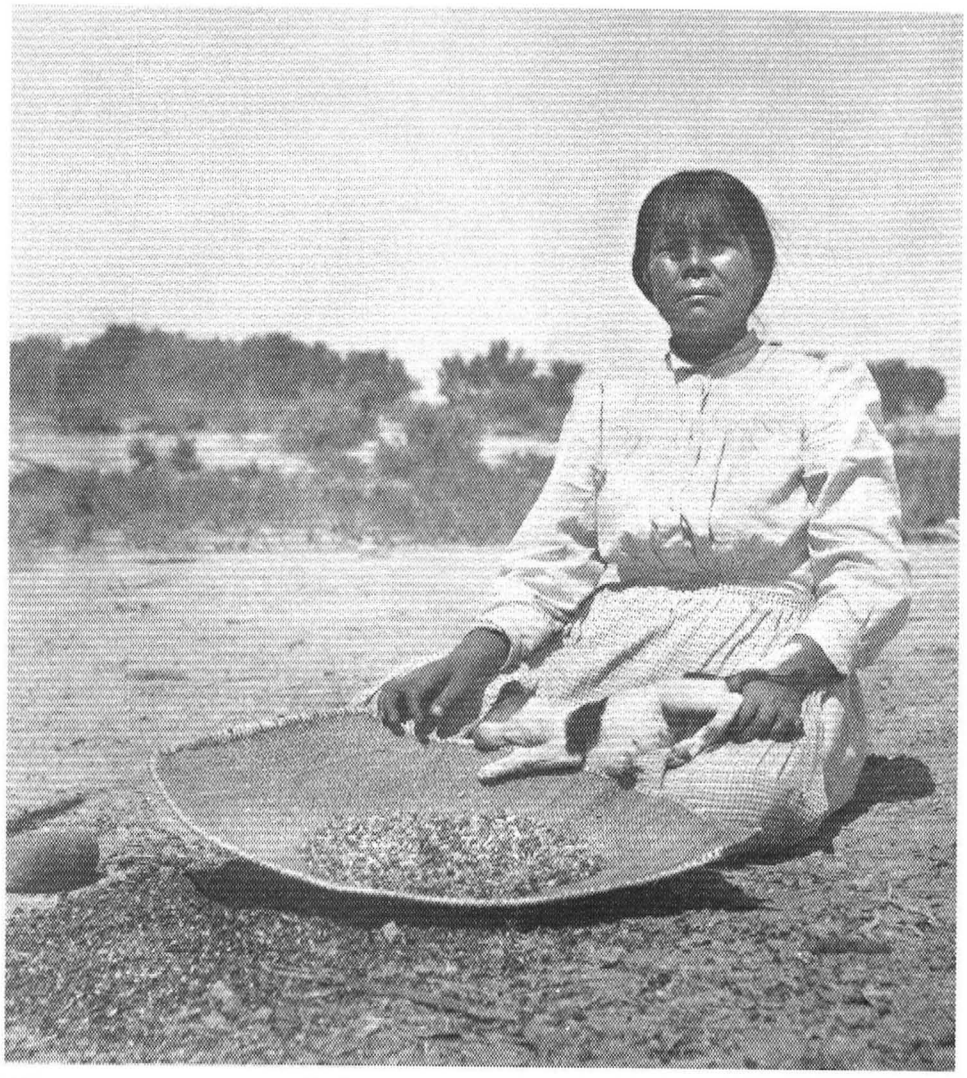
Woman with burden basket in front of a tule house, Churchill County, ca. 1900. Possibly Stillwater Paiute. Photographer unknown. *(ETH-688)*

Daisy Shaw washing clothes at Paradise Valley, 1914. Paradise Valley Paiute. Copy of anonymous snapshot. *(ETH-747)*

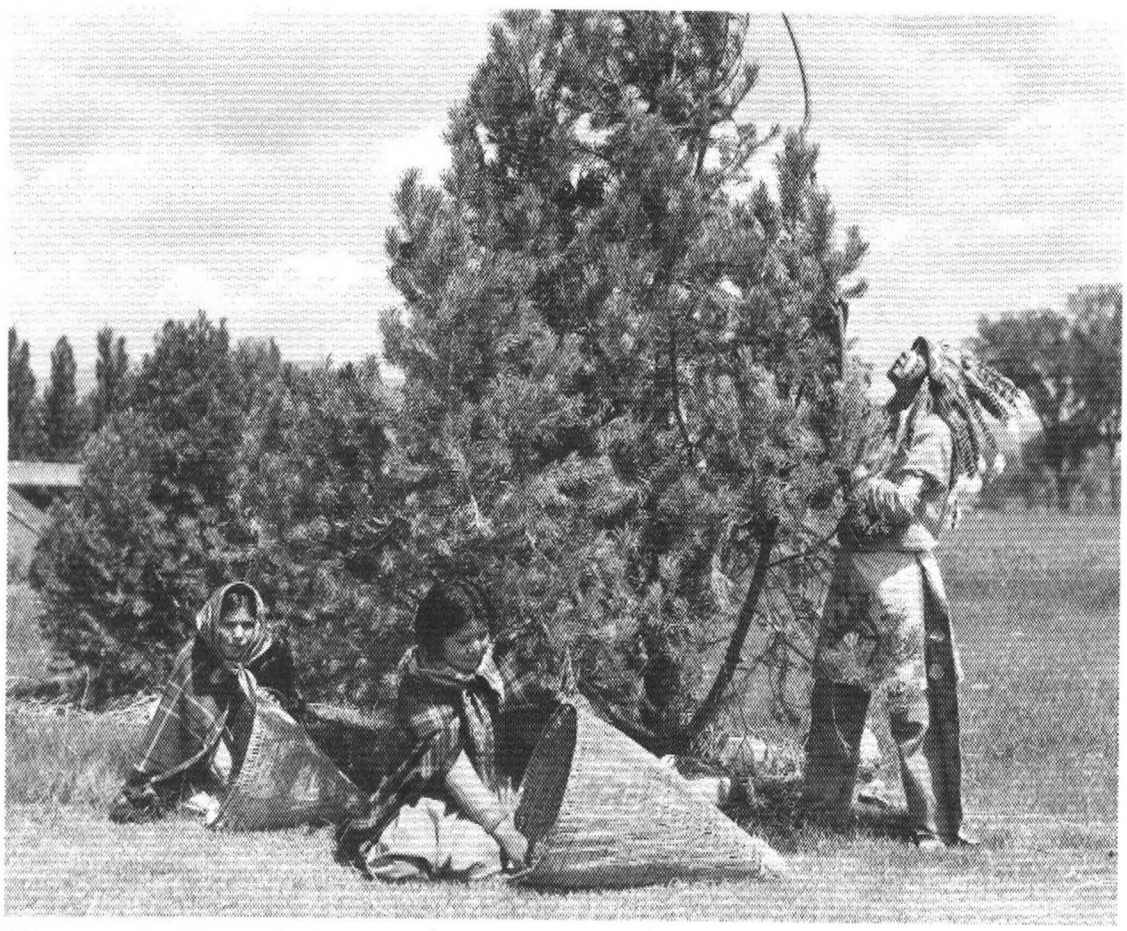
Harvesting potatoes, Lovelock Paiute, ca.1900. Photograph by Esther L. Linton. Matte collodion or gelatin silver print. *(ETH-759)*

groups in eastern Nevada took up aspects of Plains culture, including teepees and horses, at an early date. A moodily romantic view of a Shoshone camp with two teepees is shown in ETH-731 and may date to the 1890s. In ETH-688, a woman, probably Paiute, in the Churchill area, stands in front of a classic tule-reed house. She is wrapped in a blanket and carries a large burden basket on her back. The Paiute community camps at Dayton, Glendale, Virginia City, and Wadsworth are all well documented in this section. Photographs by William Cann and Esther Linton are included here.

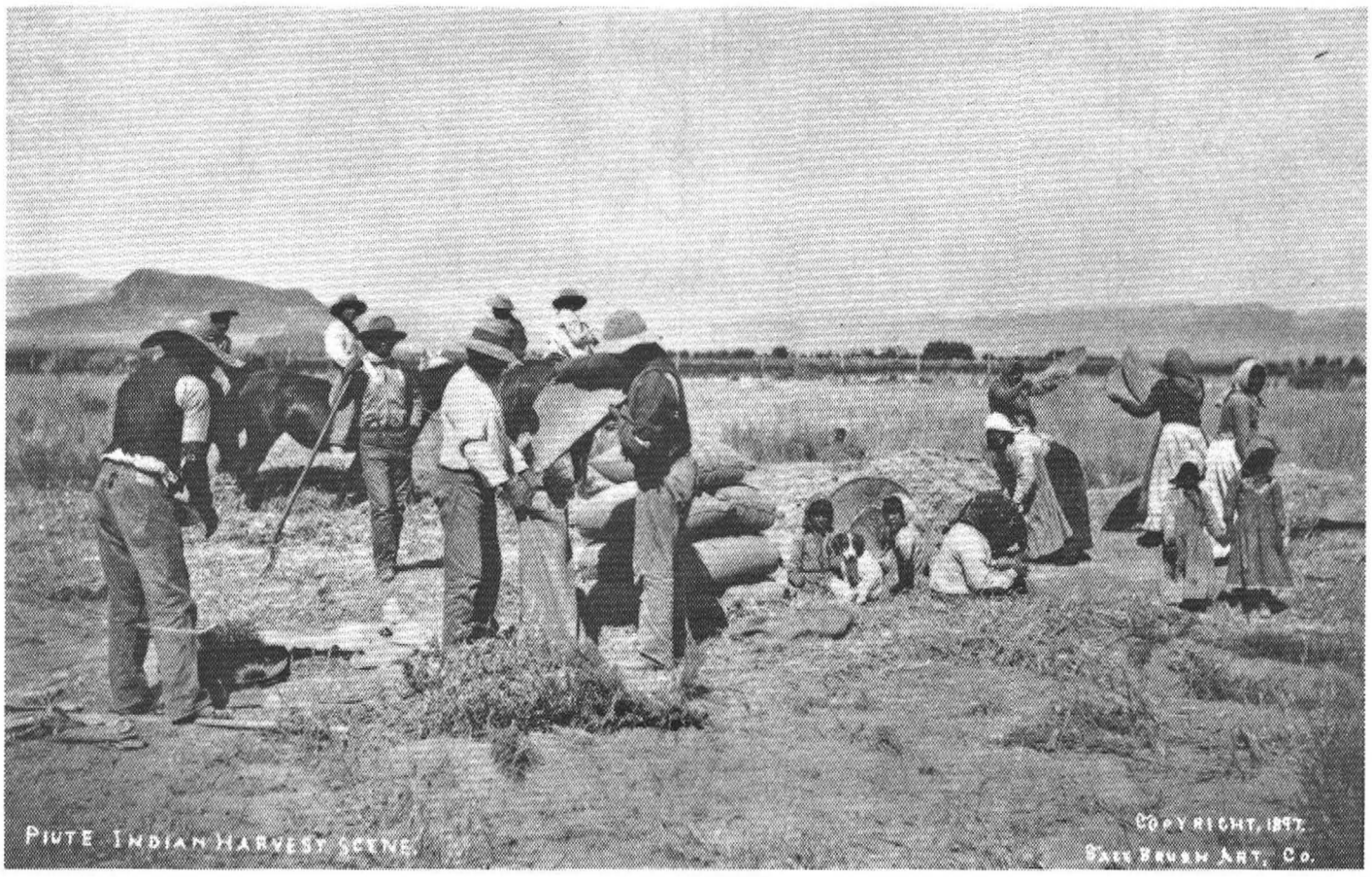
The "Labor" section (ETH-737 through ETH-762) begins with Linton's excellent 1905 photograph of a Paiute woman gathering firewood in a Wadsworth lumber scrap yard. The next shot, also taken by Linton at the Wadsworth encampment was titled by her, "Lady Weaving a Basket." The third image from Jeanne Wier's 1915 thesis, shows a Washoe woman washing clothes in what appears to be the backyard of a ranch house (ETH-739). The following two images, also from Jeanne Wier's thesis, show Native Americans harvesting potatoes at the Alt Ranch, near Glendale, east of Reno, as well as at a Lovelock ranch (ETH-759). One important 1897 photograph (ETH-760) shows the use of winnowing baskets for harvesting seeds. Photograph 743 shows Edna Coleman of the Washoe tribe ironing clothes at the Dressler Ranch in Douglas County, Nevada. Another excellent candid shot (ETH-747) shows Daisy Shaw washing her own family's clothes at her home in Paradise Valley (see previous reference to another photograph of Ms. Shaw, ETH-681).



Cleaning pine nuts, Winnemucca Paiute, 1911. Real photo postcard from Moore & Stone studio, Winnemucca. *(ETH-764)*



Demonstration of pine nut harvesting, Stewart Indian Agency, ca. 1950. Anonymous real photo postcard. *(ETH-765)*

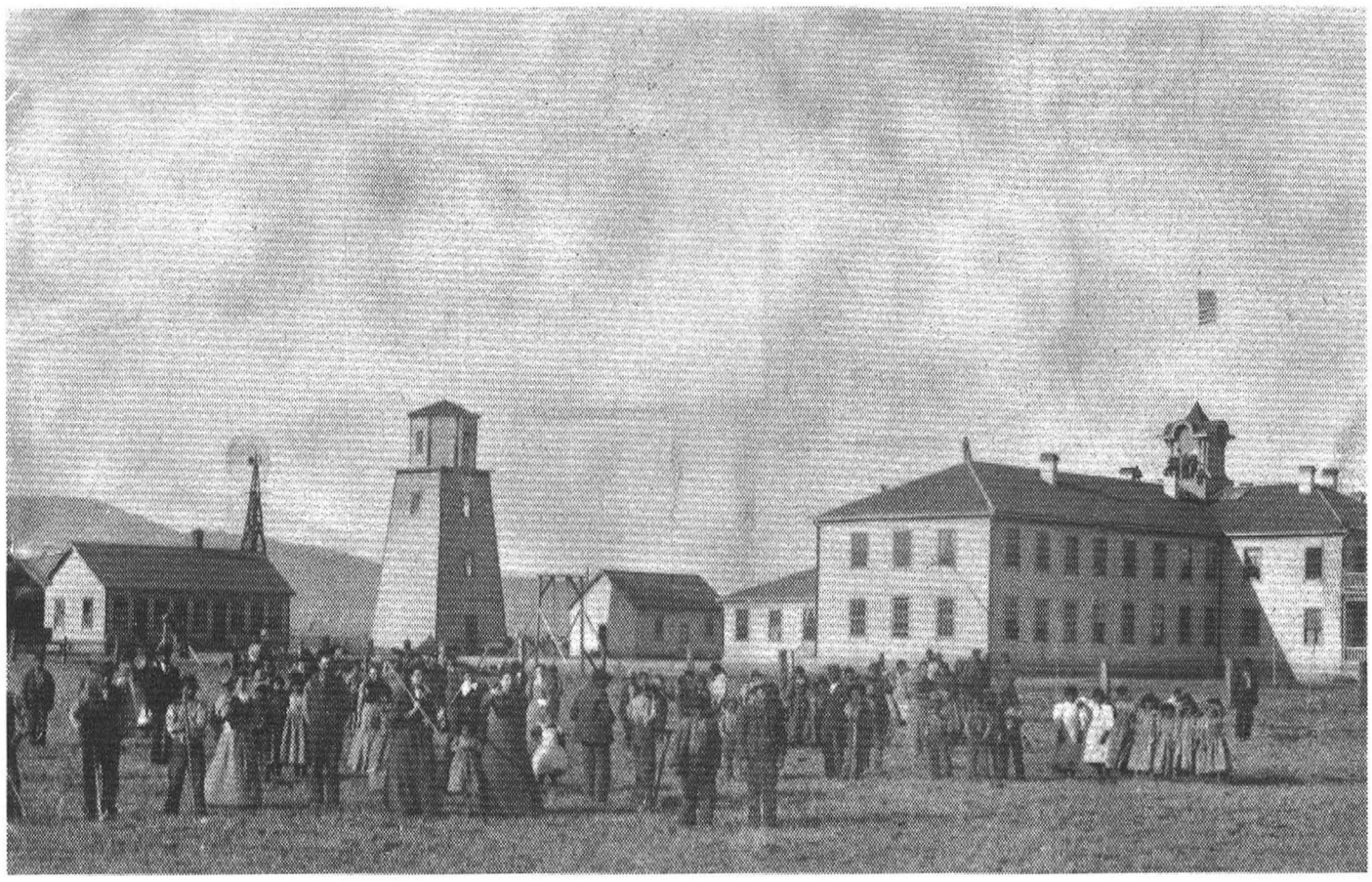


Harvest scene, Lovelock Paiutes, 1897. Printing-out-paper print on a boudoir card. *(ETH-760)*

A rare 1910 photograph depicts Paiute women washing clothes in the Truckee River at Reno (ETH-762). An important series of photographs records ranching activity on the McDermitt Paiute Reservation in the 1930s. The subjects include a cattle auction, sheepshearing, and stacking hay (ETH-755 through ETH-756).

The next section, "Food," overlaps with some of the subjects in the "Labor" section. ETH-767 and ETH-768 show additional views of the cattle auction and sheepshearing pens at McDermitt. This section includes the widely used photographs of Paiute women harvesting and processing pine nuts (ETH-772, ETH-774-777), as well as the Society's only photographs of a pine-nut dance in preparation (ETH-773). An early color postcard, probably by Linton, shows a Paiute woman in Reno roasting pine nuts (ETH-770). Another wonderful photograph shows a woman winnowing pine nuts, while a puppy sleeps in her lap (ETH-764). A later posed shot shows how pine cones were harvested (ETH-765).

The "Education" section begins with the Stewart Indian School, as it was then called (ETH-781 through ETH-823). Broad views reveal the school as having a stern, prison-like atmosphere, which is indeed what it was in the early days, when Native American children were kidnapped from their homes and literally clapped in irons if they tried to escape from the school. The collection covers the



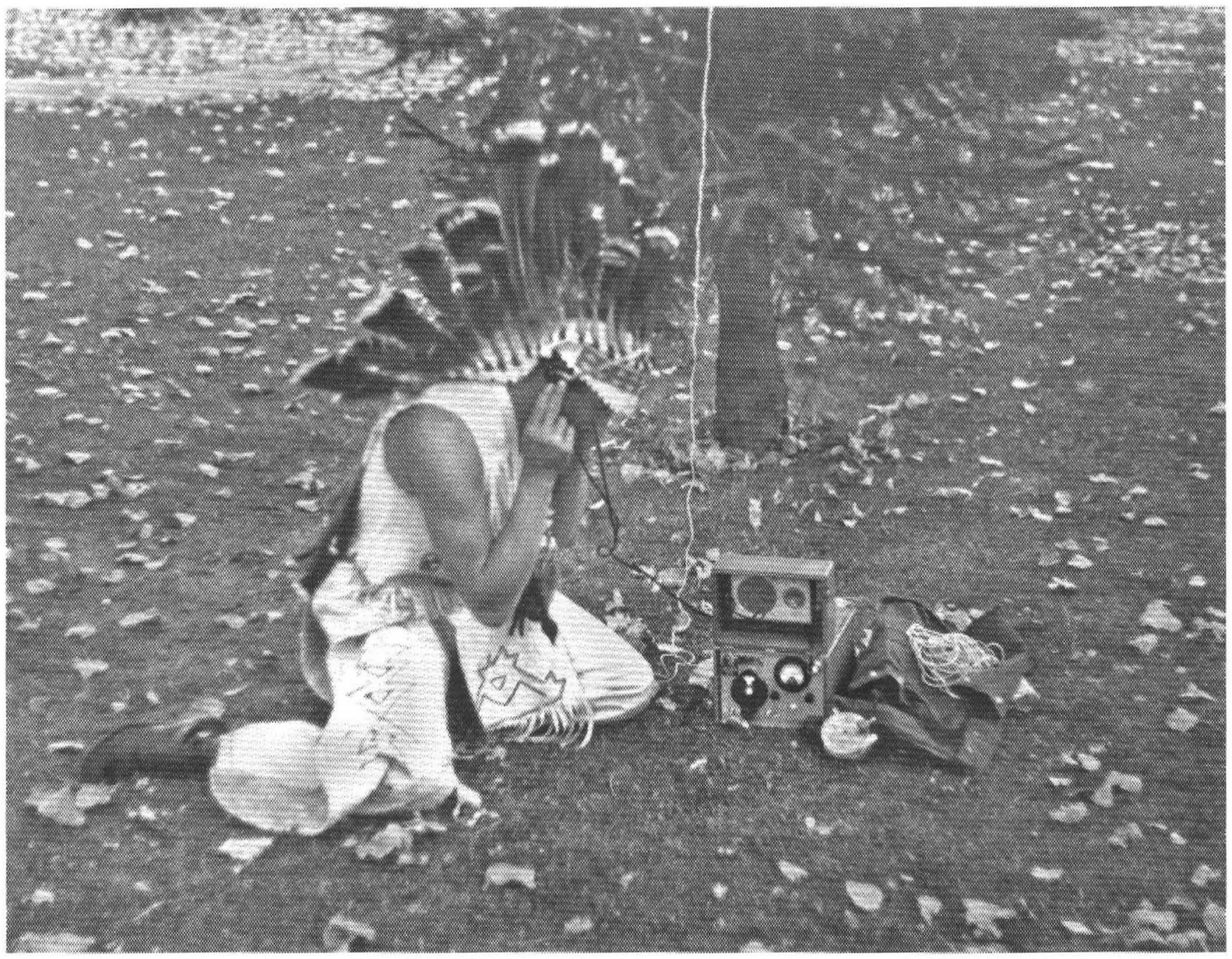
Stewart Indian School, ca. 1900. Anonymous collodion or gelatin-silver print. *(ETH-781)*

Stewart Indian School's football team, ca. 1915. Photograph by Jeanne Wier. *(ETH-786)*

Paiute Drummers and Singers, Stewart Indian School, 1960. Anonymous real photo postcard. *(ETH-781)*

various buildings, classrooms (ETH-802, ETH-823), and class activities, including shots of young boys making kites (ETH-808) and older girls sewing (ETH-807) or pressing sheets (ETH-809). A 1940s picture shows both boys and girls in a cooking class (ETH-810). Other activities included a European-style marching band (ETH-788, ETH-789, and ETH-821) as well as sports, such as football, for which the school was famous (ETH-786). By the 1960s, students were apparently allowed to form song-and-dance groups of the kind found on their home reservations, such as the Paiute Drummers and Singers (ETH-781).

"Parades and Celebrations" contains the largest series of images from the 1950s. During this period, public ceremonial clothing among Paiute groups featured elaborate Plains-style headdresses for the men and beaded buckskin dresses for the women, a tradition that goes back, in the latter case, to Sarah Winnemucca's lecture-circuit dresses. As a part of their ceremonial regalia, women in the 1950s also typically wore a headband with a single feather inserted at the back (ETH-829, etc.). Besides the horse-mounted groups that remain a part of many parades and rodeos, contingents from the Pyramid Lake, Nixon, and Fallon Paiute built elaborate parade floats decorated with a mix of Native American themes, including local winnowing baskets and tule reeds, as well as intertribal Pow Wow items such as drums, teepees, and totem poles (ETH-883 through ETH-906). Contemporary electronic and sound equipment also became



Young Native American man at a Pow Wow with sound equipment, 1960s. Glossy 8x10 gelatin-silver print. *(ETH-870)*

a part of the modern Native American ceremonies at this time (ETH-870). Many of these photographs were taken by Ernie Mack, one of the leading commercial photographers in Reno at the time.[18]

The section on gambling covers the card games borrowed from Europeans, primarily poker, as well as two views of the traditional hand game, which is more ceremonial in nature and was sometimes staged as part of the Ghost Dance revitalization movement. For photograph ETH-935, Dave Christy posed with the bones and sticks used in the hand game; photograph ETH-919 shows the hand game in progress (see ETH-590). The hand game involves two teams facing each other. The goal is to win all the sticks by correctly guessing in which hand the marked bone is hidden. The teams sing songs during each play, and the hands are hidden under a cloth as the location is changed back and forth. The Native American poker games are distinctive in that the players form circles with the men and women in separate circles. Native Americans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gathered in open areas of Virginia City, Reno, and

Wadsworth to gamble (ETH-914 through ETH-932). The emerging hostility of whites toward Native American gambling may well have ended the practice. Oddly, some of the same people who are shocked by the sinfulness of Native American gambling, including current Native American casinos, seem to have no problem with the mega gambling palaces of Reno or Las Vegas.

Despite its various flaws, such as the amateurish technical errors seen in many photographs, the lack of thorough background documentation, and an imperfect cataloging system, the Nevada Historical Society's collection is probably the single largest and most significant source for historic images of Nevada's Native Americans. The importance of the photographs lies in the story they tell, not their artistic merit, although a number of the images are notable in that regard. The great and unwanted leap that propelled Nevada's Native Americans from their materially simple, but efficient, proud and happy pre-contact lifestyle into a subservient working class within a socially stratified nation-state was both dramatic and traumatic. It led to a wide range of transformations of traditional culture and new survival or coping strategies. The photographs reveal a resilience and determination to continue the best aspects of traditional culture, as well as an adaptability in borrowing those aspects of European culture that were compatible with traditional values and lifeways.

NOTES

[1]Beaumont Newhall and Nancy Newhall, *T. H. O'Sullivan, Photographer* (Rochester: George Eastman House, 1966).

[2]Peter E. Palmquist, ed. *The Railroad Photographs of Alfred A. Hart, Artist* (Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1996).

[3]Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Mormons, the West, and their Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992).

[4]Obituary, *Reno Evening Gazette* (5 November 1942), 16.

[5]Carl Mautz, *Biographies of Western Photographers 1840-1900, A Reference Guide to Photographers Working in the 19th Century West* (Nevada City, Calif.: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1996), 321.

[6]Notice, *Reno Evening Gazette* (23 October 1884), 1

[7]Ronald T. Bailey, *Frozen In Silver: Life and Frontier Photography of P. E. Larson* (Columbus, Ohio: Swallow Press, 1998).

[8]William J. Metscher, "E. W. Smith, Tonopah Photographer," *Central Nevada's Glorious Past*, 3:11 (November 1980), 10-26.

[9]Frasher Foto Postcard Collection, online collection guide (Pomona, Calif.: Pomona Public Library).

[10]Inter-tribal Council, *Life Stories of Our Native People: Shoshoni, Paiute, Washo* (Reno: Inter-tribal Council of Nevada, 1974).

[11]Sally Zanjani, *Sarah Winnemucca* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 186.

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]Inter-tribal Council, *Life Stories.*

[14] Michael Hittman provides the most extensive compendium of the facts of Jack Wilson's life in *Wovoka and the Ghost Dance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). Hittman intentionally avoids interpretation in his sourcebook. The interpretive commentary is my own.

[15]Letter from Phillip I. Earl, August 24, 2007. Shoshone Mike Folder, Holding File, Nevada Historical Society.

[16]"Shoshone Mike Incident," This was Nevada series, Shoshone Folder, Holding File, Nevada Historical Society.

[17]"Author Finds a Survivor of 1911 Nevada Massacre," *Nevada State Journal* (20 June 1975).

[18]As indicated by his name embossed in the corner of the prints.

Book Reviews

Anti-Indianism in Modern America: A Voice from Tatekeya's Earth. By Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001)

For the past two decades, Crow Creek Sioux scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn has been one of the leading voices in American Indian studies. Known for witty and barbed titles (including *Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner and Other Essays*), Cook-Lynn provides cutting criticism of the academic and broader world which American Indians inhabit. *Anti-Indianism in Modern America* is no exception. In twenty essays or short critiques, Cook-Lynn argues for a community and nation-centered voice in American Indian studies. She chooses the genre of the essay to communicate her ideas because it offers her a more polemical and free-thinking writing experiment.

Cook-Lynn begins the book by defining her eye-catching title. "Anti-Indianism," Cook-Lynn argues, "is that which treats Indians and their tribes as though they don't exist, the sentiment that suggests that Indian nationhood (i.e., tribalism) should be disavowed and devalued." Among its particular parts, Anti-Indianism "denigrates, demonizes, and insults being Indian in America," it uses "historical event[s] and experience[s] to place blame on Indians for an unfortunate and dissatisfying history," and it "exploits and distorts Indian cultures and beliefs" (x). Cook-Lynn carries these ideas throughout the text, castigating American Indian and non-Indian authors who espouse anti-Indianism in their writings. Thus, for Cook-Lynn, the archetypal western author Louis L'Amour can be painted with the same brush as Adrian Louis (Paiute), who blamed the Lakota for the assassination of Sitting Bull in 1890 as well as for contemporary issues with tribal governments. What is more, Cook-Lynn expressly compares anti-Indianism in America with the anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany, a comparison sure to alienate many readers. Yet, Cook-Lynn strives to be polemical, determined as she is to expose the anti-Indianism that pervades the United States.

Cook-Lynn also makes a forceful argument for the future of American Indian or Native American Studies. She decries the "mixed-blood" voice that is common in some American Indian literatures (Louis and Michael Dorris, to name two that Cook-Lynn identifies), and writes from a community and tribal-nation perspective. Only then can American Indian authors overcome anti-Indianism. In an essay entitled "Writing through Obscurity," Cook-Lynn answers critics

of her own work who found some of her writings "flat," "problematic," and immature. On the contrary, Cook-Lynn argues that her writings come from a perspective different from the Western European and literary background of her critics (one is reminded of Walter Ong's discussion of oral cultures, narratives, and character development when reading this chapter). Some may read Cook-Lynn's defense as sour grapes over poor reviews of her work, but it should be noted that Cook-Lynn strives to articulate for the reader what she considers to be an authentic American Indian voice, grounded in community and tribal-nation.

Certainly, some readers may be put off by some of what Cook-Lynn writes, but in the polemical nature of her work, as well as in her exhortations to American Indian authors in all disciplines, is a message worthy of considering and pondering.

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University of Wyoming

Children of Coyote, Missionaries of St. Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850. By Steven W. Hackel (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005)

Colonial Rosary: The Spanish and Indian Missions of California. By Alison Lake (Athens: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, 2006)

Together, two recent works on the Spanish Franciscan missions of California, Steven Hackel's *Children of Coyote* and Alison Lake's *Colonial Rosary*, represents a tour de force of the popular debate focusing on the purpose and operation of the Spanish Franciscan colonial mission system, a system that spanned more than a century. Both authors agree that, for good or ill, the Franciscan missions definitively changed the culture, economy, and even the geography of coastal California, and that those changes reach into the present time. Hackel and Lake each afford their respective readers a scholar's lens through which to view the multi-faceted mission life in Spanish colonial California. Both works investigate pre-colonial California, the Spanish sense of divine imperative, the initial encounter between missionaries and Indians, indigenous cultural practices and belief systems, disease and the depopulation of the Indian peoples, the cultural and economic impact of colonization and assimilation of the Indians, struggles between the missionaries and their own government officials, and secularization and its consequences on both the missionaries and the native people. The lost voice of the colonized California Indian is recovered in the work of both Hackel and Lake.

Alison Lake provides documentation of the Spanish missionaries' genuine concern for the spiritual and physical well-being of the native people who came under their oversight. In her work, Lake pays close attention to the mission-period sources found in both the mission and state archives, and thereby illuminates the ongoing discussion over the actual role played by the Franciscans in the early Spanish settlement of California. Lake emphasizes the diversity of the Indian population at the time of Spanish colonization and the fact that Indian labor was the primary force behind the missions' success in cattle ranching and wine production. Lake examines the impact of colonization on the local Indians' own social system of marriage, sexuality, language and economy and laments with them the effects of later secularization, and much later the restoration of the missions.

Hackel contributes rich scholarship on the same topics while he emphasizes that the decline of the indigenous population through disease, unfamiliar labor, and other causes caught the concerned attention of government officials at the time. It was not uncommon for government investigators to visit the mission sites to inspect the Indian accommodations, and labor conditions, as well as the very persons of the Indians themselves. The concern, of course, Hackel reminds us, was primarily economic. Fewer healthy laborers in the vineyards or on the *rancherias* meant lower profits for the king's coffers, as well as their own.

In his detailed examination of the Indian-Spanish relations within the parameters of the Franciscan missions between 1769 and 1850, Hackel uses mission life at Mission San Carlos Borromeo as a case study. Located in Carmel near Monterey, Mission Borromeo was one of the first missions the Franciscans established. At Borromeo, Hackel invites his reader to take a close look at the local Indian struggles against a confining colonial order and its consequent devastation of their traditions. To underscore the harrowing experience of the natives, Hackel integrates textual and quantitative sources that reveal the cultural results related to disease, depopulation, gender roles, marriage and sexuality, labor expectations, crime and punishment, and religious, economic, and political change. Leaving no component of daily life unexamined, Hackel probes the complexities of colonial imperialism as it was experienced at every level by the California natives. Using Mission Borromeo as a case study, Hackle scrutinizes the Franciscan missionaries assigned there, as well as the Spanish soldiers deployed to Borromeo and the Spanish colonists who settled the surrounding region.

By contrast, Lake does not tarry long at any one mission. Instead, like a faithful Catholic fingering the rosary beads, Lake moves her reader steadily along Junipero Serra's *El Camino Real*—The Royal Road, which equates roughly with today's California Highway 101—from one mission to the next, highlighting what is similar and what is unique about each. Like Hackel, Lake profiles the role of the Indians in terms of faith and work in the mission compound. She also discusses the impact of religion, language, and labor on the root culture of the native people. Lake argues effectively, as Hackel does, that the colonization and cultural assimilation were at once devastating and positive for the California Indians.

A cursory glance tells the reader that Hackel's *Children of Coyote* is the result of massive archival research, the results of which are both rich and dense. Lake's work will appeal to the reader who wants a less comprehensive accounting of the Indian-Spanish relations within the mission system. Hackel draws comparisons between the Spanish California missions and colonial efforts in other parts of the Spanish Borderlands. Lake looks solely at the California missions, while, at the same time, providing a panorama of mission life and inhabitants.

Lake includes what could be considered a virtual tour of the missions through the numerous archival photos she incorporates into the narrative. These provide the reader with visual validation of her argument that there are two sides to scholarly discourse regarding early California Spanish-Indian relations. While both Lake and Hackel discuss the sense of Spanish destiny during the period when Spain was respected as a world power, Lake underscores the fact that, in California, the Franciscan missionaries were determined not to repeat the many crucial logistical and operational mistakes made in other areas of the Spanish Borderlands. Both Lake and Hackel point the reader in the direction of the long-lived Franciscan struggle with Spanish government officials and the eventual secularization of the missions and its outcome.

Those interested in the Hispanic roots of American history and the dramatic impact that Spanish colonization had on the physical and cultural landscape of California will enjoy either work reviewed here. Lake's book is intended to be more of a serious tourist's pocket guide to visiting the missions along the Camino Real. Hackel's book will prove to be a reference manual to anyone interested in the lasting effects of the incorporation of Indian tribes into Spanish mission life. Both works provide memorable case studies for understanding how the movement of people across land changes a place forever.

Fran Campbell
College of Southern Nevada

Forgotten Tribes: Unrecognized Indians and the Federal Acknowledgment Process. By Mark Edwin Miller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004)

Quest for Tribal Acknowledgment: California's Honey Lake Maidus. By Sara-larus Tolley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006)

These monographs make important contributions to an emerging literature on Indian peoples who are not federally recognized and the Federal Acknowledgment Process (FAP) they must contend with to gain official recognition. Miller's groundbreaking *Forgotten Tribes* is the first book-length study of the FAP and its

effects on the diverse non-acknowledged groups that seek to negotiate their way through its daunting bureaucracy. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) administers the FAP, and Miller argues that it has failed to meet its stated goal of providing objective, fair, and prompt review of applications from unrecognized groups, for a variety of reasons. One is the difficulty in defining the ambiguous term *tribe*, a problem compounded by popular cultural stereotypes about what "authentic" Indians ought to look like. Another is that the BAR uses race-based criteria in defining Indianness, creating a process that is charged with a "distasteful racial discourse" (11). The criteria, moreover, are purposefully restrictive—in part because of lobbying on the part of recognized tribes, who generally oppose recognition of unacknowledged groups—and place the onus on tribes to meet unrealistic evidentiary standards. It is an irony that a federal agency can ask these forgotten tribes, who have weathered centuries of federal policies designed to eradicate their culture, to provide documentary evidence of their existence. Finally, the FAP has become an especially prickly procedure in the wake of the Federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 because petitioners' motives are automatically called into question; opponents of recognition charge that groups are interested in petitioning the BAR so that they can open casinos, not because they want to assert or protect their cultural identities.

Drawing on a wealth of interviews in addition to more traditional archival sources, Miller is able to provide a detailed look at the FAP. His first two chapters provide context. First, he offers an overview of federal Indian policy as it relates to recognition, leading up to the creation of the BAR in 1978. The next chapter is an account of the BAR's record to the present. The remainder of the book is devoted to four case studies of the Pascua Yaquis of Arizona, the Death Valley Timbisha Shoshones of California, the United Houma Nation of Louisiana, and the Tiguas of Yselta del Sur Pueblo in Texas; Miller uses these studies to illuminate his larger arguments. The accounts of the history and struggles of these peoples are masterfully related; each could stand alone and provides reason enough to pick up the book. That said, readers may be left puzzled by the case studies selected. Three of the four succeeded in their quest for recognition (two by sidestepping the FAP and achieving recognition through the United States Congress). As the author concedes, this is hardly representative of the odds faced by the tribes seeking recognition since "the majority of groups in the FAP and groups looking for acknowledgment by Congress have failed to pass through the gates" (259).

Tolley, an anthropologist, takes a different approach: Her *Quest for Tribal Acknowledgement* focuses on the Honey Lake Maidus of California to provide a critique of the FAP generally while revealing the special difficulties faced by California tribes seeking recognition. An estimated two-thirds of California tribes are unrecognized and, as Miller notes, roughly a quarter of all petitioners are located in California. While Miller strives for balance and objectivity in his

research, Tolley has worked closely with and for the Honey Lake Maidus in their quest for recognition in ways that she believes preclude the possibility of a disinterested, skeptical approach. Instead, the purpose of her study is "to make an impact on the reader and then the Acknowledgment system itself" (9).

Tolley also draws on theory, locating "the Federal Acknowledgment procedures and continuing state violence to Indian communities at the crossroads of Michael Foucault's decentered or authorless investigations of governmentality and the kind of analysis that emphasizes a clear vision of justice such as Antonio Gramsci's" (15). Academic jargon renders Tolley's work less accessible to general audiences than Miller's. Nonetheless, she succeeds in providing a compelling account of the history of the Honey Lake Maidus and of their current efforts to achieve federal recognition. In light of the former, Tolley contends, success with the latter would amount to nothing less than "a refutation of genocide" (19).

These are important books, not only because they shed light on the experiences of Indian peoples who have been marginalized, whether by historical circumstance or intent, but also because they expose the shortcomings of a bureaucratic decision-making process that has had and will continue to have a real and important impact on people's lives. They will be of interest not only to scholars of federal Indian policy and American Indian history, but also to wider audiences concerned with contemporary injustice.

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The Indian Frontier, 1763-1846. By R. Douglas Hurt (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002)

In the newest addition to the Ray Allen Billington Histories of the American Frontier series, R. Douglas Hurt tackles the difficult task of synthesizing interactions among Indians, Europeans, and Anglo-Americans from the end of the French and Indian War to the beginning of the Mexican War. Belying the simplicity of its title, *The Indian Frontier 1763-1846* in fact examines nine separate regions of encounter, ranging from the Spanish Southwest to the Old Northwest and from the British Northwest to the Great Plains. In each, Hurt describes encounters of "self-interest, violence, and dispossession" in which Indians and whites interact and sometimes cooperate, but more often struggle for power (xii). However, rather than a monolithic white culture fighting an equally homogeneous Indian one, what Hurt highlights are the complex relationships within the larger categories of "white" and "Indian" that ultimately changed these frontiers from "zones of encounter" to "exclusionary regions

dominated by the major military power" (xiv). Thus, while trying to synthesize the histories of these diverse regions into a cohesive narrative, Hurt simultaneously underscores the difficulty of making any sort of generalization about these same frontiers.

It is the concept of "power," defined by Hurt as a combination of ideological will, population numbers, and military prowess, which forms the important transitional moments in his narrative and defines its winners and losers. The *Indian Frontier* begins, for example, as the French are leaving North America after the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Rather than simplify the geopolitical situation, however, the transfer of all French claims in North America to the British complicated the relationships between the Indians living along the Ohio River and their European counterparts. Unlike the French, whose relationship with groups such as the Shawnee and Delaware was built on reciprocal gift giving and kinship alliances, the British policy both restricted trade and attempted to create clear lines of demarcation between Indians and colonists. While the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos were able to force the British to reform their policies both through diplomacy, such as creating a pan-Indian alliance in the Ohio valley, and through violence, such as Pontiac's Rebellion and Dunmore's War, nothing slowed the advance of white settlers in search of new land. Thus, by the time of American Revolution, British policy makers were no longer the Ohio Indians' major concern, replaced by the "incessantly west-moving Americans" (15). Yet, in each of the zones described by Hurt, complicated inter- and intra-tribal politics, as well as disagreements over Indian policy on a national and state level, would make reducing the conflict to a simple binary impossible.

Here lies the strength in *The Indian Frontier*. From the Spanish struggle to contain the Comanches to the American removal of southeastern Indians on the Trail of Tears, Hurt explores the complexity of each of the frontiers on its own terms. Whether it is the violent battles between the Upper and Lower Creeks or the effects of the Mexican Revolution on the California Missions, Hurt explores and synthesizes a vast amount of information without falling into caricatures of either colonizers or colonized. At the same time, however, Hurt's focus on power as a vehicle of analysis makes it difficult to escape his assessment that "white contact. . . resulted in unmitigated disaster for the Indian nations" (xv). Thus, while the geographic and historical scope of this comparative analysis will make *The Indian Frontier* a welcome addition to any survey classroom, some of Hurt's generalizations may leave advanced students unsatisfied. For example, his claim in the epilogue that "[b]y 1846, the great American sweep across half the continent marked the near completion of the expansion of Europe in terms of populations, economics, politics, and technology—in a word, power—that began in the late fifteenth century" seems to undermine the nuanced interpretations of the various colonial powers that he adroitly lays out in the previous chapters (247). Despite this complaint, Hurt has created a valuable synthesis that brings depth and complexity to each of the Indian frontiers he examines.

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The Nez Perce Nation Divided: Firsthand Accounts of Events Leading to the 1863 Treaty. Edited by Dennis Baird, Diane Mallickan, and W. R. Swagerty (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 2002)

The treaty-making process of the nineteenth century forms the basis of federal recognition and sovereign-nation status for Native American people today. The Nez Perce people, among several Northwest tribes, negotiated such treaties in the 1850s. In *The Nez Perce Nation Divided,* primary documents trace the events leading to a second Nez Perce treaty in 1863. Through these documents, the reader gets a complex and nuanced understanding of Native and non-Native relationships.

The Nez Perce treaty of 1855 lasted only six years before gold discoveries brought miners, alcohol, and conflict to the reservation. The pursuit of gold within the boundaries of the reservation resulted in the new treaty with reduced territory for the Nez Perces and a newly established territory of Idaho. The editors of this volume have collected and edited 254 documents tracing the historical route between the two treaties. Presented in chronological order, the documents include agency correspondence, military records, newspaper commentary and editorials, and official council proceedings. Both the 1855 and 1863 treaties are appended and the book also includes short descriptive biographies of Nez Perce leaders and government employees. Several archival maps supplement the text as well. All together, these documents provide a comprehensive view of events during the short but eventful period under examination.

These original letters and reports reveal a more intricate story than might be assumed. At the forefront the documents convey the week-to-week and sometimes day-to-day developments of the origins, conception, and organization of the 1863 council meeting. Throughout the period, agency personnel came and went, adding to the difficulties. Weather and supply shortages created more problems. Nez Perces traded, socialized, and argued with miners. These issues unfold dramatically as each document presents a new development or different perspective. The collection well demonstrates the complexity involved with reading, understanding, and analyzing primary sources.

Although all of the sources originate from non-Indian written accounts, Nez Perce voices nonetheless surface throughout these documents. Transcribed treaty proceedings offer the most direct evidence. Throughout the balance of the text, however, the ideas and attitudes of Nez Perce people continually emerge. Indeed, one of the most contentious points about the invasion of the reservation was the fact that the miners and others violated a provision of the 1855 treaty that prohibited alcohol on the reservation. Less concerned about the trespass than the alcohol, many Nez Perce people agreed to permit mining on the reservation but consistently sought to protect their treaty rights and land. In another example, Nez Perce council participants insisted that the government hire Perrin Whitman as interpreter; they trusted him more than anyone else

to faithfully convey the discussions to them. These are intriguing points that make more direct Nez Perce sources desirable, but the documents presented here effectively convey Native viewpoints and actions.

As the story unfolds towards the 1863 treaty negotiations, the documents offer a sense of the personnel problems that marred decision-making relative to Native-white relations in the nineteenth century. Dishonest or incompetent agents, rapacious but ill-supplied miners, lackadaisical military officers, and zealous missionaries populate the pages of this book. Even the treaty commissioner Calvin Hale dishonestly awarded contracts to supply food and trade items during the treaty proceedings. But there are numerous other characters as well, law-abiding people of more positive disposition who were empathetic to the Nez Perce people as thousands of non-Indians trespassed across the reservation. In short, the collection tells a complex story driven by any number of historical actors.

The Nez Perce Nation Divided makes two contributions. It first unravels the events leading to the 1863 treaty. The editors provide an introduction to each section, but otherwise allow the documents to speak for themselves without commentary. But the volume is also valuable as a collection of primary documents. Since the editors omitted interpretive commentary, the documents must be read closely and individually in order to determine their significance and relationship. Many of the letters and reports complement one another; others contradict each other or offer completely different perspectives. Access to this kind of raw data is exactly what the editors intended.

Scholars of Northwest and Indian history will appreciate the topic, the content, the multiple perspectives, and the primary source value of this book. *The Nez Perce Nation Divided* is the first volume in an anticipated series entitled *Voices from Nez Perce Country*. Subsequent volumes will make Nez Perce history accessible to scholars everywhere. It promises to be a valuable collection.

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