

My 1964 National Science Foundation Field Training Report

Yerington Colony and Campbell Ranch lie within the comparatively verdant area of Mason Valley, the former standing immediately within the western boundaries of the Yerington city limits, approximately one mile west of the main street of Yerington, county seat of Lyon: the latter lies eight miles from downtown Yerington, to the northwest, and on the western side of Alternate route 95, which extends in this area from Yerington to Silver Springs. Yerington lies approximately ninety miles southeast of Reno, at 119 degrees, ten minutes west longitude, and thirty-nine degrees north latitude, and at an elevation of 4, 378 feet. Its current population is 1800, an increase of over 33% since 1950: part of the influx of people into the area is due to the establishment of the Anaconda Mine in this period, with its own 250-dwelling housing development, Weed Heights, whose residents are included in the country population of 7, 838, the official figure for 1964.

The main street of Yerington has forty-seven business establishments, 19 more than the number that it had in 1897. Approximately fifteen churches serve the area, one being Catholic, the remainder primarily Baptist and churches of the Pentecostal type. Only one Jewish family lives in the area. The predominant nationality in Yerington is Italian: most of the Indians and a number of the white citizens do not classify these, or the few Mexicans in the area, as "whites." Most of the wealth and a good deal of the social prominence of the area, however, is concentrated in Italian families such as the Menesinis, the Rosachis, and the Recanzones.

Mason Valley is eight miles wide and approximately fourteen long: it is bordered to the north by the Desert mountains, to the east by the Wassuk, to the west by the Singatse, and in the south, by the low hills of the Pine Grove Range. The East and West Walker River meet nearly eight miles south of Yerington, and flows centrally through Yerington. The nearest cultivated and irrigated area to Yerington is Smith Valley, twenty miles to the south: Schurz is second closest, to the east, twenty-five miles distant. Extremely arid and hilly terrain between Schurz, and the fact that many current Indian residents of Yerington were originally inhabitants of Smith Valley or Wellington lead to the assumption that early migrations in the area were between Smith and Mason Valleys: archeological and ancient camp sites found along the Walker River between these two area, and discontinuing shortly north of Yerington, appear to support this theory. The surrounding mountain ranges in Mason Valley range from 5000 to 11, 239 feet in elevation: the latter is the height of Mount Grant, the only spot left unflooded in the mythological creation tale of the Paiutes.

Yerington Indian Colony is nine acres of nonallotted land extending south off of west Bridge Street: approximately only two acres are in use. It consists primarily of flat arable land, utilized only for residential purposes: twenty-six houses at fifteen feet intervals line the single dirt-lane that runs along a north-south axis in the Colony. The two-room houses, consisting of kitchen and bedroom, are of government construction, twelve feet by eighteen feet, with six windows in each, a cement slab foundation, and no facilities for indoor bathrooms currently. Only one phone serves the Colony: this was installed in the home of Chester Smith by the tribal council for the purpose of summoning police in the event of Colony disturbances.

The total Indian population on the Ranch and in the Colony is 169: 130 of these are Colony residents. Distribution studies are shown in *Current Organization of the Group*, below.

Residents pay no city or sewer taxes, although the latter will be initiated next spring when the Public Health Service completes Colony sewer lines. The Colony, despite the crowded condition that its physical arrangement has precipitated, is probably one of the most neatly kept in the state: there is very little of the littering and conglomeration of abandoned cars, huts, and sheds, etc., which appear to be typical of a number of reservations in other areas.

The largest single number of people in any one age group in the Colony, as can be seen in the distribution studies found in section 1 c, is in the age division under ten years of age.

Among Colony men, as charts below indicate, occupations are primarily in the unskilled labor range: ranch hands and laborers are the most frequent occupations. Women, while not as frequently employed, and then only sporadically, are primarily domestic workers for white families in town. Out of the twenty-four distinct households in the Colony, six have female heads, two being single women, one being a widow, and three having been deserted.

Campbell Ranch, with a population of thirty-nine, is a Federal Reservation of nonallotted land, encompassing an area of 1, 156 acres of farm land, including a grazing range of 120 acres. Eight houses out of twelve originally built in 1936 are still standing: the average acreage under cultivation for each is forty acres. Uncultivated land has primarily a sagebrush cover. A graded dirt road, established and maintained by the Standard Slag Company for its operations to the west of the ranch serves the ranch for approximately two miles.

The eight houses on the Ranch are of standard construction, laid out by government carpenters: the three rooms include a bedroom, living room, and kitchen; a half-storey attic is usually used for storage purposes; there is no indoor bathroom in any of the ranch houses. Each house has a well running from a central slue behind A. D's house. There is no telephone service to the ranch: central power lines running down Campbell Ranch Lane provide electricity only.

There is no wall insulation in Ranch housing, nor is there in the Colony houses. One house in use, that of the R family, is actually an abandoned school house, which also serves as a tribal meeting house. A second house, that of D.S. formerly, is now

abandoned, leaving only seven occupied. The house type for all except the schoolhouse, is similar, except in cases where rooms were added: one half of the house is devoted to the living room, and the other half is divided between the bedroom and the kitchen: however, the angles at which the houses are placed varies, so that in one case, the front entrance opens onto the kitchen: in another, onto the living room. The standard plan is found below:

(Valdez)

(Quinn)

(H. Rogers)

Occupations are primarily in the ranching categories, although no one on the ranch supports his family entirely by ranching: several work in the meat plant in town, or at the mine. (see section 1 c.)

The greatest number falling within an age group occurs in the ten-to-eighteen range, with only one less in the under-ten age group.

Yerington history:

Trapper Jedidiah Smith was one of the first white men to see the Mason Valley area: in 1827, he discovered Indians producing a crude type of irrigation agriculture along the banks of the Walker River. In 1845, John Fremont and Joseph Walker passed through the area: the first settlers, however, were Hock Mason and his brothers, in 1854: the small town that they founded still lies about a mile to the south of Yerington, then named Pizen Switch. In 1861, the name became officially Greenfield, and on November 26, 1879, Yerington, after H.M. Yerington of the Carson-Colorado railroad, in an attempt to entice him into routing the railroad through the small mining town: in gratitude, he gave the town a flag, but the railroad passed by. (*Mason Valley News*, June 2, 1961.)

In 1863, the white Wilson family migrated from the east: brothers David, James, and William. In June, 1866, an Indian named Hog-or-die Jim aided David Wilson in locating the Pine Grove gold deposit that made the Wilson fortune. (*Mason Valley News*, July 9, 1954). In 1863, the first store was built; in 1868, the first flour mill, to be purchased by the Wilsons in 1871. Yerington was incorporated in 1907, the same year in which it replaced Dayton as the county seat of Lyon. A fire of 1874, however, had nearly destroyed the town: local history has it that a band of Indians appeared during the fire to help, and then silently left: through their aid, part of the town was saved. The Wilson family became prominent after their purchase of the flour mill, and their gold discoveries: in 1907, J.I. Wilson became president of the first bank in Yerington. It was for this family that the Indian Jack Wilson worked: it was by this

flour mill, in Nordyke, that Wilson lived, and performed his miracle of floating ice down the river.

Colony history:

Yerington Colony was purchased by the government in August 1917, from Frank Bovard, an owner of the Rawhide mine. Prior to this time, Indians had been living northeast of town, where the former slaughterhouse was located, in square and semi-circular windbreaks, tents and huts; and in the area southeast of town known as the

Missouri Flat. Upon being moved to the Colony, similar housing was established, until 1941, when government constructed houses, described above, were used. These were originally intended for pensioners and disabled Indians, with placement to be under tribal council jurisdiction: the council, however, soon lost all but nominal control over evictions, and large families up to twelve in number began occupancy. Only once in Colony history had an occupant been ousted due to bad behaviour: a woman who once lived in the house now held by J. P.; she is now homeless, and is frequently seen wandering about the area.

In 1953, Superintendent Fryer from Stewart attempted to enlarge the Colony to the east: people were indifferent to the plan and it was never accomplished. Colony housing may be inherited by the oldest unmarried heir, although in cases of conflict, the preference is usually given to males.

Campbell Ranch history:

In 1935, the Indian Reorganization Act 6 provided for the establishment of a Federal reservation of 1, 156 acres, purchased from the old Miller Lux ranch. Many of the early and current residents were informed of this opportunity by the Indian agent in Smith Valley, and they migrated here. Twelve houses, of construction described above, were built, the first occupants being Richard Conway, Shorty Jackson, Charlie Brown, Jack Dalton, Cornelius Aaron, Brady Emm, Archie Penrose, Andy Dick, Richard Brown, and Henry Fredericks. Most of the individuals ranches were of unequal size. No rent or maintenance fee was required, and surplus food was distributed. A school was established on the ranch, in the house now occupied by the Richardsons, and was taught by Cornelius Aaron. Jack Kalton was the reservation policeman. Currently, seven families, listed in section 1c, occupy the ranch, at a population of thirty-nine.

Under the new ten-year redevelopment plan offered by the government, twenty-six new houses on five acre tracts will be established on the Ranch, open to application by all Indians of the Yerington area who have been accepted by the tribe.

The archeological sites of the Mason and Smith Valley area, including burials, large areas of bedrock mortar clusters, and petroglyph fields, are located in an area of intrusive igneous rock, designated by the U.S. Geological survey as late Jurassic to early or middle Tertiary quartz monzonite, granodiorite and granite; alternating with areas of non-marine fanglomerate, sandstone, silt, marl, lignite, diatomaceous

limestone, carbonaceous shales and interbedded volcanic rock. Within the immediate valley area and numerous camping sites, characterized by circular stone arrangements, often with charred material in a central depression: those that I viewed in the Masonic area are located in a region of densely concentrated pine nut groves. The burial depicted in the field notes photographs was located in a rock formation on the northern slope of a hill west of the river in Nordyke, in an area of igneous rocks: the one currently being exhumed for the university was in a similar rock formation east of town. Bedrock mortars, approximately fifteen rocks with an average of three conical depressions apiece, were located a mile east of Alternate route #95, eight miles north of Yerington, in a columnar granite formation. The petroglyph sites, thirty-five miles southeast of town, in the vicinity of the abandoned Northern Lights mine, occurred always on the eastern side of the road, in isolate rocks or in compact, continuous masses of igneous rock.

Little reference is found for aboriginal Indians of the Mason Valley area: one assumes that the proximity of the Walker River limited local Indians to a migratory path with this water supply as a focal point: contemporary Indians feel that the Pine Nut mountains have always constituted the border between the Washo and the Paiute: Indians of the Mason Valley and Smith Valley area called themselves the "Lizard Eaters" to distinguish themselves from the Akai eaters of the Walker River area, for whom trout formed a major item of subsistence. Mountains to the north, east, and west also formed natural barriers against migrations of any great scale, so that while aboriginal Paiutes may have been seasonally migratory, their movements were restricted by these facets of the environment. There was not any form of private land ownership, nor were pine nut groves restricted in use to specific families: areas and modes of migration were determined by several family heads, informal leaders of small groups. Land was communal, in a sense, the local Paiutes, and was defended not only against invasions by Washos but also against infringement by alien Paiutes. The traditional enemies of the local Paiutes appear to be the Washo, the Apache (Pynuk) and a number of tribes of Indians to the north, known collectively as Sai?i, who appear in the Paiute creation myth (cm IV 1-3-field notes), and who are defined by Dr. Liljeblad as Indians of the Columbia River area: the Sahaptin, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Nez Perce, etc.

In 1827, Indians of the Walker River area were reported as being knowledgeable of a rudimentary form of agriculture and irrigation by Jedidiah Smith (Mason Valley News, June 6, 1961): one informant, Corbett Mack, reports that his father, who was born before the advent of the white man into the area (approximately 1820) had planted a crop similar to potatoes in his youth. By the 1860's, military frays with the U.S. Army of Fort Churchill had occurred, resulting in the development of the near-legendary figures of Horseman, Winnermucca, and Chief Joaquin, from whom all Yerington Indians can be genealogically traced. Interaction with whites appeared to be frequent at this period, several members of the local ancestry bearing names as did Jack Wilson's father Nyymytaipo?o, meaning "whiteman Indian." Corbett Mack's redoubtable grandfather, Horseman, was constantly being spirited away by the white soldiers for one cause or another.

In 1874, local Indians were living in small clusters, northeast of town, in tule windbreaks, and shortly after in Army tents. An epidemic of some unknown type broke out at this time, utterly decimating the population. (Lyon County Times, July

23, 1874) Indians in this period are represented as being “peaceable and industrious”, and plans were initiated, but never completed, to establish them on small farms. (*Ibid.*, July 23, 1874.) Indians were rapidly assimilated into the economic structure of the whites: many were employed in conjunction with the mines, and as ranch hands who were employed seasonally, later making the transition to year-round employment in the current era. At this point, modes of dress and food were altered, with past types being retained only for ceremonial occasions, and all but rabbits, pine nuts, and kucapi being abandoned in favour of white foods.

Social Organization:

Assuming contact to have occurred approximately in 1850, and a generation to encompass thirty years, nearly four generations have elapsed since the advent of the white man. Only seventy-one of 373 local Indians claim to be full-blooded. Since today few marry whites, and even fewer did in the past, family structure and control of morals by males was apparently radically altered by white contact. It appears, however, that at no time was strict fidelity on the part of either spouse required, and this, in conjunction with the fact that there was no private ownership of land, and no means of, or need for, enforcing loyalty to a central chief, no doubt explains the minor emphasis on retention of family surnames, and the lack of clan groups. While it is true that Indian names were rarely revealed to white employers, and were summarily abandoned by the latter as being too difficult to pronounce, resulting in the Indian adoption of white ranchers’ first or last names, I believe that, prior to contact, names were immaterial, and were of a descriptive nature in the case of men at least: whether the frequent changes were for purposes of magic, I do not know: however Winnemucca Naci bore at least three names, apparently simultaneously: Nyou’tawa’ka, meaning “One With a Hole in His Nose” and Tona”ta, a word used when a Paiute jokingly punches another.

Leadership was a function of Indian doctors and shamans, rather than of specifically designated men, such as rabbit chiefs in the Yerington area: there was no rule of succession, and a son succeeded a father only if he had the qualities of leadership that an Indian doctor was expected to have: (see section 2) otherwise, heads of families, travelling in small bands, made the necessary decisions.

Today, Paiute women appear to be vested with more social and political power than their white counterparts, but the research suggests that women in aboriginal periods presumably had less, although they were given free rein in choice of husband, and could freely leave him. The children belonged to her, in the latter case. In pre-contact time, she was prohibited from the rabbit hunting activities and the blanket making that accompanied it: she gathered the pine nuts that the men plucked with the cano hook, prepared them for consumption, helped to build the tule hut, and fashioned the clothing. She was permitted to participate in ceremonial dances, and a female shaman’s religious, but not political power, was thought to exceed that of the male doctor. In contact times, she worked with her husband as a ranch hand or cook.

Women were restricted by customs prescribing ritual for menstruation and childbirth, the former was restricted to a small segregation hut, where the girl scratched her head only with a special stick, bathed every morning at dawn with the aid of her mother,

and hauled wood daily. This was considered to insure industriousness of her part, and to isolate her from vulnerable males who were hunting. These restrictions are currently thought of, by those who once practiced them, not as indications of female inferiority, but merely as means of insuring privacy for the girl, who ordinarily lived in a minute tule family house.

Pregnancy was thought to be guaranteed by a visit to McLeod Hill, approximately one mile west of the main street, on Alternate #95: one who visited the cave in which the doctors sought their power could ask for a child of either sex, and it was granted. Birth customs began in late pregnancy: women drank only warm water and a type of gruel, and ate nothing "hard" in texture: the birth was assisted by the woman's mother, usually in a segregation hut: in cases of difficult birth, a fire or hot stones were placed in a trench, and then removed: the woman in labor was placed on the hot earth. After the birth, the afterbirth was buried outside, to prevent dogs getting it: mother and child were bathed with sagebrush dipped in water ("baptism", according to modern informants), and the limited diet was continued until bleeding stopped, usually ten to twenty days. The father, meanwhile, cut buckberry wood each morning and bathed in the river, an interesting reversal of the menstrual customs. The wood was often given to elderly people, as were gifts of tobacco: others claim that the wood was cut to keep the mother and baby warm. Names were given by the parents, often with the Paiute word for "flower" as a suffix to girls names: the name was given when the child was old enough to have a distinctive personality. If it died as an infant before naming, it was merely hung in its cradleboard in a tree.

Marriages in pre-contact time were occasionally arranged by parents or grandparents: more frequently they were simply a matter of mutual choice: the couple lived neolocally after marriage. A man was deemed a suitable husband if he could support the woman. Magic was available to pursue the reluctant woman: the pelt of a mole, or a blue fly, was carried. Polygamous unions usually occurred with sisters or cousins as spouses. Apparently the last such unions in the area were those of Dick Bennett, father of Andy Dick; and the father of Sim Lundy in Bridgeport: the former had two unrelated wives: the latter, two sisters and a cousin. A bride was occasionally purchased, with gifts of hides and food to her father: as recently as twenty-five years ago, large feasts were being given by the fathers of the wedding couple.

Religion:

Religious rites were apparently centered about the seasonal quest for food in a subsistence environment. Harvest dances here were of a religious nature, in thanksgiving for a fruitful pine nut harvest. Stanley McCloud reports that the circle dance in the summer was held in honor of the sun, and also recalls a moon dance. Tom Mitchell performed an eagle dance alone, with feathers strapped to his arms: his "power" consisted of eagle feathers. Corbett Mack recalls prayers being led by Jack Wilson. Animism was a strong feature of Paiute religion: McLeon Hill, for example, could not only bestow power, but was known to steal children: particularly rocks had inherent power of their own.

A number of superstitions exhibit elements of imitative magic and precautionary or preventative “medicine”: the carrying of moleskin pelts or those of other animals, blue flies, hummingbirds, or butterfly wings supposedly insured good luck at gambling: the moles’ eyes, which are not visible, supposedly can see the sticks of the opponent in hand games. Blue lizards and solid colored stones were used for the same purpose. Magpies were considered by some to be spirits of the dead, and should not be killed. Owls were omens of death. “Dust evils” were also considered to be spirits of the dead, and one avoided being caught in one. Pointing at rainbows would make one’s arm or finger crooked: whistling after dark would bring up the wind. There was an injunction against staring at anyone, particularly a doctor, who might send an affliction to the person who did so. Lightning was attracted by wearing red, or exposing anything red during a storm. Throwing pine nuts constituted a disrespect to food, and would result in a scanty harvest the following year. Ear pains were caused by the devil, and cured by pointing to the ground and ordering the devil to return home. There were no prohibitions against touching the hair, except during menstruation, or against left-handed people. Burials involved a number of superstitions, including the prohibition against retaining the deceased’s possessions: this, I believe, was to prevent the spirit from returning.

Few games were practiced, apparently, in aboriginal times: hand games, as described in the field notes, were common, as was a primitive form of hockey, played with willow sticks and a buckskin ball: women played a similar game, using a braided rag and a stick.

Paiute tales of the area, while having Ica?a as their central figure, also focused on the exploits of cannibalistic giants Canaho? And Paizo?o: Ica?a and Wolf are considered to be brothers and cousin-brothers: the latter was the fighter. The creation myth, involving the appearance of a European Wolf, and a flood that covers all of the new world, explains the enmity between the Mason-Smith Valley Indians and those of the Columbia River area.

Tales frequently devolve about monsters who have a predilection for eating the Indians: in the instance of Canaho?, all but his mother and one girl are killed. Other monsters deprive the Indians of sustenance by removing the fish or pine nuts from the area.

Biblical analogies abound now in references to aboriginal tales: animals in the past spoke, “just like in Genesis”; Coyote and Wolf are compared to Cain and Abel; the women who survived the flood, and her mate, the Wolf of Europe, are thought of as the Indian’s counterpart of Adam and Eve. The Man Who Became Thunder has been re-adapted to a story that has Jack Wilson as its central figure: the white horse ridden to heaven by the Thunder man reappears as the horse Wilson brought to earth, standing on a cloud. Thunder’s assumption into heaven has also been compared with that of Christ. Culture heroes do not always have admirable characteristics: Thunder was cruel to the Indians, demanding that they dance in the cold.

Burials occurred primarily in the foothills of rocks: the deceased was prepared for burial by close female relatives, and dressed, in later years, in bright clothing: he was then wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and often placed in a flexed position in an

enclave in the rocks. There were no sex distinctions made except that articles of possession pertinent to that sex were included with the body: the house of the deceased was burned. The surviving women cut their hair short, to ear length, and according to some, smeared their faces with pitch and pine nut ashes. In Bridgeport I was told that they painted their faces red. Two said that no paint was used: tears on the unwashed faces made streaks. The widow waited for a period before remarrying: the levirate was frequently practiced. Today older Indians still observe a long mourning period, during which playing radios and televisions sets is prohibited: at the grave, the casket is re-opened and bright scarves laid on the face of the corpse: mourners throw dirt on the casket and enjoin the dead not to return.

Economics:

Since land was not privately owned or assigned, pine nutting and rabbit hunting were a group venture, the appropriate times being chosen by Indians doctors in their political rather than religious capacity. Both of these ventures occurred in the fall: deer would be hunted in winter, when they were driven out of the mountains by a lack of vegetation. Hunting was always done with a gun in the lifetime of Corbett Mack, aged seventy-six. Rabbit drives consisted of a group of men in inverted V formation, capturing the rabbits and each keeping what he had killed. Today, cars are used to drive the rabbits. Antelopes were hunted with the aid of a stringed, circular instrument and the use of an imitation antelope call.

Foods used by the Indians in the area included: gophers, ground hogs, squirrels, porcupines, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, wild dogs, sage hen, chukker, quail, grouse, ducks, lizards, suckers, Mono Lake Flies (kucapi), piaki, or pine nut worms, June bugs, tule, Pine nuts, tapoos, buckberries, chokeberries, bulrushes, grass seeds, rhubarb, rose bugs, wild onion, elderberries, clover, currants, mountain rice, squaw Cabbage, sun flower seeds, Indian tea, acorns, and salt (onapi) (Recipes in field notes).

There was no form of currency other than trade beads, salt, and obsidian, and no way of recording information or numbers other than counting by memory.

Material culture:

Clothing: aboriginally, buckskin—aprons or dresses for women, trousers for men, sagebrush sandals for both, cooking baskets carried and worn as hats; rabbit skin blankets as coats for both sexes: Winnemucca is remembered as wearing a headband with a few feathers in the front and back, and Ben Lancaster is recalled as wearing a buckskin suit and braids: this was considered to be quite humorous by the local Indians. Women in post-contact times, wore long skirts, usually six or seven at one time: aprons and shawls completed the outfit. Men dressed as other ranch hands did, even before the women changed to western dress.

Cooking utensils included the opyh, pine nut soup basket, the pa''tu, soup stirrer, the cano and wiha for collecting pine nuts, burden baskets, winnowing baskets, tongs of looped cedar for lifting hot rocks, bedrock or portable mortars, pine-pitched water jugs, and the mano and metate for preparing cardu, acorns, and pine nuts: the flat tu su, and the cylindrical ma ta. Cradleboards of the type still used were common in aboriginal times: willow formed the frame, and the covering was of buckskin: diagonal lines in design marked the basket of a boy, and a diamond shapes for a girl. The basket is called wasu hupa.

Fire was carried by means of a piece of braided sagebrush bark, made with an obsidian flint: doctors were thought to be able to touch the sun with a stick and make fire.

Housing in the Mason-Smith area was of tule reeds, occasionally of willow branches: bunches were tied together with willow bark strips, and a smoke hole was left at the top: sometimes, dried pine needles covered a willow framework. In Bridgeport, they used pine branches, tied to a point at the top of the conical hut, since tules were unavailable.

Gum was made of the juice of the rabbit brush, or of old pine nut pitch. There was apparently no local plant for soap, but in Bridgeport, wynaac, an onion-like plant, was used. Wild parsnips served for poison.

Musical instruments included _____, according to some, the stringed instrument for calling antelopes, and a reed instrument of one note.

Snowshoes were circular, made of a cedar frame, covered either with horsehide or with a matted type of sagebrush.

Pipes were tubular and funnel shaped: tobacco was inserted into the funnel.

Sweat houses were known by only two informants: they were large enough only for one person, and were made of tightly tied tules: no fire was used, since the mere heat of the close quarters caused profuse sweating: the individual jumped into a stream or river afterward, if possible. A man in Sweetwater or Smith had one thirty years ago: he used an irrigation ditch for his water.

More detailed descriptions and variations of these material culture items are included in the field notes.

Current Organization of the Group:

The 130 people in the Colony are housed in twenty-six houses and trailers: one family, that of Ernest Conway, uses both to shelter the twelve occupants of the house. The composition of the households is as follows:

2 houses held 12 occupants;
2 - 10

2	-	9
4	-	7
4	-	5
1	-	4
3	-	3
3	-	2
1	-	<u>1</u>
		130

Chart I.

The age groups range in the Colony as follows:

0 – 10	-	37
10 – 18	-	27
18 - 30	-	15
30 – 45	-	23
45 – 60	-	15
60 – 70	-	3
70 -	-	<u>2</u>
		130

Chart II

Occupational distributions in the Colony are as follows:

Diamond drillers	2
Ranch hands.....	5
Janitors.....	1
Country road workers.....	1
Meat packing plant.....	2
Labourer.....	1
Retired.....	3
Carpenter.....	1
Dairy work.....	1
Domestics.....	5

Chart III

The 39 people in the Campbell Ranch reservation are housed in seven dwellings, in the following distributions:

		(M)	(F)	
Stanley Rogers	6	4	2	
Lindsay Rogers	7	4	3	
Corbett, Eddie Mack	2	2		
Andy Dick (Valdez)	6	2	4	Chart IV
Frank Quinn	8	4	4	

Ken Richardson	8	3	5
Howard Rogers	2	1	1

Age distributions in the Campbell Ranch reservation are as follows:

0 - 10	9
10 - 18	10
18 - 30.....	5
30 - 45.....	8
45 - 60.....	3
60 - 70	2
70 -	<u>2</u>
	39

Chart V

Occupations are not as easily definable on the Ranch as they are in the Colony: while most of the males engage in ranching on their own land, they supplement their incomes with outside work on white ranches, in raising, training, or transporting horses, and in some cases, in additional full-time work at the local mine or the meat packing plant.

Howard Rogers	ranching, horse training	
Lindsay Rogers	ranching, horse training, meat packing plant, rodeos.	
Stanley Rogers	ranching, horse training, meat packing plant, rodeos.	
Eddie Mack	ranching, meat packing plant	
Corbett Mack	retired	
Frank Quinn	ranching, Anaconda mine (sulphur operator)	
Ken Richardson (white)	Anaconda mine (maintenance man)	
Raphael Valdez (white)	ranching, mine work	Chart VI
Andy Dick	retired, some ranching	
Josephine Rogers	domestic, drives school bus	
Ida May Valdez	laundry worker	

1. Work patterns:

Levels of occupational aspiration apparently stagnate at a particular level among both Ranchers and Colony Indians: Corbett Mack, for example, had never had any other occupational aim in his youthful years than to be a ranch hand, at which job he persisted for twenty-five years, six days a week, a feat nearly unparalleled among the remainder of the Indians, who work sporadically at ranch work, changing employers at the end of a season and seldom establishing any seniority at a position. A local teacher noted that a number of girls are now aspiring to the nursing profession, or that of medical technician: one Colony girl is studying under a scholarship award for this. Others hope to be secretaries, and one intends to be a gym teacher. Boys, conversely, do not yet aim for any of the professions or technical occupations: two local boys

have become barbers, and the remainder enter the Anaconda mine as unskilled laborers. This year, a local boy was offered a considerable football scholarship to an eastern college: he has rejected it, and plans to become a construction worker.

The respected ideal in the Colony, in terms of male occupational aspirations, is Dave Conway, an equipment operator for the county road system: he is considered to be the wealthiest Colony member, and is continuously employed, unlike his fellow residents: only four men in the Colony are employed in work that is not seasonally sporadic: three of the four are Dave Conway and his two sons.

Wage scales for white and Indian ranch hands are equalized, and have been, according to Frank Mann of Smith Valley, since the turn of the century.

White-Indian interaction due to differential occupational roles has led to a change in family structure and inter-familial roles: primary contacts between Indians and whites are frequently accomplished through the female wage earner of the family, who acts as a domestic in influential white households: male occupations center around ranch work and are less likely to result in white encounters. Three women in the Colony function as family heads, due to abandonment by spouses: other women hold similar positions due to the sporadic employment of their husbands in seasonal work. Several Women work to supplement the adequate wages of husbands whose liquor consumption endangers family finances.

A number of women and children are employed seasonally in the summer as garlic pickers: wages from this are usually used by teen-aged children for school clothing: children from even the poorest of families, upon reaching adolescence, can rival their white peers in elaborateness of dress.

Nearly all people both in the Colony and on the Ranch between the thirty-five and sixty year age brackets has attended Stewart and been taught a trade or work of some type: only one, Brady Emm, a carpenter, has chosen to engage in his trained skill in adulthood.

2. Family cycles and interaction:

Thirty-six marriages in the Yerington area have been solemnized by tribal marriage in the past year: these involve couples, who, in the past thirty years, have been married according to tribal law, but who had received no legal recognition. In May, 1964, Johnny Mitchell, grandson of the witch Tom Mitchell, was appointed by the tribal council chairman to officiate at these. The majority of people under fifty years of age have been married in either the former Methodist or the current Assembly of God church in the Colony, or by a justice of the peace, according to Lyon County court records.

Due to the frequency of divorce, which is nearly sixty per cent among Colony Indians, but considerably less among the Indians at Campbell Ranch, the mother usually holds the dominant position in the household: houses are usually referred to as belonging to the wife, regardless of the occupation of her spouse in the dwelling. Grandparents, however, appear to have more authority over the children than either of the parents: four people in the Colony and one on the Ranch are raising their grandchildren in permanent residence. Older children are frequently left to care for younger ones in the often prolonged absences of their parents. Children are still carried in cradleboards, even by Indians who live as economically and socially middle class citizens off reservation. Children are reportedly silent in school, and non-competitive: normally talkative children are reticent in the presence of parents. Discipline in the Colony appears to be nearly non-existent: however, the daughter of one divorced working mother has become so aggressive in her relationships with boys that other parents have forbidden their daughters to associate with her. Children on the Ranch are punished by deprivation of privileges, such as being prohibited from swimming. Girls are punished more frequently than are boys.

3. Education:

In a census that includes 373 people, fifty-one between the ages of thirty and fifty-five were selected for a comparison of educational experiences: twenty-six males and twenty-five females. The following chart indicates the number who completed each given educational level:

Chart VII

Education	Males	Females
None	XX	XX
2 nd	X	
3 rd		X
4 th	x	
5 th	XX	
6 th	XXX	XXX
7 th	X	X
8 th	XX	XXX
9 th	XX	XXXX
10 th	X	
11 th	XX	XX
12 th	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX
College		
1		
2		x
3		
4		

Educational Levels – Colony and Ranch

Today, both Colony and Ranch children attend the local public schools, and the majority of them complete twelve years: the greatest cause for non-completion of school occurs among high school girls: the birth of illegitimate children. The level of education completed is highest among the residents at Campbell Ranch: nearly all of the eight children of Howard Rogers, for example, have graduated from high school.

4. Social Control:

Leadership, according to informants, was seldom formalized in the past, other than in the form of Indian doctors: today, what little enforcement that can be enacted is in the hands of the tribal council, which comprises the formal, non-white jurisdiction in the Colony and on the Ranch. Social control, therefore, is primarily through the medium of public opinion, which is occasionally brought to bear upon an individual through the quasi-official sanctions of the council: petitions have been reportedly circulated in moves to oust persons of poor repute in the Colony: usually, however, they are ostracized, as in the case of Margaret and Eddie McCloud, who are currently excluded from all family and Colony activities.

Criminal arrests in the Colony far exceed those on the Ranch: it is not considered disgraceful or even unusual for even staid matrons to be arrested for drinking or disturbing the peace: it would, however, be socially blighting to be accused of dishonesty or stealing, other than cases of car theft. The police and sheriff's office are on excellent terms with the Colony: illustrative of this is the fact that public reaction among the Indians to several cases of police brutality by the Chief of Police, in conjunction with Indian arrests, has led to his dismissal effective September 1, 1964.

There is no ostracism of known criminals: Reeford Pitts, a convicted murderer, circulates freely in the social life of the area: Stanley Rogers, who is widely suspected of the murder of his wife's well-liked cousin, was thereafter elected chairman of the tribal council. Social deviants, however, are restricted in their interaction: Stanley McCloud, a crippled and stunted homosexual with a defacing birthmark, lives alone and is seldom included in the social or political activities of the group.

5. Structural Interrelationships:

Colony-Ranch interaction is severely limited due to discrepancies in social and economic class: Ranch members have a position of high respect among the white

citizens; only Nellie Emm and Pauline Roberts can claim a similar position among Colony members. Colony residents, labelling Ranchers as usurpers from Smith Valley, resent the supremacy of the latter on the ? council, five members, in comparison to the Colony's prescribed two. Ranchers describe the Colony dwellers as former Ranchers who failed to make a success of their farming enterprise: this is true of the elder Conways, Harry, Dave, and Richard.

White-Indian relationships are reportedly excellent, according to white informants, and extremely discriminatory, according to Indians. Henry Fredericks, for example, uses as an illustrative fact the argument that in every draft, a highly disproportionate number of Indians are called: in the case of World War II, newspaper listings of draftees indicate that this can be substantiated. (for an analysis of news references to Indians in Mason Valley, see "Yerington" in field notes.) Differential treatment in hiring, public service, and arrests has been significantly modified in the past decade, attributed by some to the influx of outsiders at the time of the Anaconda mine establishment.

Indian-half-breed interaction is dependant less on "blood" composition, since only seventy-five of 373 on the census claim to be full-blooded, than it is on cultural retention of Indian custom and mode of living. Corbett Mack exemplifies this dichotomy of half-breed treatment: having lived within the Indian group throughout his life, he is accepted by peers as an "Indian"; Henry Fredericks abandoned reservation life after attempting residence on Campbell Ranch for several years: he has achieved a middle-class standard of life off-reservation, and is excluded from Indian activities.

6. Age-Groups:

Today, the only youth groups that can be formally delineated are those with church affiliations: even the Little League team is church-sponsored. Although several children on the ranch belong to the local 4-H group nominally, they do not participate in the social activities, such as the recent two-week camping trip that 4-Hers made. The church group for girls in the Missionettes, led by Reverend Erickson's wife, for girls between seven and seventeen, divided into junior and senior divisions. This is of all Indian composition and provides for scriptural readings and limited social activities. The few Indians between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five participate sporadically in local white social activities, although the frequency lessens with the number of years out of high school. A number of the middle-aged Ranch people have joined interracial bowling teams: the greatest source of group participation for this age group, between forty and sixty years old, is activity on the tribal council, all of whose members fall within this range. Tribal rules permit the election of anyone over twenty-one years of age: thirty-five, however, appears to be the informally-established minimum. Attendance also appears to be classified within this age bracket, with only four regular participants being between thirty and thirty-five.

Elderly people do not associate in groups: Andy Dick and Corbett Mack, although living in close proximity, and being on good terms, seldom see one another. People past the age of seventy do not appear to be well treated or consulted in matters of import; they are excluded from most conversations when younger people are present.

7. Intersexual Relations Outside the family:

My information on sex education is restricted to that directed toward girls: it is given by the mother, usually, and consists of a body of misinformation passed on for several generations: it appears to be common knowledge that this information is false, but the mother bestows it upon the daughter in the usually vain hope that it will frighten her into an avoidance of sexual contacts with men.

Courtship today appears to follow accepted white patterns: economic deprivation precluded the range of activities and gifts that usually accompany white dating. Indian children for this reason appear to begin dating later than do white children, who in this area begin at the age of twelve or thirteen for girls, and a year older for boys: however, Indian girls marry younger than do white girls, often at fifteen or sixteen their spouses, however, are older than those of white girls.

Parents have no choice in the selection of the offspring's mate: in this particular area, however, this was also true since aboriginal time. Social sanctions prohibit close cousin marriage, although these are frequently contracted: children of these marriages are thought to be weak-minded or physically abnormal.

8. Ritual Interactions:

Ritual relationships have been established in the form of uncle, aunt, cousin-brother, and grandparent relationships: these are used for purposes of genealogical clarification, as well as utility: it is an adage among these Indians that one who wants something of another will suddenly become a close relative of his.

Indians in Yerington claim to be related to each other in one vast, indefinable system of ties: while initially, I was suspect of this conception, it has developed that every Indian in Yerington can be linked consanguineally or affinally with every other Indian (see genealogy), and ancestry can be easily traced back as far as the three historic figures at the last-century battle of Fort Churchill: Horseman, grandfather of Corbett Mack; Winnemucca, great-uncle of Stanley McCloud's father, and Chief Joaquin, Hazel Quinn's great-grandfather. All local Indians also claim ties with Jack Wilson, usually attempting to make them closer than in actuality.

From these links fictional relationships have been established: a cousin of one generation ascending from ego becomes an uncle or aunt: a great aunt becomes a grandmother, etc. In this way, genealogical ties are maintained without extending the family relationships beyond the bounds of easy comprehension

9. Social Stratification:

The families headed by Stanley and Howard Rogers, and Raphael Valdez on the Ranch, and by Dave Conway, Clarence Brown, and Chester Smith in the Colony are considered to be the most socially prominent: the criteria for Ranch leadership appear

to be a moderate income, participation in both white and Indian social activities, and position on the tribal council: Colony requirements are a record of sobriety, and a steady occupation. Ownership and wealth preference scales indicate discrepancies in values between Ranch and Colony members: Colony residents rank cars, clothing, travel, and education, in that order, when asked how they prefer to allot their money: Ranchers listed cars, education, clothing, and travel, in that order. Church participation appears to have some correlation with class standing: the most socially influential people appeared at church during the week of the Indian revival meetings in greater numbers, and with greater regularity.

2. The Political and Religious Implications of Shamanism in Yerington and Smith Valley: the Historical Position of Jack Wilson—Wy”kotyhi

The peculiar geographic and historical position of Mason Valley, near the belligerent Washo border and in a mining area rife with military raids centered around Fort Churchill, resulted in a nativistic-religious-medical phenomena personified by a continuous line of fifteen shamans, which had repercussions or genealogical lines, kinship organization, political, economic, and social activities. Since shamanistic practices, until the recent past, found fruitful reception in Mason Valley, much of my ethnohistorical material had as its focal point the activities of shamans or “Indian doctors”, the most notable being the Yerington Paiute, Jack Wilson, whose corrupted Indian name of “Wovoka” is familiar in conjunction with the title given him by author Paul Bailey: “The Indian Messiah.” Since many of his descendants are still living in the Mason Valley area, the potential for obtaining first-hand information concerning him was great: several, however, have made vows never to discuss Wilson, and the attendant difficulties in this type of situation have left my material with conflicting attitude studies, and some patently false information. Enough material was gathered, however, to supplement the meagre information now available on Wilson, and to challenge some of the Ghost Dance theories projected by Lowie in his *Primitive Religion*.

The relative success of Indian doctors in Yerington, unlike the apparently poor position that they held in Schurz, might possibly be traced to four factors: the geographically isolated position that Yerington has, surrounded by mountains on three sides; the high incidence of disease due to white association; the lack of free hospital facilities comparable to those of Schurz; and the nativistic tendencies that arose as a consequence of the massacre at Fort Churchill and the minority position to which the Indians were relegated during the mining booms of the late 19th century.

While most of the present-day Indians travel the twenty-five miles to Schurz to obtain medical aid, many others neglect their medical needs, use a combination of white and Indian medicine, or seek treatment at the local county hospital. George Romance, medical social worker at Schurz, believes that the use of Indian cures and the enlistment of Indian doctors varies inversely with the distance from the Indian hospital: this, from the comparative situation described to me at Schurz, is apparently true.

Disease, possibly due to the influx of white miners during the gold strikes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, has been a constant threat to the Indians of this area: in 1874, they were reported as being “afflicted with a loathsome disease” in the Mason Valley News of July 9, 1874.

In the 1920’s and 1930’s, tuberculosis was a frequent cause of death among Indians, and in the same period, outbreaks of trachoma among the school children frightened the Indian population. Until 1941, the colony consisted of tents and makeshift shacks without running water, light, or heat, and infant mortality was high. Diabetes and heart diseases also appear, even today, to occur in higher incidences among the Indian population.

Fort Churchill, south of Silver Springs, was the scene of numerous Indian-white battles, the most famous being that in which the near-legendary figures of Winnemucca (Tona’ta), Horseman (Puku’kai), and Chief Joaquin, all doctors and cousin-brothers, and all tall men, repulsed the white soldiers. All three were invincible in battle and had supernatural protection against bullets. Magic power was used by Horseman to create a stream of pure water in the desert mountains, and to create a line of fire between himself and the confused white soldiers. Any Indian resident of Yerington can be traced, either affinally or consanguineally, from one of these three heroes. The nativistic movements that were first initiated here culminated in the work of White Feather, who in 1919, decried in Yerington Indian-white intermarriage and the presence of whites on reservations, and that of Jack Wilson, who promised that adherence to his tenets would result in the disappearance of the white man and the reunion with loved ones in heaven.

The first three criteria are still operative today, although the surrounding mountains no longer imply social isolation. The fourth, the nativistic attitude aroused by Indian white hostilities at Fort Churchill, is, in my estimation, supplanted by the emphasis placed on Indian blood and tribal membership in the struggle “against” the government in the land claims cases, and the need for a self-respecting cultural identity and continuity in the face of the discrimination that the Indian community feels as a rejected minority. These phenomena lead in part to a still-fervent belief in the exploits of Jack Wilson, and the current search for a substitute is achieved by some in membership in the Colony’s Assembly of God church, and by a few others in area churches.

Between 1860 and the present, a number of Indian doctors flourished in the Mason Valley-Smith areas: the following chart gives the practicing or residential area of the shaman, and the dates between which his power was considered to be at its prime:

	Schurz	Yerington-Smith	Bridgeport
1860			
1870		Winnemucca Horseman (primarily Smith) Chief Joaquin	
1880		Jack Wilson	Dick Bennett Little Dick

1890	Dr. Joe Dr. Charley
1900	
1910	Tom Mitchell Ben Lancaster
1920	Jim Keno Lillian McCloud
1930	Barney Miller Jack Dalton
1940	Maggie Milton
	Rosie Quartz

While Winnemucca and Ben Lancaster did not restrict themselves to the Yerington area, both did practice there, according to informants. Horseman, Corbett Mack's grandfather, performed not only medical cures but also miracles of a "religious" nature. Dick Bennett, Andy Dick's father, was considered to be possessed of less power, principally because he was given so little opportunity to tap the supernatural resources that he possessed. Tom Mitchell, grandfather of Yerington Indians Ernest Conway, Clarence Brown, and John Mitchell, was, unlike Jack Wilson, not only a doctor, but also a witch: his power was capable of inflicting evil and causing death. By the 1920's, peyote began to infiltrate the area through the efforts of two men: Ben Lancaster, also called White Feather and Grey Horse, and Jim Keno, known as "Hoppy:" these men were differentiated from their predecessors in that their cures were effected through the aid of peyote. However, peyotists made little impression on the Ranch, where they had their headquarters in the house neighboring Andy Dick's, or in the Colony, where Jim Keno later lived. In discussing peyote, people take care to mention that all of Keno's family died from its consumption, and that Lancaster was considered to be a figure of fun. Lillian McCloud, Stanley's father's brother's wife, was a colony doctor, curing through a laying on of hands: she attempted to pass her powers on to a grandson, Vernon Andrews, who no longer practices. Barney Miller, Pypusi, or "Stinkbug", was also a Colony doctor. Rosie Quartz of Schurz, still living, was resorted to in the barren period of the late 1930's and mid-40's when there was a dearth of reliable doctors in Yerington: being a woman, she was especially favored as having additional religious power. Her greatest sensitivity lay in her ability to detect and cure victims of witching, a feat that she performed on Woodrow Wilson, nephew of Jack. Jack Dalton, one of the first Ranch residents, doubled as a doctor and a reservation policemen. Maggie Milton, sister of Jim Keno, present-day resident of the Colony, still has witching powers and is the successor of the past peyotists in the sense that she is a constant user herself, although it plays no part in her cures.

Fifteen doctors, then, formed a continuous series of religious and medical practitioners from approximately 1830 to the present day, a span of 130 years, in the Yerington area.

The criteria for being accepted as a doctor can be deduced from the common characteristics of these fifteen: all of the twelve males were tall, Horseman being six feet five inches, and most were affable, well-liked men, with the exception of the witch, Tom Mitchell: of the three women, physical size cannot be made to show the same correlation: however, all were quiet, retiring women who held themselves

somewhat aloof. All, as far as can be determined, gained their power through dreams or visions, obtained by nightly vigils in caves. All had some prestige among the white populace as being more intelligent, shrewder, and better dressed than their fellow Indians. All had a medium of some type through which their powers were utilized, and had taboos that must be avoided. The males had a certain leadership ability in the men's activities, and frequently delegated authority in organized pine nutting expeditions, rabbit hunts, etc. All accepted or demanded pay for their services. Each had a formalized ritual for curing, although no one of them was a specialist in attending any particular disease or ailment, other Tom Mitchell, who had power to cure would-be suicides who had eaten wild parsnip. All of the doctors named had a peak period centering around middle age: none had notable powers in his early adulthood, and power usually lasted into old age, although both Tom Mitchell and Jack Wilson lost theirs in later life and became senile or insane as a result of this. Dr. Charley, Dr. Joe, Horseman, and Little Dick were killed by the enraged survivors of patients who had died under treatment.

The kinds of cures effected by each doctor, as discussed and listed below, are distinctly separate from those cured by "Indian medicines", which are herbs and plants administered by anyone who would properly pay for them by leaving money on the spot from which they were picked. These were appropriate for illnesses with visible physical symptoms, such as colds or burns: doctors could cure only illnesses that were in the realm of mysterious, indefinable, malingering afflictions, with few apparent physical correlates: insanity and dizziness are examples. The true field of the Indian doctor, however, was that of curing victims of witching.

There are two kinds of Indian doctors: one is merely a doctor, a "good man", who incorporated elements of religion and attempts to promote an ethical way of life based on moral tenets that he promulgates: an example is Jack Wilson. The second type is a combination doctor and witch, who can not only witch people, but, like a doctor of the first variety, can detect and cure victims of witching. Tom Mitchell was a witch-doctor of this sort. A witch doctor, although having less religious power, could on occasion steal an ordinary doctor's power.

Doctors occasionally paired, as in the famous instance, discussed below, when Mitchell and Wilson decided to amalgamate their power and work as a team.

Other functions that all of these Indian doctors maintained were the prediction of a catastrophe or unusual weather phenomena; the maintenance of cultural conservatism through the preservation of superstition and aboriginal custom, the interpretation of dreams, and leadership roles in seasonal assemblages. They frequently served as intermediaries and arbiters with whites, and were considered to be on a preternatural plane between spirits and mortals, interceding with the Indians with the spirits of their mediums, and with the supreme power. Elements of ancient culture-hero tales and mythological figures have become associated with many of these doctors; the white horse in the Thunder tale mentioned previously also appears in recently historical accounts of Jack Wilson's miracles.

The most historically distinctive and really aberrant of the Mason and Smith Valley Indian doctors was Jack Wilson, whose Paiute name, Wy"kotyhi, meaning a cutting or chopping instrument" has been corrupted in historical reference to "Wovoka,"

which has no meaning in Paiute, and which is not known to Wilson's relatives and followers. Wilson has been credited with being the inciter of the 1890 Ghost Dance, which supposedly resulted in the death of Sitting Bull. Yerington Indians know nothing of this, saying that Wilson taught them no new dances or songs, but merely used the ones that had been traditionally used since aboriginal times. The dance that he used in Yerington was the same circle dance that is the basis of the several seasonally-oriented celebrations. He was, however, an excellent singer, and remembered for the beauty that he brought to traditional music. Indians of Yerington are unaware that Jack Wilson is known at any distance outside their valley: his role in the spread of the so-called "Ghost Dance" is completely unknown to them.

Jack Wilson was born in approximately 1861, a son of Nyymytaipo?o or white man-Indian", also called Pa na, and a mother whose name or character no one can recall. Wilson's father worked on the white Wilson ranch between Nordyke and Smith: from this family he took the name that he passed on to his only two offspring: Jack, and Pat, born about 1880. According to the only popular book published on Jack Wilson, Wovoka, the Indian Messiah, by Paul Bailey, Jack was raised by the white Wilson family and was taught to speak and read English by his white "brothers," the Wilson boys. According to the older Indians of Yerington, and the early white residents, Wilson could scarcely speak English: according to Sheriff Claude Keema, his uncle Irving had to read all of Wilson's mail for him. Wilson was not raised with the white family, but merely, in the practice of the day, lived with his own ranch-hand parents in a hut on the employer's land. As a boy and young man Jack Wilson had no particular power, and his brother Pat never did gain any. Wilson fashioned leather articles and ropes to supplement his living as a sporadic ranch hand. Later, he was able to persuade Indians to harvest the little grain that he would plant, and haul it to the white Wilson's mill. He was also frequently given gifts of money or food by Indians who deemed it an honor to visit him. Whites who knew him, including Sheriffs Lee Litell and Claude Keema, felt that he was quite adept at turning a situation to his own profit, and usually garnered the choicest plots of land for pine-nutting.

Jack Wilson married before the age of twenty-two, to a woman whose name local Indians can't recall, and she was apparently not from this area, although she was a Paiute. He had two daughters, Rose and Ida. The former, his favourite, had three children: Andy, Archie, and Inez, and died in her early thirties. His step-daughter, Alice Wilson Vidovich, was the daughter of Wilson's wife and a white rancher, George Simpson: she is a Mormon and refuses to discuss her father's life.

Wilson's father acquired his Indian name from being taken by white soldiers, for a period of time, for some unknown reason: he was supported by Jack, as the oldest son, in his later years, and died, blind, at over one hundred years of age. If it is true, as Lowie claims (p. 193) that Wilson's father was the instigator of the first Ghost Dance of 1870, local people know nothing of it.

Wilson lived most of his life in the Mason-Smith Valley area: he lived for periods of time in a hut near the old mill at Nordyke, dying in a tent in the Yerington Colony 1931, at the site of the modern Assembly of God church. He dressed as other ranch

hands did, although he was frequently pictured in a black suit and hat: for dances, he wore a fringed and beaded buckskin suit and hat with a feathered headdress.

Wilson exerted a considerable political leadership in the Yerington area: he organized the pine nutting expeditions, sending runners and scouts into the mountains, and frequently “speaking for” the group. He was described by most informants as an extremely intelligent, even shrewd man. He also frequently led dances and prayer meetings.

It is interesting to note the amalgamation of aboriginal Indian and Christian beliefs, not only in the mythological Paiute tales, such as the comparisons of Wolf and Coyote with Cain and Abel, but also the very apparent influence of Christianity in the essentially nativistic tenets of Jack Wilson. Wilson preached that there was a heaven, to which all good Indians would go: death was therefore not a cause for grief: he preached that a good life on earth, with acceptance of the inequities of white ways, would result in an Indian land of happiness, in the afterlife. Wilson knew this because he had visited heaven in several trance states that he had. His two major miracles involved to use of both baptismal and communion elements.

Wilson’s most prestigious and famous exploit was the floating of the ice down the Walker River, although there are varying versions of this event. Andy Dick, the oldest Indian in Yerington, had been told that the ice floated down the river on a summer noon, in accord with a prediction made by Wilson. Nellie Emm’s mother, Mattie Paddy, saw the ice fall from trees, to be eaten by the Indians as a communion feast, after which they bathed in the river, as a baptismal rite. This variation is particularly interesting since “Sister Emm” is one of the staunchest members of the Assembly of God Church in the Yerington Colony. Corbett Mack agrees with this account but sees no Biblical analogies. Jack McGowan, a local white resident, now deceased, reportedly once told a neighbour that his grandfather, one of the white Wilsons, had aided Wilson by floating the ice down from a higher point on the river: he also once dynamited the river, and the flying fish were attributed to Wilson.

Both of Wilson’s two major miracles involve a prediction of the event: his second publicly witnessed supernatural feat occurred, as prophesied, on the fourth night of a five day dance (the number is typical of Ghost Dances) when a white horse came slowly over the mountains, through the air, in close proximity to a large white cloud. The cloud was seized by Indians and eaten, after which bathing in the river again occurred: the horse was eventually returned to his heavenly home.

Wilson also effected a number of cures: his medium was apparently eagle feathers, and his cures were accomplished, like most, by a laying on of hands; however, informants recall distinctly that he also “prayed to God”; accounts of other doctors say that they chanted or dance or made conspicuous use of their medium, such as the prominent smoking of tobacco.

Wilson’s indefinable power, which cannot be traced to any specific source, and which was the basic cause of his position of leadership, was taken from him by Tom Mitchell: although Wilson was considered to be a “smart man”, he was deceived and overpowered by Mitchell, who suggested that they pool their power and have double curative agents for the Indians: Wilson agreed, and Mitchell then seized all the

power. Wilson rapidly became senile, and died shortly thereafter, in 1931, although people still sought him for curing until immediately before his death. Mitchell, who had witched most of the local doctors, soon lost this double power to Ben Lancaster, thus bringing to an end a flourishing era of Indian doctors.

Wilson, in Biblical fashion, predicted an earthquake upon his demise: this came to pass, as an indication of Wilson's power, according to informants, although the Mason Valley News reports no tremors in 1931.

The effect of Wilson's death was tremendous on the local populace: frequently, before, Wilson had entered trance states and had communed with the dead in heaven: this time, however, he made no such claim prior to his unconsciousness. People refused to believe that a man of such power could be dead: Nellie Emm said that both she and her mother still believe that Wilson is alive, but is waiting for some opportune moment to appear.

The attitudes toward Jack Wilson were quite ambivalent: white informants, except for two, felt that, while Wilson's seeming chicanery was admirable in its success, he nevertheless exploited the Indians in his reception of gifts, money, and food. (Whites, however, were unaware that it was a standard practice for a doctor to be paid.) Many of the local whites apparently ridiculed Wilson, several claiming that they had helped him in the performance of his miracles. The widespread reading of Paul Bailey's Wovoka has increased the impression that Wilson was a charlatan, and has caused great resentment among the Indians. Two white informants felt that Wilson took positive, although ineffective, action against fear and disease, and that this in itself was a source of solace and well-being to ailing Indians: one of these informants was an eighty-five year old man who knew Wilson personally.

Little attention was paid to Wilson's passing among the white populace: no note was made in the local paper, although, by 1931, names of prominent Indians were occasionally found in obituaries: few white residents can recall when he died.

Local Indians, however, have a strong feeling for Wilson: most claim him as a relative, and do so accurately. There is still a strong belief in his power, and somewhat of a reluctance to discuss him with outsiders.

Clothing of Indian doctors in general appeared to follow no rigid styling: Winnemucca Naci is recalled as wearing buckskin and a band headdress with several feathers: Horseman dressed similarly. Later, doctors such as Jack Wilson wore such regalia only on special occasions: the only doctor that I knew personally, Maggie Milton, sister of Jim Keno, wears the standard clothing of an elderly American woman; she wears, in addition, a scarf that nearly covers her face.

The clothing of both Winnemucca and Horseman, and later, of Wilson, was supposedly proof against the bullets of white men, contrary to the opinion of Lowie in Primitive Religion. (p. 195.) Horseman, however, was killed from a bullet from his own gun, fired by his grandson.

Each of the doctors had a medium, or receptacle of power (see chart at end of section 2) through which he was able to effect his cures: the most common, apparently, was the use of water babies, small, baby-faced spirits with long black hair who could be seen only by doctors: Winnemucca, Dick Bennett, Little Dick, Dr. Charley, and Jack Dalton all used them: they also appeared to Dick Bennett during several crises of his life, with bits of sage advice. Jack Wilson and Tom Mitchell both used eagle feathers, the latter also using deer hooves, too. Lillian McCloud used tobacco, which she smoked continuously while curing.

Power was usually obtained from visiting a hill cave, such as the hollowed rock muhanu, at Dayton, where Tom Mitchell went. A man received his calling in a dream: usually more intelligent men received this call. The doctor spent several nights in a cramped position, listening for ritual songs and signs that indicated specific types of cures. A big rock inside a cave on McLeon Hill (see field notes photos) was used by local doctors: this cave was also known for its ability to give supplicants babies.

Ritual for Indian doctors was common to all in the area: chanting, circle dancing, and the use of a rattle constituted the basic pattern, and the conspicuous use of the doctor's chosen medium. Cures were often accomplished by the doctor's sucking on the affected part, drawing out blood (which was carefully buried to avoid evil influences using it to harm the owner) and a small object was produced that was said to have been the agent of illness. Laying on of hands was also frequently used. Rosie Quartz bit the patient on the back: Winnemucca used a long hollow bone, one end of which was placed in the upraised palm of the patient, the other in Winnemucca's mouth. Jack Dalton sang and danced until water babies appeared and danced over the sick person. George Romance of Schurz, a medical social worker, has been told of a cure in which the practitioner manipulated the neck of a paraplegic in combination with prayer, and cured her: this is the only report of bodily manipulation that I encountered. Usually, the ritual encompassed a prescribe number of nights, the number being told before the cure is begun.

The types of cures performed, as discussed above, included mostly ailments which apparently had psychosomatic causes, or which had no visibly distinct physical symptoms: the chart at the end of Section 2 give illustrative material concerning the nature of the disease, the kind of cure, and the plant type, if a vegetable remedy were used. Those on the left have an Indian medical cure: centrally listed diseases have both, except in the case of cancer, which inclusion is due to a present-day cure by Rev. Wesley Erickson of the Indian Assembly of God church, who cured Nellie Emm through a laying on of hands. Smallpox had no herbal cure, the prescribed remedy being the avoidance of all medicine, except the prayer of doctors. Those on the far right can be treated only by white medicine: they are white diseases. The confusion of one disease with another can result in serious complications: tuberculosis and respiratory diseases are Indian ailments: the sole application of white medicine can be fatal. Indians frequently resort to all three methods of curing simultaneously.

Woodrow Wilson, nephew of Jack, was cured of owl visions by an Indian doctor: his wife suffered from unconsciousness and shaking, and was likewise restored. Stanley

McCloud was cured of a headache by Tom Mitchell, who, without breaking the skin, sucked blood from his head. Other cases include that of a boy who was dying of a respirator infection, and who, according to hospital authorities, was completely cured after visiting an Indian doctor.

Witching was a frequent cause of illness among the Indians: if one broke one of the many taboos associated with doctors or with the normal procedures of daily life, one might expect to be witched; a child throwing pine nuts would be stricken; one pointing or staring at Tom Mitchell would undoubtedly be witched: Woodrow Wilson, suspected of incest with his sister Sadie Pete, was witched by a woman in Nixon, who caused his owl visions. Dick Bennett was witched when the wife of his employer, a woman with a deformed hand, forced him to sign an X to a contract. Nellie Emm's paternal grandmother was an evil woman who lived in the bushes and who would witch anyone who looked at her. Horseman once witched eleven people in one week, causing the death of all of them, because they refused to lend him money.

A witch doctor would seldom tell the intended victim of his fate, for fear that another doctor would counteract the spell, or that the victim's relatives would seek revenge. Therefore, no one could ever prove that a particular person had witched him: he merely suspected. A witch, however, was not a persecuted person who was innocently cast into his role: he was self-acknowledged, and used his power publicly. A witch, according to Henry Fredericks, has no control over a half-breed person, or a white: he maintains that, being half-white, he cannot be witched.

Horseman was killed by his own grandson, Pat Hoy, for failing to cure Hoy's sister: an owl roosted in the chimney at the time of his death. Prior to this, he had been shot by a man in Dayton whose wife had been witched: however, he sucked his own wound and cured himself. Even Horseman's relatives were relieved at his death. In Wellington, a doctor was killed for poor treatment, and after his death, the patient revived. In 1920, Doctor Jim McGee was shot and killed by Sam Weathers when the latter's sister died: he received no punishment under Indian or white law. In 1914, Jack Bennett killed the superintendent of the Indian hospital at Schurz when a wife or daughter died there under treatment.

Attitudes to Indian doctors vary widely: many Indians refer to them indiscriminately as "witch doctors", not necessarily in condemnation: only one Indian, college-educated, informed me that she had had no faith in Indian doctors. Others felt that the cosmic and supernatural makeup of the universe has recently changed, so that while their work was useful and effective in the past, it is no longer appropriate. Most local whites do not comprehend the position of Indian doctors: from the esteem accorded them, they assume that these men were "chiefs" or political leaders.

Since Indian doctors did not use the herbal and vegetal remedies that Indians commonly used for cures, they cannot actually be regarded as medical practitioners: their cures were effected in priestly fashion, through the aid of preternatural, intermediaries who interceded with the supernatural for them.

In the Yerington area, no person other than an Indian doctor or witch has held any position of formal leadership for the past one hundred and thirty years: the seasonal

gatherings to harvest pine nuts were led by doctors: there were no “rabbit chiefs” in the region. A doctor might be consulted as to the most appropriate time for hunting, and any one of a number of men might then lead the hunt. This, however, was not one of his religious functions: he, through the respect and power that he could command, was able to obtain the services of workers who would scout the area for rabbits or fruitful pine nut groves.

Doctors, would, however, fulfil religious functions at dances, especially at Pine Nut Dances: if the thanksgiving for the annual harvest was improperly done, the staple crop of the area would fail the following year.

There was little justification for a strongly structured hierarchy of leadership in the aboriginal situation: land was held in common, with no boundary disputes in the internal group: subsistence level was low enough that only small bands could survive, led by household heads. Mores could be easily enforced by group opinion.

Today, Indian leadership follows a similar pattern: although doctors no longer lead the formal activities, the personality types that their successors exhibit are similar: affable men of no great aggressiveness, since neither then nor now was a domineering, forceful personality required by the situation. People who would be classified as natural or potential leaders in western society are ignored in favour of agreeable, quiet men, who simply serve as figureheads. This can be seen in the selection of the tribal council members, although it should be mentioned that not only do these exhibit the characteristics discussed above, but they also have steady occupations, and maintain good relations with the white community.

The potentially biggest position of leadership, I feel, would be the pastorage of the Assembly of God church in the Colony: however, this position has been held for the past year by a white minister, Reverend Erickson. There are several reasons why this form of church, rather than another denomination, was chosen first, there is little formal leadership in Assembly of God churches, and much participation by the members: there is provision for control of the morals of members by force of public opinion, since public denouncements of the sins of a neighbour are not at all uncommon, The trance state that many witnessed in Jack Wilson have been compared by some with the experience of glossolalia, found in this church. The monotonous chants and repetitive side-steps of the aboriginal dance find modern-day expression in the steady hand-clapping and foot stomping accompaniment of the simple, rhythmic hymns. Most notable, however, is the method of curing that the

Assembly of God church uses: a laying on of hands, accompanied by a prayer, reminiscent of the “doctor” cures.

Robert Lowie, in his *Primitive Religion*, bases his theories of Ghost Dance adaptations among the Teton Dakota on several assumptions about Jack Wilson that I feel to be inaccurate, or at least in conflict with the reports of a good number of my

informants. He refers to Jack Wilson as *Wovoka*, which was never used in this area, and which does not mean “The Cutter” in Paiute, as Lowie assumes. (P. 191.) Wovoka supposedly had five songs given to him by God on a visit to heaven: no local Indian recalls this aspect. It is true, as Lowie says, that Wilson’s dances lasted five days, according to his descendants. Informants deny that Wilson pretended to be Christ (p. 192); he was a great man who had powers similar to those of Christ. Wilson’s father, Nyymytaipo’o, called *Tavibo* by Lowie, (p. 193) supposedly initiated the first Ghost Dance of the 1870’s: local people say that this is untrue: he was a simple man who never did anything of note. His name, however, meaning “White man Indian” might possibly indicate that he did associate with white people for some reason. According to Lowie, the Teton “introduced” to the Ghost Dance bullet-proof shirts, which were immune to white bullets: as was seen in this report, Horseman, Winnemucca, and Jack Wilson all had such shirts, and the first two were wearing them in the battle of Fort Churchill, in the early 1860’s.

Lowie claims that animal visions were not part of the Great Basin Ghost Dance complex: a number of local people and their parents claim, however, to have seen the white horse that Wilson brought down from heaven.

“...the Teton Ghost Dance involved essentially the assimilation of a single novel idea, that of the returning dead...” that was supposedly adopted from Wilson: Wilson, however, according to locals, did not preach this: he promised that the dead were happy in heaven and that the living would one day join them there. If the current attitude regarding burial customs and the treatment of the dead is any indication of the attitudes of the mid-nineteenth century toward the same, there would be great fear attached to the return of the dead: a current Paiute burial custom involves a ritual beseeching the deceased *not* to come back. (p. 196)

Lowie remarks that Wilson was the only one among the Nevada “Ghost Dancers” to go into a trance, while individual worshippers among the Teton did so: as seen in this report, all Indian doctors had visions of some sort in this area, many of them contemporary with Wilson. According to Lowie, the Plains had always had the conception of the return of the buffalo, the destruction of the whites, and simply added to this Wilson’s idea of the return of the dead: however, from all information that I have, he never preached this concept. Thus, the one element that spread to the Plains from the Basin did not come from its supposed originator, Jack Wilson. I also believe that he did not claim to have received a new dance from heaven: this dance was used for many years prior to Wilson’s times it was simply the typical circle dance, and was novel only to the neighbouring tribes who had never had it, and who first learned of it from Wilson. (p. 198)

<u>Doctor</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Medium</u>
Horseman	Yerington-Smith	

Winnemucca	Yerington	water babies
Chief Joaquin	Yerington-Smith	
Dick Bennett	Smith	water babies
Jack Wilson	Yerington	eagle feathers
Little Dick	Smith	
Dr. Charley	Smith	
John Craig	Bridgeport	
Tom Mitchell	Yerington	deer hooves, eagle feathers
Ben Lancaster	Yerington	
Jim Keno	Yerington	peyote
Lillian McCloud	Yerington	tobacco
Barney Miller	Yerington	
Rosie Quartz	Schurz	
Jack Dalton	Campbell Ranch	water babies
Maggie Milton	Yerington	peyote

DISEASES AND CURES – YERINGTON AREA

Indian Medicine	Indian Doctors	White Medicine
Colds: <u>tu'ka?a</u> ; <u>mohuduhip</u> : boil and drink juices: <u>to?oza</u> and sagebrush juice, <u>to?oza</u> smoked in cigarette paper	witching visions dizziness	pneumonia appendicitis hernia

tuberculosis: drink hot badger grease, or juice of mohuduhip leaves

burns: pine nut pitch applied; sagebrush juice

wounds: tuakonolki root boiled: juice used to wash: to?oza powdered and drunk, or applied

sore throat: boil sagebrush leaves and drink

broken bones: tie with buckskin

eye diseases: scrape eyelid with arrowhead

rattlesnake bites: tobacco juice rubbed in cut

typhoid: black sagebrush, boiled and drunk

frostbite: wild peach root, boil and soak affected parts

arthritis: ona natyzywapi or kaiiba natyzywapi, boiled and drunk

paralysis

insanity

barrenness

tremors

fearfulness

bad eyesight

headaches

venereal disease

diabetes

swellings: mohuduhip, boil and apply

headache: apply yellow clay

spring tonic: mountain tea

smallpox: red ant boiled, drink juice

carache: insert hot badger grease

toothache: bite cat's ear

rheumatism: hot springs

poison: Tom Mitchell

cancer: Rev. Erickson

4. *

My entrance into the field situation was implemented by the presence of Drs. D'Azeveo, Liljeblad, and Suttles, who accompanied me on two occasions to Yerington, prior to my actual settlement there. On the first occasion I was introduced to Mrs. Josephine Rogers and Corbett Mack; on the second, to the Rev. Wesley Erickson and his wife, the former being pastor of the Assembly of God church in the Colony. Through Mrs. Rogers, I gained entrance to the Colony on the second day of my stay: she introduced me to Nellie Emm, one of the most well-liked and respected of the Colony members. Fortunately, the Ericksons did not limit their introductions to

the church membership, and I therefore met Stanley McCloud, a representative of the Colony factions that is opposed to the council supremacy of the Campbell Ranchers, particularly that of the Rogers family. From these, my relationship branched until I could claim an informant or contact from nearly every social, political, and economic group among the Indian community.

Two weeks after my arrival, I rented a room in the home of Henry Fredericks, a half-blood married to a full-blooded Paiute: this couple, alone in the community, had achieved an average, middle-class standard of living among whites: they were fairly well-educated, well-travelled, and were respected by both white and Indian residents of Yerington.

To counteract the notion, prevalent among the Indians, that I was in Yerington to study the elderly people, and to gain access to the young people, I gave art classes once a week at the Indian church in the Colony, for a group of girls between the ages of seven and seventeen.

Another situation that was beneficial to my work, and that would have been ideal had it occurred during the first or second week of my stay, was my attendance and participation in an all-Indian state-wide revival of Assembly of God ministers and members, held in the Colony church. My main colony informant, Stanley McCloud, was the cook for the free meals served in conjunction with this: several times, I helped him, and since most of the church members took notice of this, and of the fact that I frequently transported elderly people to the services in the minister's bus, they became more receptive to me, and I was able to make a number of appointments and interviews at this time.

Since my special topic has its focal point the work of shamans or Indian doctors such as, especially that of Jack Wilson, I expected some difficulty in my encounters with his relatives and followers, many of whom are still fervent believers in his work: I had been told that his stepdaughter, Mrs. Vidovich of Schurz, was reluctant to discuss him, and I expected a similar response from his descendents in Yerington. This occurred only once, however; Stanley McCloud refused to mention Wilson's work initially, although I am sure that he would have been agreeable to doing so toward the end of my stay: since this was a religious scruple of his, however, I did not persevere.

The use of the state car was a disadvantage in my Colony work, usually: they are on a level of poverty and employment that is familiar with the dealings of the state and its welfare workers, and confused me with this role occasionally, until the week of the revival, when my purpose became more well known. It was an advantage in the work with white informants, who were therefore impressed with the seriousness of my work.

The success of my entrance into the field could have been more easily assured had the purpose of my work been known to the chairman of the tribal council, who, unknown to me, did not receive the university's first notification of my arrival, and was resentful of the staff's attempts to secure the informal permission of the Rogers family, instead.

My rapport with the white townspeople, I feel, was excellent: at no time did I encounter any opposition to my work, or hesitancy to help me. I made a point of visiting each store, businessman, official, and minister, to enlist aid, if possible: I at first hesitated to consult the sheriff and the police department until I discovered that, except for the chief of police, these departments had excellent relations with the Indian community, and several members of long residence were invaluable in their knowledge of local history. The reporter for the local paper had spent four months of intensive research for the centennial edition of her newspaper, and willingly located sources and informants, in addition to lending me her material.

A man of particular service to me was Richard Smith, owner of a filling station: he located areas of archeological interest for me, placed a free motorcycle at my disposal, (in order to reach petroglyph sites, primarily), located Jack Wilson's home, obtained Soil Conservation maps when I was unable to do so, make six plane flights over the Colony and Ranch to enable me to make aerial photos, took numerous aerial movies for me, and is currently unearthing an ancient Indian skeleton, which he plans to send to the university (to my great distress). A second local family, the Compstons, located all the known camping and burial sites in the area for me.

My informants covered a wide range of social, economic, religious, acculturative, and geographic segments of the Indian community, and a similar range in the white, with several notable lacks: I neither interviewed or encountered any male or female Indians between the ages of sixteen and thirty. The greater portion of my interviewing time was spent with middle aged and elderly male Indians. Eight of my informants, both Indian and white, were between the ages of forty-one and fifty-nine; five were between sixty and seventy; one seventy-six, two eighty-five, and one eighty-nine; two white men were between thirty-seven and forty. I had random contacts, as mentioned above, with teen-aged and younger girls. Twelve of my informants were Indian, seven were white: of the twelve Indians, six were men; of the white, five were men. Two of the Indians were Colony residents, four were from the Ranch: one lived in the suburbs of Yerington, three in Bridgeport, one in Woodfords (he was in the Yerington jail, however) and two in Wellington.

Jobs held by these Indian informants varied: three men and three women were retired: Stanley McCloud, crippled, occasionally worked as a janitor: another worked on the county roads, and another was a ranch hand: of the women, one was a housewife, one a domestic and a school bus driver.

The quality of the informants, and their specialized knowledge varied. Stanley McCloud, crippled, stunted physically, with a effacing birthmark and homosexual tendencies, was rejected by his fellow member of the Colony and eager to discuss his tormentors: he was excellent on matters of detail, however. Five informants, Corbett Mack, Nellie Emm, Sarah Dick, Andy Dick, and Hazel Quinn, were extremely useful in the area of ethnohistory: I would unqualifiedly rank Corbett Mack as the most excellent and co-operative of my informants: his retention of detail, of ethnohistorical fact, and of dates, was impressive. Andy Dick was universally classed by the Indians as the most qualified informant: his deafness and inability to speak English considerably limited my contacts with him, however.

Among the white male informants, one was a retired rancher, one a district attorney, a sheriff and his two assistants, and a medical social worker. The women included a reporter and a school teacher. Most of these came from families of long local residence.

My work was most successful, in my evaluation, with Corbett Mack and Stanley McCloud, because I was able to have a sufficient number of interviews with them, of adequate length, to profitably utilize the information that I obtained from them. My work was less successful with Andy Dick, Hazel Quinn, and Howard Rogers: Mrs. Quinn would have been far more agreeable had her husband, Frank Quinn, been aware of the fact, when I arrived, that I was a student rather than a profit-making author. I was never able to interview Howard Rogers: he was never at home on the eight trips I made to his house, and while he was reportedly willing to talk to me, his wife was unalterably opposed to this.

If I were entering this same field situation again, I would make several alterations: I would be certain that the chairman knew of my purpose, just on principle's sake: I would have done more preliminary research among the records at Stewart, and among the Yerington newspapers, continuous since 1872. While I paid informants, thinking that our close proximity would result in my informants hearing of the pay being given at Schurz, I realize now that occasional gifts would have sufficed.

At the risk of incurring the staff's wrath, I would like to point out that many of my relationships were on a friendship basis, and some only incidentally academic: anyone intending to follow me in this particular situation, will be expected by the local residents, I feel, to participate in the Indian social life and in the interaction among whites, since I had set the precedent. Unfortunately, he will also be expected to pay Indian informants.

Upon my departure, I was given gifts by several white and Indian residents, and two "going away" parties: Mr. Fredericks, in whose house I was living, refunded the fifty dollars that I had initially paid him for room and board: this indicated to me that a coldly professional attitude would have been of little use to me in a small town situation such as this.

I was better able to make full use of my field situation because my mobility was not restricted through lack of a car: in addition, I was alone at my field site: there was no conflict about the use of informants, no duplication of information, and no irritation on the part of informants at being overwhelmed by anthropology students. I noticed also that local residents commented on this: a fellow student told Don Tuohy of the state museum that I had requested to work alone: this somehow reached Yerington and several people were impressed by this bit of misinformation.

I would have liked, if possible, to live in the Colony; although white townspeople and many Indians were aghast at this idea, I believe that next year this might be possible, although my mobility at night would be considerably restricted.

Contrary to expectations of mine, being a woman appeared to be a distinct advantage in this field site: for example, my pretended "fear" of living in a town apartment resulted in my being placed in an Indian home.

I had no conflict with colleagues in the field, not because of my stunningly agreeable personality, but because the nearest two were twenty-five miles away and restricted by the use of bicycles, which are not conducive to desert mountain travel. My position in the field was initially doubted by some of the Indians, who could see me only as an author or a welfare worker: Mrs. Rogers and the Fredericks, however, established my identity. The white people saw me as being a researcher somehow connected with the state, and since many of them have Indian lore and artefacts as hobbies, my interest was not considered unusual.

Almost unbelievably, there is no heritage of public opinion about anthropologists in Yerington: one of the most knowledgeable of local men confused the field, in all seriousness, with palmistry. Few could remember the name of the field I was in, and even fewer could pronounce it. The only problem that I encountered in this line was the public reaction among Indians to Paul Bailey's book, Wovoka: The Indian Messiah. There were gross distortions and betrayals of trust in this misinformed book: the attitude that I assumed with reluctant informants was that I was attempting to get the true story, to redeem Wovoka.

I feel that the tasks assigned to me were quite worthwhile, both in this situation, and as a foundation for future work. My completion of the tasks, however, was not satisfactory to me in all cases: the mapping, for example, was difficult to accomplish, since I was afraid of arousing suspicion in the Colony. I feel that it is foolish to try to map the interiors of large numbers of Indian households, since most resent it, and it is extremely difficult to explain to an Indian your purpose in doing this, other than the lame excuse that "my teachers assigned it", thus giving the Indian the impression that the academic world is coming to a sorry end.

Regarding changes in the training program, I would suggest shorter, more concise seminars, with more control by the staff, less wandering from the topic onto incidental trivia prompted by the students, and fewer rambling anecdotes by students who are enamored of their own sites, regardless of the fruitfulness of size of the site, and I would change the list of suggested materials needed; my sleeping bag and canteen remained in the department office all summer, and I went to great expense on materials that I did not need, but that were suggested. Furthermore, I think that the borrowing of some of these, such as compass or engineer's scale from local people, would not only save money but build rapport.

The first week's seminar, which made great stress on Washo linguistics and little less on Paiute, was of no great benefit to me, I feel: this could be left to the second seminar after students have been assigned to a site. I would also require that students have taken linguistics courses before embarking on this program, although I am still not certain of the value of a lexicon of the extent compiled by some students.

The second seminar, when each student described his site and the difficulties attendant on it, was, contrary to my expectations, of no use whatever to me, and from the comments of my fellow students, was as irritating to them as it was to me: a fellow student's half-hour discourse on local land disputes would have been better discussed in private with a staff member, who could then glean points of value to the rest of the students and present them concisely in class. If the purpose of these

lengthy class chats was to acquaint the student with differences in sites, I would like to point out that I learned more from a first-hand, half-hour visit to Schurz than from a tedious, four-day seminar.

A longer summer program, I feel, would be much more beneficial: the entire program, for a pilot situation, was well planned and executed, and the techniques that I learned were invaluable.

Budget:

\$45.00	Oelsner Apartments, month of July 6 – August 6
15.00	food, July 6 – July 20
7.00	dishes and cooking utensils for apartment
9.00	linens
10.00	sleeping bag
2.00	canteen
25.00	informants' fees
15.00	gifts

14.00	film and developing
20.00	writing supplies
12.00	typewriter rent
7.00	stamps
5.60	blueprint material
5.00	cost of blueprinting
42.25	dormitory rent and food (not counting last week)
35.00	food while in Reno
20.00	camera
60.00	tape recorder
10.00	tapes
4.50	gas
8.53	electric
1.00	transcript
5.20	Soil Conservation maps
8.00	medical supplies
10.00	toilet articles
27.00	clothing
3.00	flashlight
4.00	compass
1.00	engineer's scale
50.00	cradle board (souvenir only)