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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

BY

OMER C. STEWART

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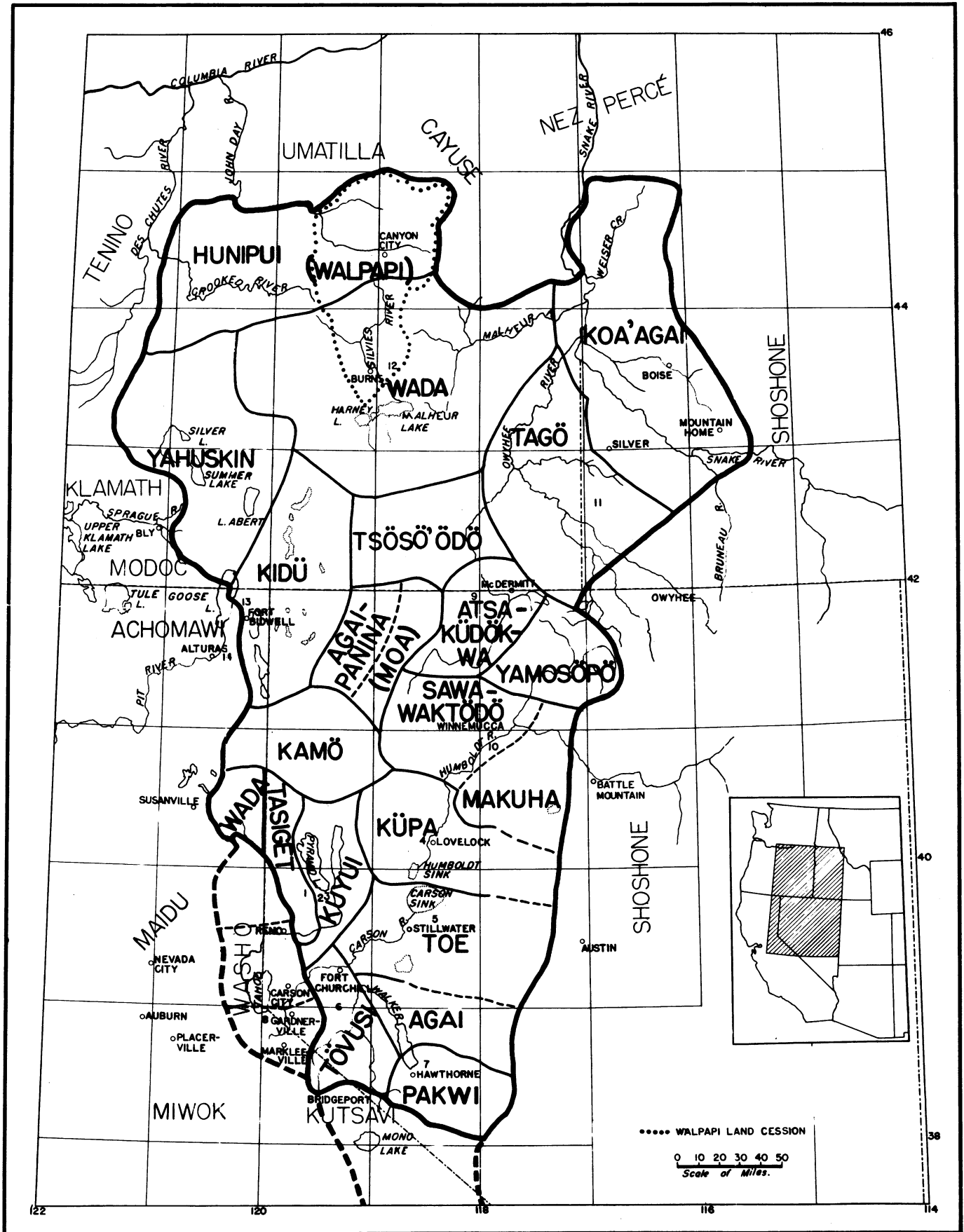
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Map 1. Northern Paiute Bands.

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

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OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

For all studies in history, ethnography, archaeology, or geography the accurate definition of "place" is fundamental. This paper is an attempt to locate accurately the Northern Paiute tribe and to ascertain correctly the subdivisions of this tribe at the time of white contact, about 1850. Political organization, succession of leaders, and population are also considered, inasmuch as they help to verify the existence of tribal divisions.

Certainly, if we have units to set apart, the basis for the formation of those units must be clearly defined. The larger unit I have called "tribe" because it is a group of Indians linguistically, culturally, and territorially united. The smaller units within the tribe are termed "bands" because of their political autonomy, small population, and simple, informal social organization. Since no political authority bound the whole group together, it might have been equally correct to have called the inclusive unit a "nation" and each of the smaller units "tribes." However, since Powell, Kroeber, Stewart, and others have already referred to the subdivisions of the Northern Paiute as bands, it seems preferable to retain that designation.

The solution to important problems and the evaluation of far-reaching hypotheses often rest on the interpretation of group names. In this report the Indians of southwestern Idaho and southeastern Oregon, heretofore called "Snake" and "Bannock," will be interpreted as part of the

Northern Paiute tribe. It will be shown that these Indians recognized themselves collectively as Paiute (nömö, "people"), that the bands had native names distinctively Northern Paiute, that none owned the designation Snake or Bannock, and that the bands were uniformly small, peaceful, almost completely without horses or firearms before 1850.

The geography of the Northern Paiute area is fairly well known in general outline, but it should be pointed out that the major part of it lies within the Great Basin. Consequently, it is characterized by small streams which flow into landlocked, brackish, or salt lakes. Physiographically, the territory is also known as the Basin-Range Province because of the numerous mountains running north and south, which dissect the basin into small, desert valleys. On the floor of the basin shadscale, sagebrush, salt grass, and greasewood dominate the flora. On the ranges grows juniper, with piñon occurring in unevenly scattered groves. Jack rabbits and ground squirrels are the most common fauna, although deer, antelope, and mountain sheep are found in favored localities. The poverty of the landscape is reflected in the small size of each band and the sparse population relative to the large area occupied by this tribe.

The names and approximate dates of band chiefs or captains and the names and locations of bands were obtained in the field. These data were confirmed with amazing regularity by accounts written seventy and eighty years ago.

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Northern Paiute¹ belong to the Mono-Paviotso dialect of the Plateau Shoshonean language.² They occupied northwestern Nevada, southwestern Idaho, southeastern Oregon, and California east of the Cascade Mountains and the Sierra Nevada from the Oregon border to south of Owens Lake, except for that part occupied by the Washo, from Honey Lake to the north fork of Walker River. The bands in the region of Mono and Owens lakes, studied by Steward,³ are not included in this presentation. The Northern Paiute bands here described are Indians formerly known as Oregon Snakes, Western Bannock, and Northern Paiute or Paviotso. That they should be considered as one people will be made clear.

The differences in the nomenclature for the Indians here embraced by one rubric are a result of historic accidents. Effects of those accidents are continually reappearing to obscure the real relationships of these bands.⁴ An examination of the first historic accounts treating this people supplies an explanation of their diverse generic names.

In 1805, when Lewis and Clark⁵ were told by the Sahaptin of the Columbia River that the Indians to the south were Shoshonean, they naturally classified them with the horse-using "Sosone, or Snake" tribes they had met farther east. They joined the "Towannahhooks" of Des Chutes, "the river on which the Snake Indians live," with the eastern tribes, and believed their territory extended "to Mexico." If Lewis and Clark had visited the Oregon "Snakes," probably they would have recognized that linguistically as well as

¹Material for this paper was collected on Board of Research funds, in conjunction with a culture-element survey for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the summer of 1936. Informants from fourteen Paiute bands were interviewed. Since these data might be helpful to anyone doing ethnography in the area as well as to governmental agencies drafting new Indian policies, I have prepared them separately from the element-survey report, which may be delayed.

The map accompanying this paper was drafted by a Works Progress Administration employee.

²Kroeber, 1907, 114; 1909, 267.

³Steward, 1933.

⁴Lowie, 1909, 171, writing concerning the Shoshone or Snakes, said they roamed in Nevada to a hundred miles south of the Humboldt River; yet in 1924 he placed the Paviotso in Oregon, the territory earlier assigned to the Snakes, without mentioning that the two were the same. Spier, 1930, 4, classified the eastern neighbors of the Klamath as Northern Paiute (Paviotso) and Snake, but admitted "the Snake proper and Bannock may not have been in Oregon prior to the acquisition of the horse." Berreman, 1937, map 2, placed Snake, Bannock, and Northern Paiute as subdivisions of the Shoshonean stock in southeastern Oregon. Earlier accounts, of course, made the same error.

culturally eastern and western Shoshoneans were distinct. The Columbia River was visited by Ross⁶ in 1819, and his statement that the Sahaptin "possessed but a very confused idea of the Snakes, both as to their names or numbers," explains why Lewis and Clark were misled. Ross said, "One would call them Bannocks, and another Wurrocks, while a third would have them named Dogs." Yet he gave the boundaries of the Snake territory: Rocky Mountains on the east, "Spanish waters" on the south, the Cascades on the west, and the Blue and Teton mountains on the north. In such a manner were the Indians south of the Columbia christened; and if we wish to recognize priority, "Snake" should be used to designate the Oregon Paiute certainly, and other groups depending on the location of "Spanish waters."

This lumping together of all Shoshonean tribes did not long continue, for Ogden (1825), Farnham (1849), and Wyeth (1847)⁷ recognized two culturally different Snake groups, the horse-using, buffalo-hunting "Banacks," and the root-digging, fishing "Shoshonees, or Digger Snakes." A similar separation was made in 1859 when a visit to the Oregon Snake territory was described by Captain Wallen.⁸ This officer, sent by the government to survey a new wagon road for immigrants, started near Warm Springs, Oregon, went to Harney Lake, which he named, and crossed to the Snake River. The few Indians he found in Oregon were peaceful, without horses or arms, which contradicted the prevalent idea of their savage, warlike habits. He called these southeastern Oregon Indians "Digger Snakes" to contrast them with the formidable, armed and mounted "Bannach Snakes" of southeastern Idaho. Thus the designation "Snake," inadvertently applied by Lewis and Clark, remained in spite of observed cultural differences.

The history of the name Paiute (Pah Ute, Piute) for the Indians of west central Nevada has been explained as a combination of the Paiute words pa (water) and ute (direction). The Indians spoke of themselves as nömö (people), but probably travelers who had had previous experience with the Ute used ute to form the last part of the name for this new Shoshonean group, but added pa to indicate observable differences between the two groups. Certain it is that the same Indians were known as Snake by some writers and Paiute by others. Fremont,⁹ for example, made no distinction between the Indians he met in southern Oregon and those near Pyramid Lake.

⁵Lewis and Clark, 3:147; 4:76, 366.

⁶Ross, 1855, 251.

⁷Ogden, 1910, 208; Farnham in Thwaite, 1904, 28:312; Wyeth in Schoolcraft, 1:206.

⁸Wallen, 222.

⁹Fremont, 1845, 212.

President Polk,¹⁰ likewise, in his message to Congress in 1848 referred to the 7000 Indians living west of Great Salt Lake as "Banarch Diggers." Notwithstanding these earlier references, Beckwith¹¹ in 1855 stated he saw "Digger Indians" in western Nevada "who call themselves Pah-Utahs." The following year this was changed to Py-utes by Agent Hurt¹² in reporting about "200 Indians on Humboldt sink, 80 at Ragtown, 400 in the mountains to the north." With the separation of Nevada from the Utah territory, the Southern and the Northern Paiute were placed under one supervisor, who did not distinguish the two groups. This mistake was corrected by Powell¹³ in 1873. He emphasized the distinction between the Southern Paiute and the Paviotso, a name he used for the Northern Paiute, recognizing the connection of the latter with the so-called Bannocks of southeastern Oregon. A few years later, Agent Rinehart,¹⁴ of the Malheur Agency, confirmed Powell's idea of the unity between the western Nevada and southeastern Oregon Indians. He delineated the same northern and western boundaries used by Ross a half century earlier to describe the Snake limits, that is, the Blue and Cascade mountains, but said only the Indians east of the Snake River should be called Snakes. Paiute, Yahooskin, and Walpahpe, occupying the "country bounded by Snake River on the east, and the Cascade on the west, the Blue Mountains on the north and Goose Lake and Steens Mountain on the south, all have been called Snakes indiscriminately," he said, "though none of them will own the name.... They all use the same language spoken at Pyramid Lake and along the Lower Humboldt."¹⁵

Although Powell and Rinehart thus expressed the affinity between the Oregon and western Nevada Shoshoneans, the true relationship of these tribes was not realized until Kroeber¹⁶ demonstrated the unmistakable dialectic unity of the Mono, Paviotso, and "the Shoshoneans of eastern Oregon called both Snake and Paiute, and probably certain of the Bannock or other Indians of Idaho."

¹⁰Polk, quoting Meek, 16.

¹¹Beckwith, 1855, 34.

¹²Ind. Aff. Rep., 1855-56, 228.

¹³Ind. Aff. Rep., 1873, 75.

¹⁴Ind. Aff. Rep., 1876-77, 172.

¹⁵Although these statements are quite definite, the tribal relationships of these Indians remained confused. Bancroft, 1883, 422, for example, divided the Shoshonean family into Snakes and Utahs. The Snakes, he said, "inhabit southeastern Oregon, Idaho, western Montana, and the northern portions of Utah and Nevada, are subdivided into several small tribes, and include the more considerable nation of Bannocks. The Utahs occupy nearly the whole of Utah and Nevada, and extend into Arizona and California." Utahs included Utah proper, Washo, "Pah-Utes, or as they are sometimes called, Piutes, in western and central Nevada, stretching into Arizona and southeastern Nevada," Pah Vants, Gosh Utes, etc.

¹⁶Kroeber, 1907, 122; also, 1909.

Kroeber did not denote exact limits of the Mono-Paviotso dialect and mentioned its subdivisions only in the most general way. The present paper is an attempt to establish some of these limits and subdivisions as precisely as is possible at this time. The tribal boundary was naturally established through the determination of all the band limits.

Although almost everyone writing about the Indians included in this study has testified to the existence of bands, chiefs, and so forth, no one has troubled to ascertain systematically their number, names, or territorial extent.¹⁷ As early as 1859 Dodge¹⁸ named twelve bands and mentioned where they were found, but unfortunately he did not attempt to supply the geographical limits occupied by each group. The autonomy of the bands was attested to by Major Douglas¹⁹ in 1870 when he wrote: "The main difficulty encountered in carrying out the policy of the Government with the Indians of this superintendency is their lack of tribal organization. The Pah-Utes, numbering fully 5000, are broken up into small bands of from 50 to 200, each band under the nominal leadership of individuals elected by themselves, called captains. These bands act independently of each other." Members of these small groups, nevertheless, recognized they were linguistically and culturally related, considering themselves one tribe of Paiute²⁰ as opposed to the Shoshoni, Washo, Achomawi, Sahaptin, and other tribes.

The position attained by Old Winnemucca (Makoi [or Movitawara], "hole in the nose") suggests that the independent Northern Paiute bands were in process of becoming united under one chief. Old Winnemucca's rôle offers an example of cultural change which was activated by historic contacts with white men. The picture is not entirely clear, but we seem to have here an example of the leader of one band being transformed into a tribal chief by governmental agents desirous of having one authoritative person to deal with, and by an ambitious, educated daughter, Sarah Winnemucca, trying to attain self-aggrandizement by exalting her father. In the Indian Service reports, starting with that of Major Dodge (1859), Old Winnemucca is nearly always signalized as "head chief of all the Paiute," notwithstanding

¹⁷Kelly, 1932, and Stewart, 1933, published complete ethnographic studies of individual bands and mentioned the names of others. Powers and Powell located several bands, the names of which appear in the Handbook (Hodge, ed.), having been taken from their manuscripts in the Bureau of American Ethnology. Curtis, 1926, included the Paiute in four bands.

¹⁸Dodge, 1859-60, 741.

¹⁹Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 105.

²⁰Powell and Ingalls, 1873, 75, insisted that "Paviotso" be used to distinguish the northern Nevada Paiute from the Southern Paiute. This term has not been universally accepted; and since the Indians term themselves *nómó* or Paiute at present, Northern Paiute should be consistently adopted.

statements like the one above by Major Douglas, attesting the complete independence of the bands. Dodge enumerates a dozen independent bands with their captains, yet where Old Winnemucca was mentioned he was attributed tribal in addition to band leadership. Dodge did not visit Old Winnemucca's band but probably obtained information concerning it from Sarah Winnemucca who was, at the time, living at the home of Major Ormsby in Carson City. Undoubtedly Dodge stayed at the home of Ormsby and thus started the association between the army and Sarah Winnemucca, which continued many years. Sarah acted as interpreter for most officials who visited the Nevada Indians and was in an excellent position to color the governmental reports. Once the idea of Old Winnemucca's exalted position had been established in the minds of the white people his prestige increased among the Indians. Taking advantage of his daughter's position, he traveled to various bands and became known as "traveling chief" by the Northern Paiute from Pyramid Lake to Burns, Oregon; white people called Sarah Winnemucca "Paiute Indian Princess," although Indians did not credit her with any such distinction. South of Pyramid, Old Winnemucca was never considered more than a leader of the Pyramid Lake band. Prior to the arrival of the white people, bands united for special hunting, fishing, dancing, piñon-nut gathering, rarely for war; but no one was generally recognized as possessing any authority above the local band chief. It seems that the Northern Paiute were ripe to become politically united; this, however, never happened.

The basic unity of the Northern Paiute appears from the fact that they pictured exact boundaries dividing themselves from surrounding tribes, whereas interband divisions were often vague and indefinite. Map 1 (frontispiece) shows bands sharply separated; yet these lines were not always conceived so precisely. Band territories consisted of a relatively productive area and its environs; the large, sterile, dry stretches surrounding the valuable spots were not exclusively claimed, and I have arbitrarily divided them between adjacent groups. In spite of some laxness,

bands had recognized possession of certain tracts--piñon ranges, lakes, streams, hunting grounds. If other Paiutes obtained food there, as they did without as much as asking permission, it was always with an understanding that they were visitors. Seldom did claimed lands overlap, except where two adjacent bands recognized mutual use of a district, in which case, the line has been drawn in the center. Bands in more arid regions traveled more and spent several months each year as visitors in the productive areas of their friends.

Further indication of the close band relationships is found in the number of distinct group names and the number of different local chiefs remembered by certain informants. Nick Downington, a Tasiget of Reno, differentiated seven bands extending from Oregon to Mono Lake, California, and named their "captains." At Owens Valley, California, Steward recorded the names of bands as far as Pyramid Lake; and at Surprise Valley, California, Kelly learned of bands as far south as the Aga'idöka of Walker Lake. In fact, nearly all informants knew the names of several bands and their leaders, as well as the boundaries dividing their territories, thus providing a check for all information.

By Steward's²¹ classification of simple hunting groups according to social organization, the Northern Paiute bands would be "Mixed Groups." No definite rule for residence or exogamy existed. If personal property was not destroyed at death, it was passed on to any relatives who could use it, preferably to offspring. The idea of real-estate ownership by individual or band was so tenuous it hardly existed, but indefinite rights to certain piñon-nut areas were inherited matrilineally and patrilineally. One could, however, fish, hunt, or gather anywhere. Leadership, whether as band chief, "dance captain," or "hunting captain," was a reward of personality and experience, not inheritance.²²

²¹Steward, 1936, 331.

²²Douglas, Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 105.

THE BANDS AND THEIR CHIEFS

The following detailed information concerning the twenty-one bands was obtained through both field work and consultation of the literature. Since the northern groups were described first by the early travelers, I have begun the list with them, and have proceeded southward.

(1) Hunipuitōka²⁵ (?) or Walpapi. This band, also known as the Canyon City Indians by Oregon informants, occupied the area assigned to the "Towannahhiooks" by Lewis and Clark and to variously designated "Snake" tribes by other earlier writers.²⁴ Wallen²⁵ in 1859 was the first to distinguish the territory of this band within the general Snake area when he wrote: "We met . . . a band of Digger Snakes, inhabiting the valley of Crooked River, and those adjacent, sometimes extending their camps as far north as the headwaters of the John Day and as far south as the Two Buttes, forty or fifty miles south of the mouth of Crooked River." This northern-band boundary agrees with that set for the Snakes by Ross and Wyeth, mentioned earlier, and coincides with part of the Walpapi cession to the government.²⁶ Our Hunipuitōka territory thus includes the northern part of the Walpapi cession plus the area to the west around Pauline Mountain and Pauline Lake, which Gatschet²⁷ assigns to the Walpapi. The boundary, enclosing about 7000 square miles, starting at Pauline Mountain (Twin Buttes) in Des Chutes County, runs north through Jefferson County to the Wasco County line where Highway 97 crosses; thence east to the John Day River, up the river to North Fork, then up the North Fork to the Blue Mountains; thence south along the Blue Mountains to the head of the Malheur River; thence southwesterly along the divide between the John Day and the Malheur drainages to Pauline Mountain, the place of beginning. The Hunipuitōka were thus surrounded on three sides by Sahaptin tribes: the Tenino on

²⁵ Tōka, dōka, and dīkadī are suffixes which mean "eater"; but are synonymous to nōmō, "people," and weit or tu·viwarai, "dweller." The suffix is sometimes omitted. In native words the letters have the following values: ö, mute e as in French je, le, etc.; ü, the u in German kühl or French lune; u, pronounced as in German gut; e, pronounced as in French été; i, pronounced as in French fini; a, pronounced as in English far; g, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', represents a glottalized stop; V, pronounced as the Spanish bilabial V; other letters pronounced as in English.

²⁴ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1865, 471: Hoonebooly, Hooneboeey, Nollpahpe, Wallpahpe, and Iukespiul Snakes; Hale, in Gallatin, 1848, 18: Wihinashatas. Nash, 1937, called the Walpapi Paiute. Berreman, 1937, perpetrates the error of considering this band the mounted, raiding Snakes accused by Teit of causing Sahaptin migrations.

²³ Wallen, 222.

the west, John Day, Umatilla, and Cayuse on the north, and Nez Percé on the east;²⁸ on the south were the Yahuskin and Wadatoka Paiute.

The literature contains several references to the leaders of the Hunipuitōka (Walpapi). Paulina²⁹ (Pau-li-he, Panaina),³⁰ who was moved to the Klamath Reservation and was killed about 1867,³¹ was one of them. Another was "We-ah-we-wa," in 1870 chief of the largest band of Snakes at Camp Harney.³² "Old Wiwa" was mentioned as chief of the Hunipuitōka "when the whites came" by informants at McDermitt and Owyhee, Nevada, and at Burns, Oregon, none of whom were from his band, and by two young Indians at Burns, who claimed to be Hunipuitōka.

The evidence is not entirely convincing that the area under consideration was occupied by one band. I have presented it as such primarily because no other band was named by informants. When asked who used to live north of the Wadatōka of Burns, all who professed to know mentioned this one band. The position of Paulina and Old Wiwa is not clear. It is possible that the latter took charge of those who were said not to have gone to the reservation. One reference states the area belonged to one band, another to several. Inasmuch as historical accounts are not sufficiently definite, it is best to accept the testimony of living Indians.

The only indication of band population is contained in the Report on Indian Affairs for 1870, in which the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation are numbered at 98. Other Klamath census figures do not differentiate the Paiute bands. Although a few younger Hunipuitōka can be found at Burns, they are said to be mostly on the Warm Springs Reservation, 76 Pi-Ute being there in 1896. Only a careful house-to-house census of these two places could reveal how many still are living.

(2) Yahuskin (?).³³ Goyatōka ("crawfish [?] eaters") was the name obtained by both Kelly³⁴

²⁸ Royce, 836.

²⁷ Gatschet, lxi.

²⁶ Mooney, 1896; Berreman, 1937; Ray, 1936.

²⁵ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1865-66, 6; 1867, 100; 1876-77, 172.

³⁰ Gatschet, loc. cit.

³¹ Hodge, Handbook, 2:901.

³² Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 53. Kelly, 205, heardoof Wiwa also.

³³ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1865-66, 89.

³⁴ Kelly, 1932, 72, also heardoof the Dühütçya-tikadū ("deer eaters"), a small group, possibly a subdivision of the Yahuskin, near Silver and Summer lakes. My informants also named Paavituvivarai ("white flint dwellers") as a subgroup at Chewaucan Valley, Oregon.

and me for this band, which occupied the region of Silver, Summer, and Abert lakes, Oregon. However, we were independently told the name was of recent origin. My informants knew an older, better name existed, but they could not recall it. References to this band are neither so numerous nor so early as those for the (Walpapi) Hunipuitōka, although as early as 1859 Wallen distinguished this band from the Walpapi. The Yahuskin and Walpapi, classed together as "Snakes" on the Klamath Reservation, maintained their individuality for many years. Gatschet,⁵⁵ writing that before 1864 the Yahuskin haunted Goose, Silver, Warner, and Harney lakes and Chewaukan and Sycan marshes, provides identification for the Indians seen at Summer Lake (near Silver Lake) by Fremont,⁵⁶ who distinguished them from the Klamath in the mountains to the west. The Klamath-Paiute boundary of this vicinity has been considered by several anthropologists,⁵⁷ who agree on all except the area of Sycan Marsh, used by both peoples.

Most of the Yahuskin area of about 5000 square miles lies within the area called by Wallen the "Big Basin."⁵⁸ Starting where the Oregon line crosses Goose Lake, the western border runs west to include Dog Lake and Drews Creek, then turns north to pass east of Bly and goes to Gearheart Mountain; thence northwesterly through Sycan Marsh to Yamsay Mountain and on to Pauline Mountain; thence easterly along the southern line of the Hunipuitōka almost to Hampton, where it curves southeasterly to Little Juniper Mountain before going south to Goose Lake. This territory touched the Klamath and Modoc on the west and south, the Hunipuitōka on the north, the Wadatōka and Kidūtōka on the east.

Mashenkasket, reported as chief of 100 Yahuskin on the Klamath Reservation in 1867,⁵⁹ is the first known leader of the Yahuskin. Chocktoot, attributed the chieftaincy in 1873,⁴⁰ is the oldest remembered by living informants.⁴¹ He had charge when the white people arrived. In addition, Kelly recorded Wobinnunbugai as chief of a subgroup at Paisley, Oregon.

Numbering 100 in 1867 and 117 in 1870,⁴² Paiutes claiming membership in this band can now be found at Yainax, Oregon.

⁵⁵ Gatschet, 1890, xxxv.

⁵⁶ Fremont, 1845, 212.

⁵⁷ Gatschet, 1890, xxxv; Barrett, 1910, 241; Spier, 1930, 10; Kelly, 1932, 72.

⁵⁸ Wallen, 1868-69, 222. From Wallen's account, I believe he distinguished the basin in which Summer, Silver, and Abert lakes are found as "the Big Basin." Although part of the "Great Basin," this area of Lake County, Oregon, is a separate basin surrounded by volcanic cliffs.

⁵⁹ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1867, 62.

⁴⁰ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1873, 324.

⁴¹ Kelly, 72.

⁴² Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870-71, 397.

(3) Wadatōka ("seed [Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.] eaters");⁴⁵ of Burns, Oregon. The area of the Wadatōka was partly included in Hale's Wihinash⁴⁴ and the Indian Land Cession usually called Walpapi. One of the bands mentioned in the cession is the Wahtatkin or Watat-kah,⁴⁵ which almost certainly represents a different spelling of Wadatōka. There is close agreement between the northern Wadatōka boundary obtained by me and the northern limit of "Snake" territory given by Ross⁴⁶ and Rinehart;⁴⁷ there is similar coincidence of the northern Wadatōka boundary and the Southern Sahaptin boundary described by Spinden.⁴⁸

Discernible boundaries encompassed about 5250 square miles, including streams entering Harney and Malheur lakes and Malheur River. From near Hampton, Oregon, the line runs northeasterly about 100 miles, coincident with that of the Hunipuitōka, to the south end of Blue Mountains; thence easterly along Blue Mountains about 60 miles almost to Snake River; thence southeasterly along Cedar Mountain about 110 miles to the north end of Steens Mountain; thence westerly about 50 miles to the desert east of Juniper Mountain where the line turns northerly 20 miles to Little Juniper Mountain; thence northerly, passing on the west side of Wagontire Mountain, 65 miles to Hampton.

Additional historical material concerning this band appears in the Indian Service reports of the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1875. Sarah Winnemucca and her father lived there at that time, and she wrote a long account of Indian conditions there.⁴⁹ The Bannock War, which she blamed on the mismanagement of Agent Rinehart, occurred shortly after the reservation was founded, and the reports of the conflict shed much light on the Indian leaders of that part of Oregon. Of course, Sarah attributed tribal leadership to her father, but she also named Oits as sub-chief in charge of the Harney Lake Paiute. Special Agent Turner⁵⁰ and Rinehart⁵¹ considered Oits chief at Malheur. He was also remembered by several living informants from different bands as the old Wadatōka leader, Tanoats, Hoitz, Parots, Pamö, and Hats Johnson being mentioned as variations of his name. Besides Oits, some informants recalled Old Wiwa as chief of the Hunipuitōka and Wadatōka, Egan as chief of the Wadatōka and Weiser Indians. The Bannock War caused the joining of several bands and the acceptance of different band chiefs as over the whole group. Blind

⁴⁵ Kelly, 98, was told the Wadatikadu lived at Burns.

⁴⁴ Gallatin, 1848, map.

⁴⁵ Royce, 386; also Ind. Aff. Rep., 1865, 471.

⁴⁶ Ross, op. cit. ⁴⁷ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1876-77, 172.

⁴⁸ Spinden, 173. ⁴⁹ Hopkins, 168, 222.

⁵⁰ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1876-77, 116.

⁵¹ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1876-77, 172.

Jim, a Wadatōka now at Burns, arranged the succession of chieftains as follows: Wiwa, Egan, Hoitz, Tsu Paddy, Captain Louie, and Pete Temens, the present chief. The fact that Pete Temens, recognized as a Tagōtōka Indian, is, nonetheless, a Wadatōka chief illuminates the native attitude toward leaders and reveals the ease with which an outsider could be accepted.

The foregoing evidence, agreed to by several living informants and confirmed by historical sources, leaves no doubt of the authenticity of the Wadatōka as an aboriginal band.

(4) *Koa'aga'itōka* ("salmon eaters"), of Boise, Idaho. In Hale's Wihinash area,⁵² but also including his Bannock and Powell's⁵³ Togwingani, the *Koa'aga'itōka* occupy a much-disputed and questionable position. By linguistic analysis, Kroeber⁵⁴ recognized that the Wihinash belonged to the Mono-Paviotso language and wrote: "The Shoshoneans of the Wihinash region, that is to say all eastern Oregon not occupied by the Sahap-tin, appear in literature most frequently under the special names Walpapi and Yahuskin, when they are not simply known as Snakes or Paiutes." In the Handbook,⁵⁵ on the contrary, the Wihinash are described as the western Bannock and are located in western Idaho north of Snake River. Inasmuch as most of the Oregon Paiute territory has been claimed by other bands, our problem resolves itself into properly placing the Wihinash-Bannock. Linguistically this has been done. Powell⁵⁶ recognized the affinity of the Bannock and Paviotso, and Mooney⁵⁷ said the Nevada Paiute "claim the Bannocks as their cousins, and say that they speak the same language." Kelly's⁵⁸ Kidūtōka informant explained the relationship thus: "I am a Paiute; I am a Bannock; Bannock are Paiute." Kroeber⁵⁹ demonstrated that the Bannock, although including some groups with Ute affiliations, must be united with the Northern Paiute.

Just as the chance giving of the name Snake to the Northern Paiute of Oregon obscured their real identity, a similar accident misnamed and confused the position of the Northern Paiute of Idaho. We should drop the term Bannock for this western group, reserving it to designate the eastern group which is culturally more similar to the Plains tribes.

Since this suggestion is a definite departure from established usage, the evidence for it will be presented in some detail. Most early references make no distinction between the eastern and west-

ern Bannock. Ross,⁶⁰ however, separates the "Warareekas, or fish eaters," from the buffalo-hunting Shoshone and "Banattees." Hale,⁶¹ likewise, distinguishes the "Panasht or Bannaks" near the Owyhee River from the eastern Shoshones. Wallen,⁶² on the contrary, united the Indians near Boise with those of Upper Snake River, yet characterized them as "athletic men, well armed, and formidable." The following year, the Oregon Indian Agent⁶³ wrote that the Snake Indians on Snake River "are by no means to be confounded with the Bannocks and Shoshonees of the Rocky Mountains." Lander⁶⁴ added to the contradictions by locating Bannocks at Fort Boise and on the headwaters of the John Day River west of Blue Mountains, and the Warraricas, "sunflower-seed eaters, below Fort Boise, west of Blue Mountains." Although these accounts are not definite, they do show that there is as much historical evidence to unite the Snake River Indians of the Boise area with the Paiute as with the eastern groups. Kirkpatrick⁶⁵ actually did this when he wrote: "The Bannocks, who are generally classed with the Snakes, inhabit the vicinity of Harney Lake"; yet, "the Winnas⁶⁶ band of Snake inhabit the country north of Snake River, and are found principally on the Bl[ay]ette, Boise, and Sickly rivers." The distinction of the Boise Indians is further suggested by the separate treaty which was made with them in 1865.⁶⁷ Chief San-to-me-co represented the combined Boise-Bruneau band, and 600 were removed to the Fort Hall Reservation in 1869.⁶⁸ Even there, however, they were remarkable because they did not participate in the plains economy of the eastern Bannock, but remained at the fort when the others migrated to various hunting and gathering grounds.

Added to the above testimony, which at least is as indicative of Northern Paiute affinity for the Boise Indians as it is for eastern Bannock relationships, references concerning the historic position of the "Bannock" Captain Egan help to clarify the situation. He was represented by Sarah Winnemucca⁶⁹ as a Paiute subchief with a status similar to that of Oits. Likewise, Agent Rinehart⁷⁰ distinguishes Egan, "who came from the valley of the Weiser," from the Bannock "on the upper Snake River." But the real key to the puzzle is the information furnished by modern

⁶⁰Ross, 1855, 249.

⁶¹Gallatin, map.

⁶²Wallen, 233.

⁶³Ind. Aff. Rep., 1860, 176.

⁶⁴Lander, 1860, 138.

⁶⁵Ind. Aff. Rep., 1862, 268.

⁶⁶Possibly a different rendering of Wihinash.

⁶⁷Ind. Aff. Rep., 1865-66, 189.

⁶⁸Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 183.

⁶⁹Hopkins, 107.

⁷⁰Ind. Aff. Rep., 1876-77, 172.

⁵²Gallatin, 1848, 18, and map.

⁵³Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, 2:770.

⁵⁴Kroeber, 1907, 117. ⁵⁵1:129 and 2:951.

⁵⁶Powell and Ingalls, 1873, 45.

⁵⁷Mooney, 1896, 1046. ⁵⁸Kelly, 1932, 184.

⁵⁹Kroeber, 1907, 115, and 1909, 267. A Paiute tradition, heard at Burns, Oregon, tells that the Bannock of Fort Hall are really Northern Paiute who followed the bison when they left southern Oregon, and obtained horses from the Shoshoni.

informants. At Owyhee, several Northern Paiute Indians stated the territory from Bruneau and Mountain Home, Idaho, to beyond Weiser belonged to the Koa'aga'i. One old woman claimed she was from that band, yet did not identify herself with the Bannock. It is not entirely clear whether Captain Egan's Weiser band was distinct from the Boise-Bruneau, "bands so intermarried that they are in fact one people,"⁷¹ or whether three bands occupied the area I have included under one name. Nevertheless, it does seem definitely established that this area was occupied by Northern Paiute. Paiute informants said the Saidöka, or Nez Percé, bordered the Koa'aga'itöka on the north, and the limits assigned are in general agreement with Spinden's⁷² Nez Percé boundary.

From the Grand Canyon of the Snake River, between the Seven Devil and Powder mountains, the boundary runs in a southeasterly direction along the crest of the mountain, east of the headwaters of Weiser, Payette, and Boise rivers, for about 100 miles; thence, turning southwesterly, it goes past Mountain Home and Bruneau, about 65 miles to the center of the Owyhee Desert; thence about 120 miles northwesterly, passing west of Silver City, Idaho, and Vale, Oregon, to Snake River near Weiser; thence down Snake River about 60 miles to the Grand Canyon. The Koa'aga'itöka area thus covered about 7500 square miles, most of which was desert and mountain, but was crossed by the Snake River. Although flowing through deep canyons, it furnished an abundant permanent water supply and provided large quantities of salmon during certain periods of the year. Incidentally, the Hunipui, the Koa'aga'i, the Tagö, and the Wada of Burns were the only Northern Paiute bands living on streams whose water reached the ocean, the others being entirely within the Great Basin. Besides the Nez Percé to the north, the Koa'aga'i neighbors were the Shoshoni to the east, Shoshoni and Tagötöka Paiute to the south, Tagötöka and Wadatöka to the west.

Uncertainty of identification makes population figures unreliable, although the reports that the Wannas band numbered 800 persons in 1862,⁷³ the Boise band 400, and the Bruneau band 200 in 1865⁷⁴ can be taken as an indication. If the area assigned is correct, the first figure probably includes the other two. Except for the one old woman at Owyhee, Dick Stanley's wife, who was of little account as an informant, no other Koa'aga'itöka were met. Some, however, might still be found at Fort Hall. Although the literature furnishes Poemachah ("heavy man") from Fort Boise, and Pasheco or Pachico ("sweet root")⁷⁵ from the area of the headwaters of John Day River, other than the two, Egan and Santomeco, already mentioned above, the only former Koa'aga'itöka chief remembered by informants was Sol-dier Bill.

(5) Tagötöka ("tuber eaters"), now at the Duck Valley Reservation, Nevada. Hale⁷⁶ and Mooney⁷⁷ included the Owyhee River in the Pan-nasht or Bannock area, whereas Hough⁷⁸ listed it as Paiute. Later references aid in the true identification of the region, by locating known Paiute leaders within it. Turner,⁷⁹ for example, found at "Boulder Creek, 30 miles south of Silver City, [Idaho], ...Winnemucca and Leg-gins, one of his subchiefs." Sarah Winnemucca⁸⁰ referred to "Leggins, my cousin's husband," and again to "Leggins' band." The Indian Affairs Report of 1880 contains an admission that Leggins was wrongfully sent to Yakima, since he did not participate in the Bannock War. My Tagötöka informants remembered Leggins, "Tsigiva," and Mawuha as "home captains" under Old Winne-mucca. Tsigiva was in charge when the white people arrived and was said to have been suc-ceeded by Paddy Caps, also mentioned by Sarah.⁸¹

From near the Nevada state line where the Oregon-Idaho line touches it, the Tagötöka western border runs northwesterly about 100 miles to the south end of Cedar Mountain; thence northeasterly along the crest of Cedar Mountain about 70 miles almost to Vale, Oregon; thence, crossing the Owyhee River, southeasterly along the edge of the volcanic plateau for about 100 miles, then turns southwesterly for about 60 miles to the place of beginning. This area, about 6000 square miles, comprises the drainage of the Owyhee River, except its headwaters and mouth.

Nothing with reference to population of this band was found except the recent figures, which include all Paiute on the Duck Valley Reservation at Owyhee, 214 being there in 1896. These Paiute are principally Tagötöka, but many are from other bands.

(6) Tsösö'ödö tuviwarai ("cold dwellers"), of Steens Mountain, Oregon. I met no Tsösö'ödö; but Atsakudökwa, Tagö, and Wada, of Burns, affirmed the presence of such a separate band around Steens Mountain. It is possible this band was reported to Kelly⁸² by the name Tüdu'uitidadü (?) ("berry eaters"), located "beyond Steens Mountain." Old Winnemucca, who one Atsakudökwa informant said became its chief by marrying a Tsösö'ödö woman was reported there by Douglas⁸³ and Turner.⁸⁴ Another Atsakudökwa mentioned that Old Winnemucca was in charge at Steens Mountain during the time Namara's ("charitable one [he feeds everyone]") was the recognized "home chief." Similarly, Annie Winne-mucca, the oldest Paiute at Duck Valley and pos-

⁷⁶Gallatin, 189.

⁷⁷Mooney, 1893, pl. 88.

⁷⁸Ind. Aff. Rep., 1865-66, 190.

⁷⁹Ind. Aff. Rep., 1876-77, 116.

⁸⁰Hopkins, 190 and 206.

⁸¹Hopkins, 203.

⁸²Kelly, 1932, 72.

⁸³Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 103.

⁸⁴Ind. Aff. Rep., 1876-77, 174.

⁷¹Ind. Aff. Rep., 1865-66, 189.

⁷²Spinden, 173.

⁷³Ind. Aff. Rep., 1862, 268.

⁷⁴Ibid., 1865-66, 190. ⁷⁵Lander, 138.

sibly a relative by marriage of Old Winnemucca, designated Parohi ("water belly") as a local chief at Steens Mountain at the time of white contact.

The territorial boundaries for this band, fixed by the informants from surrounding groups, are mostly in the deserts about Steens Mountain. The Tagötöka to the east, Atsaküdökwa and Aga'ipañina to the south, Kidütöka to the west, and Wadatöka to the north left about 2600 square miles of desert and desert mountain which informants assigned to the Tsösö'ödö tuviwarai. As with the Tagötöka, early population figures for this band were not found.

(7) Kidütökadö ("woodchuck eaters"),⁸⁵ of Surprise Valley, California. This band occupies the area assigned to the Tuziyammos by Powers⁸⁶ and Kaivaanungavidukw by Powell,⁸⁷ but Kelly⁸⁸ records the name Gidütikadü or Groundhog-eaters. The territory claimed by Kidütökadö, as ascertained by Kelly and by me, was included in that of the Yahuskin by the early Indian agents and repeated by Gatschet.⁸⁹ It appears, however, that "Howlock, principal chief of a tribe of Snake Indians...on Sprague River," with whom a treaty was attempted in 1865,⁹⁰ was leader of the Kidütökadö. In the 1870-71⁹¹ account of the Indians on the Klamath Reservation, the band referred to as "150 Snake (lately hostile)" is probably this same group. This assumption is strengthened by an 1873⁹² account of "Ocheo's band of Pi-ute Snakes, ...who go to their old country about Camp Warner in the spring, return to Yainax to be fed" in the winter. A half-century later Kelly was told by some informants that "Ochio" was the first great Kidütökadö chief, although one Indian remembered a great chief Sa'pikamad, Ochio's elder brother. Besides Old Winnemucca, to whom some informants here also attributed the chieftaincy of all the Paiute, Ochio (? to ca. 1900), Eagleville Sam Townsend (ca. 1900-1916), and Charlie Washo (ca. 1916 to present) were reported Kidütökadö captains.

Except for minor points, the Kidütökadö boundaries given to me agree with those reported by Kelly.⁸⁸ Starting at the north end of Goose Lake, the line runs northeasterly along the summit of Warner Range about 60 miles; thence, skirting the north end of Warner Valley, goes about 30 miles

⁸⁵Nick Downington, Tasiget tuviwarai, identified the woodchuck from a picture and called it kidu; the groundhog or ground squirrel was called küpa.

⁸⁶Powers, quoted in Hodge, Handbook, 2:858.

⁸⁷Powell, quoted in *ibid.*, 1:643.

⁸⁸Kelly, 70, also names two subgroups in the area: Saib^u tikad^u ("tule-eaters") near Adel, Oregon, and Itsunatikadu ("they-eat-them-alive") near Cedarville, California.

⁸⁹Gatschet, 1890, xxxv.

⁹⁰Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866-67, 89.

⁹¹Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870-71, 397.

⁹²Ind. Aff. Rep., 1873, 324.

⁹³Kelly, 182 and map.

southeast before turning south to follow the Lake County-Harney County line about 50 miles to the Nevada-Oregon state line; thence it continues in a southwesterly direction about 50 miles to the south end of Long Valley; thence it goes about 30 miles westerly past the south end of Lower Lake to the south end of Warner Range; thence northerly it follows the crest of Warner Range 60 miles before dropping down to touch Goose Lake near Fandango Creek. The western boundary, dividing the Northern Paiute and Achomawi, has been similarly identified by Kniffen,⁹⁴ Kelly,⁹⁵ and myself. Neighboring Paiute bands are Yahuskin (Goyatöka) to the northwest, Wadatöka to the northeast, Tsösö'ödö and Aga'ipañina to the east, and the Kamödökadö to the south.

The Kidütökadö territory of about 5000 square miles includes the eastern slope of Warner Range, Surprise Valley, California, and Warner Valley, Oregon, both valleys containing shallow or dry lakes with no exterior drainage. Claimed for hunting was a corner of desert in Washoe County, Nevada. Indians of this band now live at Fort Bidwell and other towns in their old area.

(8) Aga'ipañinadökadö ("fish lake eaters") or Moadökadö ("wild onion eaters"), of Summit Lake, Nevada. Powell⁹⁶ mentioned the "Agaivamuna, a Paviotso division formerly living at Summit Lake"; and Kelly⁹⁷ called the group Agaitikad^u ("fish eaters"). Although no Indians claiming to be from this band were interviewed, informants from surrounding bands supplied information concerning its boundaries, captains, and name. One Atsaküdökwa informant divided the territory, allotting the eastern part to a band called Moadökadö, but most Indians insisted that these two were names for the same band.

A reference in Angel's⁹⁸ History of Nevada, concerning a chief from the Black Rock country--"Sequimata, who is known as Chiquite ('little') Winnemucca"--might well refer to the leader of the Aga'ipañina. Still living in 1881, he remembered Fremont's visit in 1844. He is distinguished from Young Winnemucca by a tale of his charging the white people regardless of the latter chief's order not to do so, thus starting the Pyramid Lake War of 1860. One informant told me Old Winnemucca had also been head chief at Summit Lake; but when his son, Lee Winnemucca, attempted to make himself chief there, the Indians would not have him. Summit Lake Sam and Moahavida were named as recent chiefs. A small group still lives at Summit Lake.

The area allotted to this group by its neighbors covers about 2800 square miles. Beginning at the Oregon-Nevada state line where the Washoe

⁹⁴Kniffen, 1928, map.

⁹⁵Kelly, map.

⁹⁶Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, 1:21.

⁹⁷Kelly, 72.

⁹⁸Angel.

County line meets it, the Aga'ipañina line runs easterly about 40 miles to Disaster Peak Mountain; thence goes southwesterly about 80 miles to the center of Black Rock Desert south of Black Rock Range; thence westerly proceeds about 35 miles to Rocky Peak; thence turns northerly to continue about 40 miles to the place of beginning. Besides Summit Lake, a deep, fresh-water lake, most of the country is desert and mountain. Bands surrounding the Aga'ipañina are Kidutökadö to the west, Tsösö'ödö to the north, Atsaküdökwa and Sawawaktödö to the east, and Kamödökadö to the south. There are no indications as to early population.

(9) Atsaküdökwa tuviwarai ("red butte dwellers"), of McDermitt, Nevada. Powell⁹⁹ mentioned a band at McDermitt by the name of Koyahow, and Kelly¹⁰⁰ heard of the Kwinaduwa^a or Kwi'nodub ("smoke [?] Indians") at the same place. Kwina riba nomo ("Quinn River people")¹⁰¹ was given as a modern synonym for Atsaküdökwa tuviwarai by some Indians I met at McDermitt, but the old name was also generally known. Another reference to this band was made by Major Douglas¹⁰² in 1870, in which he said that "Its-a-ah-mah," chief at McDermitt, refused to settle his band of 140 Indians on the Pyramid Reservation. This must be the same (Old Horse) Idtsa'ama ("coyote robe") who died about 1904, remembered by my informants as local chief under Old Winnemucca.

The Atsaküdökwa territory of about 2700 square miles was bounded on the west by the Aga'ipañina, on the north by the Tsösö'ödö, on the east by the Tagötöka, on the south by the Yamosöpö and Sawawaktödö. The line runs from the Nevada-Oregon border southwesterly along the crest of Santa Rosa Mountains about 50 miles to the north end of Slumbering Hills; thence west about 40 miles to Jackson Mountains; thence northeasterly about 50 miles to Disaster Peak; thence easterly about 60 miles to the place of beginning. Quinn River, a small perennial stream, ends in a marsh which was once an important source of food.

(10) Yamosöpö tuviwarai ("half-moon valley dwellers"), of Paradise Valley, Nevada. Evidently, this is the same band Powers¹⁰³ called Yammus and Powell¹⁰⁴ Yammostuviwagaiya. Except for these two references no published information was found concerning the existence of this group. Its name comes from the shape of Paradise Valley on the eastern slope of Santa Rosa Mountains. Pete Snap, an Atsaküdökwa at McDermitt, was the only Indian who remembered this band as distinct, but Pete

recalled Pui kwasa ("blue heron") the Yamosöpö chief contemporaneous with Idtsa'ama, and said he was killed before receiving a white man's name.

Pete Snap also recognized that this band was mixed with the Shoshoni and that it shared with them the hunting area on the headwaters of the Little Humboldt River. Notwithstanding, rather definite boundaries were indicated, separating the Yamosöpö from other Paiute bands and from the Shoshoni. Consisting primarily of the Little Humboldt drainage, 2000 square miles were assigned to them. Their land stretched between the Santa Rosa Mountains on the west to the source of Little Humboldt River on the east, and from about the Nevada-Oregon state line to Osgood Mountains on the south. There is no indication of the aboriginal population, and no living members of this group were found.

(11) Makuhadökadö (?) or Paida tuviwarai (?), of Battle Mountain, Nevada. The area attributed to the Makuhadökadö by Sawawaktödö informants and to the Puidadökadö by Atsaküdökwa and Toedökadö informants corresponds to that of Powell's Tonawitsowa¹⁰⁵ and Itsaatiaga.¹⁰⁶ The Tonawitsowa band was said to be part of "a Shoshoni tribe of six bands in the vicinity of Battle Mountain and Unionville," whereas the Itsaatiaga was described as a Paviotso band near Unionville. Loud¹⁰⁷ confirmed the name of the Unionville group, spelling it Idzaategaa tekade ("coyote-canyon eaters").

This band occupied a position comparable to that of the Yamosöpö, and probably intermarried with the Shoshoni. Despite Powell's statement that these were "Shoshoni" bands, the Paiute-Shoshoni boundary has been quite definitely fixed just west of Battle Mountain and the mountains west of Reese River.¹⁰⁸ Since no Makuha informant was found, the boundaries were established by members of neighboring bands. Sandwiched between the Sawawaktödö on the west and the Shoshoni on the east, and extending from the Yamosopo on the north to the Kupadökadö on the south, this band occupied 2500 square miles. In addition to part of the Humboldt Valley, three desert valleys--Buena Vista, Pleasant, and Buffalo--and Sonoma and East mountains were included in this area. The only chief remembered was Paida Sam, and no clues to population were found.

(12) Sawawaktödö (Sawaküdökwa) tuviwarai ("sagebrush mountain dwellers"), of Winnemucca, Nevada. Powell¹⁰⁹ wrote Sawagativa and Loud¹¹⁰ Sawakate for the name of the Winnemucca band. Sawawaktödö informants gave less information concerning "old times" than most Indians of a simi-

⁹⁹Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, 1:729.

¹⁰⁰Kelly, 72.

¹⁰¹Indians now living at Winnemucca, Nevada, called the McDermitt Indians Payapadokado ("non-poisonous] wild parsnip eaters").

¹⁰²Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 103.

¹⁰³Powers, in Hodge, Handbook, 2:987. Translated "big plains."

¹⁰⁴Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, *ibid.*: "A Mono band formerly living in Paradise Valley, W. Nev."

¹⁰⁵Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, 2:777.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 1:626.

¹⁰⁷Loud and Harrington, 153.

¹⁰⁸Simpson, 1878, 110; Steward, 1936.

¹⁰⁹Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, 2:481.

¹¹⁰Loud and Harrington, 153.

lar age, which might be a reflection of the early disintegration of their band due to immigrant contact. Old Winnemucca was the only chief dating back to white contact remembered by them, although Annie Winnemucca of Duck Valley and Pete Snap of McDermitt each recalled Captain John as a local leader of that band, and Annie added Captain Dave, Captain John's brother.

Their area of 3000 square miles extends from Osgood and Sonoma mountains on the east to Jackson Mountain on the west, and between Slumbering Hills and Santa Rosa Mountain on the north and Table Mountain on the south. They were thus bordered on the west by the Aga'ipañina and Kamö, on the north by the Atsakudökwa and Yamosöpö, on the east by the Makuha, and on the south by the Küpa.

(13) Kamödökadö ("jack-rabbit eaters"), of Gerlach, Nevada. The earliest specific reference to the area now considered is in Dodge's¹¹¹ report already quoted. He wrote, "Wun-a-mucca (The Giver) is the head chief of the Paiute nation. He generally stays on Smoke Creek, near Honey Lake; his family and small band...number 155." Since Dodge did not visit this band, his information is not entirely without question; yet it is possible that Old Winnemucca was a local chief there before he started traveling about. It is impossible to say whether most Indians at that time held him as a tribal chief. Several references, such as that of Douglas¹¹² mentioned above, in which Old Winnemucca was given the principal chieftainship and yet each band was said to have acted independently, suggest the contrary. Since Sarah Winnemucca was living at Major Ormsby's at Carson City the year Major Dodge visited western Nevada, I strongly suspect that Dodge obtained most of his information of bands he did not actually visit from her, who even then was often mentioned in army reports connected with the Paiutes.

Two other indirect references combine to clarify the position of the Kamödökadö and establish it as a separate band. Angel¹¹³ listed Sa-a-ba as chief of the Smoke Creek Indians, and Kelly¹¹⁴ was told that Sa'ihida^a formerly led the band directly to the south of the Kidütöka, although the band name was not remembered by her informant. Conceivably these are different renderings of the same name. No Kamödökadö informant was located, but both a Sawawaktödö and an Achomawi stated Captain Dick had charge of this band. Sam Fox, the Achomawi, gave Captain Dick's Paiute name as Tawami and said he died about 1920.

In spite of approximately 3900 square miles of territory, the Kamödökadö possessed few really productive places. Most of the area was in the Smoke Creek and Granite Creek deserts. Numerous antelope, the only abundant food except the jack rabbit, attracted neighboring Indians during the

hunting season and thus made the boundaries difficult to ascertain. Actually, the Kamö band was allotted that territory which others did not claim. In spite of the unattractiveness of the terrain, it was in this area that Beckwith¹¹⁵ saw several bands of about 50 Indians each.

Surrounding the Kamödökadö were the Kidü and Aga'ipañina to the north, the Sawawaktödö and Küpa to the east, the Kuyui, Tasiget, and Wada (of Honey Lake) to the south, and the Achomawi to the west. The western boundary at Fredonyer and MacDonald mountains, Lassen County, California, agrees with the eastern Achomawi line as described by Merriam¹¹⁶ and Kniffen¹¹⁷ in their Achomawi studies.

(14) Wadadökadö ("wada-seed¹¹⁸ eaters"), of Honey Lake, California. Although Royce¹¹⁹ placed all of Honey Lake within Washo territory, and Dixon¹²⁰ put it in Maidu country, several writers, both early and recent, considered it belonged to the Northern Paiute.¹²¹ The Paiute-Washo and the Paiute-Maidu boundaries identified by my Washo, Paiute, and Maidu informants are almost identical to those published by Merriam.

Starting on the western shore of Honey Lake, the line runs along the eastern edge of the Sierra Nevada, over Thompson and Diamond mountains, about 25 miles, to the hills northeast of Susanville, California; thence northeasterly about 20 miles to the flat west of Shinn's Peak; thence easterly about 15 miles almost to the Nevada-California state line; thence southerly near the state line about 40 miles; thence northwesterly about 15 miles to the southeast edge of the lake. The Wadadökadö thus claimed about 800 square miles, in which was the major part of Honey Lake, the lower Susan River Valley, and part of the Sierra, in addition to the desert edge. It is the smallest band in the territory of the Northern Paiute and the only one completely in California.

Although Dixon¹²² appraised Honey Lake Valley "the least desirable part of Maidu" territory, by Paiute standards it was extremely fruitful. The growth of acorns probably enabled this small area to support a band more ably than a much larger area would have done in Nevada where acorns did not grow. Besides the Maidu and Achomawi neighbors on the west, the Wada joined the Kamö to the north, the Tasiget to the east, and the Washo to the south.

¹¹⁵ Beckwith, 1855.

¹¹⁶ Merriam, 1926, map.

¹¹⁷ Kniffen, 1928, map 2.

¹¹⁸ Kelly, 98: wada is Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.

¹¹⁹ Royce, 1896, 836.

¹²⁰ Dixon, 1905, 124.

¹²¹ Beckwith, 1855, Powell (in Hodge, Handbook), 1881, Angel, 1881, Merriam, 1926, and Kelly, 1932.

¹²² Dixon, 1905, 124.

¹¹¹ Dodge, 741.

¹¹² Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 103.

¹¹³ Angel, 150. ¹¹⁴ Kelly, 72.

Corroborative evidence was found in the literature for the names of the band and of the chiefs. Powell¹²⁵ stated the Waratika, a Paviotso band, lived at Honey Lake, and Kelly¹²⁴ called a band at the same place Wada'tikad^u. Angel¹²⁵ wrote that No-jo-mud was "an early chief at Honey Lake, and Hoz-i-a, another Honey Lake leader, (was) later killed by Captain Dick, the present chief." Captain Dick Wright ("Kukwi") was also mentioned by my Wada and Kuyui informants as the chief preceding Joaquin, who died in 1935. My Tasiget informant, Nick, said Adavugaya ("big jaw") was his grandfather and chief at Honey Lake when the white people arrived. This was partly confirmed by Susie Buster, my Wada informant, who remembered that Nick's mother's father had been chief there, but did not remember his name. Dave Gibson, the Kuyui informant mentioned above, told of a chief named Adavurö, who fought against the Pit River Indians although he was said to have been a Tasiget. Since Hoz-i-a of Angel is probably Ohio, the Kidütoka chief, and Captain Dick might be the same as assigned to the Kamö, there is little certainty possible with regard to the succession of chiefs of the Wadadökadö of Honey Lake. There can be no doubt, nevertheless, of the existence of this band as an independent group with its own chief.

(15) Tasiget tuviwarai ("between dwellers"), of Winnemucca Valley, Nevada. No historic reference was found which certainly distinguishes this band as a separate group. Three informants, however, two from Pyramid Lake and Nick Downington, who claimed to be a Tasiget tuviwarai, were able to name old chiefs for this band. My main reliance rests upon Nick because of his age--at least 85--and his reliability as an informant. The scarcity of references to this group is probably a result of the early formation of the Pyramid Lake Reservation and the absence of any really desirable locations for permanent habitation within the Tasiget territory.

One published account might possibly refer to the Tasiget. It is by Dodge¹²⁶ concerning a band of 280 Indians "below Big Meadows, Truckee River, under Tonoyiet (woman helper)." This land was claimed for the Tasiget by Nick, but he did not mention Tonoyiet. In the same report Dodge lists "Winnemucca's (The Second) band" of 300 on "Lower Mud Lake." Whether this refers to Young Winnemucca ("Namaga'a"), whom Nick remembered as the Tasiget captain under Old Winnemucca, is not possible to ascertain. Such could easily be so. Although Mud Lake (Winnemucca Lake) is in Kuyui territory, Nick said the Tasiget camped near Pyramid Lake when food was not available in their

own territory. Dick Mauwee,¹²⁷ however, considered Young Winnemucca home chief of both the Tasiget and Kuyui, and it is known he spent his last years at Wadsworth,¹²⁸ in Kuyui territory. Although history books contain many accounts of the Indians of this part of western Nevada, the data are not particularly enough for band recognition. At the time of the Pyramid Lake War of 1860, for example, several chiefs (including some Bannock), among them Young Winnemucca, were at the reservation; but the clues for the exact identification of their bands unfortunately are lacking.

The Tasiget area of about 1000 square miles was joined on the west by the Washo and Wada, on the north by the Kamö, and on the east and south by the Kuyui. Most of the territory was desert, Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys and Lower Truckee Meadows being the most habitable spots.

(16) Kuyuidökadö ("Kuyui [black sucker (Chamistes cujus)]¹²⁹ eaters"), of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Evidence for the existence of this band was furnished by Campbell,¹³⁰ Powers,¹³¹ and Powell¹²⁵ in the latter part of the last century, and by Loud,¹³² Kelly,¹³⁴ and Steward¹³⁵ in recent years. Its name is familiar to Indians from Burns, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, a distance of more than 500 miles; among all the Northern Paiute no other band was as widely known. Information concerning the leaders of the group is not so definite; although there is no scarcity of chiefs. Dodge¹²⁶ found four bands located within the territory now recognized as Kuyui and gave their leaders. These were To Repe's (Lean Man's) band of 360 on the Truckee River near "Lower Crossing"; Genega's (Dancer's) band of 290 near the mouth of the Truckee River; Watsequeordo's (Four Crows's) band of 320 on the shores of Pyramid Lake; and the band of Winnemucca, The Second, mentioned previously. Such a grouping might have been brought about by pressure from the white people, or it could have been merely the annual congregation of bands into this area for food. Several neighboring groups

¹²⁷Waterman, 1911, 13, used Dick as an informant, and said he lived for a long time at Long Valley, California, the border between Tasiget Paiute and Washo.

¹²⁸Angel, 185: Young Winnemucca, Numaga, "Chief at Pyramid only." "An Indian statesman who possessed intellect, eloquence, and courage combined."

¹²⁹Snyder, 1917, 31-86.

¹³⁰Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866, 119. 700 Indians of Coo-er-ee band at Pyramid Lake.

¹³¹Powers, in Hodge, Handbook, 743, Cooyuwee-wait.

¹³²Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, 743, Kuyuidika.

¹³³Loud and Harrington, 153.

¹³⁴Kelly, 72.

¹³⁵Steward, 1933, 236.

¹³⁶Dodge.

¹²⁵Powell, in Hodge, Handbook, 2:916.

¹²⁴Kelly, 72.

¹²³Angel, 150.

¹²²Dodge, 742.

went each spring to the Truckee River to get fish. Or the groups seen by Dodge might have been temporary subgroups of the Kuyuidökadö under "dance captains" or "antelope captains." This appears likely since Dodge divided the members of a southern group, the Tövusi, in just such a manner, a point discussed later.

The earliest account of the Pyramid Lake Indians is found in Fremont's¹³⁷ report, and Sarah Winnemucca¹³⁸ and Angel¹³⁹ tell of "Captain" Truckee's serving as guide for that explorer. Sarah claimed him (Truckee) as her grandfather and said he was chief of all the Paiute. Since this was never suggested by anyone else, it appears to have been invented by Sarah to establish Old Winnemucca's claim to tribal chieftainship. There is no doubt that Old Winnemucca¹⁴⁰ was in charge of the Kuyuidökadö at the time of the Pyramid War and was recognized beyond its bounds. In addition to the above two, Young Winnemucca¹⁴¹ was said to have been a Kuyuidökadö chief until 1871, and was followed by Natchez,¹⁴² 1870, Captain Joe,¹⁴³ 1872, and Captain Dave¹⁴⁴ ("Numana"), 1885.

The information concerning chiefs obtained from old Indians still living is also unsatisfactory for an exact determination of past leaders. Besides Old and Young Winnemucca, Nick Downing and Jane Holbrook (Kuyui) attributed to Bull Tom ("Pusi'ava") the Kuyuidökadö chieftaincy for 1860; but Dave Gibson and Dick Mauwee said he was an old-time "dance captain." Other informants named Wogatupe, Lee Winnemucca, Natchez Winnemucca (Yaiyuada), Jim, and George as Kuyui chiefs during the Pyramid War. Add these to the four named by Dodge and the result is complete confusion. This confusion seems to be an expression of the disintegration of the native culture. When the local chief left, as Old Winnemucca did about 1861,¹⁴⁵ band leadership was open to any able person. Sarah¹⁴⁶ said the Agent appointed Captain Dave chief, to serve as a screen for his graft.

Regardless of the disruption of the band's political organization, simple as it was, there is no doubt that the Kuyuidökadö constituted a distinct band. The territory of about 2000 square miles, quite unanimously assigned to it by my informants, included Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes

and the lower Truckee River. The Virginia Mountains serve as a western boundary to separate it from the Tasiget; to the north sterile mud deserts stand between the Kuyui and the Kamö; the bare Nightingale Mountains east of Winnemucca Lake mark the Kuyui-Küpa line; Truckee Mountains serve as the Kuyui-Toe boundary.

(17) Küpadökadö ("ground-squirrel eaters"), of Lovelock, Nevada. Powers¹⁴⁷ located the Kuhpattikutteh on Quinn River, yet he mentioned another tribe as occupying McDermitt, the principal site along it. Possibly the Küpa were temporarily attracted to this Atsakudökwa territory to take advantage of the food and clothing issued by the army at Fort McDermitt, for my informants from different bands agreed that the Küpa lived near Lovelock. Loud,¹⁴⁸ also, learned that the KepA-tekade, as he spelled the word, occupied the Humboldt Sink region. This band, being along the old immigrant road, was one of the first Northern Paiute groups to feel the disastrous effects of Caucasian contact. It was in the Küpa territory that members of Walker's exploring party (1834) shot an Indian for the fun of seeing him fall, an event that was followed by a battle in which more than twenty others were slaughtered.¹⁴⁹ Since the early contact proved so calamitous, the Indians soon left Humboldt Meadows to the immigrants. Consequently, later travelers¹⁵⁰ reported few or no Indians there for a number of years.

Unfortunately the explorers and immigrants wrote nothing which identifies the band occupying this region. The existence of a distinct group there, however, is indicated by Schoolcraft's¹⁵¹ statement that a band "near the sink of the Humboldt, under chief Te-me-re-wena (the long man), numbered 600." This same name was neither mentioned by my informants nor by other writers. Angel,¹⁵² however, learned that "Moguanoga," known by whites as "Captain Soo," and Captains Bob and Joe belonged to the lower Humboldt Indians. Informants furnished no confirmation to either of these records, and as with the Kuyuidökadö, did not agree with one another. Besides Old Winnemucca, the main Paiute chief, Captain John (Samaranido, "patting raw meat") and Tsikwunodo were named as Küpa chiefs at the time of the Pyramid War.

The Küpadökadö territory, including about 3600 square miles, extends from the Shoshoni-Paiute

¹³⁷Fremont.

¹³⁸Hopkins.

¹³⁹Angel, 165: Truckee died in 1860. He "possessed papers attesting to his services under Fremont, given him by that explorer."

¹⁴⁰Ind. Aff. Rep., 1861-62; Angel, 1881, 150-168.

¹⁴¹Angel, 151; Campbell, Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866, 119.

¹⁴²Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 74; Hopkins, 96.

¹⁴³Ind. Aff. Rep., 1873, 256.

¹⁴⁴Ind. Aff. Rep., 1885, 147; Hopkins, 96.

¹⁴⁵Ind. Aff. Rep., 1861-62, 223; 1870, 103; 1876-77, 172; Hopkins.

¹⁴⁶Hopkins, 96.

¹⁴⁷Powers, in Hodge, Handbook, 1:732.

¹⁴⁸Loud and Harrington, 153.

¹⁴⁹Leonard.

¹⁵⁰Remy and Brenchley, 1861. Burton, 1862.

¹⁵¹Schoolcraft, 5:201.

¹⁵²Angel, 150. Probably this Indian is the same as Campbell's Chief Sue (Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866, 119), said to be leader of 800 "Sidocaw" on Humboldt Lake and River.

boundary at Desatoya Mountain¹⁵³ on the east to the Nightingale and Selenite mountains, the Kuyui border, on the west; and from the Pahsupp, Kamma, and Majuba mountains on the north--separating the Küpa from the Kamo, Sawawaktödö, and Makuha--to the Humboldt and Hot Springs mountains--the Toedökadö line--on the south. The lower Humboldt River and the marshes of Humboldt Sink, desirable sources of Indian food, were undoubtedly the center of habitation. In the surrounding mountains and deserts, the first explorers saw ground squirrels trapped in large numbers.¹⁵⁴

Besides the Küpadökadö, the Saidökadö were said to have once possessed Humboldt Sink; and, although nothing certain is known about this group, a discussion of them here seems apropos. A true understanding of this Saidökadö problem is made more difficult by several connotations for the word Sai or Saidökadö. As early as 1819, Ross¹⁵⁵ learned that "Shy-to-gas" was a Shoshonean name for the Nez Percé, a meaning confirmed by Gatschet,¹⁵⁶ who spelled it "Saiduka"; and it is pronounced thus by informants in northern Nevada, Idaho, and Oregon. In the Handbook,¹⁵⁷ however, "Saidyuka" are designated a Mono-Paviotso group of eastern Oregon, and Barry¹⁵⁸ interprets the name to be synonymous to Snake as a general appellation for the southeastern Oregon Indians. After citing Hodge's Handbook reference to the Oregon "Saidyuka," Kelly¹⁵⁹ wrote that a group in Kidütökadö territory was at times called "Saidütikadü ('tule eaters')," but adds that this is "identical with two of the three Paiute versions for Klamath."

Campbell's "Sidocaw,"¹⁶⁰ Sarah Winnemucca's¹⁶¹ "Say-do-carah," and Powell's¹⁶² "Lai-du-ka-tu-wi-wait, a Paviotso band formerly living about the sink of the Humboldt," evidently refer to the same group. Sarah called them a tribe of barbarians, "people-eaters,"¹⁶³ yet also defined the word as meaning "conquerors" and "enemy." She said the "Say-do-carah" had red hair and were exterminated by being burned in a cave, a story which acquired exaggerated significance with the discovery of red-headed mummies during the Lovelock

Cave excavation.¹⁶⁴ Lowie¹⁶⁵ recorded what he thought to be the first part of the above story as an episode of a creation myth. His version named the people "sairu qa'a" and differed from Sarah's in attributing to the "sai" a foreign speech and mentioning that some escaped to California. This mythical affiliation of the Saidökadö with the California Indians has real validity for Indians at Pyramid Lake and Lovelock, who now designate the Pit River Indians by that term. As a supposed proof of this identity, at a site on the west shore of Winnemucca Lake, seventeen miles north of the Nixon store, are fifteen round, shallow depressions, said to be the remains of Pit River semisubterranean houses. The place is called Tavi sai novi¹⁶⁶ ("east Saidöka home"); and Dave Gibson said the Indians driven from Humboldt Sink settled there until forced to move farther west. Tradition has it that the Saidökadö once returned to the west shore of Pyramid Lake, where in another war they were defeated and chased back to California. When Lowie visited Pyramid Lake he probably heard the same tales for he wrote, "Their principal enemies were the Pit River Indians, who used to live about Stillwater, but were driven out to California near Honey Lake. Sometimes they would come, however, to attack the Paviotso."¹⁶⁷ In this statement Lowie seems to take the Kuyui interpretation of the Saidökadö myth as history. There is, of course, some indication that such was the case. However, in the light of many conflicting interpretations of the word Saidökadö, such an unqualified statement is not warranted.¹⁶⁸

In the first place, the Northern Paiute word for the Pit River Indians, recorded by Kelly¹⁶⁹ and repeated by all my Idaho and Oregon informants, is Ijijawait. Although Kelly calls them the "traditional enemies par excellence" of the Paiute, she reports her most esteemed informant's denial of such warfare and said the only concrete instance remembered was a recent fight between the Paiute and Achomawi near Honey Lake. My Pit

¹⁶⁴Loud and Harrington, 152-168.

¹⁶⁵Lowie, 1924a, 204-205.

¹⁶⁶Loud and Harrington, 183 and pl. 68, tell of "houses of the Ancient People turned to stone" in front of a small cave on Winnemucca Lake. In the walls of these are posts which were cut with a steel ax and on the floor were steel fishhooks. Dave Gibson knew they were built by Chinese, who fished the lake when he was a young man, because he used to haul their fish to market. Chinese were reported on the lake in Ind. Aff. Rep., 1885, 147.

¹⁶⁷Lowie, 1924b, 194. Lowie, 1915, 17:598, denied the value of oral tradition as history.

¹⁶⁸Loud and Harrington, 1. Harrington cites the Sai myth and its application to the Pit River Indians, but after excavation of the cave he said (p. 123): "the latest dwellers....were either Northern Paiute or their cultural....kinsfolk."

¹⁶⁹Kelly, 185: "spelled Izi sa wi."

¹⁵³Watson, in Angel, 178.

¹⁵⁴Leonard and Beckwith.

¹⁵⁵Ross, 264.

¹⁵⁶Gatschet, cited in Hodge, Handbook, 2:67.

¹⁵⁷Hodge, 1:932.

¹⁵⁸Barry, 1927, 60.

¹⁵⁹Kelly, 70.

¹⁶⁰Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866, 119.

¹⁶¹Hopkins, 74.

¹⁶²Powell, cited in Hodge, Handbook, 1:753.

¹⁶³Schoolcraft, 5:201, tells of a "band of 'Diggers,' numbering about 500, of the Shoshoni tribe....under the chief Ne-me-te-kah (Man Eater)," on the Humboldt north of the Küpa. Could this be the barbarians?

River informant, Sam Fox, and my Paiute informants confirmed this battle which occurred during the last century, Sam's uncle having participated in it.¹⁷⁰ The Achomawi have no tradition of previous conflicts. Of interest in this connection is Kelly's¹⁷¹ statement that "the Klamath are said to have held Warner and Surprise valleys prior to the occupancy by the Gidu'tikad^u," together with her account of a war between "a tribe of Paiute whose head chief was Winnemucca" and the Klamath, near Chiloquin. Since the Klamath are at times called Saidökadö by their closest Paiute neighbors, a new view is presented of our entire problem. Can it be that the ancient "barbarians" of Humboldt Sink were the Klamath? Such is suggested by the remarks of a Toedökadö (Stillwater) informant, Nattie Dick, widow of Sam Dick, Lowie's informant of twenty years ago. She said the Saidökadö now live at Tösiyamötö, which is undoubtedly Powell's¹⁷² "Tuziyammos, a Paviotso tribe formerly about Warner Lake," with Ocheo as chief.

The problem of the Saidökadö may never be solved, but this we know: the word connoted "enemy" or "bad"; it was applied to a mythical people about Humboldt Sink thought to have been partly destroyed in Lovelock Cave; it has been used to distinguish at least three non-Paiute tribes, the Achomawi, the Klamath, and the Nez Percé, and an eastern Oregon Paiute band. The solution seems to be dependent upon the correct interpretation of the artifacts from the lower levels of Lovelock Cave deposits.

(18) Toedökadö ("tule [or rush] eaters"), of Stillwater, Nevada. In 1859 more than a thousand Indians under three chiefs were collected together near Carson Lake for the visit of Major Dodge,¹⁷³ Indian Agent. Unfortunately, the territories of the individual bands were not mentioned in Dodge's report. He merely assigned to them jointly the land around "the lakes and sinks of the Carson and Walker rivers." The chiefs assembled were "O-duk-eo (Tall Man)," recognized as from the Tövusi band, "Pe-tod-se-ka (White Spot)," probably of the Aga'idökadö band, and "Tosark (Gray Head)," possibly the Toedökadö chief, although Breckenridge is now unanimously mentioned as the great old-time leader of the Stillwater Indians. Only the total figures were given: 848 men, 372 women, and 405 children. Indians south of Pyramid Lake do not think of Old Winnemucca as an ancient tribal chief over their local captains, but each Indian attributes the greatest honor to the former chief of his own band. This absence of special regard for Winnemucca is also noted in a letter by Commander Hooker concerning his visit to Fort Churchill in 1867. Two of the three chiefs

he wrote about will be discussed later, but "Captain Charley....the principal chief and spokesman" cannot be identified with any captain mentioned by my informants. Campbell,¹⁷⁴ 1866, said the 800 Toy Pah-ute on lower Carson Lake (Sink) were under Chief Johnson. Only Nattie Dick recalled other chiefs besides Breckenridge; she named Viöddö, his predecessor, and Witakova and Hitö, both dance captains since his time.

Our proof of the existence of the Toedökadö band, fortunately, does not rest upon the exact identification of its former chief, for, in addition to the citations mentioned above, we have several references in literature which verify the existence of this band. Varied as are the spellings of the name, Toy-yu-wi-ti-kut-teh,¹⁷⁵ Toiwait,¹⁷⁶ Toy Pi-ute,¹⁷⁷ Toi-tekade,¹⁷⁸ Toitikad^u,¹⁷⁹ and so forth, all writers have located the band on Carson Sink near Stillwater.

This band was known as widely as the Kuyuidökadö, fame which might be partly due to its proximity to Job's Peak, the mythical center of Northern Paiute creation. The 800 Indians ranged over about 6700 square miles of desert and mountain from the principal camps on the edges of the Carson Sink. Their eastern neighbors were the Shoshoni,¹⁸⁰ with whom they were on friendly terms. Because of the early establishment of Fort Churchill, where all surrounding Indians went for a "hand-out," the Toedökadö western boundary is not definitely known. The mountain range between Humboldt and Carson sinks separated the Toedökadö from the Kúpädökadö, and the Desert Mountains served to divide them from the Aga'idökadö to the south. Although possessing a large diversified area, the Toedökadö arrived half-starved at Pyramid Lake each spring to fish.

(19) Aga'idökadö ("trout eaters"), of Walker Lake, Nevada. The center of activity of the Aga'idökadö was Walker Lake and Walker River, named after the explorer who was supposed to have visited them in the 1830's. Leonard's¹⁸¹ short statement of questioned validity contains disappointingly meager ethnographic data on the region. Simpson¹⁸² tells of trout, weighing 20 pounds, caught by the Walker Indians, but his other information on the aborigines is quoted from Dodge. In his own statement, Dodge¹⁸³ names Petodseka (White Spot) as one of the chiefs met at Carson Lake. Although no other reference to Petodseka was found and although

¹⁷⁴ Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866, 119.

¹⁷⁵ Powers, cited in Hodge, Handbook, 2:772.

¹⁷⁶ Powell, cited in Hodge, Handbook, 2:772.

¹⁷⁷ Lee, Ind. Aff. Rep., 1870, 111.

¹⁷⁸ Loud and Harrington, 153.

¹⁷⁹ Kelly, 72.

¹⁸⁰ Wasson, in Angel, 178.

¹⁸¹ Watson; Leonard.

¹⁸² Simpson, 87.

¹⁸³ Dodge.

¹⁷⁰ De Angelo and Freeland, 1929, 315, heard of this war from the Achomawi also.

¹⁷¹ Kelly, 186.

¹⁷² Powell, cited in Hodge, Handbook, 2:858.

¹⁷³ Dodge, 742.

this name was not mentioned by my informants, it might easily have been one of the names of Captain Ben, mentioned by Hooker.¹⁸⁴ This is a logical assumption since three living informants named Captain Ben as chief when the white people came, and they gave his Paiute name as Ivikoi or Kwitaivi ("possessor of white paint"). Sisivas, said to have been also a captain at the time of Captain Ben, might have been a dance captain. Possibly this is the same as Josephus, who described the Ghost Dance to Chapman.¹⁸⁵ Campbell¹⁸⁶ assigns the leadership of the Walker Indians to "Chief Oderie and subchiefs Joaquin and E-seh-dawh, or Young Coyote"; but the area of Campbell's Ocki band includes that of the Aga'i, Pakwi, and Tövusi bands as I have determined them. Oderie and Joaquin are identified as belonging to the Tövusi group west of Walker Lake. Wasson¹⁸⁷ adds to the list of Aga'idökadö chiefs the name of "Wah-he (Fox), the third chief of the Pah-Utes and eldest brother of Old Winnemucca," who tried to start a "rebellion" at Walker Reservation, but was killed by San Joaquin, another chief. San Joaquin had probably gone to the reservation from his own territory to the west, but would not allow Wah-he to assume too much power.

In addition to Campbell's¹⁸⁸ band name of "Ocki," we have Mooney's¹⁸⁹ "Agaiktikara," Loud's¹⁹⁰ "Agaitekade," Kelly's¹⁹¹ "Agaitekad^u," and Steward's¹⁹² "Agaidika" as alternate renderings, but all undoubtedly signifying the same band. The territory claimed by the Aga'idökadö and assigned to them by their neighbors, now the reservation on lower Walker River and the north end of Walker Lake, contains about 1750 square miles. If a third of those to see Dodge at Carson Lake can be considered from this band, its population in 1859 would have been 541. The western border, between the Aga'idökadö and Tövusidökadö, was the summit of Wassuk (Walker) Mountain; the eastern, separating the Northern Paiute and Shoshoni, was Paradise Range, west of Ione Valley; the southern, the Aga'idökadö-Pakwidökadö line, was Gillis Range and the middle of the lake; the northern, as stated before, was Desert Mountain.

(20) Pakwidökadö ("chub eaters"),¹⁹³ of Hawthorne, Nevada. Although Dan Voorhees, an extremely

reliable informant at Walker Lake, claimed to be a Pakwidökadö, only the Indians in the immediate vicinity furnished any information about them. Even these Walker Indians, mostly Aga'idökadö, could tell little about their southern neighbors. Captain Johnson, who died about 1925, was the only chief remembered.

With the exception of the land around Hawthorne and Soda Spring Valley, dry desert country, most of the 2000 square miles claimed for the Pakwidökadö was mountainous. Starting on Walker Lake the boundary followed Gillis Range in a southeasterly direction about 50 miles to Cedar Mountain; thence along the Mineral-Esmeralda county line in a southwesterly direction about 30 miles to Candelaria;¹⁹⁴ thence northwesterly about 38 miles to Powell Mountain; thence along the summit of Wassuk (Walker) Range about 20 miles to the shore of Walker Lake at Cottonwood Creek. To the east were the Shoshoni, to the south the Kütsavidökadö¹⁹⁵ (Steward's Cusavidika) Paiute of Mono Lake, to the west the Tövusidökadö, and to the north the Aga'idökadö.

Dan said this band was extremely small with a population not exceeding 100. It was on the western edge of the Pakwidökadö territory where Ives¹⁹⁶ met "from four to five hundred Indians, commanded by the notorious Captain Joaquin Jim and another called Captain Tom." It is impossible to assign this group definitely to the Pakwi.

(21) Tövusidökadö¹⁹⁷ ("grass-bulb eaters"), of Smith Valley, Nevada. The problem of equating ethnographic data recently received from old Indians and the numerous clues obtained from published sources is especially difficult with regard to the Tövusidökadö. The first perplexity arises with the determination of the band area. My Tövusi informants said they did not claim Mason Valley, although some of their band lived there; they thought it belonged to the Aga'idökadö. Several Aga'idökadö, however, denied this and said the Tövusi owned both Mason and Smith valleys. Walker River flows from Smith Valley into Mason Valley and the mountains separating the two rise only a couple of thousand feet above it, so that they form a geographic unit similar in size to the areas of other Northern Paiute bands. Powers'¹⁹⁸ data would necessitate

¹⁸⁴Mack, 331.

¹⁸⁵Mooney, 1051.

¹⁸⁶Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866, 119.

¹⁸⁷Ind. Aff. Rep., 1861-62, 223-229; 1865, 519.

¹⁸⁸Ind. Aff. Rep., 1866, 119.

¹⁸⁹Mooney, 1051.

¹⁹⁰Loud and Harrington, 153.

¹⁹¹Kelly, 72.

¹⁹²Steward, 1933, 236.

¹⁹³Steward, *ibid.* Steward might have been referring to this band when he said the Pahumuwitu were east of the Aga'idökadö.

¹⁹⁴Steward, *ibid.*, map 1. Steward places the "ozavidika" (alkali eaters), in upper Soda Spring Valley; Dan Voorhees, however, said this area was unoccupied before the railroad.

¹⁹⁵Hodge, *Handbook*, 1:932, Kotsava. Nick remembered Captain Wadukoni, possibly Angel's Was-adz-ze-hah-ago (p. 165), of whom he recorded a resurrection myth.

¹⁹⁶Ives, 1863, 7.

¹⁹⁷*Brodiaea capitatum*.

¹⁹⁸Powers, cited in Hodge, *Handbook*, 2:722, Tsapakah, Tupustikutteh, Pamitoy, and Poatsitutih-tikuteh. Only Nick Downington named a distinct band for Mason Valley, the Tuvadokado ("pine-nut eaters"), the word used by Hoffman, 1886, 298, to designate all the Northern Paiute.

the formation of at least four bands in this area, but for this my informants gave no justification.

The determination of the chief for the Tövusi is almost as embarrassing as it was for the Kuyidökadö, not from lack of information, but rather from an abundance of inexact material. Dodge¹⁹⁹ mentioned three chiefs occupying the land now determined to have belonged to this one band. His mistake appears to be a failure to discriminate between "band chiefs" and "dance captains," "hunting captains," and so forth. The whole dilemma is partly explained by information obtained from my Tövusidökadö informants. Let us first review Dodge's enumeration of Paiute bands associated with the area in question. He heard about two, San Joaquin's band of 170 at the forks of Carson River in Carson Valley, and the band of Hadsapoke ("horse stopper"), numbering 110, in Gold Canyon on Carson River; he visited a third, that of Odakoe ("tall man"), which was one of the three seen at Carson Lake. Although the Carson River forks was attributed to the "Tupustikutteh" by Powers, Mooney²⁰⁰ said it belonged to the Washo until 1860 when it was acquired by the Paiute in a war; yet both my Washo and Tövusi informants assigned it to the Washo. Angel's²⁰¹ account of "Yurdy," known to the white people as Joaquin and whose band was "on the Big Bend of Carson River and south toward Mason Valley," clarifies this situation. Since Joaquin has been associated with the Tövusi, Aga'i, and Pakwidökadö, his position might be compared to that of Old Winnemucca among the northern bands, and, since no Indians mentioned him, be due to white men's inaccurate assignment of titles.

A more exact recognition of the other two chiefs results from the comparison of historical

and ethnographic accounts. My Tövusi informants, for example, said George Old Ducky (Uruwai'avoinavi, "long chief"), the great leader "of all the Paiute," signed the treaty at Fort Churchill for the Tövusi. His exceptional height, emphasized by my informants, identifies him as Dodge's Odukeo and Hooker's²⁰² Captain Big George. Finally, Hadsapoke, whom Dodge located at Gold Canyon, can be recognized as Hazabok, whom Angel described as a chief and shaman living in Antelope Valley.²⁰³ Unquestionably this is Atsapo, remembered by my Tövusi informants, Maggie and Goggles Wright, as a "dance captain" of their band at the time George Old Ducky was head chief. Tövusi Sam was another "dance captain."

In spite of the partial contradictions, there is no alternative but to include upper Walker River, both the east fork in Mason Valley and the west fork in Smith Valley, as belonging formerly to the Tövusidökadö. About 2100 square miles, the Tövusi territory extends from the Aga'idökadö boundary on Wassuk (Walker) Mountain on the east to the Washo country on top of Pinenut Mountain on the west; and from the edge of the Sierra Nevada and Stillwater mountains--the Kutsavidökadö line--in the south to a short distance beyond Carson River in the north.

Former aboriginal population figures can only be calculated by adding the numbers assigned by Dodge to what has been determined as subdivisions of this band. If we assume Odukeo's band made up a third of the 1625 Indians at Carson Lake in 1859 and add to that those counted as Joaquin's and Hadsapoke's bands, our total is 820. Judging from the character of the land and the available food supply, this figure is probably too high.

¹⁹⁹Hadsapoke's band, Odukeo's band, and Joaquin's band.

²⁰⁰Hodge, Handbook, 2:920. ²⁰¹Angel, 150.

²⁰²Mack, 331: "He stood over six feet tall."

²⁰³Antelope Valley is just west of Smith Valley and joined to it by the west fork of Walker River.

CONCLUSION

The significance of this paper is in establishing the whole Northern Paiute tribal boundary; in demonstrating the affinities between all parts of the Northern Paiute tribe; and in revealing the number, size, and political organization of the Northern Paiute subdivisions (bands).

In the past, investigators working with neighboring groups or individual Northern Paiute bands have made known parts of tribal boundaries, but the limits of the whole territory have not before been determined. The total Northern Paiute territory, shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with a 275-mile base at Blue Mountains, Oregon, and with 600-mile sides reaching to a point at Owens Lake, California,²⁰⁴ contains approximately 78,000 square miles of the near desert land of the Basin and Range physiographic province of western United States. The western boundary conforms closely with the edge of the Great Basin, although the Paiute did not exclusively occupy the slopes of the Sierra Nevada and the Cascade mountains. The northern boundary, technically beyond the edge of the interior basin because it includes streams draining to the ocean, is, nonetheless, coincident with the desert sagebrush vegetation zone boundary,²⁰⁵ for the volcanic plateau which extends into the northern end of the Great Basin has modified the physiographic scene more than it has the vegetation. Consequently, we may assume that Blue Mountains, the northern edge of the Great Basin flora, is the real border of the Basin. Since both early explorers and my informants considered Blue Mountains the northern boundary of Oregon Snake (Paiute), we can say that the northern and western boundaries of the Northern Paiute tribe coincide with geographic boundaries. The eastern boundary between the Paiute and the Shoshoni, both within the Great Basin, does not agree with any geographic boundary. It can roughly be described as a line drawn from the 118th meridian at Owens Lake to the 116th meridian at Snake River, Idaho.

Occupying a single physiographic province, speaking similar dialects of one linguistic family, possessing cultures and traditions in common, the Northern Paiute bands, without doubt, formed one tribe. The unity was tenuous, but no indications of internal strife were discovered; on the contrary, hunting grounds were shared, and Old Winnemucca, in the early days of white contact, nearly united the bands under one political leadership. The cultural uniformity of the tribe and its nice adjustment to its environment defi-

nately establish unity, and on this basis I am of the opinion that the Northern Paiute took possession of their entire territory when they first entered the country and have occupied it up to its present limits for a comparatively long time. From this it follows naturally that theories of the origin of any part of the tribe must take the whole tribe into account and makes inevitable the conclusion that archaeology must combine with ethnology if valid hypotheses of tribal origin and tribal movements are to be made.

The discovery of the close affinity of the Shoshonean-speaking Indians in southeastern Oregon and southwestern Idaho with the Indians of western Nevada necessitates a decided revision of the ethnogeography of the western American desert area. It makes clear that the Indians occupying this territory in 1850, heretofore called Snake and Bannock, were really Northern Paiute. With a recognition of the true affinities of the Indians in eastern Oregon south of Blue Mountains, a solid basis is formed to judge Teit's theory,²⁰⁶ reiterated by Berreman,²⁰⁷ that Salish migrations were caused by the forcing westward of Sahaptin tribes by mounted Snake bands, who appropriated their eastern Oregon home. Since Teit's theory was based upon tales of war between Sahaptin and Snake Indians, its validity rests entirely upon the accurate recognition and location of the particular Snake Indians referred to--granting that the tales are true, which is not at all certain. "Snake" was used by the early explorers, Lewis and Clark, Ross, Ogden, et al., to denote all Shoshone-speaking Indians; consequently, it includes groups having markedly different cultures. This study disproves the theory that the so-called Oregon Snakes (Walpapi, Hunipui, Yahuskin, and Wada) were responsible for the Sahaptin movements. Both the earliest historic accounts and the testimony of Indian informants depict all the Shoshone-speaking Indians of southeastern Oregon as typically Northern Paiute, without horses or arms until after 1850. It is indeed possible that warring, horse-riding Snake (Shoshone-speaking Indians) did move west and cause some other tribal movements, but it is more reasonable to think that they followed the easiest route, the route followed by the first explorers across Idaho and down the Columbia River, than to picture them crossing the waterless wastes of southern Oregon.

Another problem clarified by this paper has also been embroiled because of the use of one term to designate different ethnic groups. "Sai" or "Saidökakö," a name used in myth and tradi-

²⁰⁴Steward, 1933, gave a detailed description of the Northern Paiute of Owens Valley and established this southern limit.

²⁰⁵Shantz and Zon, 1924, 21, and map: "Grassland and Desert Shrub."

²⁰⁶Teit, 1928.

²⁰⁷Berreman, 1937.

tion to distinguish former inhabitants of the shores of Humboldt Sink from the Paiute, now connotes "enemy" or "bad"; but it is also a Paiute name for the Nez Percé, the Klamath, and the Pit River (Achomawi) Indians. Any deduction based on the use of this name that one of these tribes formerly occupied Humboldt Sink is open to serious question, although such was the principal support for a statement that the Pit River Indians once lived at Stillwater, Nevada.

Finally, I wish to explain briefly map 1 (frontispiece) and table 1 (at end). Band names on the map are essentially those supplied me by informants, although I have in the text cited published references to boundaries and bands. When informants disagreed as to the area possessed by one band, I placed the boundary where I thought it belonged after a careful evaluation of all the testimony and available published information. In most cases informants corroborated one another and were substantiated by early sources. Whether the area I have assigned to the Hunipuitöka and Tövusidökadö belonged to one band or to more than one is the most doubtful part of the study. With the exception of Yahuskin, all the twenty-one band names were supplied by informants. The evidence, therefore, for the existence of the twenty-one bands listed appears undeniable, and continued inquiry would, I believe, furnish but slightly more information concerning this subject. For fifteen bands, names similar to the ones I obtained were found in early literature; for all the bands the literature contained references to a separate group of Indians in the same area of each of my bands. Confirmation was as follows:

Indian Affairs Report (1859-1900)	9 locations, 5 names
Powers, 1876 (quoted by Hodge, Handbook)	6 locations, 5 names
Powell, 1881 (quoted by Hodge, Handbook)	9 locations, 6 names
Curtis, 1926	4 locations, 4 names
Loud and Harrington, 1929	6 locations, 6 names
Kelly, 1932	10 locations, 10 names
Steward, 1933	3 locations, 3 names

Such confirmation leaves no doubt as to the existence of Paiute bands or to their location. Equally abundant was the substantiation for the old captains or chiefs. Population data by bands were less complete and less reliable. Informants did not remember how large the bands were, and most early censuses were by tribes. Where particular bands were designated, the figures are probably accurate. Thus by totaling the figures in the table that follows we have 6380 as the population of the 14 bands for which early figures are available. This might be slightly too high, but it does agree with the early estimates, which set the total between 7000 and 10,000.

These figures show differences in band population densities which agree fairly well with environmental differences. Density varies from one person for 33 square miles to one person for 2 square miles. The average for the entire Northern Paiute area was probably one person for 10 square miles. A comparison with bands listed on Steward's chart of Primitive Bands²⁰⁰ shows that the Northern Paiute resemble the Montagnais, an Algonkian tribe of eastern Canada, with respect to number of persons per square mile, average size of band, and average square miles of band territory.

²⁰⁰Steward, 1936, 341.

TABLE 1
Summary List of Northern Paiute Bands

Present aboriginal band name	Other references	Principal region	Area in sq.mi.	Population
(1) Hunipuitōka (Walpapi)	Towannahhooks Snake (Lewis and Clark) Hoonebooly Snake, Hoonebooy Snake, Nollpahpe Snake, Wallpalipe Snake (Ind.Aff.Rep., 1865) Wihinastas (Gallatin)	Canyon City, Oregon	7000	98 at Klamath, 1870; 76 at Warm Springs, 1890. (All the Paiute there.)
(2) Yahuskin	Yahuskin Snake (Ind.Aff.Rep., 1865) Goyatōka (Kelly)	Silver Lake, Oregon	5000	117 in 1870
(3) Wadatōka	Wahtatkin Snake, Wa-tat-kah Snake (Ind.Aff.Rep., 1865) Wihinastas (Gallatin) Wada ti kad ^u (Kelly)	Burns, Oregon	5250	?
(4) Koa'aga'itōka	Wihinast, Panasht (Gallatin) Wararereekas Snake (Ross) Bannocks (Lander, et al.) Winnas (Ind.Aff.Rep., 1862) Togwingani (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Boise-Bruneau band (Ind.Aff.Rep., 1865) Weiser band (Ind.Aff.Rep., 1876)	Boise, Idaho	7500	800 in 1862 (9.3 sq.mi. per person)
(5) Tagötōka	Panasht, Bannock (Gallatin) Leggin's band (Hopkins)	Jordan and Owyhee rivers	6000	214 in 1890
(6) Tsösö'ödö tuviwarai	Tüd'iuitidad ^u (Kelly)	Steens Mt.	2600	?
(7) Kidütökadö	Tuziyanmos (Powers, in Hodge, Handbook) Kaivaanungavidakw (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Gidütikadü (Kelly)	Surprise Valley, Calif. (Ft. Bidwell)	5000	150 in 1873 (33 sq.mi. per person)
(8) Aga'ipañinadökadö (Moadökadö)	Agaivanuna (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Agaitikad ^u (Kelly)	Summit Lake, Nevada	2000	?
(9) Atsakudökwa tuviwarai	Koyahow (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Kwiniduwa ^a (Kelly)	McDermitt, Nevada	2700	140 in 1870 (19 sq.mi. per person)
(10) Yamosöpö tuviwarai	Yammus (Powers, in Hodge, Handbook) Yammostuviwagaiya (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook)	Paradise Valley, Nevada	2000	?
(11) Makuhadökadö (Pauide tuviwarai)	Tonawitsowa, Itsa'atiaga (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Idza'ategaa (Loud and Harrington)	Unionville, Nevada	2000	?

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Present aboriginal band name	Other references	Principal region	Area in sq.mi.	Population
(12) Sawawaktödö tuviwarai	Sawagativa (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Sawakate (Loud and Harrington)	Winnemucca, Nevada	3000	?
(13) Kamodökadö	Winnemucca's band (Dodge)	Smoke Creek Desert, Nevada	3900	155 in 1859 (25 sq.mi. per person)
(14) Wadadökadö (of Honey Lake)	Waratika (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Wada'tika (Kelly) Waru'-dikarû (Curtis)	Honey Lake, California	800	?
(15) Tasiget tuvi- warai	Tonoyiet's band (Dodge)	Winnemucca Valley, Nevada	1000	580 in 1859 (2 sq.mi. per person)
(16) Kuyuidökadö	Coo-er-ee (Campbell) Cooyuweeweit (Powers, in Hodge, Handbook) Kuyuidika (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Kuyui-tekade (Loud and Harrington) Kuyui tikad ^u (Kelly) Cuiyui dika (Steward, 1933) Kuyu'i-tika' rû (Curtis)	Pyramid Lake, Ne- vada	2000	970 in 1859 (700 in 1866) (2 sq.mi. per person)
(17) Kûpadökadö	Kuhpattikutteh (Powers, in Hodge, Hand- book) KepA-tekade (Loud and Harrington) Sidocaw (Campbell, et al.)	Lovelock, Nevada (Humboldt Sink)	3600	800 in 1866 (4.5 sq.mi. per person)
(18) Toedökadö	Toy-yu-wi-ti-kut-tah (Powers, in Hodge, Handbook) Toi-wait (Powell, in Hodge, Handbook) Toy Pa-ute (Lee) Toi-tekade (Loud and Harrington) Toitikad ^u (Kelly) Tae-tika' rû (Curtis)	Stillwater, Nevada (Carson Sink)	6700	(541 in 1859); 800 in 1866 (8.4 sq.mi. per person)
(19) Aga'idökadö	Ocki (Campbell) Agaiktikara (Mooney) Agaitekade (Loud and Harrington) Agaitekad ^u (Kelly) Agaidika (Steward, 1933) Aghai-tika' rû (Curtis)	Walker Lake, Nevada	1750	541 in 1859 (3 sq.mi. per person)
(20) Pakwidökadö	Pahumu witu, Ozavdika (Steward, 1933)	Hawthorne, Nevada	2000	100 (20 sq.mi. per person)
(21) Tövusidökadö	Hadsapoke's, Odukeo's, and Joaquin's bands (Dodge) Tsapakah, Tupustikuteh, Pamitoy, Poatsitutuhtikuteh (Powers, in Hodge, Handbook)	Smith and Mason val- leys, Ne- vada	2100	820 in 1859 (2.5 sq.mi. per person)

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Abbreviations:

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AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History--
-AP	Anthropological Papers
-B	Bulletin
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
PMM-B	Public Museum (of the City of) Milwaukee, Bulletin
SAP-J	Société des Américanistes de Paris, Journal
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology

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