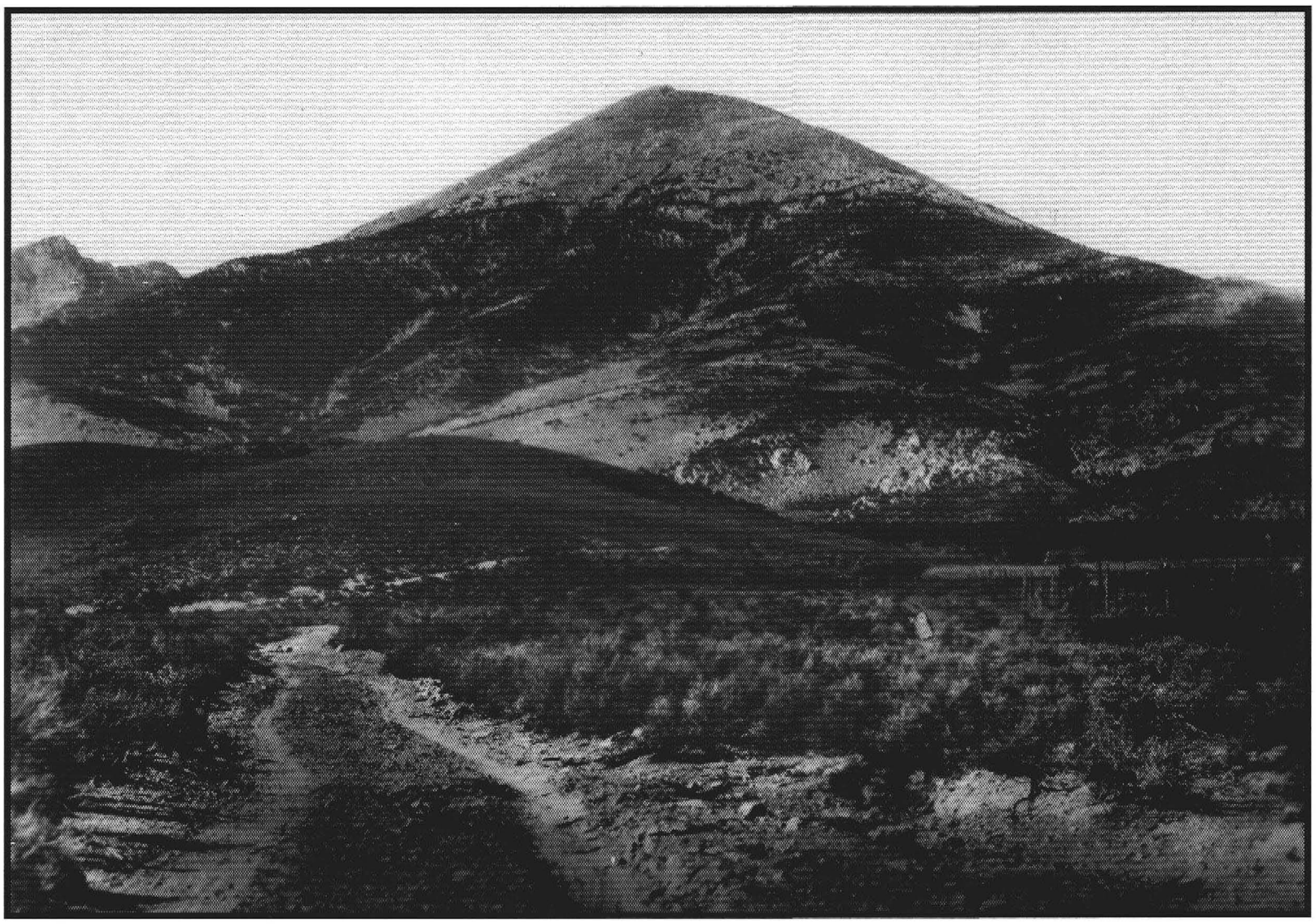
Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly



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Nevada Historical Society Quarterly

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

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Native Americans, the Lehman Caves, and Great Basin National Park

STEVEN CRUM

INTRODUCTION

From the mid-1990s forward, a number of scholars have become deeply interested in the subject of Native Americans and the national parks. This academic interest is reflected in recent scholarship that includes one master's thesis, two doctoral dissertations, five journal articles, and the following three books: Robert Keller and Michael Turek's *American Indians and National Parks* (1998), Mark Spence's *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (1999), and Philip Burnham's *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (2000).[1]

Perhaps the best explanation for the shift to this subject is that it is an area that has been largely ignored by the academic community. For the most part, scholars who have written about Native American history over the years have focused on the Indian tribes and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In doing so, they have bypassed Indian interactions with other federal agencies, including the National Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and of course, the National Park Service.

Combined, the recent scholarship shows that several Native American tribes have had both historical and recent interactions with the federally-run National Park Service. Some tribes used to live within designated park land but were removed by park officials so that the American government could create an "uninhabited wilderness" for the public.[2] Some tribal individuals continue to reside within park boundaries because of their determination not to leave the home of their indigenous ancestors. Some Indian reservations share common boundaries with parks. Some park land lies within the boundaries of some reservations. In short, the recent scholarship shows the connection between Indian tribes and individuals and the National Park Service.[3]

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As for the Great Basin National Park, formerly called the Lehman Caves, it does not fit the pattern described in the recent scholarship. When the American government created this park in east-central Nevada, no Native Americans lived inside the newly designated park area. This does not mean that Indian people had never lived in the region. Instead, the area of the park had previously been the homeland of indigenous people for centuries up to the closing years of the nineteenth century. But because of Indian removal and other factors, tribal people no longer lived inside or adjacent to the designated area. And it was thus unnecessary to initiate Indian removal to make way for the establishment of the Great Basin National Park.

This article examines the earlier Native American history of the area called the Lehman Caves, which is now inside the Great Basin National Park. The first part examines the precontact period up to the mid-nineteenth century. The second covers the period after Euro-American settlement, from the mid-nineteenth century forward. A good part of the study focuses on the native history of Snake and Spring valleys located near the park.

THE PRECONTACT PHASE

One important source for reconstructing the Native American past is the archeological record. Over the years, various scholars have examined human remains and human-made objects left behind by native peoples. These remains give us a glimpse of past times. One of the earliest findings of native existence was based on remains that came from the Lehman Caves area itself. In 1922, the location around the caves became part of the land base of the National Park Service. To encourage public visitation to the caves, the park service decided to improve the area. In 1937, park employees enlarged the cave opening and quickly found human bones at the base of the entrance. Initially, they unearthed two human skulls they "believed to be several hundred years old."[4]

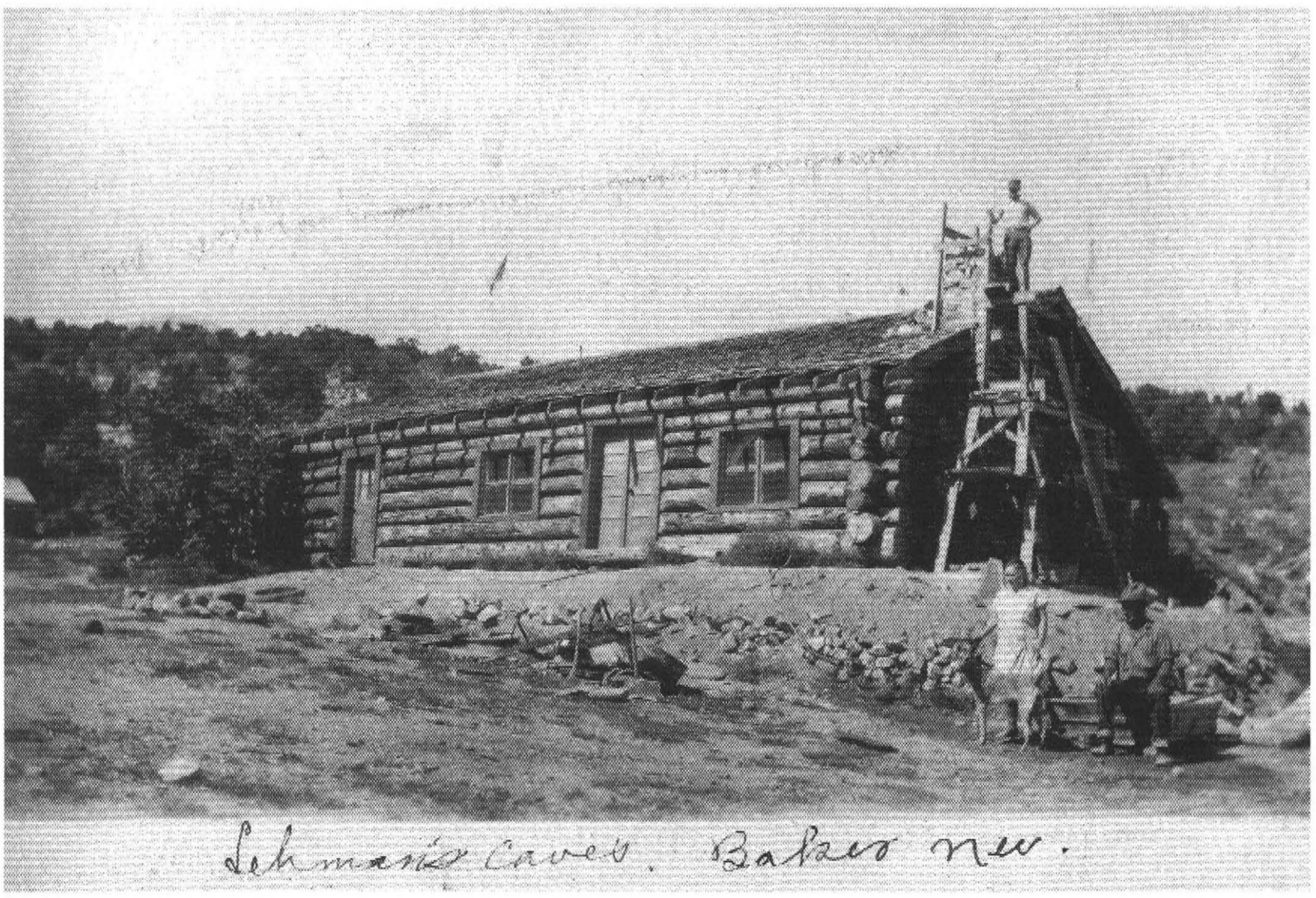
Over the next several months, in late 1937 and 1938, various scholars examined those remains and produced tentative reports. T. Dale Stewart of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., examined the skulls and concluded that one was "Shoshonean" and the other was "more northern." Without doubt, the Smithsonian scholars were referring to the Western Shoshone people living in eastern Nevada. But their rationale for labeling of the other skull as "more northern" remains unclear, for they left no explanation.[5] In addition, M. R. Harrington, curator of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, carried out a separate examination. He concluded that the "roundskull" was of "early Pueblo origin" and the "long skull" was "probably basketmaker."[6] But Harrington never elaborated on the two cultures he identified. Had he done so, he would have specified that the skulls belonged to ancient Anasazi Pueblo Indians who established numerous sedentary settlements in the Southwest and a few even

further north, including the area near the Lehman Caves. Harrington also did not discuss the two time periods he denoted. As to the early Pueblo period, other scholars referred to it as Pueblo I and II, covering the years A.D. 700 to 1100. The Basketmaker period of Anasazi culture refers to Basketmaker I, II, and III, and covers the years 200 B.C. to A.D. 700.[7]

Harrington was both right and wrong in his conclusions. He was correct in recognizing the fact that ancient Anasazi people did live near the caves years earlier. But he also did not recognize the existence of Shoshonean-speaking people who also lived in the area. S. M. Wheeler, a colleague of Harrington, also commented about the remains, concluding that they were not associated with grave sites. Rather, they might have been "thrown in."[8]

For a number of years after 1938, no one expressed an interest in the human remains unearthed in the Lehman Caves. But in the late 1950s and early 1960s, certain officials wanted the area of Lehman Caves to be classified as an official and enlarged national park. This movement sparked an interest in re-examining the earlier history. In 1962, the acting assistant to the regional director of the National Park Service, with headquarters in San Francisco, recapped his knowledge of the area based on the earlier reports. He indicated that the skulls were of two types: "Shoshonean" and "Puebloid." However, he could not put a date on the remains, and stressed that "these burials may be as old as 1,000 years ago, or as recent as 100 years ago." Unlike the previous investigators, this park official pointed out that the earlier Pueblo lived in the area "until around 1200 or 1300 A.D."[9] But he did not indicate what had happened to them. He also pointed out that Paiutes lived near the Lehman Caves area in the early 1960s. On this point he was wrong, for the Paiutes lived farther to the south and southeast, or at least a hundred plus miles away. Rather, it was the Western Shoshone and Goshute tribal people who lived closest to the Lehman Caves at this time. In addition to the park official in San Francisco, some people in Ely, Nevada, located some sixty miles west of the caves, also highlighted the recent interest in the Lehman Caves. The *Ely Record*, one of two newspapers in Ely, included an article entitled "Indians Knew of Caves before Lehman's Find." The article was not based on oral interviews with the Indians but on the earlier archeological reports; it noted that eight human skeletons had been unearthed, a figure not specified in the reports.[10]

This renewed interest prompted the National Park Service to contract with archeologists to carry out a more thorough excavation of the Lehman Caves area in 1963. One year later, with the new work finished, archeologist Charles Rozaire released his findings in still another report that basically confirmed the older findings; but it did have one new conclusion, that ancient Indians had used the cave as a temporary occupation site. This finding was based on eighteen hearths identified inside the cave. These fireplaces of years ago were used for either "light or heat." But because native peoples left behind limited material culture such as tools, arrowheads, etcetera, Rozaire could not provide



Lehman Caves, near Baker, Nevada, 1920s. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

a more comprehensive picture of those who once used the Lehman Caves. Thus he concluded, "Unfortunately most of the evidence bearing on aboriginal man's association with Lehman Caves is negative and inconclusive due to the relatively small amounts of cultural data recovered."[11]

Finally, in 1986, the federal government classified the Lehman Caves area as the Great Basin National Park. The new park status prompted the park service to carry out one more archeological assessment, in 1990. Susan Wells's report, "Archeological Survey and Site Assessment at Great Basin National Park," was based not on further archeological excavations, but on the earlier studies. One interesting feature of her report was the classification of four precontact phases of early Great Basin history: (1) the Paleo-Indian Period (12000 - 9000 B.C.), or the period of the big-game hunters who existed before the end of the last ice age, (2) the Great Basin Desert Archaic Period (9000 B.C. - A.D. 500), the period of hunters and gatherers, (3) the Parowan Fremont Period (A.D. 500 - 1300), the period of the Anasazi Pueblo farmers, and (4) the Western Shoshone Period (A.D.1300 - present).[12] Although this time line helps the reader to grasp a clear picture of the earlier history, it contains some major problems. One difficulty is that it gives us the impression that Western Shoshone Indians were late arrivals into the Great Basin area of the Utah-Nevada border area, that they entered the scene around A.D. 1300. This was not the case, for the Shoshone people had no history or memory of having migrated into their current home in recent years,

not even seven centuries ago, around 1300. Rather, the Shoshone people maintain that they have always lived in the Great Basin area. When the Shoshones encountered the first Euro-Americans in the mid-nineteenth century, they were, for the most part, hunters and gatherers. In other words, their native lifestyle was like that of the so-called Great Basin Desert Archaic peoples who lived in the area from 9000 B.C. to A.D. 500. Thus, the Shoshones have a long history of occupation in the Great Basin area.[13]

Other archeological studies give us an even clearer picture of some of the early precontact native peoples who lived in the area near the Lehman Caves. In the early 1950s, one archeological team excavated the so-called Garrison Site located near Garrison, Utah, and Baker, Nevada, and, of course, close to the Lehman Caves. Having examined this site along the Utah-Nevada border, archeologists identified the people who had lived there as Anasazi Pueblos who grew corn, constructed semisubterranean structures made of adobe walls, and produced painted pottery within the Pueblo I and II periods (A.D. 900 - 1100). These early sedentary dwellers represented the northernmost periphery of the earlier Anasazi culture whose nucleus lay farther south, in northern Arizona and the Four Corners area. The author of the Garrison study indicates that these Anasazi people left this Nevada-Utah area permanently around 1276 when an extensive drought hit the region. They never returned after having lived in the area for some seven or eight centuries.[14]

If much of the Garrison report focused on the earlier Anasazi people, it did not ignore completely the modern-day Indians who lived in the area in the early 1950s. The archeologists contacted the Goshutes living on the Goshute Reservation that straddles the Nevada-Utah border and is located some eighty to ninety miles to the north in Deep Creek Valley. Based on their informal talks with the Indians, they included in their report that, at the time of Euro-American contact, the Goshutes' practice was to place their deceased inside the entrance of cave openings. In addition, the archeological team did not excavate one particular cave near the Garrison site "because of opposition from local Goshutes, who thought that we would disturb their ancestors."[15]

In the early 1970s, other archeologists conducted excavations at Smith Creek Cave near Baker and the Lehman Caves. In the Smith Creek Cave they unearthed old corn kernels and corn cobs most likely left behind by the Anasazi farmers who had settled the Garrison area centuries earlier. They also found painted Pueblo pottery in another nearby cave. Thus the identification of solid material culture (pottery shards, adobe walls, etcetera) gives us a somewhat visible picture of the Pueblo people who once lived in the area but who left some nine centuries ago.[16] The fact that scholars have identified at least one "Puebloid" type skull in the Lehman Caves tells us that some early Pueblos were well aware of the caves.

THE POSTCONTACT PHASE

The archeological evidence provides only an incomplete picture of the precontact indigenous peoples who lived near the Lehman Caves area and it tells us very little about the Shoshone and Goshute people who still live in the larger region. To gain information about the Shoshonean-speaking people and their way of life before, and at the time of, white contact, we must examine the work of anthropologist Julian Steward. In 1935 and 1936, Steward, now regarded as one of the big names in American anthropology, studied the tribal peoples of the Great Basin, including the Western Shoshones, Northern Paiutes, and the Goshutes. He produced several studies, and his *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938) is still regarded as a classic.[17]

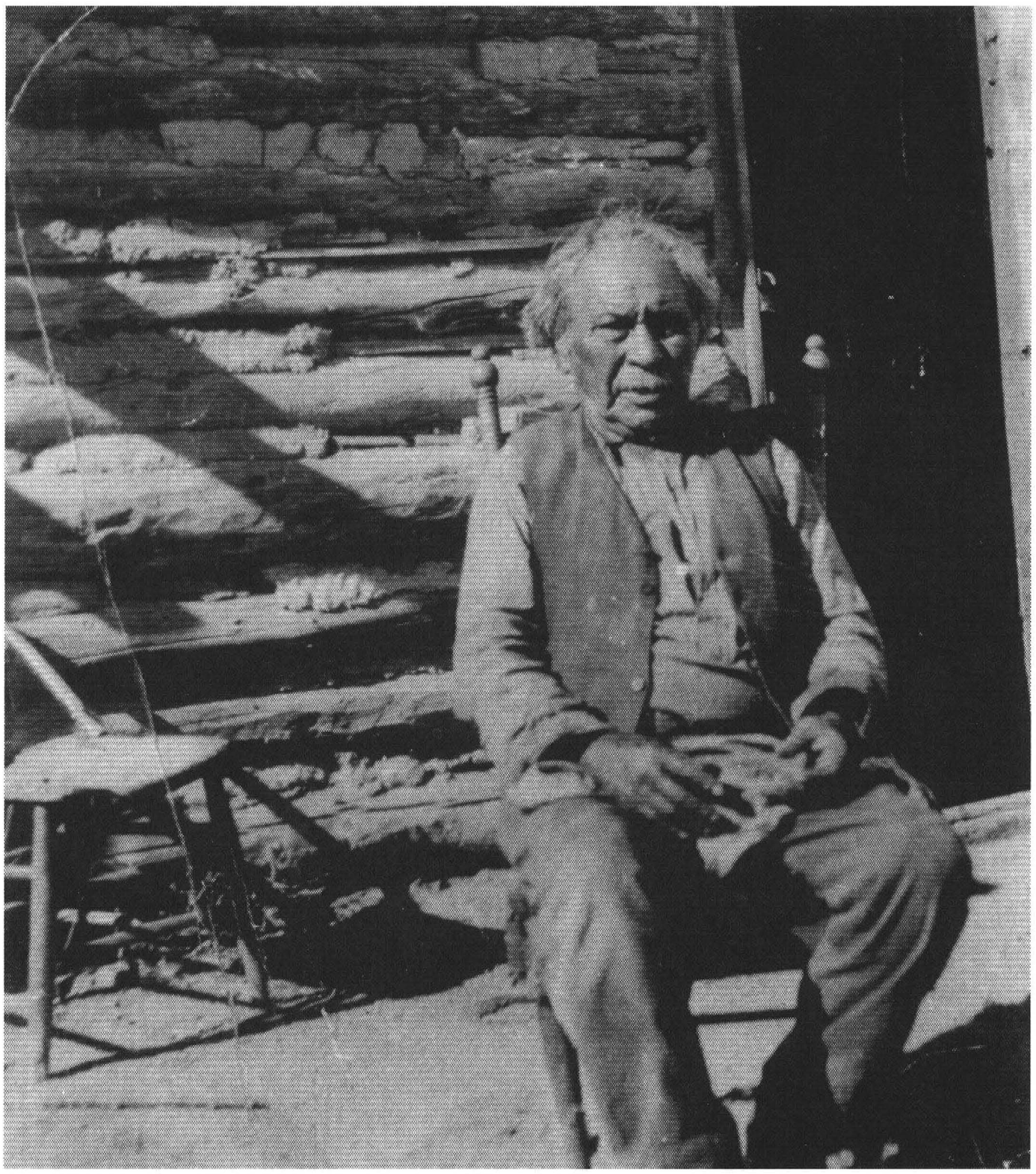
Based largely on field work, including oral interviews with native informants, Steward's *Basin-Plateau* contains important data, especially about the Shoshone way of life at the time of contact. One important finding was the identification of mid-nineteenth-century native encampments around present-day Baker, Nevada, or just below the Lehman Caves area, and in nearby Spring Valley, which lies to the west of Lehman Caves.[18] Although Steward never used the name Lehman Caves in his study, he clearly put the locality within the territory of the Shoshones. He stressed that the Shoshones occupied nearly all of Snake and Spring valleys, but the Shoshones shared the extreme southern ends of both valleys with Southern Paiutes. The Shoshones also shared the southern end of Snake Valley with the Utes, whose primary homeland lay farther east, in central and eastern Utah.[19]

Steward made no distinction between the Shoshones and the Goshutes living in eastern Nevada. He considered both to be one and the same, and not two separate tribes. Here are some of his comments about these peoples:

> Gosiute are Shoshoni . . . Gosiute [or Goshute] are wholly Shoshoni . . . . Culturally . . . the Gosiute were essentially like their Nevada neighbors . . . there is no reason to regard them as fundamentally different from other Shoshoni . . . . Gosiute, who were indistinguishable, culturally and linguistically, from Shoshoni lived in the region bordering the Great Salt Lake Desert.[20]

On the above matter, Steward is essentially correct, for the Shoshones and Goshutes speak the same language (although there are some vocabulary and dialectical differences) and share the same culture. But, because of geographic location and postcontact historical and political developments, the two now view themselves as two separate entities, which will be discussed later in this article. Most, but not all, of the Shoshonean-speaking people who lived in both Spring and Snake valleys until the late nineteenth century are now classified as Goshutes and live on the Goshute Reservation some ninety miles north of the Lehman Caves.[21]

One of Steward's informants, identified only as "JR," was a full-blooded Shoshone who was born around 1880 in Spring Valley and lived in Baker



Antelope Jack was a Native leader in Eastern Nevada until his death in 1928.*(Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints Church Archive)*

and Ely as an adult. JR told Steward that the Shoshones/Goshutes probably practiced agriculture and used irrigation in Snake and Spring valleys before white contact.[22] Although Steward gave the impression that JR was uncertain about his knowledge, JR's information is correct, for the Shoshones/Goshutes did practice small-scale subsistence agriculture before Euro-American contact and in the early years of American settlement in eastern Nevada in the 1860s and 1870s.[23]

Steward never discussed the origins of Shoshone/Goshute farming in his studies, but the Indians' knowledge most likely came from one of two sources. It could have been a carryover from the earlier Anasazi period when the Shoshones and Anasazi were neighbors who had lived side-by-side for some centuries. Unlike the Anasazi, however, the Shoshones had always placed most of their emphasis on hunting and gathering. Some of them, specifically a few living in the Snake and Spring valleys before white contact, could have learned agriculture from the Pueblos. They maintained this practice until the late nineteenth century, when the white Americans entered the scene.[24]

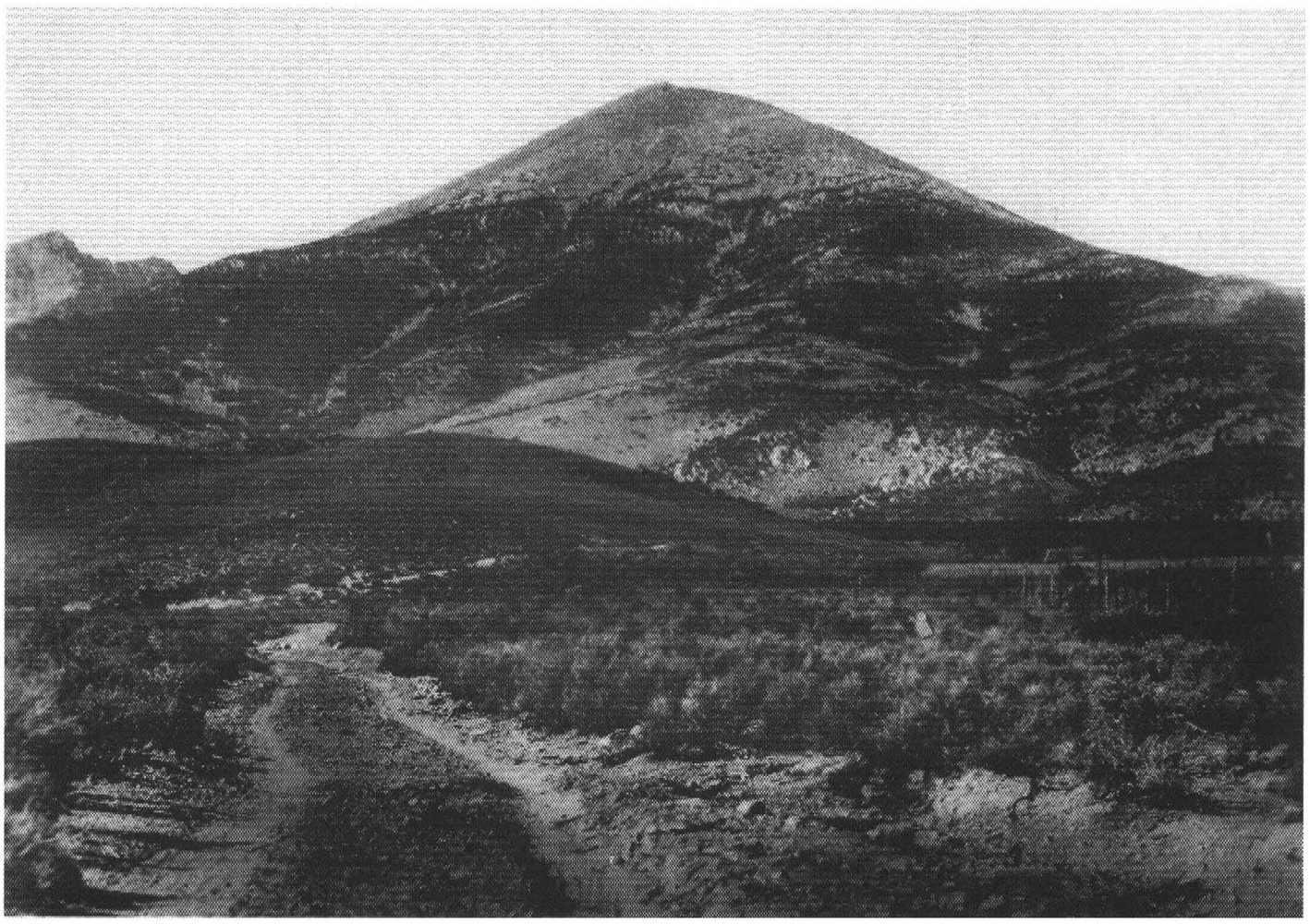
If the Shoshones did not acquire farming from the Anasazi centuries earlier, then they definitely acquired it from their neighbors, the Southern Paiutes. For example, the Spanish-speaking Escalante expedition that explored south-central Utah in 1776 found Paiutes practicing farming: "there were three small corn patches with their very well made irrigation ditches."[25] In 1856, George Armstrong, a federal Indian Bureau agent hired to work with the Southern Paiutes in Utah, found that some Paiutes in southwestern Utah had constructed an irrigation ditch that was "half a mile long, four feet wide, four feet deep, and had been dug principally through a gravel bed."[26] Not until 1859 did a federal Indian Bureau agent, Robert Jarvis, come to the area of the Utah-Nevada border and encourage the Goshutes of Deep Creek to farm.[27] However, Jarvis never traveled farther south to Snake or Spring valley. Thus, the Indians of the area between Deep Creek and the Lehman Caves area never learned agriculture from the Americans. Rather, they had a knowledge of it before white contact.

Besides archeological and anthropological studies, we also have a knowledge of the Great Basin based on the written accounts left behind by nineteenth-century observers who came into contact with the Indians. Captain James H. Simpson encountered Shoshones/Goshutes in 1859 when he crossed the northern ends of both the Snake and Spring valleys while searching for a wagon route that would connect Camp Floyd (near Salt Lake City) with California. In Spring Valley, his expedition identified several Shoshones who wore rabbit-skin clothing, lived in small three-foot-high cedar brush dwellings, and who possessed large woven gathering baskets for collecting roots.[28] Essentially, Simpson described part of the Shoshone way of life as it existed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

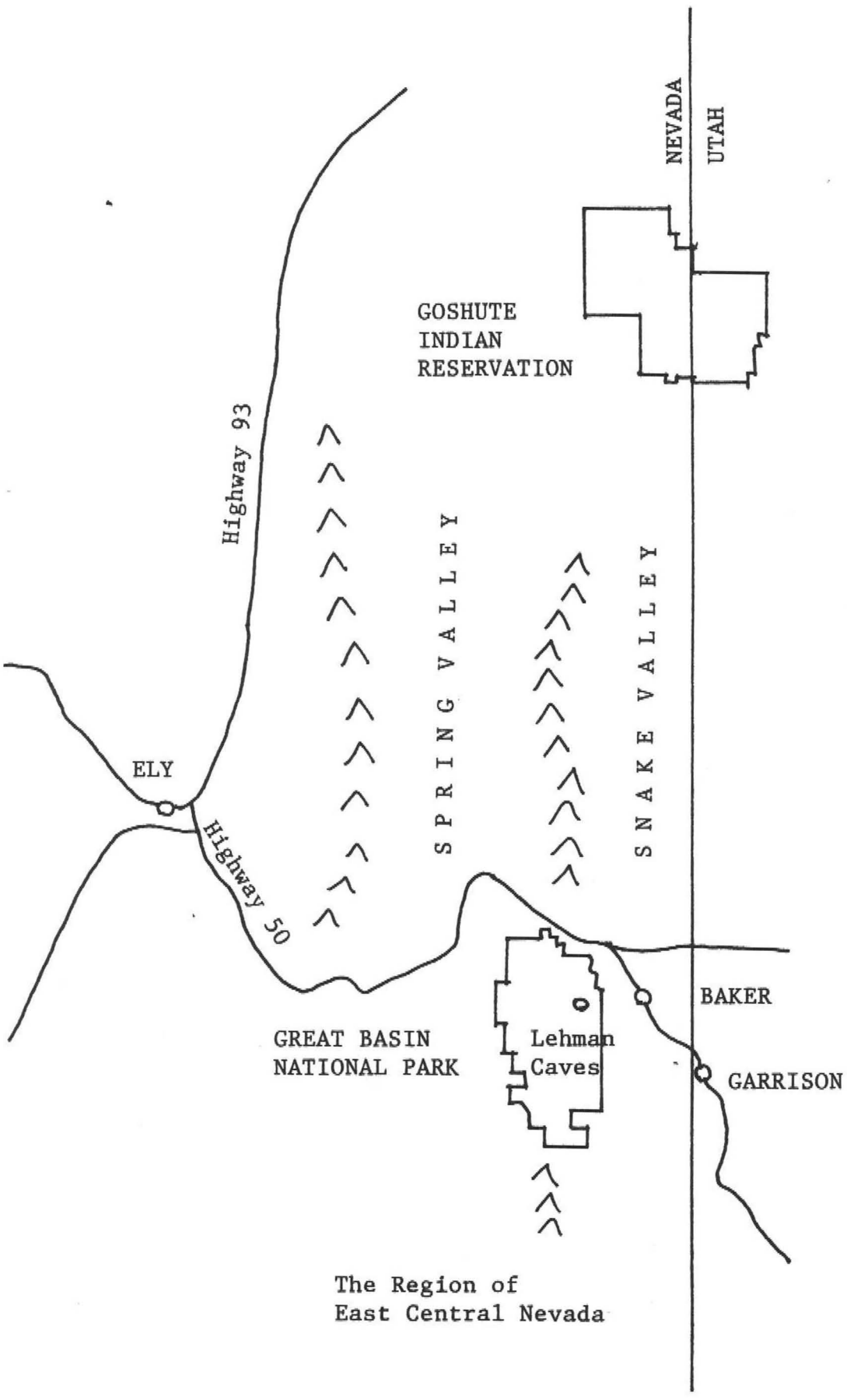
The increasing number of Euro-Americans moving into the Great Basin by the 1860s logically led to friction between whites and Indians. At times the

federal government brought in the military to deal with the Indians. Harboring a low opinion of the Indians, the military conducted some massacres. One such massacre took place in Spring Valley in 1863 when a force led by Colonel Patrick Conner killed a group of Shoshones who were having a traditional round dance. This action was in retaliation for the act of one of the Indian dance participants who had earlier stolen an army horse from a military camp in Steptoe Valley to the west.[29]

To make peace with some of the Indians in the Great Basin, the federal government negotiated several peace treaties with various native groups. It made two treaties with the Shoshonean-speaking people of western Utah and eastern Nevada in October 1863. On October 1, federal officials negotiated the Treaty of Ruby Valley with the Shoshones of northeastern Nevada. Although the treaty was basically one of peace and friendship, it was more than a peace compact, for it specified that the Shoshones occupied a large land base, primarily in eastern Nevada. The treaty denoted the Steptoe Valley (the area of today's Ely) as the eastern boundary of Western Shoshone territory.[30] Several days later, on October 12, officials negotiated the Treaty of Tuilla (Tooele) Valley near Grantsville, Utah, with the Shoshonean-speaking people who would soon be called the Goshutes. The treaty was similar to the Treaty of Ruby Valley, for it emphasized peace and friendship, defined the Goshute territory, and denoted Steptoe Valley as the western boundary of that territory.[31]



Postcard of Mt. Wheeler, ca. 1920. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*



The Region of
East Central Nevada

The two treaties left behind several important imprints. From 1863 forward, the Shoshonean-speaking people of eastern Nevada became divided into two political entitles: the Western Shoshones and the Goshutes. After 1863, the federal government labeled the Indians by these names, and many of the Indians themselves accepted the names and use them today. What must be emphasized, and as Steward pointed out, is that the two were essentially the same people before white contact. A second big legacy of the treaties is that the Shoshonean-speaking land base had become divided along the Steptoe Valley in eastern Nevada. Hence, the government labeled all people in the valley and west of the valley as Western Shoshones, and those east of the valley were labeled as Goshutes.

After the 1863 treaties the government exerted more paternalistic control over the Great Basin Indians. For example, one year after the Treaty of Tuilla, the government told the Pahvants (Utes/Southern Paiutes who traditionally lived in central Utah along the Sevier River) to leave Deep Creek because this valley, near the Nevada border, now lay within Goshute treaty territory.[32] The Pahvants were now regarded as aliens. What the federal officials failed to realize was that some Pahvants lived among the Goshutes because of intertribal marriage. One individual was Peanum, who was the brother of Chief Kanosh. Kanosh served as the principal leader of the Pahvants who farmed land at Corn Creek, near today's Kanosh and Fillmore, Utah. Because their crops were destroyed by grasshoppers in 1869, most of the Pahvants left Corn Creek and settled down on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in eastern Utah and became part of the Uintah Utes.[33] A few Pahvants stayed in or near their ancestral place of Corn Creek, where they intermarried with Southern Paiutes. Still a few others moved westward and eventually intermarried with the Shoshonean-speaking people living along the Utah-Nevada border region, especially in Snake Valley. Peanum was one such individual who married a Goshute woman. Over the years he became recognized as a Goshute leader.[34]

Under the Ruby Valley and Tuilla treaties of 1863, the federal government wanted the Shoshonean-speaking people to become "herdsmen and agriculturists." For this reason the Indian Bureau (today's Bureau of Indian Affairs, or BIA) hired Levi Gheen as "farmer in charge" in April 1869 to teach the Indians how to farm.[35] Gheen taught some Shoshones in eastern Nevada how to grow American-style crops, but he did not have to instruct the Shoshones/Goshutes living in Spring and Snake valleys because of their already existing knowledge of farming. In fact, the same year Gheen was hired, George M. Wheeler, who conducted a federally sponsored expedition through eastern Nevada, identified Goshutes as "raising scanty crops" in Snake Valley.[36]

By the late 1860s and early 1870s, increasing numbers of Euro-Americans, responding to local boosterism and promotion, had settled both Spring and Snake valleys. Perhaps the biggest promoter was the *White Pine News*, the newspaper published in Ely. To encourage more whites to settle in eastern Nevada,

the paper highlighted the excellence of the nearby valleys. In one of the May 1869 issues, its editor wrote: "Spring Valley is quite broad, of unknown length, and contains an abundance of the finest agricultural land in the Great Basin, while the foothills and mountains afford superior grazing land."[37] This kind of promotion brought various settlers into the eastern Nevada valleys. One of settlers was Absalom S. Lehman, who left Ohio and established a small ranch in Snake Valley about ten miles north of today's Lehman Caves. After a short time he sold his ranch and returned to Ohio. He returned to eastern Nevada by 1870 and established a new ranch, roughly a mile below the caves that were later named after him. In 1873, his brother, Ben Lehman, established a dwelling at the place now called Baker.[38]

White intrusion into both Spring and Snake valleys disrupted the Indians' way of life. White-owned cattle ate the natural food sources the Indians had depended on for centuries. The ranchers claimed the water runoff from the surrounding mountains for their own farming purposes. These changes caused the Indians to suffer hard times. Although the Indians continued to farm, sympathetic whites remarked that the Indians were poor. Some turned to wage labor to survive. In 1871, at least thirty Goshutes worked as laborers in a salt marsh located about forty miles south of Deep Creek.[39]

Despite the changes brought about by white intrusion, the Shoshones/Goshutes of eastern Nevada remained within their native valleys and continued to practice small-scale farming. In fact, the largest numbers of Indians lived in the two valleys closest to the Lehman Cave—Spring and Snake valleys. In 1873, Levi Gheen took the first federal census of the Shoshonean-speaking population of eastern Nevada. He identified 150 Indians living in Spring Valley and 200 in Snake Valley, for a total population of 350 living near the Lehman Caves area.[40] Two years later, in 1875, the state of Nevada conducted its own census and confirmed Gheen's figures by identifying 340 "Goshutes" living in Spring and Snake valleys.[41]

Soon after their settlement in eastern Nevada, the white settlers began to feel uncomfortable about living near the Shoshones and Goshutes. They viewed themselves as being superior to the Indians. They regarded the Indians as savages prone to warfare and other bad habits. When the white Nevadans heard accounts of Indian-white wars in other areas of the American West, they quickly assumed that the Indians in their back yards might be preparing for war against them. To justify warfare or possible warfare against the Indians, the whites created so-called Indian scares, or fabricated stories of Indians preparing for war. This development happened in May 1873, when the whites of Ely heard about the Modoc War of northern California. Immediately, the Ely residents assumed that the Indians in the Schell Creek region, east of Ely, might be preparing for war against the whites.[42] Nothing, however, developed from this fabricated account.

Two years later, in September 1875, the whites of eastern Nevada created

another, more serious Indian scare that ultimately led to all the Indians being removed from the Snake and Spring valleys. Called the White Pine War, this conflict started on September 1 when a Goshute named Toby killed a mining prospector who refused to pay him for having identified a mining lode that turned out to be worthless. This incident took place near Mount Moriah, around twenty-five miles north of the Lehman Caves. Albert Leathers, a well-known miner of the region who had escaped the crime scene, started the scare by telling the settlers of eastern Nevada that the murder was the beginning of a large-scale Indian war against the whites. The settlers immediately elevated their anti-Indian stance and murdered three Indians over the next few days. False rumors of Indian warfare led the settlers of Baker, Nevada, some five miles below the caves, to build a moat for protection.[43]

After a few days, when settlers had calmed down a little, they decided to confront the Indians and interrogate them. They demanded that all the Indians in the Spring and Snake valleys congregate at Absalom Lehman's ranch. By September 11, some 150 Indians led by Peanum, Gunister, Duck Creek Charley, and Antelope Jack had arrived. Indian agent Levi Gheen, well aware of white hysteria, disarmed the Indians to satisfy the settlers. The settlers themselves still harbored the false notion that the Indians might be planning an uprising. They therefore asked the Indians some serious questions. "Why did all the Indians flee to the mountains at about the same time?" The Indians replied that they left for the higher mountain elevations to harvest pine nuts, an important food source. Because the nut crops had been poor during the four previous years, the Indians were excited about the 1875 bumper crop. For this reason they traveled in large numbers to the nearby mountains. Of course, around September 1 the whites interpreted the Indian movement and excitement as a case of uprising.[44]

The whites asked another question: "Why did the Indians . . . refuse to work any more [for the whites]?" The question referred to Indians who had become wage laborers on the white-owned ranches of eastern Nevada in the first half of the 1870s. The men worked as ranch hands and the women as house maids, and the whites had become somewhat dependent on Indian labor. The Indians explained that with the bumper crop of pine nuts, they decided to leave their ranch jobs and travel to the nearby mountains. Also, they chose to leave because the whites did not pay them immediately and the wages were meager.[45] A few days earlier, the whites had interpreted the Indians leaving the ranches as a sign of war preparation.

Finally the settlers asked a third question: "Why . . . did the Indians tell the ranchers that the soldiers were coming?" The Indians naturally expressed fear of American soldiers because of Patrick Conner's 1863 massacre of some Indians in Spring Valley. Realizing that the settlers were accusing them of war preparation, the Indians assumed that the whites would call in soldiers, who would conduct another massacre. In fact, one military unit led by Lieutenant George Jaeger did travel to Lehman's ranch to investigate the so-called White

Pine War.[46] The soldiers, however, conducted no military action against the Indians in September 1875.

After the interrogation, the settlers demanded that the Indians find and capture Toby and bring him in for punishment. The Indians thought about the demand and quickly made the decision to bring Toby to Lehman's ranch. They made their decision for two reasons. First, they knew Toby already had a history of unruly behavior. Second, they realized that if Toby were not captured, the rest of the Indians might be punished. After all, three Indians had already been killed after September 1. In the end, two leaders, Duck Creek Charley and Antelope Jack, found Toby at Deep Creek and brought him down to Lehman's ranch as a prisoner.[47]

Levi Gheen, as federal Indian agent, took charge of Toby. However, he concluded that some forty-five or fifty angry and restless settlers might resort to mob violence and lynch Toby. To ensure order, Gheen decided to make a quick trip to nearby Spring Valley and bring in a Nevada militia unit that was stationed there awaiting further orders. He asked Lieutenant Jaeger and his eight soldiers to guard Toby while he was gone.[48]

Once Gheen left, the settlers took advantage of the situation and demanded that Jaeger release Toby to them so they could carry out quick punishment. Jaeger acquiesed to their demand for several reasons. He had concluded that a battle between his small force and the much larger number of well-armed settlers might occur if he didn't release Toby. In addition, he believed that Toby was a "savage" not worth fighting for and that the settlers were "not a mob but the citizens of this country." Therefore, the respectable ranchers of Snake and Spring valleys were deemed fully capable of punishing Toby for the earlier murder.[49]

To legitimize his decision, Jaeger asked the settlers at Lehman's ranch to sign a petition to acknowledge themselves as the punishers of Toby. Twenty-eight ranchers, including Absalom Lehman and Albert Leathers (who had started the fabricated war), signed the statement, and Jaeger surrendered custody of Toby.[50] The settlers seized Toby and hanged him about a hundred yards from Lehman's ranch house.[51] Thus, on September 14, the White Pine War ended for the white settlers of eastern Nevada.

But the fabricated war did not end for the Indians, for the white settlers wanted the Indians removed from the Snake and Spring valleys. Understanding that the whites would make life uncomfortable for the Indians in the future, agent Gheen persuaded most of the Indians to leave their native valleys. On September 16, he escorted some 160 Indians (or those who had congregated at Lehman's ranch) northward to Deep Creek. Along the way, he encouraged other Shoshones/Goshutes to move. Deep Creek therefore became the new home of nearly all the Indians who used to live in the Spring and Snake valleys.[52] Moreover, the two lower valleys became almost void of the larger number of Shoshonean-speaking people who used to live there.

There were several reasons why the whites created the White Pine War to drive the Indians out of the Spring and Snake valleys. First, the ranchers knew that a sizable Indian population lived in the two valleys, some maintaining small gardens. They stood in the way of white economic development, especially cattle grazing. In addition, some white settlers came to believe that the Indians were forming an alliance with the white Mormons, and that the two entities as a unified force would drive the non-Mormons (Gentiles) out of the region. Although Mormon settlers had not yet established a foothold in the Snake and Spring valleys, they had already gained a base in Deep Creek Valley among the Shoshonean-speaking Goshutes/Shoshones who had traditionally lived there. Some settlers in eastern Nevada falsely believed that the Mormons were urging the Indians to conduct an uprising against non-Mormons. Still another reason for the conflict had to do with the settlers hearing about the various Indian-white wars of the far western region in the 1870s, and the predictions that Indian warfare was imminent in eastern Nevada. Of course, the assertions of Indian warfare along the Nevada-Utah border were completely false.[53]

The White Pine War of 1875 was not the last white-created scare of eastern Nevada. Two years later, in September 1877, federal Indian agent Levi Gheen heard a rumor that "the 'Mormons' were drilling and arming the Indians and embittering them against the Government [including white people in general]" along the Utah-Nevada border in and near Deep Creek. Fully aware of the invented war of two years earlier, Gheen did not bother to investigate. Rather, he requested W.J. Friday (ironically a settler of Spring Valley) to visit the area around Deep Creek. Having done so, Friday reported that the local Mormons had not armed the Indians nor had they encouraged the Indians to harbor anger toward the Americans.[54]

In the end, the White Pine War had a marked impact on the Indians, for it almost eliminated the native populations of both the Snake and Spring valleys. In the years immediately after 1875, very few Indians lived there, and the few who remained became invisible. For example, in January 1876, the *White Pine News* reported the following: "What has become of all the Shoshone Indians? . . . Who is to saw our wood? . . . Who is to do the drudgery work for our wives?"[55] Without doubt, the newspaper editor was referring to the ranchers of eastern Nevada who used to rely on Indian labor. Now they had lost that labor force, which now lived farther north, in Deep Creek. Moreover, when W.J. Friday investigated the rumor of "armed" Indians in or near Deep Creek in 1877, he identified Indians living there, but did not report any Indians living in Spring Valley where he currently lived.[56]

Although the Shoshonean-speaking population in the Snake and Spring valleys had been reduced significantly immediately after 1875, some of those who experienced removal gradually moved back to their native places. According to the 1880 federal census, thirty Indians lived in Snake Valley and another forty-two in nearby Spring Valley.[57] According to the 1900 census, twenty-one

Goshutes lived in Snake Valley.[58] Thus, a few persons had moved back. But these small numbers contrasted markedly with the earlier, much larger populations up to 1875. As already mentioned, Levi Gheen had identified 350 Indians in the two valleys in 1873. The post-1880 Indian populations of these valleys remained so small and invisible that a later generation of whites in eastern Nevada wondered if Indians had ever lived there. In 1908, the editor of the *Ely Record* published an article entitled "Was Spring Valley Peopled by a Pre-Historic Race?"[59] The editor had no idea that Spring Valley had a sizable Shoshonean-speaking population up to the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

As for the larger number of former residents of Snake and Spring valleys, they made Deep Creek their permanent home. Mormon missionaries established an Indian mission there and helped the Indians raise crops for subsistence purposes. In 1884, the Indians had cultivated 120 acres of land, and by 1889, with more acreage under cultivation, they harvested 2,100 bushels of grain and 75 bushels of potatoes.[60] By the early years of the twentieth century, the federal government came to realize that Deep Creek had a sizable Indian population, and a reservation was established for the Goshutes in 1914. Located in Utah, but adjacent to the Nevada border, this reservation could not accommodate all the Goshutes who were living in Deep Creek, and in the 1930s the government enlarged the reservation under the Indian Reorganization Act.[61] Some individuals who were caught up in the White Pine War also experienced early reservation life, including Antelope Jack.

Although several Indians who had resided in the Snake and Spring valleys possessed tribal enrollment on the Goshute reservation in the early years of the twentieth century, they also left the reservation and established residence at their earlier native places. Peanum established a small homestead in Snake Valley near Gandy, Utah. When he died, his land was passed on to his son Charlie Peanum and a blood relative, Tommy Muggins, both enrolled at Goshute.[62] In 1934, Annie Jack and her son Norton Jack made Baker, Nevada, their home.[63] Of course, their ancestors, including Antelope Jack, had lived in this locality near the Lehman Caves up to 1875, before removal. Another enrolled member, Albert McGill, made nearby Spring Valley his home in his old age.[64] Still another tribal member, Ruth Bishop, was living in Spring Valley in 1969.[65]

Not all the Shoshonean-speaking people of Snake Valley ended up at Deep Creek in the late nineteenth century. At least two small groups of "Shoshones" (they did not call themselves Goshutes) remained in the valley: one at Garrison, Utah, and the other at Baker, Nevada. Without doubt, some local whites allowed the Indians to remain at these settlements because they needed Indian labor. The Garrison group lived in Indian Camp, located about a half mile outside of Garrison up to the early twentieth century. Their community consisted of Indian-style dwellings and some American-style log cabins. The men worked as laborers for the whites and the women as domestic servants. After 1900, some of the Indians moved to nearby Baker when a fire destroyed part of the camp.

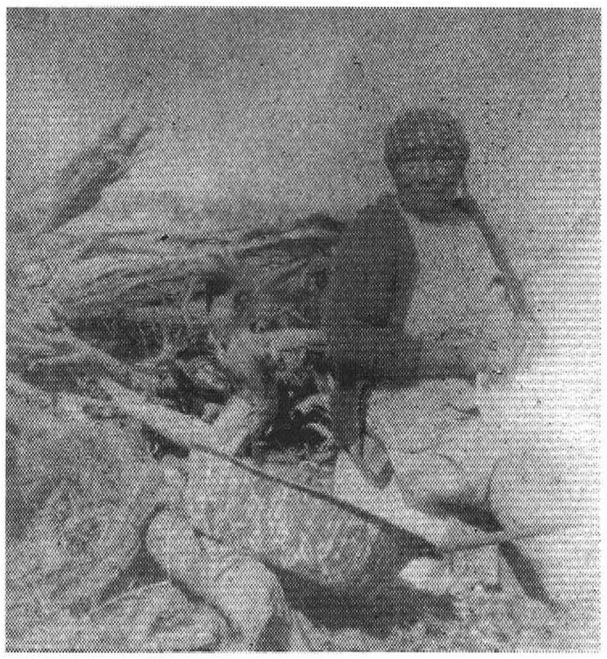
By 1910, only two Shoshone families remained, Sam and Mary Boup and Tom and Gootrea Tootseap (along with their four children and the grandmother, Erwitch).[66]

The Baker group of Shoshones lived slightly west of the present-day Baker Indian cemetery up to the early 1930s. The most visible was the Joseph family. Mary Joseph made Indian baskets and sold them to the settlers in Snake Valley. Her family and other Shoshones traveled to Indian Peaks in Utah to harvest pine nuts. Mary died in October 1932 and was buried in the Indian cemetery. One of her grandchildren, Richard Joseph, was born and reared in Baker; he moved to the Goshute reservation around 1933, where he worked as a range rider, and later moved to Ely to work as an equipment operator in a mine. His sister Dorothy also left Baker in the early 1930s; she moved to Ely and later married Glen Stark, a Shoshone from the Ely Shoshone colony. The family members now have tribal enrollment on the Ely colony. Dorothy returns to Baker periodically to take care of the Indian cemetery.[67]

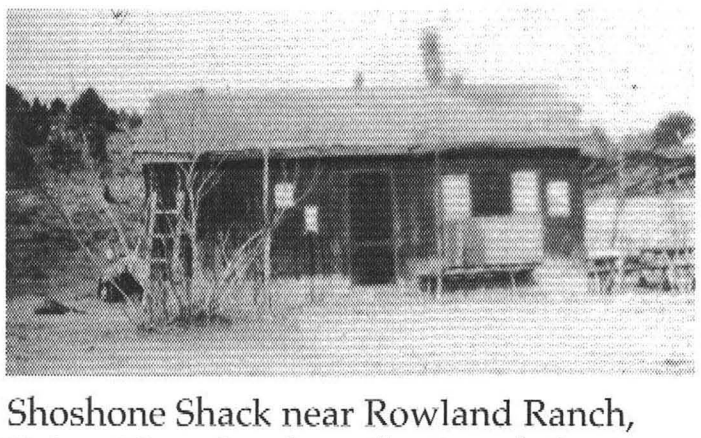
Thus, some Shoshones enrolled on the Ely colony are direct descendants of the earlier large Shoshonean-speaking population of Snake Valley. Like the Goshute reservation, the Ely colony also came into existence in the early twentieth century. In 1931, Congress appropriated funds to purchase ten acres of land on a hillside in Ely as a home for the Shoshones. The Indians did not move to the newly declared colony site. Rather, they were already living there. Some Indian heads-of-household at this Indian Camp included Harry and Addie Stanton, George and Mattie Adams, and Harry and Mamie Johnny, to name only three families. They all made the new colony site their permanent home. In 1977, Congress provided funds to purchase ninety additional acres of colony land, which is located in today's East Ely. The Baker Indian cemetery is now part of the jurisdiction of the Ely colony.

Conclusion

In recent years, both Native Americans and non-Indians have become more aware of the earlier native connection to the area in and around the Great Basin National Park. This awareness surfaced after Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990. A major aspect of that law was the return of native remains to their tribal people for proper reburial.[68] In response to the law, the National Park Service held a meeting with representatives from the Goshute, Southern Paiute, and Western Shoshone tribes in 1997. The discussion concerned human remains taken from the Lehman Caves years earlier; they had been stored in a park service facility in Tucson, Arizona, for several years. It was agreed that the remains needed to be returned. In a quiet gathering in 1998, the remains found their resting place in the area we now call the Great Basin National Park.

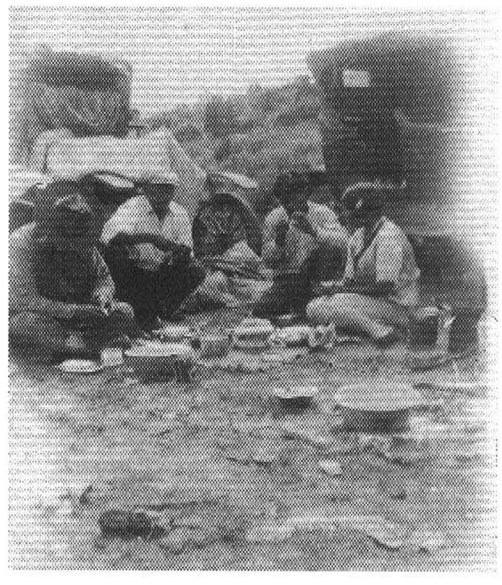


Grandma Swallow. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*



Shoshone Shack near Rowland Ranch, Baker, Nevada where the Joseph family resided. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

The Joseph family, ca. 1917. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*



Baker Shoshones enroute to Lehman Caves area. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

Dorothy Joseph *(right)* and her sister Ilene Joseph, ca. 1929. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

Ilene Joseph and friends, 1929. *(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)*

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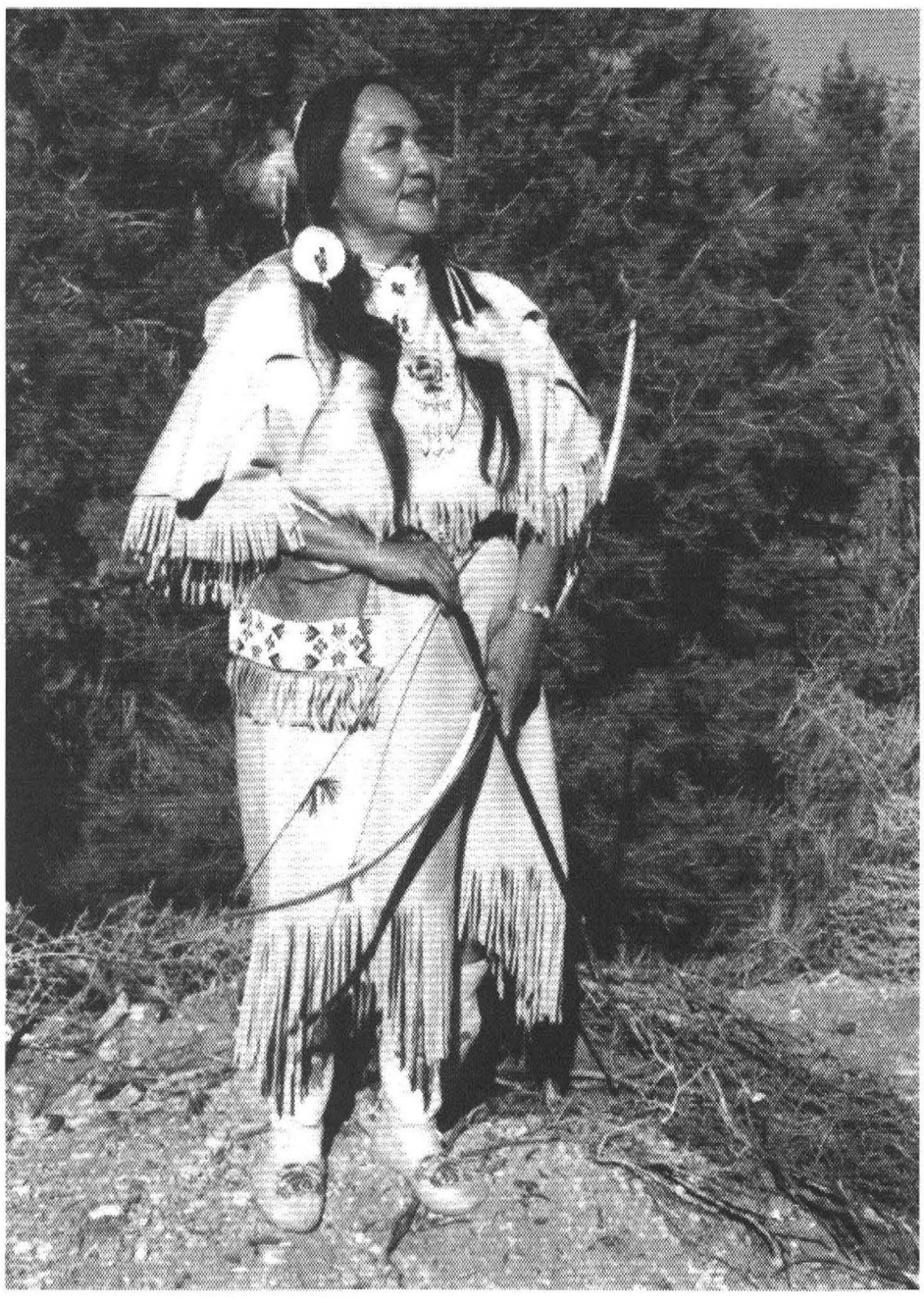

Delaine Spilsbury of Duck Creek Basin near Ely, Nevada.
(Collection of Dorothy Joseph Stark and Glen Stark)