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Traders and Raiders: Aspects of Trans-Basin and California-Plateau Commerce, 1800-1830

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FOLLOWING introduction of the horse into the northern Rockies in the late seventeenth century, Indians there became mobile middlemen linking the Pacific-Plateau and Middle-Missouri trade systems (Wood 1972). By the end of the eighteenth century, California had become integrated into this network by a northern and an eastern route. The northern slave route linked with The Dalles on the Columbia River and incorporated an intermediate node at Yainax Butte near the California-Oregon border. The eastern trans-Great Basin route linked California with the Rockies via the Humboldt River and incorporated an intermediate node at the Humboldt Sink. California horses and manufactured goods may have been the major commodities on this route. The documentation for long-distance commerce by horsemen in California and the Great Basin is scattered, fragmentary, and of mixed quality. However, when the pieces are juxtaposed, a definite pattern can be discerned.

This paper examines the emergence of horse-facilitated commerce and the development of trade centers and of composite predatory bands of horse nomads between 1800 and 1830. It is argued that concurrent settlement shifts occurred during this period as pedestrian Indians moved to more protected, less vulnerable locations away from the major trade routes frequented by mounted traders and raiders.

THE KLAMATH SLAVE TRADE

In 1826, Peter Skene Ogden, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company and the leader of a brigade of fur trappers, became the first European to visit and describe the Klamath; he counted one horse. But the Klamath were already practicing a frankly defensive lifestyle because of predation by mounted raiders from the north. Ogden (Elliott 1910:210) recorded a hidden village in the Klamath Marsh less than 30 miles from the California-Oregon border as follows:

> It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses, the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but

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> could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not."

If Ogden saw one Klamath horse in 1826 there were probably others well hidden. The sophisticated defensive architecture and settlement placement he described were hardly new either, for the Klamath had become indirectly articulated into the Pacific-Plateau trading system before 1800. Evidence of travel south through Klamath country to California by Columbia River Indians for the purpose of trading and horse stealing may be traced back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Heizer (1942) described a well-documented trading expedition of forty Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Walla Walla Indians under the leadership of Yellow Serpent, who traveled from the Columbia River to Sutter's Fort in California's Sacramento Valley in 1844, but intermittent visits by Columbia River peoples to California for trade and securing horses probably occurred much earlier. The same scholar cited evidence that Yellow Serpent himself may have witnessed California horse raids organized by his father as early as 1800. These long-distance expeditions by Columbia River Indians passed south through Oregon and undoubtedly impacted the Klamath long before Ogden's 1826 description.

We may speculate that the Klamath were at first preyed upon by mounted parties from the north, but that they, in turn, learned to prey upon their California neighbors to the south. Possibly by 1800 the Klamath were already becoming middlemen passing California goods in ever increasing amounts north to The Dalles, the international trading center on the Columbia River. Summarizing early nineteenth century long-distance Klamath commerce, Sapir (1909:104) reported that:

> . . . the objectives of their trading expeditions were Warm Springs as well as The Dalles. Slaves, Pit River bows and beads, and lily seed were taken there to exchange for horses, blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), dried salmon, and lamprey eels. Occasionally they stayed the winter on the Columbia, sometimes for a number of years.

Of this commerce, slaves stand out as the primary commodity. Sapir (1930:43) noted that slaves seem to have been numerous and slaving expeditions frequent. Slaves, horses, and beads (in that order) were the most highly rated forms of wealth in Klamath values. Perhaps the most detailed account of the Klamath slave trade is that of Gatschet (1890:ix-x) who described annual slave raids against the Pit Rivers:

> In April and May the Klamath Lakes and the Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles. . . . Some of the eastern Pit Rivers seem to have lived on friendly terms with the Modocs; but the banks farther south, especially the Hot Springs and the Big Valley Indians, were the principal sufferers of these incursions. In a raid of 1857 fifty-six of their women and children were enslaved and sold on the Columbia River for Cayuse ponies, one squaw being rated at five or six horses and a boy, one horse.

THE TRADE FAIR AT YAINAX BUTTE

The Pacific-Plateau trade system was characterized by major trade centers and a scattering of less important nodes. There is strong evidence that the Klamath middlemen may have controlled at least one such node within their own territory at Yainax Butte, 30 miles east of Klamath Lake. The evidence for this trade center is entirely from one source:

Samuel A. Clarke, a pioneer Oregon newspaperman and historian. In 1873, Clarke covered the Modoc War as a *New York Times* correspondent. At the cessation of hostilities he was invited to visit the Yainax Indian Agency. Clarke was later to publish three colorful accounts of this trip (Clarke 1873, 1879, 1905) from which I have excerpted the following description of the Yainax Butte trade fair.

> Within sight of that butte I have held long talks with Modoc and Klamath chieftains, who have woven the tradition of their tribes into form for my satisfaction [Clarke 1879] . . . To this mountain's base came the Columbia River Indians to exchange fleet cayuse coursers for slaves, to barter the blankets and nicknacks furnished by the Fur Company traders for the furs gathered by Modocs and Klamaths, and the bows and arrows so deftly made and so skillfully fashioned by the Pit Rivers. Yainax was a great slave mart in the long ago, for Klamaths and Modocs, being first cousins, and as kind and unkind as near relatives are apt to be, made war indiscriminately on weaker tribes and took captives to swell the importance of the Yainax fairs. Woe to Snakes and Pit Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, when Klamaths took the war-path, more hungry for captives than for scalps. [Clarke 1873:550] . . . Yainax was a convenient meeting place for tribes within hundred of miles in all directions. . . . Klamaths, Modocs, Summer Lake Snakes, to the east; Warm Springs people, from the north; Shastas and Pitt Rivers, from Northern California; all those fraternized, and each October, when the earth had yielded its fruits at command of the summer sun, they met here in grand conclave, with the Nez Percés and Cayuses, and others of the Columbia River tribes. All came, from the Cascades to the Rockies; from California to the Columbia River. Here, also, was the great slave mart of the mid-mountain region.
>
> The Warm Springs braves invaded the country of their enemies, the Snakes, beyond Goose Lake, and the Klamaths were their allies to assist; they joined forces when on a slave hunting raid. The Yahooskin or Summer Lake Snakes did not hesitate to take part in these gatherings, for, though neutral as to their fellow Snakes, they liked to take a hand in the games, make good trades, and swap horses—when they could do so to advantage. There was pleasure and honor, as well as plenty of business, here at Yainax on those gala days in October [Clarke 1905:1920].

Although in popular magazine articles Clarke did engage in Victorian romantic hyperbole, frankly imagining the sounds, the odors, and the excitement of the Yainax trade fair, I am inclined to believe that the account above is accurate in its essentials. In his authoratative, two-volume *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, Clarke (1905:115-118) cited and quoted extensively from Alexander Ross's account of the Yakima Trade Fair in 1814 and acknowledged a discussion with William McKay (1869) who published a description of the Dalles trade fair. Clarke seems to have done his homework.

If, as seems likely, Clarke interviewed men approaching 65 years of age in 1873, they would have given him eyewitness descriptions of Yainax Trade Fairs of their early adult years circa 1820-30. Clarke's informant testimony of mounted Great Basin "Snakes" in attendance at Yainax finds strong indirect support in the 1827 journal of Ogden. On May 27th of that year, Ogden recorded a band of mounted horsemen living a scant 70 miles due east of Yainax Butte near the north end of Warner Valley. Here he had to send thirteen men in pursuit of Indians (probably Northern Paiutes) who had stolen fifty-six of his horses. The Indians escaped after a long pursuit in which they abandoned all but two of the animals. Ogden's men, however, discovered their hidden abandoned camp which he (Davies 1961:121-122) described as ". . . consisting of 14 Tents but all abandoned and secreted in the mountains, from the number of Bones and Skins it is evident that these villians support themselves entirely on Horse Flesh . . ." This and subsequent groups were probably regular attendees at the Yainax Trade Fair. Warner Valley was to remain the residence of mounted predatory bands for the next 37 years (Layton 1977:245-47). In August, 1849, they raided emigrants south along the Lassen Cutoff wagon road and a month later ambushed a U. S. Army patrol inside Warner Valley (Layton 1978:252). Whether Warner Valley's predator band was an established kin group made mobile by the horse or a composite band comprised of several groups is not discernable. However, in 1864, a predator band again surfaces in Warner Valley and its composition is better documented. It was apparently led by Paulini, a Paviotso from the Silver Lake (Oregon) area (Nash 1955:386). Col. C. S. Drew's 1864 description of one of Paulini's abandoned camps in Warner Valley is more than a little reminiscent of Ogden's 1827 description of "horse flesh eaters" from the same area. Drew (1865) wrote that when he reached the north pass up Warner's Mountain he:

> . . . found about sixty new and deserted lodges, evidently left not more than three days before, and in and around them fragments of beeves that their occupants had feasted upon. The tracks of American horses, ponies, mules and cattle, all coming in from the northward, and passing up into the mountain, were numerous and but recently made.

One can imagine the cumulative effect of mercenary slave hunters and mobile, mounted predator bands on the lifestyles of pedestrian groups. Ogden's 1826 description of the Klamath documents distinct architecture, village placement and voiced concerns about Nez Percés raiders which are all dramatically defensive. One would predict that the hapless Pit River people likewise sought out inaccessible protected locations for their villages. Although protohistoric settlement studies have not been done in Pit River territory, there is strong evidence for settlement shifts immediately to the east in nearby Surprise Valley.

Surprise Valley has been the location of extensive, well-executed site surveys and excavations (Brown 1964; O'Connell 1971, 1975). Moreover, amateur collectors have amassed huge collections of projectile points from this lush area. All evidence suggests that a heavy prehistoric occupation of the valley was followed by a virtual abandonment in the early nineteenth century. This interpretation of sparse early-nineteenth-century settlement in Surprise Valley is supported by evidence gleaned from emigrant diaries. During the late 1840's the heavily traveled Lassen/Applegate wagon road, after departing from the Humboldt River, passed through the heart of northwestern Nevada's rugged High Rock country (Layton 1970:14), thence north through Surprise Valley before crossing westward over the Warner Mountains via Fandango Pass. Nineteen emigrant journals recording passage over this route between 1847 and 1849 (Layton 1978) provide numerous first-person descriptions of interaction with Indians in the High Rock country, but practically none for Surprise Valley. Apparently Paiutes lived elsewhere than Surprise Valley during the 1840's.

I would argue that by 1820 pedestrian Paiute occupation in Surprise Valley had become impossible because Warner Valley, only 20 miles to the north was by then the home of the mounted predatory band described above by Ogden. By 1820, Surprise Valley had become a well-traveled section of a major North-South highway passing along the east face of the Cascade and Sierra Nevada Ranges. This highway was heavily traversed by emergent predatory bands of horsemen. Semisedentary occupation of lush and accessible Surprise Valley by pedestrian Paiutes ended because of the vulnerability to raids.

Our major source of evidence for nineteenth-century Paiute occupation in Surprise Valley has traditionally been Kelly's (1932) "Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute"; however, it is now recognized (Voegelin 1956:4) that Kelly unknowingly described post-1860 emigrants into the valley from Oregon and not the aboriginal inhabitants of the area. All evidence points to the fact that during the nineteenth century there were few Paiute in Surprise Valley until after the establishment of Fort Bidwell in the 1860's.

It would seem necessary to reevaluate the ethnographic record of the greater California-Oregon-Nevada border triangle to account for other major undocumented dislocations and readaptations of populations living there during the protohistoric period.

CALIFORNIA HORSES

Although there is an obvious need for revisionist ethnography in the California-Oregon-Nevada border triangle, nowhere is this kind of reevaluation more needed than to the south in the central Nevada portion of the Great Basin and the adjacent California foothills of the Sierra Nevadas. Two major processes brought horse nomads into the central Great Basin. These were the westward expansion of Idaho Shoshone and the concurrent eastward displacement of Indians from Central California.

By 1750, the Great Plains had become crowded with horse nomads. The earliest Rocky Mountain groups to acquire the horse had expanded eastward onto the plains to pursue the buffalo. Those living further to the west like the Shoshone of the Snake River Plain, who acquired horses somewhat later, found access into the plains blocked. As a consequence, they incorporated the Great Basin into their expanded seasonal round.

While the Great Basin was being encroached upon by Shoshone from the east, mounted California Indians were penetrating from the west. It is appropriate here to review briefly the development of the horse market in California. Horses were introduced into California with the establishment of the mission system. By 1800, their numbers had multiplied and many ran wild in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. Indians living east of the mission strip, their numbers and sophistication bolstered by Christian runaways, rapidly learned to eat and ride horses. Predation on mission herds became a serious problem quite early. In 1815, José Dolores Pico, traveling from San Juan Bautista into the San Joaquin Valley, recorded the remains of more than 500 butchered horses at the Indian camps he visited (Cook 1960:271). Bancroft (1886:365) excerpted an 1819 letter from President Mariano Payeras, head of the Catholic Church in California to his padres to the effect:

> . . . that all the best horses are being stolen; that in the Tulares all ride, even the women; and that regular fairs for the sale of horses are held there.

It was this easy availability of horses and the added lure of manufactured goods from the missions that attracted expeditions of Columbia River Indians to California by 1800. Swann (1857:313-314) described this commerce:

> That the northern tribes, or those of Oregon and Washington, have been accustomed to long journeys south, is a fact which is easily shown. When Fremont first commenced hostilities in California, a large body of Walla Walla Indians from the Columbia were creating disturbances in the region of Sacramento. These Indians formerly made regular excursions to the south every year, on horseback, for the purpose of trade and plunder.
>
> The wife of Mr. Ducheney, the agent of

> Chinook for the Hudson Bay Company, who is a very intelligent woman, informed me that, her father was [a] Frenchman, and her mother a Walla Walla Indian, and that, when she was quite a child, she recollected going with her mother and a party of her tribe to the south for a number of months; that they took horses with them, and Indian trinkets, which they exchanged for vermillion and Mexican blankets: and that on their return her mother died and was buried where the city of Sacramento now stands . . . She was too young to remember how far into Mexico they went, but I judged that the vermillion she mentioned was obtained from the mountains of Almaden near San Jose, California.

California came to supply a far-flung horse market very early. Broadbent (1974) discussed the growth of long-distance horse raiding against Monterey. She singled out the Plains and Sierra Miwok as likely culprits. As punitive raids by the colonial authorities became more common and more effective, horse-raiding California Indians retreated into the Sierra foothills. The establishment of the horse-nomad pattern in east central California and western Nevada was a major and significant readaptive shift. James Downs (1971:305) stated:

> There are suggestions that the eastern slope of the Sierra from 1769 through 1849 was seeing the development of . . . mounted composite raiding bands. In the upper San Joaquin a number of groups appear to have developed into horse-raiding and eating societies, living in large part by raiding Spanish livestock and fleeing into the interior beyond the reach of colonial vengeance. . . Although details are lacking, there is every reason to believe that for a few decades at least totally horse-oriented pastoral societies, subsisting largely on the meat of horse herds that were constantly replaced by raiding, existed in the swampy plains of the central basin. Robert Heizer (personal communication) has conjectured that had the development not been interrupted, the reorganized tribes of the western slope and the interior valleys might have driven the increasingly ineffective and weakened Spanish-Mexican colonists from California.

Although the evidence for commerce in the Great Basin by California, Nevada, and Idaho horsemen is fragmentary, there is enough to suggest regular and frequent contacts by the 1820's.

THE TRADE FAIR AT HUMBOLDT SINK

In 1827, Jedediah Strong Smith became the first Caucasian to cross the Great Basin. His crossing was from west to east, and his recently discovered and published journal provides incontrovertible evidence that horse nomadism was already fully developed. On June 21, 1827, Smith camped at the south end of Walker Lake near where several Indian families were encamped for fishing. He had already twice noticed horse signs as he approached the west shore of the lake. The following is excerpted from Smith's account (Brooks 1977:174-176):

> About ten O Clock at night I was awakened by the sound of horses feet. I started up and 20 or 30 horsemen rode by at full speed to where the fishermen were encamped. I awakened the men we collected our things together and made of them as good a brest work as we could and prepared ourselves for extremities. Presently 2 indians came as if to see if we were asleep. But finding we were awake they came close and sit down. I offered them some Tabacco but they would not take it. They returned to their companions and soon all came and surrounded us with the Bows strung and their arrows in their hands. They sat down and consulted with each other talking loud and harsh and frequently changing places some times all being on one side and then on the other. To the one that seemed to be the principal character I offered some presents but he would take nothing turning from me with disdain. . . After about two hours they became peaceable and made a fire. I then offered them some tobacco they took it

> smoked and remained all night. It will be readily conjectured that I kept a verry close watch during the remainder of the night. I do not know how to account for the singular conduct of the indians. They did not appear unanimous for the massacre and perhaps saw our intention of making our scalps bear a good price we should not have fallen without some of them in company... In the morning they appeared friendly and told me that there was water to the East in the direction I wished to travel. I observed these indians had some Buffalo Robes knives and Spanish Blankets from which it appears they have some communication with the indians on Lewis's River and with the spanish indians. I moved on East about 20 miles and was obliged to encamp without water. The indians no doubt well knew there was no water and intended to deceive me and send me where I might perish for the want of it.

The passage suggests that these horsemen either were themselves Walker Lake Paiute or were on good terms with the Paiute fishing there. That the horsemen carried both buffalo robes and Spanish blankets is evidence of a commerce fully spanning the Great Basin from California to Idaho. Two weeks later as Smith passed through the Monitor Valley near the geographical center of Nevada he encountered three Indians who had a piece of a buffalo robe and who sold Smith a beaver skin, a good indication that even this remote area had become influenced by the fur trade. We must stress here that the scheming Walker Lake horsemen had deliberately directed Smith far away from the beaten commercial path across Nevada. Had Smith traveled the Humboldt River route as did Peter Ogden the following year, he would have witnessed far more commercial activity.

Our first written record of the Humboldt River is by Peter Ogden. On November 16, 1828, while following the Humboldt River and about 16 miles upstream from present-day Golconda, Nevada, Ogden (Davies 1961:108-109) recorded striking evidence of commerce along the river:

> . . . I fell on a long Indian track and not long since a number of horses have travelled in this quarter, probably not less than four hundred, and if I may judge from appearances in one of their camps there could not have been less than three hundred Indians. In the afternoon eight paid us a visit. An elderly man of the party who understands the lower Snake language, informed me that the distance was great to the sources [of the Humboldt River], not less than ten days march—there we shall find five forks, on three of these beaver, that the river discharges in a large lake, and that salmon does not ascend this stream and consequently has no communication with the waters of the ocean.

Two weeks later on November 28, still on the Humboldt and approximately six miles east of present-day Dunphy, Nevada, Ogden (Davies 1961:110) noted that: "Three Snake Indians with their horses arrived and informed us they were from the Main Falls of the Snake River. . . ."

It would seem that in the fall of 1828, the Humboldt River was well traveled by Idaho Indians returning home to the Snake River for the winter. Ogden was himself traveling towards a winter rendezvous of fur traders and Indians northeast of the Great Salt Lake. In the spring of 1829 Ogden returned to Nevada to trap the Humboldt and its tributaries. On May 2nd, due north of present-day Dunphy, Nevada, he fortuitously recovered a horse 225 miles west of the Malad River winter camp where Indians had stolen it from him (Layton 1978:244). This western displacement is additional evidence of a pattern of Indians wintering in the Rockies and returning to Nevada in the spring.

It is notable that as Ogden traveled the Humboldt River he saw little evidence of local Indians, only a few abandoned huts hidden in the willows. Mary Rusco (personal communication), who is completing a major study of the Humboldt, points out that there is archaeological evidence for large populations having lived along most of the Humboldt during the late prehistoric. The protohistoric retreat of the local pedestrian Indians from settlement along the banks of the Humboldt is probably a direct consequence of the Humboldt becoming a trans-basin highway for predatory horsemen. As discussed above, the abandonment of Surprise Valley was likewise at least partially the result of its similar vulnerability to raids by horsemen in transit.

On May 28, 1829, Ogden finally reached the Humboldt Sink, a vast marshy area 70 miles east of the California state line where the Humboldt River discharges into a landlocked basin. Here he (Davies 1961:153-154) encountered and described mounted hostile Indians in terms analogous to those used by Jedediah Smith at Walker Lake two years earlier.

> . . . the man who had gone towards the lake [Humboldt Sink] arrived and gave the alarm of enemies. By his account he had a most narrow escape, to the fleetness of his horse has his life been preserved. He reports as follows. When rounding a point nearly within sight of the lake, twenty men on horseback came in sight and on seeing him gave the war cry. He lost no time in retreating; one of the Indians had nearly overtaken him, and would had he not discharged his gun at him. He also informed us that the hills were covered with Indians. Strongly suspecting from their conduct on the 26th instant, added to this day, I gave orders to secure the horses and having made all as secure as possible and the place would admit of, ten men, two thirds of my forces, started in advance to ascertain what the Indians were doing, and not to risk a battle with them as we are already too weak. An hour after they arrived and reported the Indians, upwards of two hundred, were coming to the camp and were within a short distance and it was not their opinion they were well inclined towards us. Shortly after they arrived having selected a spot for them about five hundred yards from our camp I desired them to be seated, this order was obeyed. . . Their language was different from any I have yet heard, but one of them understanding a few words of Snake we received the following information. This river discharges in the lake which has no outlet, in eight days' march there is a large river but no beaver, salmon most abundant, a convincing proof they traded two, which were still tolerably fresh. To the northward of us there is also another river which from the description he gives must be Pit River. On examining these Indians we saw pieces of rifles, ammunition, arms and other articles. This I am of opinion must be some of the plunder of Smith's party of ten men who were murdered in the fall and from native to native has reached this. They would not inform me from whom they had received these articles from, this looks suspicious, on enquiring the cause of their visit the chief answered to make peace which was soon effected.

Who were these horsemen, and what were they doing at the Humboldt Sink? The fact that neither Ogden nor his men, who were well acquainted with the languages of the Basin, the Plateau, and the Pacific Northwest, had ever heard the language spoken by the leaders of the visitors suggests that they were from California. Moreover, their possession of two "tolerably fresh salmon" from a river they described as eight days' march west of the Humboldt Sink strongly suggests that they had acquired the fish from any of the several eastern tributaries of the Sacramento or San Joaquin Rivers. For example, California salmon are easily available on the Stanislaus River which at 125 miles is an easy 8-day ride from the Humboldt Sink. Ogden suspected the "pieces of rifles, ammunition, arms and other articles" to be the plunder from Jedediah Smith's party which was ambushed on the Umpqua River near the Oregon Coast in the summer of 1828. This seems to be a wild guess on Ogden's part; however, the Indians' knowledge of what Ogden thought to be the Pit River probably places them in a central or northern California homeland. Their route to the Humboldt Sink must have carried them eastward through one of the Sierra passes and then on to the Humboldt Sink.

What were mounted Indians from California and Idaho doing at the Humboldt Sink in 1829? It is unlikely that they were engaged in commerce with the pedestrian Indians who lived there. The local Indians were irrelevant because the Humboldt Sink offered no resource valuable enough to sustain trade. What the Humboldt Sink did offer was its location as a central place on a river highway linking California with the Rockies. It was the only location with enough water and grass to support large numbers of horses. The Humboldt Sink was thus a site that could support, in conclave, the emerging predatory bands of the western Great Basin, such as the Warner Valley and Walker Lake groups, with California and Idaho horsemen.

Mary Rusco (1976) in an unpublished paper titled "Enemies of the People" documents hostile encounters between Indians and Europeans in the Great Basin during the 1820's and 1830's. She has found that the vast majority of encounters were friendly with the notable exception of those occurring near the Humboldt Sink and those northeast of the Great Salt Lake. She attributes the latter to the tense atmosphere of trading and raiding associated with the Shoshone Rendezvous. More recently she has come to interpret the repeated hostilities at the Humboldt Sink as indirect evidence of yet another trading center (Mary Rusco, personal communication).

The evidence presented here, though fragmentary and circumstantial, suggests that the Humboldt Sink, like Yainax in Oregon, was already an established trade center well before the arrival of the first white travelers. The major commodities at the Humboldt were probably horses and manufactured goods from California. Horses were abundant in California and in high demand everywhere else. We must suspect that the horse-trading Tulares described by Payeras and the horse-thief Miwoks described by Broadbent drove their trading stock across Sierra passes to the Humboldt Sink to meet potential buyers, including the mounted predatory bands resident in the western Basin and the transient Indians from Idaho described in Ogden's journal.

CONCLUSION

Most of the information presented here has been available for a long time. The argument, however, is revisionist because of the way the data have been structured. Some of the evidence is, at best, circumstantial. But rather than a frozen ethnographic present, the pattern that emerges is one of vitality and change during the protohistoric period, characterized by major undocumented dislocations and readaptations of peoples on the northern and eastern peripheries of California.

By the 1820's, the northern Great Basin was heavily occupied by mobile, mounted predatory bands. The encounters with these groups, fortuitously recorded in the journals of Peter Ogden and Jedediah Smith, may be the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Given this emerging picture of dislocation, readaptation, and the development of trade centers, a number of topics demand reexamination. For example, might the abandonment of the Honey Lake basin by Maidu, allowing its subsequent occupation by Paiutes, be related to the activities of predatory bands during the 1820-1830 period? And perhaps it is time to reexamine our one-dimensional stereotype of California Indians of the western slope of the Sierras as horse eaters. The Sierra Miwok did not have to raid the coastal mission strip for meat when the great interior valley supported herds of horses gone wild (Driver and Massey 1957:286), but tame, broken horses could be driven through Sierra passes to meet a ready market at the Humboldt Sink. We will have to tread uncertain ground beyond accepted ethnographic canon if we are to achieve a more accurate picture of the protohistoric period on the outer fringes of California.

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