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STATE OF NEVADA
AGENCY FOR NUCLEAR PROJECTS/
NUCLEAR WASTE PROJECT OFFICE

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Socioeconomic Profiles of Native American Communities: Yomba Shoshone Reservation

by
Maribeth Hamby

with Appendix on

Establishment of the Yomba Reservation

by
Elmer Rusco
Cultural Resources Consultants, Ltd.
Reno, Nevada

October, 1991

The Nevada Agency for Nuclear Projects/Nuclear Waste Project Office (NWPO) was created by the Nevada Legislature to oversee federal high-level nuclear waste activities in the State. Since 1985, it has dealt largely with the U.S. Department of Energy's (DOE) siting of a high-level nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain in southern Nevada. As part of its oversight role, NWPO has contracted for studies designed to assess the transportation impacts of a repository.

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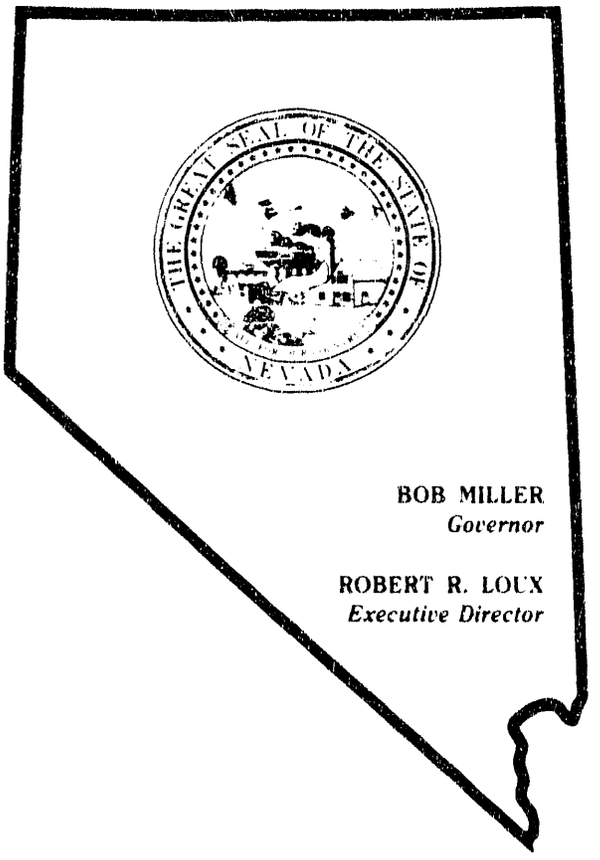

BOB MILLER
Governor

ROBERT R. LOUX
Executive Director

[Editor's Note: The following document was written in 1988 and contains but few updates to 1991. It is intended as base-line information only. Appendix A summarizes and compares data received from the modified Risk Perception Questionnaire administered to Western Shoshone people in 1988.]

YOMBA SHOSHONE RESERVATION:
Socioeconomic Profile

INTRODUCTION

The Yomba Shoshone Reservation consists of 4,750 acres located in the southern portion of Reese River Valley in central Nevada. The valley, which is surrounded by mountain ranges containing pinyon pine and juniper forest and is cut by the north-flowing, ephemeral Reese River, is a traditional home of Western Shoshone Indian people. In 1988 the population of the valley consists of a few non-Indian cattle ranching families and the 92 residents of Yomba. Life in the valley is influenced by both the beauty of the surroundings and the problems of the geographic and cultural isolation. Yomba is isolated by the lack of paved roads connecting it with the outside world: approximately 40 miles to Gabbs, Nevada (3/4 unpaved) and nearly 50 miles to Austin, Nevada (also almost entirely gravel road). In 1988, Yomba residents also had limited access to other communication facilities: only one

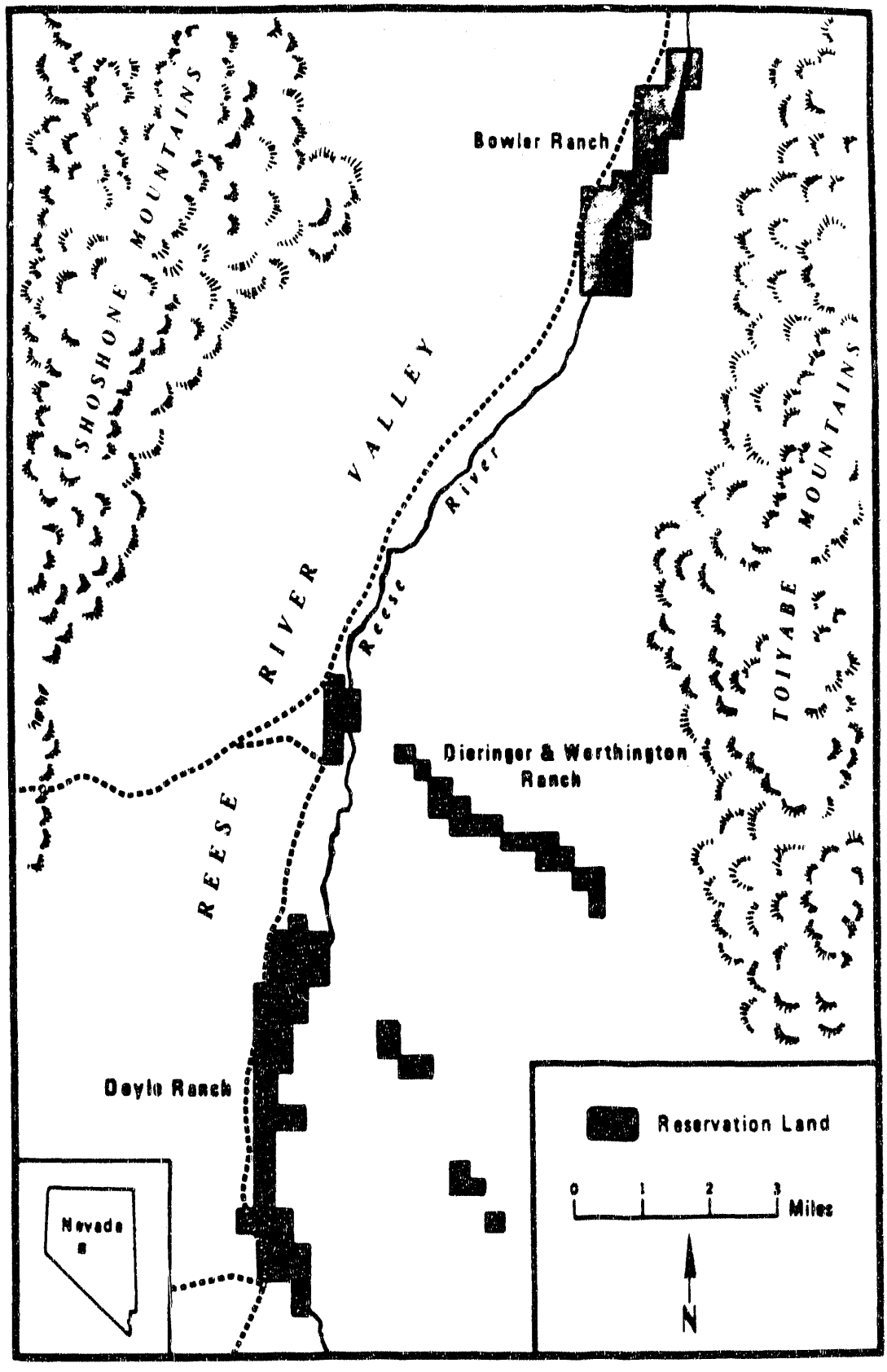

Figure 1: Yomba Shoshone Reservation

telephone on the reservation (a party line on an undependable system); television and radio had poor reception; and few households subscribed to newspapers [Editor's note: see below for additional data on the telephone system].

In 1988, there were no goods and few services available locally to residents of the Reese River Valley. The nearest store was a small convenience mart in Ione, Nevada (population 12), 9 miles west of Yomba. Its goods were limited, frequently old, and expensive; it was also owned by a mining company that might be leaving Ione in the near future. The next nearest stores were in Gabbs or Austin, each an hour or more away, and neither having much selection. The nearest supermarkets, department and hardware stores were in Fallon (population ca. 4,000), which is a 4 hour round-trip. Fallon is also the source of medical care and BIA police protection, auto parts and repair, and commercial entertainment for Yomba residents. Otherwise they make the 3 hour trip into Reno, which often entails an overnight stay.

The isolation of the Yomba Shoshone Reservation affects the lives of the residents every day; they are more at risk from emergencies than other populations due to the problems of communication, bad roads and lack of law enforcement and emergency medical service on the reservation. The same conditions have an adverse economic affect on the reservation; the tribe is unable to develop tribal industries to become more self-supporting, and a large percentage of the population has incomes below the poverty line.

Reservation History

Yomba Shoshone Reservation was formed in the middle and late 1930s, a result of policies introduced by the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. Ranch land was purchased in Reese River Valley, and ranching assignments were offered to 20 landless Shoshone families living in central Nevada (see Rusco, Appendix A). The purpose of the reservation was to make the Indian people self-supporting by setting them up with enough land to raise cattle and to grow hay for winter feed. Indian families came to the new reservation from Smoky Valley, Austin, and other nearby areas.

Today, there are both ranching and non-ranching families at Yomba. The number of assignments has been decreased and the ranch land divided among the remaining ranchers, but the amount of land has never been sufficient to allow anyone to make a good living. All residents, including the ranching families, are now dependent upon other sources of income. Since employment opportunities are few and uncertain in the area, for some families income is from government assistance.

Population

Early Reservation Period

The earliest population figures for Yomba Shoshone Reservation come from the period of its organization, in the late 1930s. The original assignees, who reached a final total of 20 families, came to the reservation in groups as land for them was acquired, five families in 1937, nine more in 1938, one in 1940, and the final five in 1942. In 1939, with 14 assignments made, 19 families were

counted living on the assignments; the extra numbers no doubt were relatives of the original assignees. There were 31 adults and 44 children in the 19 families; sex and age figures were not available.

1970

Yomba Reservation was part of the Gabbs census subdivision in the 1970 U.S. Census. The total population of that district was 1,000, with an estimated Indian population of 65, or 6.5% of the total. There were no other, more specific, data given for this rural district in 1970. The resident reservation population figure for 1970 reported by the tribe was 44. A portion of the other 21 persons were no doubt living in Ione and Gabbs.

1980

The 1980 Census total for Yomba Reservation was 57, while the tribe reported 147 in BIA reports. Part of the difference was probably due to temporary seasonal absences at the time the U.S. Census was taken, as well as to errors in reporting. BIA census data for Yomba at times include members living near the reservation in Ione, Austin and Gabbs accounting for some of the difference. They sometimes are also tribal role figures, and thus higher than residence figures.

1986-87

Interviews with tribal council members and administrators in 1987 indicated a population of approximately 150. The exact figure was said to fluctuate with local employment conditions. Of the population total, four or five were pre-school age children and 35

were children in kindergarten through high school.

The tribal figure (BIA Labor Force Report) for Yomba for July 1986 was 187 residents, 100 being male and 87 female. It represented an increase of 40 persons over the tribe's 1980 figure and 37 higher than the 1987 figure. The figure included tribal members living in Gabbs, and probably Ione and Austin as well. This 1986 population included 113 persons "within the reservation," (65 males and 48 females) and 74 persons "adjacent to the reservation," (35 males and 39 females). The "adjacent" persons were those in the small surrounding towns.

The 1980 census collected data not comparable to those collected in other years. From these data we know that at Yomba, in 1980, 56 of the 57 persons surveyed were over one year of age; of those, 28 (49%) had lived their entire lives at Yomba, while 28 were newer arrivals. Of the 57, 18.5% had moved onto the reservation as recently as 1979 or 1980; 15% arrived between 1975 and 1978; 16% arrived before 1975.

1988

The population of Yomba Shoshone Reservation (from figures collected during the month of July 1988) was 92 persons. This number included 86 Indian people and six non-Indians. Those of Indian ancestry were principally Western Shoshone, and most were enrolled at Yomba. Many were related to Paiutes, several have some non-Indian ancestry, and one person was from a northeastern tribe.

The 1988 membership enrollment of Yomba was 186; this figure

included members who lived off the reservation, mainly in Gabbs, Austin, and in surrounding urban areas. In 1988 there were six Shoshone families (17 people) living in Gabbs, of which some or all of the family members were enrolled at Yomba. In Austin there were two Indian families totalling seven persons, and in Ione two families totalling four persons. Yomba is unusual in its strict enrollment requirements. Members must be 1/2 Shoshone to be enrolled at Yomba; other recognized tribes require only 1/4 Shoshone.

Table 1. Yomba Reservation Population by Sex: 1970 - 1988.

Year	Total	%/incr.	Males	%	Females	%
1970	44					
1973	66	50.0	35	54.5	30	45.5
1976	80	21.2	46	57.5	34	42.5
1978	102	27.5	57	55.9	45	44.1
1980*	57		39	68.4	18	31.6
1980	147	44.1	85	57.8	62	42.2
1986	187	27.2	100	53.5	87	46.5
1988	92 (on res.)		55	59.8	37	40.2
1988	186**					

Note: 1970s figures from Facilitators 1980 and 1986 BIA reports
* U.S. Census figures
** Tribal enrollment figure, sex data not included

Of the 92 residents at Yomba in 1988, 55 (60%) were male and 37 (40%) were female. The high proportion of males to females was most marked in those under the age of 20, among whom males outnumbered females in every age category (Table 2). There were 39 persons 19 and under, 42% of the population. Of these, 27 (69%) were male and 12 (31%) were female, or 225 males for every 100 females. In the portion of the population that was 20 years

old and over, 53 persons (58%), 28 (55%) were male and 25 (47%) were female, 112 males for every 100 females.

The age range of the 1988 Yomba population was from two months to 76 years of age. The median age fell in the age group 20-24 years; the average age was 26.6 years.

Table 2. Yomba Shoshone Reservation Population by Age & Sex July 1988.

Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0 - 4	9*	2	11	12.0
5 - 9	5	3	8	8.7
10 - 14	7	3	10	10.9
15 - 19	6	4	10	10.9
20 - 24	4	6**	10	10.9
25 - 29	5	3	8	8.7
30 - 34	3	3	6	6.5
35 - 39	7	3*	10	10.9
40 - 44	2	3	5	5.4
45 - 49	1*	0	1	1.1
50 - 54	0	0	0	0.0
55 - 59	1	2	3	3.3
60 - 64	3	2*	5	5.4
65 - 69	0	1	1	1.1
70 - 74	0	1	1	1.1
75 - 79	2	1	3	3.3
	55 (59.8%)	37 (40.2%)	92	100.2

*,**: Number of * indicates number of non-Indians in age/sex group.

Household Composition

1980 Census

The U.S. Census of 1980 showed Yomba to have ten families, with an average household size of 5.46 persons. Of the ten families, eight were headed by married couples, and one by a female; 60% of the households had children under 18, while 20% had

children under six years old. Of the children under 18, 52% lived with both parents.

1988

The number of households at Yomba fluctuated with housing availability, employment stability, marriage stability, and with migration on and off the reservation. The following figures reflect the situation in July of 1988.

In 1988 there were 26 households at Yomba. Of these, five consisted of a single person and the remaining 21 were family households. The single person households included four men living alone, all of whom were between 33 and 39 years of age, and one elderly widow.

The 21 family households included three married couples living alone, one couple with a grandchild, and one woman with a child. There were 14 nuclear family households, six of which included stepchildren. Two households consisted of extended families, three generations and siblings with spouses and children. The average household size was 3.54 persons; the size ranged from one person to nine persons in one of the extended family households.

The HUD housing on the reservation at the time of this survey had four vacancies. All of these were in the process of being filled while interviews with the housing director were conducted. One vacancy was being filled immediately by a nuclear family of five. There were five applicants for the three remaining vacancies, including some who were members of the extended family households and some from off the reservation. In the summer, 1988,

the Housing Board had not met to decide whose applications would be accepted, but based on the applicants, the probable outcome would be a small increase in the population size of the reservation due to renting to an Indian family from the outside, plus a decrease in average household size due to renting to one or more families now residing with parents.

Housing

1980 Census

The U.S. Census of 1980 counted 13 occupied housing units at Yomba having an American Indian householder or spouse. Only 8% of these units were owner-occupied; 38.5% had more than 1.01 persons per room. Census figures were not published for housing monetary value for the reservation; the number of units was small enough that the figures were suppressed for reasons of confidentiality. There were six rental units at Yomba; one rented for $50 to $59, and five occupants paid no cash rent. Median rent paid was $55.

More than half the housing units in use at Yomba in 1980 (54%) were built before 1939. That same percentage did not have completely private plumbing facilities or piped water in 1980; 46% had an outhouse or privy. The majority (85%) did not have central heating; 15% had no refrigerator; 8% lacked electricity. No one at Yomba had a telephone in their home at that time.

1988

In 1988, there were 27 houses in use on the Yomba Shoshone Reservation. The houses included two old, concrete block houses, built for the original assignees of the reservation and since

remodeled, three mobile homes, and 22 HUD homes completed in 1981. Of these, three HUD homes were vacant as of the end of July 1988, but there were five applicants waiting to fill the vacancies. Several other unoccupied structures existed on the reservation as well. Some of these appeared to be in good repair, while others were obviously unusable. These included old ranch buildings and early reservation housing.

Old ranch houses. There were three old ranch houses on the reservation, dating from the period of White ranching in the Reese River Valley, before the organization of Yomba in the late 1930s. All three of these houses (one large, ornate brick, one frame and one small brick and frame combination) had fallen into disrepair from disuse and subsequent vandalism. All had been occupied during the reservation period by Indian families, but none was modernized after the advent of electricity and indoor plumbing at Yomba.

Some interest has been shown by tribal authorities in renovating the large brick house, which is located behind the tribal office buildings, for use as an alcohol rehabilitation halfway house or other social service facility. Assistance may be sought in the future from the Nevada State Office of Historic Preservation; initial contacts have already been made.

Original reservation housing. In addition to the two remodeled block houses in use in 1988, there were also several more of the original 19 reservation houses still standing but not occupied. At least two of these had been remodeled and appeared to be in good repair. They were situated on their original

assignments next to newer, HUD homes, and were apparently the private property of the holders of the assignments on which they were located. Family members occupied them from time to time, but when they were vacant, they were not filled under the authority of the tribal council or the housing authority.

Those of the original houses that have not been remodeled and modernized were not habitable in 1988. They lacked electricity and plumbing. They also lacked insulation and had major cracks in the walls. Some were in ruins by 1988.

Mobile homes. The three mobile homes on the reservation in 1988 were privately owned. They were not subject to the Housing Authority, but the tribal council can decide who can move a mobile home onto the reservation and onto what piece of land.

HUD housing. The Yomba Shoshone Housing Authority is responsible for Yomba's HUD housing, which includes the majority of housing presently in use on the reservation. The authority is a separate entity from the tribe; it is a business that belongs to the tribe, with a separate board of commissioners and separate offices and bank accounts.

The 22 HUD-owned homes on the reservation in 1988 were begun after electricity was brought to the reservation in the mid-1970s. They were completed and occupancy began in 1981. The homes have either three, four or five bedrooms, depending on the size of the family for which they were originally intended. Today, due to changes in occupancy, some small families occupy large homes and vice versa. All the homes are rented rather than privately owned.

The Housing Authority is governed by a five member board of commissioners, made up of members of the tribe. It is separate from the tribal council and not subject to the council, although some of the members may be the same. The board hires the Executive Director and the housing maintenance personnel of the Housing Authority, and meets to decide issues such as to whom to rent available housing.

Decisions on housing rental are made according to tribal and government guidelines. The board of commissioners gives priority to Indian people, with first consideration given to the elderly or disabled. Next choice is given to other tribal members, followed by non-member Indians. The Housing Authority is subject to Equal Opportunity laws, and therefore allows non-Indians to rent houses when there are vacancies not needed for Indian people.

Yomba's HUD houses rent for approximately 1/3 of the income of the occupants. The monthly rental is computed on the basis of their last year's total gross income. From that total figure are deducted $400 for each elderly or disabled person in the household, $480 for each dependent, and 3% of the total for medical expenses. Then, 30% of this adjusted figure, minus utilities, equals the rent, which is divided into 12 monthly payments. The amount deducted for utilities is estimated for the specific rental house, based on the amount of floor space and the climate of the area.

In 1988, some felt that the cost of the HUD rental housing was too high. Although it was designed to help low-income people by using a sliding scale, it still amounts to a large portion of the

household's monthly income. For those people who earn more than the average income the cost becomes greater than the fair rental value of similar housing in other nearby areas. One two-income family at Yomba in 1988 gave up its HUD home and moved a mobile home onto the reservation because its rent went up to what seemed to be a prohibitive level. On the other hand, through this system, it is possible for persons with extremely low incomes to obtain adequate housing and actually pay no rent and no utilities.

Education

In the past, many Yomba residents did not complete high school. There have been problems at all levels of education from preschool on through secondary levels. Parents and other adults on the reservation are now placing more focus on education in an effort to overcome these education problems and their long-term social and economic effects on the population.

Available Schooling in the Past

In past years, education through the 8th grade was available in Reese River Valley, first from a one-room school house that served the children of the valley's ranchers, and then from a primary school on the reservation. This school was eventually closed and all students have been bused to public schools in Gabbs ever since.

High school education was available only at Indian boarding schools such as Stewart at Carson City, or by moving to or taking the one-hour bus ride into Austin. It has always been necessary for students to take long trips each day to reach high school,

unless they were able to live in town during the school year or attend a boarding school. Any course required economic reserves that not all Yomba residents had. This meant that most students finished the eighth grade, but that high school attendance suffered and few graduated.

When Yomba students attended school in Austin they at least liked their school and felt welcome and a part of the community. In recent years Lander County, which includes Austin, stopped sending a bus to Yomba, which is in Nye County. The students were then sent to schools in Gabbs. The Shoshone children have not felt nearly so welcome in Gabbs. They were not well-liked by the teachers or the other students, according to the students and their parents in 1988. This situation does nothing to increase the likelihood that Yomba's residents will complete a high school education.

Educational levels, 1980. According to the 1980 U.S. Census, there were 40 people at Yomba between the ages of three and 34. Of that number, 18 (46%) were enrolled in school. Ten attended public elementary school; seven were in high school, five in the public system, one in a BIA boarding school, and one in other private facilities. One was attending college. Of those between the ages of 16 and 19, six (15%) were neither enrolled in school nor high school graduates. Of those between 20 and 34 years of age, one person was enrolled in some type of school.

Of the 16 male residents of Yomba who were over the age of 24 in 1980, only one had completed fewer than five years of school.

Five men had finished from five to eight years. Eight men had attended but did not graduate from high school, while two others graduated. The percent of male high school graduates for this age group was 12%; the median number of years of schooling completed was 9.7.

There were eight women aged 25 and over at Yomba. One had attended fewer than five years of school; two completed five to eight years. Of the five who began high school, only three completed it; one went on to from one to three years of college. For Yomba women, 38% completed high school; the median number of years schooling completed was 9.5.

Educational Problems

In 1988, it had recently come to the attention of some of the parents at Yomba that a high percentage of their children were in special education classes at the Gabbs schools. The special classes have a name that attempts to disguise the fact that they were designed for slow learners or students with problems. Although the proper procedure requires it, the parents were not notified of their children's placement in these classes or apprised of the reason for the placement. It appeared to the parents that the children were put in these classes almost as a matter of course without effort on the part of the school to help the children progress. Discussions with school administrators were underway in 1988, aiming to foster greater understanding and participation in such decisions on the part of both the schools and the parents.

Yomba parents have tried to solve the problems their children

have had with school. In 1988 they requested that the school district provide an after-school activity bus for the high school students so they could stay later in the day to receive extra help or participate in sports or other extra-curricular activities. There were discussions with the school principals about holding Yomba open-house nights, so that the few teachers in Gabbs could come to the reservation to meet the parents instead of all the parents having to go to Gabbs. Some parents in the past have not made the trips to school. Apathy on the part of some parents and children still remained a problem in 1988, as did lack of sympathetic treatment by the school, but efforts were being made to improve the situation.

Educational levels, 1988. In 1988, there were 37 persons at Yomba under the age of 20 who attended school or were of preschool age. This accounts for all but one of the population in that age group; one individual (age 18) dropped out after completing a part of high school. There were ten young people in the 15 to 19 age group; nine of them still attending high school, with one due to graduate the next year. In 1988, Yomba had no students in college or vocational schools, but some were getting ready to apply. Members of the Yomba tribe can apply to the tribe for funding.

Of Yomba's children in 1988, nine were of preschool age. There was no school program for them at all, either child care or educational. There was once a Head Start program, but it was discontinued due to a change in regulations: the required size of the population for which the program would supply service was

increased. Child care and early education outside the nuclear family received by Yomba's youngest residents was provided in the traditional manner, by grandparents or other relatives. At least some parents see this as a disadvantage for the children. The lack of experience and influence from outside the Shoshone reservation community may have left some children unprepared for the non-Indian schooling they received when they started school at Gabbs.

The lack of preparation for the beginning of grade school was compounded by the problem of kindergarten attendance. The children of that age could only attend kindergarten if they were collected after their half-day program or brought at the beginning of the afternoon session. The county school system did not provide bus service for the half-day students. This meant that a parent or care-taker had to make a two-hour round trip to Gabbs each day in order to have a child in kindergarten. This was not usually possible; thus, most children entered first grade with no prior experience with school, with non-Indian children, or with life outside Reese River Valley.

Adult education levels. Exact counts of levels of education attained by adults at Yomba were not available in 1988. The following figures are based on the memories of consultants regarding their neighbors and relatives. Of the 1988 adult population (16 and over), there were 54 persons not in school. Of these, 21 (39%) were known to be high school graduates; 16 (30%) had completed some high school but did not graduate; three (6%) went as far as the eighth grade; six elderly persons (11%) probably

had very little schooling. For eight persons (15%), who came from outside the area and were not well-known, there was no information.

At least five (four Indian people and one non-Indian) of the adult high school graduates at Yomba were known to have had some schooling beyond high school. One attended Haskell Institute, two had training in business courses, one studied home economics at a university, and the course of study of one was not known.

Six adults at Yomba who did not complete high school were working toward their GED certificates in 1988, through a program started by the Yomba's Women's Group. The Group received a donation of funds to use at their discretion and they decided to use it for an educational purposes. They then discovered that this particular goal could be accomplished without any investment at all; Nye County and the Gabbs High School were cooperating by providing study materials and bringing the testing to Yomba. The only expense for the persons taking the test would be a refundable book deposit. The program had only begun at the time of our 1988 visit, so it's success rate and the benefit to the individuals and the community had not been evaluated.

Labor Force, Occupation and Income

1980 Census Data

On the Yomba Reservation the 1980 Census recorded 38 persons 16 years or older in 1979. Of those, the work force included 26 persons (68%); 66% of the work force worked at business or farm jobs, while 3% did what was termed "traditional work." Four (16%)

collected unemployment.

Categories of work done by the members of the labor force during the census year included:

managerial positions	- 2	farm workers	- 6
clerical, typists	- 3	equipment operators	- 2
other clerical	- 1	vehicle operators	- 1
service occup.	- 3	laborers	- 1
cleaning & bldg.svc.	- 2		

No one was listed in any specific category of "traditional work."

Of the total work force, 74% were unemployed 15 weeks or more during the census year. Ten people worked fewer than 50 weeks during the year. Four were off work for personal reasons, one did not work because of slack work, and two could not find work. Ten percent of the Yomba families had no worker at all in 1979.

1986 Labor Force

The July 1986 Labor Force Report submitted by the tribe showed 108 persons aged 16 and older (54 males and 54 females). Of those, 50 (16 males and 34 females) were not in the work force. Those not seeking employment included 18 students (seven males and 11 females); nine men who were disabled, retired, etc., two females for whom no child-care was available; and 21 women who were housewives, disabled, or otherwise out of the job market.

Of the 58 members of the labor force (38 males and 20 females), 43 worked (25 males and 18 females). The unemployment rate was 26%. Half of the employed women and 1/3 of the employed men earned more than $7,000; the rest earned less than that figure.

1988 Labor Force

The employment situation on Yomba Shoshone Reservation was particularly bleak in 1988. Nearly half of those who are counted in the labor force were unemployed and of those who were employed, most held part-time, seasonal or low-paying jobs, and/or jobs subject to the vicissitudes of government funding, weather, or unstable types of industry such as mining. Since the majority of Yomba residents in 1988 lacked high school diplomas and vocational training, they did not have a wide variety of employment choices in the best of circumstances.

Of the 54 Yomba adults aged 16 or older and not in school, there were 12 housewives and ten retired or disabled people who did not seek employment. This left an available work force of 32 persons, of whom 24 (75%) were men and eight (25%) women. Of the 32 people who wished to work, 15 (47%) were unemployed. The majority of those unemployed (13) were men.

The number of women in the 1988 work force was perhaps misleading. Those who were listed as housewives included several young women who were either divorced heads of households or whose husbands were unemployed. They therefore may have been interested in employment outside the home. Given the scarcity of jobs in the area, and the level of training they may have, not many who were interested would find jobs.

Occupations, 1988. The largest category of employed persons was that of seasonal laborer: seven, or 41% of those employed, did this type of work. This category included people who worked for

the tribe on the reservation doing maintenance and clean-up work outdoors and on roads and equipment, some indoor work, and a few jobs off the reservation when the mines were operating

The few full-time jobs held included five on the reservation (tribal social worker, housing director, housing maintenance, van driver, and tribal office manager), and two off the reservation (miners). These jobs were a source of long-term, relatively secure employment, but the tribal jobs depended on federal funding, and the mining employment was subject to industry fluctuations.

Other jobs held included that of cook for a restaurant, lay minister for the Yomba Baptist Church, and part-time worker under temporary federal funds. Some of these persons listed as unemployed occasionally worked at seasonal or temporarily jobs.

The tribe was the major employer of its own members in 1988, with six full-time and several seasonal part-time positions. It employed a member who lives off the reservation as Community Health Representative. One retired and disabled member worked part-time during summer months grading the reservation's roads. The tribe hoped to be able to employ more people in the future, depending on obtaining Core and Self-Determination grants. The positions created would be in finance and administration, positions that have not been filled in the last few years due to funding problems.

The mining industry has at times in the past employed more Yomba residents than it did in 1988. Marshall Mining Industries, in Ione, Nevada, 8 or 9 miles west of Yomba, was not in operation, and work in other mines in the area was unreliable.

Ranching was the original occupation at Yomba at the time of the beginning of the reservation in the late 1930s. The 20 persons who received assignments planned to use them and the available grazing land and water rights to raise cattle and cattle feed. There were fewer cattlemen in 1988, and these were not able to support themselves solely on the ranching income; individual families owned about 800 cattle in 1987, with three families as the largest herd owners with 150 to 200 cattle apiece. The tribe itself owned cattle as well, approximately 200 head in 1987.

In addition, there were problems in 1988 with grazing and water. In recent years the irrigation water had been insufficient to grow enough hay to sustain large herds of cattle in the winter months. This resulted in the loss of some grazing rights through lack of use. The irrigation water supply may have increased, since 1988, when a rancher in the valley repaired the diversion dam that supplied the ranchers and the reservation.

In 1988 (and 1991), some members of the tribe's cattlemen's association are in litigation with the federal government over the payment of grazing fees. Indian cattlemen contended, through the Western Shoshone National Council and under the authority of the 1863 Ruby Valley Treaty, that they did not owe grazing fees. As of September, 1991, no efforts had been made by the government to collect the back fees.

Income, 1980

The 1980 U.S. Census reported that on the Yomba Shoshone Reservation, the median income of males 15 and over was $7,482; for

females of the same age group the median was $1,732. The median for households was $10,670; for families it was $11,295. Of the total population, 15% of households and 10% of families qualified for poverty status. Of the 40 people 15 years of age and older, 33% received aid of some kind. In some census sources, Yomba data are suppressed due to small population size.

Benefits received by Yomba households in 1980 included medicare or medicaid, one household; food stamps, two; Women, Infants and Children (WIC), one; social security and supplemental security, nine; and Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), one.

Income, 1988

Family income figures for Yomba residents in 1988 were not available. In general, however, it was apparent that only a few of the households were above the poverty level, given the high levels of unemployment and the generally unstable and low-paying jobs most employed persons hold.

The Future

Tribal members interviewed felt that a large part of Yomba's employment and income problems could be solved if they could begin some type of tribal industry. The specific type mentioned was the development of recreational facilities aimed at campers, hunters and fishermen. Many other tribal problems contributed to preventing this from being accomplished, including deficiencies in the community infrastructure such as the lack of telephone systems, roads, etc. (see following sections on roads, utilities, law enforcement, fire protection).

Health Care

1980 Census

Of the 57 residents listed at Yomba in the 1980 U.S. Census, 14 received health care in the month before the count was taken; 11 saw a physician, nine saw a dentist, two saw a pharmacist and six saw a community health representative. In order to receive the care, 4% traveled less than 30 minutes, 2% traveled between 30 minutes and 1 hour, and the balance had to travel more than 1 hour for health care.

The majority of health care (93%) received by Yomba residents was paid for by the Indian Health Service or by the tribe; 2% was paid by the person or by his/her family; 2% used medicare/aid; 2% had their bills paid by other governmental agencies; none used private health insurance.

1988

In-depth health data about individuals in the Yomba community were not available for 1988. Data collected through interviews with the Community Health Representative (CHR) and the Social Worker provide general but not specific health information. The overall health situation at Yomba in 1988 was affected by the geographic isolation and related problems that impact the entire lives of the residents. Health care was free or nearly so to eligible residents, but was virtually unobtainable except after hours of travel. This problem was acute in cases of emergency.

Yomba Shoshone Reservation had no local health care facility in 1988. The only health care that came to the reservation was a

Community Health Representative (CHR) who doubled as an In-Home Health Aide (cleaning for the sick and elderly), a nurse who came out occasionally from Fallon, and a clinic that came less often than once each month. There were eight or ten persons living on the reservation who had been trained as First Responders (EMTs), but not all had kept their training current. There had been a First Response Vehicle on the reservation for a year or more, but a regular crew had not been trained to run it in 1988. There was a tribal van that was used to transport patients to health care off the reservation. The problem of lack of facilities and services was complicated by the lack of adequate telephone service on the reservation and by the problem of the bad roads.

The CHR and the van driver, both funded by the IHS, were the only full-time health care people on the reservation. Both were trained as First Responders; they had delivered babies in the tribal van on occasions when the baby came too soon to make it to the hospital. The regular job of the van driver was to transport patients without transportation off the reservation to medical appointments and pick up prescriptions; but this service extended to emergencies as well.

The job of the CHR was to make home visits to the homes of the sick or elderly. In 1988, the CHR was a woman who had held the job for 17 years. She made sure the people on her care list were well, gave them prescribed medication, took their vital signs and generally gauged their health. She also made sure they were eating properly; and in some cases, she cleaned their houses and did their

laundry. (This last function is filled on reservations with larger staffs by a person called an "in-home health aide.") The CHR also visited pregnant women and new mothers to check progress and give instruction in care. She also made appointments for patients to see doctors, dentists and other health care professionals off the reservation. In addition, she was also required to put on a health-related educational program once a month for the residents of Yomba. The next program planned was to have the nurse from Fallon come out and talk about blood pressure.

For other health care needs it was necessary to leave the reservation. In the past, clinics had come oftener, and there was a flying doctor who made regular visits to the reservation and did not charge people for his services. He was grounded by the federal government for flying over secret federal land, and was based in Gabbs in 1988, where he would still see Yomba people in an emergency. Sources of health care beyond the incidental help provided in Gabbs were all at least two hours from the reservation by car or the tribal van. People went to the reservations in Fallon and Schurz, 2 and 2-1/2 hours away respectively, for doctors or dentists. The nearest IHS eye care was in Gardnerville, 4 hours from Yomba, where the Washo had an IHS contract. For hospitalization, people went to Reno, a 3 hour trip.

Social Services

The Yomba Shoshone Tribe had its own full-time, on-reservation social worker in 1988. The position, supported by BIA funding, was new within the past year or two. The person holding the job (a

tribal member and resident of Yomba) had it since its inception. This made her more effective in her job, she felt, but the job did nothing to increase her personal popularity with some residents of the reservation.

The job of the social worker was to administer several social service programs, including Indian General Assistance (IGA), Child Welfare programs, Community Service programs, Tribal Work Experience Program (TWEP), Job Search program, and others. It was her job to ensure that those who used the available service were eligible and that they carried out their responsibilities as the rules of the various programs required.

Indian General Assistance provides financial aid for Indians on the order of state welfare. Recipients are required to be 1/4 Indian to receive the help in the form of monthly checks for food, clothing and other necessities; the amount is based upon individual need. A requirement of the program is that the person must be looking for a job, unless unable to work. The Job Search program monitored the recipient's job hunting efforts, much like the state unemployment office, requiring a certain number of verified interviews during each reporting period. The Job Search program was being phased out and TWEP was taking its place. TWEP differs from its predecessor in that it not only requires job hunting, but it also attempts to teach job skills and give work experience. Persons on this program do community work such as outdoor cleanup or office work in exchange for their IGA checks, and receive a few extra dollars in addition to the regular amount. The program is

designed to teach people good work habits as well as job skills, to eliminate their need for IGA.

Other social programs administered by the social worker were designed to protect those of the reservation's children who are at risk from neglect or abuse. The social worker could remove children from problem homes and place them in suitable foster homes, monitoring their subsequent progress and working with the courts and the families to return the children home. She also had some responsibility for Indian children off the reservation under the Indian Child Welfare Act, which attempts to keep Indian children in Indian homes.

In 1988, there were miscellaneous other forms of assistance available to Yomba residents, including help in case of emergencies such as fire or flood, and financial assistance with the burial of relatives.

The BIA monitors the programs of the social service office once a year; case workers review the handling of cases and auditors check the handling of funds.

The social service program at Yomba was doing well, but had some problems that were related to the general conditions on the reservation. The lack of phone service, the poor condition of the roads, the distance to other communities and the lack of on-reservation law enforcement made the care of endangered children, or others with problems, difficult. The social worker could not go into a home and remove an endangered person without assistance from a law enforcement officer; it was difficult to get one to Yomba,

and the question of whether Gabbs or the BIA at Fallon was responsible for responding came up on a case by case basis. In one instance an abused woman waited five days for help.

Transportation

Roads

As of 1988, there were no paved roads on or near the Yomba Shoshone Reservation. The distance to pavement was 23 miles on the way to Gabbs and 45 on the way to Austin; it was 18 miles from the north end to the south end of the reservation. All the roads within this area were graded dirt and gravel; all deteriorate drastically in periods of bad weather. This system of inadequate roads stands between the population of Yomba and any and all services. This situation was a significant detriment to the health, safety, and economic well-being of the people of Yomba.

The maintenance of the roads between the reservation and the towns is the responsibility of the counties, Nye for the road to Gabbs, and Lander for the upper portion of the road to Austin. The tribe maintains the roads on the reservation and on BLM land between reservation sections. All maintenance is inadequate.

The tribe's maintenance is supported by small amounts of money from BIA. A tribal member is employed 1/2 time during the summer to grade the reservation roads. The equipment is maintained by the tribal workers. While the roads are generally good during this period, at least after the first grading of the season, deterioration begins with the first fall and winter storms and worsens progressively through winter and early spring until the

maintenance of the new year begins. In winter, between snows, the road alternates between wet, muddy ruts and frozen ruts. The roads on the reservation are not plowed after snow storms.

In 1988, the county roads, in the opinion of those who had to depend on them, were not adequately maintained either. Summer grading was not done often enough, and the rock and gravel used was angular and sharp. The sharp gravel left on the roads caused frequent tire damage or destruction. During very heavy winter snows the county plowed the gravel summit of Ione Pass to enable the school bus to collect the reservation's children. If the snow was less heavy, they plowed only Green Springs Pass, which is on the paved portion of the Gabbs road.

These poorly-maintained roads are at their worst when the people at Yomba need them the most. In bad weather the one telephone on the reservation in 1988 was frequently out; at these same times the electrical service was often interrupted. The result was that Yomba residents could be left in a situation of no power, no water (because pumps are electrically powered), no telephone or the reservation with which to report the situation, and impassable roads between them and the nearest telephone. When accidents or other medical emergencies occurred during these periods, the situation was intolerable.

The subject of road improvement between Yomba and Gabbs comes up periodically with Nye County. Options discussed include the paving of the 9 mile portion of the road between Yomba and the old mining town of Ione. This would eliminate hazardous Ione Pass and

would give people access to the 2-way radio in Ione. This would only be a partial solution. Ione's population count is unstable, and subject to the whims of the mining industry; In 1988 the population was only 12 persons. The preferred solution to the road problems would be to pave State Route 844, from the point east of Green Springs Pass, where it just stops in the desert, all the way to the junction with the reservation roads at Yomba. Optimal would be, of course, to pave on north through Reese River Valley to old Highway 50 to give Yomba residents, and of course other local people, two acceptable roads out of the valley. This would have the additional benefit of allowing the tribe to consider economic development that is hampered by present conditions.

Community Services

Fire Protection

Yomba had no fire truck or other fire fighting equipment on the reservation in 1988, and there was no organized group of fire fighters. There was once a volunteer fire department on the reservation, trained and funded by the BIA. The group numbered up to 12, all very enthusiastic and involved. They did physical exercises such as jogging to stay in shape, and held regular training meetings in methods and equipment of fire-fighting. The group was to have been activated by BLM, Forest Service and others in the event of local or regional fires. The group was never called and they became discouraged and disbanded.

Yomba was once planning to have its own fire truck on the reservation. They received a HUD block grant of $15,000 in 1980-81

for the purchase of the truck, and the Yomba Housing Authority was to have contributed $10,000, toward a $25,000 truck. Then the tribe had a change in administration. The money was spent in other ways.

The nearest fire fighting equipment to the reservation in 1988 was in Ione, 9 miles west over gravel roads and across Ione Pass. The resource was even less useful then it might be, due to problems of communication, road quality, and personnel availability. The town had no telephone system, but it was connected by two-way radio to emergency services in Gabbs. There were no personal telephones on the reservation in 1988, so it was necessary to go to the tribal offices to call the emergency Nye County number. After normal business hours it was necessary to obtain a key to the building first. In the event of a range or forest fire, the BLM or the Forest Service might be called. Operationally, neighbors assist household members extinguish local fires using buckets and garden hoses. Fortunately, there had been few such incidents, but residents remember a car fire and a barn fire in 1980-1982 and reported that both burned to the ground.

Utilities

Electricity

The reservation was without electricity for over 35 years, from its beginning in 1940 until power lines were brought into the valley by an unwilling Sierra Pacific Power Company in 1976. At first the power lines, coming into the reservation from the north, only reached the center. By 1982 power had been extended into the

southern half of the reservation, and 22 new HUD homes were built.

While residents were grateful for the electrification they did without for so long, in 1988 they still experienced problems with their service. During bad weather, including winter ice and snow storms, as well as electrical storms at other times of the year, the power was likely to go out. The problem, as it had been explained to the tribe, was often power surges that tripped breakers or fuses in one of the transformers. When this happened, power was out from that point in the system to all the homes down the line from it. Those without power would then report the outage to the repair dispatch office in Fallon and a repairman was sent to reset or repair the transformer.

In most communities this procedure is routine and power is restored quickly. In Yomba the process is hindered by isolation: telephone service, roads, and the attitude of the service providers all served to slow the process. Since there was only one phone on the reservation, and that one only available during tribal business hours, phoning for help meant an eight or nine mile trip for those in some parts of the reservation. At some hours it was necessary to find a tribal official to be let in to use the telephone. A further complication is that the phone would go out as well, especially during the problem weather times that affect the power. When the phone line was not in service, it would take another 35- or 45-mile trip to Austin or Gabbs, over dirt and gravel road also adversely affected by the weather.

When the caller reached the power company repair line, they

were routinely greeted by an unfriendly voice warning that if the trip is made and it is discovered that the trouble is in the caller's box and not in the power company's lines, the caller will be charged for the trip. The caller had already had to pay for the call or calls; the power company would not accept collect calls even in emergencies, and the toll-free number to which callers were referred not always answered. The on-call night repair people were not happy to hear from Yomba and didn't go out of their way to be helpful or reassuring.

When a repairman was finally dispatched it would take hours for service to be restored. This was not due only to reluctance on the repairer's part; road conditions to the reservation often caused a power truck to break down en route, then to be towed in and another dispatched. Outages have continued for 12 hours to 2 days at Yomba. During this time, those on private wells, which include all but those living in the immediate vicinity of the tribal offices, were not only without lights but without water. Those on the tribal water system would have water until the community tank ran dry. The emptying process would be hastened by those on wells who would come to the tribal offices for water and to take showers.

Tribal members have wondered whether it would be possible for the power company to train reservation residents to reset or replace fuses in transformers when that is the cause of an outage. A system of local repair would save the company the trip and the reservation the wait for resumption of service.

Water, Sewer and Solid Waste Disposal

In 1988, there were two types of water systems at Yomba, personal wells and a community water system. Indian Health Service put in the community water system, which consisted of a pump-fed gravity flow tank located on a hill beside the tribal offices. The water system was connected to the tribal buildings and to the HUD homes nearby. The water was tested periodically by IHS, and by 1988 had been found to be only marginally acceptable, according to the understanding of tribal officials. In 1981 or 1982, IHS started a system of chlorination and fluoridation for the water supply, but the system never worked. As far as tribal members knew in 1988, it had been abandoned.

The community water system was in need of cleaning and repair in 1988. The cleaning process, IHS's responsibility, had been put off for some time. When the tank is cleaned and the pipes are repaired, the system must be shut down and the tank emptied for cleaning and repainting. Residents felt uncomfortable with the quality of their water supply, and were uncertain about its safety.

Personal wells served all homes beyond the immediate area of the tribal offices, which are in the center of the reservation. The Yomba Housing Authority, an agency of HUD, maintained the water systems of the HUD homes. Those living in older tribal or privately owned homes were responsible for their own maintenance. Water in personal wells was not regularly or systematically tested. All wells operated on electric pumps, and did not function during power outages.

In 1988 all buildings at Yomba had septic tanks for sewage removal, and there were no plans for a central sewer system. The tanks of the HUD homes were serviced by the Housing Authority. Bids for pumping the tanks were requested from private firms; the nearest ones, in Fallon, were frequently not the cheapest, and bids were awarded as far away as Schurz, Yerington, or Pyramid Lake. Other households arranged for their own tank-pumping, sometimes scheduling the same company that came to do the HUD tanks in order to save the 20 cent per mile charge for the truck's trip.

Garbage removal was the responsibility of each individual household on the reservation. Solid waste was disposed of by burning in large burn barrels. There was no designated dump site on the reservation.

Telephone. The quality of the telephone service at Yomba was one of the tribe's biggest problems in 1988. There was only one phone on the reservation and it was a party line in a small, privately-owned company that provided uncertain service. Service at Yomba was supplied by the Shoshone Telephone Company, which was owned by a group of Reese River Valley ranchers who got permission from the tribe to use the name. There were 12 lines into the valley; the Yomba tribal office shared one of the lines with a nearby rancher. This one telephone, which was in the tribal office building and therefore of limited availability, served every resident on the reservation. It was their only contact with law enforcement agencies, with emergency medical care, with utility repair services, and with any other aspect of the outside world.

There had been problems with the overall quality of the service and with the sharing of the phone line. The telephone lines were connected to Reno by microwave in Austin. Reception was often poor, worse in bad weather; static and fading in and out were regular problems. Additional difficulties included downed lines. Maintenance of the system depended on the ranchers, who contended that the tribe was also responsible for a share of the maintenance. The tribe felt that they were only a small part of the system and therefore had a small share of the responsibility. There was also some question in the minds of some tribal members as to whether or not their contract with the company included a provision that they had traded the use of a portion of their land for their share of maintenance responsibility. The ranchers cut the tribe's phone lines off the system on some occasions as their answer to the dispute. The lines were also cut by the ranch sharing the tribe's phone line as punishment for leaving the phone off the hook or for, by their extension's existence, contributing to the static problem. There were mutual hard feelings.

Further problems were created for the tribe by its own members. With only one phone on the entire reservation it was difficult for the tribe to deny residents the use of it, even though every call except to Austin and Reese River was subject to long distance charges. Those who failed to or were unable to pay for their phone calls occasionally raised the tribe's bill beyond its ability to pay. When the cost exceeded what various tribal funding programs could absorb, the phone service was terminated

until the bill and a large deposit were paid. When this happened, the tribe could receive no phone calls. Calls could still go out, however, since the phone was on an open party line, but long distance calls would not be completed unless billed to other numbers. This meant that the tribe could only contact those who had toll-free numbers or who would accept collect calls. This ruled out even some emergency calls.

Yomba residents wanted and needed improved telephone service, but the present system could not be expanded to serve the reservation adequately. More lines from the existing line would not only have been very expensive to the tribe or to the individual receiving the service, but it would have added more phones onto an already troubled party line. The answer seemed to be the extension into the valley of Nevada Bell's service, and the residents of Yomba and the rest of the area asked that it be done.

In response to requests for service, Nevada Bell met with Reese River Valley residents in August 1986. They informed the assembled ranchers and representatives of the tribe that they did not intend to extend telephone service to the valley until 1990, and then only if the financial situation appeared to be favorable at that time. To put lines into Reese River and Grass Valley and Ione was expected to cost the utility $800,000, an amount that would not be justified by the volume of business gained from the 112 potential customers in the area.

The tribe was surprised and greatly dismayed by this decision; they had been under the impression that the new service was on its

way. Since they believed this, they had applied no pressure on the utility toward obtaining the service, and this lack of action was apparently interpreted as lack of urgency. Since the tribe felt that better telephone service was absolutely fundamental to nearly every aspect of life on the reservation, in 1988 it was considering a variety of ways of influencing the company's position, including the application of political pressure and the filing of lawsuits. [Editor's note: In 1989 the Public Service Commission forced Nevada Bell to provide better service. The system was replaced and new service initiated in that year.]

Law Enforcement and Judicial Services

Law Enforcement

In 1988, Yomba had no on-reservation law enforcement. Services were provided by both Nye County and the BIA. Residents considered the service inadequate, due to problems with distance, communication, roads, and with confusion over which service to call, all of which contributed to great delays in response time. The lack of adequate law enforcement created a series of problems for Yomba residents, including nearly total lack of protection of individuals from personal violence and property damage.

The tribe contracted with Nye County for the services of the county sheriff. The tribe paid $10.00 per hour for officers' time, plus mileage and per diem. Charges for transportation and detention of prisoners in Tonopah were $25.00 per day in 1988. The nearest officers were stationed at Gabbs, where two deputies were assigned. People in the surrounding area would telephone the

substation number, which was also the number of the deputies' residence, for service; in extreme emergencies, they would call Tonopah collect. Response time for emergencies was 45 minutes, due to the approximately 40 mile distance between Gabbs and Yomba. The contract, according to tribal officials, called for periodic patrols of the reservation, as well as response to emergency calls of certain types. However, members reported in 1988 that there had been no patrols in recent years, and no one was sure what types of emergencies the contract covered. The county would come if the problem involved a non-Indian, and for some other types of problems. Residents of Yomba were not clear on what types of calls the sheriff would come for. They would call Nye County first, but felt that they almost never received assistance, and were told to call the BIA. The BIA law enforcement services closest to Yomba was located at Fallon, approximately 120 miles away. Their response time was over 2 hours. The Nevada State Highway Patrol did not patrol the reservation. If a patrolman came to Yomba, according to one resident, it was only because he was lost.

Calling for emergency aid was a problem in itself at Yomba due to the inadequate telephone system (see above.) The distance to the phone from some parts of the reservation was nearly ten miles, over roads that were frequently in poor condition.

Lack of law enforcement caused or allowed a number of problems for the reservation residents. For instance, vandalism on the reservation was high in 1988. Buildings were scattered over a wide area rather than clustered; without patrols by law officers there

was little chance of vandals being observed, much less apprehended. Due to this condition, the tribal buildings were difficult and expensive to maintain; vandals had broken into tribal offices several times in recent years. Also, new services were impossible to obtain. Some residents had asked for modern, locking mailbox facilities to replace the rural mailboxes now used; the post office, however, refused to install them because of the high probability of damage. Social situations like drinking and domestic violence went unchecked with no on-site law enforcement. The entire tribe was subject to the noise, unsafe driving, and harassment of groups of partying drinkers. On some occasions, truck-loads of drinkers would drive up and down the reservation roads, tossing bottles and cans along the way and shouting at people in their homes. In addition, when drinking resulted in violence, there was no protection for those in danger. This was especially troubling when the threatened or injured persons were children. The social worker could not remove a child from such a situation without assistance from an officer. This would delay the rescue at least two hours and frequently days, since BIA assistance must come from Fallon.

Judicial

The Yomba tribe paid Fallon Reservation for judicial services. Crimes committed that fell under Indian jurisdiction were tried in Fallon in tribal courts. The cost was over $20,000 per year, whether the services were used or not. The tribe had been debating whether it should be necessary to continue this contract, since it

was so seldom used.

Tribal Government

Yomba Shoshone Tribe is governed by a tribal council consisting of six members. The chair has no vote except to break a tie. Two seats are up for reelection each year. A new chairman is chosen each year. The council has a secretary and a treasurer who are not members of the council. When the council meets, a quorum of three members is required for the meeting to conduct any business. The council is responsible for making all decisions for the reservation except those regarding housing and cattle, which are handled by the Yomba Shoshone Housing Authority and the Yomba Cattlemen's Association respectively.

Economic Development

There was no tribal economic development going on at Yomba in 1988. There had been suggestions made that the tribe would like to develop recreational facilities for campers, hunters and fishermen in the area, but there was no current plan or effort being made in that or any direction. Without adequate telephone service and without improved roads and road maintenance, it seemed impossible to plan for development. Unless the tribe were to receive funds for new administrative staff, there was no one to find new funding sources for new programs, government or otherwise. Also, the lack of local law enforcement service as a curb on vandalism and for other emergency aid was a large obstacle to bringing in new equipment, structures and people.

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APPENDIX A

RISK PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE 1988

WESTERN SHOSHONE OF SOUTHERN NEVADA AND EASTERN CALIFORNIA

Sample:

The total number of questionnaires included in the sample is 28; 4 are from the Timbisha Shoshone of Furnace Creek Village, Death Valley, California; 9 are from the Yomba Shoshone Reservation, Nye County, Nevada; and 15 are from the Duckwater Shoshone Reservation, Nye County, Nevada. the sample was intended to total 30, including 5 from Death Valley and 10 from Yomba, but the full number of respondents was not available during the survey period. The planned sample size was slightly over 10% of the total resident populations of the reservations or village, which is approximately 265, 45 for the Timbisha, 90 for the Yomba Shoshone, and 130 for the Duckwater Shoshone. The distribution of questionnaires among the 3 populations was based on relative population size, and is now slightly weighted in favor the Duckwater population.

The total sample includes 9 (32%) males and 19 (68%) females; ages range from 19 to 75. Males range in age from 20 to 60 years old, with the average age about 46. Females range from 19 to 75; the average is approximately 42. The high percentage of women in the sample is due at least in part to the greater willingness of women to participate. In addition, women were easier to contact, both at home and in reservation office jobs.

Questionnaires for Death Valley were administered by a project

field worker; all are complete. Of the 9 given at Yomba, 4 were by the field worker and 5 by a tribal employee and member; the 5 do not include the ranking of the 2 sets of cards (Q13 and Q53). At Duckwater, many people were given copies of the questionnaires to fill out at their own convenience; 7 of these missed the blank for Q8, overall satisfaction with their reservation. And for all reservations, some respondents found some questions confusing and therefore did not answer them; in other cases people felt they simply did not know enough about what was asked to have an opinion.

One set of questions in particular was a problem, especially considering that for some respondents English is not their first language. The "Science and Technology" section includes some questions that are rather convoluted. In several cases people gave what appear to be contradictory answers to these or other questions, when compared with their other answer to similar questions.

The position taken by the fieldworker was to not point out apparent co radictory answers to respondents. Many people who agreed to .11 out questionnaires were already uncomfortable with the subject matter and the language. To question them more closely would have embarrassed some and influenced the answers of others.

Community Questions:

What follows are comments and interpretations of answers to "Community" questions. Statistical data for these questions appear in Data Appendices, Socioeconomic Profiles.

Twenty respondents counted 10 or more adult relatives living

on their reservation or village; only 8 counted fewer, ranging from 0 to 8. The high number given was 100, more than the total number of adults on that reservation (Duckwater). Only 5 of the 28 claimed no relatives on other reservations; of those having such relatives, the high number claimed was 100.

Residents expressed a high degree of satisfaction with their reservations or village. Only 1 person on each rated their home a 0; all other answers were 5 or above. Ten of the 21 responses (48%) were 10, the highest rating. Similarly, 14 of 17 (52%) gave their home a 9 or 10 rating as a place to raise a family.

Satisfaction with the services provided on the reservations or the village varies from place to place. Yomba has minimal or no law enforcement, paved roads, senior programs, garbage collection service, telephone service, or fire protection, and the ratings are correspondingly low. There are also few jobs, and schools, shopping, and medical care are available at great distances; this is also reflected in the percentages. The only rating of 5 went to "suitable housing," which scored a point above "friendliness of the people." Still, Yomba residents rated their reservation at 8.0 as a place to live and at 7.7 as a place to raise children, although all other ratings were below those numbers.

Death Valley residents gave lowest ratings to medical services, schools, housing, shopping, youth programs, recreation and jobs/income. Residents also gave the lowest overall ratings of all 3 groups to their village as a place to live (5.8) and as

a place to raise children (6.0).

Duckwater's ratings are consistently higher than those of the other areas. In 11 of 20 questions (55%) on degree of satisfaction, Duckwater's ratings were highest of the 3. The only extremely low score was given to garbage collection, since there is no public service provided. However, residents did not rate their home as high overall (7.2) or as a place to raise a child (7.4) as Yomba did.

Only 4 (14%) of the 28 respondents say they plan to move in the next 5 years. The 2 of those who live at Duckwater migrated there within the last 2 or 3 years and express a high degree of dissatisfaction with the reservation.

Those who gave reasons why they did or did not plan to move said:

Yomba: No, because I'm happy here

Yes, because your opportunity on the reservation is very poor.

Yes, because of radiation coming in

Duckwater: No, because it's my home, and I love the space

No, because my house is here and paid for

Yes, because of inadequate teachers, too much alcohol, no values or morals taught to children

No, because it's my home!

No, because it's my home - no unless my job

terminates, which may require my going elsewhere to look for a job

Yes, because it's too far from hospitals and shopping; don't like the schools; grandson went backwards instead of forward in school

Well over half (17, or 61%) of the respondents rated their own satisfaction with their lives at 8-10 (Q14). At the same time, the majority (15, or 54%) rated their economic satisfaction lower, between 5 and 7 (Q15). Half (14, or 50%) said they were better off today than 5 years ago; 15 (54%) expected to be better off 5 years from now.

Most respondents (18, or 64%), feel their reservation or village is not large enough to meet the needs of those who want to live there at the present time. A higher number, 22 (79%), feel it will not be large enough to 5 years. Comments on these issues include:

Yomba:

No: There are people who would live here now but there is no work; want the reservation extended to Lander County; put in camping facilities, create work; could also charge grazing fees.

No: Would like to see more people, not necessarily more land.

No: According to the census, gov't funding is based on that, the census is low - hopefully that will increase in 1990.

No: Too small, not enough housing; need to build new houses.

No: Not enough housing for people - no store or gas pumps; need more land.

No: Because land assignment holders have the land and there is not enough housing.

No: The reservation is too small; not enough land or houses.

Yes: There is enough land right now (not very many people).

Death Valley:

No: The village is not large enough because NPS limits the acres of the village; no economic development because of limited land.

No: More people could come here if there was room for more homes - NPS limits the number of homes.

Yes: It is large enough now, but would not be big enough to meet the needs if the population increased.

Yes: It is large enough for the people already here.

Duckwater:

No: There are not enough jobs, people move because they can't get land of their own, a couple of acres to build a house on and/or ranch or farm.

No: The housing is adequate but employment will have to be off-res. and there isn't enough land which is available for assignments.

No: Too small. If there was more land base people could come back and ranch. And there are only so many jobs so all the people who want to can't live here.

No: Needs to be bigger - no available assignments; all are taken. Nobody who wants to ranch can move here.

No: Need grazing land for those wanting to go into livestock operations.

No: No, there isn't enough land for those who want to come here.

No: Lack of employment.

No: For me, yes, but for cattlemen, no.

No: Not enough land for ranching - no new assignments available. They once said they would give people 5 acres, but it never happened.

Yes: Yes, if they are willing to cut back on city life, and quiet life, for the travel to get

food and etc.

In all 3 areas, the land issue is tied to economic opportunity. There is no land available for new ranching assignments at Yomba or Duckwater, so any new people would have to make a living some other way. At Death Valley, in addition to limited acreage, the number of houses is limited. In all 3, outside job opportunities are very limited, and without more reservation or village land, the tribes cannot develop their own economic opportunities to provide jobs for their people.

Q38. Comments on the likelihood of people being harmed in the past by NTS testing:

Yomba:

Yes: Everyone has aches and pains in their body.

Death Valley:

Yes: Radiation has caused conditions in older people that have been passed on through genes to new generations.

Duckwater:

Yes: A mushroom cloud from a test at Yucca made the leaves in my garden turn yellow, and so did the leaves in my neighbor's garden.

Yes: A family cousin got sick from it - his skin fell off like a snake and his kidneys have failed. He used to drive cows through Hot Creek area where they exploded one.

Yes: People in the valley lost their hair and then they died of cancer.

Yes: It killed sheep in Utah; trees around Duckwater.

Q39. Comments on the likelihood that underground testing will harm people:

Yomba:

Yes: They still do vent, like Mighty Oak.

Yes: Deformed, handicap

Death Valley:

Yes: It's just as bad, because it is causing disturbances in a different way - for Indian people it is disturbing to their spirituality because they are disturbing the earth by doing explosions within it. Also, there are hidden accidents never revealed to the public where radioactive materials are expelled into the air - spent fuels made are additional wastes stored on NTS. They are now hiding what was public before.

Duckwater:

Yes: Our earth is going out of kilter - snow's going 200 miles south now. These things [nuclear explosions] hit so hard - it doesn't make any difference if it's underground. And they're doing it on the other side, too, [USSR].

Q42. Is there something you would like to say about your visit

to the NTS/Yucca Mtn.?

Yomba:

1. I walked on my own land. Government people are trespassing. [activist on unauthorized NTS visit]

2. [Yucca Mtn.] A limited and guarded place to visit; since most people cannot afford an exotic trip in their lifetime, Yucca may as well be put in that category.

3. Archaeologists wants to do tests on 6 year old child bones to find out their origin - I think they should leave it alone - If you died there you should stay. Some have medicine and it could make you sick. [DRI grave site visit]

4. Testing things to kill people off is always harmful.

Death Valley:

1. I realized when I took the tour how dangerous the spent fuels were when I saw how they were stored, where they sunk the canisters down in the tunnel and behind glass with robot arms. Also within that tunnel there was a lot of water dripping, and we wore those radioactivity detectors on the tour to detect the radiation we were exposed to. So what is happening to that water?

2. I don't like the idea of them making these underground tunnels for testing. And I didn't like the big holes or craters from the testing and they just left them like that.

Duckwater:

1. The place was a waste, no bugs, no birds, no animals,

rodents, etc. The lack of these stood out, compared to area's away from there.

2. I think they just ruined the country down there. One guy killed a deer from there and when he grabbed hold of it the skin pulled right off like it was cooked.

Q47. Is underground storage best, and how otherwise?

Yomba:

1. No, it should be put to beneficial use (medicine, etc.) instead of disposed of.

2. No. There is no safe way of disposal; it is man made destruction; no planning or future thoughts of where to dispose once the chemicals or waste was created.

3. No. Put it in big barrels.

4. No. Put it in space.

Death Valley:

1. No. It should be kept above ground within a facility, or technology should seek further resolution - let the ones who made it do something with it. That uranium wasn't even mined in Nevada. They should put it back where it came from [meant in the very literal sense of putting the world's pieces back in their proper places].

2. No. I don't know another way.

3. Yes. It's the only means I'm aware of.

4. No. I don't think they should be messing around with all

that stuff.

Duckwater:

1. No. I don't know another way.

2. Yes. There is no other way.

3. No. Dispose of it by other means that is safer for people and land to live in.

4. No. Don't generate it in the first place.

5. No. Don't know.

6. No. with our scientific technology today they ought to be able to think of something else. They found a way to make it. The Government should spend more money on science.

7. No Recycle - turn it into something else.

8. No. Don't create nuclear waste.

9. No. Underground they can't see it if it's leaking. They should put it somewhere where they could watch it.

Q48. Could a repository at Yucca Mts. be safe?

Yomba:

1. No, because of earthquake faults and quakes causing water pollution.

2. Possibly, for a time, but not indefinitely. As more waste is created more land will be used.

3. No. I would not want one in Nevada.

Q49. Could transportation be safe?

Yomba:

1. No. Canisters and trucks currently in use are not proved safe.

2. No, Accidents are unforeseen.

Q51. Would repository have harmful/beneficial effect on your area?

Yomba:

1. More harmful if it leaks. I don't think anyone from here would work there.

Duckwater:

1. It's too close to water.

Q52. Harmful/beneficial effects on you personally?

Nineteen people (68%) believe the repository will affect them adversely (18 rated it 0, 1 rated it 2). Of the 6 who felt the benefits and harm balance, 3 were from Yomba. These 3 were given the questionnaire by a resident of Yomba who on this question marked her own answer as unsure (see also Q54). The 1 vote in the beneficial column is probably due to a misreading of the question on the part of the respondent, as it is inconsistent with the rest of the same person's answers.

Yomba:

1. It has already affected me through my granddaughter who was born blind and with growth deficiencies - nuclear radiation related.

2. Yes, harmful effect on me if it leaks.

Q53a. Concerns ranked:

Concerns ranked most highly in the combined tabulation were those having to do with health. Air pollution and accidents during transportation through tribal lands ranked next in importance. Damage to traditional lands, violation of traditional teachings and the extending of radiation off the Test Site came next in ranking. Concern that economic well-being would be worsened and that it would be improved were of least concern by all.

Q53b. Besides those on the cards, do you have any other concerns about storing nuclear waste in Yucca Mountain?

Most respondents felt that the cards covered the subject. A few took the opportunity to add further comments (see below). One person from Death Valley felt all the concerns were equally important, overlooking the fact that 2 of them, those on economics, are contradictory.

Yomba:

1. Hard to plants, animals, birds; also traditional Indian religion: can't get there anymore.

2. Pinenuts suffering from fallout; burnt.

3. Commenting on concerns on cards:

a. Feels the repository is not going to affect Yomba's economics, so grouped the 2 cards on that subject as least important.

b. Is not concerned about tribal lands, so grouped the three cards on that subject as next to least important.

Death Valley:

1. My other concern is not only for this village but for other populations, to place it on indigenous people's lands that has already been invaded is wrong. This would not benefit any indigenous people, globally. There is no place to put the stuff. Take it back where it came from, back to the manufacturers.

2. Water is very important; it's too close to our water, especially if it's underground. If there are burials in the area they should not do anything there. Artifacts should not be disturbed either. If artifacts are to be moved there should be a museum for them to go to, but I'd rather have them stay where they are.

Duckwater:

1. People doing the work will cut corners. They would be more careful if it were not Indian lands.

2. Health is the biggest thing, not just here but all the other states that are upwind.

Q54. How fair has the selection process been?

Over half of the respondents gave the selection process a rating of 0 for fairness; 7 (25%) gave the process a 5, and 2 rated it between 0 and 5. Four were unsure. Five of the 7 who gave the process a 5 rating were Yomba residents; 1 of the 5 administered

the questionnaire to the other 4.

Yomba:

1. They didn't listen to the people who protested.

Q55. Why would you NOT want the repository at Yucca Mts?

On this question, only 1 (4%) respondent answered yes, and that a probably. Five (18%) were uncertain, 3 (11%) said probably no, and 19 (68%) said definitely no. Many (see below) answered the why attached to this question.

Yomba:

1. If you had something there like sacred or religious land I don't think Indian people would put a nuclear waste thing there so they couldn't get there for their gatherings anymore - pinenut festivals, etc., also maybe graves, cemeteries.

2. Because it is not a very safe place, and because it is on W. Shoshone land and we are presently in negotiation with the Federal government over it. While in negotiation, nothing should be happening.

3. Because it's in my home state, too close.

4. Endangerment to mankind - both man and animal.

5. Because it is too close.

6. Because it is my home. I don't want it in my house.

Death Valley:

1. It's too close to people, healthwise, if it ever leaked.

Not just the people, for the plants and animals too. It should be someplace where there is no population.

2. They already have a repository there at the NTS and they already have a low-level radioactive dump in Nevada. They don't need another one. And it is W. Shoshone land. The U.S. should question the W. Shoshone about locating it there.

3. Because it would damage our water and prevent us from using our ancestral homeland.

4. Not familiar enough with what they're doing to say.

Duckwater:

1. Because it is rather close to my home.

2. Because I don't like it.

3. Nevada's got a lot of free area where you could go as you please. I don't want it spoiled by nuclear waste.

4. If it's suppose to be so safe, why doesn't anyone else jump up and put it in their <u>own</u> backyard.

5. Nevada it not a nuclear waste dump for any states.

6. Because it's close to a large city, closer to my home; bad for people and land.

7. No information about how safe it would be. The decision to put it there was political, no facts to back it up.

8. They need to study it more before they decide where to put it. They're guessing now. They haven't done enough research.

9. Too close.

10. Nuclear waste is not necessary.

11. They should put it someplace where there's nothing around, like down in the middle of the Arizona desert.

Q56. Background Information

Nuclear fallout area:

Three residents of Yomba, 2 of DV, and 13 of DW said they lived in a fallout area during above ground testing. Only 2 people, 1 from DV and 1 from DW, worked in places where radioactive materials were handled; none had jobs where they handled these materials themselves. No respondent had ever worked for NTS or the other areas mentioned. Two people, 1 from DV and 1 from DW had relatives who had worked at NTS, 1 a nephew in the 1970s and the other a cousin and uncle at an unknown time.

Is there anything else you would like to say about the proposed YM repository?

Yomba:

1. The way the government and other governing bodies of this country have been conducting important decisions about ways of life for U.S. citizens, the voices that are crying out are not being heard because the officials have not lived in conditions that those of use who are crying out have had to - so decisions are made without remorse by the legislature, but the fact remains they don't have to live near nuclear waste dumps, chemical spills, they are protected from all of that by living in clean atmosphere with all the comforts of life. So, whether the objections are made - they are not heard, fact of life, the Yucca Nevada Test Site will be established.

2. We don't want it here! Leave the stuff where it is. We should shut nuclear power plants down until we can find a way to get rid of waste safely. There are plenty of other sources of power.

3. I don't know why they picked that place. It's where the Indians used to go - in winter they would go south where it is warmer. Probably my grandfather Kawich was right on Yucca Mountain. He resided on Kawich Mountain. That White Rock Springs, that's where they had the ceremonies.

Death Valley:

1. The U.S. Government is evading the W. Shoshone's issue on the land rights covered in the Ruby Valley Treaty of 1863. As long as the U.S. Government evades this, they are in conflict with human rights, internationally.

2. The whole thing should be moved to a different location.

3. I oppose it's being placed at Yucca Mountain because it may contaminate our water source. I object to the disturbance of burials on Yucca Mountain and I think that if there are artifacts removed from the site I think they should be cared for and housed by the tribes involved at Death Valley. The DOE should furnish the funds for this.

4. Grandmother said: if people put things into the air or the ground that didn't belong there it would cause problems. Putting up airplanes and things into the air has caused changes in the climate. There has been almost no snow in the last few years

at Duckwater. Now this year there are pinenuts everywhere. That may mean a hard winter. Putting stuff in the ground will cause problems, too, with the land and with the water.

5. When I was a kid there were a lot of animals here. They're gone now, and the older people believe nuclear testing is responsible. Animals know it's unsafe and they leave. They know it before we do. Nuclear waste must be unsafe for humans, too.

6. Have the repository built elsewhere!!

7. It's close to water all over there, maybe just 30-35 feet down from their drill holes. I dropped a rock into a pipe at the site and water was close. If the radiation gets in the water it will affect everybody.

1988 MODIFIED RISK PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE:

TABULATION OF DATA

ATTITUDES TOWARD WASTE REPOSITORY AT YUCCA MOUNTAIN

DATA APPENDICES:
TABULATIONS OF 1988 QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

I. SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILES

Q1. 1. Number of adult relatives or in-laws on Reservation, except in own household, minimum to maximum, mean, and number of households for which information was obtained (n):

Yomba:	3 to 70.	x = 22.5.	n = 8
Death Valley:	4 to 20.	x = 12.0.	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 100.	x = 25.0.	n = 15

Q3. 2. Reservations/Colonies where other relatives live, showing number of households reporting relatives in each category:

Other W. Shoshone reservations in study area:

Yomba:	1 hshld w/relatives	in DV,DW
Death Valley:	0	in Y, DW
Duckwater:	1	in Y, DV

Other W. Shoshone reservations in Nevada:

Yomba:	2 hshlds
Death Valley:	0
Duckwater:	8

Paiute reservations in Nevada:

Yomba:	4 hshlds
Death Valley:	1
Duckwater:	6

Washo reservations in Nevada:

Yomba:	0 hshlds
Death Valley:	0
Duckwater:	0

California reservations:

Yomba:	0 hshlds
Death Valley:	4
Duckwater:	1

Q8. 3. Past or present membership in tribal council or committee:

Yomba:	6 present, 1 past
Death Valley:	1 present, 3 past
Duckwater:	6 present

Q9. 4. Satisfaction with reservation or village as place to live (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 10,	x = 8.0,	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 10,	x = 5.8,	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 10,	x = 7.2,	n = 8
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 7.3,	n = 21

Q10a. 5. Satisfaction with reservation/colony as a place to raise children (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 10,	x = 7.7,	n = 9
Death Valley:	4 to 8,	x = 6.0,	n = 4
Duckwater:	1 to 10,	x = 7.4,	n = 14
Combined:	1 to 10,	x = 7.3,	n = 27

Q10b. 6. Satisfaction with quality of medical and health services (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 10,	x = 4.7,	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 5,	x = 2.3,	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 9,	x = 4.9,	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 4.4,	n = 27

Q10c. 7. Satisfaction with quality of schools (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 7,	x = 3.2,	n = 9
Death Valley:	4 to 5,	x = 4.8,	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 10,	x = 6.6,	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 5.2,	n = 27

Q10d. 8. Satisfaction with friendliness of the people (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 10,	x = 5.4,	n = 9
Death Valley:	5 to 9,	x = 6.5,	n = 4
Duckwater:	2 to 10,	x = 6.4,	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 6.1,	n = 27

Q10e. 9. Satisfaction with availability of good jobs (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5.	x = 2.3.	n = 9
Death Valley:	3 to 7.	x = 4.5.	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 8.	x = 4.1.	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 8.	x = 3.6.	n = 27

Q10f. 10. Satisfaction with opportunity to earn an adequate income (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5.	x = 2.8.	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 7.	x = 3.0.	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 8.	x = 3.7.	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 8.	x = 3.3.	n = 27

Q10g. 11. Satisfaction with availability of suitable housing (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	2 to 10.	x = 6.5.	n = 9
Death Valley:	1 to 4.	x = 3.0.	n = 4
Duckwater:	4 to 10.	x = 7.6.	n = 14
Combined:	1 to 10.	x = 6.5.	n = 27

Q10h. 12. Satisfaction with adequacy of law enforcement (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5.	x = 1.2.	n = 9
Death Valley:	5 to 7.	x = 5.7.	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 10.	x = 6.5.	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10.	x = 4.6.	n = 27

Q10i. 13. Satisfaction with physical condition of streets and roads (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5.	x = 1.2.	n = 9
Death Valley:	5 to 10.	x = 7.2.	n = 4
Duckwater:	1 to 6.	x = 4.5.	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10.	x = 3.8.	n = 27

Q10j. 14. Satisfaction with overall effectiveness of tribal government (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5.	x = 3.3.	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 9.	x = 5.6.	n = 4
Duckwater:	1 to 9.	x = 6.4.	n = 13
Combined:	0 to 9.	x = 5.2.	n = 26

Q10k. 15. Satisfaction with availability of senior programs (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5,	x = 1.7,	n = 9
Death Valley:	3 to 10,	x = 6.7,	n = 4
Duckwater:	1 to 8,	x = 5.9,	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 4.6,	n = 27

Q10l. 16. Satisfaction with availability of youth programs (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 8,	x = 4.0,	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 7,	x = 3.2,	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 8,	x = 5.0,	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 8,	x = 4.4,	n = 27

Q10m. 17. Satisfaction with adequacy of nearest shopping facilities (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 10,	x = 5.5,	n = 9
Death Valley:	2 to 3,	x = 2.7,	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 10,	x = 3.5,	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 4.0,	n = 27

Q10o. 18. Satisfaction with power/electric rates (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	2 to 8,	x = 4.4,	n = 9
Death Valley:	3 to 8,	x = 6.0,	n = 4
Duckwater:	2 to 10,	x = 6.2,	n = 14
Combined:	2 to 10,	x = 5.5,	n = 27

Q10p. 19. Satisfaction with public water/sewer service (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 8,	x = 2.1,	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 8,	x = 4.0,	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 10,	x = 7.3,	n = 13
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 4.8,	n = 26

Q10q. 20. Satisfaction with garbage collection service (min/max, mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5,	x = 1.1,	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 8,	x = 4.0,	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 10,	x = 1.8,	n = 13
Combined:	0 to 10,	x = 1.9,	n = 26

Q10r. 21. Satisfaction with telephone service (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 5.	x = 0.6.	n = 9
Death Valley:	4 to 10.	x = 7.2.	n = 4
Duckwater:	5 to 10.	x = 8.3.	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10.	x = 5.6.	n = 27

Q10s. 22. Satisfaction with fire protection (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 0.	x = 0.0.	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 7.	x = 3.7.	n = 4
Duckwater:	0 to 10.	x = 4.6.	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 10.	x = 2.9.	n = 27

Q10t. 23. Satisfaction with recreation facilities/programs (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 6.	x = 4.1.	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 5.	x = 2.2.	n = 4
Duckwater:	1 to 6.	x = 3.9.	n = 14
Combined:	0 to 6.	x = 3.7.	n = 27

Q11. 24. Do you plan to move from this area within five years or so?

Yes: Yomba 2. Death Valley 0. Duckwater 2.
No: Yomba 7. Death Valley 4. Duckwater 13.

Q15. 25. Satisfaction with your life these days (min/max. mean. number responding):

Yomba:	5 to 10.	x = 8.1.	n = 9
Death Valley:	3 to 10.	x = 6.2.	n = 4
Duckwater:	4 to 10.	x = 7.8.	n = 15
Combined:	3 to 10.	x = 7.6.	n = 28

Q16. 26a. Satisfaction with your economic situation these days (min/max. mean, number responding):

Yomba:	0 to 10.	x = 5.2.	n = 9
Death Valley:	0 to 7.	x = 3.5.	n = 4
Duckwater:	3 to 9.	x = 6.0.	n = 15
Combined:	0 to 10.	x = 5.4.	n = 28

Q17. 26b. Has your economic situation improved over the past five years?

	Yomba	DV	DW	C
a. Much better:	3	0	5	8
b. Somewhat better:	2	1	3	6
c. About the same:	2	1	2	5
d. Somewhat worse:	2	1	4	7
e. Much worse:	0	1	1	2

Q18. 26c. Do you expect your economic situation to improve over the next five years:

	Yomba	DV	DW	C
a. Much better:	1	1	3	5
b. Somewhat better:	4	2	4	10
c. About the same:	3	1	8	12
d. Somewhat worse:	1	0	0	1
e. Much worse:	0	0	0	0

Q12. 27a. In your opinion is the reservation or village a better place to live now than it was five years or so ago?

	Yomba	DV	DW	C
Yes:	2	1	6	9
No:	0	1	3	4
About the same:	7	2	6	15

Q13. 27b. Do you expect it to improve as a place to live over the next five years or so?

	Yomba	DV	DW	C
Yes:	3	4	6	13
No:	1	0	0	1
Stay the same:	5	0	8	13
Unsure:	0	0	1	1

Q19. 28. Is this reservation or village large enough to meet today s needs of the people who want to and are eligible to live here?

	Yomba	DV	DW	C
Yes:	2	2	5	9
No:	7	2	9	18
Unsure:	0	0	1	1

Q20. 29. If no more land is acquired in the next five years or so, will the reservation or village be large enough for the needs of the people who want to and are eligible to live here?

	Yomba	DV	DW	C
Yes:	3	0	3	6
No:	6	4	12	22

1988 MODIFIED RISK PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE:

TABULATION OF DATA

ATTITUDES TOWARD WASTE REPOSITORY AT YUCCA MOUNTAIN

1. Politics and Government

1. (Q21) How often do you think you can trust the federal government to do what is right (0 = never, 10 = always)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 6	2.6	9
Death Valley:	0 / 6	3.5	4
Duckwater:	0 / 6	2.6	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 6	2.7	28

2. (Q22) How often do you think you can trust the state government to do what is right (0 = never; 10 = always)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 6	3.5	9
Death Valley:	0 / 7	3.3	4
Duckwater:	0 / 8	3.5	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 8	3.4	28

3. (Q23) How often do you think you can trust the county government to do what is right (0 = never; 10 = always)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	3.5	9
Death Valley:	0 / 7	3.7	4
Duckwater:	0 / 7	3.6	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	3.6	28

4. (Q24) How often do you think you can trust the city government to do what is right (0 = never; 10 = always)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	N/A		
Death Valley:	N/A		
Duckwater:	N/A		
W.Shoshone:	N/A		

5. (Q25) How often do you think you can trust the tribal council to do what is right (0 = never; 10 = always)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 8	2.5	9
Death Valley:	0 / 9	5.7	4
Duckwater:	0 / 9	5.6	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 9	5.0	28

6. (Q26a) In the last four years or so have you written or talked to your congressman, senator or any federal official to let them know what you would like them to do on a public issue?

	Yes	No	Under Age
Yomba:	2	6	1
Death Valley:	2	2	0
Duckwater:	5	10	0
W.Shoshone:	9	18	1

7. (Q26b) In the last four years or so have you written or talked to your state senator or assemblyman or any state official to let them know what you would like them to do on a public issue?

	Yes	No	Under Age
Yomba:	2	6	1
Death Valley:	2	2	0
Duckwater:	5	10	0
W.Shoshone:	9	18	1

8. (Q26c) In the last four years or so have you written or talked to your county or local officials to let them know what you would like them to do on a public issue?

	Yes	No	Under Age
Yomba:	2	6	1
Death Valley:	2	2	0
Duckwater:	5	10	0
W.Shoshone:	9	18	1

9. (Q26d) In the last four years or so have you written or talked to your tribal council members to let them know what you would like them to do on a public issue?

	Yes	No	Under Age
Yomba:	6	2	1
Death Valley:	4	0	0
Duckwater:	10	5	0
W.Shoshone:	20	7	1

10. (Q26e) In the last four years or so have you worked for the election of any congressman, senator or other political candidate?

	Yes	No	Under Age
Yomba:	0	8	1
Death Valley:	1	3	0
Duckwater:	1	14	0
W.Shoshone:	2	25	1

11. (Q26f) Did you vote in the 1986 general election?

	Yes	No	Under Age
Yomba:	4	4	1
Death Valley:	3	1	0
Duckwater:	8	7	0
W.Shoshone:	15	12	1

2. Science and Technology

12. (Q27) How strongly to you agree or disagree that scientists generally work for the well-being of the public (0 = completely disagree; 10 = completely agree)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	6.8	9
Death Valley:	4 / 8	5.2	4
Duckwater:	0 / 10	6.0	14
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	6.2	27

13. (Q28) How strongly to you agree or disagree that scientists often make sensational announcements just to get publicity (0 = completely disagree; 10 = completely agree)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	3 / 10	6.8	9
Death Valley:	4 / 8	6.0	4
Duckwater:	0 / 10	5.2	14
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	5.8	27

14. (Q29) How strongly do you agree or disagree that science attempts to increase the knowledge we can apply to our everyday lives (0 = completely disagree; 10 = completely agree)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	1 / 10	6.6	9
Death Valley:	3 / 8	5.0	4
Duckwater:	5 / 10	7.2	14
W.Shoshone:	1 / 10	6.7	27

15. (Q30) How strongly to you agree or disagree that science creates more problems than it solves (0 = completely disagree; 10 = completely agree)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	6.0	9
Death Valley:	5 / 8	5.7	4
Duckwater:	0 / 7	4.2	14
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	5.1	27

16. (Q31) How strongly to you agree or disagree that scientists can almost always be trusted when they say something like a product or procedure is safe (0 = completely disagree; 10 = completely agree)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 8	3.7	9
Death Valley:	2 / 4	2.7	4
Duckwater:	0 / 9	4.9	14
W.Shoshone:	0 / 9	4.2	27

3. Risks Perceived

17. (Q38) How likely do you think it is that above ground nuclear weapons testing activities at the Nevada Test Site have in the past caused harmful health problems for people who live in your area (0 = extremely unlikely; 10 = extremely likely)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	6.8	9
Death Valley:	0 / 10	7.5	4
Duckwater:	8 / 10	9.5	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	8.3	28

18. (Q39) How likely do you think it is that underground nuclear weapons testing activities at the Nevada Test Site will in the future cause harmful health problems for people who live in your area (0 = extremely unlikely; 10 = extremely likely)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	7.6	9
Death Valley:	3 / 10	7.5	4
Duckwater:	8 / 10	9.7	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	8.7	28

19. (Q40) To what extent do you agree that the Nevada Test Site has provided safe procedures for transporting and handling nuclear materials (0 = not safe at all; 10 = completely safe)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	4.4	9
Death Valley:	0 / 3	2.0	4
Duckwater:	0 / 10	3.6	13
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	3.5	26

20. (Q41) Generally speaking would you say that the Nevada Test Site has had entirely harmful effects (0-3), entirely beneficial effects (8-10), or that harmful and beneficial effects balance each other (4-7)?

	(0 - 3)	(4 - 7)	(8 - 10)	(Unsure)
Yomba:	3	5	1	0
Death Valley:	1	2	0	1
Duckwater:	9	1	2	3
W.Shoshone:	13	8	3	4

21. (Q43) To what extent do you agree that accidents involving the transportation of hazardous materials are inevitable (0 = completely disagree, that is, accidents not inevitable; 10 = completely agree -- accidents are inevitable)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	4 / 10	7.7	9
Death Valley:	1 / 10	6.0	4
Duckwater:	2 / 10	8.6	14
W.Shoshone:	1 / 10	7.9	27

22. (Q44) To what extent do you agree that hazardous materials should not be transported through highly populated areas (0 = completely disagree -- transportation is safe; 10 = completely agree -- transportation is unsafe)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	8.6	9
Death Valley:	9 / 10	9.5	4
Duckwater:	4 / 10	9.2	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	9.0	28

23. (Q45) To what extent do you agree that transportation of hazardous materials is unsafe (0 = completely disagree -- transportation is safe; 10 = completely agree -- transportation is safe)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	7.2	9
Death Valley:	1 / 10	7.3	4
Duckwater:	3 / 10	9.5	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	8.4	28

23a. (Q46) To what extent do you agree that current methods of transportation of hazardous materials through your community are safe (0 = completely disagree -- current methods unsafe; 10 = completely agree -- current methods safe)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 3	0.6	9
Death Valley:	0 / 4	1.8	4
Duckwater:	0 / 8	1.4	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 8	1.2	28

24. (Q47) Do you think that underground storage is the best means of disposing of nuclear waste ?

	Yes	No	UNSURE
Yomba:	4	4	1
Death Valley:	1	3	0
Duckwater:	1	12	2
W.Shoshone:	6	19	3

25. (Q48) Do you think that a nuclear waste repository could be built at Yucca Mountain in such a way that would be acceptably safe?

	Yes	No	UNSURE
Yomba:	0	7	2
Death Valley:	1	3	0
Duckwater:	3	11	1
W.Shoshone:	4	21	3

26. (Q49) Do you think that nuclear waste could be transported to the repository in a way that would be acceptably safe?

	Yes	No	UNSURE
Yomba:	2	4	3
Death Valley:	1	3	0
Duckwater:	1	12	2
W.Shoshone:	4	19	5

27. (Q50) How confident are you that federal agencies have provided the public with honest and accurate information about the safety of the government's nuclear program (0 = not confident at all; 10 = completely confident)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 10	4.1	9
Death Valley:	0 / 4	2.0	4
Duckwater:	0 / 5	1.4	15
W.Shoshone:	0 / 10	1.6	28

28. (Q51) Generally speaking would you say that the nuclear waste repository would have entirely harmful effects (1-3), entirely beneficial effects (8-10) <u>on this reservation/village</u>, or that harmful and beneficial effects would balance each other (4-7)?

	0 - 3	4 - 7	9 - 10	unsure
Yomba:	4	4	0	1
Death Valley:	4	0	0	0
Duckwater:	11	2	1	1
W.Shoshone:	19	6	1	2

29. (Q52) Generally speaking would you say that effects <u>on you personally</u> would be entirely harmful (0-3), entirely beneficial (8-10), or that harmful and beneficial effects would balance each other (4-7)?

	0 - 3	4 - 7	8 - 10	unsure
Yomba:	4	4	0	1
Death Valley:	4	0	0	0
Duckwater:	10	2	1	1
W.Shoshone:	18	6	1	2

30. (Q54) Thinking about everything that has occurred over the past year or so how fair do you think the process of selecting Yucca Mountain as a possible site for a nuclear waste repository has been (0 = completely unfair; 10 = completely fair)?

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	0 / 5	2.8	9
Death Valley:	0 / 3	0.8	4
Duckwater:	0 / 5	1.3	11
W.Shoshone:	0 / 5	1.8	24

31 - 40. (Q53) The following possible concerns about Yucca Mountain were ranked by respondents, many of whom assigned the same value to more than one of the items.

31. Accidents may occur during transportation across tribal land:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	3 / 10	6.5	4
Death Valley:	6 / 10	8.0	4
Duckwater:	2 / 10	6.3	15
W.Shoshone:	2 / 10	6.7	23

32. A repository on Yucca Mountain would violate traditional teachings about treatment of the earth:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	4 / 10	6.5	4
Death Valley:	3 / 10	7.5	4
Duckwater:	2 / 10	5.1	15
W.Shoshone:	2 / 10	5.8	23

33. A repository on Yucca Mountain would damage traditional lands:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	3 / 10	5.3	4
Death Valley:	3 / 10	7.5	4
Duckwater:	2 / 10	6.2	15
W.Shoshone:	2 / 10	6.3	23

34. A repository on Yucca Mountain would cause air pollution:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	7 / 10	8.5	4
Death Valley:	4 / 10	6.5	4
Duckwater:	2 / 10	6.5	15
W.Shoshone:	2 / 10	6.9	23

35. Economic well-being would be worsened by a repository on Yucca Mountain:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	1 / 10	4.3	4
Death Valley:	2 / 10	4.3	4
Duckwater:	1 / 10	3.9	15
W.Shoshone:	1 / 10	4.0	23

36. A repository on Yucca Mountain would cause water pollution:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	8 / 10	9.0	4
Death Valley:	8 / 10	8.8	4
Duckwater:	4 / 10	7.1	14
W.Shoshone:	4 / 10	7.6	22

37. Economic well-being would be improved by a repository on Yucca Mountain:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	1 / 2	1.5	4
Death Valley:	1 / 10	3.3	4
Duckwater:	1 / 2	1.2	15
W.Shoshone:	1 / 10	1.6	23

38. Radiation would not be contained within the Yucca Mountain area:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	1 / 10	5.8	4
Death Valley:	5 / 10	6.5	4
Duckwater:	1 / 10	5.3	15
W.Shoshone:	1 / 10	5.6	23

39. The Yucca Mountain repository would pose a public health/safety threat:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	5 / 10	7.8	4
Death Valley:	4 / 10	8.5	4
Duckwater:	3 / 10	7.2	15
W.Shoshone:	3 / 10	7.5	23

40. The Yucca Mountain repository would pose a personal or family health/safety threat:

	min/max	mean	count
Yomba:	7 / 10	9.3	4
Death Valley:	2 / 10	5.5	4
Duckwater:	6 / 10	8.0	15
W.Shoshone:	2 / 10	7.8	23

41. If you could make the final decision, would you build the repository at Yucca Mountain?

	Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Uncertain	Probably No	No
Yomba:	0	1	2	1	5
Death Valley:	0	0	1	1	2
Duckwater:	0	0	2	1	12
W.Shoshone:	0	1	5	3	19

APPENDIX E

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YOMBA RESERVATION

by

Elmer Rusco

Prior to the 1930s, small minority of Nevada Indians lived on reservations which provided a means of livelihood to their inhabitants. The largest number of Indians in the state did not live on any kind of trust territory at all. Another significant proportion was to be found on colonies, which were plots of land near towns or cities that provided only housing sites, but no resources for agricultural or other economic activities. Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had provided various services to the colonies before this, not until 1938 was it determined legally that the colonies were reservations and therefore trust territory (United States v. McGowan, 302 US 535 (1938)).

An important activity of the BIA in Nevada during the Indian New Deal - one which was of great importance to the Native American inhabitants of the state - was to provide additional land for some Indians. Several reservations were created, agricultural lands were secured for two groups which had previously had only colony lands, and allotted lands were in one case reassembled into a viable economic unit.

Three of the new reservations - Duckwater, South Fork and

Yomba - were in territory occupied aboriginally by Western Shoshones. This report is about creation of the Yomba Indian Reservation.

Aboriginal Conditions

The Yomba Reservation is located along the upper Reese River Valley in central Nevada. Aboriginally, it was known as Mahaguaduka bahunovi, the valley of the eaters of a plant whose scientific name is Mentzelia (Steward 1938: 100). The western border of the narrow valley is the Shoshone Mountains, a range with peaks averaging around 9,000 feet in elevation, and the eastern border is the Toiyabe Mountains, with peaks more than 2,500 feet higher. The Toiyabes are high enough to capture sufficient snowfall to sustain several creeks and the Reese River, which runs year-round in the upper valley, although it typically descends below the surface before reaching the Humboldt River, far to the north.

Because the Reese River Valley is well-watered and because the existence of high mountain ranges close by provides a variety of different food sources within an unusually compact area, population densities among Western Shoshones living in Reese River Valley were unusually high. Steward (1938: 101-2) lists the names of 41 camps provided by one of his informants for the area from present-day Austin to Indian Valley, at the southern end of the Reese River Valley, although he rejects the estimate of 900 persons for the Valley derived from extrapolating from these camps as "too much" and says that the estimate by another

informant of 1,000 to 2,000 persons for the same area is "certainly excessive." However, more recent scholarship suggests that Steward tended to take as the basis for his model estimates from the driest portion of Western Shoshone territory. Where precipitation and food resources were substantially greater than in other areas of central Nevada, which is clearly the case for the Reese River Valley, it is probable that population densities were higher and that social organization was more complex than Steward's nuclear-family based model predicts (Thomas et. al. 1986: 277-8).

Sites within the upper Reese River Valley offered aboriginally not only ready access to pinon pine forests close by in the mountains bordering the Valley but also opportunities for fishing and access to a wide variety of plants and animals in the four basic lifezones created by the great variations in altitude (Thomas 1987: 111). In the Valley itself, the Western Shoshones practiced a limited form of agriculture; seeds of the Mentzelia (little blazing star) and Chenopodium (goosefoot) were sowed in wet areas which had been cleared by burning. These plots were owned and harvested by villages (Steward 1938: 105-6). Mentzelia was sufficiently important to provide the aboriginal name for the inhabitants of the Valley, as noted above. Yomba is the Shoshone name for a wild carrot "found in abundance in the Reese River Valley"; in the 1930s the inhabitants chose this name for their new reservation (Crum 1938: 222).

Clearly, the Reese River Valley in aboriginal times was a lush oasis. In 1863 the Reese River Reveille noted that "In the Valley of Reese River there is a long, green meadow having the appearance of a vast field of barley or wheat ... only a few weeks elapse before haying commences" (Thomas 1987: 115). These natural meadows provided extensive quantities of seeds for human consumption. In addition, cooperative rabbit and antelope hunts were conducted by several villages, including some in nearby valleys, and there were bighorn sheep and deer in the nearby mountains plus trout in the streams.

The exact outlines of political organization are not clear. Steward (1938: 100) suggests that it is "probable that ... Ione, Reese River, and Smith Creek Valleys were separate though not completely independent." (See also Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976: 89-90). These valleys lay to the west of Reese River Valley, along the western edge of Western Shoshone territory. In early post-contact times, Steward believed, Tu-tuwa (or Totoi) acted as a "single, persuasive chief ... over these and neighboring valleys, as far north as the Humboldt River." (Steward 1938: loc. cit.) Apparently the practice of looking to a single leader, at least for purposes of dealing with Euro-Americans, survived for many decades; Tu-tuwa occupied a position analogous to that of To-moak in areas north and east of what is now Austin. In 1862 Indian agent Warren Wasson met with Tu-tuwa and his people, whom he estimated as numbering from three to four hundred people. He wrote that

> I had a very satisfactory interview with them. The chief assured me of his friendship for our Government, and that none of his band would, under any circumstances, molest the stage or telegraph lines, or any whites that might want to visit or reside in his country.

Although Wasson declined Tu-tuwa's offer "to go with me and assist in bringing about a settlement" with other Shoshones, he did recommend the creation of a reservation near the Reese River (Angel 1881: 178-9, Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976: 90).

Another well-known 19th century leader was Kawich. During the 1930s, the Carson Indian Agency believed that a wider group which had been united under Kawich felt fundamentally united still, as did the former followers of Te-moak (see below).

EuroAmerican Intrusion

During the 1860s, EuroAmericans arrived in the territory of the Western Shoshones and partially displaced the people living there. In the upper Reese River Valley, where the Yomba Reservation is located today, White settlers first took over the meadows and then diverted the creeks and the River to establish irrigated ranches, grazing their livestock in the surrounding mountains.

The impacts of this intrusion on Western Shoshones in the Reese River Valley have never been investigated fully but were clearly devastating. The new ranches destroyed the native plots of Mentzelia and Chenopodium, and the well-watered land in the Valley itself (though not in the mountains) came to be privately owned by EuroAmericans. Grazing of cattle in the mountains, beginning in 1862, and later of sheep, beginning in the 1880s,

not only reduced the numbers of game animals but decimated the wild grasses, which had been a principal food source for aboriginal inhabitants. Mining produced a large demand for timber and firewood; the result was the destruction of the pinion pine forests. While mining temporarily provided employment for some Indians, the situation worsened dramatically for them in the 1890s, after the mines in the area failed, because

> wage labor practically disappeared and the semi-acculturated Shoshoni were forced to learn to be Indians again. Three decades had dulled the hunting-gathering instincts so necessary for survival in such a harsh environment. To make matters worse, the old pinon groves had been reduced to eroding hills. The lush valley vegetation recorded by Simpson and others was now simply sage-dominated flats (Thomas 1987: 116).

In brief, "An economic tradition with a local antiquity of at least 4,000 years was severely crippled in less than three decades of acculturation to Anglo influences." (Loc. cit.)

Undoubtedly the native population in the Valley declined dramatically. Certainly this was the case if the population figures derived from two of Steward's informants have any validity at all. Another indication of relatively large populations aboriginally is that as late as 1873 Powell and Ingalls reported 530 Shoshones in seven groups in the Reese River Valley and Austin (Stewart 1974: 7).

Clearly, the Shoshone population in the Valley was far below aboriginal levels by the 1930s. In April 1937, employees of the BIA interviewed 12 families at "Reese River"; however, it is not certain that there was any attempt to make a complete census (Federal Archives and Records Center, Laguna Niguel, Record Group

75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix Area Office (hereafter Laguna Niguel), Division of Extension and Industry, General Correspondence, Box 302, "The Nye County Shoshone Project.") An attempt to be more thorough about Shoshone populations in all of northern Nye County in July 1936 came up with a total of 349 persons in 18 locations, although it omitted four locations listed in the 1937 survey (Ibid,; E. M. Johnston, July, 1936). This survey counted 15 families and 56 persons in the Reese River Valley.

Life for the survivors after the 1890s was clearly modified, although the Shoshones did not lose everything. The ranches took up relatively narrow strips of land along the waterways, leaving places for Native American populations to live. The number of White ranches and ranchers was small; in 1881 it was reported that there were 18 ranches and 50 [White] inhabitants (Angel 1881: 516). Apparently, there were only eight ranches in 1936, before land purchases for the Reservation began (Federal Archives and Records Center, San Bruno, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Carson Indian Agency (hereafter San Bruno), New Records, Yomba, Box B163, Folder "Grazing, not Nat. Forest...", Richard B. Millin, Regional Forester, to Superintendant Alida C. Bowler, September 26, 1938; Folder "Miscellaneous", Douglas Clark, Field Agent, to Superintendent Ralph M. Gelvin, July 29, 1944).

A substantial amount of aboriginal food-gathering activity must have continued. Even after the Reservation was established

Indians continued to gather pine nuts and hunt deer. (King and King 1942). Moreover, the Western Shoshones could earn money with which to buy products of the EuroAmerican economy by exploiting traditional resources or skills in untraditional ways. For example, a Bureau of Indian Affairs report in 1940 indicated that 18 individuals on the Yomba Reservation had received income during calendar year 1939 from the sale of pine nuts and furs. Such income was small; individuals earned from $35 to $150 apiece for the sale of furs, for a total of $1,750, and from $40 to $205 apiece for the sale of pine nuts, for a total of $2,010 (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder "Credit Yomba/No. 10'/C'/correspondence, general," handwritten report, 1939). Indian women at this time made "rugs, baskets, and leather goods for sale in their spare time." (King and King 1942). Also, Indian men cut firewood in the mountains and sold it to EuroAmericans.

The loss of aboriginal resources was nevertheless substantial. This was partly compensated for by the partial participation of Western Shoshones in the wider EuroAmerican economy, which extended far beyond the Valley. The price was Indian involvement in the cash economy (Clemmer 1978). The White ranches in the Valley provided employment for Indians, at low wages. Indian men became cowboys - herding, branding, dehorning and rounding up the range cattle belonging to the ranchers and performing other types of labor on the ranches. Indian women became domestic workers in the ranch houses. Ranching was clearly the major activity of the Nye County Shoshones in the

early 1930s. A listing of the sources of "cash income" for 71 Shoshones in 1936 gives "ranching and agriculture" as the principal source of such income for 45 persons (63 percent). ("The Nye County Shoshone Project...").

In other parts of Nye County, although there is no evidence for this in the Reese River Valley, Shoshones actually established ranches of their own. Lingenfelter's history of Death Valley mentions many such ranches in and around Death Valley (Lingenfelter 1986) and Carson Indian Agency Superintendent Bowler reported in 1936 that "A few of them [Nye County Shoshones], industrious and able, have by their own efforts purchased small ranches." (Laguna Niguel, Box 302, "Social and Economic Information for the Yomba Reservation"). A 1937 study of Big Smokey Valley reported that

> The [Indian] homesteads are located high on the valley rim at the base of the escarpment, to make use of the small streams which flow only a few hundred yards into the valley. These ranches are on very steep, rock [sic] soil, most of them having from 10 to 30 acres of alfalfa. The Indian squatters have been able to support from 30 to 60 head of cattle in good years only, and have thus eked out a meager subsistence. Perhaps an outstanding characteristic indicated by these homesteaders is a demonstration of the extent to which some people labor for a livelihood ("The Nye County Shoshone Project...").

At the time that plans were being made for what would become the Yomba Reservation, "the Shoshone Indians [of Nye County north of Beatty] own[ed] about 300 head of cattle and perhaps 50 head of horses." (Loc. cit.) According to Crum, before 1917 there had been even more Shoshone ranchers. However, in that year the Forest Service told them "that they could no longer graze their

stock on forest land without paying taxes [sic]. Since the Indians did not have enough income to pay the required taxes, their stock was destroyed by the forest officials." (1983: 38). Following this reversal, in the 1920s some Western Shoshones moved to western Nevada reservations set aside for Northern Paiutes (see below).

Undoubtedly the incomes of Indians dependent either on their own small ranches or on labor for White ranchers were low, and the Indian ranch employees were no doubt highly dependent on their employers. Thomas (1987: 115) says that "Individuals and families often attached themselves to ranches and mines in a pattern reminiscent of the antebellum Southern Negro." Superintendent Bowler stated in 1937 that the relationship between White ranchers and their Indian employees was essentially an exploitative one.

> The Indian in Nevada ... is still discriminated against socially and exploited economically. He is primarily the underpaid agricultural seasonal laborer upon whom the big cattle and sheep interests depend for cheap labor at certain seasons ... He lives on a substandard level, and his smug white employer asserts that the Indian is perfectly content at that level and neither desires nor deserves a hand up. (National Archives Building, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75 (hereafter RG 75), Central Classified Files 1907-1939, Carson Indian Agency, File 9517A-1936-Carson-068-Te-Moak, Bowler to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 7, 1937).

The mines in areas close to the Reese River Valley also provided employment for some Indian men earlier in the century, but after the 1890s this source of income was very limited. Mining was the principal source of cash income for only six persons in 1936, comprising eight percent of the total number of

persons for whom such income was reported ("The Nye County Shoshone Project...").

In short, by the time the Yomba Reservation was established, the surviving Western Shoshones in Nye County north of Beatty were well acquainted with ranching but impoverished. A BIA report in 1946 said of the previous condition of the 20 families on the Reservation that "Their income level was very low. Living conditions were poor." (Strait 1946) Although poor, they were wearing "citizen clothes" and living in frame houses (which were small and of poor quality by EuroAmerican standards), and many of them were driving "delapidated" automobiles. No doubt they were also continuing to fish, hunt and gather where these resources were still available and when they could find the time to do so.

They were also continuing many aboriginal customs. After establishment of the Reservation, it was reported that "Medicine Men" were still summoned from other reservations at time of illness by some residents, that withdrawal by a woman to a separate house to give birth was still being practiced, that a house in which someone died was abandoned, that many crafts continued (rug making, willow basketry, bead basketry, skin sewing and tanning were mentioned), and that an annual August Fandango was held where handgames were played and there was Indian singing and dancing (King and King 1942).

Impetus for Establishing Reservations

The establishment of the Yomba Reservation was the result of the confluence of several developments. The appointment of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian affairs in 1933 led to a dramatic attempted reversal of Indian policy. Instead of assuming that his task was to speed up the assimilation of Native Americans into the general American culture, Collier sought to protect Native American cultures, because he saw these as valuable (Philp 1977, Kelly 1983). Some of the objectives of the Indian New Deal were embodied in the Indian Reorganization (or Wheeler-Howard) Act of 1934. Two of the important provisions of this act established a procedure by which the governments of tribes and/or reservations could be acknowledged formally by the United States Government and provided with appropriations to purchase land to bring new reservations into being or to add to existing reservations.

The Carson Indian Agency, which after 1935 had jurisdiction over Western Shoshones in this part of Nevada, was led from 1934 through 1939 by Superintendent Bowler, an able administrator who both understood and approved of Collier's objectives. The Carson Indian Agency sought aggressively to locate agricultural lands which could be purchased for Indians and to organize the groups of Indians settled on these lands.

At the same time, the Nye County Shoshone Committee, a voluntary group of Western Shoshones which had been organized on the Walker River Reservation, was requesting land for

reservations for landless Shoshones. The existence of numbers of Western Shoshones on other reservations therefore turned out to be highly significant. In 1936 Superintendent Bowler wrote that

> A few of them [Nye County Shoshones] have bought allotments on the Walker River Reservation to which the original Paiute allottees have obtained fee patents. However, the other Paiutes resent the Shoshones' presence and will not permit them to run their cattle on the Reservation range ("Social and Economic Information for the Yomba Reservation.")

In 1936, in fact, the largest number of Shoshones in any one place outside the Duck Valley Reservation was reported to be the group of 59 persons in 13 families living on the Walker River Reservation ("The Nye County Shoshone Project"). Also, "a few families" were settled on "irrigated farms provided on the Stillwater Reservation near Fallon" (Stewart 1974: 5; Crum, loc. cit.). In July 1936 nine Shoshone families, totaling 31 persons, were reported to be living at Fallon ("The Nye County Shoshone Project.")

The Nye County Shoshone Committee was organized in response to the efforts of the Indian New Deal to gain support for the Indian Reorganization Act. In late 1934, Western Shoshones living at Schurz heard Organization Division representative George LaVatta (a Shoshone from Fort Hall Reservation) explain the IRA to Indians of the Walker River Reservation.

> As a result, five of them - Dave Kawich Clifford, James X. Darrough, Bud Decker, Willie Bobb, and Alice Kawich Hooper -- organized a committee called the Nye County Shoshone Committee in December of 1934. Their main objective was to persuade the federal government to set aside reservation land exclusively for the Shoshones (Crum 1983: 210).

Three of the members of this committee - Bobb, Clifford and Hooper - were descendants of Chief Kawich.

Several meetings of this committee were held in early 1935; on February 18, Clifford was elected President. The committee wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs Collier and Nevada Senator Key Pittman, stating that, because of poor economic conditions, they were "'homeless and landless people drifting from place to place looking for work.'" They asked that the federal government make loans to them so that they could buy ranchland and cattle. At a meeting on April 20, 1935, with Walker River Superintendent Ray Parrett, who then had jurisdiction over the Walker River Reservation, they asked that land be bought for them in the Reese River Valley. Bureau officials promised at this meeting to explore whether White ranchers in the Valley would be willing to sell (Crum 1983: 210-13).

The initial effort to buy Reese River land sought to acquire 5,000 acres through use of funds from the Submarginal Land Program of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads. Between the spring of 1935 and October of the same year, options were taken on these lands. However, it was discovered in the fall of 1935 that funds from this source would not be forthcoming (Crum 1983:213).

On October 1, 1935 the Walker River Agency was combined with the Carson Indian Agency, and Alida Bowler became the Superintendent with the responsibility for central Nevada Indians. She

assumed that the Nye County Shoshone Committee was the representative political body of all the Shoshones of

> central and southern Nevada. Because the committee wanted land in the Reese River Valley, she also assumed that the rest of the Shoshones favored this proposition (Crum 1983: 214).

The original Submarginal Lands proposal for the Reese River Valley had been based on the assumption that a single reservation at that location would be large enough for and acceptable to all landless Shoshones of central Nevada. As noted below, Bowler also assumed that the Western Shoshones in this area felt unified to a degree which would make it easy to organize such a reservation.

In July 1936 a Bureau negotiator, George Wren, took options on six ranches in the Reese River Valley. However, Shoshones living in other areas in fact wanted reservations to be established nearer to their homelands. For example, Dan Mike, a Shoshone living in Big Smokey Valley, wrote Bowler in August 1936, asking that a reservation be established in that valley. In September 1936 Bowler met with a group of Shoshones living in Big Smokey Valley and explained the IRA to them. She was told that they would like the Bureau to purchase two ranches in that valley, and she promised that this suggestion would be studied (Crum 1983: 216-17). Douglas Clark of the Sacramento office of the BIA did conduct an inspection of Big Smokey Valley but recommended against purchase of land there on several grounds. He concluded that purchase of two ranches there would create a reservation for only 21 Shoshones, and he also saw difficulties with soil quality and the substantial distance between the

ranches. After his report, evidently no further effort was made to buy land in that valley (Crum 1983: 217-19).

The next year, in May and April 1937, agents of the Technical Cooperation-Bureau of Indian Affairs (TC-BIA) made a study of the land needs of central Nevada Shoshones. This report concluded that various groups of Shoshones preferred reservations near their present residences and proposed creating new reservations in the Reese River and Duckwater Valleys for Nye County Shoshones and the Fish Lake Valley for Shoshones living in the Beatty-Pahrump area (Crum 1983: 218-19). The Carson Indian agency thereafter established reservations at the first two locations but never tried to organize one in Fish Lake Valley.

For some time prior to this, a group of Western Shoshones, apparently chiefly based in northeastern Nevada, outside the Duck Valley Reservation, had been asserting territorial claims under the Ruby Valley Treaty of 1863. From 1934, they had been seeking legislation to permit them to sue the federal government for return of their lands and/or compensation (Rusco 1982, Crum 1987). How strong this movement was among the groups being considered for settlement on what would become the Yomba Reservation is not clear, but at least some Agency officials were aware of the issue. A report in 1937 listed three questions about land which needed clarification. One of these was

> To what extent the present resettlement program should or should not satisfy the claims of the Shoshones, law suits for which are being agitated by Bill Gibson and Muchach Temoke, of the Elko and Ruby Valley Shoshones, but in which

claim some of the Nye Co. Shoshones feel they have a share ("Nye County Shoshone Project").

Finally, the effects of the Depression plus local conditions predisposed White ranchers to sell out. Once the Reese River Valley was decided upon as a site for a reservation, the BIA recommended purchasing all the ranches in the Valley for this purpose; it was reported that only three ranches probably would not be available. One of these was in the middle of bankruptcy proceedings and the owner of one ranch was willing to sell but only if two other ranches outside the upper Reese River Valley 15 to 18 miles north of the area being considered by the Government were also purchased. Another ranch was "owned by a very old man and his wife [who were] desirous of spending their remaining days on their ranch." In explanation of the availability for purchase of most ranches, this report stated that four of the ranching families consisted of people "between 65 and 80 years old [who] are no longer able to carry on the stock raising business." In another case "the heirs are anxious to sell in order to complete the settlement of the estate" and in still another case "[t]he owners of the Doyle Ranch want to get out of the cattle business as they have outside investments which are of greater interest to them" ("The Nye County Shoshone Project").

Establishment of the Yomba Reservation

The initial appropriation available for the Reese River Reservation - $65,000 - was not quite large enough to permit purchase of two of the ranches in the Valley. The Doyle Ranch

consisted of 2,161.48 acres and was for sale for $49,000, and the Bowler [no relation to Superintendent Bowler] Ranch consisted of 1,560 acres and was for sale for $19,600 (Crum 1983: 219).

The Bowler Ranch was purchased in November 1937. On February 17, 1938 Superintendent Bowler wrote the Nye County Shoshone Committee that the Washington Office had just sent a wire to the effect that "the purchase of the Doyle Ranch has been finally approved and that they are now preparing to authorize us to make payment for it. This means that we should obtain the title to the Doyle property very shortly so that you may count on having its use during the coming agricultural season." (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder "Yomba Reservation/Correspondence...", Bowler to Nye County Shoshone Committee, February 17, 1938).

Because no formal organization of the Shoshones who would live on the new reservation had yet taken place, Bowler met in January 1938 in Austin with the Nye County Shoshone Committee and other Shoshones. She was surprised at the large number of persons present and that the two ranches were not large enough to provide homes for everyone.

Sixteen families of one-half or more Indian blood were chosen to move to the ranches. The Nye County Shoshone Committee essentially made the choices. It submitted to Bowler a list of 16 families to be given first choice plus a second choice list. According to Bowler, "at this meeting ... we and the committee approved their first choice list with a single exception, where we did make a change." (RG 75, Organization Division, Carson

Indian Agency, Bowler to Daiker, January 24, 1938). "Several of the families chosen were residents of the Walker River reservation, including four committee members, Alice Hooper, Bud Decker, James X. Darrough, and Willie Bobb.... the remaining families selected were already living in and around the Reese River Valley" (Crum 1983: 219-21).

A slightly different account of the selection process was given in a report written in 1946. According to this account, five families had been given assignments on the Bowler Ranch in 1937, nine more families received assignments in 1938, one more person was given an assignment in 1940, after the purchase of two more ranches, and another five assignments were made in 1942, for an ultimate total of 20 families with assignments on the Reservation (Strait 1946). Because of a long delay in proclaiming the Reservation and approving its constitution and charter (see below), it seems that some families were resident of the Reservation before the bulk of formal choices were made, in early 1938.

Although the original plan had been to buy all the ranches in the valley, only the Worthington and Dieringer Ranches, each 480 acres, had been added to the original two by 1950 (San Bruno, Box B160, Folder "Yomba-land Description...", legal descriptions of four ranches). The Dieringer Ranch was purchased in 1940 for $12,620 and the Worthington Ranch was purchased in 1941 for $6,683 (Crum 1983: 229-39).

A tabulation of households as of April 20, 1939, when there were 14 assignments, is interesting. An apparent total of 19 households is listed (some relatives of assignees lived just off the Reservation). Of the 30 adults in those households for which the place of birth can be determined (one is unclear) the largest numbers were from Big Smokey Valley and Austin; 13 were born in Big Smokey Valley and nine in Austin. Of the remainder, two each were born in Monitor Valley and Potts, and one each in Belmont, Bull Spring, Ione and Tonopah.

No data are available to indicate where the assignees were living just prior to moving to the Reservation, although it has been noted above that Crum reports that most were living in or near the Reese River Valley at the time. The place-of-birth data undoubtedly underestimate the significance of the group which came from the Walker River Reservation. A description of the background of the six Council members in 1940 indicates that four of them, including Vice Chairman Willie Bobb and Secretary Alice Hooper, had lived on the Walker River Reservation for periods ranging from two to nine years (Laguna Niguel, Box 320, "Social and Economic Information for the Yomba Reservation"; Crum 1983: 221).

Another factor is that two of the early leaders of Yomba - Willie Bobb and Alice Hooper - were descended from Chief Kawich. Dave Clifford, who had led the Nye County Shoshone Committee but ultimately decided not to move there and give up his assignment at Walker River, was also descended from Kawich (San Bruno, Box

167, Folder "003/Yomba Reservation", "Yomba Reservation Census 1939"; Crum 1983: 210, 221). In the 19th century Kawich headed a small band in the Kawich Mountains, south of the Hot Creek Range. Steward (1938: 110-13) says that later in the 19th century the influence of Kawich extended to Belmont, where some Shoshones lived after mining began there. Perhaps because of the prominence of these descendants on the Nye County Shoshone Committee, in the late 1930s at least, Bowler believed that

> 'old Chief Kawich occupied with them [Nye County Shoshones] much the same position that Te-Moak did with the Western Shoshones in the Ruby Valley area.' Bowler therefore wanted the Shoshones to organize under the Indian Reorganization Act and call themselves the 'Ka'wich Bands' of Shoshones 'to match the Te-Moak bands of Shoshones in the Northeast quarter of the State.'" (Crum 1983: 214).

The ages of the men in a 1939 study ranged from 28 to 64, with a mean of 45, and the ages of the women ranged from 18 to 73, with a mean of 46. This report listed 44 children. Most of the Indians were full-blooded Shoshones (59 or 80 percent); ten were 7/8 Shoshone , four were 3/4 Shoshone , and one was 1/2 Shoshone.

After 1941, the Reservation contained a total of 3,721.48 acres. An "administrative site," for Agency buildings, totaled 32.8 acres. Of the rest, the largest amount was devoted to producing alfalfa or hay for cattle; 729 acres was devoted to raising hay, 169.1 acres was in alfalfa, and 14.5 acres was in pasture (for a total of 912.6 acres, or 24.5 percent of the total Reservation land). Another 59.7 acres was in wheat or barley, 19.7 acres was in potatoes, 6.3 acres was in gardens, and 61.7

acres of the farming land was counted as "idle cultivated." The rest of the reservation - 2,628.7 acres - was almost entirely grazing land (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder "Miscellaneous", "Yomba Shoshone Reservation", March 24, 1942).

In 1946 the 20 assignees had varying amounts of land; the total acreages in assignments varied from 44 to 68 acres, with a mean of 58 acres. Crop land varied even more; there was a range of two to 50 acres, with a mean of 15. Meadow land varied from 15 to 63 acres, with a mean of 43, and "farmstead" land varied from nothing (for 11 assignees) to 4 acres, with a mean of 1.1 acres. In addition, the Cattlemen's Association owned 25 acres of cropland, 46 acres of meadow land, and two acres of "farmstead" land, for a total of 73 acres (San Bruno, Box B161 /Folder "Agricultural Conservation Ass'n", handwritten report).

Evidently the BIA had planned to encourage the Indians of the Yomba Reservation to grow a wide variety of foods and animals to provide for their subsistence and increase their cash income. However, the Valley is quite high in elevation, and growing conditions are consequently poor for many crops. While determined efforts were made to raise various crops and livestock, cattle raising was the only significant agricultural activity possible.

The various ranches which comprise the Reservation are strung out for about 15 miles along the Reese River, with non-Indian ranches separating portions of the Reservation. The Doyle Ranch, at the southern end of the Reservation, averages 6,880

feet in elevation and the Bowler Ranch, at the northern end, averages 6,320 feet. In both cases, these are greater than the maximum elevation of Lake Tahoe (San Bruno, Box 129E, Folder "Regional Office ...", "Brief Preliminary Survey .... Reese River", 1943). As a result, the growing season varies between 62 and 90 days; killing frosts may occur as late as July 3 and as early as September 3 ("Yomba Shoshone Reservation", 1942). As a result, according to this study, the Reservation produced feed for livestock and gardens were used primarily to raise root and other cool weather crops.

Other data indicated grain was raised and that the Indian farmers engaged in a variety of other food raising efforts. In 1940 the Reservation produced 344 tons of alfalfa and 710 tons of wild hay, 1,400 bushels of wheat, 1,586 bushels of barley, and 1,690 bushels of potatoes. Milk cows produced 1,750 pounds of milk and chickens produced 520 dozen eggs (San Bruno, Box B162, Folder "Fallon and Yomba/Annual Extension Report 1940 ..."). In 1942, it was reported that 16 families owned beef cattle, 16 owned horses, 13 owned milk cows, 12 owned swine, 10 owned turkeys, 14 owned chickens and 7 owned waterfowl ("Yomba Shoshone Reservation", 1942).

Organization

Initially, the Washington Office of the BIA delayed the organizational process, with the result that loan moneys to purchase cattle were not available to the new assignees on the Reservation for two years. These delays were not the result of

inactivity on the part of the Indians or lack of cooperation from the Carson Indian Agency. Undoubtedly the Nye County Shoshone Committee functioned informally as a tribal council during the early years, before formal organization could be accomplished. As early as July, 1936 Don C. Foster, the Extension Agent of the Carson Indian Agency, reported that "The Yomba group ... [has] submitted a tentative draft of the constitution and it is now awaiting approval. As soon as it can be put through, they plan to ask for a charter and for a credit plan" (Foster 1936).

Just after purchase of the Bowler Ranch, Superintendent Bowler had written the Office asking that the two ranches be declared an Indian reservation "so that the Indians who receive land assignments thereon may take the steps required for organization under the Indian Reorganization Act" (RG 75, Carson Indian Agency, Bowler to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 27, 1937).

Yomba was not officially proclaimed a reservation until a year later, on October 27, 1938. The delay was partly because the Office had been unclear whether the Indians who were to be resettled on it were "ward" Indians. If they were not, it would be necessary to certify them as Indians of one half or more Indian blood, to whom the Indian Reorganization Act also applied. The problem was that there was great confusion in Washington about what constituted "ward" status. Bowler kept writing the Office to the effect that the Indians involved had been carried

on the rolls of the Carson Indian Agency for some time, but this was not considered a definitive fact in Washington.

In addition, Washington was confused about the relationship of the new assignees to members of the Te-Moak Bands. Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman wrote Bowler on February 10, 1938, stating that "It was our understanding that these Indians who are about to be located on the Reese River lands were to become a part of the Temoak federation or group" (RG 75, Organization Division, Carson Indian Agency, Zimmerman to Bowler, February 10, 1938).

In reply to this letter, Bowler wrote that there was "no connection whatsoever" between the Te-Moak Bands and the Yomba group. She said that

> The Indians whom we propose to settle on the Reese River tract are descendants of members of the bands who claimed occupancy of that territory now largely within Nye County .... As nearly as we can discover, one of the principal chiefs for these Indians was a man known by the name of "Kawich". The old Indians state that Kawich and other chiefs of theirs made an agreement with Government representatives which they thought was a treaty, but which evidently never acquired that status, and that this was done at about the same time that the more northern Shoshones made the Ruby Valley Treaty, and that they are therefore an aggregation of Shoshone bands about on a par with, but not affiliated with the Te-Moak Bands (RG 75, Organization Division, Carson Indian Agency, Bowler to Zimmerman, February 17, 1938.)

Finally, the Carson Indian Agency was forced to submit enrollment forms for each member of the assignee group, a process which was not complete until the end of April, 1939.

Meanwhile, other complications had arisen over the proposed constitution and charter for the Yomba Reservation. Hearing

nothing from Washington about the status of the assignees, in May 1938 Bowler called in George LaVatta of the Organization Division. She and LaVatta met with the assignees on May 24-25, "at which time organization and its benefits were carefully explained and discussed." (RG 75, Organization Division, Carson Indian Agency, LaVatta to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 23, 1938).

LaVatta submitted a draft constitution to the Washington Office on June 23, 1938. Again, there was a long delay. Not until December 15 was there a Bureau analysis of this document. Assistant Commissioner Kenneth Meiklejohn suggested a long list of important proposed changes in the constitution. Again raised the objection that the assignees were not members of a tribe or reservation, but also found fault with various other provisions of the constitution. D'Arcy McNickle of the Organization Division made other criticisms of the constitution on December 20, but it was January 16, 1939 before Fred Daiker of the Office wrote Superintendent Bowler with a long list of suggested revisions (RS 75, Organization Division, Daiker to Bowler, January 16, 1939).

George LaVatta worked on constitutional revisions until the end of March 1939. However, at the same time he had also been working on a charter for the group. On March 29, 1939 Bowler submitted the two documents to Washington and suggested that a simultaneous election be held to approve both documents. About two weeks later she also sent a letter from the Indians on the

Yomba Reservation requesting quick action (RG 75, Organization Division, Bowler to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 29 and April 14, 1939).

Incredibly, Washington responded with still more delay, in spite of urgent requests from Bowler to expedite matters. In June Walter Woehlke of the Office filed some new objections to the constitution. These were substantial, because they would have greatly increased the authority of the office over the Indians of the Reservation. There is no evidence that these objections were forwarded to Bowler, however, and she continued to do her best to speed up the process. In September she made an unusual personal plea to Commissioner Collier to try to get action (Record Group 75, Organization Division, Carson Indian Agency, Bowler to Commissioner, September 6, 1939).

Collier replied a week later that he had discovered in April that "the land provisions in the constitutions were, like similar provisions in other tribal constitutions, lacking in machinery for controlling land assignments." He suggested that it was necessary for the Office to have more authority over the assignment of land so that tribal councils could not deal "high-handedly ... with the tribal members." (Record Group 75, Organization Division, Carson Indian Agency, Collier to Bowler, September 14, 1939).

Collier enclosed proposed amendments to the constitution. Evidence that these had been accepted by the Indians was sent to Washington on October 12, 1939, together with an urgent request

for an election on both documents as soon as possible (Record Group 75, Organization Division, Bowler to Commissioner, October 12, 1939). Incredibly, even at this late date the Office indicated doubts about the constitution. But it finally approved it and the charter and scheduled an election for December 22, 1939. At this election both documents were approved 30 to 0. (Record Group 75, Organization Division, Carson Indian Agency, Foster to Commissioner, December 28, 1939 and Commissioner to Foster, January 9, 1940). More than two years after her initial request for quick action, the Reservation was proclaimed and a constitution and charter approved.

The Yomba Indians and Bowler were concerned about the delay because loans to the Tribe to permit them to purchase cattle were not possible until a constitution under the IRA was approved. The Carson Indian Agency was able to approve the supply of reimbursable cattle to the Indians before this, but could make them no loans. In a letter to George LaVatta, Bowler wrote about halfway through the slow process that the delay "makes it completely impossible for these people to have credit money this year. That may be quite serious for them unless we can again get reimbursable to help them. We had not asked for reimbursable because it never occurred to us that it would take almost a year to get action from our own group in Washington" (Record Group 75, Organization Division, Carson Indian Agency, Bowler to LaVatta, February 1, 1939).

Early Problems

In addition to the delays caused by the Washington Office, there were other problems in the early years of the Yomba Reservation in the effort to help the assignees increase their cattle herds. The amount of grazing land on the Reservation was small, so it was necessary to secure permits to graze cattle on Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management lands surrounding the reservation. By 1942 the Tribal Council had Forest Service permits to graze 1,060 head of cattle and Bureau of Land Management permits to graze 730 head ("Yomba Shoshone Reservation", 1942). But there was much frustration in reaching this point, and occasional fears that even this amount of grazing rights could not be secured.

The first attempts to take over grazing permits of the ranchers who were being bought out were not entirely successful. In August 1938 it was discovered that the owner of one of the two first ranches purchased had not grazed animals on the public domain since 1928 and had no water rights in the area. Consequently, no applications for permits were filed in his name (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder, "Grazing, not Nat. Forest ... ", M. L. Hannifan to Mr. Brooks, August 26, 1938; Millin to Don C. Foster, July 6, 1938; Bowler to Millin, August 3, 1938). At one point the regional Forester for the BIA, who was located in Salt Lake City, reported that a large sheep outfit had purchased a ranch in the Reese River Valley and might file for very large amounts of grazing land ahead of the Indians (San Bruno, Box

B163, Folder, "Grazing, not Nat. Forest ... ": Millin to Foster, July 6, 1938).

Another problem concerned water rights. Most of the public domain lands on which grazing rights were sought and secured lie to the west and south of the Yomba Reservation. This area is very dry, and is not suitable for winter grazing without watering tanks at various locations. In 1937 it was planned that the Indians might file for water rights on 30 springs and wells within western Nye County, eastern Mineral County, and northern Esmeralda County. Applications for these 30 locations had been filed by a former owner of the Doyle Ranch, but it was discovered that he had not followed through with his applications and had not used many of the springs or wells for some years; consequently, it was feared that water rights could not be secured for them (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder, "Grazing, not Nat. Forest ... ": Douglas Clark to E. M. Johnston, July 23, 1937). By 1942, the Reservation had water rights on only 21 locations in this large area, and lack of water was restricting expansion of cattle grazing ("Yomba Shoshone Reservation", 1942).

In response to lack of water for livestock, the Tribal Council and BIA sought to drill new wells or enlarge existing springs. While there was minor success with this program, lack of money prevented extensive improvement of water sources. In 1945 Superintendent Ralph M. Gelvin sought help outside the BIA by requesting funds from the Range Development Service to develop springs on public domain lands near the Yomba Reservation. He

was turned down on the ground that the BIA had funds for "soil and moisture operations." Gelvin protested to no avail that there was not enough money available in this account (San Bruno, Box 111, Folder "Annual Narrative Report 1935-36", G. P. Howell to Gelvin, March 29, 1945, Gelvin to Howell, April 10, 1945, and Gelvin to Walter Woehlke, April 10, 1945). In 1947 there was a new request for a special allocation of $3,000 to drill five wells to expand winter grazing for the Yomba Reservation. This letter indicated that while there were 200,000 acres of public domain in Nye County available for grazing, in practice only 40,000 acres "could be utilized for winter range due to the lack of properly located stock water structures." Although the Cattlemen's Association at Yomba had paid for drilling a new well in Gabbs Valley, it could not afford further expenditures for this purpose (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder "Grazing, not Nat. Forest ...", Gelvin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 5, 1947).

In spite of these difficulties, cattle production at Yomba did expand substantially, although not as much as the Indians had hoped. Indian ownership of cattle was encouraged in two ways. By July, 1938 the BIA had issued 266 "repayment" cattle to 17 individuals, including 42 head from Pyramid Lake and 98 head from the Walker River Reservation. These were cattle that were to be paid for by returning to the Government some of their offspring (San Bruno, Box B162, Folder "Yomba Res. Miscel. Description [sic]...", Yomba Business Committee to Superintendent

Bowler, July 28, 1938). In addition, individual assignees and the Cattlemen's Association were issued loans with which to purchase cattle and horses after the first part of 1940.

By 1945 the Indian cattlemen at Yomba owned 1,537 head of cattle (San Bruno, Box B160, "Plan of Management" for Cattlemen's Association. See also O'Harra and Strait 1946). More important, from all sources (though primarily cattle) incomes of Indians on the Reservation had increased. A BIA report asserted that "per family average net income" of assignees increased from $117 per year in 1938 to $2,363 per year in 1945 (Ibid.).

The isolation of the Reservation restricted services which could be provided to them in the early years. In November 1941 the Tribal Council adopted a Law and Order Code. But this action did not bring a tribal police officer to the Reservation; if necessary, one had to be summoned from the Fallon Reservation. Also, according to a 1942 report, "If court is held, it is necessary to have a judge come from some other regularly organized tribe in the Carson jurisdiction." (King and King 1942)

A very important organization, which also organized informally before adoption of a basic constitutional document, was the Reese River Shoshone Livestock Association. This organization borrowed $556.50 from the Government under a "reimbursable agreement" in 1938 in order to purchase four bulls for the assignees on the Reservation. Not until seven years later did the Tribal Council formally approve this organization;

on June 8, 1945 it adopted a resolution formally approving articles of incorporation of what had become the Yomba Cattlemen's Association, citing its authority under the Constitution to charter "subordinate organizations." Advice on organization of cattlemen's associations and copies of articles of incorporation from other reservations had been provided to the Carson Indian Agency in 1940 by J. E. White, the regional Credit Agent of the BIA, whose headquarters were in Salt Lake City (San Bruno, Box B160, "Yomba Livestock Association ... ", J. E. White to Foster, October 16, 1940).

The Cattlemen's Association was incorporated under Nevada law as a cooperative; all 20 assignees were incorporators. A set of by-laws was approved at the same time. These documents provided for annual election of five directors, who would then elect a president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer. The principal functions of the Cattlemen's Association were to manage the tribally-owned meadowland, to purchase and maintain good quality bulls, to improve the quality of the range cattle owned by individual assignees, to pay the range fees for use of Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management grazing lands, and to organize joint activities ranging from branding, vaccinating and dehorning to conducting the annual auction at which cattle were sold. The Association assessed members to secure income for these purposes. One of the first steps the Association took after incorporation was to apply for a $10,500 loan to buy bulls.

Many cattle-raising activities were conducted cooperatively in the 1930s and 1940s. For example, a report in 1942 noted that

> The Indians of Yomba Reservation run their herds of cattle on the range and take their turn helping see after the herd for several days at a time, or all pay their share of herding expenses if a herder is hired. At round up, branding, dehorning, and vaccinating time, they assist each other. The Indians at the upper [Doyle] ranch with the exception of one family usually work together. At haying and harvest time the Indians assist each other (King and King 1942).

It was also necessary to provide an infrastructure for the new reservation. Although details of this process are unclear, substantial advances were made in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Fifteen new concrete block houses were built for assignees and their families, and one of the old ranch houses was renovated for use by Indians. The houses were small; seven had three rooms, five had four rooms, and three had five rooms. Apparently the toilets were outside the houses (King and King 1942). They were built with BIA Rehabilitation funds; tribal members were paid to work on them. Informally the device of "sweat equity" was used, although apparently that was not formally a part of housing programs at that time. On March 7, 1938 the Yomba Indian Council adopted a resolution urging members of the Tribe to "donate a portion of their labor" to complete the houses. The resolution pointed out that only about $3,500 remained per house to complete the work, but suggested that if each member would request payment for half the time actually spent working, this money might actually be enough (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder "Yomba Reservation, Correspondence, Miscell. Business Committee").

By 1942 there were several other buildings owned by the Tribe or the Agency. A frame house containing a large meeting room and a kitchen functioned as both a community building and a school, another frame building was used as a blacksmith shop and "community repair shop," there was a concrete block granary with space for each assignee to store grain, an Agency building housed the teacher's family and also served as a dispensary and office, and evidently there were also a barn, a shed, a chicken house, a coal house, a wood house, an engine house, and a cold storage house (King and King 1942).

One of the biggest early problems is that water for homes came mostly from the Reese River or irrigation ditches; only four families had wells, and one got water from a spring. The Agency buildings and some families living nearby were served by a well. Only the Agency headquarters had electricity, provided by a generator (Ibid.).

Two schools served the Reservation in its early years. Only dirt roads connected it with surrounding communities. A dirt road led through the Valley. Thirty-five miles to the north this connected with U.S. Highway 50; Austin was another 15 miles northeast. Dirt roads led south out of the Valley to Tonopah, about 90 miles away, and Ely was 197 miles to the east. The nearest town, though it was small, was Ione, about eight miles to the west over the Shoshone Mountains. A Reese River Telephone Company provided telephone service to the Agency and at least

some families, and connected with the Bell Telephone Company of Nevada (Ibid.).

The principal Agency employee did not live at Yomba but had headquarters at Fallon, 120 miles away. In 1942 a teacher and his housekeeper-wife were the only Agency employees living on the Reservation. Medical service was provided for emergency purposes during the late 1930s by an Indian Civilian Conservation Corps camp in the Valley, but otherwise residents were dependent on supposedly monthly visits by an Agency physician and an Agency nurse. Because of poor roads and not infrequent storms, especially in the winter, these health professionals actually averaged visits about six times a year (Ibid.).

How effectively the residents of the Yomba Reservation actually governed themselves and how many decisions were in fact made by Agency personnel are difficult matters to determine. A report in 1942 stated that the Tribal Council had "full charge of the affairs of the reservation" but it is certain that this is an exaggeration (Ibid.). For one thing, some BIA activities were not even nominally under Tribal Council control. For example, in March 1940 Superintendent Foster wrote Willie Bobb, the Chairman of the Council, that he had been told that "the Tribal Council now feels that they are to run all matters at Reese River." Foster hastened to assure the Council that this was not true with respect to choosing employees for the CCC camp. Foster bluntly told Bobb:

> The whole thing boils down to this, Willie, when the Government puts up the money, we will name the man to be in

> charge of the work and there will be no argument about this. If your tribe does not want to use this procedure, we will use the money some where else. If your tribe wants to follow the advice of agitators and men of the type of ..., you can expect very little assistance from the Government (San Bruno, Box B163, Folder, "Yomba Reservation/ Correspondence ...". Foster to Bobb, March 6, 1940).

Even where there was no question of tribal jurisdiction, the Carson Indian Agency sometimes interfered with a heavy hand. For example, in the spring of 1938 Superintendent Bowler sent the "Yomba Reservation Committee" a two page letter saying that she was "very much disturbed at the reports that are reaching me relative to the dire threat to the success of your people's use of the lands purchased for them by reason of the bad attitude of one particular member of your new community." She went on to say that the Agency expected the Council to do what the majority wanted rather than to be dominated by one person, and she made it clear that "we expect you to take strong steps to control or to eliminate trouble-makers from your group." She advised them that they could not expect purchase of additional lands for the Reservation unless the Agency was satisfied that the Council was behaving as the Agency expected it to behave (Ibid.: Bowler to Yomba Reservation Committee, March 23, 1938).

On the other hand, the Agency under Alida Bowler's leadership was committed in principle to the idea of Indian self-government, however much it may also have wished to enforce other policies of the BIA and respond to the survival needs of the Agency itself, and so probably incidents such as this were few and far between. Also, Yomba was a long way from Carson City,

where the Agency headquarters was located, and even from Fallon. On a day-to-day basis, most decisions must have been made by local Indians. There is no evidence that the Tribal Council or Cattlemen's Association were reluctant to request additional land, improvement of their winter grazing areas, or other things needed to improve their condition. For example, in July 1938, during the first agricultural season on the Reservation, the Yomba Business Committee sent a request to Bowler asking for 500 head of repayment cattle, so that all families on the Reservation could "get into the cattle business as soon as possible." At that time, according to the resolution, assignees owned 135 head of cattle, but most of these were owned by only four individuals. Six persons owned one or two head each, and six owned no cattle at all (San Bruno, Box B162, Folder "Yomba Res. Miscel, Discription [sic] ....", Yomba Business Committee to Bowler, July 28, 1938). In 1944 the Tribal Council asked that the Keough Ranch in Indian Valley be purchased for an addition to the Reservation (San Bruno, Box 111, Folder "Annual Narrative Report 1935-36", Resolution of Yomba Shoshone Tribal Council, October 13, 1944).

Conclusions

Some overall conclusions about the effectiveness of the creation of the Yomba Reservation from the standpoint of Indian goals and objectives are justified.

First, there can be no doubt that the families that moved onto the Reservation increased their standards of living

significantly by doing so. Many if not most of them had been extremely hard-working people previously, but their conditions did not allow them to rise above extreme poverty. But on the new Reservation they acquired more cattle, lived in better houses, and enjoyed higher cash incomes. Further, by living on trust territory, they acquired advantages such as some governmental services and freedom from property taxes, which they had not enjoyed before. No matter how skimpy the services, this represented an advance over their previous condition.

Second, there is also no doubt that the Reservation did not provide help for as many people as needed it, that the help with establishing the cattle industry was substantially delayed by the Washington Office, and that the standards of living of its residents did not rise as fast or as far as they desired. As noted above, an early plan had been to acquire all of the ranches in the Valley; at one point it was estimated that if this plan succeeded the Reservation could enable approximately 349 scattered Shoshones to become self-sustaining ("Nye County Shoshone Project"). Instead, by 1939 there were only 74 Indians living on the Reservation, and this rose only slightly with the addition of two more small ranches in 1940 and 1941. The other new Shoshone reservations also accommodated fewer Indians than anticipated, with the result that there were still quite a few landless Western Shoshones by the 1940s. Another problem has been noted above; not just the amount of land on the Reservation but also the amount of winter grazing land with adequate water

for livestock limited the livestock industry, which was the primary means of making a living on the Reservation.

Third, although the Agency was somewhat aware of the wider land claims being made by many Western Shoshones, it did not pursue these nor make any allowance for them. No court had ruled at that time that the bulk of Western Shoshone lands had in fact passed into the hands of the federal government (partly because the issue had never been raised in court) but significant numbers of Western Shoshones were asserting the land claims that in the 1970s led to extensive litigation. From the standpoint of many Western Shoshones, the small reservations must have rankled even more because of their belief that they were still the aboriginal owners of most of their former territory.

Fourth, no matter how much the BIA interfered with Indian self-government, there can be no doubt that Indians had somewhat greater control of their lives on the new reservations than they had enjoyed previously. As minorities in a wider society which was often prejudiced against them, without organization they had almost no control over any government before adopting their own.

Fifth, it would be of interest to know how the creation of the Reservation affected the acculturation process, but data on this are scarce. Because they had lived among EuroAmericans for decades before the Reservation was created, and because the process of partial expulsion from aboriginal lands and loss of resources had forced changes in their way of life, the Western Shoshones who took assignments at Yomba in the late 1930s were

different in many ways from the first members of their society to see non-Indians approximately 80 years earlier. Undoubtedly they continued to make changes after creation of the Reservation; whether this process accelerated them is not known. Today, however, it is evident that Western Shoshones are still different in many ways from White (or Black) Nevadans and that they still identify as Western Shoshones. Indeed, the 1970s and 1980s have seen the creation of a political entity called the Western Shoshone Nation, for the first time.

While it would be foolish to claim that establishment of the Yomba Reservation solved all the previous problems of the Indians, there can be no reasonable doubt that it substantially helped some Western Shoshones. Since their previous experience with non-Indian government and society had been one of assault upon their means of livelihood and on their right to be culturally different, the change represented by the new policy was dramatic.

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