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70. The introduction of this pamphlet is quoted in full in Spring, "Rainmakers of the 'Nineties," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXII (October, 1955), 294.

71. Quoted in Alvin T. Steinel, *History of Agriculture in Colorado* (Fort Collins, 1926), 261.

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73. *The Cheyenne Daily Sun*, September 8, 1891.

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75. See Caldwell, "Some Kansas Rain Makers," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, VII (August, 1938), 320-324; *Engineering News* (New York), XXXIII (February 14, 1895), 109.

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The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area *

By

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The study of the Shoshone cultures west of the Rocky Mountains began very recently. Except for Robert H. Lowie's sketches in a few ethnographical reports from the time immediately before and after the first World War, it was not until Julian H. Steward's work, from the 1930's and 40's, that the basis was laid for our more intimate knowledge of the Western Shoshones. If we are surprised that the study in this ethnographical field began at such a late date, then we must be even more surprised that the eastern Shoshone groups—those Shoshones that live or lived in the Rocky Mountains of Idaho, Utah, Wyoming and Montana—have not yet had an adequate, complete description, and this in spite of the fact that they have been better known to ethnographical science than the Western Shoshones.

Some attempts to describe the outlines of the Rocky Mountain Shoshones' cultural life have of course been made. Lowie visited the Lemhi Indians in Idaho 50 years ago, and collected their ethnography in a work which unfortunately suffers from the weakness that it does not clearly distinguish between different ethnical groups.¹ Just before the outbreak of the second world war D. B. Shimkin spent a couple of summers among the Shoshones in Wyoming, and as a result of his studies he published, among other things, a work concerning the ethnogeography of these Indians.² A complete monograph of the Eastern Shoshones' culture is, however, completely missing.

Those studies made among the Wind River Shoshones in Wyoming, which the author of this article carried on during the summer and fall of 1948, were directed mainly towards the study of social and religious culture. When, however, it became apparent that such a study could not be carried out unless the cultural milieu and cultural traditions were considered in their entirety, my investigations were then, at an early stage, directed toward the entire Shoshone culture. A summary of my viewpoints concerning

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the structure and content of the culture of the Wind River Shoshones appeared in *Ymer* in 1949.¹

The conviction that a primitive culture in all its aspects cannot be completely investigated in a few months prevented me, however, from an immediate detailed publication of my findings. Only a few results concerning specific problems were published.⁴ New field studies were necessary. It was necessary to complete my data in several fields and it also seemed desirable that the previously collected experiences should be subject to renewed control in the field.⁵

Consequently, new visits were made to the Shoshone area during summer and fall of 1955 and summer of 1957. The main portion of this time was spent in Wyoming. Shorter visits, however, were made also among Shoshone and Bannock Indians in Idaho.⁶ The field studies in Wyoming included studies not only of the Wind River Shoshone, but also of another tribe that lives on the reservation, the Arapaho of the big Algonquin family.⁷ In connection with the study of the so-called Sheepeaters (see later in this article), I made expeditions to the mountainous area of Wyoming to find their out-of-the-way haunts.⁸ Besides the field studies I did archival research, partly at the Indian agencies at Fort Washakie (Wyoming) and Fort Hall (Idaho), partly in Mammoth Springs (Yellowstone National Park), Laramie (Archives of University of Wyoming), and Washington, D. C. (Library of Congress). Important, hard-to-get-to documents were made available to me by Prof. Robert F. Murphy at the University of California. It is a natural consequence of the steady change in the natives' cultures that the ethnologists are forced to rely upon older descriptions in archives for their investigations. The time is past that historical conclusions can be drawn by means of comparative cultural analysis only.

The main results of my 1955-57 investigations can be summarized as follows.

The many-sided, cultural investigations which I started in 1948 was completed. It turned out, however, that it became harder and harder to direct my studies towards the goal for which I had aimed in the beginning, a monograph on Wind River Shoshone culture during the days of their old Plains Indian life, and this for two reasons.

The first is that in our days it is very difficult to reconstruct a primitive culture which several generations ago ceased to be an independent, functioning mechanism. Wyoming's buffalo-hunting Shoshone Indians gave up their political independence in the 1860's (when they, through agreements in 1863 and 1868, voluntarily congregated on a reservation), while their economic independence already had been undermined from the 1840's when the wild life had disappeared from the Green River area) up to the 1880's (when the buffaloes disappeared). In other words,

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that time when the Shoshone culture was an independent, free "superorganism" (Kroeber) is now more than 80 to 100 years past; and it is now impossible to draw any safe conclusions from the present "cultural material" concerning the Shoshone culture of the 1850's to 1870's. Not even the libraries' information or old travel books are sufficient to complete the picture.

The other difficulty in the reconstruction of the culture is that the name Wind River Shoshone comes from reservation times and actually denotes a heterogeneous group of people.⁹ My investigations show that the present day Wind River Shoshone—up to this time considered by ethnologists as a homogeneous tribe—is composed of descendants of three independent, ethnic units as of 1860, within the present boundaries of Wyoming. If one goes further back in time, then one can conjecture that the number of independent groups was even greater, but two large main groups stand out both through their socio-political structure and their economic activities: the Buffalo Hunters or Kucundika of the Plains, the main portion of the present day Wind River Shoshones, and the Sheep-Eaters or Tukudika in the mountains. In order to obtain a better knowledge of the complicated cultural situation in older times, and especially to gain an understanding concerning the connection of the Wyoming cultures with the similar Shoshone cultures in Idaho and Utah, I made a quick investigation of these cultures and the rest of this article is devoted to a resumé of the results of this comparative study.

Because of situations which I have mentioned above, my investigations of the Wyoming Shoshones' historic cultural forms resulted in a collection of material which will appear in two monographs, one concerning the Buffalo Hunters and one concerning the Sheepeaters (Tukudika); and, in addition, material was collected concerning special cultural aspects referring particularly to the Buffalo Hunters' cultural complex. I have in mind especially my studies of social and religious culture and my note-taking of the Shoshone texts (myths, legends and tales).

Studies of the cultural changes and cultural contacts (acculturation), the second goal of my studies, were concentrated to the period 1948-1955 because this included the time between my first and second visit with the Shoshones. This does not prevent my material from throwing light on acculturation before 1948. After all, one can characterize the whole history of the Plains Indian culture as one long acculturation process, a continuous assimilation with European civilization.

In the following pages I describe as mentioned an overall view of the general ethnological results of my comparative field and library studies of the Shoshones on both sides of the Continental Divide. In this connection one should note that for the Wyoming Shoshones I consider only those parts of my investigations which are of direct ethnological interest, whereas, for instance, my

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detailed studies of religion and mythology are completely neglected. This survey has taken the form of a culture-historical overall view and brings out the most important data concerning the habitats, history, economic life and socio-political organization of the Eastern Shoshone groups. Since many of those cultural aspects and problems which I touch upon here will, I hope, be analyzed in greater detail in future publications, I have kept the footnotes to a minimum.

HISTORICAL GROUPING

Those Shoshones that in historical time—that is, mainly during the nineteenth century—have had their home area in the immediate neighborhood of the main range of the Rocky Mountains, have been divided into a number of different groups, which are often difficult to keep apart. It is natural that these many small groups of hunters, fishermen and collectors who walked around in these mountains, forests, and desert areas have not been satisfactorily classified in the present historical materials—reports by agents, travel descriptions and diaries. It seems less natural that the same material does not clearly put the riding Shoshones which frequented military and commercial forts in a class by themselves. Vague names such as "Shoshones" or "Eastern Shoshones" are given, while at the same time detailed information about the grouping of other riding tribes in nearby areas, such as the Crow and the Blackfoot Indians, is given. But, as a matter of fact, the authors of these old papers had good reasons for expressing themselves as they did.

The term Eastern Shoshones, which is used in the old papers, refers mainly to the hunting Shoshone Indians of Wyoming, and in particular to the riding groups which hunted buffalo on the Plains. The name is somewhat vague but it must be that way, because it is doubtful whether the Indians in question were clearly distinguished as an ethnical group from the more westerly and northerly Shoshones.

The descriptions by the Indian agents, dating from about 1850, as well as information from the present day Shoshones, tell about the time when Wyoming Shoshone buffalo hunters stayed mainly west of the Rockies in the area around the Green River, Bear Lake and the Great Salt Lake. From this base they made occasional expeditions to the area east of the Wind River Mountains, partly to hunt buffaloes and partly to fight the Plains Indians that kept them away from the rich hunting grounds in the east: the Crow Indians, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and later, the Sioux Indians. At times these Shoshones operated together with other riding Shoshone groups west of the mountains, groups which otherwise did not have the Plains as hunting area. The Wyoming Shoshones frequently spent the winter with these tribesmen in

their headquarters in the valleys of Idaho. Far into our time this connection between the Shoshone groups has existed, not only with separate individuals, but with whole families moving from Idaho to Wyoming or vice-versa. Nobody can deny that the Shoshones of Wyoming had a strong tribal organization, at least during the time Washakie was the chief (ca. 1840-1900), but the families were not tied by this organization; they could leave to go where they wanted—but often with the risk of being an easy prey of an enemy tribe.

This Shoshone cooperation makes the nation of "Eastern Shoshones" an artificial one. Among the present day Wind River Shoshones are Bannocks and Paiutes, Lemhi Shoshones and so-called "Western Shoshones," while the descendants of Washakie's soldiers live on reservations in Idaho and Utah. Those cultural traditions which were carried on by the Shoshones at Fort Hall and Fort Washakie are surprisingly similar. "We are the same people. There is no difference between us," several representatives of the different Shoshone groups told me on several occasions.

In addition to this comes the fact that different groups of riding Shoshones probably have had a common history not too far back.

As I mentioned in my earlier article in this periodical, our knowledge of the Eastern Shoshones in prehistoric time—that is, before Lewis and Clark—is meager.¹⁰ The material which has been brought to light up to this time—archaeological finds and written notes—have not given us a satisfactory picture of Shoshone pre-history. It seems, however, that our uncertainty is clearing at a few essential points, partly because Dr. W. Mulloy has found ceramics near Laramie (at Red Buttes), which according to his opinion were made by the Shoshones in late pre-historic time. Similar ceramics have also been dug up both near the Great Salt Lake and in Montana.¹¹ The author of this paper has found, by library investigations in the U.S.A., manuscripts and older printed works which show undoubtedly that the Shoshones in older times had a considerably further extension to the east and north than at present, a fact which is apparent also from Mulloy's material.

So far this viewpoint has had support only from David Thompson's papers, the trustworthiness of which has been questioned by most ethnologists. In about 1790, Thompson's informant, an old Blackfoot Indian, told him of his recollection of the clash between the Shoshones and the Blackfoot Indians on the Canadian plains about 1730, which shows among other things that the Shoshones at that time were masters on the western plains. In other words, Thompson got this information 60 years after these things had happened and 50 more years passed before he recorded it.¹² It is natural therefore that his information was met with mistrust by ethnologists. However, Thompson's description

of what happened has been supported by the just mentioned archive material. According to their agreed information, the Shoshones at the beginning of the eighteenth century lived in the rich buffalo land north of the Missouri but were chased away by the Blackfoot Indians who had gotten arms from the British fur traders and thereby had won an overwhelming advantage over the Shoshones who had only the bow and arrow.¹³

Mulloy's finds of ceramics make it likely that the Shoshones lived on the Plains even before they had horses, that is, about 1650. On the other hand, it was probably the horse which made possible the expansion toward the Saskatchewan River. Thus the Shoshone occupation of the Canadian Plains did not last too long.

It is at present impossible to decide with certainty which of the Shoshones were moving around on the northern plains 250 years ago. According to the ideas of Teit and Berreman, those Shoshones that escaped the Blackfoot Indians moved to Idaho and Oregon, whereby they entered the territory of the Shahapin Indians in Oregon.¹⁴ Ray has maintained, however, that the historical and ethnological data do not allow such an explanation in the case of Oregon.¹⁵ Personally, I find it more probable that parts of the Lemhi Shoshones in Idaho, as well as the Washakie Shoshones in Wyoming and the Comanche Indians who are the descendants of the Wyoming Shoshones on the southern Plains actually are retreat groups from the older Shoshone population on the Plains. Thus I find it likely that a small portion of the Lemhi Shoshones had previously visited the Plains in Montana as Lewis and Clark indicate.¹⁶ That the majority of them, however, probably did not do so is supported by their own tradition. I find it equally likely that many of those Shoshones who hunted during the 1800's on the Wyoming Plains were the direct descendants of the earlier mentioned far-reaching Plains Shoshones, although I have not been able to get information from the Wind River Shoshones to support this argument. But it seems likely to me—as Mooney thinks also—that the Comanches' definite divorce from their nearest linguistic kin, the Shoshones in Wyoming, was connected with the Algonquin and Sioux Indians' spreading over the northern and western plains, which led to a splitting of the Shoshone block.¹⁷

In light of all these facts it seems natural not to make an absolute distinction between the east, west and north Shoshones. Nevertheless, it seems suitable to retain these terms in order to get a rough geographical classification of the Shoshones in the Rockies, the only form of classification which seems possible if one wants to put the many split historical groups into wider categories. Hoebel has employed the concept of "Eastern Shoshones" in such a fashion that it includes both Wyoming and Idaho Shoshones.¹⁸ But I do not wish to support this new use of language since it does not have historical tradition. In the

true Eastern Shoshones one ought to include the Buffalo-eaters, the Sheepeaters and the so-called Dove Eaters in Wyoming (see below). These cultures cannot easily be distinguished from historically related cultures further west that are structured in the same fashion, but the carriers of the cultures have lived near each other and today live on the same reservation. In the same way it is possible to distinguish the north and west Shoshones¹⁹: those Shoshones that live in northern and eastern Idaho and northern Utah I call the North Shoshones; those further west, the West Shoshones. It will be the East and North Shoshones that will interest us in what follows. But also the Bannocks which belong to the Paviot stock will be included because they have been intimately connected with the Shoshones in central and eastern Idaho and generally had the same culture as these.

The following description of the Shoshones in the Rockies is based mainly, as previously mentioned, on my own field investigations. Those who want more information are referred to the publications of Lowie, Hoebel and Steward.²⁰ It is to be noted that the results of these researchers not only deviate from my results but also deviate from each other. This is particularly true concerning the division into groups: Hoebel starts from smaller units, unfortunately named "band" (they are to a large extent loosely put together groups without that stability and rigidity which is implied in the word band); Steward discusses greater units consisting of groups put together into "districts," and he prefers district names (for example, Bannock Creek Shoshone) over the names which refer to their way of living (Rabbit Eaters) and which were used previously.²¹ As for myself, I make an in-between choice; I start from greater units which I, according to convenience, call "groups" or "tribes" (comprised of "bands"), and keep the old names which in time have been accepted by the Indians as their "folk name."²²

SHOSHONES IN NORTHERN IDAHO

Those Indians that are considered here are the Agaidika and Tukudika.

1. *Agaidika* ("salmon eaters") along the Lemhi River, Idaho. The name originally referred to salmon eating Indians who lived in the Lemhi Valley, but in later times has been used even for the Tukudika (see below), since these settled there during the 1850's and began cooperating with the real Agaidikas. It would, however, be better to apply the name Lemhi to this new combined group which is composed of formerly separate people. Thus, in principle the two names Lemhi and Wind River Shoshone correspond to each other; both refer to ethnic groups which arose during the time on the reservation. Agaidikas called themselves also "pia agaidika," "big salmon eaters"—"because we caught big salmon," an old man told me. The same name, however, has been

given to those salmon fishing Shoshones who lived on the Camas Prairie.

The Agaidikas still remember the time when they had no horses and lived on wild grass, berries, roots, pinyon nuts, fish (salmon and trout) and some big game which existed in the neighborhood: antelopes and deer and mountain sheep. Although fishing played a very important role and among other things, as Steward has pointed out, demanded collective effort, it was not dominating, but the multifarious economic activities typical for all the older Shoshonean cultures put its stamp on the daily lives. The Indians were passive during the winter and the early spring; everybody stayed in the winter quarters. The summer and fall were spent at fishing, hunting and collecting, sometimes at the Lemhi and Salmon Rivers, sometimes in other places near the winter quarters. Occasionally the Agaidikas teamed up with the Tukudikas; occasionally the latter made short visits to the Agaidika.

It is natural that a people with such a simple and at the same time so diversified way of living did not develop any form of tribal organization. The winter quarters probably had certain headmen, generally trusted persons, whose main function was that of giving advice. During fishing seasons they probably showed more leadership. Religion also must have been uncomplicated, and probably agreed with the pattern of belief which exists in later times. Characteristic of this religion has been the belief in spirits in animal form, which functioned as guardian spirits for the medicineman, who saw them in visions, for example of rock paintings and rock carvings.

This whole cultural structure changed completely when the Agaidikas got horses. It was not that the old ways of living were given up; but new ways of living appeared, first of all, the buffalo hunting; and the collecting of herbs and roots was extended to far away places. It is of course possible that buffalo hunting appeared earlier; but Steward's data indicate that this was not the case, and my most important informant denied it too. The Agaidikas now also turned into "Kucundikas," "buffalo-eaters." They were organized firmer, partly so that they could meet the technical demands of the buffalo hunt, partly so that they could withstand their Indian enemies who competed with them for the game and usually congregated at the buffalo grounds—the Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, and Crow Indians. But the hunting expeditions also led them into contact with friendly tribes towards the west, as, for example, with the Nez Perces and the Flathead Indians, and with Shoshonean people further away, for instance the buffalo hunting Shoshones of Wyoming. It was possible that the Shoshones from Lemhi hunted buffalos on the plains of Wyoming together with Washakie's Indians, but mostly they went to the buffalo areas at Bozeman, Montana.²³ These mounted Indians were welded together rather firmly and were led by chief-

tains who both had control over "the tribe" (that is, the previous groups) and represented it before the white people. The chieftain title was kept in one family for three generations. The best known of these chiefs was Tendoy or Tindowoci, and his younger son, George Wince Tendoy (died 1954), was the last remaining central directing authority among these Indians.

2. *Tukudika* (the proper name is "meat eaters," that is, "eaters of big horn sheep"). These people lived in the high areas around Salmon River, Idaho. They were also called *toyaino*, "mountain dwellers," and in later times have also been called Agaidika (compare above). They are not identical with the Tukudika who lived in Wyoming and did not know of their existence. There have been some Tukudikas in southwestern Montana; but since I do not have certain information about them I do not want to discuss them at present.

The Tukudikas built up their economy in the same way as the Agaidikas; they collected herbs, berries, and roots, fished and hunted. But unlike the Agaidikas who spent comparatively more time at fishing than in other ways of gathering food, the Tukudikas spent more time at hunting than at fishing. Now and then they hunted deer—and those who did so were called *Tihyadika*, "Deer eaters"—but they killed mainly the mountain sheep (bighorn). Hunting for mountain sheep was carried on the year around, during the winter on light snowshoes (so-called hunting moccasins) and with dogs. The dogs were too small that one could use them for transport animals, as was the case with the Tukudikas of Wyoming. The hunting was done individually or in families but was never organized on a big scale, since the wild life appeared in small flocks.

The consequence of this was that the Tukudika population was spread out in small groups all over the Salmon River area. Many of these were comprised of only a few families each, but there existed also a few larger groups. Thus those Tukudikas who lived north and west of Salmon City gathered in the winter quarter at Pohorai ("sagebrush valley"), and even as late as 1870 one could find 200 individuals there. The families spread apart every spring for hunting expeditions in the different valleys; then when the berries ripened during the summer they moved to these areas and hunted and fished etc. The winter camp never had a fully developed chieftainship, but a certain authority was held by some old man who had much experience in life and was generally known.

Tukudikas lived their peaceful life at mountain rivers of Idaho, isolated from the surroundings and shy of strangers, even up to the middle of the last century, at which time they to a large extent joined Tendoy's Agaidikas at Lemhi. Not until then did they get horses, and those who had fleet-footed animals soon followed the Agaidikas on their buffalo hunting expeditions to

distant places.²⁴ Thus the Tukudikas were incorporated in the Agaidika's socio-political system.

A few of them, however, must have remained in the mountains where they mixed with "lawless" elements of other tribes, elements that considered the mountains as refuge from the advancing white colonists. Already in the 1860's did there exist in the mountains a "sheepeating" population comprised of Indians that had left the Bannock, Paiute, Nez Perce, Cayuse, Spokane and Coeur d'Alene Indians and a few Snake Indians, that is Shoshones, and probably Tukudika. For a long while they spent their time stealing cattle and now and then murdering a gold miner. Finally they were stopped by General Howard (1879).²⁵

Today there are not many Tukudikas left. "They have died away, and only the old ones are left," said my informant.

SHOSHONES AND BANNOCK IN EASTERN IDAHO

The Indians considered here are the Shoshone and Bannock at Fort Hall, Idaho. They belong to two different linguistic groups (although both belong to the uto-aztecan linguistic family): on one hand there are the so-called *pohogue*, "sagebrush people," belonging to the Shoshonean linguistic stock, and on the other side we have the Bannock, whose language is more closely related to that of the northern Paiute or Paviotso. Both groups have, since the beginning of 19th century, liked to operate together and the connection between them has been strengthened by several intermarriages.

The *Bannocks* have—probably rather late—turned away from their linguistic kinsmen in Oregon. They have been spread over great parts of Idaho and bordering parts of Montana and Wyoming; and a great number of Shoshones on the Wind River reservation have Bannock blood in their veins, several families having typical Bannock names. The Bannocks appeared in several groups: some were in scattered single families or small groups, with or without horses, in the northern and western part of the area which they inhabited;²⁶ mounted Bannock were found near Fort Hall and along the Snake River, who, in later times, could collect into one large band. The Shoshone in Wyoming call the Bannocks that visited Salmon River, Northern Bannocks, while those who lived on the middle sections of Snake River are called Southern Bannocks.

The Bannocks did not differ very much from their Shoshone neighbors as far as economics, mode of living and habits are concerned. Those mounted Bannocks who stayed around Fort Hall (which happened to be their winter quarter even before the time of the reservation) congregated often, as we just mentioned, into a "band" with a military organization reminiscent of that of the Washakie Shoshones, although it was not of the same firm type. Under chieftains like Tagi or Buffalohead they made expe-

ditions to the buffalo countries east of the mountains, often along the famous Bannock Trail in Yellowstone Park; and they often made devastating raids on the white settlers. Two Bannock uprisings occurred after the creation of the reservation at Fort Hall, one in 1878 (Camas Prairie, Idaho), and the other in 1895 (Jackson Hole, Wyoming). The first mentioned uprising was caused, among other things, by the fact that Shoshones from Wyoming settled near Fort Hall and received the provisions which were meant for the Bannock, while the Bannock stayed in another place. The trouble in 1895 was not a serious one; the Bannocks simply took an expedition to their old hunting grounds outside the reservation, something which was now forbidden.

The *Shoshones* at Fort Hall and along the Snake River were distributed among many groups which could not be distinguished effectively from the Western Shoshones out in the deserts or the Eastern Shoshones on the sagebrush prairies of Wyoming. A few groups lived by fishing in the Snake River; other groups hunted elk and deer up in the mountains; still other groups were seed gatherers or were mounted buffalo hunters, etc. It is, nevertheless, very hard to define these groups from what one knows about their economic activities because these were to a very large extent dependent upon the seasons and changed in each group. It is therefore hardly correct to distinguish as Hoebel did a special group as "elk eaters" west of the Teton mountains: in these areas, which are exceptionally rich in elk, Shoshones gathered from everywhere—and for that matter Plains Indians too—to hunt the elk, and any specific elk eating group probably never existed.

Before the horse was introduced, all these Shoshones were probably at the same time gatherers, hunters and fishers. This variation was necessary because the supply of wild animals and herbs was not too plentiful. Not until the Shoshones got horses were they able to hunt, to any large extent, the best wild game on the Idaho plains, although it was not very frequent: the buffalo. Although there is good reason to believe that the horse had long been in the possession of the Fort Hall-Shoshones,²⁷ by the end of the nineteenth century there were still a number of them who did not ride. Using an old terminology, occurring in early sources, one can roughly divide the Fort Hall Shoshones into those who were riding "Snake Indians"—who probably were recruited from different groups, mainly from the eastern part of the Snake River area²⁸—and those who did not ride or "shoshocoes" (also called "diggers", "uprooters", "walkers", or "fish-eaters").²⁹ In the Snake River Basin and near Fort Hall the mounted groups and the salmon eaters dominated, further south were the seed gatherers and the so-called fish-eaters. Only the first two mentioned groups are here referred to as the Fort Hall Shoshones.

Among these are the salmon eaters—here as near Lemhi River

called Agaidika—representatives of the older way of living. They lived mainly on the Snake River below Fort Hall; north of there one could certainly fish for whitefish and trout, but the real salmon was best caught west of the present reservation. As was the case with the Lemhis, the salmon fishing was done by a collective action under the leadership of a chieftain, whose authority, however, did not last past the fishing season. During the rest of the year, the "salmon eaters" were hunting in the mountains in the south, scattered into family groups. The women collected berries and roots the year around.

The mounted Fort Hall Shoshones originally had a primitive collecting and fishing economy, and in spite of the fact that they became buffalo hunters in historical time, they still retained their old ways of living.³⁰ One can even say that by having horses they were able to continue their old ways of living more intensely than before. They could hunt mountain sheep in northern Utah, fish at the Shoshone Falls, where salmon was abundant, dig roots at the Camas Prairie, hunt deer in the Salmon River mountains. At the same time there was the possibility of hunting buffalo on the Plains and taking part in the trade with other Indians and with the Whites. Together with Bannock and Washakie Shoshones they visited the buffalo grounds in Idaho (until 1840), Montana, and Wyoming. Their wanderings led them to Lemhi, where they found protection against the Blackfoot Indians, to "the trading markets" at Camas Prairie, where Indians of different nationalities traded goods, to the summer rendezvous of the white fur hunters and trappers at Green River, Weber River, Bear Lake and other places, and to the trading post Fort Bridger at Black's Fork in southwestern Wyoming.

Their social organization changed with their economic occupation. Particularly during summertime, when fishing, hunting, and collecting of roots and berries in the areas around the Snake River was a daily chore, the family group was the natural unit. But as Steward has correctly pointed out, the buffalo hunt on the Plains, and with it increased danger of attacks by enemy Plains tribes, demanded firmer group organization. The Shoshones were now led together in bands headed by chieftains, and under the influence of the Wyoming Shoshones they developed a social and military organization reminiscent of that of the Plains Indians, with camp circles, a police organization, and rules and regulations concerning buffalo hunting and warfare.³¹ This type of organization which was considered necessary only at certain times was, however, never as well developed as among their tribal kin in Wyoming. Only rather arbitrary "bands" were gathered around the chieftains, that is, the former leaders of fishing and hunting. A consequence of this was that the Bannock chieftains, who had a stronger authority, dominated when the Shoshones and Bannocks took longer hunting or war expeditions together. In addition to this,

Washakie at times influenced these Shoshones strongly and many of them stayed under his leadership.

"DIGGERS" IN SOUTHERN IDAHO AND NORTHERN UTAH

Those Shoshone groups, which, according to an old use of the language, are denoted as "diggers," could roughly be divided into Hukandika, Pengwidika and Weber Utes.

1. *Hukandika* ("dust eaters": they walked on foot and thereby got the dust of the desert in their mouth) at Bannock Creek, Idaho, and Bear River Bay, Utah. It is to be noted that the name Hukandika has been applied to a number of different groups between the Snake River and the Great Salt Lake, together with the name *kamodika* ("eaters of black tailed jackrabbits"). Many of the smaller groups with different names (squirrel eaters, marmot eaters, and others) that have reportedly traveled around in northern Utah, southern Idaho and southwestern Wyoming, have collectively been called Diggers, Rabbit-eaters or Hukandikas. An older source (Stuart) mentions that "Hukandikahs" or "Salt Lake Diggers" lived in the area around the Great Salt Lake.³² A Hukandika Indian whom I met at Bannock Creek even applied the name "hukandika" as a name to the Shoshones in general. There are, however, two main groups which have gone under the name "hukandika": The Indians living on Bannock Creek and the Indians living near lower Bear River and Promontory Point, Great Salt Lake. The first mentioned are also called *sonivohedika* ("wheat-eaters").

Hukandika are known for having acquired horses very late (probably after 1850). Like other Shoshonean groups with a primitive extensive economic system in pre-horse days they moved around in families or small groups, particularly during the summer, and lived off berries, roots and pinyon nuts (which they got from Grouse Creek in northwestern Utah and later, using horses and following the Fort Hall Shoshones, at Yellowstone) and fish and other available game (rabbits, deer, antelopes). When the Hukandikas were supplied later with horses, a somewhat firmer social organization developed, in that the small camps were united under band leaders, one for the northerly and one for the southerly group. Over the country around Bannock Creek and extending down to Salt Lake ruled Pokentara or Pocatello, whose people, following serious raids on the white emigrants, were almost all annihilated in the massacre at Bear River (1863). The Hukandika to the south often took part in the Wyoming Shoshone buffalo hunts. The Hukandikas had in general much in common with Washakie's Shoshone, who often had their winter quarters at Bear River, fished in the Salt Lake tributaries and traded with the Mormons in Salt Lake City. Many Hukandikas stayed at

times at Fort Bridger in Wyoming. It is likely that Washakie's Shoshone tribe partly recruited from the Hukandikas.

2. *Pengwidika* ("fish eaters") at Bear River and Logan River in Utah. This group may also be called Hukandika or Rabbit Eaters, but is ethnologically best known as *Pengwidika* or "fish-eaters." The Indians, who originally trapped rabbits, hunted antelopes and caught fish of different kinds, probably even minnows, were in historical times mounted, and were like the Hukandikas from further west decimated badly at the Bear River Massacre. Their chief was Wirasuap ("Bear Spirit"), who was probably identical with the "Bear Hunter" mentioned in older reports by agents. Wirasuap was a contemporary of Pocatello, although probably older than he, and was closer to Washakie than was Pocatello. Wirasuap and Washakie occasionally had common winter quarters south-west of Bear Lake. On these occasions the two chiefs appeared as peers. At Bear Lake the united Shoshone groups carried on winter fishing; they made a hole in the ice and fished with hook and line. Bear lake has been a frequently used meeting place of the Shoshone Indians, as it appears from many investigations in recent times of the camp sites at the Lake. In the year of 1827 the white fur hunters held a rendezvous at Bear Lake.

3. *Weber Utes* between the Salt Lake and the Wasatch mountains in Utah. It is likely that these "Utes" really were Shoshones.³³ Living representatives of them probably do not exist. They are included here for the sake of completeness and because it is very likely that at least at times they came together with Washakie's Shoshones.

This kind of connection existed only exceptionally between Washakie's Shoshones and the "pure" or "real" Utes, who lived south of them, namely the Utes in the Uintah valley (Utah) and the Utes along the Yampa River (Colorado).

FORT BRIDGER SHOSHONES

We here consider as Fort Bridger Shoshones those Shoshones who occasionally visited the Fort Bridger neighborhood, southwestern Wyoming, as well as the more permanent Shoshone settlers in the same area ("Bridger Basin"), Kamodika and Haivodika.

This section of Wyoming, which was originally a part of Utah, was, particularly after the trading post of Fort Bridger had been erected in 1842-43, a meeting place for several different Indian groups, of which the Shoshones were the dominating ones. The Shoshones have probably been masters in this area from the beginning, although we do know very little about them in older times because they, as at Bear River, changed their economic and social life after the traders and fur hunters had invaded the area about 1820. It is likely, however, that, before this change, those

Shoshones who were here were partly buffalo hunters from Idaho and Utah on their way through, partly bands of buffalo hunters from Wyoming who stayed there through winter, and partly small groups of fairly stationary "rabbit eaters." In the course of the 18th century many of the latter had probably already acquired horses and were taking part in the buffalo hunts.

At the middle of the 19th century the situation at Bridger Basin probably looked as follows. From the west, as earlier, buffalo hunters passed through the country: Shoshone and Bannock from Idaho, Shoshone from the areas east and north of the Great Salt Lake. At Fort Bridger there gathered every summer Indians who traded with the whites (and with each other); buffalo eaters from the north, south and west (Shoshones, Utes, Flatheads, Nez Perce Indians, and occasionally Crow Indians), Navajo Indians (who followed the old Indian and Spanish trail north along Green River), *Tsugudika* ("eaters of white tailed deer") from Snake River—probably identical with Hukandika—, *Haivodika* from Bridger Basin (see below), and many Shoshone half breeds, children of white trappers and Indian women. Those half breeds spent their time partly on buffalo hunting and partly on trading. The earlier "rabbit eaters" seem at this time in the main to have been absorbed by the "buffalo hunters" and *Haivodika*.

Haivodika ("Dove eaters"), also called Black's Fork Indians,³⁴ lived a greater part of the year along the creeks of Green River in the Bridger Basin and in particular at Henry's Fork. Tradition says that they split away from the buffalo hunting Shoshones in Wyoming at the death of the chief Yellow Hand in 1842. During the 1860's their chief was Bazil (Pasi), stepson of Sacajawea, Lewis and Clark's famous Shoshone guide, and closely related to Yellow Hand.³⁵ "Dove eaters" seems to have been then their derogatory nickname, applied to them by the buffalo hunting Shoshones, because from the viewpoint of the latter they seemed to behave timidly and passively. Occasionally the *Haivodika* went horseback to hunt buffalos on the Plains, and then they lived like the Plains Shoshones; but mostly they spent their time at trading. They served as go-betweens between the nomadic tribes and the whites at Fort Bridger; they bought skins from the Plains Indians and sold them at the Fort and distributed the white Traders' goods among the Ute Indians. It is even known that they went to the Mormons at Great Salt Lake and exchanged skins for agricultural products and textiles.

MOUNTAIN SHOSHONES IN WYOMING

Those Shoshone Indians which lived in the mountains and forest areas in northwestern Wyoming were called, like the corresponding Shoshonean groups in Idaho, *Tukudika*, or *Toyani*.

Tukudika ("sheep eaters,") see explanation of the word above,

was in Wyoming a name used by all Shoshones to designate vaguely those Indians who occasionally or regularly devoted themselves at bighorn hunting up in the mountains. Thus, some Washakie Plains Shoshones (Tavonasia's group, see below) called themselves Tukudika, when, after their transfer to the Wind River Reservation, they made summer excursions to Yellowstone Park in order to hunt big horn sheep. The real Tukudikas, however, were permanently living in the mountains; these were called *Toyani*, a name which Hoebel reserved for the Yellowstone Park Sheep eaters, but which correctly should be applied even to the more southerly Tukudikas in Wyoming—and as we have seen above also to the Tukudikas in Idaho.³⁶ In a wider perspective, all mountain dwelling Tukudikas in Idaho, southwestern Montana and northwestern Wyoming, made a block of groups with almost identical economic structure but without any political or territorial unity. Not until later times did greater socio-political groups appear in Idaho and Wyoming.

The Tukudikas in Wyoming, who have received very little attention from the ethnologists, lived on the Yellowstone Park Plateau, in the Absaroka mountains, in the Tetons and in the Gros Ventre mountains south of the national park, and in the Wind River mountains down to the historical South Pass. It is, however, incorrect to believe that they lived in the mountains alone. At least during the 19th century they also appeared down in the Green River valley, and those of them who could ride or did ride—I refer here mainly to the Wind River area Tukudika who had good contacts with the buffalo hunting Shoshone—could even get as far as Bridger Basin. The Tukudikas in Yellowstone Park seem to have been most isolated.³⁷ They were mixed with the Bannocks and were therefore called by Shoshones living other places *Panaiti toyani* ("Bannock mountain dwellers"). In all likelihood the Tukudikas were composed partly of an old layer of Shoshone "walkers", who retained the old way of living from the time before horses were introduced and who established a specialized mountain culture, and partly of pauperized Plains Shoshones, who had lost their horses or who had been forced to give up the Plains life for fear of the mighty Algonkin and Sioux tribes.

Those Tukudikas whom Captain Bonneville, Russell, and other trappers met in the mountains of Wyoming appeared in very small groups—often family groups—and walked on foot, accompanied by big dogs, which at the same time were hunting dogs, carriers, and pullers (they hitched on the V-shaped "travois"). The Tukudikas lived on berries, herbs, and roots, fished in the small lakes, hunted small animals of different kinds and larger animals like elk, deer and mountain or bighorn sheep. They hunted particularly the latter, which were very important as food and clothing. Since these animals appeared in very small herds, the indi-

vidual method of hunting was the most suitable. This situation and the fact that the forested areas were hard to travel through are probably the main reasons that these Indians' socio-political organization in olden times was so elementary.

The situation changed considerably among the Wind River Tukudikas during the course of the 19th century. Hostile Plains tribes entered the mountains and the primitively organized mountain dwellers had to seek support and protection among Washakie's Shoshones. From the latter they received more horses, and at the same time they formed bigger and firmer units than before. The Tukudikas were now collected in from 3 to 4 bands, with *Toyaewowici* as their main chief. Even their mode of traveling was changed. The winter was spent down in some valley near the mountains, for example at Red Banks near Dubois. Early in the spring they moved half way up the mountains to fish. The summer was spent in the mountains, where they hunted as in olden times, and in August and September they went out on the plains near Green River to hunt antelopes. Occasionally they even came to Fort Bridger, where they exchanged meat and fur for gunpowder and rifles.

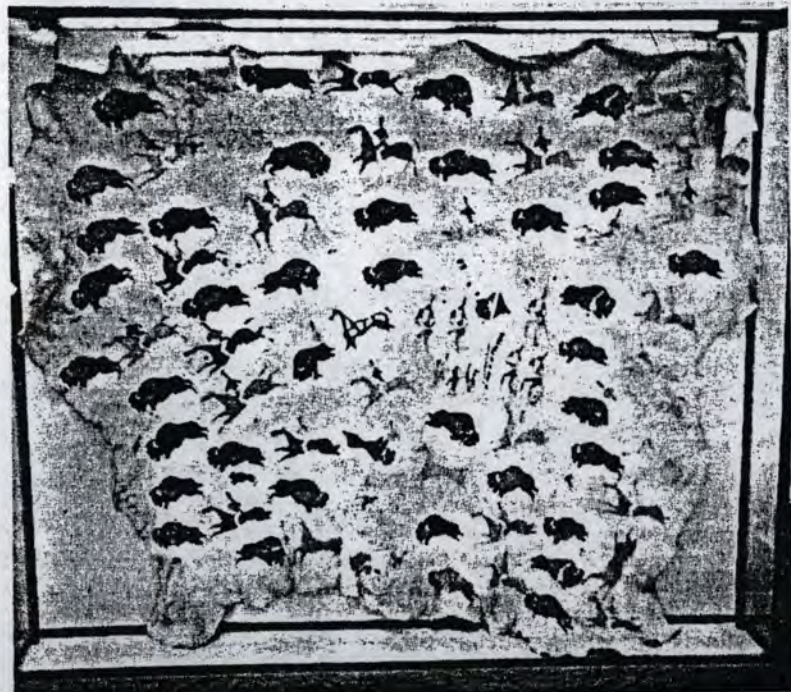
As far as we can see, the Tukudikas living further north retained their old social structure even at the end of the 19th century.

WYOMING'S PLAINS SHOSHONES

Many Shoshone groups stayed at times on the plains of Wyoming in order to hunt buffalos and antelopes. But only a limited number of them stayed more permanently within the area, namely those Eastern Shoshone plains hunters who in historical times operated mainly in southwestern Wyoming and the bordering area of Idaho and Utah. They called themselves *Kucundika* ("buffalo eaters") and were known as "Washakie's Shoshones." Because they resided mainly in the Green River Valley, the whites called them Green River Shoshone. A better name, however, would be "Wyoming Plains Shoshones." No Shoshoneans deserve the name Plains Shoshone better because in cultural and social respect they approached the Plains Indians more than any other Shoshone groups, the Comanche Indians excepted.

Written sources from the 1840's and later show that the mounted Wyoming Shoshones' land area at this time was considerable. They hunted on the plains from Montana to southern Wyoming. They visited up in the mountain areas from the Bitterroot mountains in the northwest to the Uintah mountains in the south and on western excursions they reached the Camas Prairie in Idaho and the Great Salt Lake in Utah. They had a lively contact with the Lemhi Shoshones far in the north and the Comanche Indians far to the south, and it is characteristic that Washakie grew up among the former, while his predecessor, chief Yellow Hand, was son of a Comanche chief. Reports of agents and fur trappers'

journals inform us that the Plains Shoshones' area of action was stretched over a large territory, although the area in which they lived had gradually diminished. Successively they were moved away from the open Plains, in particular by the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres (whom they fought in the Wind River area even in the 1840's), but also by the Crow Indians, who pressed them away from the excellent hunting grounds south of the Yellowstone River. It appears that they lived mainly on the plains near Green River in the 1830's. But during the 1840's they expanded anew: the Crow Indians made peace with them so as to be able to withstand the pressure from the Blackfoot and Sioux Indians, and the Shoshone under Washakie extended their hunting trips to the Wind River country and the Bighorn Valley. These hunting expeditions became of absolute necessity, since their most important game animals, especially the buffalo, had been exterminated from the Green River Valley. The Laramie agreement of 1851, which made the Crow Indians masters of the land east of the



Shoshone Buffalo Hunt and Dance.

Painted on elk hide by Charles Washakie, fourth son of Chief Washakie. On display in the Wyoming State Museum by courtesy of Mrs. Mable Cheney Moudy.

Absaroka and the Wind River mountains, forced Washakie again to seek hunting grounds up in the mountains, although he now and then raided the plains and on those occasions fought with the Crow, Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Indians. The Shoshones' main base was still the land around the Green River, and it was here that their first reservation was established in 1863. A work from the middle 1860's mentioned these Shoshones, and not without reason, as "the Washakeeks or Green River Snakes."¹³ Not until after 1872 could Washakie and his Shoshone definitely be transferred to the new reservation at Wind River.

In spite of forced moves and changes in hunting areas the mounted Wyoming Shoshones to a large extent kept the rhythm in the annual scheme of traveling which characterized their existence since olden times. Before the Wind River reservation was established the winters were spent at Fort Bridger, near Bear Lake, or up in the mountain areas toward Idaho; but to some extent also on the plains close to, for example, Shoshone River or Wind River. The winter diet consisted mainly of dried meat (of buffalo, deer or elk). The spring was spent with hunting and fishing near the winter quarters while the horses fattened up. Even limited buffalo hunting was carried on if possible. Although the buffalos were thin this time of the year their skin had value as material for clothing, tent covers, etc. When summer neared, the Shoshones gathered for a Sun Dance down near Fort Bridger. Thereafter they scattered in family groups and spent their time in diverse occupations. They sold furs at Fort Bridger and bought salt and corn at Salt Lake City; and up in the mountains they dug up roots, picked berries, trapped rodents, and hunted small game. When the heat of the summer decreased, the tribes gathered again for the big buffalo hunt of the fall. They moved then to grounds that were rich in buffalos, and especially to those areas where their scouts had localized herds no matter where they might be. At the middle of the last century one found the largest herds of buffalo in Wyoming in the Big Horn Basin, east of the Big Horn Mountains, and in the area northeast of the Laramie Range, and also in northern parts of the Wind River Basin some buffalos could be found. Gradually Washakie visited all these areas. When in the middle of the 19th century the buffalos decreased in numbers on the old Shoshone hunting grounds closest to the mountains, Washakie's expeditions were extended further away to buffalo ranges on the plains east of the Big Horn Mountains and northeast of the Laramie Range. Thereby, however, the risk of bloody encounters with the hostile Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Indians unfortunately increased. When the fall hunting was over, the Shoshones went into winter camps, and, according to the circumstances, camped together or split into separate bands.

These Shoshones were not typical exponents of the Plains Indian culture if we compare them with the Plains tribes just mentioned.

Their diverse ways of subsistence united them more with their tribal relatives behind the mountains than with their nearest neighbors on the plains. Thus the Plains Shoshones were not dependent on the buffalo for food in the same manner as, for example, the Cheyennes, but could replace the usual winter supply of dried buffalo meat with dried elk meat. And Hamilton, who in the 1840's was visiting both the Cheyenne and the Shoshone Indians wrote that the Shoshones to a larger extent than the Cheyennes were mountain Indians and were hunters of small game.³⁹

As far as socio-political organization is concerned, the Wyoming Plains Shoshones remind us more of the genuine Plains tribes. The reasons for forming strong groups, which we have already observed in the Lemhi and Fort Hall Shoshones, were of course also present among the buffalo hunters of Wyoming, and they appeared even stronger here. During the time these Shoshones were buffalo hunting on the open plains they were usually organized as one big group, a "tribe" with a central chief, an advisory council, and a warrior sodality with police functions (*ohamupe*, "the yellow forelocks"), etc., all in accordance with the customs of the Plains Indians. This tribal organization was also the functioning ethnic unit during the Sun Dance or "Thirst-withstanding Dance," which appeared yearly in June as a religious three day ceremony, when the Plains Shoshones, through prayer, dance and fasting received assurance of protection from the highest God. Even the Sun Dance was taken over from the Plains Indians and was a religious complex belonging to the ideology of the buffalo-hunting society.⁴⁰

In name and in reality, at least from the 1840's, Washakie was the chief of the Shoshone tribe on Wyoming's plains. But at his side were a number of experienced warriors, who gathered around them occasional and more or less solid bands. These bands, the size of which could change during a few years, often operated completely independently of the "tribe." One of these bands was under the leadership of Tavonasia, a strong competitor of Washakie, whose leadership over the tribal organization he was not happy to accept as a fact. Before the Wind River reservation was established Tavonasia and his people visited occasionally in Utah and in the Bear River Valley and occasionally among the buffalo grounds at Sweetwater and North Platte.⁴¹ After the move to the Wind River reservation Tavonasia and his band moved in summer time to Yellowstone Park where they fished and hunted. Another band leader, whom the whites hardly dared trust, was the halfbreed Nakok, son of a French trapper and a Shoshone squaw. In the battle at Bear River, where he lost one eye, he appeared on the rebellious Indian side. He was, according to old documents, very independent in his relationship to Washakie, and he was able to draw people away from the latter.⁴²

Several reports from the 1850's and 1860's indicate that Wash-

akie at times had difficulties with his band chiefs, and often had to depend on the white man's support in order to control them.⁴³ In spite of this, however, he had great authority as a general rule among the Shoshones and was on occasions a chief for a reinforced tribe in which could even be found Hukandika from Utah, Fort Hall Shoshone, and Tagis Bannock. Thus the road was made smoother for Washakie's position of strength on the Wind River reservation.

WIND RIVER SHOSHONE

The scattered Shoshone groups in Wyoming—Haivodika, Tukupika, Kucundika, maybe also Kamodika—were gathered during the course of the 1870's on the reservation at Wind River, which through the Fort Bridger treaty of 1868 had been established for them. To begin with, the reservation had been planned also for the Bannock. Washakie, the man among the Shoshones with whom the whites had negotiated most, wanted, namely, to have the support of the Bannock tribe in the fight against the steadily more persistent Sioux Indians, who as early as the 1840's (according to what Frémont tells us) invaded the Wind River area time after time and who, at the same time as the Shoshones moved into the reservation, intensified their raids upon it. The Bannock, however, were placed at the Fort Hall reservation and in their place Washakie was forced to leave room for his arch enemy the Arapaho, after they had laid down their weapons (1876).

The main portion of the Shoshone population at the Wind River Reservation consisted of Washakie's reasonably well disciplined people. It is therefore natural that Washakie in the future remained the obvious leader and that even Basil and the Tukupika chiefs considered him as the head man of the Shoshone. During the rest of his lifetime he kept this unusually great authority, in spite of the fact that the tribal council was organized in 1886 for the purpose of removing the power of the chief.⁴⁴ After Washakie's death (1900), the tribal council had all the power, and since the death of his son, Dick Washakie (1944), even a nominal chief has been lacking.

The different elements of population on the reservation have gradually grown together. This means also that the Tukupika are not neglected any more; many of them have leading positions in the tribal council. And the social line of demarcation is not now so much between the Kucundika and Tukupika, as between conservative and progressive elements, between adherents of the old tribal life (represented by the so-called "Sage Creek group") and spokesmen for a gradual assimilation with the white civilization.

NOTES

1. R. H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshones," Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., Anthropol. Papers 2:2 (1909).

2. D. B. Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography," Univ. of Calif., Anthrop. Records 5:4 (1947).
3. A. Hultkrantz, "Kulburbildningen hos Wyoming Shoshoni-indianer," Ymer 1949:2.
4. See "Ethnos" 1951-55, and Ymer 1954:2.
5. It can even be added, that I tried to gain knowledge of the Shoshonean language. A great part of my time during the visits with the Shoshones in 1955 was spent at studying the language with the help of native teachers.
6. Valuable help during my visits at Fort Hall Reservation was given me by the Bannock researcher Dr. Sven Liljeblad in Pocatello.
7. It was, first of all, some of the Arapahos' religious rites which I studied, but also the relations between the Shoshone and the Arapaho were of interest to me.
8. The foremost authority on Yellowstone Park, Jack E. Haynes, led me to old camp sites within the area of the park.
9. My 1949 publication (see note 3 above) concerned the buffalo hunting Shoshones which I then—according to Shimkin's and others' pattern—called Wind River Shoshone. My later investigations have made it clear that this name for the historical buffalo hunters is unfortunate. "Wyoming Plains Shoshone" is better. See further A. Hultkrantz, "Tribal Divisions within the Eastern Shoshoni of Wyoming," Proceed. of the 32. Intern. Congr. of Americanists (1958), pp. 148-154.
10. A. Hultkrantz, "The Indians in Yellowstone Park," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 29:2 (1957), p. 133 f. Cf. also Earl H. Swanson, "Problems in Shoshone Chronology," *Idaho Yesterdays*, Vol. 1:4 (1957-58), pp. 21ff.
11. University News Service, Laramie, June 19, 1950. This report has not been printed yet. See also W. Mulloy, "The Northern Plains" (in J. Griffin, *Archeology of Eastern United States*, Chicago 1952), p. 136.
12. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784-1812*, ed. by J. B. Tyrrell, Toronto 1916, p. 327 ff.
13. Dr. J. C. Ewers at National Museum in Washington, D. C., was friendly enough to put several of the referred documents at my disposal.
14. See J. V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," Amer. Anthrop. Ass., Mem. 47 (1937), p. 55 ff.
15. V. F. Ray, "Tribal Distribution in Northeastern Oregon," Amer. Anthrop. 40:3 (1938), p. 392 ff.
16. Jfr B. De Voto (ed.), *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (1953), p. 213 f.
17. J. Mooney in Bur. of Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 30:1 (1907) p. 327.
18. E. A. Hoebel, "Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone," Amer. Anthrop. 40:3 (1938).
19. In this general division of the Shoshone I follow Steward. See J. H. Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups," Bur. of Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 120 (1938), p. XII.
20. See Lowie, *op. cit.*, Hoebel, *op. cit.*, and Steward, *op. cit.*
21. J. H. Steward, "Some Observations on Shoshonean Distributions," Amer. Anthrop. 41:2 (1939), p. 261 ff.
22. Previously different groups denoted themselves as *niyw*, "the people." The names that have come to characterize them come mostly from Shoshone neighborhoods with another way of life.
23. Before 1840 there were still buffalos in Idaho, particularly at the upper part of Snake River; but after this date the most easily attainable buffalo haunts were north of the Yellowstone River.
24. It was always Agaidika's hunting chief who took the initiative in these excursions.
25. See O. O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians* (1907), p. 421 ff., 431 f. Jfr R. Ross Arnold, *Indian Wars of Idaho* (1932), p. 222 ff.

26. A Shoshone informant told me that *tidibiano* were sheepeaters of the Bannock people in western Idaho.
27. Cf. C. Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," Amer. Anthrop. 16:1 (1914), p. 23 f.; F. Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," Amer. Anthrop. 40:3 (1938), p. 435; and J. C. Ewers, "The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," Bur. of Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 159 (1955), p. 6 f.
28. My informants said that even Nevada Shoshone ("White Knives") appeared among them and hunted together with the Bannocks.
29. This division which was made by Bonneville, Wilson, De Smet, Lander and Hoffman, has however never been applied consistently. The name "Snake Indians" (which seems to go back to the white man's wrong interpretation of the symbol for "Shoshone" in the Plains Indians' sign language) has thus been applied not only to the mounted Shoshones in Wyoming and Idaho, but also to the western "foot Indians" in eastern Oregon. The name "shoshocoes" is taken from the Shoshone word *shoshogoi*, "those who are walking on the ground."
30. This possibly is due to the fact that there were so few buffalos west of the Rockies; the buffalo was eliminated completely there during the 1840's (by fur trappers, immigrants and Indians).
31. In contrast to this it seems that such a religious institution as the Sun Dance was not accepted at Fort Hall until the turn of the century, 1900. According to one of my informants the Shoshones and Bannocks danced the Sun Dance together for the first time in Jackson Hole. If this information is correct, then this first Sun Dance can not have been later than 1896, since the state of Wyoming forbade the Indians to stay in Jackson Hole after that time.
32. G. Stuart, *Montana As It Is* (1865), p. 80.
33. Cf. Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups," p. 219 ff., and J. A. Jones, "The Sun Dance of the Northern Ute," Bur. of Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 157, p. 211.
34. In Shoshone Black's Fork is called "Pine River," but it must not be confused with Pine Creek at Pinedale, Sublette County.
35. It is possible that Bazil's group consisted of Comanche who had followed Yellow Hand from the Comanche land (Yellow Hand was originally Comanche Indian) to Wyoming, and at his death had broken away from the Plains Shoshone. (f. D. B. Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Geography," Amer. Anthrop. 40:3 (1938), p. 415.
36. Hoebel, *op. cit.*, p. 410. The word "mountain-dwellers" is considered by the present-day descendants of the Tukudika as humiliating and has apparently been applied to them by the Plains Shoshone as a derogatory name.
37. Hultkrantz, "The Indians in Yellowstone Park," p. 134 ff. In this article I used the name dukurika (cf. Shimkin: dukurka); however, following discussions with American linguists I have decided to use the form tukurika in the future.
38. Stuart *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*
39. W. T. Hamilton, *My Sixty Years on the Plains* (1951), p. 83.
40. At the same time the older religion remained characterized by individual vision quests and really diversified belief in nature spirits.
41. Concerning Tavonasia, see Rep. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1873 p. 41 ff., 1878 p. 150.
42. Concerning Nakok, see Rep. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1869 p. 274, 275. Nakok eventually became Washakie's companion, war-chief and most important interpreter.
43. See Rep. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1868 p. 158, 1870 p. 175.
44. Rep. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1886 p. 260.

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