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*The Tail of the Elephant: Indians in Emigrant Diaries, 1844-1862*¹

RICHARD O. CLEMMER

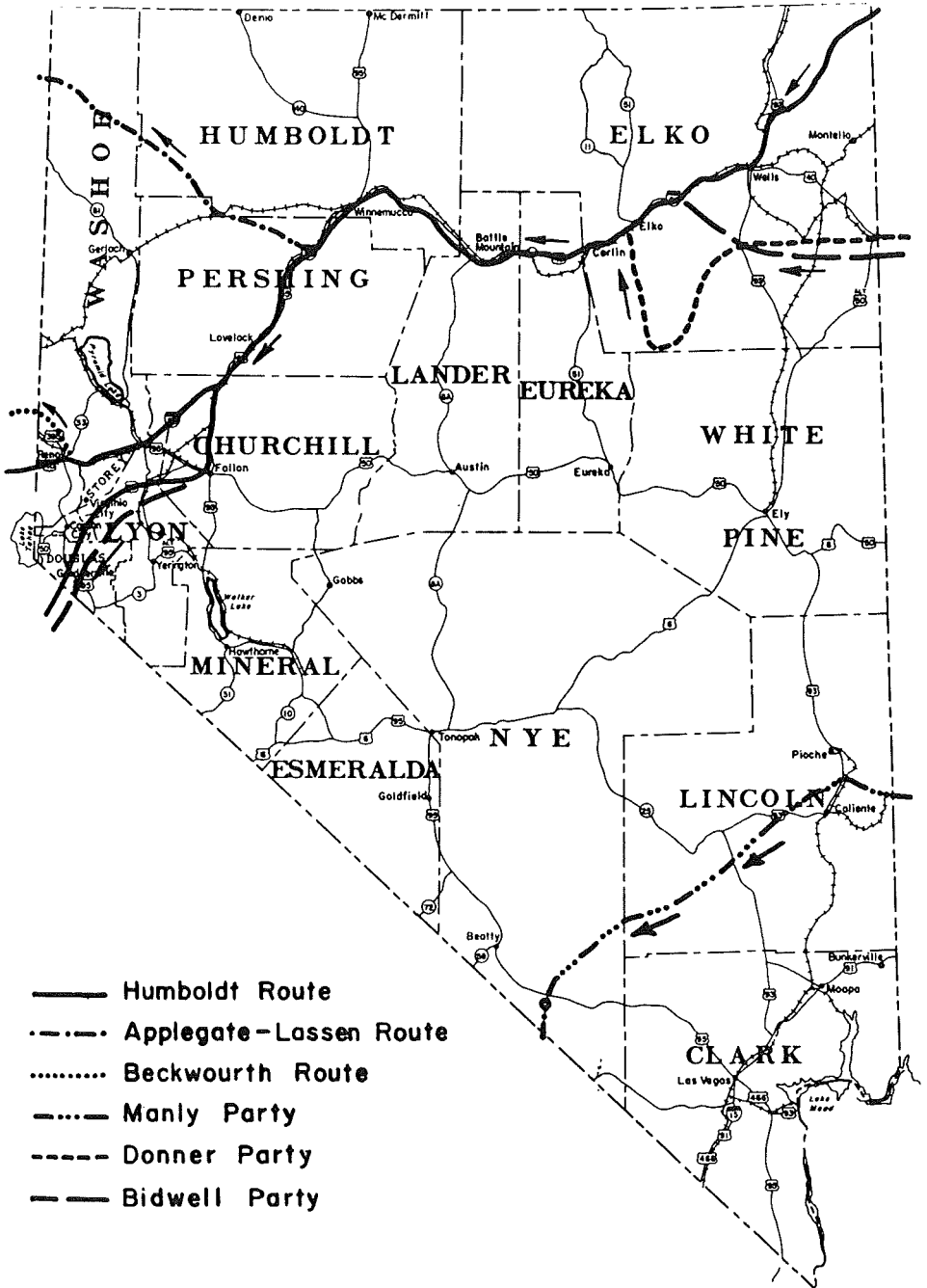
INTRODUCTION

THIS REPORT SEEKS TO DOCUMENT WESTERN SHOSHONE culture change and acculturation prior to 1870 using primary historical documents and, where appropriate, ethnographic and archaeological sources. Rather than using ethnohistorical sources selectively to bolster this or that ethnographic observation, an attempt has been made to review all sources systematically for data in these categories: impact of intruders on local resources; Shoshone subsistence strategies; size and location of groups; tool kits (including the horse as a mount or dray animal); chieftaincy and leadership; economic exchange; quality and kinds of interactions between natives and intruders; and organization for the accomplishment of tasks—especially military and subsistence tasks. Thus far, I have searched all trappers', explorers', and emigrants' accounts through 1845, and about 24% of the probable number of extant emigrant diaries from the years 1844-1862.²

The subject here is the Humboldt emigrant trail with its various branches, between Fort Hall Road and the Forty Mile Desert. Because Paiutes are also in part of this area, the data include them, although they are not the main focus. The Applegate (Lassen) Cutoff has been excluded because it has, to a large extent, been treated by Thomas Layton.³

The Humboldt River and its tributaries—the North Fork, South Fork, Bishops Creek, Susie Creek, Maggie Creek and Reese River drainages—can be anticipated as areas where resources might have been more abundant and dependable; where the possibility of sedentary—or perhaps transhumant—

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ROUTES OF EMIGRANT PARTIES

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communities might have been greater; where cognatic kinship might have given way to cross-cousin marriages and some degrees of lineality;⁴ where the formation of task groups might have been sufficiently important and have occurred often and regularly enough to result in development of chieftaincy as an institution more often than elsewhere in the Great Basin. These areas were those that were first exploited by trappers and then traversed by the emigrants. It could be anticipated, then, that these areas would also be the first to change, the first to deviate from the aboriginal pattern due to culture contact and subsequent acculturation. Yet, Julian Steward did not take into account the emigrant influence on Indian culture along the Humboldt in his reconstruction of pre-contact Western Shoshone life.⁵

The emigrants are a very important part of the complex equation of culture contact, subsistence resources, technology, and social organization that twenty years later would form the ethnographic picture of the Western Shoshone that ethnologists would claim either was, or was not, "aboriginal." The changes occasioned by nearly 200,000 people⁶ tramping through the Humboldt River area with horses, mules, and cattle were not typical of the Basin area. These changes were those resulting from: (1) emigrants' further depletion (following trappers) of resources—especially faunal and piscatorial—regularly each season for fifteen years or more; (2) emigrants' introduction of horses, mules, and cattle as new subsistence resources, free for the picking, as well as for transportation; (3) emigrants' introduction of new technology such as iron, guns, metal cookware, and clothing, whether actually traded or merely abandoned; (4) emigrants' resulting in population decimation through introduction of disease and/or outright genocide; and (5) emigrants' imparting Euro-American customs through prolonged contact with Shoshones and Paiutes along the Humboldt.

What consequences would these processes have had for aboriginal Western Shoshone and Paiute culture along the Humboldt? Would alteration of the Humboldt's fragile ecosystem have resulted in devolution to a family level of socio-cultural integration? Would social organization have become fragmented and atomized?⁷ Would territorially-based bands, then, have become a mere vestige of history, summoned only as a receding memory by John Wesley Powell's informants in 1872?⁸ Or did they never exist?

Would the replacement of deer, fowl, fish, and other resources with emigrants' stock thus have necessitated formation of new leadership roles? Would different task groups need direction in activities developed to efficiently exploit the new resources that were predictably—if seasonally—available from the emigrant trains? Would leaders develop in response to the new and different risks occasioned by the appearance of these new resources? Would the availability of new economic resources have thus caused *development* of bands, rather than their disappearance?⁹ The answers to these important evolutionary questions, if they are to be found anywhere at all, lie

in the emigrant diaries, since the diaries are the only body of data that remains unsearched.¹⁰

THE SOURCES

The data reviewed here do not include those derived from the reports of explorers, military personnel, tourists, mail carriers, or trappers.¹¹ While these sources contain valuable information, they reflect qualitatively different experiences than do emigrants' diaries. Until 1862, when matters became irrevocably hostile,¹² military expeditions were most often neutral in terms of their relationships with Indians along the Humboldt, even though this was certainly not the case in other parts of the Great Basin and plateau.¹³ Thus, data from the well-known reports of Remy and Brenchley, Richard Burton, James Simpson, and John C. Frémont¹⁴ are not included here.

Emigrants must be treated quite separately as chroniclers of Indian life from other peripatetic Basin sojourners because their priorities were different. They had no professional interest in flora, fauna, or Indians. They came into the Great Basin only because it was an unavoidable stretch between their starting point and their destination; their major goal in the Basin was to leave it as quickly as possible. By the time they were halfway along the Humboldt, they were often running perilously low on supplies; usually exhausted and short of temper; and almost always resigned to sacrificing material goods and social decorum for the sake of expediency. One emigrant, perhaps in a bit of exaggeration, remarked:

. . . The Indians in this quarter go without clothes, not from necessity, but choice. They might clothe themselves without expense, if they desired to do so, as garments of every kind strew the ground on each side of the way. The emigrants throw away their clothing, upon finding newer and better garments. . . .

Facilities for the acquisition of knowledge, are becoming ample along these barren deserts. Lying by the wayside, are a great variety of books, which their owners have thrown away to lighten their loads. From this extended library, I frequently draw a volume, read and return it. . . .¹⁵

Even if we grant the above diarist some literary license, we must assume that the Humboldt Trail constituted a disagreeable gamut of endurance tests that strained emigrants' degrees of self-possession and sense of identity; by the time they reached it, they must have realized that they were not merely following along in the pioneer spirit, but rather, that they had unwittingly challenged themselves to a duel with unknown forces.

THE ELEPHANT

Freelance writer Peter Leschak wrote in the November, 1986 issue of the pop psychology magazine, *New Age*, that "the Elephant is about limits: the limits of endurance, of weather and climate, of time and distance, of ter-

rain."¹⁶ Other usages are also recorded,¹⁷ but the phrase seems to have gone out of use around 1900. Popularized during Gold Rush days in San Francisco, the phrase became part of the slang of California and the West¹⁸ after its use in 1850 in a successful stage play.¹⁹ A play produced in 1985 in Los Angeles, featuring scenes from the pioneer journals of emigrant women, has resurrected both the thespian and the emigrant definitions of the phrase.²⁰

Historian Archer Butler Hulbert wrote a fictionalized "diary" of a young man on the "California Trail" in 1849 in which the young man encounters the phrase, "seeing the elephant" at the present site of Marysville, Kansas. In his fictional diary entry of May 13, Hulbert's pioneer mentions meeting people who had turned back, discouraged, because they had seen enough of the Elephant.²¹ The editor of a diary that I reviewed, writing in a footnote in 1928, observed that the phrase was part of the demotic argot of pioneer life, but that it was not confined to the western U.S.: "Settlers in new countries," he wrote, "frequently referred to their hardships as 'seeing the elephant,'"²² but I have found it used only once with reference specifically to the Humboldt. Diarist Leander Loomis, making his way through the thick alkali dust of the Humboldt Road, remarked that "this is getting a peep at the elliphant" and then, upon passing seventy-nine dead horses, mules and oxen in a 15-mile stretch of the Forty Mile Desert, he opined that this was "almost seeing the elephant."²³

By the time emigrants reached the Humboldt, they had already seen much of the elephant. The greatest hardships, of course, lay ahead: crossing the Forty Mile Desert and then the Sierra Nevada. But it might well be inferred that Indians along the Humboldt constituted a greater part of the emigrants' "elephant" of hardship than in any other part of the journey. "The impression has long been current," noted the late historian, John Unruh, "that the threat of death was most severe on the Great Plains. . . . Yet an analysis of the geographic regions where nearly 400 overlanders were killed between 1840 and 1860 indicates that approximately 90 percent of all emigrant killings took place west of South Pass, principally along the Snake and Humboldt Rivers and on the Applegate (Lassen) Trail."²⁴ We would expect standoffs and battles, ambushes and heroic exploits in "escaping the Indians" and grappling with "the elephant."

METHOD

It is easy to see why, until now, emigrant diaries have remained an untapped source of data on the early contact period in the Great Basin. A pioneer's "overland diary," diligently secured from an obscure repository, may in fact chronicle a journey not along the Humboldt, but along the less commonly travelled southern route through Utah's Santa Clara Valley, leading into Owens Valley and Los Angeles, or on the Fort Hall Road leading to

TABLE I
Emigrant—Indian Contacts
Humboldt & Overland Trails
1846-1862

	1846-48	1849	1850	1851-54	1855-56	1857-58	1859-62	Totals
Estimates ¹ of numbers of emigrants	2,350	25,000	44,000	83,000	9,500	10,000	26,000 (1859-1860)	199,950
Diaries searched	5	24/101	15	6	4	2	2	58/330
Total contacts recorded	28	53	97	11	21	4	4	218
Friendly contacts	19	20	17	6	7	—	1	70
Unfriendly contacts (includes stock theft)	14	36	81	4	14	4 ²	3	156
Stock thefts alone	2	9	38	2	2	3	9	65

¹ From John Unruh, *The Plains Across* 1979. Totals are for all routes and destinations of emigrants leaving Fort Laramie. The bulk went to California, but many went to Oregon. A few went to California via the Fort Hall Road and Applegate Cutoff; however, most went via the Humboldt.

² The Holloway narrative registers six killed in an ambush along the Humboldt, but I have not counted this incident here or in Table IV because Unruh (p. 197) makes a good case for this incident being linked to one on Goose Creek in which whites disguised themselves as Indians in attacking an emigrant caravan.

Oregon. On the other hand, a Humboldt Trail diary may turn out to be little more than a log of miles travelled and wagon repairs effected, yielding little if any relevant information.

From a total of 362 possible relevant diaries from the years 1841 through 1867²⁵ identified, ninety have been searched. Of these, only fifty-eight—covering only the years 1844-1862 (Table I)—proved relevant and useful. The present paper is thus based on data from approximately twenty-four percent of the probable universe. The year 1849 is reasonably well represented, with nearly half the diaries being from that year; however, I searched first those diaries which crossed my path first or those easily obtained. Therefore, some years are grossly underrepresented. No diaries from 1851 were searched; from the years 1852-54, in which the average rate of emigration was actually higher than in 1849, only six were searched. The year 1850, in which nearly twice the number of emigrants came across the California Trail as in 1849, is also underrepresented, with only sixteen diaries.

However, even a search of the total universe of diaries could not claim to achieve a representative summary of events involving emigrants and Indians. Diarists were a self-selected group and were an insignificant percentage of the totality of emigrants. They represent perhaps one-tenth of one percent of the 200,000 people who came over the Humboldt Trail. The diaries are

obviously not representative in any statistical sense, and the following generalizations may be subject to revision as more diaries are read.

The diaries themselves also have to be used with some caution. Diarists recorded observations and experiences unsystematically. A diarist might fail to mention any number of events and contacts that might have been important. Some events and contacts received more emphasis than others: "Depredations" and "hostilities" were more likely to be mentioned than the casual observation of an unthreatening Indian. Thus, unfriendly contacts are probably overreported and friendly ones underreported. Also, it is sometimes difficult to tell when several different diarists are describing the same incident. Many emigrants were not sure exactly where they were, and were unskilled at geographic description. Thus, establishing concordance among diaries for a single year is a difficult task.

I recorded a contact as "hostile" from the emigrant's point of view, i.e., if there was shooting or killing by either emigrants or Indians, or if emigrants observed Indians stealing stock or expressed suspicion that Indians were about to do so. In the rare instance of an Indian being captured and held for ransom against stolen stock or coerced into servitude, I also recorded the contact as "hostile." Friendly contacts were those involving face-to-face contact with either verbal exchange, exchange of trade items, or expressions of greetings in passing. "Neutral" contacts consisted either of distant sightings of Indians or Indian settlements by emigrants, and rare instances in which Indians were mentioned as being encountered with no accompanying exchange or indications of hostility. Losses of stock were not recorded as hostile contacts unless an animal was found wounded or dead or unless emigrants had actually sighted the theft. Otherwise, losses were recorded separately as "stock losses."

THE DATA

In the battery of endurance tests meted out by the California Trail between Independence and Sacramento, what role did the Shoshone and Paiute along the Humboldt play? (Let us turn to some of the indications given in Tables I-IV.) It is evident that encounters with small groups of Indians were far more frequent than encounters with large ones. Humboldt Meadows, where emigrant trains stopped to cut hay, rest, and take on water, was where the greatest concentration of emigrants were in any one season and the *least* frequented by Indians. Humboldt Meadows and Sink were less subject to actual skirmishes, despite the occurrence of a large-scale battle at the Sink between Indians and trappers in 1845.²⁶

Despite the fewer number of diaries searched for 1850, the number of total contacts recorded is eighty-three percent higher than in 1849, even though the number of emigrants is only fifty-seven percent higher. Of those

TABLE II
Friendly Contacts: Kinds of Exchanges
By area: 1846-62

	Goose Crk/ 1000 Spgs/ Marys River North Fork Maggie Crk	Hastings Cutoff/ Pilot Pk/ Ruby Valley	Humboldt: between Marys R. & Battle Mtn.	Battle Mtn/ Stony Pt/ Gravelly Ford	Humboldt Meadows	Humboldt Sink
Verbal exchange only	2	6	1	—	2	1
Exchange of material items, services	4	4	12	3	5	2

TABLE III
General Contacts: Sizes of Indian Groups
1846-62

	Goose Crk/ 1000 Spgs/ Marys River North Fork Maggie Crk	Hastings Cutoff/ Pilot Pk/ Ruby Valley ¹	Humboldt: between Marys R. & Battle Mtn.	Battle Mtn/ Stony Pt/ Gravelly Ford	Humboldt Meadows	Humboldt Sink
1-10	29	10	53	17	6	10
11-50 gen'l	11	1	5	4	3	2
11-50 males only	1	1	2	5	2	—
50-100 gen'l	1	Bryant 1846 teeming w/ activity but few seen	3	2	1	1
more than 100	1	—	5	—	—	—

¹ Paucity of encounters is probably due to the fact that few emigrants came by this route.

contacts, eighty-two percent were “unfriendly” as opposed to about sixty-eight percent in 1849. This amounts to a 125 percent increase in unfriendly encounters between 1849 and 1850, and a rate of “unfriendly” contacts that is twenty-three percent higher than would be predicted on the basis of the 1849 data. The situation calls for some explanation, which will be addressed later. However, it should be noted that the highest ratio of unfriendly contacts to numbers of emigrants is in the 1846-48 period, not in 1850.

Large concentrations of Indians—fifty or more which one might designate “large villages”—do not occur consistently in any one area; however, large concentrations of 100 or more occur consistently in two areas: Ruby

TABLE IV
Unfriendly Contacts:
By area & nature of encounter
1846-62

Number of incidents	Goose Crk/ North Fork/ Marys R./ Bishops Cr/ Maggie Crk	Hastings Cutoff/ Pilot Pk/ Ruby (Frank- lin) Valley	Humboldt: between Marys R. & Battle Mtn.	Battle Mtn/ Gravelly Ford/Stony Point	Humboldt Meadows	Humboldt Sink
1-2 Indians killed, only	2	—	4	4	1	2
1-2 emigrants killed, only	6	—	8	8	—	1
2-10 Indians killed, only	—	—	6	1	—	—
2-10 emigrants killed, only	2	—	1	2	1	—
More than 10 Indians killed	—	—	—	1	—	—
More than 10 emigrants killed	—	—	—	1	—	—
More than 4 Indians & 4 emigrants killed	—	1	—	—	—	—

TABLE V
Number of Unfriendly Contacts:
By place and time period
1846-62

	Goose Crk/ North Fork Marys R. Bishops Cr. Maggie Crk.	Hastings Cutoff/ Pilot Pk/ Ruby (Frank- lin) Valley	Humboldt: between Marys R. & Battle Mtn.	Battle Mtn/ Gravelly Ford/ Stony Point	Humboldt Meadows	Humboldt Sink
1846-48	4	1	7	1	1	2
1849	6	1	25	—	—	2
1850	11	2	34	24	3	1
1851-54	2	—	—	1	—	—
1855-56	—	—	5	8	1	—
1857-58	2	—	2	—	—	—
1859-62	1	—	—	2	—	—
Total unfriendly contacts area ¹	26	4	73	36	5	5

¹ Totals do not correspond to those in Table I because some contacts were impossible to provenience.

Valley and along the Humboldt between North Fork and Stony Point. The Gravelly Ford-Battle Mountain area—more or less the dividing line between Shoshones and Paiutes—appears to be the scene of the most severe and large-scale altercations. Virtually all of these altercations occurred *after* 1849, and by 1855-56, the Gravelly Ford area became a very dangerous place for emigrants indeed, accounting for sixty percent of the unfriendly contacts. Finally, the number of stock thefts—in which Indians succeeded in driving away cattle, horses, mules, or oxen—increases dramatically in 1850, more than four hundred percent, thus constituting a much higher proportion of “unfriendly” contacts than in 1849 (Table V).

What inferences do these indications permit? It should be evident that in the gamut of hardships, Indians by no means posed the greatest hazard faced by emigrants along the Humboldt. Unfriendly contacts do outnumber friendly ones, but there is no year in which some friendly contacts do not occur. Some emigrant trains passed through with no unfriendly encounters, and the bulk of the trains that had unpleasant experiences suffered mostly loss of livestock. Out of 156 recorded contacts that fall into the “unfriendly” category, only eight constituted skirmishes or “battles” in which more than two emigrants were killed.

Stock thefts were almost inconsequential compared to losses from exhaustion, dehydration, and alkali poisoning experienced in crossing the Forty Mile Desert between the Humboldt and Carson Sinks, or between the Humboldt and the Sierra Nevada passes. In 1849, diarists mentioned such things as: 160 dead horses and cattle counted on one stretch;²⁷ dead stock eight to ten deep in piles for a fifteen-mile stretch;²⁸ 350 dead horses;²⁹ 280 dead oxen; 120 dead mules and 362 abandoned wagons.³⁰ J. Goldsborough Bruff catalogued eighty-seven dead and dying animals between the Goose Creek Mountains and the Forty Mile Desert in 1849, as well as a staggering 463 dead oxen and nine dead horses and mules on the desert itself.³¹ In 1850, diarists again mentioned hundreds of animals dead from exhaustion, exposure, and starvation. One individual counted 100 carcasses;³² another counted 100 dead stock in a fifty-mile stretch;³³ another described the desert as strewn with dead horses and oxen.³⁴ One secondary source estimated from 1849 alone, 3,000 abandoned wagons and \$3 million in abandoned property,³⁵ almost none of it lost as a result of “Indian hostilities.”

Disease also played a life-threatening role. In 1850, one chronicler insisted that he had counted 1,500 graves between Salt Lake City and Sacramento, virtually all of them filled with victims of cholera, not of Indian hostilities.³⁶ It is clear that environmental hardships—not hostile encounters with Indians—were the bulk of “the elephant” for emigrants on the Humboldt. Indians were, if anything, perhaps the “tail” of the elephant.

Although many diaries contain racist and ethnocentric comments about the “lowliness” of the “Digger race” along the Humboldt, there are few records of

emigrants wantonly shooting every Indian in sight. Emigrants were on the trail for only one purpose: to get off it as quickly as possible. They had no interest in hunting Indians or pursuing a war of genocide. In fact, there are several cases of emigrants intervening on behalf of Indians who were captured by irate companies bent on punishing some real or imagined infraction, or convinced that by torturing one Indian they could effect the release of stolen stock.³⁷

Emigrants occasionally took Indians along as guides, but the Indians rarely stayed with a train for long. The men of one train in 1853 persuaded a Shoshone to accompany them as guide, but took some undue liberties in subjecting the man to a tobacco bath, shampoo and haircut. Following this ordeal, "Mr. Indian was rather dumpish," wrote diarist Lucy Rutledge Cooke. Afterward the guide promptly departed, taking one of the emigrant's guns along with him.³⁸ However, there are numerous cases of Indians politely appearing on the fringes of emigrants' camps and either remaining as silent observers or being invited to have supper. Likewise, a number of instances record Indians' willingness to give or trade food items to emigrants. Diarists who recorded stock thefts or suspicious local Indians also recorded a couple of friendly or at least neutral contacts.

If friendly contacts involved exchanges, they were usually minimal: some bread or dried buffalo meat from the emigrants, some fish or venison from the Indians. Virtually no weapons were traded with the exception of pocket knives, although occasionally Indians asked for powder or shot. Trades of fish-hooks and horses were recorded with both Indians and emigrants being the source of each on different occasions. There was little general horse trading. A Shoshone who struck up a friendship with German emigrant Heinrich Leinhard in 1846 proffered Lienhard some "roots" (probably *Carum gairdneri*, yampa, or possibly *Valeriana edulis*, bitterroot),³⁹ which he ate with great gusto and appreciation. The roots gave him raging diarrhea, and his subsequent description of their effect to his new Shoshone friend provided the Shoshone with great entertainment. Lienhard took the incident in good humor.⁴⁰

There are accounts of Indians taking wood from abandoned wagons presumably for firewood, but one diarist insisted that Indians left the iron behind.⁴¹ Shoshones appeared on Goose Creek as early as 1846 with arrows tipped with iron and glass. Although diarist Alonzo Delano recorded one instance of a stone-tipped arrow used at the western end of the Applegate Cutoff in 1849 near California's Surprise Valley, only one specific mention of a stone-tipped arrow being used was found in the fifty-eight diaries searched. This notation by J. Goldsborough Bruff in 1849 was related to points on arrows which a Shoshone gave to some men in Bruff's company with whom the Shoshone dined one evening at a camp between Goose Creek and the Humboldt. Six weeks later at the end of the Applegate Cutoff, Bruff exam-

ined a small obsidian arrow tip removed from the back of a man wounded in a skirmish three weeks earlier between emigrants and a predatory band living near or in Warner Valley. Although the identity of the band is uncertain, Layton speculates they might have been Sierra Miwoks. Bruff noted in passing that most of the arrows recovered from the "Warner Valley ambush" were actually iron-pointed.⁴²

Layton calls this information "suprising"⁴³ but based on the meager information on points from my diary search, I would say that by 1849 iron points were the norm rather than the exception. It is tempting to assume that the iron points came directly from the iron of abandoned wagons; however, it is more likely that the points were trade items since there is no mention of forging capabilities on the part of Humboldt Indians by any diarists, nor is there any indication of such capabilities in archaeological sites. Because it was so highly tempered, wagon iron would have been difficult to beat into points. Arrows continue to be the most common weapon mentioned in the diaries through the early 1850s, when guns become almost universal.

Verbal exchanges were greetings, universally consisting of a handshake and a "how-de-do" on all sides. No emigrants, except Remy and Brenchley who were eastern-bound tourists in 1855 rather than true emigrants, seem to have learned any Shoshone or Paiute words.⁴⁴ Indians appeared to have learned only what they heard from teamsters: strings of oaths including the phrases "whoa-haw" and "goddam." The story that Indians along the Humboldt mistook "whoa-haw" as a label for emigrants and "goddam" as that for their mules is probably familiar to most readers.⁴⁵ Few Indians spoke English fluently, but there were exceptions among Indians encountered at Humboldt Sink; a few had been to California⁴⁶ and still others apparently situated themselves there in order to earn money or in-kind payment for rendering services such as guiding, hay-cutting and ferrying. There is no definite indication of when this pattern began, but it is generally believed to have occurred around the late 1850s. The Sink was probably both an attraction for, and a social field in which acculturated Indians first became involved in the intrusive cash economy: Acculturation did in fact proceed. The Sink's role as a social field is likely responsible for some early differential acculturation between Paiutes and Shoshones. Geiger and Bryarly in 1849 ostensibly met three "Eutaw" Indians at the Sink returning from California,⁴⁷ but they could have been mistaken about their exact ethnic identity.

By far the greatest number of friendly encounters involve Indians definitely identified as Shoshones. The identities of Indians in unfriendly encounters is uncertain. Interestingly, despite the fact that "Shoshone" or "Shoshoko" is not a Numic word, from 1846 on the few Indians who did identify themselves in verbal exchanges uniformly used the term "Shoshone," rather than "Numa," meaning "person."⁴⁸

A few instances were found of exchanges of material items, such as

weapons, ammunition, clothing, foods or even horses. In addition, little consistent reliable information on the quality of interaction among emigrants and Indians was found. Aside from rare exceptions, such as Lienhard, virtually none of the emigrants took any interest in Indians as persons. Hence, interactions tended to be superficial and business-like, if not hostile. A social field of interaction between Indians and emigrants did not exist, except perhaps—as already mentioned—at the Sink. At the same time, emigrants did not employ a monolithic ideological model in dealing with Indians; they entertained suspicions, but despite the rhetoric that surfaces in a few communications, emigrants did not assume a hostile posture automatically when Indians came into view. Indians for their part, *did* seem to employ a consistent strategy with regard to the emigrants; it was definitely *not* aimed at keeping emigrants out or driving them away.

THE IMPACT OF HORSES: A POST-1849 PHENOMENON

Documentation of the precise period in which Nevada Indians along the Humboldt acquired horses may not be available. Only a few diarists clearly distinguished mounted from unmounted Indians, and it is impossible to make inferences from the meager contexts provided. Failure to mention mounted Indians does not necessarily mean they were actually on foot. Mounted Indians appear to be rare before 1840 and commonplace after 1854. Therefore, Layton's conclusion cannot be sustained that by 1849, Indians along the Humboldt were using the horse for "portage" rather than "pottage."⁴⁹

In fact, data seem to reflect an opposite conclusion: that there was a significant increase in Indians' use of horses as mounts *only after* 1849, *not prior to* 1849. At this point, I have too few diaries from years after 1851 to make any definite statement about a quantitative change in number of stock—horses as well as cattle—stolen in any single event, between 1849 and the years after 1850. It is possible that the difference between Layton's conclusions and mine reflects a difference in sources more than anything else. Layton read only diaries of emigrants who followed the Humboldt River and then veered slightly north near present-day Imlay onto the Applegate Cutoff. Thus, it is possible that his sample is randomly skewed. His sample is also small: seventeen compared to my fifty-eight, including *only* diaries from 1846-49. It is preferable, however, to look at the differences in task group size and leadership patterns that a particular poaching strategy might reflect, rather than the specific use of horses since it is not possible to determine that stolen horses were not eaten as often as crippled horses were killed.

It is logical to assume that the successful theft of a couple of dozen head of horses at one time would reflect both a level of socio-political organization and an intended use for the horses that could serve as indicators of a

predatory or a territorial band. It is axiomatic that horses provide great mobility, and it is well known that use of horses by Plains groups resulted in overlapping territories and strategic advantages for war parties that had them. Once known, they came to be sought, especially if their use maximized a group's ability to retreat from an area depleted of ecological resources to an area that was still productive. If horses could increase a group's flexibility in taking advantage of a new resource—such as beef on the hoof—it is likely that they would be sought even more. It is believed that one particular incident in late summer, 1850, reflects both the sudden increase in valuation of horses *after* 1849 as sources of transportation, and also the reasons for an escalation in hostile contacts during 1850 and thereafter. This incident is the "Battle of Battle Mountain."

THE BATTLE OF BATTLE MOUNTAIN: A QUALITATIVE SHIFT

Details on the "battle" are rather skimpy; however, there is enough concordance among sources to permit verification of the skeletal facts. In the 1872 edition of *Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide*, George Crofutt gives this statement under the entry "Battle Mountain:"

. . . It is so called from an Indian fight, which took place in this part of the country some years ago, but not on this mountain of which we are speaking.⁵⁰

In his 1882 edition, Crofutt had an expanded account of the battle, saying it occurred between "the Whites and the Indians—settlers and emigrants, thirty years ago—which gave the general name of Battle Mountain to those ranges. A party of marauding Shoshone Indians had stolen a lot of stock from the emigrants and settlers, who banded together and gave chase." According to this version, the whites recovered all their stock and defeated the Indians in a long and pitched battle. "How many Indians emigrated to the Happy Hunting Grounds of the spirits no one knew," says Crofutt, "but from this time forward the power of the tribe was broken."⁵¹

In 1913, Sam P. Davis, a local Nevada historian, compiled a *History of Nevada* which consisted of anecdotal information gathered from interviews with settlers and pioneers. One of these was a "Capt. Robert Lyon." There is no evidence of a diary, therefore it is assumed that Lyon's communication to Davis was entirely oral. Lyon was among a wagon train from Joliet, Illinois, that travelled the Humboldt in 1850 and experienced an unsuccessful attempt by Indians to stampede its horses near Gravelly Ford. Later in the season, Lyon heard about another train "served in the same way" that, with the assistance from others under a man named Warner, pursued the Shoshone raiders, surprised them, killed about thirty, and recovered the stock.⁵² Leander Loomis, who passed that point on the Trail on July 16, 1850

encountered “packers” who told him that after turning their horses out to graze, a large train had had twenty of them taken “by the Indians, and run off among the mountains.” Men from the train tracked the animals about ten miles to the “Indian town,” but the Indians were too numerous for them, and so they returned to camp.

The train then assembled a well-armed body of 100 mounted men, who “intended to go out and demand the horses, and if they would deliver up, well and good, but if not they would kill every Indian in the Town.” Loomis never heard the results of this expedition, but Edgar Ledyard, compiler and editor of Loomis’ diary,⁵³ speculates that the result was the “battle” mentioned by Crofutt. In *Wake of the Prairie Schooners*, Irene Paden suggests that the Indians in the “Battle of Battle Mountain” were Ute,⁵⁴ but there is no independent evidence to support this suggestion.

Aside from the large-scale battle with trappers farther downstream in 1845,⁵⁵ this incident is the only large-scale encounter recorded during the earliest years of the emigrant intrusion, and the only one involving large numbers of horses taken at one time. Certainly the fact that the Indians chose to drive off horses rather than cattle reflects a qualitative change in strategy: Cattle can only be eaten, but horses can be either eaten or ridden. Layton is probably correct in concluding that the stealing of a large number of horses reflects riding rather than eating. The question arising from this incident, however, is this: Why did the Indians take the risk of taking off a resource—a much more valuable one to both emigrants and Indians than cattle—in much larger quantity than they had before?

TOWARD EXPLANATION: EMIGRANTS’ POACHING OF INDIANS’ RESOURCES

Indians appear to have developed an effective strategy for procuring and processing meat-on-the-hoof without in any way depleting the source. By far, until 1850, the largest number of incidents involved a few individuals waylaying a stray animal, or shooting an arrow into the calf of another, making the animal limp and unable to keep up with the train. Frequently this was done at night. But there is evidence that another strategy—perhaps operating in tandem or independently of this one—was also pursued. This strategy involved a group effort in which stock was taken to a central collection and processing point. It is described by diarist Elisha Perkins who heard about the following incident second-hand in 1849:

Diggers had carried off 22 head of cattle from another emigrant train. Some of the men . . . followed the trail some 30 miles, clear up among the snow and finally found their oxen, some killed, some hamstrung, and the rest jumped off of a high bank into a kind of pen from which it was impossible to get them out without ropes and pullies,

while the naked rascals who put them there could be seen dancing upon the rocks and hill tops and making all kinds of jeering gestures, but taking care to keep out of rifle shot. The party returned without recovering one of the cattle.⁵⁶

The context of Perkins' diary places this incident in the Rubys rather than the Battle Mountain range, but there may be some continuity between this incident and the one involving thirty horses a season later. The Shoshones who drove off the cattle were apparently unmounted, but they were well organized enough to carry out this coup quite successfully. They may have been analogous to a collective hunting group acquiring resources for a larger settlement back home.

The event was obviously well planned and well orchestrated. The destination was preselected for its strategic location, and was prepared ahead of time. Processing proceeded efficiently and quickly because others were already on hand. Were most stock thefts equally well orchestrated? Was there an elaborate system of monitoring, selection, theft, and processing of emigrant stock by groups all along the Humboldt that were already organized into bands with well-defined leadership who directed specialized task groups? Or were these incidents reflective only of the ad-hoc subsistence activities organized by temporarily-designated "antelope shamans" and "rabbit bosses" reported by Steward?⁵⁷ Do we see here the adumbration of predatory bands that would shortly turn the horse from pottage to portage? Most important, does this incident reflect a qualitative shift in Indians' relationship to emigrants' stock and if so, what could have caused such a shift?

There is good evidence that this strategy was developed in response to severe depletion of Indians' indigenous food supply by the emigrants. The large number of stock thefts reflects a subsistence fact about the Humboldt: Poaching was a subsistence strategy. But it was not the Indians that started the poaching. Mary Rusco has suggested that Ogden's fur-trapping expedition on the Humboldt in 1829 may have changed some micro-habitats forever, and all but eliminated some species such as beaver.⁵⁸ Since subsequent trapping expeditions (Hamilton, Bonneville-Walker, Fitzpatrick)⁵⁹ lived partially off the land, it is not unlikely that the ecological balance along the Humboldt and its tributaries continued to be upset. By 1846, Lienhard remarked that "the Humboldt River area proved to be poor in game. Only seldom did we see an antelope and nothing at all of other game . . . We wondered how the Shoshonee made a living. . . . In the occasional pools of water along the river there was seldom a fish to be found. Even grasshoppers seemed to be scarce, although it was said that this was one of the Shoshonis' chief sources of food."⁶⁰

In contrast to Lienhard's dire musing is Elisha Perkins' experience three years later. He averred that "antelope, black-tailed deer, wild geese, ducks sage hens and prairie dogs can generally be found frying or boiling at the

camp fires of most any ox train and many a good mess I've been treated to at their boards."⁶¹

The year 1849 was, however, a bumper year. Another emigrant party harvested a peck of fat, fresh-water mussels from Goose Creek.⁶² Another feasted on sage hens along the Humboldt for a week.⁶³ Twenty-four people lived on nothing but sage hens for two weeks. One party of eighty-two men went rabbit-hunting one day, and "almost everybody came in at noon with one." In another foray, the same company again came back "laden with rabbits."⁶⁴ Another company totted up 121 sage hens for their tucker bags.⁶⁵ Alonzo Delano reported cranes "very numerous" on the Humboldt and of course they "killed several."⁶⁶ Deer and antelope were bagged at the rate of two, five, or several. One chronicler reported that they "literally slay small game,⁶⁷ and several diaries extol the "fine lots" of duck, frogs, chubfish, and trout along the Humboldt. The year 1850 was not such a fine year, apparently, but there are still reports of killing sage hens and antelope⁶⁸ and "kept up a plentiful supply of game" and of fish "abundant"⁶⁹ and "innumerable,"⁷⁰ and "hunt and fish as much as ever."⁷¹

Thus during 1849, and continuing to some extent into 1850, emigrants blithely poached away a considerable amount—perhaps most—of the resources that would have been available to Humboldt River Shoshones and Paiutes. One must ask, if the emigrants were harvesting game in such abundance, in what would seem to be unusually bumper circumstances, what was left for the Indians? Answer: beef and horsemeat on the hoof. Lienhard was the recipient of gifts of roots and grasshoppers in 1846 from Shoshones who appeared self-confident and independent. In contrast, a common—although by no means pervasive—characteristic of Indian-emigrant interaction in 1849 and 1850 was begging on the part of Indians. For example, on the sage desert between Goose Creek and the Humboldt River, one party was host to seventeen Shoshones who came into their camp in 1849 by twos and threes:

They were absolutely naked, poor, and hungry. Their faces were pinched and careworn, while the most abject misery seemed stamped on every feature. . . . They ate everything that afforded nourishment—roots, seeds, snakes, insects. . . . We shared our supper with them. They devoured their food with the voracity of famished wolves.⁷²

In 1850, the situation worsened; by September, there were no resources for anyone, emigrant or Indian. Californians organized relief efforts, but even as late as September 12, relief officials estimated that 15,000 emigrants were still on the trail, on foot, destitute, and living off the putrefying flesh of animals rotting along the way.⁷³ Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest depletion of food resources as the reason for escalation of unfriendly encounters in 1850 and thereafter.⁷⁴

CONCLUSIONS AND SOME FURTHER QUESTIONS

Emigrants brought profound changes in Indians' adaptive strategies along the Humboldt. Culture change was in full swing by the 1850s, and emigrants were an important component in it. By 1846 the Humboldt drainage had already been diminished as a food area for Indians; by 1849 it had become a sluiceway for the flood of emigrants. There seems to be a positive correlation between the number of unfriendly contacts between emigrants and Indians, and availability of resources. When resources are good, there are fewer unfriendly contacts; when resources are scarce, there are more unfriendly contacts. The year 1846 does not seem to have been a good year for resources, if Lienhard was correct in his observations and assessments, and unfriendly contacts were high; in contrast, 1849 was a good year, and the rate of unfriendly contacts is lower. Thomas Layton's observation that "the statistics on horse stealing and horse shooting confirm that by 1846-49 Indians resident along the Humboldt River were actively stealing horses for their transportation value"⁷⁵ is not refuted by the data presented above, but it is certainly not confirmed either.

Depletion of resources, availability of horses, and use of either indigenous sociopolitical leadership or intrusion of mounted bands from elsewhere all seemed to be correlated with a qualitative shift in emigrant-Indian interaction in 1850 along the Humboldt. Mounted bands seemed to appear for the first time in 1850, and unfriendly contacts escalated. But even then, contacts between Indians and emigrants continued to conform to the patterns established in earlier years: some friendly encounters; some unfriendly encounters; some poaching by Indians; some poaching by emigrants; some mutual assistance; some mutual hostility. At no time is there any "state of siege" between Indians and emigrants, and at no time are "Indian hostilities" accorded the status of other hardships such as environmental obstacles and disease in diary records.

I see no evidence that Indians were ever committed to preventing the emigrations. In fact, emigrants were used and perhaps depended upon increasingly and irrevocably after 1850. Hostilities increased when emigration waned. Only when actual homesteading and settlement began, along with mining, are full-scale, pitched battles between mounted Indians and whites commonplace. Thus, although the emigrants were responsible for depleting Indians' resources, they also brought with them new resources which occasioned the rapid evolution of a new and temporarily adaptive strategy on the part of Indians. This strategy—that of poaching animals in emigrant trains—became unviable only when mining and homesteading crowded Indians out of their homelands, and totally disrupted the ecological balance over large areas.

In contrast, the emigrations affected only a narrow band of well-defined

territory not more than thirty to forty miles wide along the South Fork, North Fork, Goose Creek, Marys, Maggie, Susie, Bishops and Humboldt drainages. Where emigration was a factor, the consequences to Indians were devastating. But even then, the casualty rate from Indian hostilities did not constitute a major hardship to emigrants. Mail carriers, for example, sustained a much higher casualty rate over the years—perhaps higher than two percent;⁷⁶ emigrants' casualty rates never even approached one percent.

The answers to some questions remain elusive. First, there is the question of intrusions of other sociopolitical and cultural groups;⁷⁷ Bannocks, Northwestern Shoshones, and Utes have all been reported in the western Great Basin prior to 1860. Second, there is the question of how many Shoshone and Paiute groups could have remained outside the sphere of influence created by the interaction of emigrants and Indians along the Humboldt. Third, where were these groups located, and why would they not have been influenced through the contact occasioned by the season festivals and nomadic settlement patterns described by Steward in his (1938) *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*? And most important, with emigrants along the Humboldt, and mail carriers coming through Nevada as early as 1852, was a truly aboriginal subsistence strategy still in operation in the 1850s? At this point there are no definite answers to these questions. However, additional research with the corpus of diaries may yield more conclusive inferences concerning aboriginal settlement patterns and sociopolitical groups, and changes in those patterns in the early contact period.

NOTES

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² Results from the larger project will appear in a forthcoming book on Western Shoshone ethnohistory.

³ Thomas N. Layton, "From Pottage to Portage: A Perspective on Aboriginal Horse Use in the Northern Great Basin Prior to 1850," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (Winter 1978): 243-257.

⁴ Steward documented this pattern for Owens Valley and the Reese River area. See Julian H. Steward, *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 33 (1933), 304-305; Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120 (1938), 100-110; and Fred Eggan, "Shoshone Kinship Structures and Their Significance for Anthropological Theory," *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society*, 11:2 (1980): 165-193.

⁵ Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 120: 6; Julian H. Steward, *Culture Element Distributions: 13 Nevada Shoshoni*, Anthropological Records 4:2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941), 210.

⁶ John Unruh, *The Plains Across* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 120.

⁷ The debate over bands and its concomitant issues are summarized nicely by Don Fowler in "Great Basin Social Organization" in *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin, 1964*, edited by Warren d'Azevedo, Wilbur A. Davis, Don D. Fowler and Wayne Suttles, Social Sciences and

Humanities Publications No. 1 (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1966), 57-73. The arena for the debate was the hearings of the Indian Claims Commissions in the 1950s, but it can be followed chronologically in print through Omer C. Stewart, *Culture Element Distributions 18, Ute-Southern Paiute*, Anthropological Records 6:4 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942), 235-236; Elman Service, *Primitive Social Organization* (New York: Random House 1962), 94-99; Omer C. Stewart, "Tribal Distributions and Boundaries in the Great Basin," *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin*, edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo, Wilbur A. Davis, Don D. Fowler and Wayne Suttles, Desert Research Institute Social Sciences and Humanities Publications No. 1 (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1966), 167-170; Julian H. Steward, "Review of the Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin, 1964," *American Antiquity* 33:2 (1965), 264-267, and "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society" in *Languages and Cultures of Western North America*, ed. by Earl H. Swanson (Caldwell Id: Caxton Printers, 1970), 113-151; and Omer C. Stewart, "Temoke Band of Shoshone and the Oasis Concept," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 23:4 (1980), 246-251.

⁸ John W. Powell and G.W. Ingalls, *Report on Conditions of Nomic Speaking Indians of the Great Basin* (1874) in Don D. and Catherine S. Fowler, eds., *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Nomic Peoples of Western North America, 1868-1880* (City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1971), 97-119.

⁹ This latter scenario was proposed by Steward in *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, 149-150, 248-253. Powell and Ingall, *Report on Conditions*, took an opposite view, as does Elman Service, *Primitive*, calling Steward's scenario for Shoshone socio-political organization "anomalous." David Hurst Thomas posed these questions in *Predicting the Past* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), 35, but by 1983 was satisfied that they had been answered by analysis of archaeological data.

¹⁰ Catherine S. Fowler, "Settlement Patterns and Subsistence Systems in the Great Basin: The Ethnographic Record," *Paper No. 2* (Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology, 1983), 122.

¹¹ The last record I have found of a trapping expedition on the Humboldt is late February, 1845. William T. Hamilton, *My Sixty Years on the Plains: Trapping, Trading, and Indian Fighting* (Columbus, Ohio: Long's College Book Co., 1905), 166-174.

¹² Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 145-169. Also see p. 90 regarding troops on the Humboldt in 1858.

¹³ The Fremont and Kearny expeditions of 1845 and 1846 saw no combat in the Great Basin. Army supply trains going to Oregon from California often came over the Sierra at Donner Pass, then headed north to the Fort Hall Road. Throughout the 1850s, there were no engagements on the Humboldt.

¹⁴ Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to the Great Salt Lake* (London: W. Jeffs, 1861); Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1862); J.H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin . . . in 1859* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), was never on the Humboldt *per se*, but did encounter its southern tributaries; John C. Fremont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure*, edited by Allan Nevins (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956).

¹⁵ Franklin Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines* (Ogdensburg: J.C. Sprague, 1855), 119.

¹⁶ Peter Leschak, "Seeing the Elephant," *New Age Journal* (November 1985): 22. I am grateful to Katherine M.B. Osburn for this reference.

¹⁷ J. Rea, "Seeing the Elephant," *Western Folklore* 28 (1969): 22-23.

¹⁸ Archer Butler Hulbert, *Forty Niners: The Chronicle of the California Trail* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1931), 41; J. Goldsborough Bruff, *Gold Rush*, edited by Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines (New York: Columbia University Press), 533-545.

¹⁹ Rea, *Seeing*, 22.

²⁰ Karen Hensel, et al., *Going to See the Elephant* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, 1983). Produced in Los Angeles in 1985. I am grateful to Nancy Peterson Walter for this reference.

²¹ Hulbert, *Forty Niners*.

²² Edgar Ledyard, fnt #2 on p. 95 of Leander V. Loomis, *A Journal of the Birmingham Emigrating Company* (Salt Lake City: Legal Printing Company, 1928). Shirley Sargent titled James Mason Hutchings' diary, which she edited, *Seeking the Elephant* (Glendale: Arthur C. Clark, 1980).

²³ Loomis, *Journal of Birmingham*, 95, 104.

²⁴ Unruh, *Plains*, 185.

²⁵ Many more were initially identified, but I was able to eliminate many from the list as irrelevant on the basis of superficial indicators.

²⁶ G.W. Thissell, *Crossing the Plains in '49* (Oakland: G.W. Thissell, 1901), 133-135.

²⁷ Charles Glass Gray, *Off at Sunrise* (San Marino: Huntington Library 1976), 84.

²⁸ G.W. Thissell, *Crossing the Plains in '49* (Oakland: G.W. Thissell, 1901), 133-135.

²⁹ James Abbey, *A Trip Across the Plains* (New Albany, Indiana 1850).

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ J. Goldsborough Bruff, *Gold Rush*, 121-154.

³² Lucena Parsons, "Journal, 1850" in *Covered Wagon Women*, Kenneth Holmes, editor (Glendale: Arthur C. Clark Co., 1983), 288.

³³ Eleazar Stillman Ingalls, *Journal of A Trip to California by the Overland Route Across the Plains in 1850-51* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1979), 59.

³⁴ James Dutton, "Journal and Letters: Across the Plains in 1850," *Annals of Iowa* 9 (3rd Series): 472.

³⁵ Irene Paden, in fnt #166 of Madison Berryman Moorman, *Journal of 1850-51* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1948), 126, 166 quotes two diarists whose manuscripts I have not read, John Watts and Jos. Wood, as each making this estimate separately (Watts on July 12 and Wood on Sept. 2), apparently on the basis of what they heard while on the Trail. Wood was told by a member of a relief party that there were 3,000 abandoned wagons on the Trail in 1850.

³⁶ Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *History of California*, Volume 5 (New York: The Century History Company, 1915), 260.

³⁷ Erwin Gudde, ed., *Bigler's Chronicle of the West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 124 (1848); Bernard J. Reid, *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 118 (1849).

³⁸ Lucy Rutledge Cooke, *Crossing the Plains in 1852* (Modesto: The Author's Descendants, 1923), 64.

³⁹ Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 23, 30.

⁴⁰ Heinrich Lienhard, *From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort, 1846*, translated by Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1961), 132. Lienhard came over Hastings Cutoff, hitting the Humboldt at its South Fork, and was still on the South Fork at this time.

⁴¹ Reuben Cole Shaw, *Across the Plains in '49* (New York: Citadel Press, 1966), 130-131.

⁴² Bruff, *Gold Rush*, 124, 227, 1184.

⁴³ Thomas N. Layton, "From Pottage to Portage: A Perspective on Aboriginal Horse Use in the Northern Great Basin Prior to 1850," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (1978): 252.

⁴⁴ Remy and Brenchley, *Journey to Great Salt Lake*, pp. 124-125.

⁴⁵ Alonzo Delano, *Across the Plains and Among the Diggings* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936), 68-69. See also Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly, *Trail to California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), 181 for the interesting perspective that Indians considered the teamsters to be a separate tribe of whitemen known as "Wo haughs."

⁴⁶ Geiger and Bryarly, *Trail*, 186; Shaw, *Across*, 130-131.

⁴⁷ Geiger and Bryarly, *Trail*, 181.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Bruff, *Gold Rush*, 124.

⁴⁹ Layton, "Pottage," 253.

⁵⁰ George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide* (New York: George A. Crofutt, 1872), 143.

⁵¹ George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide* (Denver: The Overland Publishing Company, 1882), 135. Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, places the "battle" of "Battle Mountain" in 1857 (p. 161, fnt. #19), citing Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (Vol. 25, *Works*, San Francisco, A.L. Bancroft, 1890), 206, 268.

⁵² Sam P. Davis, *The History of Nevada*, vol. 1 (Reno and Los Angeles: The Elms Publishing Co., 1913), 37.

⁵³ Loomis, *Journal of Birmingham*, 88-89.

⁵⁴ Irene Paden, *Wake of the Prairie Schooners* (New York: Macmillan 1943), 406.

⁵⁵ Hamilton, *My Sixty Years*, 167-172.

⁵⁶ Elisha Perkins, *Gold Rush Diary, Being the Journal of Elisha Douglas Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849*, edited by Thomas D. Clark (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), 106.

⁵⁷ For example, see Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 34, 147, 257.

⁵⁸ Mary R. Rusco, "Fur Trappers in Snake Country: An Ethnohistorical Approach to Recent Environmental Change," in *Holocene Environmental Change in the Great Basin*, edited by Robert Elston, Nevada Archaeological Survey Research Paper No. 8, July 1976 (Reno: University of Nevada Press), 152-173.

⁵⁹ Hamilton, *My Sixty Years*; George Nidever, *The Life and Adventures of George Nidever*, edited by William Henry Ellison (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937); Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (pp. 1-357 in *The Works of Washington Irving*, London and New York: The Cooperative Publication Society Inc., n.d.); Leroy Hafen, *Broken Hand: The Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Mountain Man, Guide and Indian Agent* (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1931); John Ball, *Autobiography* (Glendale: Arthur C. Clark, 1925); Charles Kelly, *Old Greenwood* (Salt Lake City: Printed for the Author by Western Printing Co., 1936).

⁶⁰ Lienhard, *From St. Louis*, 146.

⁶¹ Perkins, *Gold Rush Diary*, 108.

⁶² Geiger and Bryarly, *Trail*, 162.

⁶³ Gray, *Off at Sunrise*, 74-75.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶⁵ Geiger and Bryarly, *Trail*, 172, 178.

⁶⁶ Delano, *Across the Plains*, 69.

⁶⁷ Geiger and Bryarly, *Trail*, 166.

⁶⁸ Ingalls, *Journal*, 57-58.

⁶⁹ Henry Atkinson Stine, *Letters and Journal of Henry Atkinson Stine on his Overland Trip to California from St. Louis to Sacramento, May 4, 1850 to October 25, 1850*. "The Property of Misses Janet and Adele Stine of Webster Groves, Missouri, Loaned to the Missouri Historical Society, April 7, 1930." Carbon copy of typed ms. in California State Library, Sacramento; no pagination; entry of Sept. 12; entry of Sept. 5.

⁷⁰ Moorman, *Journal of 1850-51*, p. 68.

⁷¹ Stine, *Letters*, entry of Sept. 12.

⁷² Shaw, *Across the Plains*, 119-120.

⁷³ Eldredge, *History of California*, 256-257.

⁷⁴ Catherine Fowler, "Settlement Patterns," p. 123, remarks that as a result of the 1849 emigration alone, resources along the Humboldt must have been "virtually destroyed."

⁷⁵ Layton, "Pottage," p. 253.

⁷⁶ Between 1850 and 1862, at least 35 mail carriers were killed. Mail was not carried through Nevada at all between 1855 and 1858. See Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs* (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Co., 1955).

⁷⁷ Layton, "Pottage," and Mary Rusco, "Fur Trappers," both feel there is strong evidence for non-Piaute and non-Shoshone Indians being on the Western Humboldt as early as the 1840s, and I tend to agree. There is also evidence—which I cannot go into here—of ethnically mixed bands of Shoshone-speaking Indians in central Nevada between 1850 and 1852.