

NUMU VIEWS OF NUMU CULTURES AND HISTORY: CULTURAL
STEWARDSHIP ISSUES AND A PUNOWN VIEW OF GOSIUTE AND
SHOSHONE ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NORTHEAST GREAT BASIN

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Anthropology
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

December 2003

“Numu Views of Numu Cultures and History: Cultural Stewardship Issues and a Punown View of Gosiute and Shoshone Archaeology in the Northeast Great Basin,” a dissertation prepared by Melvin G. Brewster in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Anthropology. This dissertation has been approved and accepted by:

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An Abstract of the Dissertation of

Melvin G. Brewster for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the Department of Anthropology to be taken December 2003

Title: NUMU VIEWS OF NUMU CULTURES AND HISTORY: CULTURAL
STEWARDSHIP ISSUES AND A PUNOWN VIEW OF GOSIUTE AND
SHOSHONE ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NORTHEAST GREAT BASIN

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The culture history of the northeastern Great Basin, as currently written by the archaeological profession, is silent as to the view of Gosiute and Shoshone natives about their own ancestors. The goal of this dissertation is the infusion of Punown (interrelated Numic speaking peoples) epistemology into mainstream anthropological interpretation, as provided through North American Desert West prehistory. The hypothesized Numic expansion into the Northeast Great Basin, according to which the Punown natives now resident throughout the region are very recent immigrants, is problematic on several grounds. In the dissertation I show that late population movement into this region by Numic ancestors has not been demonstrated. After a hundred years of research no consensus yet exists as to the origins of the Northern Uto-Aztecan speaking Numic peoples (Punown). In spite of that, and in spite of the fact that it takes no account of the natives' own view of their origins, the Numic Expansion Hypothesis is being used in a way by

some archaeologists and cultural resource managers that denies to the Punown their cultural heritage. The archaeological record of the region, extending back into deep time, is rich in the similarities it shows with the native Punown cultures of the contact-historic period. The epistemology and spiritual beliefs of the Punown also assert their cultural continuity with the ancient traditions documented in that archaeological record. It is not acceptable that a scientific hypothesis impedes native people's role in the care and stewardship of sites and places throughout the region that their own spiritual traditions tell them they are responsible for.

The mainstream anthropological concept of science and the epistemology of the Punown are opposed diametrically. Punown view the world and its people as interconnected through the Sacred Earth Matrix, while anthropologists see the human world as bifurcated from nature. Punown understand archaeology and relatedness spiritually, while archaeologists see dead objects in an "objectified" way. Conformity to the existing paradigm, with its persistent building and rebuilding of earlier untenable Euroamerican views of Numic origins, makes the Punown outsiders to the region in which they live. This goes on even though many scholars, reviewing the case for a Numic Expansion, find it seriously lacking. Infusion of Punown epistemology into current archaeological practice offers a basis for pooling Punown and mainstream anthropological approaches to the prehistory of the Desert West. A mutually enhancing research partnership based on beneficial objectives is advocated; this will go far to repair a strained relationship that now exists between Punown and archaeological researchers, and result in a fuller and richer history for all to contemplate.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express respect and honor to Professors Aikens, Erlandson, Sugiyama, and DeLancey for their assistance in the preparation of this dissertation. Special thanks go to the University of Oregon Graduate School and Dr. Toby Deemer and Dr. Steadman Upham for the Laurel Award I received. The University of Oregon is to be commended for allowing me to argue for the right to state residence by “Aboriginal Right”. Further, the Anthropology Department is to be commended for its recruitment and retention of Native American graduate students, in fact, it is the best in the U.S. I want to thank Grandpa Vine Deloria for writing “Custer Died for your Sins,” and “God is Red”; if I had not read these books as a child, I would never have become an archaeologist. I thank Ms. Melissa Zito for compelling me to pursue a Ph.D., and for introducing me to trans-cultural “qualitative” studies. Another thanks goes to Mrs. Heather Atsidis, who provided support, nurture, and encouragement. A sincere thanks goes to my “Red Road,” Numic-Punown mentors: Mr. Clifford Duncan, Mr. Ellison McMasters, Mr. Myron Smart, Mr. Mervyn Wright, Mr. Clifford Jake, Mr. Lacey Harris, Mr. Sam Gardapie, Mr. Frank Shoyo, Mr. Jay Johnson, and Mr. Marshall Jack. More thanks are due to my family and friends, Tribal Elders, and Governments of the Great Basin and beyond who encouraged me to work in the field. I acknowledge Mr. Leland Pubigee, Mrs. Patty Timbimboo Madsen, and Ms. Gwen Timbimboo Davis of the Northwest Band Shoshone who offered support and encouragement. Without the mutual trust, honesty, and respect of the traditional Skull Valley Band of Gosiute Indians, this dissertation would never have been accomplished.

Notably, Mr. Leon Bear, Chair, and Mrs. Lori Skibby, Vice Chair, and Shareen Wash, who has passed to the other side, and the General Council. These are all wonderful Native people! This dissertation is dedicated to the Numakinat (Ancient Ancestors), without their help and direction this work could not have been accomplished. This dissertation is also dedicated to my baby-girl Beatrice “Hootsiba” Brewster and to the other Punown children, the present generation, and to those of the future. *All My Relations*.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“You have gone too far Melvin, to turn back now.”

Leland Pupigee
Northwest Band Shoshone Elder (September 1999)

In this dissertation, I offer a Native American Indian view of issues pertaining to prehistoric archaeology in the Great Basin of western North America. My discussion focuses particularly on the northeastern Great Basin area (Fig. 1), although many points relate to the entire region. A brief overview will orient the reader to the environmental and cultural landscape involved.

The Great Basin

The Great Basin covers 165,000 square miles and is so called because none of its water escapes to the sea (Grayson 1993:11). A tourist passing along a lonesome highway could wish that the barren area s/he is viewing would soon be left behind. But the Great Basin that is largely hidden from the view of a casual passerby is in reality a variable patchwork of microenvironments. The same tourist, leaving the modern superhighway, could be surprised at the plants and animals to be seen in well-watered areas, and perhaps depart with quite a different view.

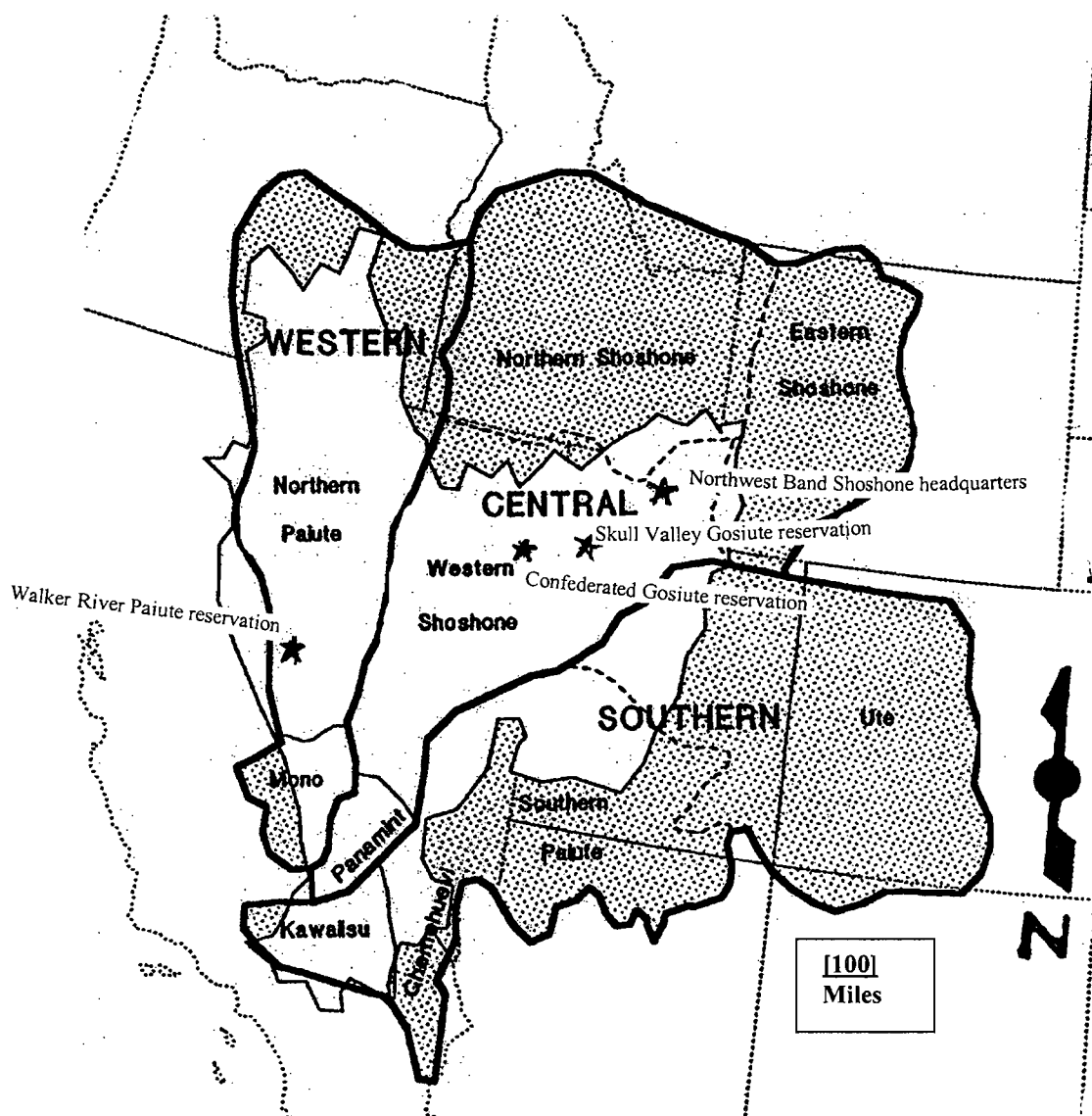


Figure 1. Historic Punown distribution. Shaded areas show extent of Numic speakers outside of the Great Basin. (After Madsen 1994).

Massive mountain ranges with alternating valleys run north and south. Canyons and valleys that have perennial streams or springs can be lush with riparian vegetation and cottonwood trees, with pinyon and juniper forests or species like ponderosa pine, quaking aspen, and mountain mahogany at higher elevations. Where rivers or other

streams are present a scenic green belt makes its way across a barren desert. Marshlands are located in some valleys where intermittent and perennial streams empty. In some instances cottonwood forests occupy the green belt. (Grayson 1993:11).

In the northeast Great Basin (Fig. 2), the Deep Creek Range rises to over 12,087 ft. above sea level, with the Ibapah valley floor below at 4,600 ft. The Oquirrh Mountains rise to 10,614ft. from a base on the valley floor at 4,200 ft above sea level near the Great Salt Lake. The annual precipitation comes from Pacific fronts, which bring as little as 1" of water to some dry valley bottoms and upward of 15" atop some mountain ranges. On occasion Gulf of Mexico fronts bring welcome moisture to the area. A weather pattern which seems to have been present during Fremont Culture time, prior to 1,200 B.P. The northeast Great Basin has numerous marsh areas along the shores of the Great Salt Lake, and within desert islands such as Fish Springs and Horseshoe Springs. Perennial streams emanate from the Deep Creek, Wasatch, Oquirrh, Stansbury, and Pilot Mountains, amongst others. Much of this area was covered, between roughly 25,000 and 10,000 years ago, by Pleistocene Lake Bonneville. The old beach lines of receding lake levels can be observed along the lower elevations of many mountain ranges. Since the end of the Pleistocene the area has undergone variable weather patterns where drought can make it quite thirsty, while different atmospheric flows can present it with much needed moisture. The floristic Great Basin we know today came into being about 4,500 years ago Grayson (1993:41). The current floristic Great Basin has variable vegetation zones including: Lower Sonoran life zone below 4,000 ft.; Upper Sonoran life zone between 4,000 and 7,000 feet; Canadian life zone 7,500 to 8,000 ft.; and Arctic/Alpine

above 11,000 feet above sea level. The fluctuating climate did not induce native peoples to abandon it, however, and human use of the area stretches back more than 11,000 years.

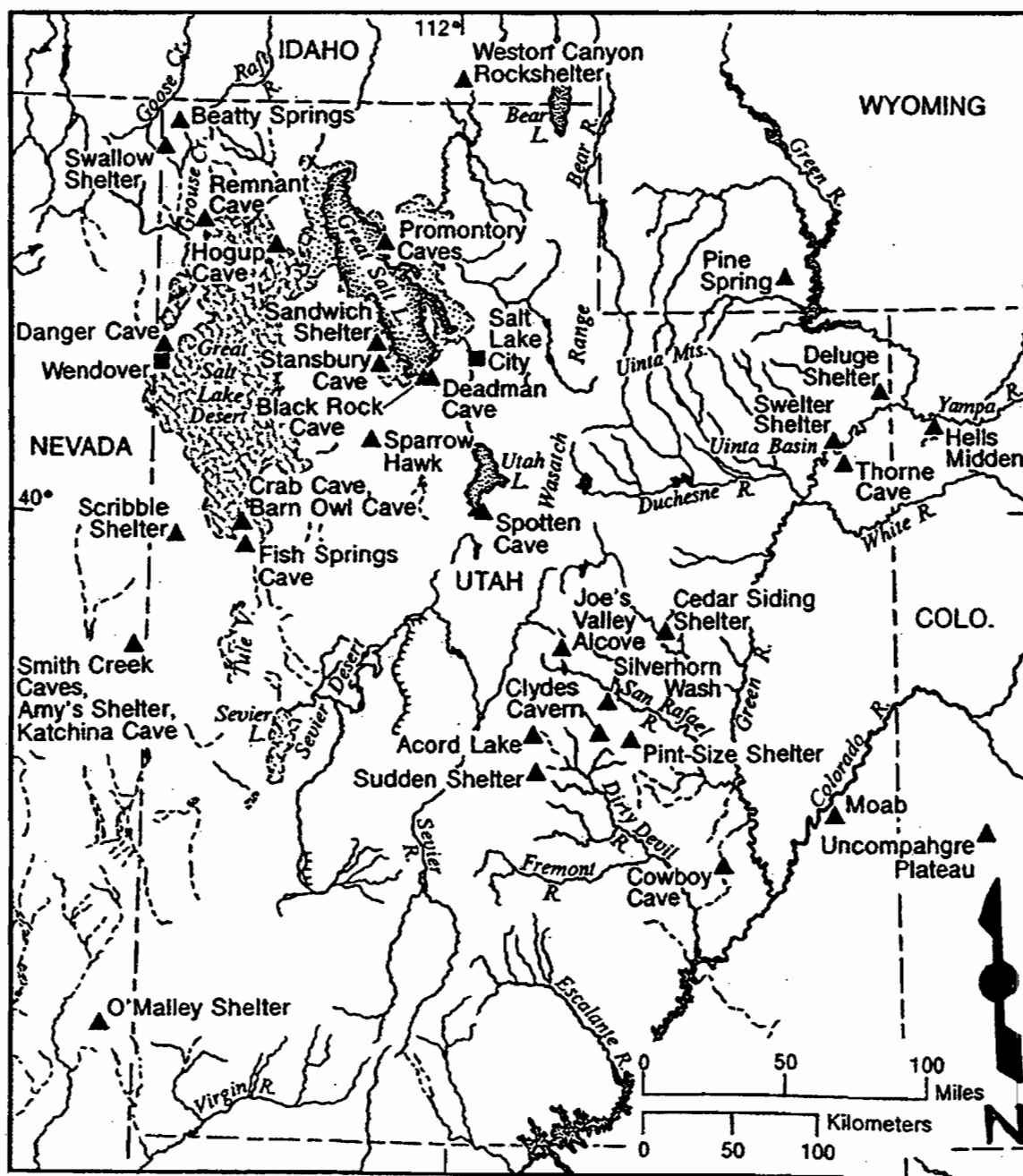


Figure 2. Eastern Great Basin area, showing locations of some Archaic sites. After Aikens and Madsen (1986).

The overall biotic diversity of the region is considerable, reflecting the generally alternating basin-and range topography that is characteristic of the Great Basin as a whole. The Great Salt Lake desert, at about 4200 ft. elevation, is dominated by salt grasses and desert scrub, while elevations at 4500 ft. or so support robust stands of sagebrush, greasewood, and Great Basin Wild Rye. Pinyon pine and Juniper forest appears in many areas above 4,700 ft.. Willow, tule, tubers, and many seed bearing plants grow in well-watered areas in valley bottoms and at high elevations in the mountains. Overall, if one understands the biological system within the eastern Great Basin, as the native peoples surely did, the area can be a “Garden of Eden.” For some early Euroamerican explorers this Garden became the “Gates of Hell,” reflecting the limited vision of those who were unfamiliar with its terrain Grayson (1993).

Goals of the Dissertation

This dissertation is based on my experience of working for fifteen years in the field of Cultural Resource Management, and observing first hand the issues involved in dealing with the archaeological record. Being the first Great Basin Native American (Numu) to have reached the educational qualifications and professional experience necessary to work qualitatively with inter-cultural issues concerning Indian and White relationships to the archaeological record, I needed to write this dissertation. I felt an imperative to produce a document that would take steps to bridge the strained relationships that exist between Native and non-native people who are responsible for dealing with this record. As I discuss at length below, there is great need for an infusion

of Gosiute and Shoshone (Nuwe) ideology, and the inclusion of the native voice, into our accounts of northeastern Great Basin culture and history. To date, there is vanishingly little of either. Accomplishing such an infusion requires a personal commitment from professionals who work with tribes, a willingness by federal, state and public agencies to fund such work, and a willingness among all concerned to comply with both the letter and the spirit of historic preservation law. The exclusion of the Native American voice that I refer to is not intentional, but it is a fact, one that in this dissertation will be looked at historically, psychologically, and archaeologically.

A persistent theory of contemporary Americanist archaeology places the arrival of the Nuwe in the northeast Great Basin just 650 years ago. The contemporary Nuwe are thus “disconnected” from earlier people they consider to be their own ancestors, who left an archaeological record of some 12,000 years of cultural history and development in the region. This idea, generally known as the Numic Expansion hypothesis, is discussed in detail later. However, after working in the Great Basin for many years and the eastern Great Basin area for ten years, I find reasons scientifically to support the claim of the Nuwe that they have occupied this region for millennia. Nuwe oral tradition instructs that their ancestors were created in situ in this area and that the Nuwe are its native occupants of ancient standing (Miller 1972, 37, 38, 42; Clifford Duncan [Northern Ute and Gosiute spiritual leader] personal communication 1996, 2003; Leon Bear [Skull Valley Gosiute] personal communication 1999; Rosie Pabweena [Ibapah Gosiute and Ruby Valley Shoshone], interviewed by Miller (1972); Clifford Jake [Southern Paiute Spiritual Leader], personal communication 2003; Margene Bull Creek [Skull Valley Gosiute], (1999).

My goal in this dissertation is to infuse Nuwe thought into the conduct and expression of Northeast Great Basin culture history, and to provide Nuwe tribal governments, Euroamerican academic researchers, cultural resource managers, and the general public with a Nuwe voice. My personal experiences as a Numu (Northern Paiute) who was raised on a Great Basin Indian reservation (Walker River Paiute Reservation) inform this discussion through the interpretive “emics” of a cultural insider. My professional experiences as a Great Basin federal agency archaeologist, and my experiences in the mainstream American educational system, as a Tribal archaeological consultant, and as a Native American liaison serve as an “etic” analytical perspective with reference to contemporary Euroamerican archaeological practice. Also, I may be a professional archaeologist by training and experience, but I have continued to develop my knowledge and spiritual ties to Native American teachings and values, as taught through the oral tradition of Great Basin Punown.

Punown (Related Numic Speaking People)

I use the word “Punown” to evoke the past-present-future-relationship among all Numic speaking peoples. It reflects the connection of all life, as seen through the perspective of a related people. It is a term inclusive of all Numic speaking peoples and related Uto-Aztecan speakers such as the Hopi (Clifford Duncan 2003 personal communication; Lacey Harris, personal communication 2003; Goss 1998; Brewster 1996, 1998, 2003). This connection is that we (Numu, Nuwuvi, Numa, Nutsiyu, and Nuwe, or Punown) are the people here now, connected to those of the past and those of the future. It is this interconnectedness that leads the Punown to claim responsibility for the

archaeological record, ancestral lands, skeletal remains, and sacred geography of our traditional country (personal communication with Clifford Duncan [Northern Ute “Indian Doctor”] 2003).

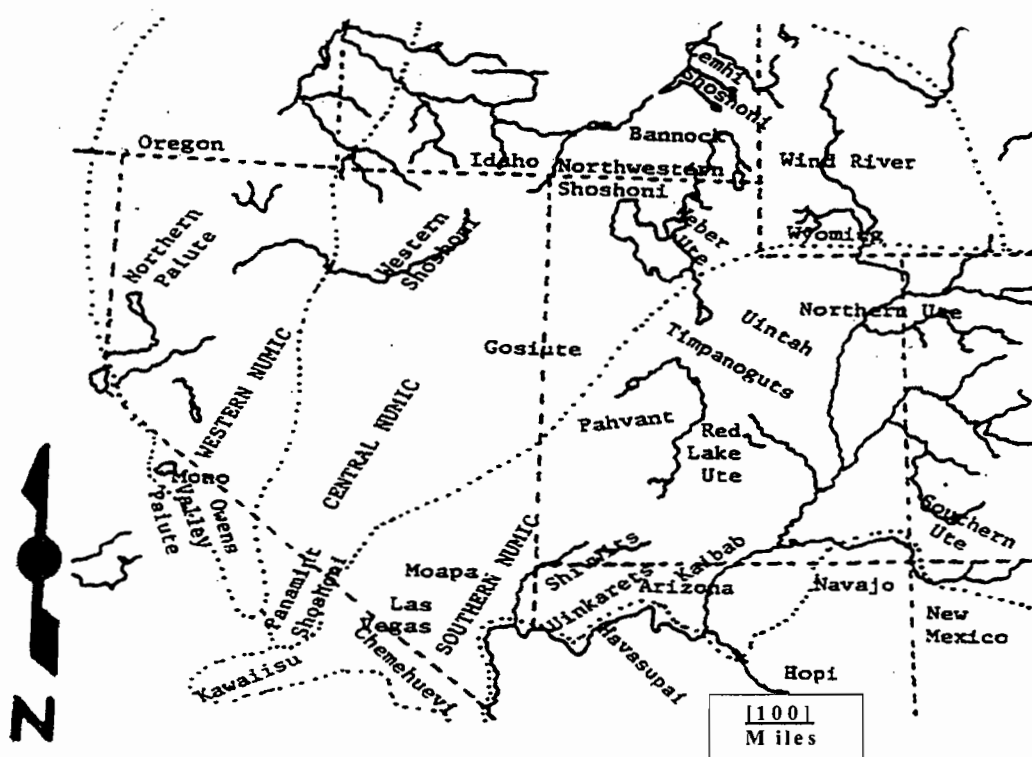


Figure 3. Tribal homeland distributions and specific language areas in the Great Basin and adjacent areas (after Myers 1987).

Numic speaking people, and to some extent all Uto-Aztec speaking peoples, consider themselves a People first and an ethnic group second. In general, the Punown include Northern Paiute, Mono, Monache, Yosemite, Owens Valley Paiute, Western, Eastern, and Northern Shoshone, Comanche, Northern and Southern Ute, Gosiute, Hopi and so on. Punown are related peoples who are divided into different ethnic groupings

(bands, tribes, and so on) but all nonetheless one people. Circumscription did naturally foster ethnically defined social cohesion in each group's territory, and it is a well-known fact that each such group has a name for itself. The word for the people in general is Numu (the People), or a variant thereof (Goss 1998:6). The Gosiute, for example, are the "Dusty People," my Numu tribe in Western Nevada are the Agai-Ticutta (Trout Eaters), the interrelated people of the Salt Lake Valley are Weber Ute (or Cumumba = Rabbit Fish Eaters), and the North West Band Shoshone are now a mixed band of Nuwe that came from various food-named ethnic groups (Fig. 3).

The prehistoric archaeology of the Nuwe area has been conducted and described primarily in terms of explanatory "etics." That is, through the materialistic approaches of professional archaeologists concerning the time and space continuum, as seen through adaptation to environment, technology, and economics (cf. Myers 1997).

Bioanthropological models have been proposed of the origins of Punown and Nuwe and promulgated without the informed consent of those most directly concerned. The accounts are etic, as gleaned through Euroamerican scientific analysis, based on the premise that archaeology is objective, scientific, behavioral, materialistic, and explanatory (Thomas 1998:40). Native ideation, symbolism, humanism, subjectivism, and interpretation, as seen through the emic views of the Natives themselves, has generally not been infused into the archaeological interpretation, although Jennings (1957; Jennings and Norbeck 1955) did put forth a Desert Archaic model based on analogy to the Gosiute way of life that he saw as extending back 10,000 years. This model of long-term adaptation within the Intermountain West is supported by subsequent

work by Swanson (1972) in the Birch Creek area of Idaho's high desert. With the infusion of Nuwe ideology that I advocate, we can find meaning, include the people, and weave human actors into the tapestry woven through archaeological discourse. Without the pertinent oral tradition and view of prehistory from the Nuwe and Punown perspectives, the archaeological record is an outsider's "etic" account that is void of the accumulated wisdom of those natives who claim a primeval history.

Thus, so far the voice of the northeastern Great Basin Nuwe is silent in archaeological documents pertaining to their homeland. Nuwe and archaeologists of all backgrounds need to pool and share their collective knowledge of Great Basin culture and history. The task appears daunting, but it is a task that is an intellectual and legal necessity. Cultural Resource Management researchers who are funded by federal dollars, and who expect to reach compliance with Historic Preservation Law, must work with the tribes. With the arrival of Historic Preservation laws that seek to protect and preserve the archaeological record, sacred sites, burials, and religious values of all Americans, and the intellectual property rights and cultural patrimony of Native Americans, the need to re-examine the process by which archaeological history has been written is before us. As a starting point, this paper offers a Punown perspective on northeastern Great Basin archaeology. Such Native American perspectives are important because without them federal, state, and local agencies often lack the expertise necessary to write their heritage preservation plans and research designs in an "emic" form acceptable to the native people concerned. From a Nuwe point of view, scientific analysis of archaeology is a barren waste without the voices of themselves and other Punown. Nuwe are also suspicious of

findings when there is a lack of professionals who work well with the tribes. In the Great Basin the Nuwe, and more broadly the Punown, often lack the professional training as archaeological researchers to assert their position within a context where they will be taken seriously. So one important factor in presenting a Punown view is the ability of the Punown themselves to write such a view.

Historic preservation law requires federal agencies that manage public lands to consult with recognized tribes regularly. The potential effects an undertaking (a land disturbing activity) can have on sacred sites, religious freedom, human burials and funerary objects, sacred objects, gathering areas, archaeological sites, food and medicine gathering areas, and so on must be considered from the point of view of tribal interests. Historic preservation laws are intended to foster preservation and conservation of the American archaeological record, and they seek to protect religious freedom for Native American Indians. Thus, Native intellectual property rights, cultural patrimony, and treaty rights are each important components to consider when archaeology is conducted. Before the licensing or permitting of any federally funded project on federal managed public land, or any project where federal dollars are used, compliance with the historic preservation law must be assured, and Native American Indian consultation is required.

It is my professional opinion that the bulk of archaeology done in the Great Basin fails to fully comply with the applicable law. Much effort has been expended on arguing that Nuwe and other Punown are newcomers to the area, contrary to archaeological and other scientific evidence that shows their presence there to be long-standing. Although universities do an excellent job of training cultural resources managers, often consultation

is conducted in a way that allows federal, state, and other public agencies to comply with the archaeological aspect of the law only. In reality this failure comes about because researchers lack adequate background to understand how to fuse the Native view with the archaeological record. The ignoring of this historic preservation responsibility stems from the idea of “progress,” as historically developed through the idea of objectivity in western social science. A siege mentality often exists where managers and some archaeologists try to avoid communications with recognized tribes, and seek out only those Indians who will go along with them. My immediate goal is to give the Nuwe of the northeastern Great Basin a tool whereby they can have an equal voice, and to give non-American Indians a tool they can use to work effectively with the Nuwe on matters of Cultural Resource Management.

Key Historic Preservation Laws

The following historic preservation laws, executive orders, memoranda, and regulations require Native American consultations and compliance with their legal provisions before the licensing and permitting of any federally funded projects (USDI, et al, 2002):

American Indian Religious Freedom Act [42 U.S.C. 1996 and 1996a]

Archaeological Resources Protection Act [16 U.S.C. 470aa] National Historic Preservation Act, with amendments [16 U.S.C. 470, et. seq.]

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act [25 U.S.C. 3001]

Regulations

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act: Final Rule [43 CFR Part 10]

“Protection of Historic Properties” [36 CFR Part 800] of National Historic Preservation Act [16 U.S.C. 470]

Executive Orders and Memoranda

Executive Order 13007 “Indian Sacred Sites” [61 FR 26771] Executive Order 13084

“Consultation with Native American Tribes” [63 FR 27655]

Executive Order 13175 “Consultation and Coordination in Native American Tribal Governments” [65 FR 67249]

Memorandum on the “Government-to-Government Relationship” [59 FR 22951]

Conclusion

The Nuwe are in a position now where they can have an equal voice, under law, but still this voice does not come without a struggle. As I have learned as a Native American Indian, as a professional archaeologist working for Tribes, and as an agency archaeologist, some responsible people are not amenable to fully observing historic preservation law requirements. In the early 1970's the federal agencies were not favorable to hiring archaeologists, and in contemporary times, conservative managers are not comfortable with consultation with Native Americans. In 1995, I personally heard a local

federal agency manager say that “the Indians have already lost; we do not need to consult with them. I am waiting for the new [Republican] administration to come in.” Another such statement was reported by Smith (1998):

BLM officials say they have bent over backward to accommodate the Indians, but now the law of the land -- Uncle Sam's land -- must be enforced. “We do not consider this to be an Indian issue; it is a grazing issue,” says Stout. “This is a rough deal because a lot of what they base their arguments on are the policies of conquest of the federal government, policies that every emerging nation used. Conquest is how the Shoshone got their lands in the first place.”

In the 1990's some archaeologists have gone as far as to claim they are “under siege” (Simms and Raymond 1999). Other archaeologists feel that “they will be put out of business” by laws for the protection of Native American rights (Shafer and Stang 1996).

An equal voice will give the American Public a realistic and informed balanced view of the first Americans.

I argue in this dissertation that the “truth can set you free” (Jung 1933). Nuwe traditional knowledge is of a sacred nature. Certain prayers, ceremonies, and songs have been intentionally withheld from the anthropological, historical, and archaeological communities, and this privacy will likely continue into the future. The primary reason is that Nuwe cannot divulge such spiritual information to non-trained, nor non-Indian researchers for their protection. This is in line with reasoning about self-reflection, as has been described in western terms by Jung (1932:35). However, relying on my personal experience, and values that I am free to communicate, I will suggest in this dissertation

how to accomplish cultural resources management goals and academic research that will bridge the “etic-emic gap” in the prehistoric archaeology of the northeastern Great Basin, and the gap in productive mutual Indian/non-Indian collaboration on future work.

Chapter II, presents a Punown view of Great Basin culture and history (my personal view as a Punown person and archaeologist), setting out the Punown understanding of their relationship to the archaeological record (Brewster 2003a). In Chapter III, a standard Euroamerican archaeological view of northeast Great Basin culture history is presented. In Chapter IV, the Numic Expansion hypothesis is reviewed and deconstructed, to show the collision between Euroamerican theory and traditional Nuwe views of their own ancestors. Chapter V, discusses epistemological differences and where traditional and scientific histories meet, and makes recommendations for future research. Chapter VI, offers suggestions for improving the working relationships between Indians and archaeologists, by stressing the importance of infusing the Punown worldview into the conduct of archaeology and anthropology, and pleading for mutual respect among all concerned in archaeological and cultural heritage preservation work.

The method I have chosen for writing this dissertation is simple. I employ a culture historical analysis that is informed by my being a Native Great Basin American Indian. Writing in this mode, writing is a picture because true objectivity when it comes to writing history cannot be attained. Yet, each individual draws a picture with words. Natural phenomena can be explained scientifically through an objective science mode but history cannot hope to reach such a state. Through understanding my own culture as an inside member, I feel that an “emic” understanding of the prehistoric actors who

produced the archaeological record is possible. In 1998 at the Great Basin Anthropological Conference in Bend, Oregon, I concluded my presentation at the “Rethinking Numu Antiquity Symposium” with my idea of how to go about conducting Great Basin American Indian research. I summarize that here as a conclusion to this chapter:

“Numucentricity” can help solve the communication problems between some anthropologists and the Numu. First, a “Numucentric Position” calls for the avoidance of purely etic analysis that disallows the voices of contemporary Numu, and of research that relies solely on opinions expressed in terms of Western ideas, of what the historic ethnographic notes imply. Analysis must take into account Numu ideology and state all relative positions of both Natives and Euroamericans. Numucentricity also implies that everything is written from a perspective, which benefits the Numu and is constructed qualitatively from the views of the people. It looks from all angles and is eclectic, considering all previous models, and it changes as new data are generated. Research in the Numucentric mode does not ordinarily start from a simple hypothesis but grows from itself and strives toward a conceptual whole. The archaeological record, if looked at as a continuum through time and space—with modulation, and not dominated by theorizing about ethnic replacements—can tell us more about the orientations of a Native people. Theories about a great exodus tell perhaps too much about the individual researchers who constructed them, primarily showing their own heritage as Euroamericans subjected to a recent history of Manifest Destiny, and a more ancient history of migrations and movements reaching back into the histories of their European homelands.

CHAPTER II

A PUNOWN VIEW OF GREAT BASIN CULTURE AND HISTORY

To walk the Red Road is to know sacrifice and suffering. It is to understand humility. It is the ability to stand naked before God in all things for your wrong doings, for your lack of strength, for your non-compassionate ways and for your arrogance. Because to walk the Red Road, you always know you can do better. And you know when you do good things it is through Creator and you are grateful. To walk the Red Road is to know you stand on equal ground with all living things. It is to know that because you were born human, it gives you superiority over nothing. It is to know that every creation carries a spirit and the river knows more than you do. The wind is wiser than you are. Animal people carry wisdom and YOU can learn from every one of them because they have something you do not. They are void of evil thoughts. They wish vengeance on no one and seek justice. To walk the Red Road, you have God given rights. You have the right to pray, you have the right to dance, you have the right to think, you have the right to protect, you have the right to know Mother, you have the right to dream, you have the right to vision, you have the right to teach, you have the right to learn, you have a right to grieve, you have a right to happiness, you have the right to fix wrongs, you have the right to truth and you have a right to the Spirit World. To Walk the Red Road is to know your Ancestors; to call to them for assistance. It is to know that there is good medicine and there is bad medicine. It is to know that Evil exists but is cowardly as it is often in disguise. It is to know there are evil spirits who are in constant watch for a way to gain strength for themselves at the expense of you. To Walk the Red Road, you have far less fear at being wrong because you know that life is a journey, a continuous circle, a sacred hoop. Mistakes will be made and mistakes can be corrected if you will be humble, for if you cannot be humble you will never know when you have made a mistake. If you walk the Red Road you know that every sorrow leads to a better understanding. Every horror cannot be explained but can offer growth. To Walk the Red Road is to look for beauty in all things. To Walk the Red Road is to know you will one day cross to the Spirit World and you will be not afraid.

(Author unknown)

Reflections of a Professionally Trained Punown Archaeologist

A Native American Indian perspective on Great Basin archaeology has not previously been offered (but see Stoffle et al. 1990: 86, 103, 104, 134). There has been a lack of interest within the professional community, and a lack of resources and professional expertise in the Native community. The sensitive issues surrounding this subject, as it pertains to the spiritual, also contribute. In this dissertation I offer a qualitative Punown perspective on northeast Great Basin archaeology. As explained further below, Punown is a northern Ute [Nutsiyu] word for all related Numic speaking people or ancestors. The paradigms and interpretations of a Punown (in my case, Northern Paiute) archaeologist are different than those of Euroamerican researchers (Hodder 1992:3; Swidler et al. 1997:12), but not wholly different. Some aspects of scientific inquiry are similar to some spiritual values. As will be discussed later, culture history is an art form as much as a science, and as each individual artist paints his or her picture on the canvas, so does each individual archaeologist paint an individual picture of culture history. The following emerges from my own painting of the culture and history in the northeast Great Basin.

I was raised on the Walker River Paiute reservation in western Nevada (fig. 1). I have an “emic” perspective on the origins of my people (in a Punown sense all Numic speaking people are my people), which is not shared by many other researchers (Swidler et al. 1997:17). The work done by a Punown, or any Native archaeologist, is strongly influenced by beliefs and early inculcation of values provided by his or her people. It is

the traditional job of an “interpreter.” Lacey Harris, a Nutsiyu (Ute) and Numu spiritual leader, recently said to me, “You see these five fingers (pointing to his hand). One is a Chief or head man, one is a hunter, one is a medicine man, one is a warrior, and one is an interpreter.” He said, “that without even one of those traditional roles the Tribe or Band could not function”. At this point Lacey held up one finger and said, “this is easy to break, isn’t it?” Then he held up two, saying “this is stronger” and then he eventually held up three, four, and five. Lacey continued:

“Without these roles the people are weak. The interpreter is the role where understanding of other tribes and traditions needs to be interpreted to promote relations with other people. You are an interpreter. Your job is to figure out what other people are doing, what scientists are writing about the People, and to report to the People so decisions can be made for the best of the People. Sitting Bull had more than one role. He was a hunter, a warrior, interpreter, medicine man, and chief. He only wore one feather because people knew who he was. He did not wear his full headdress of hundreds of eagle feathers because he was one of the people and did not brag nor think he was better. Today you might see some unknown individual with a headdress with hundreds of feathers and no one knows who the person was. As an interpreter it is your job to figure out things for the leadership so the people can be protected. So that man who is sitting by himself, wearing one broken feather on his head, who does not have much, who sacrifices for the people, is well known, he is respected, but he gives of himself for the people. That is your role. There is a balance of how much to give of yourself and then leave it at that. You can only do what you can do” (Lacey Harris, personal communication, March 2003).

I have taken Lacey’s injunctions seriously, and what he outlined are the personal responsibilities I am pursuing in this dissertation. A Native archaeologist must be acutely aware of the spirituality of her/his people and s/he must be familiar with the teachings of the elders and the oral traditions of the people. S/he must realize that we still know very little and must be mentored by elders,

traditional healers, and those who are deeper into the Red Road than we. S/he can understand archaeological and anthropological social science theory and s/he can withstand unfair criticisms and all the inimical situations those who are biased can throw at her/him. S/he can withstand jealousy from some of her/his own people and can survive even when s/he cannot find work because of being “biased toward her/his own people.” If s/he is a mixed-blood, s/he needs to withstand the accusations and prejudice projected at her/him from both directions concerning her/his heritage and s/he must be humble to a certain degree yet make sure s/he is paid for her/his work. In my career, when I had almost quit archaeology and stopped my education, a Northwest Band Shoshone elder told me, “You have gone too far and you cannot give up now.”

The interpretations I offer are informed by Numu oral traditions, and what my elders have instructed me about where Numu come from and our relationship to Punown. I take responsibility for my opinions, which constitute a qualitative interpretation of Punown views on archaeology at the present time, even though some may agree with the meanings I have assigned and some may not. The Punown perspective is important for all archaeologists to know about, however imperfectly I may have rendered it. My goals and aspirations, within the American conception of what is success and how researchers go about attaining their personal goals, may be contrary to the expectations of the profession. On a personal level, Some Native professionals find it easy to turn their heads on indigenous tradition and do work which is contrary to values of their own people while attaining a certain amount of material freedom for doing so. The ideal Native

archaeologist is required to walk the Red Road (above), and to only seek material gain for him or her self is to prostitute the spiritual beliefs of his or her people.

I use the methods and scientific paradigms available to me for the benefit of the Punown that I work for, as a means by which to protect, preserve, and interpret the archaeological data concerning our Great Basin homeland. I am one of the first Numu archaeologists. Diana Yupe, a Shoshone Bannock, has now worked in the field for several years, and Harriet Brady, Pyramid Lake Paiute, followed me in an Anthropology degree at University of Nevada-Reno. Diane Teeman, Burns Paiute, is another archaeologist who follows me in the Doctoral program at the University of Oregon. Bruce Crespin has worked for the Bureau of Land Management as an archaeologist for many years. We all follow Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Gilbert Natchez as the first Numu anthropologists, who provided early insight into Numu ways.

My work and experience have been derived from professional Cultural Resource Management experience working within federal agencies, as a private tribal archaeological consultant, and as a participant in Punown ceremonies. My participation in Punown ceremonies has taught me of prehistoric ancestors, and helped me in reaching catharsis as a traditional Numu living in the modern world. My work is informed by the views of the Punown, elders, tribal governments, and spiritual leaders. Without this direction it would be much more difficult to arrive at satisfactory methodology on dealing with sensitive Punown interests within mainstream Cultural Resource Management.

However, catharsis is part of the everyday process for all people who choose that path. Like my Numu predecessors, my research paradigm begins with my own Numu

knowledge, handed down to me from wise spiritual teachers and elders. Deconstruction of the thought of others is best guided by allowing the voices of the Punown to be heard. With the understanding of basic behavioral principles we can arrive at diverse and open-minded views of the Punown. It was in my agency work that I began to view some ideas I received as a student from the University of Nevada-Reno, and Sonoma State University, in Rohnert Park, California, as questionable. As I learned more clearly, I saw that those standard mainstream interpretations of my people's history were contrary to our own thousands of years of ancient knowledge, which Numu and Punown revere (cf. Goss 1999:78; Hodder 1992:3). An Arapaho/Shoshone interlocutor related to me (personal communication 2003) that,

“The Taibou [non-Indians] are transient wanderers with no connection to ancestral North American people. They must define everything, but when they do this, they miss the understanding that can only come from traditional ceremonies where we learn from our ancestors. This traditional knowledge tells us where we come from, and we were created right here. How long will it take them to understand?”

The above words were uttered with extreme concern and sorrow because there was an understanding that we must have faith in the way prayers are answered by the Spirit. Sorrow also because without the right understanding of the power inherent in material culture and skeletal remains, such insight into understanding the past, and the spiritual connection it has for the people, would only lead to *bad medicine*. He showed concern that in the final analysis, the non-Indians would continue to misunderstand, and therefore misinterpret the truth about Native genesis and possibly suffer spiritual maladies as a result. However, there was also a positive ring to his voice, suggesting he

felt that in the future, the non-Indians would learn. For many Punown and other Native American Indians, the future holds great promise for eventual change.

It is important for readers to understand that without the activities of Euroamerican anthropologists, much important material on Numu culture would no longer exist, and that their work is exceptionally valuable (but see Deloria 1997:214 for another take on this). The dominant perception Punown have of archaeologists and anthropologists, however, is that they want to curate our ancestral artifacts, take our knowledge, pontificate about who we are, and make money off us while we are not reimbursed (e.g., Miller 1972b). One of my objectives is to work for a more balanced appreciation, on both sides, of the contributions and value of the “other” in this situation (cf. Goss 1999:79). To me, with an advanced University education specializing in arid Intermountain West prehistory and anthropology, the hidden meanings in the twisted web woven by mainstream researchers are apparent. It is up to Native archaeologists (interpreters) to work from within their own culture(s) to unwind the tapestries woven by “etic” researchers, where they are misleading, and weave in the Native perspective as well.

How those material objects of the archaeological and ethnographic records are thought of by the Punown (and other Native peoples) is extremely important. While our descriptions of the material culture, site delineations, homeland area studies, vegetations, flora and fauna, settlement and subsistence patterns are valuable data for us in seeking to understand the prehistory of an area, it is essential to provide a baseline Native view of the area. Without the ideology of the Native people to go along with measurements and

descriptions and models of how items were used, we are stuck with a silent archaeological record. An archaeological record that has been looked at from outside of the culture whose residue it is that archaeologists seek to Distil.

The goals and perspectives of a Native archaeologist are much different from those of archaeologists who do not share the same inculcation of culture or the same great ancestral time depth on the continent. In one instance I visited a summer field school conducted by a local university at the request of the Field School director (1995). We were looking at ceramics and other artifacts in a midden. The students were overjoyed that local Southern Paiute (Nuwuvi) interlocutors were excavating with them at the site. The interlocutors and I shared oral traditions with the students and one evening the Nuwuvi showed the hunting and cooking preparation involved in a traditional Kuub (ground-hog) feast. The Nuwuvi put on, the traditional feast, for the Field School. This was very positive and the University was making a film of the event. However, a visiting professor from a California University, within hearing distance of the Nuwuvi, looked at some ceramic sherds and stated flatly, "No Numic person could have made this." His nose was crunched up and his voice had a higher pitch; his negative feelings were very evident. The Nuwuvi on the site did not say anything but looked at me and pretended to kick this individual as he bent over in front of them, and laughed humorously. They later expressed their own view that "we are descendants of the makers of those things and we are related to the people who lived here in the past. We were created here." A few minutes after this incident, the excavation revealed some bone pieces that were of a good size to fit in the hand. The Field School director showed them to the Nuwuvi

interlocutors, saying, “I have no idea what these are for.” The interlocutors took one look at them and said, “These were hand game bones.”

I have found that much of my work, including questions about interpretation and suggestions about working with Great Basin Punown, is considered threatening and biased by many non-native archaeologists. Simple questions, asked in good faith, are sometimes met with rage by otherwise congenial Euroamericans. From these inimical encounters, I have learned that my work is primarily written for other Native American Indians and that my analyses are done to illuminate issues that are important to the society in which I originated. We are not yet at the point, I believe, that Great Basin anthropology can satisfy the needs of Punown archaeology within the dominant paradigm (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997; Deloria 1969, 1972, 1975, 1995, 1997, 2003; Churchill 1995; Jung 1932; Means 1995; Mihesuach 1996; Swidler et al. 1997; Watkins 2000). In Chapter Five, I offer a model of how objectivity can become biased through cognitive dissonance.

In a counseling session in which I asked a personal mentor, who is a psychologist, why this is so, I learned an important element of what some psychologists think about the “collective unconscious” of Euroamericans. I asked my mentor, “why do some anthropologists, especially those who wear moccasins and other Native material objects, react with rage when a Native American does not agree with their interpretations of who they (the Native Americans) are? My mentor replied that Karl Jung believed “Americans probably cannot deal with the guilt they feel about their own ancestors committing genocide on American Indians until they themselves become Indians” (William Hughes

Ph.D., personal communication 1996; Deloria 1993). A cognitive dissonance model of Great Basin research, presented later in the dissertation, says more about this problem.

I ask the reader to appreciate my assailing of Euroamerican conceptual bias and “National Mythology” as an honest effort to understand, and to consider seriously—and hopefully adopt—some of the key ideas presented in this paper (McGuire 1997:86). “National Mythology” is a term coined by D. Fowler (1987) to refer to examples of propaganda created by the former Soviet Union, and by China in Tibet, to explain an archaeological record in a way that bolsters national identity. As an Indian archaeologist, I feel no compulsion to conform to Euroamerican constructs of Manifest Destiny, and I feel sure that other Native Americans feel the same. Similarly, it is not our way to behave in conformance to ideas of progressive Christian purpose, or rugged individualism, or to behave as dutiful students using their data to design and bolster theories that support the dominant ideology of their profession (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997:1; Deloria 1969:98-99, 1997:211, 2003; Dwyer 1976; McGuire 1997:63, 64, 77, 80, 83, Zimmerman 1997:93, 97, 103). It is my presumption that ethnic identities “seen” in the archaeological record by some Euroamerican archaeologists are constructed on weak foundations (Deloria 1997:214). I believe that Punown ideology arises from the essence of thousands of years of ancestral experience, living within the core of the Great Basin. Surely as scientists, skeptical archaeologists can agree that alternative hypotheses or explanations of the past are worth testing or examining. With reference to the Numic Expansion hypothesis, for example, why not objectively examine the possibility that Punown peoples have occupied the Great Basin for millennia (Aikens 1994, 2000; Aikens and Witherspoon 1986)?

The uses made of anthropological and archeological data within federal agencies, and in educational texts from which American school children learn about the Punown and other Native peoples, have often fostered bias against the natives (e.g., Mihesuah 1996). Some Native school children feel they are treated differently than others when American Indian history and prehistory are taught at schools. One Gosiute Junior High student recently was told “you are not Fremont,” and that her people were “also immigrants to the Skull Valley area, just like white people” (personal communication with Gosiute teenager 2003). Another example is of a Western Shoshone elder who was told “we know where your people come from” (Western Shoshone interlocutor 1998, personal communication).

Research interpretations of scientists have threatened the “Cultural Patrimony” of indigenous Great Basin people (e.g., Barker and Pinto 1994; Madsen and Rhode 1994). They have given young children (both Indian and others) ideological perceptions of Great Basin peoples that have served to reinforce stereotypes about inferiority, seemingly derived from natural processes of cultural evolution (Mihesua 1996:20-79; Deloria 1997:214; Steward 1955). But these messages stem in fact from prejudicial interpretation. Punown and their prehistoric ancestors are not portrayed, for example, as eclectic biologists who were natural scientists in their own right, but rather as endlessly “wandering,” “simple” hunters and gatherers, who had the lowest form of social organization on earth (e.g. Steven Powers (1977), John C. Fremont (1887), Mark Twain ([1871report] 1959), Julian Steward (1955), and those who have followed the traditionalist Numic Expansion archaeological camp; cf. various papers in Madsen and Rhode (1994).

Readers are referred to Alley (1986:379-381) for some of the most grotesque and vicious stereotypical racism applied to the Gosiute and Shoshone that can “still be found here and there [in] scholarly literature.” In 1996, as a federal Area Archaeologist, one of my written comments concerning a locally written contract archaeology report chastised the contractor for allowing the racist description of the Gosiute provided by Mark Twain to be quoted as a reliable description. The particular quote (is not repeated here) was used to justify the researcher’s mental picture of the harsh environment and extreme poverty of the ancestral Gosiute.

An historic trajectory is traceable. For Alley (1986:407), many of the stereotypes come from the “surviving residue of trappers.” According to Alley, “when the white man spoke so insistently of the barren Great Basin and its impoverished inhabitants he was, in truth, only describing his own inadequacies”. The media have portrayed Native people negatively, and the educational system has inculcated American youth with negative stereotypes about them (cf. Alley 1987; Churchill 1998; Mihesuah 1996). Often stereotypes are bolstered by archaeology and anthropology, the facts interpreted in accordance with long-standing bias or “theory.” During my undergraduate years another student once ignorantly said to me, “if it were not for us white folk you [Indians] would be starving to death and cold because you would be wearing skins and living in a wigwam.”

Vine Deloria (1995) cogently observed that Americans view scientists much like high priests, and the respect granted a bishop or reverend in the historic past is now granted the findings of these scientists. The history taught to American children for

decades in schools is a “feel good” history that steers away from matters such as genocide, rape, torture, murder, theft, slavery, and dishonored treaty rights, and is justified and rationalized with cognitive dissonance (Loewen 1995).

As Vine Deloria (1995:1), Russell Means and Wolf (1995), and Ward Churchill (1995) have pointed out, the view of where their people originated from, as theorized by Euroamerican scientists and as told in their own people’s accounts, is quite different. Like Deloria, Means and Churchill, I grew up trusting western science, with my Mother telling me “respect those [Taibou] people, they know more than you.” Like the dutiful Numu I am, I respected my Mother’s wisdom. Origin stories between tribes differ markedly and it can be confusing, but the truth of these sacred accounts is that they tell of how the people came to be. In some instances the stories are quite revealing and archaeology in a material sense can verify some details, much the same as when historical linguistics offers language “age area and home land” studies in conjunction with a firmly studied archaeological record. We must proceed very carefully and realize that Native accounts in some instances could be quite esoteric and impossible to verify with the archaeological record. Yet, if we understand the underlying structures of Punown thought, and the thought of other Native American Indian people, our conceptions of myth and fact and stories can be both objective (*sensu* Western tradition) and respectful of the traditional view.

All truth is relative to individual experience; when we do archaeology, however, we are providing a view for others, based on our own vision. When individual experience is narrowed by tunnel vision and the lens is unclean, the result is chaos. We as

archaeologists must strive for objectivity, but it is beyond the ethical treatment of Native American Indian people to use descriptive facts of archaeological sites and artifacts to theorize solely on the grounds of our interests alone. I can make no claim to whose collective truth is more valid, or deny that each individual has the right to think as s/he chooses. Certainly it is a delicate balance to temper objective thoughts with those of spirituality. The most common thread of spirituality in Native creation accounts is that these stories were told to the people by the Spirit, and orally transmitted through millennia. It is no attack on objective scientists or on Native people to understand and respect one another's views. As is the case with modern Biblical archaeology, much of the research is done with a particular amount of faith. The faith in objectivity is similar to the faith in the Spirit. An archaeologist can provide a picture from all angles that represents both without appearing to be non-objective. A sense of objectivity is lost when the scientific truth of a hypothetical argument is used in a negative sense.

As my early career as a federal agency archaeologist drew to an end, I observed the use of anthropological and archaeological data to support attempts to withhold the repatriation of Numu ancestors. For example, in the Great Basin, Spirit Cave Mummy and Wizard Beach Man are still under the control of the federal government. I also observed cases of noncompliance with federal historic preservation law, and found little support for the idea of being sensitive to the needs of the tribes. The tribes rarely have the funding or expertise to challenge the agencies on legal grounds, and it is my observation that being sensitive is a legal issue. My current employment as Director of the Tribal Historic Preservation Office for the Skull Valley Band of Gosiute Indians is not an easy

job. Most of the responsibility I am assigned is to correct historical injustices, and I have found that my education from the Euroamerican world about my people has serious gaps. Ironic consensuses termed “facts” which I was taught in college or university are actually theories, based on the “etic” interests of some rugged individualists who have no stake in the needs of contemporary Nuwe and Punown (cf. Madsen and Rhode 1994).

The Punown: Interrelated Numic Speaking Peoples

To explain the relationship between, for example, the Gosiute and Shoshone Nuwe and other Numic speaking people, the past-present-future connection among the Punown is important. That is, the connection of all life, as seen through the perspective of an inter-related people. This is what I call the Punown perspective, which I have learned personally from my elders, including Clifford Duncan (personal communication 2003), Clifford Jake (personal communication 2003), Lacey Harris (personal communication 2003), James Goss (1999:75, 76,77), and other citations in Brewster (1996, 1998, 2003b). I have introduced this perspective already in the foregoing discussion, but here it is important to say a little more about it.

The point of the Punown perspective is that the Punown are the interior western people here now, connected to those of the past and those of the future. For the Punown this connection is realized through ceremony, including song, dance, and prayer. This understanding is only available to those who are spiritually sanctified to know it. Culturally, those who understand this ancient relationship have been inculcated with the ceremonial knowledge surrounding it (cf., Deloria 1997). Numic speakers, and to some extent all Uto-Aztecan speakers, consider themselves to be one people. They recognize

one another through their language, and in other ways (Goss 1999). For this great interrelated people I use the Ute word Punown. The local groups mostly share similar names (Numu or a related word: Nutsiyu, Nuwuvi, Numa, Nuwe, Newe). Among the Punown are: Northern Paiute, Mono, Monache (Yosemite), Owens Valley Paiute, Western, Eastern, and Northern Shoshone, Comanche, Northern and Southern Ute, Gosiute, Kawaiisu, and others. Punown are related people of different local ethnic groupings but nonetheless all belonging to the People. To recognize this larger unity is not to claim that geographical or social circumscription did not allow for ethnically defined social cohesion within each group's territory. It is well known that each local ethnic group has a name for itself. The name Gosiute means the "dusty people," who are also the Kumamba, "rabbit eating people". Various Shoshone groups call themselves the Fish Eaters, Rabbit Eaters, Pine nut Eaters, Fish Eaters, and Buffalo Eaters, Mountain Sheep eaters, Seed Eaters and so on.

Ancestors, Spirituality, and Archaeology

Numakinat is the name I have heard for "ancient animal progenitor ancestors and earliest humans," who were also described as Numwad by the early ethnographer John Wesley Powell (Fowler and Fowler 1971). This concept speaks to an ancient time, and the Nuwe understanding that all life is interconnected. It is linked to the "Great Mystery," or part of Grandfather's creation. As stated earlier about how the Punown view their prehistory, it is unthinkable to them that others cannot understand. Earlier I quoted a Native interlocutor, "when are the non-Indians going to understand?" For the Nuwe and other Punown, the understanding of ancient ancestors is a "sentient" part of life.

Nevertheless, for some Great Basin anthropological professionals, the ancient ancestors of the Gosiute and Shoshone are mythological, and the contemporary Nuwe are not anciently from the Great Basin at all (Hultkrantz 1986; Madsen and Rhode (1994). This proposed invisibility prohibits some researchers from gaining needed insight from contemporary Punown and leads some to view hunters and gatherers from foreign lands as models by which to describe the ideological and material culture present in the Great Basin.

Vine Deloria, in his book “God is Red,” identifies a spiritual crisis in America as the reason why an understanding cannot be reached with professionals who study Native American Indians (1975):

It is doubtful if American society can move very far or very significantly without a major revolution in theological concepts. In a very real sense religious doctrines define the brooding sense of identity without which societies appear helpless to function. The present theological vacuum is being filled to a great degree by efforts to establish exotic religions in America. The great appeal of oriental religions that appear to provide a meaningful answer to contemporary questions, demonism and fascination with Satanic cults, and the rejection of traditional mainline denominations for the simplicity of fundamentalism all seem to indicate that a comprehensive effort to derive a new religious conception of the world is badly needed. Before we can have any new theological understanding of our situation, however, the tools of analysis of religious ideas must be changed. This will require a tremendous reversal of ideas that have been held by western peoples, particularly Christians, for many centuries.

For the spiritually knowledgeable Punown the archaeological researcher’s mysteries are not mysteries. They are knowable; but sacred ceremonial secrets are not to be told to anthropologists (cf. Goss 1999:83). Some contemporary physicists claim that modern science is lacking, even with all of its power and richness. It cannot possibly

account for that ultimate mystery of existence, human consciousness (Horgan 1996:1). The origin of the Nuwe is “tentative” to mainstream archaeological researchers (cf. Madsen and Rhode 1994). On the other hand, science writer John Horgan (1996:118) pointed out “There are still some rather large biological mysteries left, such as the origin of life, of sex, and of human consciousness.” In my opinion, despite the ironic views that archaeology currently presents on the ethnogenesis of the Gosiute, no factual approach is available to prove that the Nuwe only recently replaced an earlier a population.

The Nuwe view of their ancient tenure in the lands they occupy today has an internal consistency and validity of its own. Who better then, to orient and modulate current archaeological theories and cultural resource management practices in the Nuwe country, than those who the first Euroamerican interlopers found already living there? Punown thought has its own repertoire of ideas and symbolic processes that can help us to understand the archaeological record (Myers 1987:156).

The Nuwe (and Punown) ideology of creation, life, and consciousness is valid in its own right. The Nuwe world-view is holistic in that it understands all life and accounts for each element within a single creation. This creation is constantly transforming through time and space and is realized in prehistoric, historic, and future time as one continuum of being, all within the same creation. Knowledge is preserved through oral (spiritual and ceremonial) tradition and hidden from change. A comfortable and healthy view which the Nuwe maintain of their ancestry is in conflict with some archaeologists’ views about the “Numic Expansion”. To “privilege” the archaeological view is ethnocentric. Forcing on

others a view that is not factually demonstrable is unethical for anyone and has no genuine benefit for society as a whole, only serving selfish needs of the moment.

While the earth is a living being and Punown are part of that being, many who practice within the western science tradition view human beings and the earth as separable from one another. While the Nuwe and Punown view the world as a Grandmother and respond accordingly, some archaeologists and anthropologists view the adaptation of these people quite differently: as economic, manipulative of the environment, and gastrically tied to a battle for their lives in a harsh environment not very suitable to their form of existence (Myers 1999). What a dissonance! The time of the Numakinat, Buuveyunuwena, Nuwenucyou, and Nuwe offers us a starting point to share Native ideology about Punown origins. This conflict is qualitative, and until archaeologists learn to ceremonialize their connection to prehistory, the Nuwe will ritually understand where they came from and the archaeologists will continue to theorize. A Nuwuvi interlocutor told me in Arizona in 1997 that “the Taibou are wanderers; they do not stay in one place, and because of this they want to make us be like them. We know where we come from.” In 1995 Wil Numkena, a Hopi who is also Punown, said the following about the importance of burials to Native American people:

Burials have high spiritual and sacred significance to American Indian Tribes across the United States. This is deeply rooted in the holistic philosophies of the Tribes. At birth, Indian newborn are received into this world with blessing and ceremony for the purpose of bonding with all creation. Burials of the deceased are especially provided sacred ceremonies for their journey into the next dimension of life; to be with the Creator and the family. American Indian burials are sacred, as the deceased, grave, and funerary objects are blessed, consecrated and dedicated to the care and the keeping of the Creator. The burial site then becomes “Holy Ground,” never to be disturbed. Disturbance of Indian

burials is an extremely sensitive issue with American Indian people. Let it be understood that American Indian people have never surrendered the spirits and remains of their ancestors. There can be no distinction placed on past, present, and future Indian burials for convenience of discovery, research, and exploitation. Every Indian burial is sacred, therefore, remains and funerary objects must be re-interred to their rightful place with honor and respect . . .

Spirituality among the Punown is individual. It is learned from elders, inculcated within each separate group and from family to family. It can be learned spiritually from ceremonies such as a Warriors Dance (similar to the Sun Dance), Bear Dance, Ghost Dance, Women's Dance (or Round Dance) or Burial Dance (Cry Dance), from Native American Church ceremonies, and so on. Ceremony can take place during an antelope or buffalo hunt, rain ceremony, or any social event that requires spiritual protection or benevolence. According to Punown interlocutors, the spiritual aspects of the people are held among those who have been trained as holders of them (Brewster 2003b; personal communication with Clifford Duncan March 2003). Sometimes, elders can be contacted for historical purposes while spiritual issues are held close by those individuals in the tribe(s) who have the special training, connection, and knowledge of their requirements. Spirituality is transmitted from the Creator to the people and traditional healers work as homing devices where medicine from him can be used in a "good way" to help others. The Puha (power or spiritual knowledge) can appear in dreams, visions, quests, ceremonies, or can come from an inheritance through time from familial traditional healers. Some chase shamanism but for Punown, Puha comes to individuals as an inheritance and it is not usually sought. However, sometimes a guardian spirit can be known to an individual, who receives spiritual protection and guidance from it.

The web of life is similar to basketry weaving. The web reaches into the sky and connects with Grandfather in the continuously developing framework of life and birth and death in all. Centers from which power emanates from Grandmother (Wicipamapici) are cave openings, rockshelters, caves, springs, ponds, streams, lakes, rock overhangs, outcrops, canyons, mountain tops, volcanic vents, hot springs, geologic hoodoos, large trees, ancient trees, and other striking natural features. Though Puha (power) is connected through the web of life in its netlike space (matrix), other material culture, thoughts, vegetation, and animals can have a special puissance. Puha is a separate yet connected part of the overall continuing creation process. Our earth Grandmother is thought of as a living being who is revered. Grandmother has a “web of life” that extends from the subterranean underworld to an interconnected world on which we walk.

When plants are gathered, when water is drunk, when food is eaten, when an animal is killed, prayers are offered. One of the primary distinctive offerings is made to Grandmother. When a Native American Indian prays, as in the Punown case, attendant prayers are used to ask for protection and to show respect for the ancestors. However, in modern American culture the spirituality of the Punown is not always respected. It is confusing for the Punown, all the more since western science ideas of progress and the basic structural meanings which are attached to interpretations of research subjects had their roots in Christian theologies. It is not understandable for the Punown that an objective science would disallow them their respect for the Creator in favor of an undetermined objective science that is void of the spirit. Psychologically, it is a problematic issue for a quasi-objective or “ironic” science like anthropology to get at

Punown spirituality. Respect is a matter of faith and a matter of being able to see the “burning bush,” and for the Nuwe and Punown it is attained through spiritual practices.

As a Nuwe interlocutor quoted earlier said, anthropologists need to define things. Marvin Minsky (1985), in “The Society of Mind” described the “Ghost” in modern social science:

It often does more harm than good to force definitions on things we don't understand. Besides, only in logic and mathematics do definitions ever capture concepts perfectly. The things we deal with in practical life are usually too complicated to be represented by neat, compact expressions. Especially when it comes to understanding minds, we still know so little that we can't be sure our ideas about psychology are even aimed in the right directions. In any case, one must not mistake defining things for knowing what they are.

The Punown view of their ancestral interconnectedness is as valid as current scientific theory on the subject, in that who better to understand the creative power of the Great Basin and Intermountain West than those who maintain ancient ties to the land through the practice of ceremonies? The Punown are responsible for their sacred ties to the land.

The Punown rely on a ceremonial process where songs, chants, prayers, and ritual reveal the past through the singing of songs, reciting of prayer, and proper ordering of ceremonial process. The exact order and process cannot be divulged to anyone other than traditional healers (Puhakantu), and rock writers (Puhatimbimbu), who create rock art as part of various ceremonies. This process is similar throughout the Great Basin and in surrounding geographic areas (Whitley 2000). Native ideology shares some links with theoretical mainstream constructs like “culture history.” Culture historical reconstruction

is the bread and butter of archaeology and will continue as a central focus. Punown also take history very seriously. But without an infusion of Native American ideology into archaeological interpretation of ancestral archaeological manifestations, the record of such events seems to conform too much to archaeologists own culturally-influenced ideas of relationships (law-like generalizations) between “all” people (cf. Trigger 1989). In gross cases, the archaeology ends up looking like “manifest destiny” and ideology, traced to “divine progress” as filtered through “cognitive dissonance.” When cognitive dissonance is used to facilitate rationalizations, then serious control issues abound and ego, as seen through pride (pathological self serving), biases the archaeological records (Trigger 1989:302). Conversely, the archaeology of the future will be an open-ended research similar to the outlook of spirituality in that we always have new things to learn. The “privilege” presumed by some researchers and managers in accessing and interpreting American prehistory is not real, it is a useless artifact of the dominant paradigm of conqueror archaeology. My hope for the future is for a balanced archaeology of the Great Basin that is informed by Punown mental constructs.

A Path Toward Balancing Scientific and Punown Thought in the Conduct
of Great Basin Archaeology

The type of purification of archaeology suggested by Nuwe and Punown has led some local researchers to feel “besieged” (Simms and Raymond 1999). In Punown thought if an individual feels besieged about the archaeological record it is the result of “ghost sickness”. Ghost sickness comes primarily from misconduct relating to ancestral burials and sacred ground. When skeletal remains are removed and the uniqueness of important geographical features is compromised by researchers, a number of spiritual issues arise. Punown observe the influence of disturbed ancestor spirits filtering into the behavior of some researchers who behave in selfish, controlling, unreasonable ways, and with obvious irritation. To purify an individual who has awakened ancestral spirits involves a lengthy process of purification. The siege alluded to above involved managing access to Native American burials exposed by erosion along the Great Salt Lake at Willard Bay. The siege mentality is grounded in “cognitive dissonance” over how burials are to be treated, and the Nuwe understand this. However, while the Nuwe, and the Punown more generally, realize that some researchers’ behavior is unconscious it nonetheless is disturbing to them as reflecting ghost sickness.

This conflict can be corrected by infusing native ideological constructs, into existing paradigms. One primary reason the Punown have not spoken out on ethical issues in the past stems from a form of respect unique to their social etiquette. It is considered unkind to correct others, especially those we are taught to respect, such as academic researchers. Simply, resolution of the conflict is a matter of according respect

to the views and beliefs of other people, whether or not you agree with them. This cultural relativism is one of the basic foundations of anthropology. And, of course, such respect must go both ways if it is to work well. It is, or should be, an everyday occurrence in a country that enshrines religious freedom and tolerance, as we do in the United States. My simple proposal will not bring about a major revolution, but it can foster a sincere alliance that will go far in enabling archaeologists not to be under siege, and Native people to participate in an informed, responsible, academic, and professional manner. Mutual respect will enable a joint understanding of the “ironic-ness” of archaeology and provide responsible and improved interpretation of America’s past. This, I think, is the goal of archaeology.

Numakinat

The Nuwe oral tradition teaches of a time when animals and people could talk. These ancestors are called Numakinat. The time of Numakinat is accepted by the Punown as a time of creation and a time when people appeared, and when animals taught the people how to live upon the earth (e.g., Hulkrantz 1986). This creation process involved the connection of all life to a divine benefactor, Nuwunanna: Grandfather, or Creator, or Our Father (Hulkrantz 1986:631). The creation and its life-giving process are analogous to the transformation processes envisioned by natural selection, and are common knowledge for the Nuwe as well as evidence of the Nuwe connection to all life. Water is usually a component of Nuwe origin oral tradition. Water is used in most ceremonies (Smith 1993). Nuwunanna encompasses life, and its material, male, and female manifestations. The Numakinat were a part of Nuwunanna’s creation and thus similar to

spiritual beings in Christian theology as described in the Judeo-Christian Bible. However, the spirits of some Numakinat are thought to have been human in the past. These spirits can become guardians for Punown.

The Gosiute origin starts with water, and creation stories usually involve water and the first people, Numakinat. Daniel Myers (1997:38) encapsulates the beginning: “first, the earth is covered with water and so the women play a dominant role. When Coyote breaks the vagina dentata, the roles shift and it is Coyote and land that are dominant.” Prayers can be offered to all of Nuwunanna’s creation. Care and respect, proper order of songs and prayer are required in the ceremonial process. Native Americans such as the Nuwe are frequently asked questions about their creation or arrival in their homeland and the answer is “we were created right here.” Creation is that connected process that changes but remains the same, like the essence of light. Creation is ever changing, and the transformational processes we glean from archaeological research provide researchers with an opportunity to understand it. We can understand archaeological data objectively and respect the faith of Punown and other Native peoples. We can also try and learn how the deep structure of the Punown symbological system operates and how it is applied in the archaeological record. The complex ceremonial process practiced by traditional healers expresses spiritual “high knowledge.” High knowledge transcends time and space and provides an intersection between the people now and divinely inspired knowledge of the past and future via a spirit guardian complex. Spiritual knowledge is based on a creative process that is manifest in all energy through

time and space. In essence the “divine” is progressive in its ever remaining and changing (transformative) form in all.

In Conclusion

To return in closing to the point of this discussion for the field of archaeology, it is essential for “scientific” archaeologists and cultural resource managers in the Great Basin to understand the Punown view of the “archaeological record,” and to accord that view due respect in their interpretations, negotiations, and management decisions. Through expression of that respect, and respect of the right of Indian people to play a role in managing and interpreting their past, I believe the conflicts encountered by some archaeologists, physical anthropologists, and resource managers in working with Native Americans will be resolved.

CHAPTER III

ARCHAEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF THE NORTHEASTERN GREAT BASIN
CULTURE AND HISTORY

“Until Native Americans can start digging up their ancestors like white people, they cannot become archaeologists.”

Public communication (1997) by a well-known Great Basin archaeologist whose name is intentionally withheld.

In this chapter I turn to an account of culture and culture history in the country of the Nuwe, as generated by Euroamerican scholars. I begin with the earliest times documented archaeologically, and bring the account up to the present relying on historical accounts and contemporary events. I conclude with a brief statement of where the Nuwe are now. The purpose of this chapter is to show what has been learned through the archaeological and historical disciplines about life, time, and change in the Nuwe region, to identify areas where interpretations have not reached consensus, and—most importantly—to illustrate the thoroughly Euroamerican concerns and questions that have dominated the research and writing of the story. It provides a striking contrast with the Numu views discussed in the preceding chapter, and it sets the stage for the confrontation, described in the next chapter, that has been created by the so-called Numic Expansion hypothesis. According to the Numic Expansion concept, prior to just a few hundred years ago, Nuwe ancestors had no part at all in the history of the region that contemporary Nuwe deeply identify with as their primordial homeland.

The prehistory of the northeast Great Basin area (Figure 2) has been the object of inquiry since the first encounters of Native people with Euroamericans (Alley 1987). Several guiding archaeological references have been relied upon in this chapter (Aikens 1978a; Aikens and Madsen 1986; d'Azevedo 1986; Grayson 1994; Jennings 1986, 1978, 1957; and Steward 1938). However, other many other primary sources have also been consulted, among them the following: (Aikens 2000, 1994; Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Brewster 1998, 2003a, 2003b; Crum 1997; DeLancey 1996; Dean 1992; Gruhn 1988; James, Janetski, and Vlasich 1981; Fawcett and Simms 1994; Nichols 1981; Madsen and O'Connell 1982; Shaul 2001).

Archaeological ruins and artifacts, village sites, and rock art were reported by Euroamerican investigators between 1850 and 1874 (Fowler and Jennings 1982). Some sites to the south of the Nuwe area were excavated in 1875, primarily to retrieve display collections for the Smithsonian Institution and Harvard University. Many of these artifacts and sites were attributed to the Southwest, and to "ill-defined Aztec and Mexican empires." Between the 1870s and 1915, topographic surveys noted artifacts and sites, and University of Utah naturalists noted more archaeological sites and dug some of them for artifacts. Beginning in 1915, Neil Judd led excavations in the area for the Smithsonian Institution, initiating the first systematic attempt at archaeological excavation in Utah along the Wasatch Front, in Nuwe territory. In 1930 the University of Utah Anthropology Department hired Julian Steward and he subsequently undertook a program of research at the Promontory Caves near Great Salt Lake, which is discussed further below. During the 1940's research was undertaken in the Deep Creek region of Gosiute territory by Carling

Malouf (1940) and Elmer Smith (1941) dug at Deadman Cave west of Salt Lake City. Since the 1950's literally hundreds of archaeological investigations----reconnaissance, subsurface testing, and data recovery excavations--have been conducted within the traditional homelands of the Nuwe (Aikens 1970; Aikens and Madsen 1986; Jennings 1957, 1978; Fowler and Jennings 1982; James, Janetski, and Vlasich 1981; Madsen 1982).

Theoretical Context

Before and during the 1940s, Great Basin cultures were generally seen as peripherally derived from the Southwest. The interpretation was guided by the assumptions of the culture area and age/area hypotheses (Wissler 1923), whereby an archaeological trait complex known spatially and temporally is thought to have diffused outward from a center of invention and highest complexity into adjacent "peripheral" areas. Kidder (1924:78-82) viewed the Great Basin, north of the Anasazi area, as peripheral to the Southwest due to similarities it shared with the Pueblo area in house types, ceramics and other artifact types. As Fowler and Jennings (1982:109-110) noted, "this provided the interpretation that the archaeology of the Great Basin was derivative and that the center of invention and development was to be found elsewhere."

In the northeastern Great Basin, Julian Steward (1937) excavated several caves around the Great Salt Lake, in which he found evidence of considerable antiquity. At the top of the sequence he identified a Promontory Culture, which he interpreted as separate from the historic-period Gosiute and Shoshone cultures of the same area (Steward 1937, 1940). At about the same time, Steward (1938) also published an ecological model of

ethnographic Shoshone life, which Fowler and Jennings (1982:109-110) sum up as follows:

Steward credited ecological factors with regulating population density and structuring the size, mobility, and distribution of settlement units and the nature of sociopolitical organization. He recorded a subsistence pattern geared to the exploitation of a series of micro-environments in a well-defined seasonal round. The primary socioeconomic unit was the family. The distribution and characteristics of the staple food resources, all vegetal (roots, pinyon nuts, grass seeds), required wide dispersal of small family groups for most of the year. The overall picture is one of a sparse population moving through a seasonal round in a harsh, arid environment .

With Jennings' excavation of Danger Cave (Jennings 1957; Jennings and Norbeck 1955), and the age determinations provided by the then-new method of radiocarbon dating, the high antiquity of the Great Basin culture was firmly established. Jennings' work, along with the previous research of Cressman (1942, 1951) in the northern Great Basin, vitiated the idea that Great Basin culture was derived from Southwestern developments (Jennings and Fowler 1982:110). In fact, the reverse was shown to be true: that the Southwest culture pattern had developed out of a pre-existing Desert Culture that was ancient throughout the Great Basin and adjacent regions. Jennings (1957) proposed his Desert Culture concept based on the Danger Cave archaeological record, which he interpreted with reference to ethnographic descriptions of the Gosiute people who lived in the same area, and to Steward's (1938) ecological model, which was based on Great Basin ethnography generally. The Desert Culture concept, rendered in subsequent iterations as the Desert Archaic or Western Archaic, has provided the intellectual focus for much of the archaeology done in the Far West ever since it was published (Jennings and Fowler 1982:109).

In 1957, Lamb published what has become known as the Numic Expansion hypothesis, according to which Numic-speaking peoples fanned out of the far southwestern corner of the Great Basin only about 1,000 years ago, completely replacing everyone who had lived in the Great Basin before then. Lamb's hypothesis will be explored in detail later, but I note here that it became a great focus of investigation and debate among researchers, continuing up to the present (Madsen and Rhode 1994). During much of the same period, the Desert Culture concept was criticized as too simple an idea to account for local and regional culture variation (Heizer and Krieger 1956; Baumhoff and Heizer 1965; but cf. Aikens 1978b). Studies in processual archaeology were initiated after 1970 that did show a clear-cut "variety of area-specific and ecology-specific" adaptation systems (Fowler and Jennings 1982:110). Research on the Western Pluvial Lakes Tradition and lacustrine adaptations at Humboldt Sink, Carson Sink, and the Winnemucca-Pyramid Lake areas, as well as in Surprise Valley, northeastern California, also showed that the presence of diverse resources had in many places and times allowed significant residential stability (Jennings and Fowler 1982; Wingard 2001), an idea that Jennings' original account had downplayed.

Paleo-environmental archaeology became a focus in Great Basin studies after the Danger Cave excavations, and reflections on the post-Pleistocene paleoclimatic model of the Anathermal (9,000 to 7,000 B.P.), Altithermal (7,000 to 4,500 B.P.), and Medithermal (4,500 to present), provided by Antevs (1948, 1955). The Anathermal climate was characterized as being at first cooler and wetter than the present, but with the climate steadily becoming warmer. The Altithermal continued the warming trend until the Great

Basin was warmer and more arid than today. The Medithermal climate became much like that of today. Although the Danger Cave archaeological and environmental records appeared to show that the environment had remained relatively stable through time, the Antevs model, for some researchers, ran counter to the model provided by Danger Cave (Fowler and Jennings 1982). Some scholars considered the Altithermal too dry for human occupation of the Great Basin (e.g., Heizer and Baumhoff 1965), and the controversy stimulated many paleo-environmental studies (cf., Fagan (1974). Since these early debates over “Altithermal abandonment,” a great deal of paleo-environmental research has been conducted, and the rather simplistic arguments have given way to a general recognition that Great Basin climatic history has been complex and varied across both space and time. Climatic fluctuation has indeed significantly affected human occupation, but in more complex and varied ways than previously imagined (Grayson 1993).

A related focus in Great Basin research has involved settlement and subsistence studies that shifted the purview of research from single sites to a focus on regions. David Hurst Thomas’ (1972, 1973) research in the Reese River Valley, for example, included research design, sampling strategy, and simulation studies at the regional level, and much similar work followed (e.g., Aikens and Jenkins 1994; Jennings and Folwer 1982; Zenah 1996). In fact, cultural resources management investigations today are routinely begun by collecting a wide range of inventory data, with which to place particular site locations in a regional context based on the above Thomas type of strategy.

The cultural history of the Great Basin as known today is constructed from excavations in caves and open sites, broad-scale regional surveys, and related settlement

and subsistence studies. These studies have provided vast amounts of typological, chronological, and subsistence data. A large amount of data for the Nuwe area in the northeastern Great Basin comes from lake-margin sites such as Danger, Smith Creek, and Hogup caves (Jennings 1957; Bryan 1979; Aikens 1970). Some other excavated sites in the area include Scribble Rock Shelter (Lindsay and Sargent 1979); Barn Owl, Crab, and Deadman caves (Madsen 1982; Madsen and Schmidt 1998), Bonneville Estates Rock Shelter (Schroedl and Coulam 1989), Deadman Cave (Smith 1941), and the Promontory Caves (Steward 1937). Hundreds of additional cultural resources management investigations have been performed in the northeastern area that also contribute to our understanding of settlement and subsistence patterns in varying ecological zones (Aikens and Madsen 1986; Brewster 2003a; Carter 1998; Grayson 1993; Janetski 1994; James and Singer 1980; James, Janetski, and Vlasich 1981; Jennings 1978). Synthesis of the above settlement and subsistence studies, along with excavation at open sites, has also contributed much to our understanding. Lithic cross dating, cross dating of pottery types, and floral and faunal analyses from these investigations contribute to our understanding of cultural distributions and resource catchments through time and space in the northeastern Great Basin (Berry and Berry 2001; Dean 1992; Simms 1999; Simms and Stuart 1992; Talbot and Richens 1996; Wilde and Soper 1990) Evidence from these sources are woven into the following account of the archaeological sequence in the Nuwe area.

Cultural Sequence in the Northeastern Great Basin

Some contemporary archaeologists think that the earliest stone tools found in the New World are much older than 13,000 years. There are some much-discussed archaeological sites in North and South America that approach or exceed this age, for example Meadowcroft Rock Shelter in Pennsylvania (14,000-18,000 B.P.); Wilson Butte Cave in Idaho (14, 500 – 15,500 B.P.); Fort Rock Cave in Oregon (13,000 B.P.); and Monte Verde in Chile (12,500-17,000 B.P.). These sites have been dogged by controversy about dating, perhaps “hyper-skeptical” controversy (Adovosio, and Pedlar 1997; Gruhn 1961; Bedwell and Cressman 1971; Dillehay 1997). Additionally, there are sites claimed to be much older than that. Krieger (1964) advocated a “chopper-scrapers horizon” or “pre-projectile point stage” in the Americas. His argument, however, has not been accepted and for most archaeologists is not a valid construct, even though claims of this sort continue to be made, as at Pedra Furada in Brazil, for example (cf. Deloria 1995; Churchill 1995; Meltzer, D. J., D. K. Grayson, G. Ardila, A. W. Barker, D. F. Dincauze, C. V. Haynes, F. Mena, L. Nunez and D. J. Stanford 1997).

In the Nuwe area, possible ancient tools observed along Pleistocene shorelines of Lake Bonneville, and in mountain environments of Utah near Park City, have been advocated by some as representing quite early (15,000-70,000 B.P.) occupancies of North America (cf. James and Singer 1980:88-89; Figures 1, 2, 3). The Calico Hills site, in the Mojave Desert of southern California, is one well-examined case of “geofacts” that look superficially similar to objects of human make, but do not measure up to the stringent

criteria of lithic analysis required to demonstrate human workmanship. Nevertheless, the finding of earlier sites remains a distinct possibility. Many possibly ancient sites in Utah have been explained away, perhaps too readily, by conservative local archaeologists (Grayson 1993; Gruhn 1987; Singer and James 1980). Apparent associations of artifacts with extinct megafauna have also been explained away (Grayson 1993).

I think it remains likely that more ancient occupancies of North America did occur, and will one day be demonstrated (cf. Deloria 1995). The determination of when and how people first appeared in the Great Basin is still open for debate. Abundant data on natural history attest to glaciers covering much of far northern North America, but human passage southward through an ice corridor may have been possible after 17,000 years ago. And we know that a coastal route was perhaps available by 15,000 years ago if not before (Erlandson, 2002). People crossed 100 km of open water to arrive in Australia as much as 50,000 to 60,000 years ago, and had settled islands in Western Malaysia and well off the coast of Japan by ca. 25,000 to 35,000 years ago (see also Dillehay 1997; Meltzer et al. 1997).

The following Eastern Great Basin culture history is adapted from Aikens and Madsen (1986), with new data added into this framework from investigations that have been completed in the years since it was written. It is important to note here the Gosiute name for ancient animal progenitor ancestors, and very ancient human ancestors, is Numakinat (cf., Deloria 1995:233; Fowler and Fowler 1971). So, in Gosiute terms, archaeological resources dated prior to about 11,000 years ago may be referred to as Numakinat, while the term Buuveyunuwena may be used for the period between 11,000

years ago and historic contact times. The Fremont people are Newenucyou or in Ute (Nutsiyu) Fremont is Mookweetch. A Gosiute and Northwest Band Shoshone (Nuwe) culture history that makes use of these distinctions is currently under development for tribal consultation purposes (Brewster 2003a).

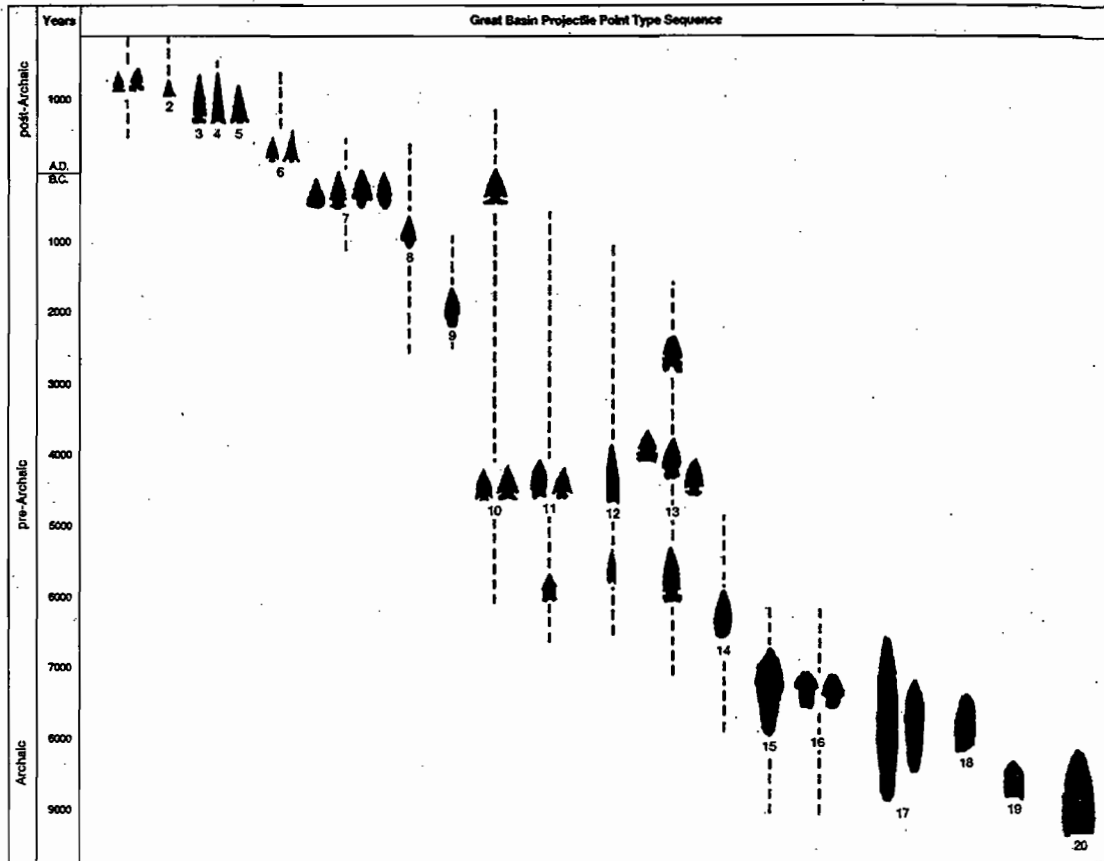
Bonneville Period (11,000–9,500 B.P.)

The Bonneville Period refers to the earliest generally accepted human occupation of the Eastern Great Basin (Aikens and Madsen 1986). The atlatl or spear thrower was possibly used during the Bonneville Period along with thrusting spears. The period is marked by the presence of Great Basin Stemmed points C-14 dated to 11,200 - 7,500 BP. (Figure 4), and a few fluted projectile points typologically cross-dated dated to 11,200 - 10,900 B.P. (Beck and Jones 1997). A preferential adaptation to lake edge ecotones beside shallow water during the beginning of this period changed by 9,500 B.P. to a variable use of ecotones in surrounding environments. Table 1 shows the cultural chronology of the Eastern Great Basin.

TABLE 1 Cultural Chronology for the Eastern Great Basin Area

| <u>PERIOD</u> | <u>DATES</u> |
|------------------|-----------------|
| Bonneville | 11,000-9,500 BP |
| Wendover | 9,500-6,000 BP |
| Black Rock | 4,000-1,500 BP |
| Fremont | 1,600-600 BP |
| Late Prehistoric | 600-200 BP |

Significant climatic shifts correlate with a wider distribution of Great Basin Stemmed projectile points in various ecological zones. In the Eastern Great Basin, Great Basin Stemmed points and crescents from Smith Creek Cave have been C-14 dated as early as 11,200 BP. Similar artifacts have been found in the southern portion of the Utah Test and Training Range at several lunette dune localities, and on various parts of the Dugway Proving Grounds and Hill Air Force Base (eg., Carter 1999). These sites are tethered to shoreline marshes associated with the drying Lake Bonneville (Figure 2).



Type Name . (Alternate Name)

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>1 Desert Side-notched Series Desert Side-notched Uinta Side-notched Bear River Side-notched</p> <p>2 Cottonwood Triangular</p> <p>3 Bull Creek Concave-base</p> <p>4 Parowan Basal-notched</p> <p>5 Nawthis Side-notched</p> <p>6 Rose Spring-Eastgate Series (Rosegate Series) Rose Spring Corner-notched Rose Spring Side-notched Eastgate Expanding-stem Eastgate Split-stem</p> <p>7 Martis Series Martis Triangular Martis Corner-notched Martis Stemmed-leaf</p> <p>8 Gypsum</p> | <p>9 McKean Lanceolate</p> <p>10 Elko Series Elko Corner-notched Elko Eared Elko Side-notched Elko Contracting-stem</p> <p>11 Pinto Series (Gatecliff Series, Little Lake Series, Bare Creek Series) Pinto Square-shouldered Pinto Sloping-shouldered Pinto Shoulderless Pinto Willowleaf</p> <p>12 Humboldt Series (Great Basin Concave-base Series) Humboldt Concave-base A Humboldt Concave-base B Humboldt Basal-notched Triple-T Concave-base</p> | <p>13 Large Side-notched Northern Side-notched (Bitterroot Side-notched) Hawken Side-notched Rocker Side-notched Sudden Side-notched San Raphael Side-notched</p> <p>14 Cascade</p> <p>15 Large unnamed stemmed</p> <p>16 Large stemmed (Great Basin Stemmed Series) Lake Mohave Silver Lake Parman Series Windust</p> <p>17 Haskett 1 and 2</p> <p>18 Scottsbluff</p> <p>19 Folsom</p> <p>20 Clovis</p> |
|---|--|--|

Figure 4. Key to Great Basin Projectile Point Sequence (Jennings 1986).

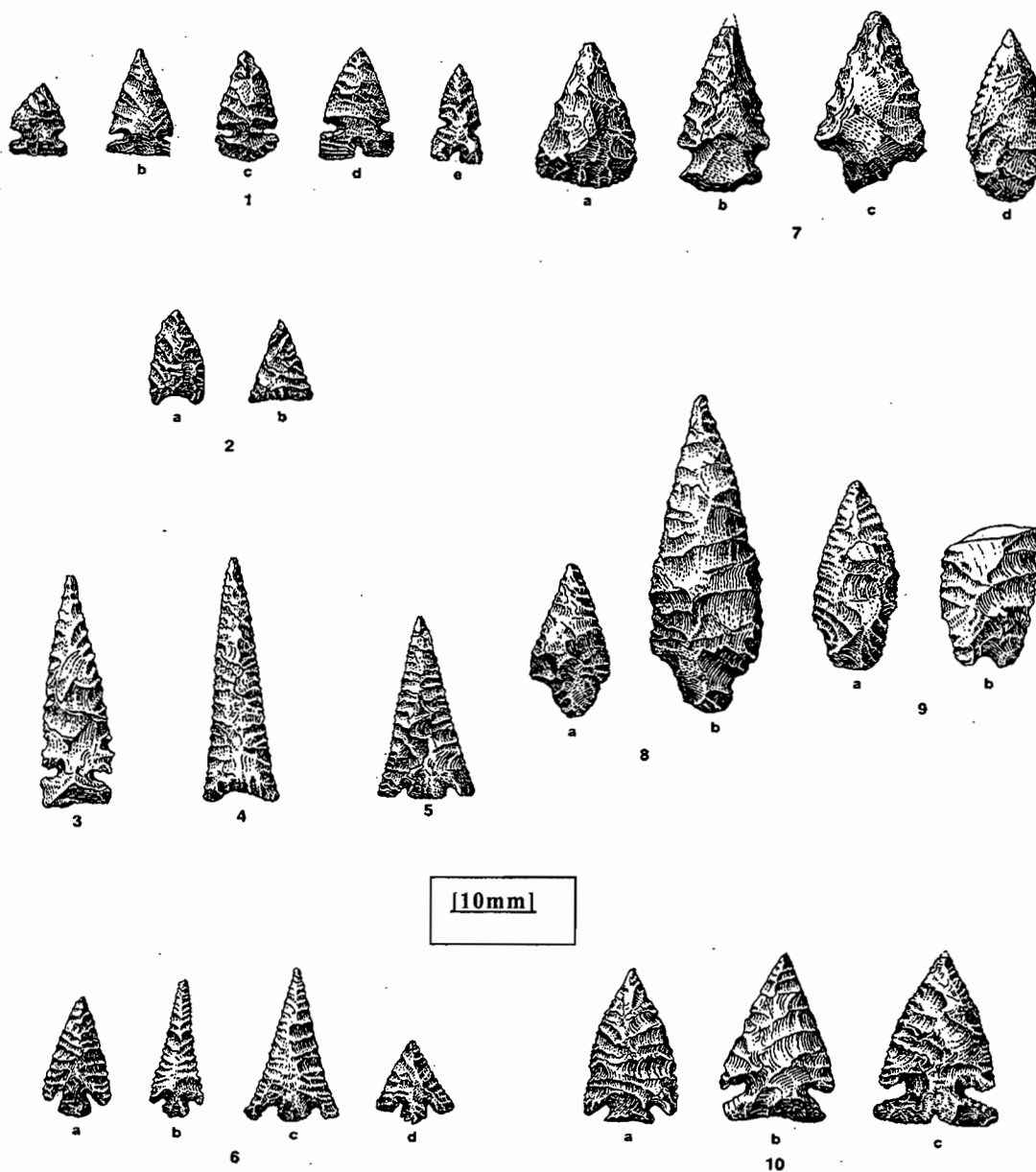


Figure 5. Late Prehistoric and Archaic Projectile Points (after Jennings 1986).

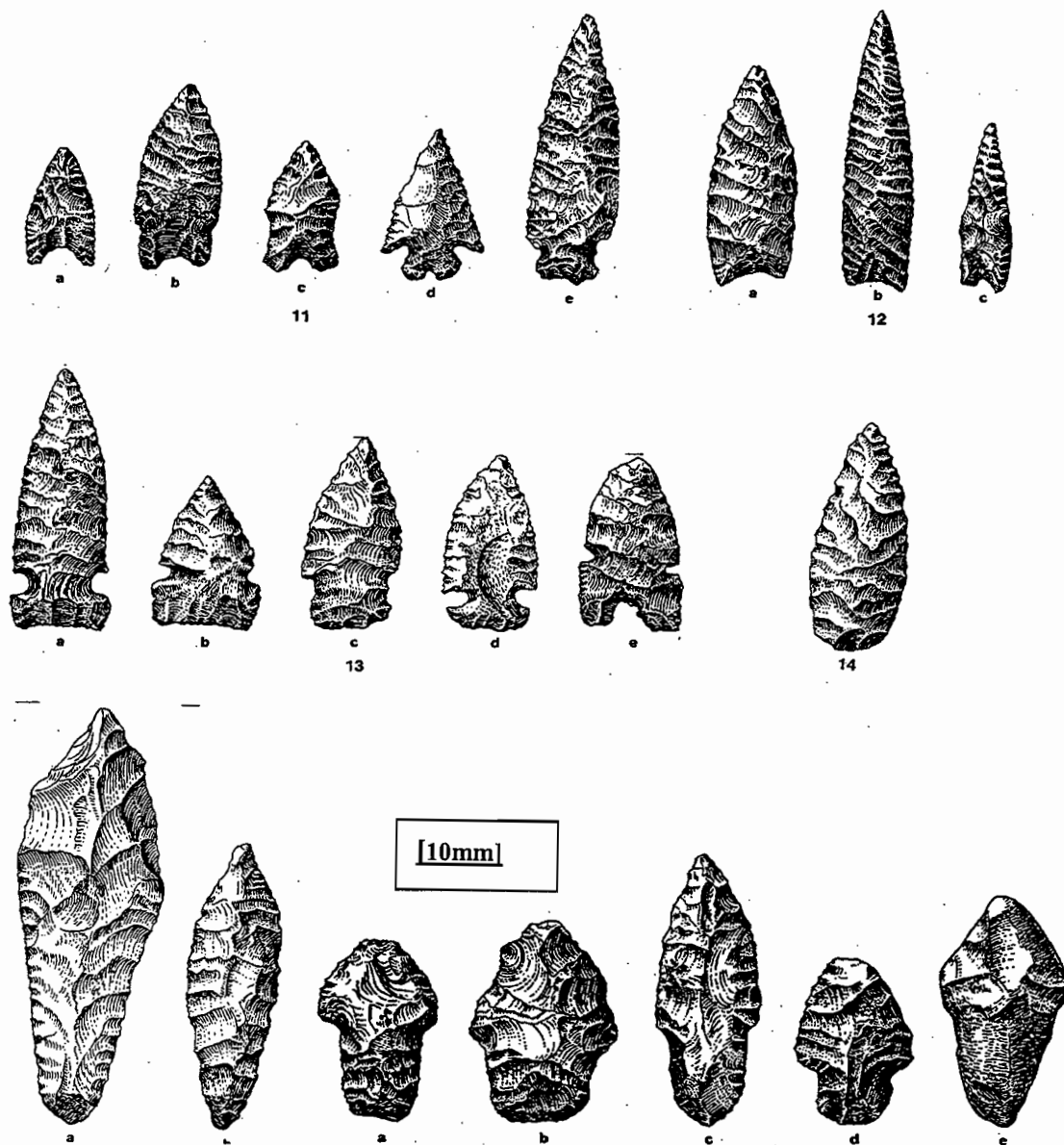
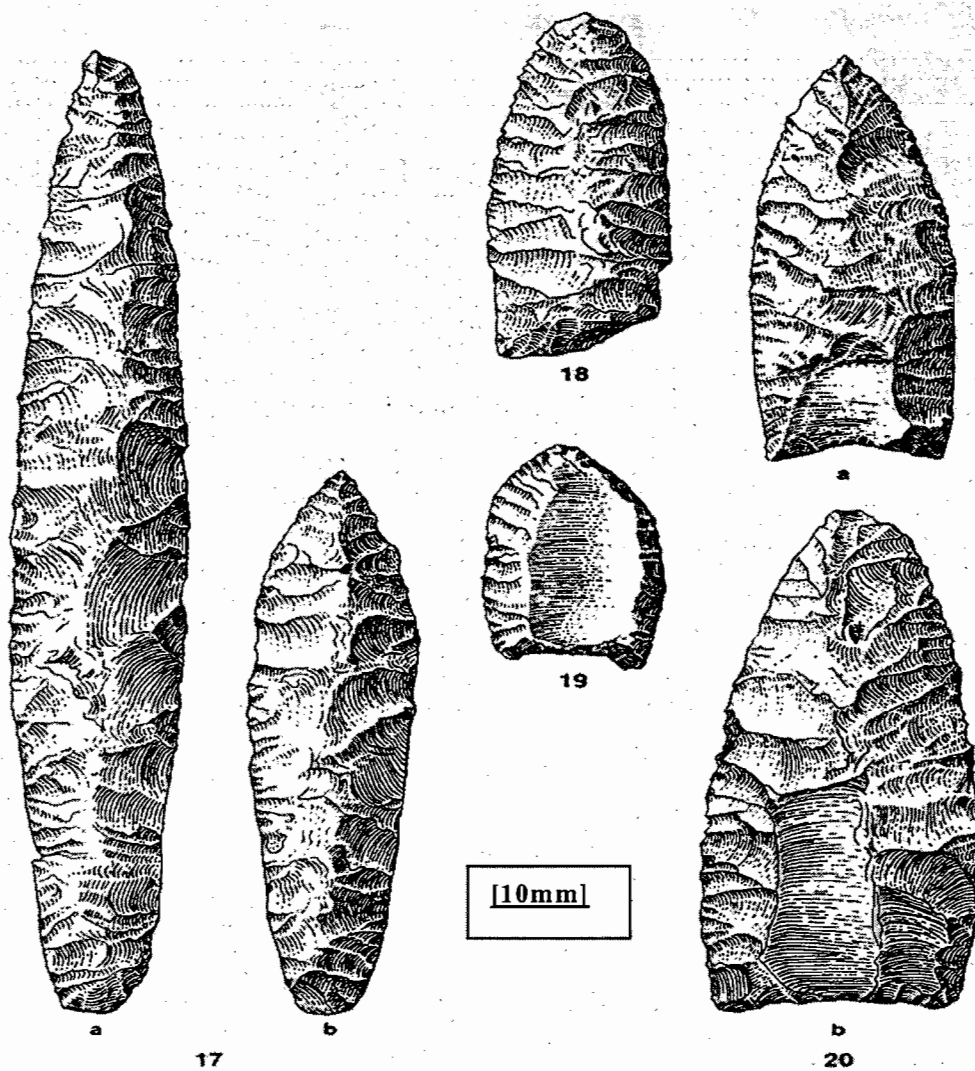


Figure 6. Late and Middle Archaic Projectile Points (Jennings 1986).



U. of Utah, Mus. of Nat. Hist., Salt Lake City: 1a, 42Wb34-FS73-64; 1b, 42Sv7-FS32-5142; 1c, 42Md180-FS225-V16; 1d, 4aBo268-FS226-127; 1e, 42Bo36-FS46-23; 3, 42Md180-FS289-111; 4, 42Ga34-FS425-1; 5, 42In124-FS208-8; 6a, 42Bo36-FS452-23; 6b, 42Wn420-FS27-12; 6c, 42In124-FS50-53; 8a, 42Wn420-FS843-11; 8b, 42Wn420-FS477w-5; 9a; 9b, 425V6-FST539-7; 10a, 42Bo36-FS717-43; 10b, 42Bo36-FS701-258; 10c, 42Bo36-FS39-11; 11a, 42Bo365-FS53-166; 12b, 42Bo365-FS48-4; 13c, 425V6-FS988-5; 13e, 48Sw101-FS779-3. Nev. State Mus., Carson City: 2a, 1403-G-678; 2b, 10-A-2; 6d, 42-B-036; 7a, 38-G-5207; 7b, 2395-G-859; 7c, 2395-G-2662; 7d, 235/0; 11b, 23109/3; 11c, 1003/26; 11d, 23350/1; 11e, 10-A-1; 12a, 22934/5; 12c, 1403-G-635; 13a, 23081/15; 13b, 1085-57; 13d, 23018/2; 15a, 50; 15b, 55; 16a, 1514-G-3; 16b, 819-G-134c; 16c, A92; 20a, 26Wa00/501; 20b, 26Wa00/500. 14, after Bedwell 1973:fig.12, P3; 16d-e, after Amsden 1937:pls.42, b, 41c; 17a-b, after Butler 1965:fig.9e, h; 18, after E.M. Davis 1962:fig.24; 19, after Butler 1978:fig.33.

Figure 7. Early Archaic Projectile Points (Jennings 1986).

On the southern Utah Test and Training Range, milling stones occur in open dune field sites with crescents, lanceolate knives, domed scrapers, and Great Basin Stemmed projectile points. It is probable that these sites were associated with shallow water and marsh settings. A limited but similar artifact inventory has been observed within the lowest stratigraphic levels in cave deposits.

Dated material in stratified cave deposits is observed in Danger Cave, where Great Basin Stemmed projectile points, randomly used flake knives, chipped stone flakes, and milling stones are observed by about 11,000 BP. Basketry made at this time was of both twined and coiled types. At Smith Creek Cave, end scrapers and broken bases of Great Basin Stemmed projectile points were associated with hearths dated at 11,200 - 10,000 BP. or perhaps earlier. Deer Creek Cave had poorly defined stratigraphy with similar artifacts, and a 10,000 B.P. date was taken on a deeply buried hearth (Aikens and Madsen 1986). Smith Creek and Deer Creek caves both have permanent streams that run near them, and Danger Cave is near the edge of an ancient marsh.

The Great Basin Stemmed and leaf shaped projectile points of the Bonneville period show regional morphological variability both in the northeastern and throughout the Great Basin, as a whole. They are generally similar to Lake Mojave and Silver Lake projectile points, but are distinct in that they do not have a separate hafting element. Instead they typically have concave bases and basal thinning, and are edge-ground along the proximal margins. Limited subsistence data suggest that mountain sheep and possibly camel were hunted, and seeds were likely collected and processed with milling stones.

Seeds were used through space and time in the Great Basin over more than 10,000 years. In fact, local Nuwe at historic contact still relied on seeds as a predictable food source.

Beck and Jones (1997) observed that the Western Pluvial Lakes Tradition, proposed by Bedwell (1973) and said to be focused on lacustrine settings, did not adequately account for the distribution of Great Basin Stemmed points through time and space. They proposed, therefore, the alternative name, Western Stemmed Tradition. The Western Pluvial Lakes Tradition was thought by Bedwell to have been tethered to pluvial lakes and lake-focused subsistence, but the Western Stemmed Tradition concept acknowledges that the Great Basin Stemmed points once thought to mark that tradition are not restricted to aquatic settings. However, even taking this expanded view into account, the lacustrine focus of hunter-gatherer-fishers in the Great Basin overall has long been recognized as one of the most successful orientations practiced there. In areas where shallow marshland is available, or where the lakes are fresh and fish live in them, there can be little “Gardens of Eden.” This recognition is important, and tempers the Jennings (1957) Desert Culture concept, which heavily stressed the overall aridity of the region. As we will see, the Desert Culture was a highly successful way to practice subsistence economics in an arid area (Thomas 1974), but it also relied importantly on the relatively rare, yet essential wetland “sweet spots” of the Great Basin (Willig and Aikens 1988).

The few fluted projectile points (11,200 - 10,900 BP) that have been located in the Eastern Great Basin and show great morphological variation and have usually been found along lake margins. However, the exact relationship of these points to classic

Clovis is poorly defined. The Great Basin fluted points could be coeval with the Great Basin Stemmed points, at least in part (Grayson 1993:237), although Willig and Aikens (1988) argue that they largely preceded Great Basin Stemmed. Pleistocene vegetation patterns during the Bonneville Period were giving way to modern Holocene vegetation distributions.

Late Pleistocene vegetation patterns were quite different than those of the following Early Holocene. A Plenipluvial coniferous forest was earlier present in the Great Salt Lake area, but around 10,500 B.P., sagebrush replaced this coniferous forest at lower elevations. Pinyon and Juniper forest replaced the coniferous forest in other areas (Currey and James 1982:44). Most of the known archaeological sites were near shallow water and marsh vegetation communities, and may have been tethered to these resources. Across the Great Basin, as lacustrine resources dried due to increasing aridity, Bonneville and other people reacted to the challenge by using alternative resources in upland settings (Grayson 1993).

Wendover Period (9,500-6,000 B.P.)

The Wendover Period corresponds to “Early Archaic” periods elsewhere in the Great Basin. The first clearly defined and dated assemblage from this time comes from Danger Cave. At Danger Cave, 150 grinding stone fragments were found in the 9,000 to 10,000 year-old level. Some technological items of the Wendover Period show a transition from earlier Bonneville times. Flat milling stones, twined and then later coiled basketry indicate a heavier reliance on vegetal products (James et al, 1981:101). It is likely that their users practiced a seasonal round similar to that of later archaic

populations (Grayson 1993). Hogup Cave (earliest date 8800 B.P.) is similar to Danger Cave in that during the early Holocene, a shallow-water marsh occurred along the old lake margin near the cave. Wendover period sites occur in a wider array of environmental settings than before, and correspond to an increasingly desiccated environment (Carter 1999). Pluvial lake edge food productivity was gone, or largely gone, by 7,500 B.P., and the correlation between culture and environmental change at this time is stark (Grayson 1993). Many of the hand milling stones used during the Wendover Period may also have been used as multipurpose tools, as for the edge grinding of bifacial projectile points.

Around 6,500 - 7,000 years ago pinyon pine—a key Native food resource of the contact-historic period—moved into the Central and Eastern Great Basin from a previous range farther south. An increased reliance on seeds overall becomes apparent, and the high labor cost of obtaining them was a choice that people made, possibly in response to desiccation. The much-increased use of milling stones suggests that reliance on seeds become a more viable adaptation to food procurement when other resources were not available. Some researchers think that this period supported a smaller human population than existed earlier and later in time (Grayson 1993:255).

Several major cave sites continued to be used during the Wendover Period, including Danger Cave, Hogup Cave, Sandwich Shelter, and Black Rock Cave (Aikens and Madsen 1986:155). Some upland cave sites, and other sites in different environmental and topographic settings, imply a shift away from a strongly lake edge orientation. Upland sites of the period include Weston Canyon Rockshelter at the northern edge of the Nuwe region, and Joes Valley Alcove, Sudden Shelter, O'Malley

Shelter, and Cowboy Cave, in adjacent regions to the south. Lowland and upland site settings suggest that an ecologically structured seasonal round became the primary settlement pattern.

Dietary evidence from this time shows that Wendover Period people relied on a wide range of vegetal foods, including pickleweed seeds from the lake margins and other seeds from higher environmental zones. Pickleweed grows along the perimeter of salt pans such as the Great Salt Lake. At sites like Danger Cave, where brackish springs occur, cattail and bulrush and other useful plants are present. Basketry made at this time was of both twined and coiled types. Coiled 'parching' trays likely utilized for charring and winnowing seeds, along with milling stones, suggest the hulling and grinding of seeds. The seed meal was likely made into dried cakes or gruels, as it was during the contact-historic period (Chamberlin 1911:343). Many animals were used, including various waterfowl, deer, mountain sheep, elk, and bison. The larger mammals are more common in upland cave site inventories, while small game such as jackrabbits, cottontail, and various small rodents were more widely found and may have been used more during this time than in others. The larger mammals appear to have moved upland in response to desiccation in lower, warmer environments. Rabbit and waterfowl nets, snares, and 'Promontory Pegs' probably used for setting them, were all in use. Looped pieces of cord may have been employed to snare small animals based on the running loop principle. At Hogup Cave, a numerical correlation between rabbit and bird bones suggests that netting may have been used to mass-harvest both types of prey. The evidence of waterfowl and shore birds indicates that there must still have been significant water available there, on

what are now barren salt flats. Bones of small animals and waterfowl, and waterfowl eggs, suggest that a diversity of resources was available near the cave.

The atlatl or spear thrower was used during the Wendover period. Projectile point types common during this period included Pinto (8,300-6300 B.P.), Northern Side-notched (7,200-4,500 B.P.), Elko (7,500-3,500 B.P.) and Humboldt (5,000-1,500 B.P.) (Grayson 1993:253). Some of these point types may have been hafted as knives. At Hogup Cave, carved wooden hafts, slotted to secure such points, would have served well as butchering knives. Large ovate flaked bifaces served for skinning purposes. Stone scrapers suggest that processing of animal skin was also an important focus. Tools produced from cores brought into sites from quarries elsewhere attest to the use of preferential material for making of stone tools. Clothing is not well represented at the sites, suggesting that the clothing used may have been simple and scanty. Bone awls split from mammal long bones served for the manufacture of both basketry items and soft processed leather clothing and hide pouches. Rabbit skin blankets (robes) were well attested at Hogup Cave, as they still were during the contact-historic period. To make them, rabbit fur strips were twisted, laid parallel, and then twined together with plant fiber cordage. No footwear is known for the Wendover period, but sandals of the same age from Cowboy Cave in Central Utah are made of woven plant fibers and are functionally similar to those from Fort Rock Cave and other sites in the Northern Great Basin (Aikens and Madsen 1986:156).

Many other items have been found in the dry cave deposits of the Eastern Great Basin, including pendants and necklaces or bracelets made of small mammal teeth, rabbit

long bone sections, or perforated Olivella shell beads from the Pacific Coast. Shell is rare, but it shows that trade from the Pacific coast was already occurring at this time (Aikens 1970; Hughes and Bennyhoff 1986). Incised stone is present at various sites, and incised stone tablets are widespread in the Great Basin (T. C. Thomas (1983). At Hogup Cave, and in the Promontory caves, these tablets show designs comparable to some seen at rock art sites of the same area.

Black Rock Period (6,000-1,500 B.P.)

This period takes its name from Black Rock Cave at the northern end of the Oquirrh Mountains, west of Salt Lake City. However, artifacts similar to the cultural items here are found at many localities, including Deadman, Danger, and Hogup caves (Aikens and Madsen 1986). Intensified upland use and a possible population increase at the beginning of the Black Rock Period are indicated by site numbers and distributions, and there is a remarkable change in projectile point styles. New sites were inhabited for the first time between 6,000 and 4,000 B.P. Elko and Gypsum (or Gatecliff) projectile point types (2500-1500 B.P.). show a 400% increase compared with earlier assemblages. These point types may have proven to be functionally and technologically suited to upland hunting with the atlatl and dart. Elko points may also have served as knives. Indian ricegrass was collected as a food source, as it still was during the historic-contact period. The upland sites may be small hunting camps, similar to those in use during the historic-contact period. Madsen suggests (1982:215):

The preferred (or perhaps the most abundant or the most readily procured) faunal resource was mountain sheep (S.J. Miller 1979). Deer and rabbit remains are also common, and bison remains are occasionally recovered.

Evidence from some sites (e.g., Dalley 1976) suggests occupation by family groups rather than small hunting parties. This strengthens the probability that most of these sites (some are far from lake margins) are related to lake edge sites through an occupational pattern often called a seasonal or annual round. As noted, upland species such as mountain sheep in lake edge sites after 5,000-6,000 years ago suggest a mobile subsistence-settlement system (S. J. Miller 1979).

The increased mid-Holocene aridity previously noted may be responsible for the observed greater use of upland sites during the Black Rock Period. The drying of many lake edge settings probably induced populations to use upland resources more than they did previously. At Givens Hot Springs in southern Idaho, semi-subterranean pit houses were built by 4,300 B.P. (Butler 1986:131). Other pit houses in the broader area are dated to 2,400 B.P., associated with Elko projectile points and hopper mortars (Butler 1986:131). Further dates from shallow pit houses are around 1,200 B.P. No pit house sites dated to this period have yet been found in the Nuwe area of the Eastern Great Basin, but adjacent areas have such houses, so it seems likely they were present, and still await discovery in the Nuwe area (cf., Wingard 2001).

Later in the Black Rock Period, Neoglacial climatic change brought increased moisture that in some cases paradoxically *diminished* local lacustrine subsistence bases by deeply flooding pre-existing shallow springs and marshes at lake edge sites (Aikens 1978; Curry and James 1982), even while the added moisture made the uplands ever more productive. At Hogup Cave, for example, on the edge of the Bonneville Salt Flats, a decline in seed and plant foods, waterfowl, and jackrabbits, cotton tails, and other small mammals reflect this flooding of a small lake-edge marsh. At Hogup the availability of shallow water resources sharply decreased about 3,000 B.P. (Aikens 1970), but human

occupation at other sites located beside spring marshes, like the Fish Springs Caves, were not similarly affected because the marshes were above the level of the Neoglacial lake rise.

Some unique moccasin types found at Hogup Cave, dated between 2,650 and 1,580 B.P., were first identified from sites near the Fremont River in east-central Utah (Morss 1931). One distinctive moccasin at Hogup was constructed from the ankle hide of a deer or elk. Other moccasins, of the Fremont River type, used the animal's dew claws to act as "hobnails" on the bottoms of the soles, and the fur of the hide was turned inside. Some of these moccasins were painted with red ocher and all were minimally tanned. The fact that the moccasins were not tanned to the point of being soft suggests that they may have been made that way for added durability, as other such moccasins found in the Fremont River country showed the same characteristic (Morss 1931). The bow and arrow came into preference during the latter part of the Black Rock Period. Rose Spring and Eastgate projectile points (1,700-1,000 B.P.) are smaller but otherwise similar in appearance to older Elko Corner-notched and Side-notched types. Basketry underwent a shift in style and form, and one-rod and bundled foundation coiled basketry became more popular. The seed gathering technology continued without change. Zoomorphic figurines first appear at Hogup Cave, during a time when split willow figurines of the Grand Canyon Figurine Complex are present to the south, outside the Nuwe area (Aikens and Madsen 1986:160).

Fremont Period (1,600-600 B.P.)

By 1,600 B.P., subsistence use of maize was becoming increasingly widespread in the northern half of Utah, though it had appeared substantially earlier in Late Archaic context at Elsinore (ca. 2,340-1,940 B.P.) in central Utah (Wilde and Newman 1989). Pine nut gathering continued during this period and persists today among Native peoples of the region. Many of the same sites continued to be occupied during the transition to farming, and hunting and gathering long thereafter remained a major source of economic support, even where horticulture was also practiced. By 1,200 B.P. the Fremont Culture, originally named from the Fremont River region of central Utah, becomes more apparent in the Nuwe area.

The Fremont Period takes its name from a diverse archaeological complex widely found across the Eastern Great Basin and Western Colorado Plateau. The primary characteristics of the Fremont lifestyle, especially farther south, included settled village life, horticulture, pit houses, above and below ground storage features, and predominantly plain but some painted pottery of various neck shapes and functional forms. In general, however, the Fremont horticultural experiment failed to provide the productive impetus to generate societies and settlements as elaborated as those of many Southwestern sedentary village farmers. Some researchers have reasoned that the Fremont Culture was unable to reach the higher level of productivity that would support such elaboration, mainly due to limiting environmental circumstances (Madsen 1982).

Five regional Fremont variants defined by Marwitt (1970) provide a model of cultural variation based on distributions of material artifacts, though most specialists recognize that these variants are not clearly-bounded units. Madsen (1982) and Simms (1986) showed that the regionally observed adaptations range from sedentary horticultural villages where people also practiced supplementary hunting and gathering forays, to semi-sedentary sites reflecting a seasonal round that involved much more hunting and gathering. Local variability in the Fremont adaptation is similar to that seen among hunter-gatherer peoples of other areas within the Great Basin and Intermountain West. It depended on relative dependability of water sources such as springs, streams, lakes, and rivers, and a range of topographical and ecological zones that was varied and productive enough to support semi-sedentary or fully sedentary occupations. Variation among material artifacts is considerable within and between regional Fremont variants, and criteria distinctive enough to differentiate the variants unequivocally are lacking. Of particular interest to the present discussion's focus on the Nuwe area, the demarcation of Fremont Culture into regional variants is especially problematic in the Northeast Great Basin, where there is a definite problem in separating Northern Utah Fremont from preceding Desert Archaic cultures. Berry and Berry (2001) in fact see this as part of a more general problem, contending that the classification scheme in use cannot clearly distinguish the Fremont variants from each other, or even from Anasazi (Hisastinom) and other prehistoric horticultural peoples of the adjacent Southwest.

Controversy about the classification system aside, it is clear that Fremont Culture people engaged in a wide array of subsistence activities and settlement patterns. Some

were largely hunter-gatherers, while others were oriented to settled horticulture in more intensive ways, like the Hisastinom further south. Horticultural products included maize, beans, and squash in areas next to permanent water sources or with suitable exposure to rainfall. Maize was the primary crop grown in the Northeast Great Basin area, at those locations where there is evidence of cultivation. In the Northeast Great Basin, Fremont Dent, a highly drought resistant corn, was one of the species propagated. However, predictable wild resources from the hunting and gathering of native flora and fauna were also much utilized.

Rosegate projectile points (1,700-1,000 B.P.) attest to the arrival of the bow and arrow during the Archaic-Fremont transition, and thereafter Desert Side Notched and Cottonwood Triangular projectile points (1,000 B.P.-historic.), were dominant throughout the Eastern Great Basin. The Rosegate points are much smaller than earlier types, yet are similar in form to the larger projectile points earlier made for use with the atlatl and dart.

The climate of the Fremont period was basically similar to that experienced today, except that early on, rainfall patterns in the Fremont area appear to have been more influenced by summer thunderstorms coming in from the Gulf of Mexico. The pattern of today, in contrast, is dominated by summer-dry Pacific systems over most of Utah. In other words, earlier climatic patterns in the Fremont area would have been more similar to those experienced in the Southwest, where Native maize horticulture was and still is supported by summer rains. The maize-containing Late Archaic site at Elsinore, in central Utah (Wilde and Newman 1989), shows that in fact maize cultivation arrived in Fremont territory well before the appearance of Fremont culture as such. The familiarity and

importance of seed harvesting to the Desert Archaic people then occupying the Eastern Great Basin and Northern Colorado Plateau (cf. Madsen and Simms 1998) would surely have facilitated the adoption of maize. If Shaul's (2001) recent linguistic analysis is a sound indication of the probable Late Archaic Fremont people's language, then the ancestral Fremont were likely Northern Uto-Aztecan (Upham 1994:134-135).

Late Prehistoric Period (600-200 B.P.)

The Late Prehistoric period of the Eastern Great Basin is clearly identifiable with Numic speaking Ute, Gosiute, Shoshone, and Southern Paiute who were living in the area when the White man came. The material culture of this period is characterized by distinctive basketry, Brownware ceramics, a continuation of the earlier projectile point forms, a rock art tradition similar but not identical to that of the Fremont Period, and basketry seed-beaters designed to extract maximum calories from seed-bearing plants, amongst other traits (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Madsen 1982; Madsen and Rhode 1994). According to one persistently vocal strain of archaeological interpretation in the Great Basin, there is no relationship between the preceding Fremont and the Numic peoples who currently live in the area. As previously discussed, the Numic Expansion hypothesis (Lamb 1958, Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Madsen and Rhode 1994), based on lexicostatistical comparisons and glottochronological time estimates, argues that the Numic speaking peoples spread across the Great Basin after about 1,000 B.P. from a southwestern Great Basin homeland around Death Valley, and wholly replaced the previous inhabitants of the Great Basin, who disappeared without leaving any traces. The Numic Expansion model is the subject of the next chapter and will not be discussed

further here, except to say that it has been strongly challenged (Aikens and Witherspoon 1986, Aikens 2000, 1994, Goss 1977; Grayson 1993, 1994; Gruhn 1987; Hill 2003; Shaul 2001; Swanson 1972; Upham 1994) and is a major point of contention both among archaeologists and between Native peoples and those archaeologists who continue to make much of it.

Historic Period (A.D. 1776–Contemporary Nuwe)

The Historic Period starts with early trappers, military expeditions, and the emigration of the oppressed Latter Day Saints (Mormons) from the American midwest into the Great Basin country. This section covers the initial intrusion by culturally different people with widely divergent world-views, and gives a brief account of the contemporary Nuwe situation. Some themes that emerged at the inception of the Historic period have continued into contemporary times. These are exploration, military activity, mining, ranching, settlement, grazing and farming, displacement of Native peoples, materialism, assimilation, religious conversion, disease, and the Native people's struggle to survive.

The Spanish friars Sylvester Velez de Escalante and Francisco Anastasio Dominguez initiated the arrival of Europeans in the Eastern Great Basin in 1776 as part of a military expedition attempting to trace an overland route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey, California. However, lost cities of gold and a mythical river that connected with the Pacific Ocean were also interests of the expedition. It is fairly clear, however, that the effects of Europeans were already being felt much earlier in the region. The horse was known to the Ute as early as 1637-1641, and horses were clearly being

used by the Indians as pack animals by the 1650s (Tyler 1951). The horse was first captured by Pueblo peoples during their revolt in 1680 against Spanish missionaries, and eventually the Southern Ute also obtained them. By the 1830s, horses were found in almost all areas of the Great Basin capable of supporting them. Although the timing is less certain, European diseases may well have preceded other aspects of European presence by many years, as they did elsewhere throughout the Americas (Loewen 1995). The Nuwe population of the Northeast Great Basin may have already been reduced from a conservatively estimated 5,000 people before direct White contact ever commenced.

Several well-known trapping, trading, and military exploration expeditions passed through the Great Salt Lake Desert, seeking material gain in the Great Basin. Jedediah, Strong, Smith crisscrossed the Great Basin east and west in his journey of 1826-1827, for the purpose of material exploration and to acquire pelts (Morgan 1947). Smith, as he intruded upon the Great Salt Lake region, observed some Gosiutes, who he considered timid because they would not go near him, and some equestrian Bannocks, who he considered bold, and who offered food to his squad (Irving 1961:162). In the spring of 1827, Smith and his three men traveled through Thomas Creek at the base of the Deep Creek Mountains (Fremont 1887). The Gosiute observed this party, who had almost thirsted to death by the time they reached Skull Valley.

The next intrusion was that of Joseph R. Walker, Lieutenant of Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville's Rocky Mountain Fur Company, during Walker's expedition to California during 1833 and 1834. Walker had been ordered to explore the shores of the Great Salt Lake,

but instead sought the legendary San Buenaventura River that was thought by some early cartographers to be connected across the West to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1845 another military expedition, that of John C. Fremont, apparently passed through the Great Salt Lake Desert. Fremont identified the Great Basin as a vast region of interior drainage, finally putting to rest the belief that a waterway connected the eastern half of the continent with the western half (Hawkins and Madsen 1990). In 1846, the Donner-Reed party made its ill-advised trek across the Great Salt Lake Desert over the Hastings Cutoff, where many of their heavy wagons became mired in the mud of the Bonneville Salt Flat, delaying their progress badly and presaging the disaster that awaited them in the Sierra Nevada (Malouf and Findlay 1986:508).

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, or Mormons) were the first Euroamericans to come to the Great Basin with the express intent to settle there. Their goal was to start a new nation or promised land of Zion called Deseret. The LDS church was founded in Fayette, New York, in 1830. After experiencing socio-religious problems during which church founder Joseph Smith was murdered in Nauvoo, Illinois in 1846 for promulgating polygamy, the Saints moved westward under the leadership of Brigham Young. In 1847 the Mormons located in the Salt Lake Valley because they thought, as it was then a remote part of Mexican territory, they would be free from the harassment they had suffered in Missouri and Illinois (Durst and Voss 1990:7-9). They believed that the Salt Lake Valley was a no-man's land located between warring groups of Ute and Shoshone, and they hoped to avoid provoking Indian

hostilities in settling there. However, within three months the Mormons had attacked and killed local Native Americans, possibly Gosiutes (Weber Ute).

U.S. government exploration of the Great Salt Lake region commenced with the 1849-1850 survey expedition of Captain Howard Stansbury of the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers (Stansbury 1988[1852]). This survey expedition followed Gosiute trails into the Deep Creek region. In 1855, the Deep Creek Reservation (later renamed the Gosiute reservation) was one of the first two areas of land set aside for Great Basin Indians by the War Department's Division of Indian Affairs. Several Gosiute groups were ordered here, but others continued to live off the reservation, working for white ranchers and farmers on a seasonal basis (Clemmer and Stewart 1986:525-557). The Deep Creek area and valleys nearby were luscious, according to Bateman (1991:12-13-140) in his account of 1850 observations by Captain J.H. Simpson and others in Pleasant Valley just south of Deep Creek, which

“contains grass all along it”. Philip Frances Delamare [described] a sister valley to the east as... “full of high waving grass, a veritable herder's paradise, and it was not an uncommon happening for stockmen to be unable to find their animals because of being lost in this high grass which spread over the valley.” Also old timers in Deep Creek Valley remembered being told by the early settlers about the abundance of grass when they came here.

In 1852 Howard Egan visited Deep Creek, and in 1858 the Utah Territorial Legislature fraudulently granted the Deep Creek Valley to Mormon Church president Brigham Young. That same year old men and small boys were sent to settle the area for the LDS Church. In 1858 George Chorpenning established a mail route along the path showed to him by Gosiutes, which later became the Overland Stage and Pony Express route.

Captain James H. Simpson in 1859 established, following Gosiute and other Native trails, a direct wagon route from Camp Floyd, Utah, to Carson City, Nevada, that established a permanent road through the heart of the Gosiute homeland. Simpson kept a detailed journal throughout his trip, and recorded some accounts of Gosiute and Western Shoshone culture.

The Mormons ensconced themselves in the Gosiute homeland and set up farms throughout western Utah and eastern Nevada, claiming for their own the well-watered valleys of the area. White settlement was underway in Tooele by 1849, in Rush Valley by 1854, and in Deep Creek by spring, 1859. The same year an Indian farm was started. This farm lasted a year, until the Gosiute lost faith in its U.S. Government sponsors.

In 1860, the Pony Express and Overland stage route was established, and further intruded upon Gosiute land. The construction of 22 stations of the Overland Stage system in 1861 affected the Gosiutes negatively by pilfering water sources and over-utilizing hunting and gathering areas. As a consequence, many local native camp groups were displaced, and traditional settlement patterns were degraded. At this time there were an estimated 200 Gosiutes living in the Deep Creek area and about 60 in Skull Valley.

By 1860 the Gosiute were described as destitute, so clearly by this time devastations to their traditional harvesting areas had already occurred. Part of the invasion of Gosiute lands included the deliberate burning of plant gathering areas, so as to make the Gosiutes reliant on the Mormon economy. New Mormon farms took over previously flourishing Native hunting and gathering areas. White ranching practices like open grazing and plowing depleted extensive stands of seed-bearing native grasses. It is

possible that the places Mormon crops were planted were the same areas where indigenous horticulture had been previously managed. In short order, Euroamerican intrusion spoiled aboriginal settlement and subsistence patterns throughout western Utah and eastern Nevada (Clemmer and Stewart 1986:525-557).

During the 1850's and the early 1860's the Gosiute were successful in a number of cattle raids and the burning of some stagecoach stations. This reaction to the intruders who had taken over their homeland resulted in White hysteria (Crum 1997). There are recorded numerous instances in which Gosiutes were murdered by miners, the military, and settlers (Bateman 1991:74). The Gosiute, although described as subdued during this time and as numbering only 200, were on the other hand considered fierce warriors, capable of the "Goshute War of 1875." Steve Crum, a Western Shoshone, called this war "A case of White hysteria." Crum notes that this was not really a "war," but a result of Gosiute assembling at a particular locality to pick pine nuts, so as to have a taste of freedom away from Whites. Apparently, the White hysteria resulted from a fight between two White men in which one murdered the other. The victor of this contest framed the Gosiute, and said that Gosiutes had killed his victim and were going to wipe out all of the settlers. However, the "Treaty With the Shoshone Goship, 1863" bought about a cessation of Gosiute attacks against the invaders.

By 1880 the town of Ibapah had "four saloons, and two supported dances on any given night" (Bateman 1991:15). The Tooele and Stockton areas during this same time experienced population booms and extensive mining activity. The area, in addition to farming, ranching and settlement by LDS emigrants, also was the scene of mining, and

when the Overland Stage route was in operation a steady flow of Euroamericans passed through as well.

In the intervening 140 years since the 1863 treaty, the Gosiute and Shoshone have survived the allotment process, forced assimilation, forced military enlistment, religious indoctrination, mining, boarding schools, discrimination in their own community, less than desirable local schooling, impoverishment, the Indian Reorganization Act, and a number of other inimical realities. Through all of the adversity, intrusion upon their traditional lifestyle, and trying times, they have survived. A strong traditional spiritual system is still maintained among these Nuwe people. Some are now Christians, while others maintain strict adherence to the Red Road and traditional Native spiritual practices. Many Nuwe today are college educated or pursue technical trades, and some work in nearby towns as professionals. The Nuwe today are an industrious people who work hard to obtain grants and to sustain Tribal programs. They maintain ties to both the Inter Tribal Council of Nevada and the Utah Tribal Leaders. The future is bright for the Nuwe and the knowledge of their ancient origin is still with them!

Conclusion

This chapter has been presented as a straightforward summary of prehistory and history in the country of the Nuwe (Gosiute and Shoshone), in order to provide the reader a background based on the methods of western science, and, importantly, also to set the stage for further discussion of how thoroughly different are Nuwe and Euroamerican perspectives on culture and history. In the next chapter the Numic Expansion hypothesis is discussed at length, and with it the collision between Nuwe and Euroamerican values

that has been brought about by a construct generated wholly within a Euroamerican intellectual context, and having no warrant in the historical understanding of the Nuwe themselves.

Setting up this contrast, and discussing this collision, is not a purely intellectual or philosophical exercise. The fact is that under the laws and regulations that have been established to protect cultural heritage values in the United States, the indigenous people of the Northeast Great Basin are having a very hard time making their own cultural heritage concerns heard. It is ironic that the very people whose ancestral sites and history are the ostensible object of protection and stewardship, are having such problems. These problems are widespread across the Great Basin among Punown people as a whole, and across the United States generally, although the details vary a great deal from place to place. In the case of the Nuwe, the difficulty is that a scientific theory (and one by no means universally accepted even among Euroamerican scholars) is causing them a great deal of difficulty in their own efforts to turn the vast--fundamentally Euroamerican--cultural resource management apparatus to certain concerns that are to the Native people overwhelmingly important.

CHAPTER IV

COLLISION: THE NUMIC EXPANSION HYPOTHESIS

“Every man's work, whether it be literature or music or pictures or architecture or anything else, is always a portrait of himself.” (Samuel Butler [1835-1932] British Writer, <http://excite.com/> Quote of the day October 4, 2003).

The Numic Expansion model introduced in the preceding chapter involves a hypothesized recent arrival of Numic speaking peoples within their respective homelands between about 1,000 and 500 years ago (Lamb 1958). This more detailed chapter on the hypothesis is written from a Punown point of view. Its content is filtered through ceremonial preparation and is informed spiritually. Ancestors, for Punown, are a spiritual issue. Thus, the way to understand them is through the spirit. This Native approach to writing a dissertation within the mainstream cultural institution of a university has possibly never been done before. My experience of Euroamerican academic culture is tempered and informed by Punown ceremony. My ceremonial treatment of issues is informed by the voices of ancestors and the knowledgeable direction of Punown traditionalists who mentored me.

For Numic speakers themselves, the thought they are not from their Great Basin homeland is only in the minds of the Taibou nanna (White man). The idea is viewed as yet another violation invented by Taibou to dispossess the Punown of their land tenure and affiliation with their ancestors. The Numic Expansion hypothesis is used as a

justification by some federal agency and cultural resource managers to not consult with Punown about ancient human occupation and burial sites in the Great Basin. It is ironic that thereby the cultural patrimony and intellectual property rights of the Punown are at stake, while the careers of those who write “objective” and sanitized publications are rewarded for their academic conformance. It is a quandary, but I believe that archaeology can be conducted as a learning tool for all. As archaeology is currently written, the primary beneficiaries of the “National Mythology” created by Euroamerican rugged individualists are the “Jungian Guilt” - inflicted American public, who cannot accept their own ancestral transgression into the homelands of others (Deloria 1996, 1971; Fowler 1987).

Though there are some Punown who know their prehistoric past mainly from the writings of anthropologists, the traditionalists rely on spirituality to inform them of their ancestral past. Archaeology can look at data and suggest things such as population movements but it is not proper to devalue spiritual beliefs of the native people to accomplish this task. Instead, we as archaeologists can concentrate on what we do know. What we do know is the descriptions of artifacts, indications of style, form, and function of material culture, and where these objects originated on the landscape in time and space. With this knowledge, which is reliable because we have the items in front of our eyes to study, we can paint pictures that are of cultural orientation. I believe that speculation on the origins of an ethnic or language group is best treated in the spiritual domain of the descendents of the people archaeologists study, because identity is after all a matter of the spirit. However, if a tribe does exist that allows destructive types of

research to take place, that is responsibly informed of their potential to disrupt traditional spiritual belief, then these researchers have my blessings.

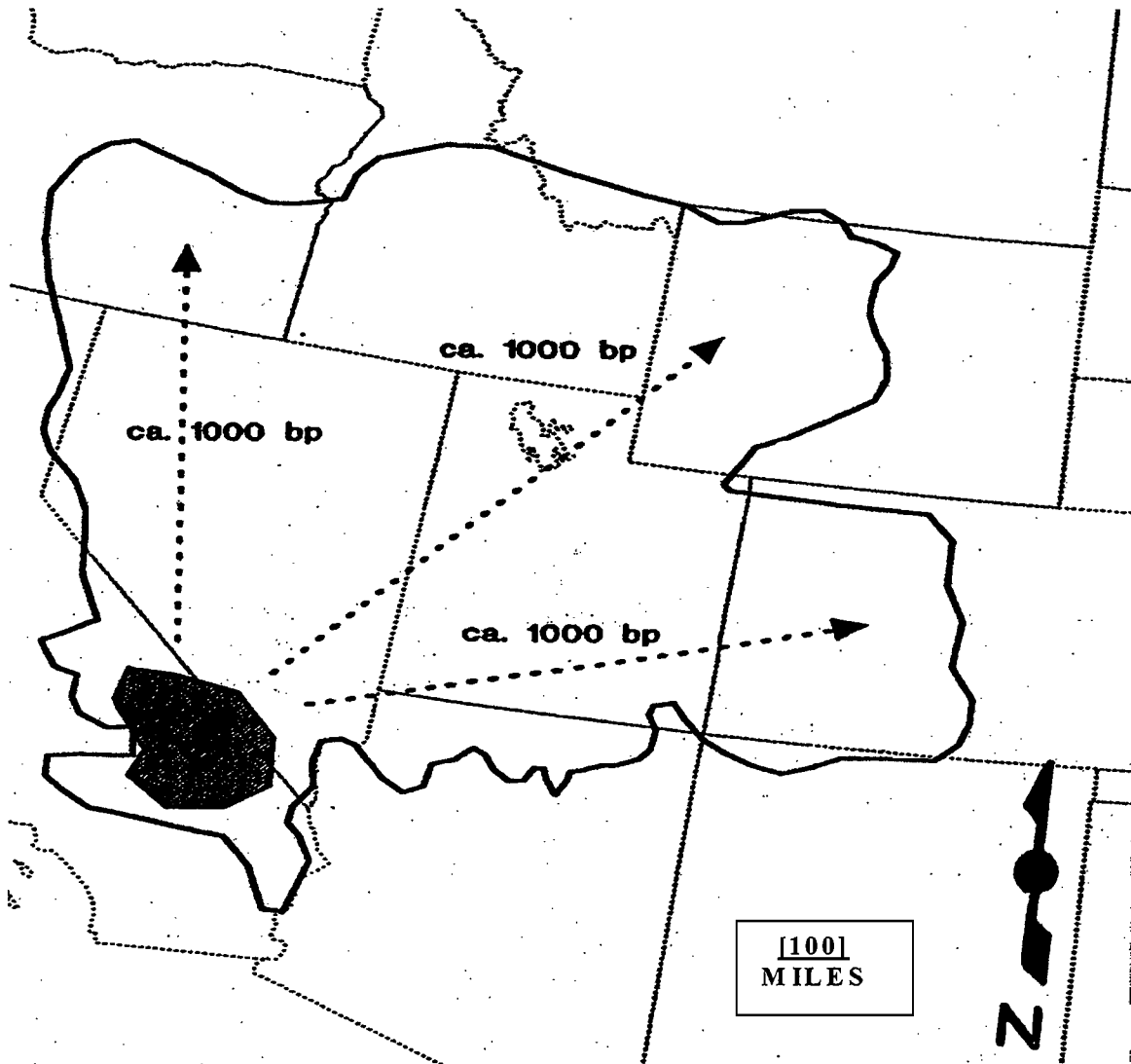


Figure 8. The Punown area within the Intermountain West, showing source and direction of proposed Numic Expansion, after Rhode and Madsen (1994:214, fig. 24.1).

Contrary to the traditional Punown viewpoint, the Numic Expansion hypothesis has been used to withhold the repatriation of objects and knowledge to contemporary Punown, including the bones of their disinterred ancestors. It has been utilized as a justification by some federal agencies not to consult with Punown and even to violate sacred skeletal remains (see Barker and Pinto 1994). Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) investigations by Punown in Utah have resulted in investigations of archaeologists, who have been accused by tribes of violating that law. However, these archaeologists were patted on the head and promoted as heroes by non-Indian members of the November 2002 Utah Native American Review Committee Meeting in Salt Lake City.

In one gross instance an Elko, Nevada BLM representative asserted that the Western Shoshone had taken their homeland from people who were there before them, and that violation of the Ruby Valley Treaty of 1863 by the BLM was no different than what the Shoshone had done during prehistory. The BLM Manager was quoted in the April 29, 1998 issue of the Salt Lake Tribune as saying,

"We do not consider this to be an Indian issue; it is a grazing issue," says Stout. "This is a rough deal because a lot of what they [the Indians] base their arguments on are the policies of conquest of the federal government, policies that every emerging nation used. Conquest is how the Shoshone got their lands in the first place."

Of utmost importance is to ask how Euroamerican researchers came to believe it is their right to own the bodies of prehistoric (pre-American) Native Americans, and to ask what gives them the right to undermine Punown cultural patrimony with hypothetical,

impossible to prove theory (Cf., Madsen and Rhode 1994). It is this threat to Punown spirituality that must be redressed.

Previous Numic Expansion Research

The distribution of Numic speaking peoples extends throughout the Great Basin and into adjacent Intermountain West and western Plains territory (fig.1). In some areas there is written historic evidence that Numic peoples, including the Eastern Shoshone, Comanche, and Ute, came to be located in certain places after the introduction of the horse. Some, such as Madsen (1994), assert that Numic peoples are outside of their original territory over as much as 60% of their present land base. The area of mention includes the central Rocky Mountains, western Plains, and north-central Oregon. However, in these lands adjacent to the Great Basin, Desert Culture sites are present as well as settled horticultural or lacustrine-based villages. The “leave no trace” hunting and gathering style of orienting to the environment that is present almost everywhere in the Intermountain West is present there as well. It is entirely reasonable that Punown ancestors have been present in this landscape since the beginning of human occupation (cf. Aikens 2000; Brewster 1998, 2003a; Goss 1978; Gruhn 1988; Swanson 1972). The Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada each share affinities with the Great Basin, which they bound east and west (Bennyhoff 1958; Husted 1968; Jenkins and Erlandson 1996; Larson and Kornfeld 1994; Swanson 1972; Vellanoweth 2000).

The Numic Expansion theory argues that Western, Central, and Eastern Numic speakers arrived in their present distributions within very recent times. The putative

reason that the native languages are so similar across such a vast area is that their speakers had split apart from one another only 1,000 or so years ago. Lamb (1958) based this estimate on lexicostatistic glotto-chronological reconstruction. However, glotto-chronological reconstruction has never enjoyed a reliable acceptance amongst linguists Grayson (1994); Hughes (1994).

Lamb (1958) reasoned that the area of greatest contemporary language diversity is where the Numic speakers originated. So, he inferred that Numic speakers came from the Death Valley area at the southwest corner of the Great Basin, and concluded that an expansion out of that area had taken place. The glottochronological estimates he made, placing this dispersal in very recent times, are based on dated research into language dispersals in Europe, where conditions differ radically from those in the Great Basin. In the parts of Europe where these studies were focused, substantial populations of farming peoples were anchored within their respective territories by economic, geographic, and political factors. In contrast, hunting-gathering Numic peoples practiced polite social relations with other Punown, and constant contact across a vast region. For this reason, glottochronological estimates based on European data are inapplicable to the Intermountain West. Further casting doubt on the method, the statistical time frame for changes within the Romance languages was actually found to be inaccurate when checked against an historic record (Rea 1958; 1973; Grayson 1994).

I believe the Numic Expansion concept comes from a long-standing historical bias as filtered through objectivity (Horgan 1996). The bias toward Native people has been present since the arrival of the first Spaniards and other Europeans on the continent

(Loewen 1995). We are all entitled to our own opinions. But in America, where courts rule, and these courts consult “experts,” those expert’s opinions can hurt those that laws have been intended to protect. Although the Numic Expansion hypothesis is unproven, it has nevertheless been used to argue for denial of the cultural patrimony and historical rights of Punown to be involved in the interpretation and management of their history and sacred sites. The thought that outside “experts” know better what is best for Punown, contrary to Punown beliefs, and based on a disputed accounting of the prehistoric archaeological record, is completely unacceptable. It is projection of a well known stereotype that real Indians are extinct and that academically trained researchers alone have the knowledgeability to represent the ancestors of the Punown (Mihesuach (1996:113-114) Some of the problem stems from a strong general tendency among scholars to conform to schools of thought associated with previous research (Dwyer 1976; Jett 1977; Deloria 1995).

Numerous archaeological models have been put forth trying to explain the origins of the Numa (Aikens 1966; Gunnerson 1962; Heizer and Napton 1970; Jennings 1958; Rudy 1953; Steward 1942; Sutton 1994; 1988; Swanson 1962; Zingg 1933). Combined linguistic and archaeological models have also been put forth (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982, 1983; Bettinger 1994; Gruhn 1987; Hill 2003; Hopkins 1965; Husted and Mallory 1968; Madsen 1975; Taylor 1961). Archaeological, linguistic and environmental models have been put forth as well (Aikens 1994; Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Grayson 1994). Purely linguistic models have been put forth (Fowler 1972; Miller 1964; Nichols 1981; Goss 1977; Shaul 2001). Rock art models have also been put forth (Orozco 1992;

Whitley 2000). Each of these is a potential hypothesis designed to explain the distribution and the expansion of the Numa and their linguistic relatives. The following briefly summarizes historical antecedents to the Numic Expansion concept and to some of the above models.

Early explorers, the chroniclers of military expeditions such as those of Fremont and the earlier Franciscan (Spanish) monks, early Mormon and other emigrants, and many ethnographers, came to believe that the Punown natives of the early historic period could not have made the granaries, rock art, and stone house mounds that were seen in eastern Utah (cf. d’Azevedo 1986; Fowler and Fowler 1971; Loewen 1995). As early as 1877, Stephen Powers came to the conclusion that the Punown of the western Great Basin were recent also arrivals there. Powers (1877:452) theorized that the Washoe “colonized Western Nevada by crossing the Sierra from California; but afterward were driven back toward the mountains by the Piute (sic), who seem to be later arrivals.” This is reminiscent of other historical fallacies, such as the “Myths of the Mound Builders” in the eastern United States, or Hyerdahl’s and Van Daniken’s theories that that western civilization, or even space invaders, must have helped the Inca, Maya, and Aztecs build their civilizations (2003).

As noted earlier, White intruders freely speculated about Punown origins. This was done in a guilty sort of way. The psychological term “projection” refers to the tendency to project what one thinks of oneself onto others. The “others,” in this case, were Native Americans who were not like the western intruders but differed in color, race/ethnicity, and culture. “Cognitive dissonance” is the psychological term for those

who do not choose to see their own negative deeds, and to cover them over with niceties. It is as if to say “we as White Americans came upon this land and it was empty, except for the Punown, a useless, lazy, unproductive people of low cultural accomplishment; of course, there is no way they could have ever survived in this harsh environment for many years.” So European “manifest destiny” does rear its ugly head, although this colonialism is probably subconscious. But “Jungian Guilt”, as portrayed through “National Mythology,” can only work if one cannot face the past of his own ancestors and projects their faults onto others, in this case the Punown. In this perspective the Numic Expansion is about the White conquest and control of America. Such a theory guiltlessly invokes mechanistic universal cultural laws, optimal foraging, cultural materialism and survival of the fittest, providing an “etic” account that does not implicate the ancestors of the theorizers.

Stephen Powers in 1877 had the impression that Piutes (sic) ensconced themselves on the peaceful village tribes of California and drove them from their lands. Early Mormon settlers and other immigrants across the west presumed that Snakes, Diggers, and Paiutes had come to their present homeland very late in time. Many of these presumptions concerning a late Numic intrusion into their own homeland stemmed from historical bias that started with early Puritan prejudice against east coast tribes (Loewen 1995). Apparently the east coast tribes, who taught early European immigrants to farm, subsequently became “roaming savages.” In Utah the Punown are known to have taught the early Mormons to dig for tubers, and this allowed them to fend off starvation during a period of famine (the story of the early pioneers digging sego lily bulbs is known to every

Mormon child). Natives became savages only after their lands were appropriated. Before that time, Native people helped Euroamerican immigrants to farm, fed them, taught them the uses of native plants, and shared their land (Chamberlin 1911). Afterward, negative stereotypes of Native people became the early basis for the Numic Expansion concept (Jacobs 1972; Goss 1999; Loewen 1995; Mihesuach 1996). Only an alternative history book, such as “Lies my Teacher Told Me” (Loewen 1995), tell the truth about much of what happened historically.

The famed early anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1907) himself experienced a sort of “double psychological social bind” when it came to classifying the origins of the Punown. Kroeber at first thought the “Shoshonean” stocks of southern California, the Tubatulabic, Numic, and Takic, because of the diversity of their languages, must have had a “longer fixed residence” there than did the Numic groups to the east (cf. Sutton and Rhode 1994:6). Then in 1925, after 18 years of additional research, Kroeber reversed himself, stating that:

it is entirely conceivable that that these tongues have been spoken in their present locations from time immemorial. Their territory is in the Great Basin; their speakers were actually part of the Plateau tribes; and there is no foreign element or anything else to indicate that they ever had any antecessors on the spot (cited in Sutton and Rhode 1994:6).

During his archaeological excavation of caves along the northern edge of the Great Salt Lake, Julian Steward (1937) made an attempt to define their cultural chronology. He observed a change in material culture, and was the first in this area to claim that the resident Shoshone, Gosiute, Southern Paiute, and Ute were not originally from Utah. Other archaeologists working in the Great Basin observed similar changes in

material culture elsewhere (Harrington 1933). In 1958 Lamb proposed the Numic Expansion model, and suggested it was supported by Julian Steward's earlier (1937, 1942) culture history of the Eastern Great Basin.

Steward was not original in his view that the Punown came from elsewhere, but seemed to be following earlier work by archaeologists who observed changes in material culture through excavations in the southwest (Harrington 1930; Hayden 1930; Kidder 1962). These changes were explained as the result of a replacement by a more primitive ("deculturated") people, who appeared after the Pueblo peoples abandoned the northern Southwest, possibly due to competition and "savage enemies".

Jennings (1957) put forth the concept of a "Desert Culture." Jennings, who excavated Danger Cave in Nuwe territory, saw a pattern he recognized as similar to that of the historic Gosiute, and the antiquity of the Danger Cave evidence led him to postulate that Gosiute ancestors had lived there for the past 10,000 years. Jennings' model also drew on Steward's (1938) concept of cultural ecology, and discussed how the Desert Culture had been present in the Great Basin for over 10,000 years. With the advent of radiocarbon dating the Great Basin Desert Culture, which had been considered by many archaeologists (including Steward) as a late peripheral derivative of Southwestern Basketmaker culture, was shown to be a much earlier development, actually ancestral to Basketmaker (Cressman 1942; Jennings and Norbeck 1955; Madsen and O'Connell 1982).

It is important to point out here that Steward was an easterner who grew up in a green eastern environment, held many of the stereotypes discussed above, and was

inculcated in “white bread” authoritarian American culture. During the 1930’s Steward failed miserably at representing the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Western Shoshone reservation development (Steward 1937b). Steward was of the opinion that the Great Basin people had no regular social organization other than small nuclear family groups, and that their entire orientation was “gastric:” that is, geared entirely to the demands of marginal subsistence in an impoverished environment. Steward’s “findings” were so negative that the local Bureau of Indian Affairs did not accept them. Had Steward’s recommendations gone forth, the Western Shoshone would be landless Indians today (Clemmer, Myers, and Rudden 1999). Steward (1955) later developed a broad theory of multilineal cultural evolution, partially based on his misunderstanding of the Shoshone. In order for the model to work, the harsh desert environment of the Great Basin had to produce the most primitive people on earth (Steward 1937c). That is why Kehoe (1999) wondered where Wuzzie George and Wovoka were in Steward’s writings.

At this point it is important to say a little more on stereotyping and its negative effects on Native American Indians. Much of the information that follows is adapted from Mihesuah (1996) in her book “American Indian Stereotypes and Realities.” Mihesuah provides a revealing picture of the effects of stereotyping on American Indians. False imaging provided by stereotypes stigmatizes its victims. For those who perpetuate those myths academically, in media, or otherwise, there are negative effects felt by them and those they have projected upon (Berkhoffer 1979; Churchill 1998; Deloria 2003, 1974, 1969; Goss 1999; Mihesuah.1996). For Native people, the false imagery causes emotional distress, frustration, anger, insecurity, and feelings of helplessness (Mihesuah

1996:113). In classrooms where students are taught that American Indians are ignorant, savage, and inferior, the result is low self-esteem for Indian students and negative beliefs amongst non-Indians students (Mihesuah 1996:113-114). Some Native people accept the stereotypes projected at them in society and in the classroom. They develop a sense of helplessness and feel they will never accomplish anything because of the negative images provided to them of their Indianess. In fact, the high Native dropout, unemployment, alcoholism, and suicide rates demonstrate that “nurture” is required and that environment is the primary key to understanding this contemporary phenomenon. Some try to forget their Indianess, and fail to learn tribal traditions or to express themselves as Indians.

A further problem resulting from the negative projections is that they bring about racial intolerance in the educational system and the work place. I can attest to this personally, as I was thrown out of High School at age 15 due to such factors. Often Indians are excluded from fully participating in American society and experiencing the same socio-economic opportunities as others because of negative stereotyping. Frequently when Natives are involved in bringing about positive social change, whether it be in academia or within their private lives, some Euroamericans feel somehow threatened and think Natives are antagonists for reminding them of the atrocities committed by their ancestors (Mihesuah 1996:114).

Bettinger and Baumhoff (1982) produced one of the most influential Numic Expansion models, combining linguistics, material culture, and the idea of competition for resources. According to the theory, the Numic people basically out-competed earlier peoples of the Great Basin and thereby replaced them. The model relied on Lamb’s dates

for a Numic Expansion. However, as noted above, this model has been widely criticized because of its reliance on glottochronological estimates as well as other reasons. Material culture in the eastern Great Basin and elsewhere makes the timing of this model impossible to support. Although Bettinger (1994) does much to construct a revised model, using current archaeological and linguistic theory, he still fails to provide a factual scenario that would allow a demonstration of his assumptions. The Bettinger model fails to “isolate elements that are ‘truly’ Numic from those that are not (Hughes 1994:60).” The historically known interactions between Punown and neighboring people do not indicate that in general, aggression or even sub-conscious competition was their primary means of dealing with another ethnic group. However, historic Punown did fight back successfully at times during White incursions into the Great Basin and perhaps the underlying aggression scenarios attributed to Numa by some researchers (e.g., historical data in Alley 1986; Sutton 1987), are in reality psychological projections (Hughes 1994:70).

In areas where Penutian or Hokan or Athapaskan speakers are located bordering Punown, various communities became “in-between dwellers”. Skirmishes are known to have occurred historically, but these battles were almost always a result of non-Indian encroachment. The Salt Lake Valley in Utah was home to Ute, Gosiute, and Shoshone. In the west, Spanish Springs Valley and Honey Lake Valley were used by Washoe and Northern Paiute and historically by Maidu. Yosemite was home to Northern Paiute, Mono, and Miwuk. All these are examples of “in-between dwellers” (cf. Brewster 1998). The Punown orient to the environment in which they live, and their cultures can change

dramatically with the addition of new resources, as Swanson (1972) portrays in the case of the Lemhi Shoshone of northern Idaho. In times of environmental stress Punown can, and did, according to the archaeological record, re-orient to a Desert Culture pattern.

Although new basketry seed-beaters became dominant in the Great Basin after about 1,000 B.P., and in Nuwe territory coiled basketry was generally replaced by twined ware that took less time to make, these useful changes fall far short of documenting a total replacement of the human population. More reasonably, they represent the spread of a few technological behaviors that were superior for certain economic purposes, much like the bow and arrow or pottery or even a four wheel drive truck. Adovasio (1986, 1994) supports the Numic migration argument based on these and subtler differences in basketry construction but again is liable to much the same criticism. Pottery, which also comes into this discussion, is examined further below.

By contrast an environmental, linguistic, and archaeological model claiming that a Numic homeland existed in the central Great Basin for at least the past 5,000 years is more congruent with Punown understanding, though it becomes problematic when it relies on environmental circumstances and material culture differences to attach ethnicity to the types of developments just mentioned (Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Hughes 1994:69). The Numic peoples historically are located near Penutian speakers to the north and west of the Great Basin, and Hokan speakers to the south. Hokan speakers also cut off Numic speakers from Uto-Aztecan speaking cousins further south into Mexico (Aikens and Witherspoon 1986). Along the eastern edge of Numic speaking territory are Athapaskan and Siouian speaking groups. It has long been hypothesized that the Navajo

and Apache split apart from northern Athapaskan cousins about 1,300 years ago, the date based on glottochronological estimates. Based on this hypothesis, Aikens and Witherspoon postulated that Numic border lands were occupied by Penutian, Hokan, and Athapaskan speakers, and the Great Basin interior was occupied by Numic speakers (Aikens and Witherspoon 1986:12). It is an “if it was not Numa in the Central Great Basin then who” argument. They do not take into account deep time, instead accepting the linguists’ conventionally established date of about 5,000 years for the time when the ancestral Uto-Aztecan speech community broke up into regional groups. However, Aikens, Middleton, and Thornes (2000) correct this reliance on the conventional data in a later paper, relating adaptive diversity and Nichols’ (1981) Old California Uto-Aztecan hypothesis to the idea of the Great Basin as an even earlier Uto-Aztecan homeland.

The edges of the Great Basin during some times in the past were occupied by peoples with varying material cultures. These cultures are the Fremont in the eastern Great Basin, Virgin Branch Anasazi in the southeastern Great Basin, the Lovelock in the western Great Basin, and the Chewaucanian in the northwestern Great Basin. The archaeological variability is real, but on the other hand the ethnohistoric Northern Paiute, Western Shoshone, Northern and Southern Ute, and Southern Paiute all shared a lithic technology, a generalized Desert Culture, and variability in material culture, so I believe it is an equal probability that the material culture is *all* Punown. Simply, I suggest that Punown overall had a quite variable material culture and a subsistence cycle that mirrors, though not exactly, each of the identified archaeological cultures.

The Virgin Hisastinom (Anasazi) of Southwest Utah and adjoining Nevada utilized painted pottery, were sedentary farmers, and built masonry granaries above and below ground. The Fremont of Utah and eastern Nevada practiced a semi-sedentary existence, practicing an adaptation similar to that of the Virgin Anasazi. It is very important to point out, in this connection, that the Snake Valley Gosiute, Ute, and San Juan Southern Paiute were all observed growing corn and living in small villages at the time of contact with Euroamericans (Hittman 1995; Stoffle and Zedeno 1998). Irrigation was present among the San Juan River Paiutes in southeastern Utah, and among the Owens Valley Paiute, Smith Valley Paiute, and Walker River Paiute in Nevada. The latter Paiute groups grew indigenous tubers and seeds, while the former grew corn, beans, and squash. Overall, the Punown managed land by broadcasting seeds, and carefully managing tubers and seed crops by not allowing them to die but to continue to propagate. These practices survive today where it is environmentally possible amongst traditional Punown. Pronghorn antelope and other food animals were also managed (Arkush 1999). Prayer and ceremony accompanies both gathering and hunting, and in the practice of ceremonial observances was embedded responsibility and care for the plant and animal resources (Arkush 1995; 1999).

The ceramics of the Fremont period in the northeast Great Basin have previously been defined as not of Numic origin. Punown ceramics generally are characterized as a thick and brown and not very fine utilitarian ware, while the shapes, sizes, and textures of Fremont ceramics can be quite fine (Madsen 1986). Patricia Dean (1992), however, in her doctoral dissertation study of grayware ceramics in the northeastern, Great Basin

demonstrated substantial similarity between Fremont and Shoshone pottery, contrary to the views of Madsen (1986), Rhode (1994), and others. Dean (1992:iv) reported that:

This analysis showed that previous identifications of pottery attributes were partially or entirely erroneous. Every attribute measured demonstrated the same essential pattern: Great Salt Lake Gray [Fremont] and Shoshone ware [Numic] fell within this range. Further, except for one form of temper material, Promontory Gray and Shoshone Ware shared the same attributes with one another. Ethnographic evidence is also presented that links late prehistoric pottery to the historic Shoshone, confirming a single unbroken pottery tradition in the Great Salt Lake region.

I conclude that the evidence of this study does not support the concept of two unrelated pottery traditions (Fremont and Shoshone) in the Great Salt Lake region. based on this work, much of the traditionally conceived post-archaic culture history of this region must be reevaluated.

Dean (1992:128) goes on to discuss some descriptive statements about material culture made by Steward (1937:122). She points out that Steward had identified particular attributes for Fremont that in fact are present throughout the prehistory of the area. In the Promontory area and Great Salt Lake region generally, coiling was the primary means of pottery construction for both Fremont and later Nuwe, temper material was the same, and the basic construction of pots was the same. Dean sees this as “evidence of a direct historic link between the historic and late prehistoric periods (Dean 1992:130).” The Dean dissertation thus contains factual data that support a long Punown continuity in the Great Salt Lake region. Dean (1992:130) put forth a question, but also seemed to be making a statement, in saying, “is not the Promontory Gray pottery a marker for the culture that became the historic Promontory Shoshone?” Further, “if the Fremont culture arose from a Desert Archaic base, and if the Fremont and historic

Shoshone are continuous with one another, is not the ethnographic Shoshone culture a lineal descendant of ancient desert tradition?

Another example to further illustrate the extent of the hypothesized Numic Expansion is the case of a supposedly late Uto-Aztecan intrusion (Shoshone Wedge) into the Los Angeles Basin and southern Channel Islands. Jenkins and Erlandson (1996), and Vellanoweth (2000), have all noted that the occurrence of Olivella Grooved Rectangle beads of 5,000 to 6,000 years ago matches the distribution of Uto-Aztecs historically. Christopher Raven (1994:1), in his paper discussing the Numic Expansion as “invisible from the west,” did a study of projectile point type distributions within various ecological settings. He found that “prudent foragers may have capitulated to a Numic-like strategy some millennia [5,000 B.P.] in advance of the [postulated] Numic arrival (Raven 1994:156). Raven, showing his non-belief in the Numic Expansion and the Bettinger and Baumhoff (1982) model went on to write, “As a final note, and on the general premise that the devil can quote scripture to his own end, we might inquire as to how well the same data fit a model of in place growth.”

Additional Perspectives on Numic Expansion

As just reviewed, a long held archaeological view of the Eastern Great Basin is that Numic speakers who were ancestral to modern Northern Ute, Gosiute, Western Shoshone, and Southern Paiute, began to inhabit the areas where these people live today only about 500 to 600 years ago. However, as also noted, glottochronological reconstructions are seriously flawed (Fodder 1961; Goss 1978; Grayson 1994; Rea 1958, 1973; Shaul 2001). Goss (1977), however, has reinterpreted the linguistic data and

concluded that Numic speaking peoples and their Uto-Aztecan ancestors may well have been in the Intermountain West much longer than supposed by Lamb and some others (Fowler 1972; Miller 1986).

Initially a supporter of the Lamb (1958) model, Goss (1977:60), with further study came to quite a different view:

This model quickly became dogma and a large group of linguists and anthropologists . . . began shuffling data to fit this model and rejecting that which it did not fit . . . I feel we have been seriously detoured by our blind acceptance of the Lamb hypothesis and the resultant reluctance to look at the counter evidence the data keep throwing at us. Lamb has been a Judas-goat to a generation of Great Basin prehistorians . . . he didn't do anything more with the model, after he did it to us.

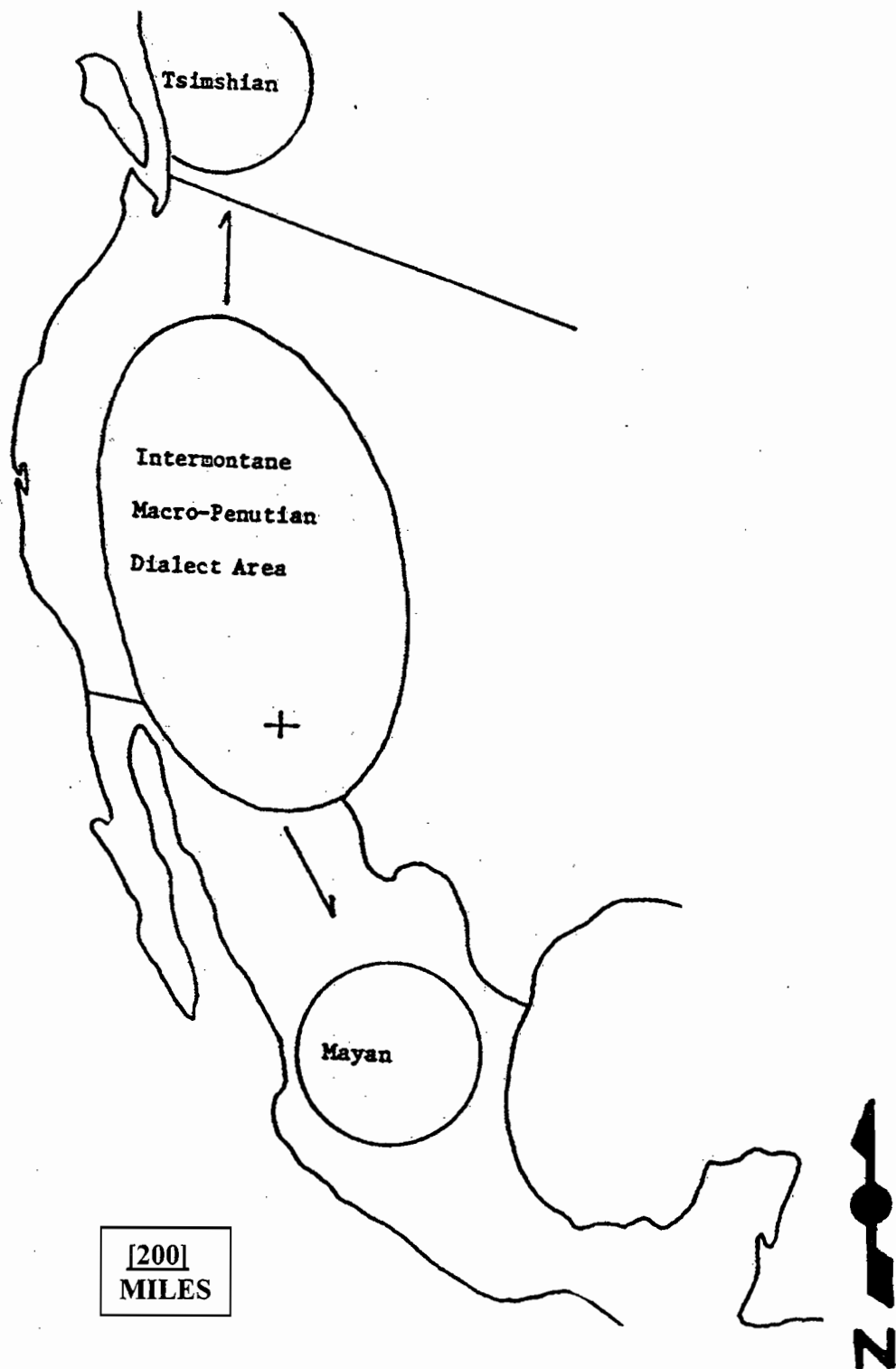


Figure 9. Macro-Penutian Dialect Area about 7,000 years or more B.P., according to Goss (1977).

Goss (1977:61) proposed instead an Intermountain Macro-Penutian Dialect Area for linguistic development of the Proto-Uto-Aztecan-Tanoan core area before 7,000 B.P. (Fig. 8). It included Death Valley, Lamb's focal point, but also most of the Great Basin and central Southwest. This area encompasses the entire current range of Numic speakers and Northern Uto-Aztecan speakers (NUA) and suggests that Penutian speakers are also likely part of this one time ancient people. He goes on to conclude that on the basis of existing evidence, there is really no better hypothesis than that Numic ancestors have always lived in the Great Basin, where they remain today.

Shaul (2001), in his "Linguistic Foot Prints" cultural affiliation study, utilized Fowler's (1972) data on species that are critical in inferring homelands in linguistic studies. Fowler had suggested that the Proto-Uto-Aztecan homeland might have been in the northern 2/3 of Arizona, following the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico. Shaul (2001:12) convincingly extends the range of Proto-Uto-Aztecan origins, noting that "the distributions overlap, extending into Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Northern Mexico. This information locates Numic (and Hopi as well) within the area of Utah Fremont culture". Shaul (2001:7-31) further argues that the observed language diversity surrounding Death Valley could imply simply that people there had diverse and rich food resources, and that Death Valley could even have been the last area penetrated by Numic speakers. He also notes that seed beating technology (a supposed marker for Numic migration) could more plausibly have spread northward through kin networks of the typical foraging kind known to exist in arid lands.

Based on his exploration of deeper and broader time relations for Uto-Aztecan ancestors, Shaul (2001:31-32) reaches the following conclusion about the language of the people who share cultural affiliation with the human skeletal remains found in the Nuwe area at Willard Bay on Great Salt Lake:

If age-area modeling is the criterion for ranking, then Northwest Shoshone, Goshute Shoshone, and Northern Ute are the most likely candidates, with Tanoan and Southern Paiute next likely. If homeland studies are used as a criterion for ranking, Numic and Tanoan both are reasonable candidates, with Keresan perhaps just touching the southern area of the Fremont archaeological culture. The agricultural terminology suggests that Northern Ute, Southern Paiute, and Hopi share an agricultural tradition that includes the Fremont area.

Finally, another linguist, Jane Hill (2003), discussing her “Farming Language Dispersals Hypothesis,” has proposed that Uto-Aztecan farmers brought farming technology and other material culture traits to northern Utah, perhaps as early as 3,500 years ago. Hers is a long-distance migration hypothesis analogous to that of Lamb, but further complicated by the fact that she proposes Fremont and Virgin Anasazi were related to Southern Uto-Aztecan. Since the present day Numic peoples are northern Uto-Aztecan, and no southern Uto-Aztecan now live in the region, her theory would seem to bring into the debate more problems than it solves.

Sutton and Rhode, in “Across the West,” a major symposium volume on the Numic Expansion problem, candidly explain the current situation (1994:6):

Conjectures about a Numic Expansion have been fueled mainly by linguistic and archaeological evidence, with comparative ethnology, physical anthropology, and oral traditions playing lesser roles. How the Numic came to occupy their historical range is by no means obvious.... As a result, different models of Numic history may have believers, nonbelievers, and a host of skeptical in-betweeners.

In their concluding chapter, Madsen and Rhode ask, “Where are we?”:

What accounts for the historical distribution of people who spoke the Numic languages? This fundamental question is easily stated, but, as the papers in this volume attest, arriving at a satisfactory answer is not.... Where did the Numic speakers come from? When did they spread out across the west? How did they accomplish their spread, and who did they replace? What ultimate conditions caused their expansion? Who are “they,” anyway.... None of these questions have an answer all can agree on. Indeed, the range of opinion expressed here suggests that a consensus about many aspects of Numic prehistory is a long way off. Opinions differ not simply on empirical details such as the Numic homeland, when they spread from that homeland.... [yet] there appear to be surprising areas of consensus that may be marked by the enthusiastic manner in which the contributors express their diverse opinions.... This is a hazardous occupation at best, but in a postmodern era in which science is an imperialist belief system, in which theories are intentionally engendered and in which all knowledge is political (See Dominguez 1994), it is particularly dangerous.... a scientific consensus on the Numic Expansion issue, even should it be reached, may be only one, not very widely accepted, point of view...(Madsen and Rhode1994:213),

What do Punown think of the Numic Expansion” How do we Reprove this
Attack on our Ethnicity?

As set out in preceding pages, since the arrival of non-Indians in the Great Basin, Punown origins have been speculated about. In the Eastern Great Basin, the Mormons (1848) speculated about housing structures, pottery, and rock art that appeared to them not to belong to Punown (Arrington and Bitton 1980; Cline 1963). In other parts of the Intermountain West, similar speculation based on historical ideas of American Indians (Berkhoffer 1979) led to similar conclusions (See Powers 1877; cf., Madsen and Rhode 1994). What effect has this speculation had on the Punown and what do the Punown think of being portrayed in this manner? The following interprets the many conversations I

have had with my own people concerning archaeology, the Numic Expansion concept, and the NAGPRA. It offers my opinion, as informed qualitatively by my own people. It offers some archaeological solutions for political and spiritual correctness from the Punown point of view, as well as suggestions about how anthropologists can work with the Native people in a harmonious fashion.

The Punown ancestors are crying. As the spirits have been released from their resting places, from which they watch over their children, they cry. They cry as Jesus on the Cross cried for all people. In some ways the crucifixion of Jesus, and the berating and ridicule he experienced on the cross is similar. Jesus suffered knowing that he was there for the people. Jesus died with the greatest test of his faith. He suffered physically and psychologically and even he wanted to give in. Many Punown have given in and accept the non-Indian idea of who their ancestors are (Mihsuah1996). To ask them of their prehistoric past would simply get an answer that came from anthropologists. While traditionalists would surely not accept the stereotypes, they flounder, and accusations are pointed at them.

Punown have not asked non-Indian anthropologists to make up theoretical arguments concerning their possible origins based on Euroamerican methods of studying prehistory, ethnohistory, historical linguistics, and bioanthropology. The NAGPRA is designed to be a compromise between archaeologists and Natives on human Rights legislation. Archaeological researchers are directed to determine cultural affiliation. However, when the law was drafted, it did not take into account the plain fact that archaeologists generally do not have the tools to convincingly determine cultural

affiliation between archaeological and living groups. In my opinion the best possible scenario for repatriation is that non-destructive analysis and minimal radiocarbon dating are performed beforehand, along with artifact and site analysis. However, as for assigning ethnic designations to past peoples, anthropologists cannot attain such fine-grained resolution. The following discusses point by point how Punown feel about the Numic Expansion hypothesis and related matters.

First, Punown qualitatively have much experience with anthropologists and American mainstream culture in general. Prisons and jails hold Punown who claim “we get in trouble for things that white people do not.” Punown feel that they are not taken seriously and that once a charge or stereotype or accusation is leveled against them, it is an uphill charge for them to free themselves from the assault (Kehoe 1998). Punown feel that anthropology is used to destroy them and that it is used in ways that represent the “dark side” (Trigger 1980). Some Punown feel that there are some benefits to anthropology but the conduct of many anthropologists is nevertheless viewed with contempt (cf. Watkins 2000:64-178). The Numic Expansion hypothesis and the damage it has done to Native communities is in a way similar to what has happened in the well known struggle for repatriation of Kennewick Man and Spirit Cave Mummy.

Some researchers have defined a new term, “Paleoamerican” (Dansie 1997). These Native people are no longer Paleo-Indians but “Paleo-Americans.” As I have earlier discussed, this view is in line with recreating one’s own image in the archaeological record. It has been suggested that the Paleo-Americans may have been proto-Caucasians who arrived in America prior to the Indians. Some researchers claim

that Clovis fluted points of 11,000 to 12,000 years ago in America represent imported technology from Spain (Stanford 2002). The earliest Indians we have found so far are now turned into Caucasians! Deloria (1995:253) shares how a simple accusation by a researcher can effect Cultural Patrimony. Deloria makes this point with reference to Clovis projectile points, the extinction of megafauna at the end of the Pleistocene and the study of Early Man in North America:

“But where is the evidence? If you have followed the argument in this book, you will realize we do not need evidence; we can simply make the accusation. After all, we know that American Indians, Asians, Africans, didn’t do it”....

A second point is that data invoked in constructing a hypothetical Numic Expansion have not proven that such an expansion actually took place, as I have just discussed above. One has to wonder why some anthropologists choose to speculate in such a manner. A Jungian psychological study of archetypes and unconscious collective of American anthropology would go far in answering the questions of “why”.

Third, a Numic Expansion theory implies that the traditional spiritual knowledge the Punown have of their origins is false. “Ethnocentrism” is a term used to describe one ethnic group’s implied superiority over others. The Numic Expansion is clearly an ethnocentric concept that does not benefit the people it is about. Prehistory is not gold, skeletal remains are not silver. How does cultural materialism and the exploitation of Native ancestors, without Native permission, benefit Punown? How does forcing ones’ will due to a powerful Euroamerican supremacy benefit society in general and how does it encourage ethics amongst a free nation? Does such behavior benefit any American?

What gives researchers the right to conduct studies that have no factual end in their findings? How is it that researchers have a right to defile the spirituality (religion) of Punown? How could this be ethical?

In the 40 years since the Civil Rights Movement began in America, the trend in Native communities has been to reorganize and to re-assimilate traditional beliefs and to regain what has been lost from forced inculcation of Euroamerican values (Bordewich 1996). This trend is getting stronger, and the “melting pot” idea that one day Native Americans will have lost their cultures is gibberish. The right thing to do is to work with Native people to understand the orientations observed through anthropology and archaeology. The Native people themselves provide the best look into the spiritual ideology of their ancestors. Much of the ceremonial system of the Punown is unknown to anthropologists. As shared earlier, as I grew in my understanding of Great Basin archaeological explanations of the Punown, I also found that traditional Native ceremonies are kept from the view of those who are not ready to deal with the complexities and power inherent in dealing with the spirits of ancestors.

Fourth, some of the methods used by scientists to collect data are not spiritually acceptable to the Punown. It is thought that desecration of skeletal remains through consumptive analysis, (e.g. for radiocarbon dates and mtDNA analysis) is a violation of ancestors who have been laid to rest and given over to the care of the Creator. Recreation of dead cells in test tubes is considered a heresy, and the manipulation of Native genes for test samples is considered heresy. Worse yet, the potential creation of clones for the Punown would mean that the spirit in the clone would not be of the Creator but of the

“dark side” (personal communication with a Shoshone Indian Doctor, 1998 concerning Biopiracy). The Creator has the right to create life and no human can claim that. Biological warfare has been conducted on Native peoples in the past by intentional poisoning of springs and providing them blankets infected with small pox and measles (e.g., Hemphill and Larsen 1999). MtDna analysis has not borne fruit about Native origins thus far. It can show only if an individual is Native American. Why is the belief in an objective science that is not factual viewed with more faith than the spirituality of Punown? What is the importance of a test that science heralds as an answer to a question which is not useful, nor important to Native people?

Fifth, burials, skeletal remains, and associated funerary items are sanctified, prayed and sang over, and put away in a ceremonial context, never to be disturbed. What gives anthropologists the right to desecrate traditional ceremonial areas and to destroy the continuous cycle of religious freedom? The Native ancestors are not American but pre-American. Contemporary Natives have the right to say “no” to such studies because they are direct descendants. Readers are reminded of the historic preservation legislation referred to in Chapter One. How do we get federal courts to start enforcing laws that protect American Indian religious freedom? Where will tribes find funding to pursue Historic Preservation violations by university staff, federal agencies, and private contract Cultural Resources Management firms?

Sixth, data gathered through particular types of excavations, such as those in caves, violate sacred prayer “offering caches” that are sanctified. The prayer caches are desecrated when removed by unsuspecting and ignorant archaeologists. In a study on the

Pectol Shields (Brewster 2003b) of central Utah, I learned through a combination of spiritual direction and research studies that caches in caves are likely placed there with ceremony and therefore, sanctified. For example, the Pectol Shields were buried in a small cave, covered with cedar branches, and then covered with soil. The Pectol Shields are similar to other Intermountain West caches. Some other examples that come to mind are Lovelock Cave duck decoys, Promontory Cave moccasins, and numerous “prayer cache” offerings found in Hogup and Danger caves. Spirit Cave Mummy in Western Nevada was interred with bifaces, basketry, and burned human bone. Spirit Cave Mummy was placed within a cave. He was buried in the same way as were the Pectol Shields or the Lovelock Cave duck decoys or the Promontory moccasins in northern Utah. These are examples of cultural continuity (cf., Stoffle and Zedeno 1998). The key to the cave prayer cache offerings is that caves are part of the Sacred Grandmother earth matrix. The following account is adapted from Brewster (2003b).

Prayer cache offerings are known to occur as early as 10,000 B.P. in the Eastern Great Basin at Danger Cave. At Danger Cave, 150 grinding stones were located in the level dated between 10,000 and 9,000 years ago. At Promontory Cave, upward of 250 moccasins were cached. It is likely these objects are an "offering cache" (Northwest Band Shoshone and Indian Doctor interlocutors). At Gypsum Cave to the south, near Las Vegas, Nevada, ethnographic and archaeological evidence combines to shed light on the prayer caching of Southern Paiute medicine men, which shows Punown continuity:

Caves are places of power . . . Caves served a vital role in the quest for knowledge by shamans and medicine men because they were seen as the embodiment of an individual spiritual entity . . . Thus they were used to

seek visions, find spirit guides, and acquire healing power and shamanistic songs.

.... Before entering caves or other spiritual locations, shamans would deposit food, tobacco, feathers, and other items as offerings to spirits. One of the most important caves is Gypsum Cave, known to have been used by Paiute medicine men . . . (Stoffle and Zedeno 1998:11).

Archaeological evidence throughout the Intermountain West attests to similar material manifestations (Brewster 2003b; e.g., Stoffle and Zedeno 1998). The cultures of the region show a continuous Punown affiliation through time and space, and cave "cache offerings" are known Numic traits that extend back into deep time (into Buuveyanewena and Numakinat times). In the future, federal agencies will need to be cognizant of the traditional cultural property implications of archaeological collections made from cave excavations.

Seventh, the Numic Expansion hypothesis implies that the Punown are static, and unable to change or discard adaptations in favor of new ways of making a living. Although anthropologists would deny this accusation, it is unmistakably implied by the archaeological reliance on very few items of material culture in discussing the Numic Expansion hypothesis. The Desert Culture adaptation is identifiable in much broader terms, however, and it is securely proven that the Desert Culture way of life was a reliable and successful orientation over millennia throughout the Intermountain West (Jennings 1978). Julian Steward (1938) identified a seasonal round for the Western Shoshone, and Thomas (1974) interpreted Reese River Valley archaeology as representing a similar orientation. Aikens and Witherspoon (1986) developed a Central Great Basin origin model for Numic peoples based on the Desert Culture model. The

Desert Culture pattern is recognizably persistent even when more elaborated forms of orientation, such as horticulture, semi-sedentary lacustrine-based villages, and sedentary village adaptations succumb to environmental vicissitudes. Yet, amidst the material culture spread across the Northwest, Eastern, and Southeast Great Basin, where these experiments took place, archaeologists often fail to recognize the Desert Culture pattern that persists within the more elaborated and ephemeral culture (Madsen and Rhode 1994; Rhode and Sutton 1994).

Upham (1994:130-138) discusses compellingly the co-existence and mutual relations of hunter-gatherers and farmers widely throughout the Desert West, and the “adaptive diversity” of the Desert Culture. This adaptive diversity leads to variability in local cultural sequences, as “nomads” cycle into and out of sedentary lifestyles. Upham’s insightful discussion has many applications to the Numic Expansion debate, even though that is not his central focus.

Eight, there are *some* researchers who in an ethnocentric manner claim to be experts in Numa culture but are really being “pathological self serving individualists”. They think they know what is best for the Punown but are really making for themselves a source of revenue, at the expense of those people they have ethically sworn to be helping. However, we do gratefully acknowledge those ethical anthropologists who have provided a humanistic understanding of Punown culture and assisted the people in historic preservation issues of mutual importance!

Researchers often claim they are not forcing their beliefs as Euroamericans upon the Punown, but the dominant ideology now relies on the “objectivity” of scientists as

much as previous generations of Americans relied on the clergy for answers (Deloria 1995). Informed consent is often solicited from any Native individual who might grant researchers permission to do studies. One tribe may be used against another. In a few cases, informed consent and responsible consultations are averted. Findings from archaeological studies, which are really just “best guesses,” have been used by archaeology-ignorant federal court judges to determine Indian Claims cases and repatriation decisions by the federal government. This is done with no idea that understanding on the Punown side comes from a life long “spiritual” learning process that is ancient. Barker and Pinto (1994) provide a fearful agency archaeologist interpretation of the courts being biased against archaeologists. The direct historical link of contemporary tribes to Intermountain West prayer caches, established through the continuing modern practice of making such offerings, should be considered more valid than archaeological studies conducted under the notion of objectivity. For one thing, a people who relied on spirituality to guide them are the ones who left the prehistoric record. Spirituality is not a part of objectivity, yet the faith in spirituality is as strong for descendants of pre-Americans as faith in science is for researchers (see Deloria 1995; Horgan 1995).

The problem lies in what is considered a fact or a consensus of non-facts, or theory (Hughes 1994). Archaeologists have an idea they can objectively determine whether or not some theory is correct, but the fact is that researchers inevitably bring ethnocentric elements and biases into their research (see Mann 2003; Willey and Sabloff 1974:30). For years archaeologists and others presumed the “mound builders” of the

eastern U.S. had disappeared, just as some contemporary Fremont researchers believe the Fremont people have disappeared (Mann 2003; Watkins 2000; Willey and Sabloff 1974). Some thought that people from Atlantis and Mu, or the Aztecs, or even the Welsh, built the mounds, while the native people who lived there at contact were thought of as simple minded savages whose ancestors could not possibly have made such extravagant structures.

Native people who do not understand their own culture sometimes jump into this mix and are used by some archaeologists who parade them around (see Simms and Raymond 1999). It becomes the old “divide and conquer” tactic. Apropos of such things, a Nutsiyu and Nuwuvi Indian Doctor once told me, “the day would come when Indian people would be all crazy and doing things that were un-thought of. People would be wearing eagle feathers and not know why, people would have strange colored hair, and their focus would not be on the Creator but on the attainment of things for selfish purposes and not for the People. People would not understand the ways of the Punown”. The old doctor laughed because he had seen a bisexual Native person dancing at a Powwow in Utah who had purple hair and was wearing an eagle feather he had not earned. This individual was not laughed at because of his sexual orientation but because of his being lost. It was also a sad laugh because the time had come. When the people no longer understand where they come from it is a sign that the universal change, as shown is an ancient vision, is near.

John Horgan, in the final chapter of his book, "The End of Science," quoted a physicist, Paul Davis, who pondered the question, "could man arrive at absolute knowledge?" Davis wrote,

"through science, such an outcome was unlikely... given the limits imposed on rational knowledge by quantum indeterminacy, Godel's theorem, chaos and the like. Mystical experience might provide the only avenue to absolute truth" (Horgan 1996:261).

Ninth, the Numic Expansion hypothesis has no beneficial purpose for contemporary Punown. The desecration of burials, archaeological sites, and prayer caches brings about negative spiritual effects within the communities. When a prayer cache or burial is disturbed, desecrated, removed, curated, prodded and picked at, spiritual corridors are opened, ancestors are awakened and the medicine that was put to rest is set upon the earth with no direction. Native people often discuss the unbelievable tragedies that surround researchers who desecrate sacred shrines. In the case of one cave excavation in Eastern Nevada, two of the researchers have died and one has lived a life of tragedy. The other researcher claims that it is his purpose now to tell the story of what happened (personal communication, Donald Grayson 1994). What passes as "respected" science for Euroamerican researchers is viewed as ignorance by those Punown, who understand the spiritual process working within. It has been said that, "a priest prays to spirits but the Punown talk with spirits".

Some Concluding Questions: Would American Anthropologists do Destructive Analysis on the Skeletal Remains of Famous Americans and Clergy?

Would American anthropologists do scientific research that involved genetics and excavation in Muslim mosques, temples, or churches? In news accounts of the recent Iraqi war, it was reported that care was taken by American troops not to bomb mosques or sacred shrines. Americans would not enter a mosque without permission of Muslim clergy. It is extremely odd therefore, that American anthropologists freely enter sacred sites in the Punown homeland and elsewhere in America. Anthropologists enter, excavate, and sometimes do consumptive analysis on sacred artifacts and skeletal remains they remove from Native shrines. It is hard to understand, however, how Americans come to believe that they have the right to desecrate Native shrines and skeletal remains. The tomb of the Unknown Soldier was opened, but only at the request of probable American family members, to obtain DNA samples so as to possibly identify a family member within.

The graves of famous Americans such as Brigham Young or Joseph Smith, who are considered Mormon prophets, or George Washington, Andrew Jackson, the Catholic Popes, or Kings in Europe are not desecrated. But in the minds of researchers involved in studying the Numic Expansion, the details of who, what, and where of Punown origins are not sanctified. To treat in the same way the above referenced deceased non-Indian individuals would be considered heresy, though perhaps under the right scientific curiosity it would be allowed. For the Punown, the past, present, and future are all interconnected. Some researchers, who claim to be experts at Numa culture, believe their

rights as an American over-rule any ethics that might prohibit such actions within their own discipline. Although scientists claim to be objective, they seem to be adhering to the Christian belief that when one's soul leaves the body, the body is only biological remains. To force this view upon Native Americans and their pre-American ancestors is not right. In fact, it is ethnocentric. Even though consumptive analysis of skeletal remains is acceptable to some Euroamericans, it isn't to the Punown (Watkins 2000:153).

In order to deny Punown their spiritual beliefs and honoring of the sacred ceremonies that are ancient within North America, it takes some anthropologists a psychological "cognitive dissonance" to ignore their own actions (Kehoe 1998; Watkins 2000:2-117-134). It is amazing to understand that somehow in modern America personal interests in Native pre-Americans over-rule the rights of the very people being studied. Watkins (2000:134) provides some insight into this type of clash. He found that the heart of a heated dispute between archaeologists and Natives in Washington over a "Paleo-Indian cache" at the east Wenatchee Clovis site was personal:

The issue at the core of this conflict was not "scientific," but "ethical,"; the questions did not center around the science of archaeology (as a discipline), but the ethics of an archaeologist (as an individual).

In another case (Fowler, Dansie, and Hattori 1997; Tuohy and Dansie 1997:39), archaeologists studied Spirit Cave Mummy's basketry, comparing the textiles to those in Japan because the comparative knowledge was thought to be "important to humanity." In the Great Salt Lake Willard Bay area, numerous skeletal remains exposed by erosion were being desecrated by collectors. But archaeologists pursuing a mitigation project also became guilty of desecration. The Northwest Band Shoshone and other tribes were

consulted by the archaeologists, but, when asked about what they were told, the Shoshone interlocutors said they had not been responsibly informed of the consequences of the research (meeting with NW Band August, 1993, and continued work with NW Band during writing of dissertation).

Is Native spirituality available to all? Yes. If anthropologists are willing to respect and demonstrate to the Punown that they are serious about Punown spirituality, they are not excluded. Learning in the Punown spiritual way is a lifetime process, however, and anyone who would choose this path must be prepared to spend the years that could be required to be accepted into such circles. Perhaps the “participant” anthropologist who demonstrates s/he can share, respect others, will be there for the people, and will sacrifice materiality for the people, will gain visions which can teach him or her to understand how to see the past, and things will be different. Perhaps the day will soon arrive when a new generation of researchers will finally honor traditional Punown and earn the right to be accepted within their circle.

We are living in a time when alternative spirituality is gaining ground on traditional Judeo-Christian theology concerning the universe. Punown are a secretive people, but within their own ancient oral traditions and ceremonies, light is being shed on their origins. Punown spiritual knowledge in contemporary times is inter-tribal; yet it remains as a viable alternative to a Christian or other contemporary religion, or to the contemporary science of anthropology. It is possible to look at the orientation of the Punown without insulting their knowledge, while providing an exploration experience for

anthropologists to answer important questions in the discipline without violating values of those they study.

As I was writing this chapter a dream I had a few years ago came back to me. Punown sometimes rely on dreams to provide answers to spiritual questions or to problems in their everyday life (Jung for example found dreams to hold much knowledge about our inner self). I had a dream that I was in a cave, and the cave had corridors. The corridors were not open vaults. To get into the corridor one had to pass through the cave wall, and to accomplish this, one had to wear a special paint and touch the rock in a particular way and place. The men who passed through the wall into the corridor were dressed in ancient clothing. They paid no attention to me, only to look at me as if I was their relative, and to feel comfortable and happy I was there. I asked another man in the cave if he really thought I could get through the wall. The man told me, "try it." I did, but inside myself I lacked the faith to do it. I felt that I was not good enough to pass through the wall. I felt that only part of my body would go through and that I would be stuck in the wall. I watched as ancient Native people passed through this wall. Finally I did as the people who went into the wall did before me. Doing this, I passed into a corridor. The corridor resembled the lava tubes at Captain Jack's Stronghold in Northern California. When I was in the corridor, the lava tube begin to swirl much like a spiraling vortex or a spiral design in the old 1970's toy called a spiral-graph. This corridor was the corridor all people pass through to get to the Milky Way and the spirit path or Ghost road, the "Dusty Path," Oisie Poh.

My personal thought on Punown origins is that the People have always been here, “just like the trees and the grass.” Armand Minthorne, a religious leader of the Umatilla Tribes, as quoted in Watson (2000:136), said this about the Umatilla Tribes’ connection to Kennewick Man:

If this individual is truly over 9,000 years old, that only substantiates our belief that he is Native American. From our oral histories, we know that our people have been part of this land since the beginning of time. . . . Some scientists say that if this individual is not studied further, we, as Indians, will be destroying evidence of our own history. We already know our history. It is passed on to us through elders and through our religious practices. [Minthorne 1996]

The Punown came from the earth, and we are here, where the Creator made us. This opinion of mine can be sliced and diced and taken in many ways. For me, it implies that Punown are related to all people. It implies that they are residents of Grandmother earth, and that the reason we know this is because we have learned it from the spirits we speak with. Ancient connections are important to the Punown. I personally know relatives that are my fifth cousins. Some are full-blooded Indians while others have just a drop of Indian blood. Some live with the Gosiute, some with the Maidu, Miwuk, or Shoshone, some with the Washoe; some have never been around other Indian people. However, I know who these relatives are and I know how I am related to them. I also know when I am home and where my roots lie, and that is where Grandfather created me. Whether it is my grandfather from Mono Lake or my grandmother from Walker River, I know who my ancestors are who first encountered the Taibou. I am of mixed blood. My father is Chippewa-Cree and French (Metis). I also have some White blood from my mother’s side of the family. I know little of this part of myself, but I feel it, and my personal need to set

the archaeological record within a humanistic framework is partially from realizing that I too share a part in my European ancestry. I feel responsible as a mixed blood to work for the Native people and ancestors in a way that allows their voices to be heard. But also, I feel a responsibility to tell the story of Punown in a way that teaches White Americans to respect these first Americans. So, in this way, I also understand what it is like to not know my heritage. I often wonder who my Grandfather was on my father's side, and often think of how my Great-Grandmother came to be part white. There is also much confusion as to who my white relatives are. But deep inside, I realize that we are actually all related. For me this statement is true. I can choose to think of it as a myth, or as something that science has demonstrated to us. My personal Northern Paiute origin story, which I have learned, tells me that we are all related. Science has shown that all people are genetically similar. So similar that humans all can share the same blood types and vital organs and even so, while we are all so similar, we still have our own cultures that come from our inculcation of values by those who reared us. There is much evidence that peoples around the world have transformed through time, and all humans share a common connection to the Earth and the processes that came to make us look as we do.

For me, the diversity of all human beings is a tremendous spiritual gift from the Creator. We can do an archaeology that respects those who are studied and we can do so without provoking situations in which Native people refuse to deal with an unethical or insensitive individual. Looking at the archaeological record of the Great Basin, I also believe I can see strong evidence for a very long history of my people, living, striving, thriving, and surviving in the dynamic and varied landscape they still call home.

CHAPTER FIVE

EPISTEMOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND WHERE THE TRADITIONAL AND
SCIENTIFIC HISTORIES MEET

“Warm-glow heuristic people consider their affinity for a specific person or place as an indicator of familiarity. As with other mental shortcuts, people resort to this heuristic when they lack enough data on which to base their decisions”. Marina Krakovsky (September 2003, Psychology Today)

“Avoid developing a theory. If you have one you tend to avoid what does not fit. Investigate from a clean sheet of paper, then see where parts take you.” Jim Oliver, as quoted from “The Columbia Tragedy,” (George Stephanopoulos “*This Week*”, ABC 2-2-02)

In this chapter I discuss epistemological differences between the Punown and archaeology as a scientific discipline. The matter has already been introduced in preceding discussion, but this chapter takes it further. Here I will primarily contrast the Native transcendental wisdom and the positivistic archaeology of the Eastern Great Basin. Attention is paid to Native American views of the mainstream American worldview, and attending psychological models that provide self-reflection. As an individual who is primarily Native American but also part Euroamerican, who was inculcated with mainstream approval-seeking behaviors as to conformity in the education and research processes, I also pay attention to self-reflection. I cannot pretend to be objective; however, my own need to understand “why” has resulted in some inner

shadows that I have become aware of. I believe that we all have shadows of this kind we need to be aware of.

As a basis for discussion, a limited psychological look at Euroamerican thinking is offered. As the above quote suggests, people tend to place their idea of beauty in the view of their minds (the approval seeking process). The same can be said for archaeological cultures as viewed through westernized cultural evolutionary scales such as Band, Tribe, Chiefdom, State, and so on. Researchers can apply a scenario to hunters and gatherers that is negative, while glorifying the next stage of cultural evolution: farmers, or people who appear to have more familiar economic and social patterns. Those patterns we see in the mirror of our own minds, if not carefully reflected upon, can lead us to seeing similarities in others, or in our case the archaeological record, that may not be there.

Projection

The projection of either positive or negative traits is idealized in the researcher's mind. Projection, as described here, refers to either negative or positive traits within the researcher, who then projects these qualities onto the archaeological record or ethnicity of a culture. Researchers can project their own ideologies onto other cultures, positive or negative (Goss 1999; Watkins 2000). Some can envision a Garden of Eden and others a desolate desert from hell. It can be the eating of the tree of knowledge, such as "we did not know we were poor until President Kennedy told us so," or the "King has no clothes." The desert terrain in which the Gosiute live has been called the most barren wasteland in North America (Deffa 1979), clearly a projection. A postulated Numic Expansion across

the Great Basin is similar to the historic expansion by Euroamericans across America, a familiar concept to everyone. Conquest, savage aggression, out-competing the Punown for their homeland, feeling as if one's competitors are spiritually destitute, and tying materialism to a pathological conception of a "gastric" orientation to life, are all representations of the imperialist motivations of Euroamerican Manifest Destiny as expressed upon the Punown homeland.

In Utah as elsewhere, history is censored. A recent article in the Salt Lake City Weekly (Johnson 2003), "Read No Evil: Students aren't learning the darker side of Utah's history. Should they?" discusses censored history. Shane Johnson provides an embarrassing glimpse of the "shadows" of some local Utah interest groups, and the cognitive dissonance of their actions:

As any textbook author will attest, they do not work in a vacuum, especially when history is involved. Outside pressures come to bear when a person is tapped to tell so many stories from at least as many points of view. Salt Lake Community College professor John McCormick knows that all too well. A small but vocal contingent led by a southern Utah rancher, a natural resources political consultant, and the conservative think-tank The Southerland Institute lobbied for a rewrite of McCormick's fourth grade Utah history textbook in 1997. The Utah State Textbook Commission acquiesced to those demands and ordered McCormick to eliminate parts of his book dealing with American Indian religion, Anglo-settler conquest, and environmentalism (Johnson 2003:21).

Unconscious Collective

Currently, Tooele County, Utah, the heart of where the Skull Valley Gosiute reside, is the most toxic area in America. It has been made so by the presence of the Dugway Proving Ground, one of America's major centers for the testing and storage of chemical weapons agents. To the east is the world's largest nerve gas incinerator and a

storage facility. To the south the Intermountain Power Project, a coal-fired electric plant, fills the air with pollution. To the northwest is the Envirocare Low Level Radioactive disposal site, which buries radioactive waste for the entire country. Two hazardous waste incinerators and a hazardous waste landfill are also present in the area, and a Magnesium Corporation installation that is identified by the United States Environmental Protection Agency as the most polluting chlorine plant in the United States.

Utah's west desert was originally chosen for this role by the military authorities because of its desolation and remoteness from human occupation. In this calculation the Native Gosiute residents obviously counted for very little! In this situation we can clearly see that the stereotypes brought by early non-Indian intruders have survived within the inherited archetypes of modern Americans (Jung 1953; Goss 1999). The early intruders' ideas of Gosiute and Western Shoshone have become imprinted in the minds of modern Americans. Janetski (1981:159) provides a general summary of early "Gates of Hell" descriptions of the Gosiute and Western Shoshone and their country:

The image of the Shoshone or Digger is consistent almost without exception. He is described as a poor, starving wretch, living in a state barely above the animal in a barren land. Both the man and land he occupied were viewed as expendable to the majority of the 19th century travelers on their way to more prosperous regions.

A comment by a 60 year-old Nuwe man in response to a question posed by Captain J.H. Simpson relates to the ethnocentricity shown above. Janetski (1981:160) quoted,

I asked him if his country was a good one. He said it was; he liked it a good deal better than any other. I asked him why. Because, he said, it had a good many rats (Simpson 1869:54).

Vine Deloria (1974:17) relates how inherited “Gates of Hell” visions can be thrust into the minds of researchers, by showing how the archaeologists who desecrated a Native burial in Clarkston, Washington, seemed to operate from the unconscious.

The grave robbing can be seen in another, more profound, and disturbing light. Carl Jung, Swiss psychologist, suggested that we have a collective unconscious that lies behind, under, and in support of our conscious ego/personality. In his Wotan essay (1953), Jung related how he was able to predict the rise and fall of National Socialism by analyzing the dreams of young Germans shortly after World War I. He suggested that at times an idea, or archetype, might sweep into the consciousness of many individuals who were otherwise not known to each other or related in any way, and inspire or motivate them to perform simultaneously certain actions that they really did not understand. If the propensity of Whites during the summer of 1971 to grasp some bit of authenticity by locating, excavating, and embracing Indian skeletal remains can be interpreted as a frantic attempt to discard their own physical, cultural, and spiritual heritage, then the collective psyche of White America was indeed in deep trouble.

The same can be reasoned about the need for removal of skeletal remains from Nuwe territory along the Great Salt Lake shores, as reported in “Prehistoric Human Skeletal Remains and the Prehistory of the Great Salt Lake Wetlands,” and “Farmers, Foragers, and Adaptive Diversity” (Simms et al 1991, 1999). Another example is the desecrated skeletal remains removed from Homestead Cave (1992). It took the United States Air Force seven years to retrieve the remains from archaeologists, who claimed they had lost them. A Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiry led to their retrieval from a local University study collection (personal observations as Skull Valley Band of Gosiute archaeological consultant and NW Band Shoshone Cultural Resources advisor (1996-2003).

Any claim of the Gosiute to the lush Salt Lake Valley, where early Mormon pioneers quickly extinguished Kumanpigi (Weber Ute) tenure, is immediately dismissed.

As Mark Twain wrote in 1863, as he rode along the Overland Trail,

We came across the wretchedest type of mankind I have ever seen, up to this writing. I refer to the Goshute Indians.... inferior to all races of savages on our continent; inferior to even Tierra del Fuegians.... These Goshutes are, produce nothing at all, and have no villages, and no gatherings together into strictly defined tribal communities—a people whose only shelter is a rag cast on a bush to keep off a portion of the snow, and yet who inhabit one of the most rocky, wintry, repulsive wastes that out country or any other can exhibit. The Bushmen and our Goshutes are manifestly descended from the selfsame gorilla, or kangaroo, or Norway rat, whichever animal-Adam the Darwinians trace them to (As quoted in Alley 1987:380).

Indeed, this self-fulfilling prophecy, constructed by the bias of early Americans, has come to pass. The Gosiute community is now restricted to the most rigorous and challenging parts of the rich territory the people once occupied.

At the same time, Nuwe are denied any significant historical time depth in the region. Archaeologists discuss the superiority of the earlier Fremont farming culture of the region, while discounting the Desert Culture of the Gosiute, the extant Native life-way during the contact-historic period. Usually, these arguments also claim that there was no transition or transformation from the Fremont to the late Gosiute pattern of life, but rather that the Gosiute swept in and drove out the Fremont people, who vanished without a trace. Researchers dismiss Gosiute farming as being “historic” and not derived from earlier Native tradition, but it is a fact that the first Euroamericans to arrive in the Snake Valley area of Utah observed the Gosiute growing corn there (Crum 1997). The Gosiute could hardly have learned to do so from Euroamerican farmers, who weren’t even there

yet! Although local Northwest Band (Promontory) Shoshone told Steward that they indeed make the same type of moccasins identified through his Promontory Cave excavations, he dismissed their statements (Steward 1937).

The idea of progression in Euroamerican culture is one where cultures do not willingly become less complex, and constant building and refinement of cultural patterns is therefore presumed to be a sort of cultural law. In essence, the Gosiute and Punown similarities to the preceding Fremont archaeological culture have been discounted, and differences have been emphasized, to produce a “consensus” that the modern Gosiute and Punown are not derived from the older Fremont culture that existed in their northeast Great Basin homeland (Adovasio 1994; Madsen and Rhode 1994; Steward 1940; but compare the view of Upham 1994). Courts, educators, and governments in turn have tried to use this “conclusion” to justify their treatment of Natives in NAGPRA and other matters. It is as if contemporary Gosiute and Punown are invisible and to be ignored.

The existence of an American National Mythology is undeniable, and it is supported by our financial institutions, educational establishments, and government. It is maintained in some cases by the mechanistic research that is termed “objective,” because it is done through systematic scientific inquiry (Fowler 1987). The scenario I have applied to the conduct of some researchers is tenable; as for where this thinking originates, Jung (1982) speaks to the “unconscious collective.” On the Gosiute side of things there is, however, an advantage. The advantage is that this area *is* their home and although early anthropologists recommended that they be moved elsewhere, the people remain (Fowler and Fowler 1971; Clemmer, Myers and Rudden 1999). Anthropologists

may come and go, but the Gosiute are not going anywhere. It was never “a desert” to the Gosiute, but home, and their Garden of Eden. By holding on to what little they have left of their precious land, the Gosiute remain today in their ancient home.

Can an “Etic” Social Science be Objective?

Science is said to be value-free and objective. Objectivity can be attained by using correct data, procedures, and methodologies, designed to answer a particular research question. Scientists test hypothesis and theorize from these tests in a functional manner by seeking interdependent, inter-related and functioning connections. Although many researchers in the present day take issue with archaeology as a science, and some go as far as to claim that objectivity cannot be reached, the discipline remains divided into various camps (Trigger 1989; Van Pool and Van Pool 1999). As a matter of practice it is still believed that one may be a cultural materialist, and seek through the archaeological record and historical documentation to arrive at satisfactory conclusions that are supported by scientific inquiry. To do so the archaeologist constructs hypothesis and tests data that could lend support to a model that is proposed.

In the conduct of Great Basin archaeology, bioarchaeology and culture history have been utilized as key modes of analysis. Cultural ecology, environmental archaeology, optimal foraging theory, ethnoarchaeology, and so on, have each been utilized toward explaining the origins of the Punown. In general, most archaeological studies of recent decades have been done under the banner of processual archaeology, while the cultural historical approach has also remained a central focus. Post-processual approaches thus far have not been taken to any degree in Great Basin research.

Nevertheless, postmodernism and alternative histories are avenues of research that promise to bring Great Basin studies into the new millennium (Schmidt and Patterson 1995). Many of the earlier established approaches are materialistic and primarily spring from the current research interests of Great Basin archaeologists, who in turn follow the theoretical elite consensus of archaeologists working at the higher academic levels. On the Punown side of the equation, in contrast, spiritual beliefs and ceremony offer all there is to be understood. The Punown intellectual tradition is non-materialistic and relies on cooperation, faith, and the inherent connection of the past to the present and to the future. Is there a way these two very different value systems can be joined?

Scientific Values or Punown Worldview?

Punown make decisions relying heavily on the accumulated knowledge that has come to them through oral traditions, and rarely make a decision as to the importance of anything without first thinking about it for a long time. Concerning the Punown worldview, Stoffle et al. (1990:12) state,

At the most general level, Indian people perceive cultural resources to be part of and integrated into something greater than the artifacts and plants themselves. This holistic frame of analysis derives from an even more general view of the world as being integrated.... All the elements of the world are functionally integrated; weather, soil, plants, animals, and people being bound together so that change in one component necessarily modifies the other components. Just as the elements of the contemporary world are functionally integrated with world components that existed in the past, before the existence of humans, back to the beginning of time. Indian people claim this timeless, worldwide integration was created by the supernatural.

Epistemology is the branch of philosophy that seeks to understand truth and knowledge. A rationalist considers that innate ideas do not need to be found in

experience. An idea can be innate and exist separate from an experience (<http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/epistemology>), as a sort of unconscious collective or archetype (Jung 1938). If an experience exists outside of the mind, then it can be understood by a human mind when that mind reaches a sufficient understanding (in a personal sense, self actualization or balance). An empiricist would contend that no idea exists outside an experience and that all human knowledge is a product of experience through human learning (<http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/epistemology>). There is no spirituality here.

Transcendental knowledge includes the unknowns, such as “how are we created,” “does God exist,” “when will time end,” “what was here before our universe?” Archaeology is empiricist and operates from a materialist observational experience camp, while traditional Natives are in the transcendental camp. Natives experience their epistemology through faith, and with sufficient experience arrive at an understanding. A positivist, however, may consider such questions to be void of cognitive significance because he feels things cannot be known, outside of experience. In the latter case, closed mindedness, “cognitive dissonance,” or “tunnel vision” allows the positivist to dismiss that which is not “objective”.

James Loewen (1995), in “Lies My Teacher Told Me,” characterizes American history as being handicapped. He writes that history is a parade of “white male political leaders,” who provide a mythological “process of hero making” Loewen (1995:18-19). A good example is that of Columbus who, lost at sea, finally landed in what he thought was India, but was actually the Americas. Loewen states (1995:57),

American culture perpetuates the image of Columbus boldly forging ahead while everyone else imagined the world as flat. A character in the movie *Star Trek V*, for instance repeats the Washington Irving lie; "The people of your world once believed the world was flat; Columbus believed it was round." Every October, Madison Avenue makes use of the flat earth theme. This ad seeks clients for daring and courageous stockbrokers!

For some, philosophy and logic lead to an understanding of how to think and a way to arrive at hypothetical truths about behavior. All people have some form of epistemology by which they come to understand the world, but even among western philosophers there is no consensus as to which side is most productive in aiding our understanding of the world. If an archaeologist asks a question concerning an artifact, for example, s/he first makes an observation, then tests the observation with an experiment, trying to conscientiously answer objections. So if the belief stands, it is rational, and, if an idea is verified through repetition, it then becomes truth. As an archaeologist, however, I have observed no factual evidence that can refute the Punown claim that they are autochthonous in their own homeland.

It is possible that a rational belief may be substantiated yet still be wrong. It could be that an aspect of scientific truth is obtained even while the same truth does not explain the essence of what the archaeologist is viewing. For the Native it is the spiritual aspect of past that is most important, while for the scientist it is the objective aspect. It is this transcendental unknown feature that objectivity fails to grasp and is exactly where Native epistemology ventures. Traditional Punown are more in the spiritualist camp because through ceremony their minds have come to understand what the spirits have commanded.

In contemporary times, social researchers have used the term “Pan-Indian” to describe the borrowing of religious ideology, artifacts, and social integration between tribes. However, instead of Pan-Indian the term that needs to be utilized (and is used here) is “Inter-Tribal,” because it is understood amongst Native people that borrowing from others is a tradition of long standing that survives into the present day. Vine Deloria (1974:60) in “God is Red,” offered this understanding of mainstream American culture by quoting Chief Luther Standing Bear:

The white man does not understand America. He is too far removed from its formative processes. The roots of the tree of his life have not yet grasped the rock and soil. The white man is still troubled by primitive fears; he still has in his consciousness the perils of this frontier continent, some of its fastness not yet having yielded to his questioning footsteps and inquiring eyes. He shudders still with the memory of the loss of his forefathers upon its scorching deserts and forbidding mountaintops. The man from Europe is still a foreigner and an alien. And he still hates the man who questioned his oath across the continent.

But in the Indian the spirit of the land is still vested; it will be until other men are able to divine and meet its rhythm. Men must be born and reborn to belong. Their bodies must be formed of the dust of their forefathers’ bones.

Neocolonialism

One of the primary shared concerns of Punown and anthropological researchers is “who owns and controls the past?” In a democracy such as America the majority generally rules, and the needs of a colonialized minority such as American Indians often go unheard, due to either design or benign neglect. American supremacy in some instances is maintained by the academy through the power of cognitive dissonance. When the majority ignores the voices of the minority and produces archaeological research that

maintains an historical status quo at the expense of the ancestral populations, the conqueror archaeology of neocolonialism is present.

Colonialism is defined as:

a system in which a state claims sovereignty over territory and people outside its own boundaries, often to facilitate economic domination over their resources, labor, and often markets. The term also refers to a set of beliefs used to legitimate or promote this system, especially the belief that the mores of the colonizer are superior to those of the colonized (<http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/colonialism>).

For many Punown the idea that anyone but the Creator owns the past is unpalatable (e.g., Stoffle et al. 1990). Many anthropologists, however, share a common view that all Americans own pre-American humanity and indeed that all people own the human past in common (Simms and Raymond 1999). It is an ethnocentric view that violates the spirituality of pre-Americans. Spiritual concerns, for researchers, are often viewed as untenable metaphysics and deemed unimportant; the acquisition of data has precedence over spiritual concerns. Some archaeologists claim that “no one owns the past,” by which they mean that “everyone owns the past.” Punown claim to have a responsibility to their ancestors, to the present generation, and to the people who will come in the future, based on metaphysical contact with the Creator. While Euroamericans value their own individuality, insufficient social responsibility is felt for the needs of others. Punown spirituality is looked at as superstition by some, and their right to protect their Native interconnection to the archaeological record is sometimes viewed as a useless impediment.

Some outsiders would like to see Punown assimilate beliefs similar to theirs, and replace Punown spirituality with the outsider's own ideas of objectivity. Little energy is spent on trying to learn the Native cosmology, or doing symbolic analysis of the archaeological record (but see Myers 1988). Some researchers argue that all humanity has the right to learn of a shared human heritage, and that in a democracy the values of the majority take precedence over those of the minority. However, Haunani Kay Trask, in a recent lecture at the University of Oregon Law School (10-7-03) stated,

Imperialist American indignities toward indigenous people resulting from their settlement of America, even though acknowledged, are not considered worthy of restitution [especially in the case of the Hawaiian bid for a land base] even though Japanese American internment during World War II, and German restitution to holocaust victims, are considered worthy. Israeli settlement in the Middle East and Japanese settlement in America makes these minorities "worthy victims," who have earned restitution. Native Americans have a claim to Indian land, restitution, and the right to survival and dignity. America's indigenous people represent a contradiction to the Americans' entire philosophy of the Vacant Land.

The mainstream culture's presumed right to violate the sacred artifacts, religions, and material culture of ancestors is a neocolonialist view, not a Punown view (e.g., Simms and Raymond 1999). For some archaeologists the Punown are just another interest group. When it comes to cultural affiliation, much effort is spent trying to show how modern Punown are unrelated to earlier material culture and skeletal remains found in their homeland. Historic Preservation laws such as the National Historic Preservation Act and Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, amongst other laws, regulations, presidential memoranda, executive orders and so on, have made Native American consultation a reality. Nevertheless, consultations made as a matter of

compliance with historic preservation law are for some simply another hoop to jump through (e.g., Barker and Pinto 1994; Simms and Raymond 1999).

Conformity

Economic profit is a primary reason for many of the ground- disturbing projects that require Native American consultations. Often, the concerns of anthropological consultants are not Punown human rights but the need for themselves to survive in a tight market for cultural resources research services that are increasingly paid for by project proponents. With these motivations in mind, conformance to the existing paradigm governs any balanced research.

Much academic research has taken the form of cultural resource management investigations in the modern era, since the advent of the National Historic Preservation Act and Executive Order 11593. In order for a cultural resources management investigation to receive official concurrence from a State Historic Preservation Office, it is first reviewed by the land-managing agency for compliance with applicable cultural resource laws. In academia, research findings go through a referee process conducted by the elite in the field, in order for them to be published. Then the investigation is judged according to SHPO standards and those required in Historic Preservation Law. To work through the whole process, the research contractor must conform to the standardized archaeological investigation framework of the agency involved, and those Historic Preservation laws that regulate investigations. These standards come from mainstream non-Indian archaeological, anthropological, and historical researchers. For the researchers, conformance to the findings of their predecessors, and a constant refinement

of their arguments, leads many to defend their own findings, which they have built their careers on along with a healthy dose of ego.

Conformity is an important issue; Wayne Dwyer (1976:61) had this to say from a psychological point of view about American culture and its need for conformity:

Our culture is one that reinforces approval-seeking behavior as a standard of life. Independent thinking is not only unconventional; it is the enemy of the very institutions that constitute the bulwark of our society. You've been tainted by this attribute and the backbone of our culture. Make someone else's opinion more important than your own, and then if you don't get their approval, you have every reason to feel depressed, or guilty, since they are more important than you.

Approval seeking starts early in the childhood years in American schools. Dwyer (1976:65) explains:

Any student who begins to show signs of self-actualization and personal mastery is quickly put in his place. Students who are filled with self-love, not susceptible to guilt and worry, are systematically labeled as troublemakers.

As a student reaches High School, Dwyer (1976:67) writes:

He will learn to write papers based not on his own judgment and opinions, but on quotes, and references that will substantiate everything he says. If he doesn't learn these things he will be punished with low grades and the teachers disapproval...

By the time a student gets to college he is a conformist who cannot think for himself,

Dwyer (1976:67) explains:

At college the same pattern of indoctrination continues. The big assembly line. Conform; please your professors and you'll make it.... [The student's] queries are the end product of a system that demands approval seeking for survival. He is terrified of thinking for himself. It is easier and safer to do what someone else expects.

Dwyer's statements are surely overstated, and would not apply to all cases, but they contain important truth. In the present discussion they imply that for an American archaeologist to be "objective" he must follow the inculcation of educational values he learned within the school system, which are somewhat problematic. Archaeologists are trained to utilize the scientific method, and this method can arrive at objective conclusions. However, to arrive at an objective conclusion the researcher must seek approval through hypothetical arguments designed to demonstrate the truthfulness of his contentions. Punown thought is diametrically opposed to westernized objective thought. Stoffle et al. (1990:13) write,

In general, then, western scientists and American Indian people have diametrically opposite views of the world. To western scientists the world as a whole is not confidently understood, but gradually becomes known by analysis of the interrelationships of its components. To Indian people the whole world is confidently known, but the interrelationship between some of the components may not be understood.

In the Eastern Great Basin most archaeologists, historians and other researchers have closed the case on the Gosiute and Shoshone (Nuwe) relationship to prehistory. Until the advent of agency Native American consultations with Indian traditionalists and tribal governments, and the advent of Native archaeologists within recent years, regional archaeologists presumed that the Numic speaking peoples of the region were latecomers. However, I believe that pertinent research has shown continuities between historic and ethnographic evidence, oral tradition, and archaeological records that provide a robust continuity sufficient to counter local Utah archaeological theory (Aikens 1994; Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Aikens 2000; Berry and Berry 2001; Brewster 1998, 2003a,

2003b; Dean 1992; Grayson 1993, 1994; Goss 1977; Gruhn 1987; Hill 2003; Holmer 1994; Jennings 1957; Jones 1994; Knack 1994; Rudy 1953; Shaul 1986, 2001; Swanson 1962; 1972; Taylor 1961; Thomas 1994; Upham 1994; Zingg 1933, 1938). Nevertheless, the rigid social atmosphere still leaves considerable inertia to be overcome. The effects of the 19th century American intrusion on Punown territory resulted in a border town mentality that still persists today, with injustice toward the Punown. Colonialism in archaeology is a result of the original cultural imperialism that brought about the present United States.

Even now, in the Eastern Great Basin, neo-colonialist archaeology is alive and well within writings and behavior directed towards those who do not conform to the local paradigm. Native researchers and traditionalists who disagree with the dominant paradigm concerning the Punown in the Great Basin suffer for it. Schmidt and Patterson (1995:1) for example noted, that some will disagree:

only to find that advocacy for alternative views on the use of archaeology and history sometimes leads to censure by colleagues on methodological grounds. Methodological censure of course, is one of the ways in which a dominant paradigm reproduces itself....

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to evoke some healthy skepticism about the premises and methods of Euroamerican ways of knowing and expressing knowledge. This is not done in an attempt to discredit them, but rather to help readers fully appreciate that they are not infallible, and not the only ways. Punown ways of seeing and knowing are in some respects very different; yet, in striving to understand the world as an

interconnected whole, they share with western science the fundamental common middle ground that can both allow Punown spirituality to be respected, and fulfill the need for objective criteria within the bounds of archaeological anthropology. There is, however, still much work that needs to be done on both sides.

The traditional and scientific histories can meet if a paradigm shift occurs. This paradigm shift would involve intensive Punown involvement in the conduct of archaeology. Time needs to be spent by archaeologists in learning the symbological system that underlies the archaeological record. To understand the underlying principles that may be embodied within the remnants of prehistoric material culture and residues left in place and time, the best starting point is to work closely with Punown, who are the most likely relatives and descendants of the people who left the materials under investigation. It is a mutual undertaking in which scientific approaches are adapted to the Punown knowledge of the archaeological manifestations we encounter. What archaeologists and Punown have in common is a wish to obtain the best possible interpretation of the archaeological record. What we also have in common is our awareness of cultural relativity, and I believe that with mutual learning and acceptance between Native American Indian and Euroamerican culture and western science, a humanistic anthropological archaeology will provide the holistic framework necessary to find common ground. In order to develop mutually appreciated archaeological research that can benefit all Americans, including those who are ancestral to the prehistoric archaeological record, it is the responsibility of anthropological archaeologists to work diligently to understand the Punown and other Native American Indians.

CHAPTER VI

TOWARD INCREASING PRODUCTIVE INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGISTS
RELATIONSHIPS

We are all related, we all come from the first human beings. It is sad, some have become so far removed from the spirit. Yet we must accept all people and teach them to honor the Creator. Before it is too late, we must share what we can with the non-Indians, because this is our last chance
(Northern Numu/Miwuk Indian Doctor July 2003).

As has been emphasized in the preceding chapters, there is an inter-cultural need to pool knowledge about the archaeological record between Punown and archaeologists. In this final chapter, I reiterate the key points developed in the course of this long discussion. Cooperation is needed to repair a strained relationship. There is an important need to develop Native-generated archaeological models in response to a silent archaeological record, currently devoid of human voices. In order for this new area of archaeology to be developed, Punown and Euroamerican researchers must share an equal responsibility. Funding is not always available to tribes that wish to conduct archaeology and start their own cultural resources management programs, and professional expertise in archaeology is almost non-existent amongst Punown. Efforts need to be made by the anthropological community to share expertise and get involved with helping the Punown (and all tribes) to reach mutually agreed upon historic preservation goals. This trust is built through long and continual contact with Punown, working in a common cause.

Infusing a Punown Worldview into the Conduct of Great Basin
Archaeological Anthropology

Adding Gosiute, Shoshone and Punown viewpoints to Great Basin anthropology is of utmost importance. In order to accomplish this task, both anthropologists and Punown need to develop a mutually beneficial relationship. Above I have summarized Native views, and psychological models of mainstream research, to provide an understanding of barriers that prevent mutual trust. In order for a bridge to be built it is the responsibility of both Punown and Euroamerican, archaeological anthropologists to reach a mutual understanding of how they can work (play) together on issues of importance, without fighting. Archaeological research in the present day is primarily done in the context of land disturbing activities, and both sides want careful and respectful management of the threatened material culture sites.

After many years of experience working in the field of cultural resources management as an archaeological consultant and a federal agency archaeologist, it has become apparent to me that an infusion of Punown worldview into archaeological research is of utmost importance for studies to be fully informative and valuable to both Punown and the archaeological establishment. After working with numerous projects, conducting numerous consultations between agencies and tribes, and participating in Punown ceremonies, I realized the key to working with the People is this infusion of worldview. Like blood provided to a patient who needs life, archaeology is ready for this type of transfusion. The Punown worldview comes from insights passed down through

millennia. It is intrinsically a view of interconnectedness through time and interrelatedness in all material and non-material vestiges of life. However, we operate in a modern mainstream culture where the “Cartesian bifurcation of nature” (Deloria (1995:18) has been employed as a way of knowing. In Deloria’s opinion this has proven almost “fatal because it encouraged succeeding generations of societies to treat an obviously living universe as if it were an inert object.” There is a lot to be said for his view, even while recognizing the successes of the scientific method in various fields. Much as Kehoe (1998) observed in her discussion of the Indian and archaeologist relationship, “Indians are invisible” to archaeologists, and the treatment of archaeological sites by modern man—even archaeologists-- is often done in ways that shirk the personal responsibility for the earth and things in it that traditional Indians learn as they grow up. Native American Indians think all things are living: artifacts, earth, wind, water, fire, and so on. For anthropologists and Punown to work together, we need to put the “Cartesian bifurcation of nature” aside.

The most problematical aspect of achieving this integration is defeating unconscious projections by practicing self-actualization through catharsis. Normally it takes years of experience through observation and participation to reach such understanding, but these years of experience are not always part of everyone in all the situations that require action. What is more readily possible, however, is for educational institutions to hire faculty capable of training students who can be culturally relative. After many years of studying in the university system and working in the archaeological profession, my observation is that many students are nevertheless ill prepared to be

culturally relative. Often, one exceptional Native teacher can change the worldview of a student who is a mainstream culture member, and non-Native teachers can do this as well. I have been fortunate enough to have both kinds of teachers. Without carefully chosen teachers, the best education money can buy will still be inadequate. Gosiute and Punown, and Native people generally, are exhausted from dealing with those who have tunnel vision.

The infusion I am talking about requires, but is not limited to, the following values:

First, a willingness of both sides to work with one another on mutually beneficial research. Is it helpful to compare the basketry found with Spirit Cave Mummy to Ainu basketry from Japan as a way of showing that skeletal remains from the western Great Basin are not related to the Native people? Is it this kind of disproof that is more important to humanity, or is it finding similarities in orientation between people, through a concept that “we are all related?” The same kind of study could look at relationships between human groups while not being discourteous to either. Academic institutions need to hire instructors who can provide an “emic” understanding of the cultures they teach about. Contract professionals need to prepare themselves in this way, as well as agency professionals. Let go of the ego and preconceptions. Open the mind and listen. Learning to think with your mind *and* your heart is important. This technique is one of the first important pieces of wisdom provided to Native people who are introduced to the Red Road. May we take such knowledge and grow with it.

An authentic consultation relationship will involve mutual trust, honesty, and integrity. To accomplish this task, professionals need to make long-term commitments to work with particular Native communities. Often, Native people are distressed when anthropologists transfer to other positions, or local University staff behave as hit and run artists, leaving established relationships behind to take up new research interests. In Nuwe and Punown culture, it is a severe lack of ethics to build trust with the People only to abandon them in the end for an economic gain on the part of the researcher. More on this aspect of my personal experience is shared later.

Second, responsible disclosure of political, spiritual, and ideological impacts to the interests of Native people must be provided for each separate project. To accomplish this end, cultural resources managers, academic researchers, and federal and State Historic Preservation Office staff must hire and support appropriate Native interlocutors to provide an “emic” view that that might otherwise be missing. Right now, few universities and federal agencies, and even fewer state and public governments, have Native people on their staffs for the purpose of providing an “emic.” Tribal governments and their spiritual communities need to be careful in choosing who is their tribal interlocutor. Tribal interlocutors who represent the interests of their people as interpreters must make a commitment to respect that honor bestowed upon them. Being an interpreter is a difficult responsibility that requires sacrifice and being able to maintain strength in dealing with sensitive issues. One must keep his/her anger in check when dealing with ethnocentrism, and behave as an honorable Punown person, which translates in any culture to being polite and courteous toward others. The economic costs of making proper

interlocutors and interpreters available are a reality to be dealt with, but contractual cultural resource management proposals can include appropriate fees. It is no longer tenable to insist that an educated non-Indian staff member is fully equipped to work with Native American consultation. The experience of the Northwest Band of Shoshone in Utah is an example. Contractors from a local university met with them concerning skeletal remains and subsequent consumptive analysis of skeletal parts. The Shoshone merely nodded. This was taken by the contractors to be an agreement with their proposed analysis, but as the Shoshone explained to me recently, “we usually do not make any decision in a meeting, but wait until afterwards when the people are gone.” It is in these later reflections where Nuwe decide what they really think. In the case of the Great Salt Lake burials, a desecration was committed by labeling the Shoshone as approving consumptive analysis, without their knowledge (without responsible consultation) of what was being done. The same can be said about the consumptive analysis of Nevada skeletal remains. When the Punown became fully informed of the consequences of such analysis and the destruction and desecration that was occurring, objections were raised. Often, researchers think they have reached an agreement with local Native Americans and carry through with the research, often thanking Tribal Councils for their help and support only to find the Punown later claiming that they were irresponsibly informed. Anthropological research has many limitations and it is our ethical responsibility to disclose these limitations. Informed consent is now a reality and without it, the researcher who has forged ahead with a publication, thanking Punown for allowing the research, should feel more than embarrassed when s/he realizes the failure of communication. This

often results in anthropologists' feeling besieged. Engaging appropriate interlocutor expertise as a bridge would have allowed for informed consent. In the latter case, the Indian archaeologist who tried diligently to help the researchers was reported as being aggressive toward Whites. Eventually tribal authorities wrote to the Dean of the University where the archaeologist had made accusations against the Indian archaeologist, primarily to point out the aggression by the Euroamerican archaeologist toward the Native people and their interpreter

Third, local university and contract anthropologists are responsible for providing funding for research. There are few opportunities for tribes to fund professional anthropologists, when the social health and welfare of their people are the primary objectives to be served by their limited financial resources. The financial picture under the current political administration in the United States looks even grimmer than before. Nevertheless, every avenue of providing expertise for an awarded contract must be covered, even though added interlocutor or Native professional costs often frighten contractors who are seeking to make the low bid. However, interlocutor expertise is essential to achieve a proper emic understanding. In the near future it will be the contractor who does not have this expertise who does not get a contract, or who has his/her findings rejected by professional Native gatekeepers. The necessities of funding can be obtained when all contract proposals from professionals include interlocutor costs/and or Native professional expertise.

Fourth, intercultural issues need to be examined and both sides need to address the uneasy relationship that exists. Self-reflection, introspection, and work with

relationship professionals are each avenues by which both sides can reach catharsis. These principles have long been recognized in the fields of psychology, social work, and counseling, and it is recognized as beneficial for professionals in these fields to seek such help. Punown who are traditionalists work through metaphysics on self-reflection and often reach balance. Often, Punown who visit psychologists find that they are healthy but living in an unhealthy environment. Many of the psychological benefits that come through disclosure, and rely on self-reflection to provide balance, are built into Native culture. Contrariwise, many of the abhorrent behaviors associated with rigidity and objectivity lead to psychosis. A double psychological social bind is extremely hard to reconcile without resorting to denial and cognitive dissonance.

Fifth, Great Basin research institutions are encouraged to recruit and retain Native American (Punown) students and professionals. The University of Oregon has been doing this for some years, and in fact encouraged me to come there. Without serious efforts by educational institutions to share mainstream values and knowledge, expertise, training, economic assistance, jobs, and mentoring with Native American students, this situation can only become worse. At the University of Oregon I was fortunate to have been mentored by C. Melvin Aikens and Jon Erlandson, who each have been active in recruiting Native students from the regions where they conduct research. During numerous consultations with Punown, I have found that an individual's aspiration to enter anthropology as a profession often encounters the exclusion aspect of not being welcome in the profession. Much of this exclusion is accomplished simply by ignoring

Punown and other Native Americans as if they are invisible, until they become discouraged and go away.

Sixth, the needed infusion cannot be accomplished simply by using one uninformed tribe or consultant against those tribes who knowingly have chosen to deal with academic, agency, or public requests for Native American consultations as per Historic Preservation Law. Divide and conquer is *bad medicine* and is now old hat.

Running through all the measures I have listed above must be the recognition that Punown spirituality is important. Non-anthropologists and land management agency personnel often are confused about the importance of doing anthropology. But one important reason why Native American thought is, or should be, important to local managers is that Punown flourished and did little if any damage to the environments in which they lived for thousands of years. Alteration of natural vegetation was done in ways that were healthful. Plants and animals were managed through reasoned hunting and collecting practices. The interdependent relationships that Punown recognize, based on the interconnectedness of all things, allowed for harmony and balance. Euromerican culture and modern industrial societies around the world are facing an environmental holocaust, and one sure way to help fend off this impending disaster is to learn the environmental ethics and values that Punown (and other Native people) can teach. Not only are the spiritual views of traditionalists important, but also the archaeology of Native American sacred geography illuminates pieces of the tapestry (system) that was a success for thousands of years. Native management of land, water, animals, and vegetation over

thousands of years, and its attending epistemology, have been a gift to all the Americans who occupy this rich continent today.

Denying Punown their identity with the archaeological record of the Great Basin, based on weak evidence, is *bad medicine*. Each time a researcher conforms to an existing paradigm that feeds upon the constant buildup of negative stereotypes, a sort of *black magic* is brought into the world. I know it is hard to break away from approval-seeking behavior and to write and speak from the heart, but it has long been known that cultural continuity for the Punown in their homeland is entirely credible. Punown recognize this, and anthropologists can grow and learn “if only they will listen.” Anthropology is said to be a science that benefits humankind, but when pathological self-serving is the primary motive of a researcher through conformance, all people suffer.

With the infusion of Punown thought into the archaeological research paradigm, archaeology becomes alive, and includes the most likely descendants of the archaeological cultures we study. The Fremont Culture of Utah, for example, which precedes contemporary Nuwe society in the Northeast Great Basin, is an objectified entity that is based only on material culture identified through time and space. When archaeologists discuss the Fremont Culture, it is usually viewed as a culture that “disappeared” without issue. When the Gosiute and other Punown are responsibly informed of this interpretation, it is unbelievable to them. Punown are not raised to think they have newly expanded into their homeland and replaced the Fremont Culture, and in any event, even from the archaeological point of view, the basic ecological and technological orientation subscribed to by the Punown is also attested in the Fremont.

Local Native American children in Utah are often hurt and feel violated when they are subjected to negative stereotypes taught in their classrooms about their ancestry. We are not all materially wealthy and those of us who have varying levels of prosperity often have a variable material culture. Some of us are from different ethnic groups. But we are all Americans, and to some extent the crystal sitting upon the desk of an affluent American looks identical to the one in the pocket of the poor man. If we were to look in the closet of both the rich and poor man or the knapsack of a homeless person we would likely find a similar pair of pants. If this were a few hundred years from now and we had no written record of the current situation, we might think that these particular items were traded, or belonged to a particular culture, or were so widespread as to not be viable cultural indicators. The same can be said for the alleged difference between Fremont and Punown; it is based on a very few kinds of material culture items. A general orientation toward life can also be an ethnic marker, although numerous variables affect how, where, and why material culture is emplaced in the landscape. Environmental variables, place, sacred geography, social variability, symbolic relationships found in oral tradition and folk lore, can all be approached archaeologically if we make the recognition of continuities an important research focus.

The Archaeology is Alive

If anthropologists decided to study orientation, and infuse human actors into material culture as a life process, we would avert numerous problems and issues that plague the profession today. For the Punown, according to their oral tradition, “we are all related,” and the many biological commonalities between Native American people and

those around the world convince western science of this as well. All humans have similar biology, and it is important to understand the history of disease and physical ailment as a key to a healthier future for everyone. Often, Native people, when they are responsibly informed about such studies, are not threatened. If a research project were agreed upon as mutually beneficial, and the research might one day lead to conquering disease, such as diabetes for example, the Punown would likely agree to such a study. However, if they are lied to and not responsibly informed about the nature of the research, the trust issue-- which is a problem from the beginning due to the "border town" mentality many Punown live amidst--will arise and no progress can be made. A little white lie to a Punown is an indication that the individual who spoke it is not to be trusted. The little white lie to some may be just a way of seeking approval from the Punown, but it backfires.

Although some may dismiss the proposals and recommendations I have offered here as merely personal, these words come from a qualitative understanding of the Punown. It is important to listen. As each year passes and tribes gain strength, the day is coming when the picking and choosing of Great Basin researchers contractually and academically will rely on recommendations from them.

The Punown have lived in their homeland since they were created. This creative and transformational process is ongoing through the ages and will continue into the future. We ask you as our relatives to join us in our expanding exploration into self-reflection and the learning process of spirituality. One way this may be accomplished is through the exploration of alternatives to the Numic Expansion Hypothesis, which has been at the core of many of the problems discussed above.

A Personal Reflection

To end this dissertation I would like to share a brief look into my personal experience as an archaeological anthropologist, which has led me to the point of writing it. I firmly believe that my prayers have been answered in the time and the way of the Spirits, and that through them I have crossed paths with traditional healers, elders, and mentors who have helped me reach my current level of understanding. In order to further elucidate this process I offer the following disclosures.

While a student at the University of Nevada Reno I had an opportunity to travel to the Southwest, to New Mexico, as a volunteer with Dr. Cynthia Irwin-Williams. Dr. Irwin-Williams, who has now passed to the other side, took me under her gentle and nurturing wing and taught me about archaeology. She understood that I was a tough reservation kid but she had it in her heart to be a mentor. As a Northern Paiute I was spoiled with the nurturing treatment I had received as a child from my mother and aunts. I wonder how this white professor knew that this special way of relating to a son would be met with respect! Dr. Irwin-Williams understood that I would have a hard time, but she encouraged me to get into this profession because “my people needed me”. I also learned during her project that most of the field school students who participated had little actual interest in Native people who are alive, even those who worked right beside them. I was sorely confused and hurt by this. Dr. Irwin-Williams explained, “You need to be an archaeologist because your people need you! And without you we honkeys (with a big warm smile on her face) will never learn how Indian people think. And if we do not know how Indian people think, then our work will always be questionable.” Eventually I

went home to the reservation knowing in the back of my mind that if anyone had the right to study archaeology it was an Indian.

My mother told me, “Respect those white people. They know more than you do, don’t talk back to them.” However, I have always felt the need, and the right, to express my opinions. Eventually I found that just being a traditional Indian in mainstream culture labels me as trouble. I have to admit here that I can be trouble. I can be antagonistic when I have been labeled, and when anthropological “experts” who claim to understand Native people fail to understand Punown etiquette. I am a large man, which by itself makes me seem dangerous to some, and often my antagonism toward “experts” is expressed in a sort of mean Indian way of joking: “so, you really think you can tell Irish and English apart with their mtDNA?” That one brought me a lifetime enemy. Other times, my being assertive can bring out the shadow in some who feel I should be a grateful Indian.

Through time, I stayed in the field and continued to gain education and to learn about the culture history of the Great Basin and neighboring areas. Dr. David Fredrickson, of Sonoma State University, recruited me for the Cultural Resources Management Program at Sonoma State. I had convinced the US Forest Service to hire me because of a recruitment sign that stated “Women and minorities are urged to apply”. Originally I was hired as a fire fighter but I showed that I had the proper qualifications to be an archaeological technician. Dr. Fredrickson taught me about working in a federal agency and also taught me that Native American consultation is an aspect of all that work. I learned that Sonoma State hired Native interlocutors for each project they

performed. Dr. Fredrickson also made sure I stayed in the Master's program, and he stood strong when adversity hit me for my honesty.

I have been sought out by some to be paraded around as a token Indian for various projects, but eventually my own people (Numu and Punown) came to respect and rely on me as an interpreter. An interpreter is an important tribal job both in the current day and in the past. There is a headman or a chief; there is a warrior, a hunter, a spiritual leader, and an interpreter. Some, like Sitting Bull, had all those jobs. Sitting Bull was also very modest; he wore one eagle feather, unlike others who wore a full headdress for a photo opportunity.

In time I found that I was famous, and famous without even writing one publication. I have not attempted to produce formal publications because of my personal fear of the white elite referee process, which along with its good aspects also often involves exclusion, conformity to a foreign paradigm, and dealing with those who consider me invisible. Nevertheless, I could walk into an anthropology conference and people would seek me out and say, "Wow, so you are Melvin Brewster." Some were rivals, some allies, and some fearful, sort of like a dog who thought he might be kicked. The funny thing about it is that I did not understand that I was in competition. The mere fact that I was an Indian archaeologist was a magical thing in the minds of some. But for others, I was a direct threat because in their minds they believed I was going to get a job just because of my heritage. The reality, however, as I have also observed, is that few Indian professionals are hired by universities or agencies in general. Even now, when the

situation is starting to improve, I rarely see a Native interlocutor hired for a project, nor do I observe many Indians out in the trenches.

For the federal agency I came to work at, I was a feather in their hat for “equal employment opportunity” representation. Regrettably, the same agency had also hired “Native Americans” of very dubious authenticity, which seemed to me a kind of “ethnic fraud.” In my agency work I learned well about the regional archaeology and I learned well about the historic preservation legal process and what it took to keep management in compliance. However, at no time during my education in American public schools, or in reservation life, had I been told that in the workplace I needed to conform, and that there would be times when I would need to do whatever I was told, even if it meant violating the law. That: “Mel, if you do not straighten out, we cannot pick you up!”

Speaking of double psychological social binds, as I have earlier alluded to, my boyhood Episcopal Church teachings taught me to be honest, and my family taught me to be honest: Jesus was honest. But in my agency work there were times I was asked not to utter my opinion, asked to withhold information, asked to bear unfair criticism, and even asked to forsake what I saw as the good of my own people. I was also called stereotypical names like “Chief,” discouraged from disagreeing with my white superiors, and even forbidden to speak with my own people about archaeology. I was certainly not looked upon as a hero, as are some “whistle blowers” who report fraud in a major corporation, but instead deemed “a problem Indian.” I strongly felt myself in a double psychological and emotional bind, because I had followed the rules and made every effort to be a good

American citizen, as I was taught in the American education system, but nevertheless found myself afool of the evil reality of that workplace.

Eventually I learned so well and was so honest that I fell out of favor with the management at the federal agency where I had worked. I left with tenure and a lump sum payment. Around that time, I met Dr. C. Melvin Aikens. Visions are a funny thing; Northern Paiutes pay attention to dreams, natural occurrences, coincidences, and we listen to them. It is how the Creator speaks to us! A counselor I had at that time, Dr. William Hughes, was also a sort of clairvoyant. He pulled out a map one day and told me he had a feeling I needed to go to the Northwest; he pointed to Eugene. It was then that I knew my path was leading to Dr. Aikens. Years before that, when reading Jennings (1978) "Ancient North Americans," and the chapter Dr. Aikens had written on "The Far West," I wondered about what a great man he must be, and the fabulous university he must teach at. So I decided that I would come to study with him at the University of Oregon. In my opinion, he was the Dean of Great Basin archaeology. I could become a Ph.D. and maybe then I could help the People! Dr. Aikens was raised in Utah, and what I came to understand about him is that he must surely have come from a Mormon family "that fed the Indians," and did not fight with them. Dr. Aikens also watched my back when adversities arrived, so now I tease him and call him Uncle just as I would a Punown elder. Most of all Dr. Aikens nurtured me when I almost walked away from archaeology, and encouraged me to keep going! I did not walk away because I was not intelligent enough to do the work; it was the treatment I received from some non-Indians in the profession. But I decided to stand my ground! So here is my point.

In order to help my people, I borrowed a large amount of money to gain a Ph.D. There was little money available for this field, and it was not psychology or being an attorney or being a medical doctor. However, the Gosiute allowed me to work for them, and I would not be where I am today if it were not for them. Also, my research focus was contrary to the values of some in the archaeological community. Many looked at my “being here” for my people as a threat! I recently learned that Haunani-Kay Trask (2003) has experienced a similar reception to her advocacy for Native Hawaiian recognition, and I’m sure there are other such cases. This imagined “threat” was probably intensified by the fact that through education and experience, I was getting to the point where I could challenge the existing paradigm. Talk about adversity for being who I am! I had learned in the 1970’s “not to go along with the in crowd.” I suppose now, in retrospect, that meant “say no to drugs.” All I knew then, as I still know, is that a square peg does not fit into a round hole.

It was refreshing for me to read Ian Hodder in graduate school at the University of Oregon, nice to read something that reinforced my own bias. It felt so good to see that the big Rock Star of archaeology thought in similar ways, especially when I was reading his stuff for the first time. For me as a Native American, it was then I saw that the traditional and scientific histories could meet (Hodder 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992). Not only was it going to be OK to write a Native account of the archaeology of the Great Basin, it was also very important that a Native do so. Being a Native American studying his own people would provide an authenticity to my research that outsiders could only fake.

Now here is where commitment comes in. I am sharing this with you readers to relay how to gain respect in the Native community. It is hard; it is even harder than earning a Ph.D. It means that your values need to change and that material gains may not be in the course you are expected to take. In fact, if taking or earning money means that as a contractor or academic you need to devalue, fudge data, or go along on issues that are contrary to the benefit of the Punown, then you must be honest and not take the money. The only part you can take in such cases is to protect the People. Now this may sound odd, or too narrowly drawn, but this is qualitatively the job of the Native American interpreter, as I understand it.

When you give your life to the care of the Creator and do so to help your people it is no easy task. I have learned how to protect myself with medicine and prayer and ceremony, just to do archaeology. Instead of taking offense at the wrongs others have done to me, I now pray for them, just as I pray for direction. I have gained extensive knowledge from traditional healers (Indian Doctors). However, I am still an infant at understanding the spirituality of the Creator. I never do a project or work on sacred issues without consulting traditional people and elders and Indian Doctors. I never do any aspect of my job without disclosing each and every aspect of the situation to the tribal government I am doing the work for. I cannot disclose the prayer cycle or exact details by which I consult the spiritual to do this work, but I can tell you that I use only my skills as an archaeologist when I review the adequacy of work done by non-Indian researchers. I have learned numerous details about material culture from archaeological data and have learned all sorts of method and theory and the cultural resources management process for

compliance purposes. However, the way I know about the Punown is through my own people teaching me. This experience is invaluable and this experience started when my mother laced me up in the cradle basket. That is where I learned from the willows what it is like to be here on earth. In the cradle basket I learned to feel secure and I learned to watch with my eyes and to look around. I was rarely laid down on my back, but instead set up so I could see. I was taught to listen to my elders and to learn from them because they are wiser than I. In turn, elders and spiritual people told me that they themselves are just babies when it comes to understanding the Creator and spirituality.

I once almost quit archaeology and decided to go home to the reservation and swear never to be a part of mainstream culture again (not that being invisible is really being a part of it in the first place). After all, the reservation provides a safe haven from some of the abnormal mechanisms of modern American society. However, as I was taught, the Creator places you in situations and brings you to the places where you are needed. The place I have found is that I am to be an Indian archaeologist, an interpreter.

During my career to date, I have suffered degradation, humiliation, exclusion, and poverty. I've been restrained, censored, told I am worthless and stupid, and stuck between two cultures. However, Native spiritual ceremonies have protected me and made me strong; they have allowed me to see myself in an Indian way. When I prayed during ceremonies, and when I shared my pain with the Creator and spiritual leaders, I learned that I am a good man. A good man is honest, humorous, sacrifices for his people and protects them, and does so even when it may mean his own economic well being is threatened or taken away from him! Integrity is most important. Without it no catharsis

can occur and no self-reflection can take place; the very nature of the shadow in all of us cannot otherwise be known.

I currently work as the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) Director for the Skull Valley Gosiute. The tribe cannot afford to pay me the wages other professionals earn for the same level of expertise. I earn far less. However, by merging my own well being with that of the People, the Gosiute now have a THPO. The Gosiute have kept me alive and functioning, and I am fat and happy; long ago, Indian people would think I was quite wealthy because of the way I look. There are numerous instances where I provide expertise to other tribes in addition to the Gosiute. I am welcome at ceremonies, the elders care for me and are kind to me, and Indian Doctors teach me. Progress is slow when it comes to protecting the sacred, but with each day, the one step I take in this direction is one step that was not taken before. I am happy, I am proud to help the Gosiute, and I am willing and proud to stand by them. The commitment I have made to them is to help protect their heritage. With the Gosiute and the Punown generally, in my own self-seeking and selfish way, my life has meaning! It means more to me to be of service to help the People than it means to be materially successful. In following such a path one must fight many battles, and many of those are not of one's own making, but it is important to stand strong, dust off, and stick your head down and keep going. I recommend this path to others.

I end this dissertation with a few more words on the concept of Numucentrism, which I briefly mentioned earlier in the text. I offer Numucentrism as a tool to bridge the gap that I see in the practice of Great Basin archaeology. Numucentricity can help solve

the communication problems between some anthropologists and the Numu, and show how this philosophy can unify. First, a "*Numucentric Position*" calls for an abandonment of sole reliance on "etic" analysis that disallows the voices of contemporary Numu, and research that relies solely on opinions expressed through Westernized ideas about what historic ethnographic notes imply. Analysis must take account of Numu ideology and state all relative positions of both Natives and Euroamericans. Numucentricity implies that everything is written from a perspective that benefits the Numu, and is constructed qualitatively attending to the views of the people. It uses all angles, is eclectic, considers all previous models, and changes as new data are generated. Research does not ordinarily start from a simple hypothesis but grows from itself and arrives at a conceptual whole. The archaeological record, if looked at as a continuum through time and space, with modulation and transformation seriously considered, and without excessive reliance on the simplistic all-explaining idea of ethnic replacements that is so strong in Great Basin research, can tell us much more about the orientation(s) of a people than we now know.

I close with a last word on the Numic Expansion hypothesis. One of the hallmarks of archaeological interpretations, not only in the Great Basin but in all parts of the world, is that cultural changes have again and again (and again) been attributed to migrations of people. Of course people do migrate, but migration theories rarely provide a satisfactory account of the cultural changes that they are invoked to account for. I believe the high incidence, in world archaeology generally, of constructed theories of migration tells us more about the ancestral histories and inherited traditions of the European and

Euroamerican archaeologists who write them than it does about the events they purport to explain.

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