

**Non-Native Exploration,
Settlement, and Land Use of
the Greater Hells Canyon
Area, 1800s to 1950s**

Madeline Kelley Buckendorf
Barbara Perry Bauer
Elizabeth Jacox
The Arrowrock Group, Inc.

**Technical Report
Appendix E.4-11**

Hells Canyon Complex
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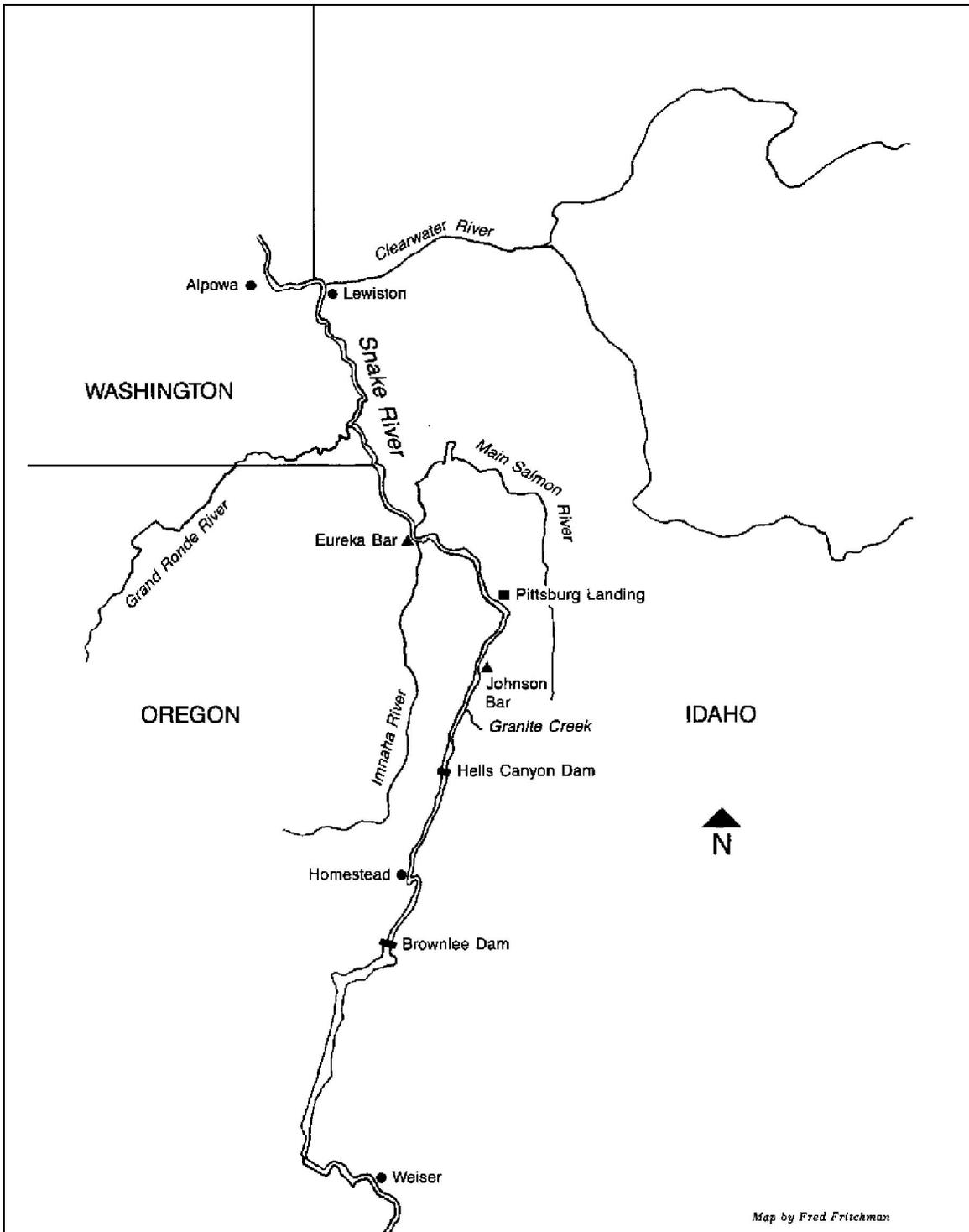
**Prepared for
Idaho Power Company**

By

**The Arrowrock Group, Inc.
Boise, Idaho**

**Madeline Kelley Buckendorf
Barbara Perry Bauer
Elizabeth Jacox**

Summer 2001



Area Map from David L. Stratton, "Hells Canyon: The Missing Link in Pacific Northwest Regionalism," *Idaho Yesterdays*, Fall 1984.

NON-NATIVE EXPLORATION, SETTLEMENT, AND LAND USE OF THE GREATER HELLS CANYON AREA, 1800s to 1950s

INTRODUCTION

In 1995, The Arrowrock Group, Inc., (The Arrowrock Group) contracted with Idaho Power Company to conduct a historical literature survey of the greater Hells Canyon area in the Snake River drainage. The survey area included the Idaho-Oregon (and some of the Washington) portion of the river, generally from Farewell Bend to its confluence with the Salmon River. The survey was the first in a three-phase cultural resources project concerning Euro-American settlement and land use from the 1800s to the 1950s. This initial report was filed with Idaho Power in 1995.¹

From 1996 to 1998, The Arrowrock Group conducted oral history interviews with long-term residents of the greater Hells Canyon area. This project comprised the second phase of historical research on the area's land use and social history. The interviews focused on settlement between Farewell Bend and Hells Canyon Dam, since it was one of the least historically researched sections of the Lower Snake River area. Because of its status as a National Recreation Area, the section between Hells Canyon Dam and Lewiston has already been well documented. Federal and state agencies, contract historians, and private authors had already conducted numerous oral history interviews of this section's inhabitants. The final products produced from phase two of the project included taped and transcribed interviews with a cross-section of long-time residents and copies of historical photographs from private family collections.²

From 1999 to 2000, Arrowrock Group members also carried out further historical research on land use patterns in the study area. This work was conducted in association with the environmental consulting firm of Simons and Associates, which was under contract with Idaho Power Company.³ Records examined included the following: Northwest explorers and trappers' journals covering the period of the 1820s to the 1840s, General Land Office (now the Bureau of Land Management) surveys from the 1860s to the 1930s, historical photographs in the Idaho State Historical Library and Archives, and various pre-1950s state and federal wildlife agency publications.

This report provides an overview of Euro-American exploration, settlement, and land use based on the material gathered in the project's previous phases. The overview includes a Project Methodology section, a Historical Context Narrative, Conclusions, Recommendations, End Notes, and a Bibliography, all written according to professional standards for historians. Historical photographs, illustrations, and maps are included in the text.

PROJECT METHODOLOGY

In the project's first phase, Arrowrock Group members surveyed collections of historical records concerning the study area. Numerous primary and secondary sources were located and reviewed, with notes taken on their contents, location, and accessibility (see the attached Bibliography). These sources were annotated in a selected bibliography, located in the first phase's final report entitled *Historical Literature survey of the Snake River from Farewell Bend to the Mouth of the Salmon River*.

In conducting the literature survey, the Arrowrock Group focused on answering several historical questions listed in the original proposal:

- What were the area's settlement patterns? Where did settlers come from?
- What was their ethnic heritage?
- What grasses, plants, trees were in the area before 1955?
- What wildlife (animals, birds, fish) was in the area? Did the flora and fauna change?
- What were early methods of irrigation? What sources of drinking water, hydropower, and electricity were available?
- What kind of work was available? How did that change over time?
- What were economic conditions like during different time periods?
- What kinds of social activities were there? Who socialized with whom?
- What were local attitudes towards the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam?
- What were the effects of dam construction on the local economy?
- What other events, laws, activities had a major impact on local communities?

Arrowrock Group members examined primary and secondary research resources scattered throughout western Idaho, eastern Oregon, and eastern Washington. Collections in 32 different depositories or institutions were examined on site; five others were contacted by mail or surveyed through the Internet (see the attached Bibliography). The literature search resulted in an annotated bibliography of over 200 sources. An additional 50 related items were scanned or noted. The original bibliography, plus

additional sources used in later phases of The Arrowrock Group's project, are attached to this report.

In the interview phase of the project, The Arrowrock Group collected oral information concerning the area's history and culture. A cross-section of former area residents was selected for taped interviews (see Tables 1 and 2). The interviews helped fill gaps in the existing historical literature and explore attitudes toward historical changes. Local places mentioned in some detail in the interviews included the following: Robinette, Brownlee, Homestead, Home, Connor Creek, Fox Creek, Deacon Creek, Mineral, Huntington, Burnt River, Monroe and Mann Creeks, Cuprum, Indian Valley, Lookout Mountain, Durkee, Richland, Indian Valley, New Meadows, Halfway, Gypsum, and Baker.

Table 1

PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES

Name	M/F	ID/OR	Ethnicity	Occupation
Densley, Lillian	F	OR	WAS*	Small ranching, Recr. mining
Bailey, Ann	F	OR(Id)	Greek	Sheep industry, Small ranch
Miglioretto, Abey	M	OR	Italian	Shoemaker, Railroad, Cattle
Pengilly, John	M	OR(Id)	Irish	Lumber Business
Bloomer, Maybelle	F	OR	WAS	Small-scale Mining
Forsea, Walter	M	OR	Rumanian	Larger-scale Cattle Ranch
Forsea, Dan	M	OR	Rumanian	Larger-scale Ranch, 3rd gen.
Attebery, Bob	M	ID	WAS	Cowboy for various ranches
Whiteman, Bob	M	ID	WAS	2nd gen. of Campbell family
Gabiola, Edurne	F	ID(Or)	Basque	Sheep Ranch Cook
Gabiola, Henry	M	ID(Or)	Basque	Shepherd, Camp Tender
Tucker, Mary Baker	F	OR	WAS	Orchards, (Baker Ranch)
Basche, Pete	M	OR	WFA#	Ranching (cattle), Business
Whiteman, Eileen	F	ID	WAS	Ranching, Bookkeeping

*White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant
#White, French-American

Table 2

Profile of Interviewees

<u>STATISTICS:</u>	
<u>Gender:</u>	8 males, 6 females
<u>State:</u>	8 Oregon, 6 Idaho
<u>Ethnicity:</u>	1 second generation Greek & Irish/Indian, and English American; 1 second generation Italian- American; 1 first generation and 1 second generation Basque; 1 second generation Rumanian and 1 third-generation Rumanian-American; 7 White-Anglo Saxon Protestants; 1 of French extraction. [Note: no former residents of Asian-American descent could be located.]
<u>Occupations:</u>	1 cowboy, 1 and 1/2 mining, 2 sheep industry, 1 ranch cook, 1 and 1/2 railroad, 1 1/2 small cattle ranchers, 3 larger cattle ranchers, 1/2 shoemaker, 1 lumber business, one orchard business, 1/2 oil sales

The Arrowrock Group developed a list of questions similar to those used for the historical literature survey. These questions were mailed to potential narrators, along with a request to borrow historical photographs. Most potential narrators were very willing to share their stories and photographs. Approximately 50 historical photographs were loaned to the project. The historical pictures were copied and returned to their owners by the Arrowrock Group. All narrators were also offered the opportunity to review their interviews and edit them. Every participant received final copies of their individual interviews in transcript form and on tape.

In the project's third phase, The Arrowrock Group worked in conjunction with Charles Blair and Jeff Braatne, contractors with Simons and Associates. Simons and Associates studied the effects of the Hells Canyon Dams on wildlife habitat in the area. In this phase, reports of early Northwest explorers, trappers' journals, and other sources were researched for plant and wildlife information from the 1800s to 1845. General Land Office surveyors' notes were also examined. Between 1860 and 1915, the General Land Office (GLO) completed the initial cadastral surveys across Idaho. These surveys established the township and range system in advance of transferring public lands to

private ownership through various federal land claim acts. During their travels, surveyors took notes on various items, including the existence and types of trees and plants. The Arrowrock Group examined the Idaho records only, which are located at the BLM's Idaho State Office in Boise. The Idaho survey began in 1867 when Surveyor General Lafayette Cartee established the Initial Point in Ada County near Kuna. The Olds Ferry and Farewell Bend areas were among the first regions surveyed. Some of the more inaccessible areas in Hells Canyon were not surveyed until the 1930s, due to money shortages and lack of proper equipment.⁴ The Arrowrock Group noted the sections that comprised the pre-dam banks of the Snake River in the study corridor. This information was then used in a 2000 draft report written by Simons and Associates for Idaho Power, entitled *Effects of Constructing and Operating the Hells Canyon Complex on Wildlife Habitat*.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT NARRATIVE

The Snake River drainage creates a natural passageway that connects the Rocky Mountains to the Cascade Range and the Pacific Coast. The Farewell Bend and Lewiston areas provide the easiest corridors to the Snake River, since they are comprised of desert basins and smooth waterways. In between lies Hells Canyon, the deepest river gorge in the continental United States. The canyon's steep and rocky walls on its west side and Seven Devils Mountains on its east side constrict the Snake River into a rushing, boulder-filled torrent. Hells Canyon has historically served as a formidable barrier to regional transportation and development.

Before non-native peoples set foot in the Pacific Northwest, Native American tribes had already established well-worn paths through the Snake River country over thousands of years. Bands of Indians came to the Snake River country and Hells Canyon from all directions--camping, gathering food resources, and establishing trading fairs along its banks. Explorers, trappers, and settlers eventually followed these established trails into the Northwest. Some came to partake of the region's riches and leave; others decided to claim land and live there permanently.

Exploration and the Fur Trade, 1800s-1840s

After Columbus arrived in the Americas in 1492, the search for a northwest passageway to Asia continued for the next three centuries. Spanish, French, and British governments sent expeditions to North America to explore and subsequently claim lands. Soon after the United States was formed, the new government sent an exploration party to the Pacific Northwest. President Thomas Jefferson dispatched an expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1803, three months before the Louisiana Purchase was finalized. Three years later they camped near present-day Kamiah, Idaho, waiting for the snow to melt. Expedition members John Ordway and Peter Weiser explored the confluence of the Snake and Salmon rivers, obtaining fish from local Indians. They were the first known non-native people to set foot in the greater Hells Canyon area. Lewis and Clark believed that they had found a northwest passageway, despite the area's formidable topography.⁵

The Snake and Columbia River basins' natural riches soon attracted American, French, and British fur trappers and traders. In 1811, New Yorker John Jacob Astor sent the Wilson Price Hunt expedition overland to establish a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River. They traveled along the Snake River to the Farewell Bend area. Hunt then sent expedition member Donald McKenzie and others north to find an easier way to the Columbia River. They traveled along Hells Canyon's eastern edge until they reached present-day Lewiston, then followed the Snake and Columbia rivers downstream to establish the Astoria trading post. Hunt and the remaining expedition members crossed the Snake River at Farewell Bend, following a route along the Powder River that later became part of the Oregon Trail. A year later, former Lewis and Clark Expedition member Peter Weiser returned to the area and identified the river named after him as a landmark.⁶

In the early 1800s, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Trading Company sent numerous brigades of fur trappers and traders to the Snake River Country, searching for valuable beaver pelts. Some of these trappers mapped areas previously unexplored by non-native peoples. Francois Payette, a member of numerous brigade expeditions, explored the present-day Payette River as early as 1818. He later established

a trading post at the juncture of the Boise and Snake rivers, near a major site for annual Native American trading fairs. Other Snake Country brigade leaders kept journals of their explorations, often describing plants, wildlife, topography, and native customs. Peter Skene Ogden, leader of a Hudson's Bay Company brigade, traveled through the Burnt River and Powder River area in 1826. He described the area's barrenness and desolation: "A more gloomy country I never yet saw; too [two] horses killed for food today."⁷ Hudson's Bay brigade leader John Work followed this same route in 1830, as did independent trapper Nathaniel Wyeth in 1834. Wyeth described the country 20 miles west of the Boise River as "burnt out by Indians who have passed this way going up to Buffalo."⁸ Wyeth and his men dug camas bulbs for food and ate choke cherries, as well as killing grouse and trading salmon with native bands. Their journals indicated that the beaver population was rapidly diminishing. By the 1830s, the brigades had nearly eliminated the animals from the entire Snake River basin.

John Kirk Townsend, a naturalist traveling with Nathaniel Wyeth in 1834, reported on the Snake River country's natural environment. Flora mentioned in the area included wormwood (sagebrush) and tall prairie grass on the hills and plains, and balsam poplar (cottonwood trees) and willows along the riverbanks. Townsend's description of the Ontario-Payette area portended its future development:

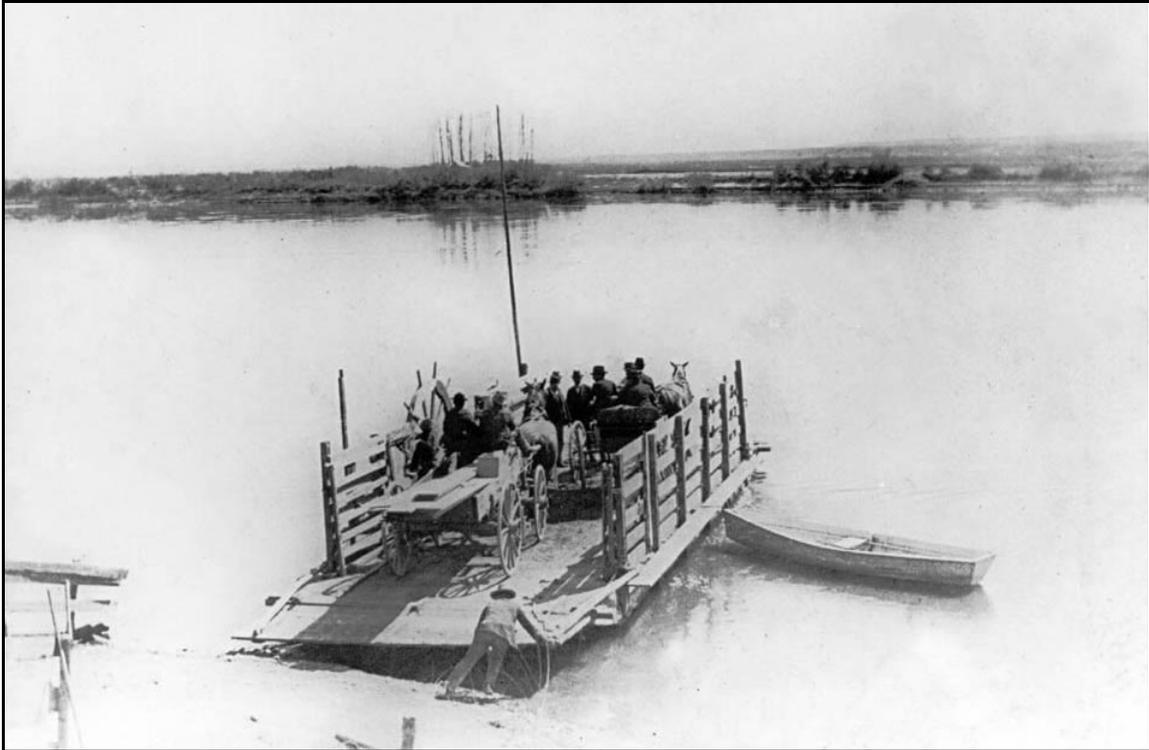
We followed the course of the [Malheur] creek during the afternoon, and in the evening encamped on Snake River, into which Malheur empties. The river is here nearly a mile wide, but deep and clear...perfectly navigable for steamboats, or even larger craft, and it would seem not improbable, that some distant day, these facilities, added to the excellence of the alluvial soil, should induce the stout and hard adventurers of our country to make permanent settlements here. 9

The Oregon Trail and Permanent Settlement, 1840s-1860s

By the 1840s, enough exploration of the Far West had occurred to encourage Trans-Mississippi migration and settlement. Initially the popular press discouraged westward emigration, building upon preconceived notions of the area as an impassable "Great American Desert." Excerpts of explorer John Fremont's diaries published in 1844, however, presented a more optimistic view of overland travel. He touted the route through Wyoming's South Pass and Oregon's Farewell Bend as a relatively easy

passageway to the Oregon country. Soon newspapers and politicians repeated (and at times exaggerated) Fremont's glowing accounts. Other factors fueled the westward emigration movement. Promotion of Oregon's healthy climate, fertile lands, and the promise of heroic adventures drew scores of prospective settlers to the Pacific Northwest. By 1850, emigration to Oregon swelled to 6,000 people in one year. The 1848 gold discoveries in California caused western emigration to peak in the 1850s, as emigrants sought new finds in the Pacific Northwest. Approximately 10,000 prospective settlers came to Oregon Territory in 1852--the largest yearly number during the entire overland migration period.¹⁰

Permanent Euro-American settlement of the Hell's Canyon area came from three directions: (1) Southeast from Missouri, as Oregon Trail emigrants stopped and stayed along inviting rivers and valleys instead of continuing to the Willamette Valley; (2) from the West Coast, as a "backwash" of Oregon Trail travelers and gold miners sought unclaimed lands and minerals; and (3) from the Southwest, as California gold seekers followed new strikes in Pierce, Florence, the Baker City area, and later the Boise Basin. Settlers and miners used established pathways along the Powder and Burnt rivers to reach areas west of the Cascade Mountains. By 1855, several Northwest Indian tribes were forced to accept treaty arrangements with the U.S. government and live on specified reservation lands. The relocation of most Native American bands to a very limited area resulted in increased white settlement east of the Cascades and throughout the Snake River Plain. Small stage stations, stores, hotels, truck farms, and ranches developed to serve travelers and freighter traveling along various Oregon Trail routes. In 1862, former trapper and emigrant trail guide Tim Goodale started an alternate wagon route near Brownlee and Pine creeks. Local settler John Brownlee immediately began a ferry service across the Snake River. A year later, Rueben Olds started a trading post and ferry at Farewell Bend. Olds, a former employee of the Hudsons Bay Company, had been working gold placers near the area. In 1863, former Baker City residents William and Nancy Logan opened a roadhouse near Olds Ferry. Thomas Galloway, a former Oregon Trail emigrant and miner, homesteaded near the confluence of the Snake and Weiser rivers in 1864. He started a horse ranch built a wooden bridge over Snake River. Later Galloway helped establish the town of Weiser.¹¹



Olds Ferry, 1902.



Westlake Ferry near Weiser.

Mining Discoveries and Early Development, 1860s to 1880s

Mining played a major role in the development of the Hell's Canyon country. Gold discoveries at both ends of the present-day National Recreation Area brought a flood of human traffic there. In 1860 Elias Pierce, a former California miner and fur, discovered gold on Nez Perce in the Clearwater Mountains east of Lewiston. A year later, prospectors hit pay dirt southeast of Grangeville and north of the Salmon River. There they established a mining camp named Florence. In 1862, Levi Allen and 14 prospectors left Fort Walla Walla and traveled eastward to Pittsburg Landing. Under the auspices of The [Portland] Oregon Steam and Navigation Company, they scouted for new steamboat routes and mining sites in the Upper Snake River area. They also traveled southward upriver to old Fort Boise. In 1862, Allen discovered a rich copper lode near White Monument in the Seven Devils Mountains. Rugged topography and lack of interest in copper delayed further mining development in the greater Hells Canyon area until the mid-1870s.¹²

Placer mining along tributary streams of the Snake River began in the 1860s, as government treaties further reduced the size of Nez Perce reservation lands along the lower Snake River, and removed most Northern Shoshoni tribes in southwestern Idaho to the Fort Hall reservation.¹³ Numerous placers were located at the mouth of the Salmon River, downstream from the earliest strikes in Florence and Warrens. Gold was also discovered on the Powder River near Sparta, and prospectors dug a ditch from Eagle Creek to run their sluice boxes. Boise Valley resident Hosea B. Eastman and his Idaho Placer Company started mining operations near Olds Ferry in the 1860s. At the same time, former California prospector Jim Summers struck gold at the mouth of Oregon's Pine Creek. He also worked placers along Brownlee Creek, on the Idaho side of the river. Summers helped former Nevada miners James Ruth and T. J. Heath discover large silver veins along Brownlee Creek in 1874. They built a stamp mill at a nearby site (later named Ruthburg), and their rich returns created further interest in the area. William West came from Placerville in the Boise Basin and discovered another lode near Ruthburg. The mining site of Heath was established there in 1875. Large copper lodes were also identified in the area, and San Francisco mining investor George Hearst bought the property. In 1881, a ten-stamp mill was constructed at Heath.¹⁴

Upstream on the Snake River's west side, James Eidelman and a Mr. Wood struck gold along Connor Creek. A mining camp named Marysville was established there in the early 1870s. Prospectors first worked placer operations along the creek, and then hard-rock mining commenced. A 20-stamp mill was constructed there in 1873. Simeon Reed, one of the owners of the Oregon Steam and Navigation Company, had purchased the Connor Creek mines by 1877. He also owned a gem mine in nearby Sparta. Reed chose Captain Josiah Myric (formerly captain of Reed's steamboat *The Shoshone*) to head the Connor Creek operation. The population along the creek grew to 145 people, and a post office named "Home" was established near its mouth in 1878. By 1880, a stage road was completed between Huntington and Connor Creek.¹⁵



Connor Mining Camp, c. 1900. Credit: Mary Rynearson Tucker.

Numerous placer claims were located at the mouth of the Imnaha River by the 1880s. Several Chinese immigrants worked placers in the area, including upstream from the Imnaha River near Dug Bar. The Asian miners were often harassed and driven out of mining camps. In 1886, local ranch hands attempted to take over Chinese claims near Dug Bar, and massacred 32 Asians there. Other Chinese miners continued to rework abandoned placers in the Hells Canyon area. They conducted extensive placer and

hydraulic work done on Connor Creek and near Canyon (originally Park) Creek near the Huntington area. Locals called a hillside near Canyon Creek “China Diggings,” and a series of small ditches are still visible in the area. A very few Chinese stayed in the area; those who did found work in adjacent small towns.¹⁶

Placer operations soon spread along all the creeks and rivers in the greater Hells Canyon area. Hard rock mining began in earnest at the headwaters of many tributaries. Discovery of substantial ore bodies in the area caused a mining boom in the late 1880s and 1890s. Each of these operations changed the landscape, as hillsides were gouged and water was diverted through ditches, flumes, sluices, and hydraulic hoses. Adits and tunnels for hard rock operations were dynamited into the sides of hills, and trees were cut for framing mine portals and for fueling steam-powered milling operations. Roads and trails were dug into the sides of mountains, providing access between camps and to regional freight centers. Increased mining development also brought more settlers and other types of land use to the region.

Public Land Acquisition

Hells Canyon area settlers followed patterns of land acquisition common to other parts of the western territories. The U. S. General Land Office (predecessor of the Bureau of Land Management) started surveying the Inland Northwest in the early 1860s. The surveyors established a township system in advance of transferring public lands into private ownership. One way that settlers appropriated land prior to survey was through “squatter’s rights,” allowed under the federal Preemption Act of 1841. Under this act, people could choose a piece of public land, build a dwelling on it, and make other improvements without legal ownership of the property. They “squatted” there until their land was surveyed and offered for sale by the government. The settlers could then lay legal claim through the Preemption Act and purchase up to 160 acres at \$1.25 an acre.¹⁷

In 1862, Congress passed the Homestead Act, the embodiment of Thomas Jefferson’s ideal of an agricultural society founded upon small land holdings. Land was made available to any family or person who was a U. S. citizen or had filed a declaration to become one. Quarter sections (160 acres) of land were distributed free, provided the

property was lived and worked on for five years. Such land could also be purchased after six months for \$1.25 an acre.¹⁸

The Timber Culture Act of 1873 attempted to increase humidity on semi-arid lands by encouraging tree plantings. The act provided that any settler (who had previously been limited to a claim of 320 acres) might claim an additional 160 acres of public land if 40 acres of the land was planted in trees. Later, the number was dropped to 10 acres. Settlers usually planted hardwood trees such as locusts, maples, and elms. Though this act failed to create the anticipated precipitation, remnants of these groves can still be found near Hells Canyon.¹⁹

The federal Desert Land Act, instituted in 1877, allowed more generous land allocations in semi-arid regions, such as the area upstream from Hells Canyon. This act allowed claimants a maximum of 640 acres of desert land at \$1.25 an acre, provided they carry on some ditch construction before proof of land ownership. The Desert Land Act, however, did not address the need for major irrigation projects needed to reach lands that stretched beyond and above the river bottoms.²⁰

Ranching and Farming, 1860s to 1890s

During the era of Oregon Trail migration, approximately 250,000 head of livestock crossed the Snake River Plain each year. Movement of large cattle herds to eastern Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming began with the discovery of valuable minerals. In the 1860s, settlers and stockmen moved rapidly into eastern Oregon. Stock raised in eastern Oregon and eastern Washington began to mingle with herds west of the Cascade Mountain Range, supplying markets created by the growth of regional mining communities. Thousands of cattle were driven eastward across the Cascades and from California during the summer of 1862. In the following years, approximately 100,000 cattle were trailed each year through the Farewell Bend area east to the Weiser and Payette valleys. The herds then proceeded east along the Snake River Plain to Wyoming and Montana.²¹

By 1863, Hells Canyon-area ranchers served nearby markets in the Boise Basin and Owyhee mines. Many would-be prospectors found it more profitable to raise livestock and some vegetables to sell to the mining camps, rather than chasing elusive

gold and silver. Small ranches and gardens spread up throughout the region as people claimed public lands along the creeks and rivers. There they could easily raise stock and crops with ready access to local markets. Early settlers also continued panning for gold over the years, earning a little extra money to supplement their agricultural operations.

Early agricultural settlements began at river crossings near mining operations, such as Olds Ferry, Brownlee Ferry, and Pittsburg Landing. In 1870 a GLO surveyor described the area between the Snake and Weiser rivers as "...rich bottom land...well adapted for grazing...[with] soil covered with fine bunch grass."²¹ Settlers started raising stock herds and dryland alfalfa in the Weiser and Payette river drainages in the early 1870s. Ranches were also established downstream from Farewell Bend, on Morgan (originally called Marshall) and Hibbard creeks. By the 1870s, sheep and cattle ranches were established near the mouth of Brownlee Creek, where a ferry crossed the Snake River. The Brownlee Sheep Company claimed the first water right on the creek in 1872. Former miner Thomas Galloway began small-scale ranching and farming in the late 1870s, and constructed an irrigation ditch extending from the Snake River west to the Weiser townsite.²²



Weiser Bridge, c. 1910. Credit: Idaho State Historical Society.

On the Oregon side of the river, the first settler at the mouth of Pine Creek was Andy Culver, who raised horses there. Other small farms and ranches developed near Pittsburg Landing, which originally had served as an Indian winter camp and later a gateway to early gold discoveries. Mike Thomason and Albert Kurry established a ferry there in the early 1870s. Kurry and George Woods claimed land on the Idaho side of the landing. Upstream from Pittsburg Landing, Frank Somars started a placer operation at the mouth of Salt Creek. He later mined on what was later named Somars Creek. Somars claimed land through preemption rights and became one of the first stock raisers in Hells Canyon. Saddle Creek was homesteaded by Fred Jensen; his and other ranches were eventually purchased and combined to form the Kenneth Johnson Sheep Ranch. Nearby ferries provided cattle and sheep ranchers access to markets in area mining camps and burgeoning towns.²³

Growing numbers of permanent settlers, along with waves of prospectors seeking precious metals on reservation lands, increased hostilities between emigrants and native tribes. Decreasing natural resources also affected the tribes' ability to feed their horses, fish, and subsist on the land. A series of treaties with the U. S. government had delineated reservation lands for area tribes in 1855, but those lands continued to be whittled down in subsequent treaties.²⁴

A few Indian bands refused to live on reservations located far from their traditional lands. The Wallowa and Imnaha valleys were the homelands of the Nez Perce band of Chief Joseph. The band attempted to live peacefully with white settlers in the area and continually fought removal to the Nez Perce reservation at Lapwai, Idaho Territory. The U. S. Government split the Wallowa Valley in 1873, giving half of it to the Nez Perce as part of their reservation and the other half to pioneer settlers. Fights soon occurred between white stockmen and Indians over grazing areas and ownership of strayed animals. In 1875 the government rescinded the order granting Chief Joseph's band reservation lands in the Wallowas. Cavalry troops increased their patrols of the valley. Finally, the government forced Joseph's band to move to the Lapwai mission. Similar orders were given to all Indians in the region not living on reservations, including other Nez Perce bands and the Umatilla tribe. During their move to the Lapwai reservation in 1877, young Nez Perce warriors conducted killing raids on some local

settlers reputed to have mistreated the Indians. These raids marked the beginning of the Nez Perce War of 1877, in which the Indians waged an impressive battle against superior firepower and numbers of army troops. After Chief Joseph surrendered, he and 400 surviving members of his band were exiled for eight years to an Oklahoma reservation. After eight years, they returned to the Colville (Washington) and Lapwai reservations.²⁵

A small band of the Northern Shoshoni tribe also tried to stay on their homelands northwest of the Payette River in Idaho Territory. Chief Eagle Eye and his band, called the “Weiser Indians” by area settlers, managed to elude U. S. Army troops rounding up other tribal members. The group also avoided involvement in various Indian-white conflicts from 1877 to 1879, including the Nez Perce War, Bannock War (1878), and the 1879 Sheepeater (Mountain Shoshoni) War. Though relations between Eagle Eye’s band and local settlers were often uneasy, the band managed to stay in the area until the early 1900s. Some Northern Shoshoni worked at a sawmill and cultivated lands northwest of the Payette River near Dry Buck until Eagle Eye died. The rest of his band was forced to move to the Fort Lemhi reservation near Salmon, Idaho. The Lemhi reservation was closed in 1907, and all Indians living there were relocated to the Fort Hall reservation.²⁶



Morgan Creek, 1950. Credit: Pete Basche.

Several ranchers in the Greater Hells Canyon area made a living selling horses to government troops during the 1860s and 1870s. John McCullough raised horses in the present-day Wildhorse River Drainage and sold his stock to the U. S. Army. He later moved to the Weiser area and grazed horses there. Civil War veteran J. H. Paddock also raised horses in the Payette Valley region. Many of their horses escaped captivity and ran wild for several decades. Francis Morgan at Morgan Creek and Thomas Galloway also raised horses, and many of their animals became feral. Local ranchers held several roundups over the years to capture them. From the 1880s to the 1900s, horses intensively grazed the Hells Canyon area between the Weiser Valley and Pittsburg Landing. Several ranchers, including Morgan and Galloway, were reputed to have sold horses to the British government for use in the Boer War.²⁷

Ranching operations continued to expand in the Hells Canyon country after Native Americans were removed from the area. By 1878, ranches were established at Cow Creek and Lightning Creek in the Lower Imnaha Valley. Others were developed at Dug Bar, Big Bar, Sheep Creek, Granite Creek, Bernard Creek, and Three Creek. Many of these ranchers were originally miners, such as Thomas Douglas at Dug Bar, Alex and Bob Warnock at Temperance Creek, and the Hiltsey brothers in the Granite Creek area. David Kirk started a ranch at present-day Kirkwood Creek, which was later owned by former Idaho Governor and Senator Len B. Jordan. John Eckles settled at Big Bar (also a former Indian winter camp) and raised hay, grain, fruit, garden produce, horses, and cattle. Archibald Ritchie placer mined and raised a small garden near Eckles ranch. Later they became partners and operated the Eckles ranch and a fruit orchard.²⁸

Large-scale sheep ranches formed on both sides of the Snake River. Peter Beaudoin owned over 3,000 acres of land near the Snake River at Joseph, Oregon, where he grazed thousands of sheep. The Brownlee Creek area was dominated by sheep growers, with four or five major companies established there in the late 1880s. Rancher J. H. Dobbin also raised approximately 10,000 sheep at his Tulley Creek Ranch, established in 1895. In 1897, former area freighter E. A. Van Sicklin purchased the John Neeley Sheep Ranch on Snake River downstream from Brownlee Creek. Van Sicklin became one of the major sheep raisers in southwestern Idaho.²⁹



Lum and Moye Davis homestead on Fox Creek, c. 1950. Lum Davis came to the area in the 1860s and mined at Connor Creek . He brought his young Chinese bride Moye to Fox Creek in the 1880s, where they mined, grew fruit, and raised livestock. His son Jim Davis also lived there and became a legendary hunter, trapper, and gunsmith. Credit: Jack Eng, in the Walter Forsea Collection.

More ranches were also established upstream in the area between Farewell Bend and Richland, Oregon. On the Snake River's Oregon side, B. J. Cook started a large livestock operation located between Fox and Connor creeks that was later known as the Baker Ranch. Several miners also turned to ranching in this area. Martin Hibbs and M. E. Barton, who had one of the first copper claims at the mouth of the Imnaha River, established a ranch there in 1899. Former mining sites turned into small stock farms on Soda Creek, Connor Creek, Fox Creek, Park Creek, and Quicksand (originally called Quicksilver) Creek. The stockmen also raised rye grass, alfalfa, clover, and garden produce. Water from the rivers and creeks was diverted by means of ditches and water wheels (some previously used for mining) to irrigate crops and stock. An 1899 GLO surveyor described extensive settlement between Morgan Creek and Brownlee Creek: "The land along the river is nearly all taken by settlers and a greater portion is in cultivation."³⁰

Mining Development and Transportation Networks, 1880s to 1900s

During the 1880s and 1890s, the Seven Devils district in the Hells Canyon area became an active mining center. The canyon proved to be a major obstacle to mining development, despite various attempts to improve overland and river transportation. Pack trails, roads and ferries served as the earliest transportation as various mining areas boomed. Valiant efforts at steamboat navigation continued into the 1900s. Attempts to build railroads through Hells Canyon failed, but several lines were built to nearby towns.

In the early 1860s, boats of the Oregon Steam and Navigation Company carried a large contingency of prospectors to Idaho gold discoveries. By 1861, the company's steamboat *Colonel Wright* had navigated the Snake River upstream from Walla Walla, going as far as Lewiston. The Oregon Steam and Navigation Company then sent Levi Allen in 1862 to investigate the feasibility of steamboat travel through Hells Canyon. Allen pulled a large boat by a rope from Lewiston, perhaps as far as Pittsburg Landing. He quickly concluded that no boat, let alone a steamboat, could make the trip upstream. After reading an unfounded newspaper account of a rafting party floating successfully through the canyon, the Oregon Company again attempted upstream navigation in 1865. The *Colonel Wright* traveled from Lewiston up to rapids five miles above the Salmon River's mouth. There it smashed against the rocks, then turned and came back to Lewiston. The boat was so severely damaged by the Snake River's hazards that her engines were salvaged for another steamer in 1865.³¹

The Oregon Steam and Navigation Company also constructed the steamboat *Shoshone* at Old Fort Boise, located near the confluence of the Boise and Snake rivers, in 1866. The boat was intended to provide passenger service to the Baker City and Hells Canyon mines, but the venture proved unsuccessful. The *Shoshone* was then docked at Olds Ferry until 1869. That year it was taken down river to Steamboat Springs above Copper Ledge Falls. In 1870, the boat traveled through Hell's Canyon and arrived badly damaged at Lewiston. It was later repaired and taken to the Lower Columbia River. River transportation was again attempted during the Nez Perce war. In 1877, the sternwheeler *Pittsburg* ascended the Snake River, carrying military troops to Pittsburg Landing. Despite this success, further efforts to convey freight and passengers by boat ceased until the 1890s.³²

Further transportation links developed as more mining discoveries occurred. The Mineral mining district was established on the Idaho side of the Snake River when a large



Kleinschmidt Grade under construction. Mrs. Kleinschmidt, Franz Kleinschmidt with pick in the photo, c. 1891. Credit: Idaho State Historical Society.

silver lode was discovered there. By 1886, the Fahy brothers started the Sunnyside Ferry near Mineral.

Three years later, a stage road was constructed from Huntington, Oregon, to the Connor Creek mines and the river crossing near Mineral.

Albert Kleinschmidt of Montana, who in 1886 purchased the Peacock copper mine in the Seven Devils Mountains, started building a road from the river to his mine in 1891.

The road, called Kleinschmidt Grade, was finished in 1892 at a cost of \$20,000. A large smelter was placed nearby on Indian Creek, and Ballard's Ferry linked the Kleinschmidt Grade to the Oregon side of the Snake River.³³

In the 1890s, Albert Kleinschmidt made an agreement

with Portland businessman Jacob Kamm to develop river transportation to the Seven Devils mines. Construction of the steamboat *Norma* (named after Kleinschmidt's daughter) was completed in Huntington by 1891. The *Norma* hauled ore from the Seven Devils mines to Huntington, but only two trips were completed by the boat. When the railroad built a bridge across the Snake River upstream from Kleinschmidt Grade, no draw was included to passage of boats. The *Norma* could no longer travel the river, so in 1895 Captain William P. Gray took the boat through Hells Canyon to Lewiston. When the boat hit the rapids below Copper Ledge Falls, it received minor damage and lost some

equipment. After the *Norma* reached Lewiston and was repaired, it ended its working years on the Lower Columbia River.³⁴

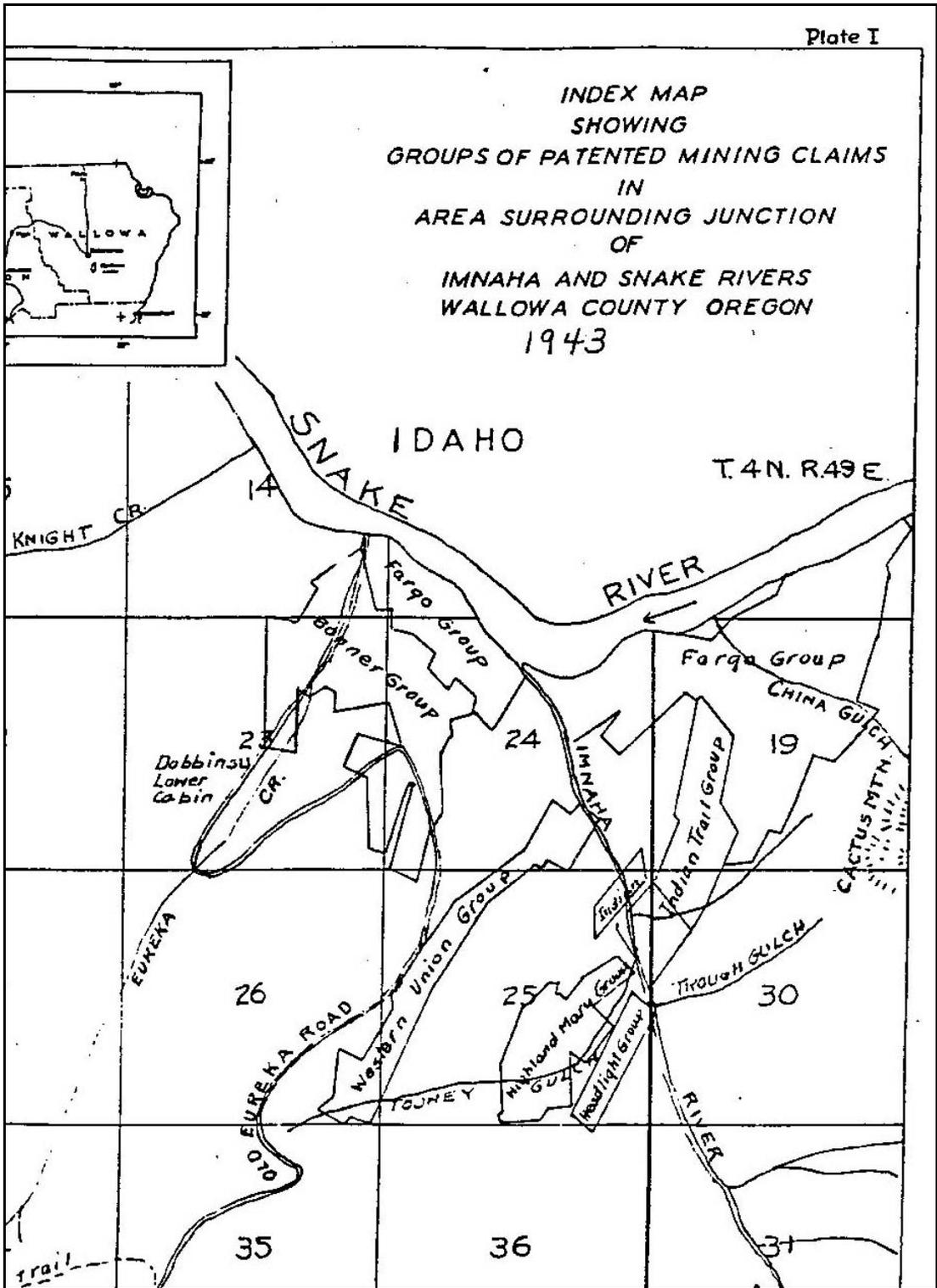
Copper discoveries in the mid-1890s caused further mining development of the Hells Canyon area. In 1894, Tom Heady staked copper claims on the Idaho side of the river. Two years later the Red Ledge Mine (so named because oxidized pyrite colored the ore mass red) began operation. The mine eventually consisted of 23 patented claims and other unpatented site claims covering 1500 acres. At the same time, copper deposits were being worked near Landore (which had a population of 1500) and Helena. In 1898, the Iron Dyke Mines opened near the future townsite of Homestead. Minerals recovered from the Iron Dyke included copper, gold, and silver. A sawmill near Pine Creek provided timbers for mining shafts and portals. For several years, the Iron Dyke was one of the most productive mines in Oregon. At the confluence of the Snake and Imnaha rivers, Martin Hibbs and M. E. Barton discovered a copper lode in 1890s near the old gold placers. The town of Eureka, established in 1899, grew rapidly as a service center for local miners. By 1903, 2000 people were living there and at adjacent mining sites. These mining operations remained very active until copper prices dropped in the early 20th century. By 1906, Eureka had turned into a ghost town.³⁵

The Mineral silver mines continued to produce well, and a sixty-ton smelter was placed there in 1900. Mineral's population grew to 127 and Ruthburg had 175 people. That year, another rich pocket of gold was discovered at Connor Creek. Its population grew to 150 people. Over one million ounces of silver were taken out of the Mineral site by 1904. Upstream from there, the amount of gold taken from the Connor Creek mines equaled approximately two million dollars. Area gold placers still paid well, so Portland businessman Simeon Reed invested in other Hells Canyon mining ventures. Reed and local rancher James Robinette started a hydraulic operation at Sturgill Bar, which was named after an early local prospector and settler. Hard rock mining continued in the Seven Devils country during the early 1900s, with a cyanide mill in operation at Black Lake. The population of the Seven Devils region reached 466 people.³⁶

Steamboat navigation was attempted once more, as the copper mines boomed near Eureka. The Fargo and Eureka mining companies, who owned extensive claims at the mouth of the Imnaha River, launched the steamboat *Imnaha* in 1903. It transported

freight and ore back and forth between the mines and Lewiston. The *Imnaha* made thirteen round trips from Lewiston to Eureka, until it wrecked on Mountain Sheep Rapids. In 1904, the steamboat *Mountain Gem* was built to take place of the *Imnaha*. The *Mountain Gem* only ran for one year, because the copper boom ended in 1904. River transportation was not attempted again until 1910, when mail and passenger boats began to serve the lower portion of Hells Canyon.³⁷

Railroads provided the key to further settlement and development of the greater Hells Canyon area. In 1883, the Oregon Short Line Railroad (a branch of the Union Pacific) finished laying tracks from Granger, Wyoming, to the Huntington townsite, originally called Miller's Station. There it joined with the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company (ORN), incorporated by Henry Villard in 1879. The ORN ran from Portland to Huntington, and its tracks were leased by the Union Pacific. The railroad companies, in concert with mining investors and the Standard Oil Company, engaged in heavy promotion of the Seven Devils country. In the 1890s, railroad grades were built near White Monument on the Idaho side of the Snake River, but were never finished due to high construction costs. By 1899, the Pacific and Idaho Northern Railroad had laid tracks to Council, which became the major shipping point for the Salmon River and Seven Devils mines.³⁸



Map of Fargo and Eureka Mining Claims, 1943. Credit: Tom Libbey, Mineral Deposits in the Area Surrounding the Junction of the Snake and Imnaha Rivers.



The Oregon Short Line crossing Huntington Bridge, c. 1900. Credit ISHS.

Railroads, Ranching, and Settlement, 1900s-WWI

In 1907, the ORN built a branch line 23 miles down river from Huntington to Soda Creek, where the Snake River (Schist) mine was in top production. The town of Robinette was established further downstream in 1908. Anticipating the continuation of the railroad line, James Robinette platted the townsite on a portion of his ranch land. That year the Idaho-Oregon Light and Power Company started construction of a tunnel and power plant at the Snake River's Oxbow Bend. The town of Copperfield was established in 1908 on a nearby ranch. It began as a tent city for construction crews of the Idaho-Oregon Power and Light Company, which in 1916 became part of Idaho Power Company. The tunnel's construction also brought more miners to the area, as water diversion and ground excavation uncovered gold at the construction site. Copperfield developed a reputation as a rough and wild town, with Oregon Governor Oswald West describing it as "Gomorraah on the Snake." In 1914, the governor declared martial law in Copperfield to stop constant riots and public drunkenness.³⁹

The Iron Dyke mines continued to produce well, and a 50-ton mill and a concentrator were erected near the future townsite of Homestead in 1908-1909. Homestead began as a small settlement of miners, prospectors, and homesteaders. In 1910, the townsite was platted on the homestead of Iron Dyke manager F. E. Pearce. That year the ORN was reorganized into the Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Company (OWRNC). As the area's mining boom continued, the OWRNC extended the railroad line from Robinette to Copperfield and Homestead. Ore from the Seven Devils country was freighted down Kleinschmidt Grade and across the river at Ballard's Ferry. From there the ore was loaded onto the railroad and shipped via Huntington to various destinations.⁴⁰



Ballard's Ferry, c. 1900. Credit: Idaho State Historical Society.

In 1911, the OWRNC became an operating subsidiary of the Oregon Short Line Railroad (OSL). The OSL then developed plans to continue the tracks from Copperfield to Lewiston. In 1912, railroad surveyors attempted to run a boat through Hells Canyon. There were no fatalities on the trip, but the surveyors lost all their equipment. Despite this failure, the dream of constructing a rail line to Lewiston did not die easily. The Hells Canyon area was surveyed again in the 1920s, but the project was finally abandoned.

Surveyors estimated that it would cost \$198,000 a mile to build railroad tracks through the canyon.⁴¹

Other small villages developed along the Snake River upstream from Hells Canyon. In the 1900s, the fruit industry boomed in the Pacific Northwest. William Baker, a bread maker from Baker City, bought the Cook ranch near Connor Creek in 1905 and set out hundreds of fruit trees. He also introduced Hungarian partridges and Chinese pheasants to the upper river valley. As his orchard and ranching operations grew, Baker employed over 150 people seasonally. In 1908 Fred and Martha Basche, also from Baker City, homesteaded land near the Baker property. The Basches raised over 500 tons of hay on their 140-acre farm and sold most of it to local sheep ranchers. They also raised 100 head of cattle, and ran a shearing plant on their ranch. Near the Basche and Baker properties, the hamlet of Home, Oregon grew around the old post office in 1910. William Baker built a store there that eventually housed mail service. In later years, gas pumps were installed in front of the store.⁴²



The Baker Ranch, on the Oregon side of the Snake River. Credit: Mary Rynearson Tucker.

Large cherry orchards were also located near the Park Creek (present-day Canyon Creek) railroad siding in the early 1900s. The population of the Park Creek area grew to 117 people in 1900. Mining operations at the old “China Diggings” and several ranches were located between Park Creek and the Baker Ranch. A one-room school was located at Park Creek and operated for several years. The Jellison brothers, who formerly owned the Table Rock Quarry in Boise, discovered a gypsum deposit south of Bayhorse Creek in 1907. General Charles F. Beebe of Portland invested in the development of this mineral deposit, which was used as a soil aid and for making plaster of Paris. The Gypsum post office was established in 1913, and the community survived until 1926. The Jellisons also owned a marble quarry on Fox Creek and granite quarry near Huntington. They sold the stone for monuments throughout the region.⁴³

In the 1910s, the railroad companies continued to promote settlement along the rail lines in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Some ethnic immigrants came to the greater Hells Canyon area, making their living by building the railroad tracks and working as hired hands on local ranches. Several saved their money to start their own ranching operations. They claimed available public lands, or bought relinquished homesteads and small ranches. Near the railroad terminus of Huntington, a few ethnic families settled permanently and obtained modest land holdings. Antonio Miglioretto, originally from northern Italy, quit working for the railroad in 1909 and set up a shoe shop in Huntington. In 1920 he bought a small ranch near the mouth of Burnt River at present-day Steck Park, and the family first lived in an old dugout on the property. Greek immigrant George Spiropolos worked on the railroad between Huntington and Robinette. He homesteaded land at the head of Fox Creek in 1910 and eventually bought the Flick Ranch, located at the creek’s confluence with the Snake River. By 1918 he owned 10,000 head of sheep, which grazed on the Snake River’s Oregon side. Spiropolos sponsored many Greek relatives as immigrants to this country, including his younger cousin George Speropulos [different spelling]. The younger Speropulos became one of the major sheep raisers on the Idaho side of Hells Canyon.⁴⁴

Eastern European immigrants also came west with the railroads. Dan Forsea came from Cleveland with other former Rumanians to build railroad tracks in eastern



Jellison Cave House near their quarry on Fox Creek, c. 1938.



Park School (2nd one built after road was moved, 1915), c. 1950. Credit: Pete Basche.

Washington. He soon left the railroad and became a ranch hand for several sheep raisers, including the elder George Speropolos in eastern Oregon. Eventually he worked for William Baker, where he tended the cattle and fruit trees. Forsea saved his money and rented the former Flick Ranch at Fox Creek. He then bought property at Deacon Creek.



Angeline (right) and Katherine Spiropolos at their father George's homestead at the head of Fox Creek; c. 1915. Credit: Angeline Spiropolos Bailey.

According to his son Walter, Dan Forsea never owned more than 25 head of cattle until after World War II.⁴⁵

In the 1900s, Basque immigrants came west to work in a booming sheep industry. Several sheep ranches were located in the greater Hells Canyon area. Besides George Speropolos and Jay Dobbins' large herds on the Oregon and Washington sides of the Snake River, the Bear Valley Sheep Company and three other sheep outfits were located near Brownlee Creek on the Idaho side. Eventually former Basque sheepherder Anastacio Gabiola acquired the Bear Valley ranch, and

several relatives came to work there. Area stockmen shipped their sheep, wool, and other stock to major markets by rail from Huntington and Robinette.⁴⁶

From 1900 through World War II, agricultural pursuits dominated land use in the greater Hells Canyon area. Nearly all water had been appropriated in the Rapid, Weiser, and Payette River drainages by 1909. The Wildhorse and Salmon River areas were also extensively grazed and cultivated. Albert Campbell in 1910 acquired the Hiltsey brothers' ranches on Granite, Bernard, and Three Creeks. Campbell began the famed Circle C Ranch, one of the largest and oldest cattle operations in the area. He grazed his cattle herds from the Wildhorse River to Kleinschmidt Grade. Several hundred thousand head of cattle and sheep also grazed on the Washington and Oregon portions of Hells Canyon. As the demand for hay and wheat increased in the 1900s, dryland farming also spread to the gentler slopes in the canyon. The farmers fenced in former open range, so stockmen began herding their animals deeper into the canyon and onto surrounding mountainsides. Katherine Wonn Harris, a teacher at the Corral Creek Cow Camp School near Hells Canyon, described seasonal grazing patterns in her book entitled *Topping Out*. Harris explained that three different ranges were needed. In winter, the cattle grazed along the river slopes and bottomlands. The fall and spring ranges were located on the mountainsides from 1,000 to 2,000 feet. In the summer, cattle were herded to the top benches of the canyon, with ready access to forested lands.⁴⁷



*Bear Valley Sheep Ranch, on the Idaho Side of Snake River near Brownlee, 1952.
Credit: Pete Basche.*



*The W. E. Baker house, c. 1950. Jack Eng, Photographer; from Walter Forsea
Collection.*

Upstream from Hells Canyon, the wide river bottoms and rich soils allowed farmers to grow truck gardens, orchards, and root crops. Most ranches in this area produced potatoes, onions, fruits, and berries. The terraces, foothills, and plateaus were planted with dryland alfalfa and grain. Irrigation water for lowland crops was diverted directly from the Snake River and its tributaries. Water wheels transported river water to gravity-flow ditches on several homesteads between Huntington and Richland, Oregon, as well as on the Idaho side of the river. Both Ann Speropolos Bailey and Antonio Miglioretto remember large grape arbors at their ranch homes, with fruit trees planted nearby. Several homesteads in the Fox Creek area were surrounded by English walnut trees, grafted from an old Timber Claim grove on the creek. Most ranch and farm dwellings in the area were modest, except for the Baker home. The impressive, two-story house was built out of native cobblestone, with hints of Colonial Revival-style architecture. The Baker dwelling and its surrounding orchards were considered the showplace of the area.⁴⁸

The Creation of Forest and Game Reserves, 1905-1920

In 1891, the U. S. Congress passed legislation authorizing the President to set aside national forest reserves. One of the earliest reserves created in the Hells Canyon Country was the Seven Devils Forest Reserve, established in 1904. Originally assigned to the General Land Office, administration of the reserves was transferred to the Department of Agriculture when the Forest Service was created in 1905. That year the Wallowa Forest Reserve was established in eastern Washington, along with the Weiser Reserve in western Idaho. The Idaho National Forest, north of the Seven Devils Reserve, was established in 1908. These reserves were all located along Hells Canyon on the Snake River. The Weiser and Wallowa forest reserves contained extensive grasslands that were heavily used by area stockmen. In 1906, Wallowa forest ranger Howard K. O'Brien reported 252,830 head of sheep and 18,702 head of cattle were grazing there under permit. By 1909, all water was appropriated in the Weiser National Forest, and the ranger reported that native bunch grass had almost disappeared. The Idaho National Forest was the only one that had extensive timberlands. Wallowa Forest Ranger Arthur V. Robertson noted in his 1909 annual report that "No timber [is] on this land except for

three or four scrubby bull pine trees down near the river bank." The same year Supervisor J. B. Lafferty reported that less than one-third of Weiser National Forest was timbered, and that state government, private companies, and individuals owned 45% of marketable trees. He also stated that forest fires had burned 15% of the forested area in the last twenty years, and pine bark beetles had ravaged 5% to 10% of the trees.⁴⁹

The creation of national forest reserves received mixed reactions from area residents. Timber companies and large-scale cattle and sheep ranchers opposed the removal of public lands from unrestricted use. Owners of smaller livestock operations and those living on isolated homesteads appreciated federal regulations that protected their access to public grazing areas. They also welcomed the trail improvements, roads and communication networks that the Forest Service eventually brought to the region. In at least a couple of cases, some of the area's population requested the Forest Service to exert their control over lands under federal jurisdiction. In 1907, families living near Cuprum asked the Weiser National Forest ranger to help stop illegal liquor traffic, gambling, and prostitution there, since the mining town lay within the Forest Service's boundaries. In 1915, large ranching interests attempted to reduce public lands within the Wallowa National Forest. Over 100 small-scale ranchers and farmers living along the Snake River petitioned the Forest Service, asking them to retain control over these lands. Otherwise, these residents would lose access to nearby grazing areas once the land fell into private hands.⁵⁰

Native American tribes were not pleased with federal control of grazing lands. Though they were living on reservations, the Nez Perce Indians traditionally brought their horses to graze on their former lands in the Cheshmimnus Ranger District. Once the federal practice of grazing permits was put into effect, the tribe no longer had legal access to the district's grasslands near Enterprise, Oregon. Unaware of these new rules, some Nez Perce Indians brought their horses to the area in 1909. Once they understood that their animals could no longer forage there, the Indians moved their camp outside of the Forest Service's boundaries. They complained to a lawyer in Enterprise who was considered friendly to the Indians, but he told them that they could not graze on Forest Service lands without a permit.⁵¹

Some states also laid claim to portions of public lands. By the 1910s, heavy hunting had made an impact on wildlife in the greater Hells Canyon area. Grizzly bears had already been hunted to extinction in Hell's Canyon, and the deer population was greatly diminished. In 1912, the Idaho State Legislature set up the Black Lake State Game Preserve (mainly intended for the deer population) in the Seven Devils country. The Preserve helped to replenish the Whitetail deer population, and the population increased so much that the deer expanded their territory to areas south of the Salmon River Drainage after 1916. The Idaho Legislature added more land to Black Lake Game Preserve in 1919, including most of the Bernard Creek Drainage.⁵²



Road from Homestead Bridge to Red Ledge Copper Mine, c. 1926. Credit: Idaho State Historical Society.

Life in the Canyon Between the Wars, 1918-1940

Though mining in the greater Hells Canyon area never again reached the boom status of the 1890s and early 1900s, established operations continued to experience small boom periods. A small revival occurred at Mineral during World War I, as silver production was federally subsidized. Due to low copper prices, work was suspended at Red Ledge Mine during the war. The more diversified Iron Dyke lodes near Homestead (17 miles north of the Red Ledge) remained in operation. In 1925 The Idaho and Oregon

transportation departments built a bridge across Snake River at Ballard's Landing, partially solving the transportation difficulties of the Seven Devils area. A year later The Red Ledge Mine was taken over by the Idaho Copper Corporation and its owners had a road constructed from Homestead north to Eagle Bar. The Idaho Copper Corporation promoted new discoveries in the Seven Devils area, which later proved to be fraudulent.

All major Seven Devils mines were shut down during 1927 and 1928, until the defrauders were convicted in Federal court. Many mine workers left the area, looking for other work. Some stayed and barely made a subsistence living. During those lean years, hungry miners dynamited sturgeon out of the Snake River near Eagle Bar. The fish population in the Seven Devils area had also decreased dramatically, so local rancher Earl Hibbs hiked into the mountains and restocked fish in several lakes.⁵³



Catching sturgeon near Baker Ranch, c. 1910. Credit: Mary Ryneerson Tucker.

Adjacent communities also suffered from the Seven Devils mining slump. By 1920 only a few shacks and scraps of mining equipment marked the former site of Copperfield. Homestead's main street only consisted of a few frame buildings, though

company cottages still housed mining employees of the Iron Dyke. The Gypsum community disappeared by 1926, when the post office was finally closed. The town of Robinette also declined because of a series of fires and robberies that hit it, rather than directly from mine closures. When the railroad tracks were pulled up between Homestead and Robinette in 1934, the Robinette Store, Robinette Forwarding Company, Standard Oil wholesale plant, and a planer mill kept the community alive for two more decades.⁵⁴



Former townsite of Copperfield, 1954. Credit: Pete Basche.

Though mining operations continued intermittently between the world wars, a nationwide agricultural depression in the 1920s caused the population of the Hells Canyon country to decline rapidly. When World War I ended, the artificially high market it created for agricultural products disappeared. Prices fell dramatically in 1922 for grain, cattle, and sheep. Many ranching and farming families left the more remote regions of Hells Canyon because of the difficulties of farming such marginal lands, the decline of local markets, and the poor prices received for their crops and stock. Those who stayed lived on what they produced themselves, trapped animals and sold their pelts, and often bartered or traded with area residents or businesses. The 1920s' Prohibition laws caused

an increased demand for bootleg liquor, so several miners and small-scale ranchers set up distilling operations, or “stills,” in the canyon. Made from grain, potatoes, or grapes, alcohol was one of the few “cash crops” that helped some farming families survive the early depression years. Victor “Abie” Miglioretto remembered his father Antonio making whiskey in their kitchen: “He used wheat most of the time. And he was sneaking the wheat [that] belonged to the chickens or hogs...make more whiskey, then sell it for \$5.00, \$10.00 a gallon.” Miglioretto remembered men walking all the way from Huntington to buy their homemade liquor.⁵⁵

Dairy and poultry products were the only other stable agricultural markets during the 1920s and the 1930s. Commercial demands for butter, cheese, and eggs increased as the West’s population and transportation networks grew. The Union Pacific railroad stub that ran between Homestead and Huntington provided an important economic lifeline to outside markets, picking up cream, milk, and poultry products from local farmers and ranchers. The railroad also provided a link between the isolated hamlets along the Snake River. Railroad employees often helped families living along the tracks during the Depression. Walter Forsea recalled this relationship:

“Some of the engineers and brakemen, they’d buy cream from us. And so they set off a bucket of ice, and we’d set cream in there to pick up on the way back. We’d mail our letters, and they’d throw our mail off, and any freight. During the Depression, they’d always throw off a little coal as they went by. Wood was scarce then, and we cooked everything on stoves. Once in a while Dad would get on a train and ride to Robinette just to visit with them. Wouldn’t cost him nothing... We knew them all very well.”⁵⁶

For most farmers and ranchers, the Depression was one long continuum from the 1920s to the early 1940s. The effects of the 1929 stock market crash merely exacerbated existing problems. Drought and grasshopper plagues in the 1930s added to the decline of agricultural production. Most farm families could feed themselves, but some simply could not outlast the long-term effects of the depression. Several farms were sold at sheriff’s auctions for back taxes or unpaid mortgages, and more people became unemployed. Some farmers were able to keep a few acres, and work as hired hands for larger operations.⁵⁷

A few former city dwellers and other types of transients moved to the greater Hell's Canyon area near the river's edge, subsisting on whatever they could grow, make, mine, or sell. Families and loners alike lived in abandoned dugouts and shacks along the Snake River. These movements exemplified patterns of western migration during the Great Depression, as some people moved "back to the land" in order to survive. Several books and magazines of the time, such as the 1935 publication *Five Acres and Independence*, gave detailed information on how to subsist on small plots of land.⁵⁸

The upper reaches of the Hells Canyon country became a haven for Depression-era loners and transients. Longtime residents Abie Miglioretto and Walter Forsea remembered several people subsisting along the Snake River's banks. One was Frank Stevenson, called "the carpet weaver" or "Johnny Behind the Rock" by local denizens. He was called "Johnny Behind the Rock" because he and his brother built a shack by a large rock on the Snake River's Idaho side, near present-day Spring Park. They also constructed a big waterwheel for irrigating a large truck garden. Stevenson also made rag rugs, then walked or rode the train to Huntington and sold or traded them for groceries. Another loner named Jim White (nicknamed "Chicken Johnny") lived down-river from the carpet weaver. He had one cow and a few horses, but mostly supplied eggs to the miners living near Mineral and Gypsum. Wood was scarce in the region by that time, so the men had to gather driftwood and burn it to heat their shacks.⁵⁹

Crude placer operations also helped both area residents and short-term transients and during the Depression years. Abandonment of the gold standard during the New Deal stimulated gold mining again, and became a way for many rural residents to supplement their incomes. Nearly every longtime ranching and farming family in the Hells Canyon country mined for gold along the Snake River and its tributaries. Some began dredging operations in the river. Between Park and Home, one group diverted water by building a wing dam between the riverbank and an island. Approximately 8 acres of river bottom were exposed, but the mining returns proved disappointing. In 1935, the Tom Whitely family, who owned Soda Creek, attempted to mine the nearby Snake River bottom by using a diving bell. A similar operation was attempted in 1938 at Carpenter's Bar, three miles south of the Powder River's mouth. Several other attempts to use a diving bell occurred at Soda Creek for the next twenty-five years, but none



Soda Creek Ranch, c. 1952. Credit: Pete Basche.

produced noteworthy returns. Soda Creek also provided another source of income for local entrepreneurs. Tub-like basins were carved into the soda deposits along the creek's mouth, as the medicinal qualities of Soda Creek were advertised. People could soak in the basins for twenty-five cents a bath.⁶⁰

An interesting mix of newcomers came to the area to try their luck at prospecting. Maybelle Bloomer, who prospected with her husband on Conner Creek during the Depression years, remembered several characters mining in the area. One was Frank Liddy, an ex-professor from Sidney, Australia, who owned a mine on Dry Creek. Down river, Franz "Swede" Olsen took out a mining claim below Quicksand Creek, and reworked the old "China Diggings" with hydraulic hoses. One Hibbard Creek resident made counterfeit money on his property, until finally going to prison sometime before World War II. After serving his sentence, he came back to Hibbard Creek and lived with the Bastians, a longtime ranching family, until his death.⁶¹

A few enterprising agriculturists managed to buy or rent repossessed farmlands at rock-bottom prices. This process marked the early beginnings of farm and ranch consolidation. Daniel Forsea and his sons Walter and Bob maintained a frugal ranching operation, and saved money to purchase abandoned properties and grazing allotments between



Mary Bastian at Hibbard Creek, c. 1950. The Bastian family owned a ranch there starting in the 1900s. Other ranches were located on Hibbard Creek as early as the 1880s. Credit: Jack Eng, Photographer, in Walter Forsea Collection.

Huntington and Richland. They continued to build their operation into one of the most successful cattle operations along the river. Albert Campbell and his relatives operated in a similar manner, building up their ranch lands on the Idaho side of the river. Other diversified agricultural operations, such as the Baker Ranch, survived the Depression well, and often provided the only paying jobs to area residents and transient fruit workers.⁶²

Several Depression-era New Deal programs partially revived farming operations and helped improve transportation and communication in the area. The Farm Credit Act of 1933 helped farmers secure new loans. This act also increased funding for rural road improvement, thus creating more jobs for unemployed men. Other 1933 work relief projects, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Public Works Administration (PWA) and its successor the Works Progress Administration (WPA) also proved helpful to residents of the Hells Canyon country. Workers for the CCC built trails, roads, and

telephone lines in the forested areas surrounding Hell's Canyon. They constructed a scenic trail in the old Wallowa National Forest from Eureka Bar to Cow Creek Bridge, and a road to Bar Creek. On the Idaho side, four main camps were located in the Idaho and Weiser Forests (later combined into the present-day Payette National Forest). The Weiser Forest's CCC camps were established at Council and Price Valley, with the Price Valley camp later relocated to Mann Creek. Workers built roads, campgrounds, and ranger station buildings in the Mann Creek area. In 1937 there was a CCC "spike" (temporary) camp at the Brownlee Ranger Station. The CCC men worked on improving local roads, including the Brownlee road, and built forest campgrounds and buildings in the district.⁶³

Despite these improvements, life in Hells Canyon remained somewhat primitive. Mines in the Hells Canyon area had been served by electrical power since the turn of the century, but no ranches or farms had electricity, except for a few generators owned by individuals. As part of its rural electrification program of the 1920s and 1930s, Idaho Power Company extended its service to isolated homes and communities in Snake River's Hells Canyon area. A small substation was already in place near the mouth of Connor Creek, and by 1936 the Baker and Basche ranches were the first homes to receive electric power between Huntington and Richland, Oregon. Ten years later, other ranches in this section of the Snake River finally received electrical power. Albert and Jessie Cummings used a kerosene refrigerator and gas-powered washing machine at their North Vale Creek ranch in the early 1940s. Telephone service was not available to any homes along this portion of the Snake River until after World War II. Most ranchers and farmers used horses for agricultural work until after the war, when Dan Forsea bought the first gas-powered tractor in the area.⁶⁴

After World War II, 1940s-1970s

The wartime economy brought small booms and busts to various occupations in the greater Hells Canyon area. New metal discoveries brought more mining activity to the Snake River region. Mercury, which was used as an amalgam for precious metals, was a valuable commodity derived from certain ores. During World War II the Cinnabar Mine commenced operations on the Idaho side of the Snake River, across from Soda



Basche Ranch, c. 1938. Credit: Pete Basche.

Creek. The cinnabar ore (thus named because of its reddish color) was processed there, and mercury was extracted. The Idaho Almaden Company, owners of the Cinnabar Mine, recovered \$750,000 of mercury between 1939 and 1942. During this time there was also a brief mining rally at Mineral, due to higher prices for silver ore. Many area gold mines, however, suspended operations during World War II. Gold was being imported from South Africa at that time, in order to forge diplomatic ties and give Allies access to the African continent. A few small-scale enterprises survived after the war, but most area gold mines were abandoned by the 1960s.⁶⁵

The Hells Canyon-area mining economy continued its ups and downs during the next thirty years. The Cinnabar Mine produced well once more from 1955 to 1969. The Peacock Mine was reopened in the early 1960s, as thousands of tons of gold, silver, and copper ore were hauled out and shipped to Anaconda, Montana, for processing. In 1977 additional exploration occurred at Heath, after an important silver discovery was made at nearby Cuddy Mountain. Another mining revival hit the Seven Devils mines in 1980.



Mineral Ferry and the John Still property, c. 1950. John Still mined silver near Mineral during the 1940s and ran the ferry until 1948.

A large open-pit operation near Cuprum provided ore to a new mill at the Copper Cliff-Iron Dyke site. Owners of the Copper Cliff operation also bought the Red Ledge mines for \$1.5 million that year.⁶⁶

Small-scale mining operations continued on various tributaries of the Snake River. Maybelle Bloomer had moved to Weiser after the war, but worked her claims at Connor Creek alone during spring and fall months. She ran a small sluicing operation there until 1979. Franz “Swede” Olsen continued to rework the hills near Quicksand Creek with a hydraulic giant, using water from the creek when the ranchers did not need it. He lived at his mine until the late 1980s.⁶⁷

Cattle, sheep, and other agricultural markets boomed during the World War II economy, then leveled off after the war. Small ranches and farms, their numbers already dwindling due to Depression economics, disappeared at a faster rate when owners were



Franz "Swede" Olson running his hydraulic mining operation on Quicksand Creek, 1963. Credit: Walter Forsea.

unable to pay taxes and other debts. The agriculturists who remained bought tracts of land and herds through sheriff's sales and public auctions. Those who invested in larger-scale agricultural enterprises survived the boom-and-bust cycle of the 1940s and 1950s. Some ranchers, such as the Forseas, were able to hang onto their land and expand their operations by acquiring relinquished grazing leases.⁶⁸ Many of the region's young adults from ranching and farming backgrounds followed a national trend and looked for other kinds of work, as smaller operations could no longer sustain the entire family.

One small community on the upstream end of Hells Canyon managed to survive the Depression and World War II. Robinette still served as the railroad terminus, and many farming and ranching families in the area depended on the Robinette Forwarding Company for supplies. A Standard Oil bulk plant was located at Robinette and Pete Basche (whose parents owned property near the Baker Ranch) drove one of their delivery trucks throughout the region. John Pengilly, who owned a sawmill at the town of



Town of Robinette, 1956. Credit: Pete Basche.

Halfway, built a planing mill near Robinette in 1950-1951. Timber from adjacent U.S. Forest Service lands was planed there and shipped out on the railroad. Pengilly employed twenty men at the planing mill, including some part-time farmers. The mill operated at Robinette until the Hells Canyon dam was built, when it was forced to close because of the loss of the railroad stub.⁶⁹

Depression-era public works improvements such as road and campground construction, along with increased post-war prosperity, caused a rise in tourism and recreation in the greater Hells Canyon area. Hunting and fishing for sport became more popular, and interest in whitewater rafting began to grow. Although most river transportation was for such practical purposes as mail and supply delivery, hunting and fishing for sport became more popular, and interest in whitewater rafting began to grow.



Pontoon raft going through Buck Creek Rapids, 1951. Credit: Pete Basche.

Kyle McGrady, who delivered mail along the river, soon recognized the interest in sports-related recreation, and built a lodge at the mouth of Sand Creek in 1946. Local inhabitants also became interested in whitewater adventures. As early as 1937, Weiser postmaster and engineer P. J. Wood made a successful river trip through Hells Canyon in a specially made flatbottom boat. In 1951, Pete Basche and several Robinette-area residents ran the Hells Canyon stretch on a 40-foot raft fashioned from a former World War II bridge pontoon. The raft made the trip without incident from Kinney Creek to Lewiston, though it nearly folded in half on Buck Creek rapids.⁷⁰

Though the population of the greater Hells Canyon area declined after World War II, many families continued to make a living along the Snake River. Federal and private plans for Snake River hydropower development, however, soon affected their lands and traditional way of life.

The Dam Building Era, 1950s and 1960s

Before World War II, a few irrigation dams had already been constructed on Snake River tributaries in the greater Hells Canyon region. The Bureau of Reclamation

(B of R) built two dams on the Payette River in 1923 and in 1946-1948. Thief Valley Dam was constructed by the B of R on the Powder River in 1942. Water from the Thief Valley project was used for the Baker Irrigation Project after the



Mouth of Powder River, 1946. Credit: Pete Basche.

drought years of the late 1930s. The dams blocked salmon runs to the upper tributaries of both rivers. Only a few salmon remained in the Powder River's Pine Creek tributary, and by 1948 Kokanee salmon were exterminated from Payette River. As early as 1948, an Army Corps of Engineers study reported greatly decreased numbers of anadromous fish runs due to dams in the Columbia Basin.⁷¹

Intermittent flooding on some Snake River tributaries also focused attention on steam-flow management in the Columbia Basin. Local residents upstream from Hells Canyon remembered numerous instances of "water spouts" blowouts on area creeks during the 1930s and 1940s.⁷² They described how flash floods caused debris flows of water, gravel, boulders, trees, and soil to crash down the drainages, flushing all fine soil and vegetation into the river. A 1948 Army Corps of Engineers report noted flood control problems on the Grande Ronde River and White Bird Creek. Payette National Forest reports also discussed severe flooding in all of the Columbia Basin and on Lime Point Creek in 1948 and 1952. Federal agencies and private power companies started to

focus on issues of flood control, increased irrigation water storage, and electrical power to support their bid for dams above and below Hell's Canyon.⁷³



Ice jam on Snake River near Forsea Ranch, 1948. Credit: Walter Forsea.

Proposed Hells Canyon dams, whether constructed under federal or private auspices, proved equally controversial in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The political fight over who would build a dam in Hells Canyon was couched in terms of “creeping socialism” versus “private enterprise.” Local chambers of commerce (particularly in Baker) and real estate developers supported private hydropower developments proposed by Idaho Power Company. Most small landowners living in the area did not care who built the dams, but were concerned with how these projects would affect their lands and way of life. They were more concerned with how these projects would affect their lands and way of life. Plans for damming the Snake River near Hells Canyon had been discussed for years, and most residents along the river regarded the dams as an inevitable part of future “progress.”⁷⁴

When Idaho Power’s license to build three dams and power plants above the Hells Canyon area was approved by the Federal Power Commission in 1955, the company

immediately went to work buying rights-of-way and building Brownlee Dam. The construction of Oxbow and Hells Canyon dams followed, in that order. Some residents upstream from Hells Canyon were glad to sell their lands to Idaho Power, while others felt that they were shortchanged in the process.⁷⁵



Future site of Oxbow Dam, c. 1952. Credit: Pete Basche.

Several of the longtime inhabitants between Huntington and Richland mourned the loss of their ranches and small communities. Walter Forsea and his father Dan were unhappy with the buyout of their property. Their grazing allotments were still located along the river, but they had to buy new homes and property near Richland for all family members. The new property cost them twice as much as what they got paid for the same amount of acreage inundated by water. Walter Forsea and his father also missed the sense of community along the river—it was “home” to them. Lillian Cummings Densley collected many historical photographs and took pictures of buildings and trees near Homestead and the former Park School while Idaho Power was building the Oxbow Dam. She was saddened by the removal of apricot and walnut trees surrounding her parent’s former home, the Cummings Ranch. Densley also missed seeing the many friends and neighbors who moved to various communities once the riverbanks were inundated. For many longtime residents, the razing of the two-story cobblestone Baker

house and the Home store, as well as the removal of all the orchards, marked the end of an era.⁷⁶



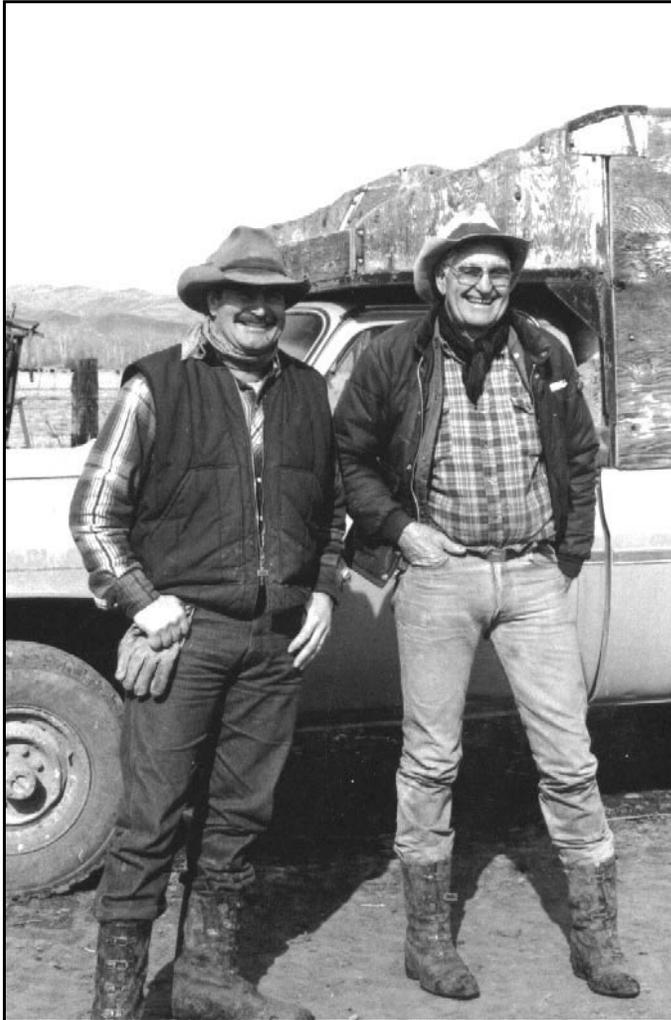
Pregnant ewes being moved to the 'nursery at Bear Valley Sheep Ranch, c. 1951. Credit: Edurne and Henry Gabiola.

Several residents stayed in their homes along the Snake River until the reservoirs started to fill. Henry and Edurne Gabiola remembered when one of the diversion dams broke during the construction of

Brownlee Dam, and the water was literally lapping at the door of Bear Valley Sheep Company's main house. Several Morrison-Knudsen employees, who were working on the dam at the time, came to their rescue and evacuated them to Ontario. Dan Forsea and his sons did not settle on the sales of their ranches to Idaho Power until after water began to rise in the reservoir. Some family members lived in a boxcar donated by the power company while their household items were relocated to their newly acquired property near Richland. A few of the Forsea ranches' outbuildings and one house were moved above the high-water line and are still located along the river.⁷⁷

From 1957 to 1958, the buildings in Robinette were dismantled or moved in advance of inundation by the Hells Canyon Dam reservoir. Pete Basche was one of Robinette's inhabitants who chose to have his house moved to Richland. The tanks from the Robinette Standard Oil bulk plant were relocated to Richland by truck. When Robinette and portions of the old Oregon Short Line railroad tracks were going to be covered by water, the Union Pacific Railroad decided not to rebuild the stub line. In

1958 the tracks between Huntington and Robinette were removed and rail service was terminated along the river.



Walter Forsea and his son Dan, who were raising cattle along the Snake River between Huntington and Richland in 1996. Credit: The Arrowrock Group.

Portions of the old railroad bed eventually served as the base for new local roadways, but local communities and ranching families lost an important economic link to the outside world.⁷⁸

In 1967, the Hells Canyon power plants generated the first electricity to come from the dams. The next year, the three dams in the greater Hells Canyon area were formerly dedicated.⁶⁷ Life for ranchers and other residents downstream from the dams changed again in 1975, with the creation of the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area. Tourism and recreation began to dominate the region's economy, as the market strength of mining, farming and ranching diminished.

The permanent population of the greater Hell's Canyon area has decreased over the years, but the numbers of recreational users and tourists have increased. Though their way of life has greatly changed, some descendents of local pioneer families still seek precious metals and raise stock along the river near the canyon. The landscape has changed once more, with little evidence left of communities that once thrived there. Diaries, journals, oral histories, photograph collections, historical records, and artifacts

still remain to tell the story of life in the greater Hells Canyon area over the past 150 years.

CONCLUSIONS

The story of human occupation and land use in the greater Hells Canyon area is one of long continuity with periods of highly accelerated change. Until the 1800s, Native American tribes exclusively enjoyed the riches of the land, water, and abundant food sources in the region. Their land use patterns were related to hunting, food gathering, fishing, building campsites, and after the 1700s, grazing their horses. Beginning with the non-native exploration and fur trade era, land use patterns changed and accelerated at different rates over time. These patterns of land use break down into the following periods: Initial Resource Use, 1800s-1840s; Accelerated Land Use, 1840s-1870s; Intensive Resource Use and Landscape Change, 1870s-1920s; Subsistence and Survival, 1920s-1940s; Changing Land Use and Major Landscape Changes, 1940s-1970s.

Initial Resource Use, 1800s-1840s

With the arrival of explorers, trappers, and fur traders, use of natural resources in the Hells Canyon country increased slightly from the 1800s to the 1840s. Fur-bearing animals native to the area were the most affected, with the beaver population nearly decimated. Exploration parties and fur trading brigades traveling through the region hunted wild game, ate roots and berries, and grazed their horses in many of the same areas used by Indian bands. Though the numbers using the area's natural resources grew, the landscape itself did not greatly change.

Accelerated Land Use, 1840s-1870s

Overland immigration, mining, and ranching began to change the landscape of the Hells Canyon area. Thousands of emigrants brought their wagons, cattle, and other stock across the Snake River on the Oregon Trail between 1840 and 1870. Emigrant trains often stopped and stayed at former Indian camps, further reducing the amount of grass,

wood, and other natural resources available at each site. When mining first occurred in the Hell Canyon country, it initially operated at a subsistence level. Small placering operations extended along the rivers and creeks. A few highly productive hard-rock mines started to develop, as out-of-area investors poured capital into these operations. Cattle ranching developed in a slightly different manner. Stockmen from California, eastern Oregon, and eastern Washington brought thousands of cattle through the area on a yearly basis, but initially did not stay there. They intensively used the area's grasslands until the era of large cattle drives ended, and small-scale ranches became established near the canyon.

Intensive Resource Use and Landscape Change, 1870s-1920s

The period 1870s to 1920s was marked by intensive use of natural resources and greatly accelerated landscape changes. The Hells Canyon area's population grew dramatically as more people settled in the area and the mining industry reached its apex. A network of road, railroad, and river transportation developed to serve the expanding population and resource industries, causing major changes to the natural landscape. Several area mines turned into major commercial and industrial operations with the introduction of new mining methods and technology. These operations had extensive impacts on surrounding landscape, vegetation, and wildlife, as discussed in various sections of the Historical Context. Increased water diversion occurred for mining operations. Stock grazing in the region occurred year-round on various ranges in the Hells Canyon region, and increased over time as the sheep industry became established there. By the 1900s, the most accessible ranges of the Hells Canyon country were already in poor condition. Cultivated agriculture also began, requiring further water diversion for irrigating crops. On the semi-arid plateaus and terraces, more land was plowed up to make room for dryland hay and grain fields. Economic conditions remained strong for most Hell's Canyon resource-based communities and markets were artificially enhanced by the onset of World War I. In the span of 50 years, the landscape of the Hells Canyon country had been radically altered.

Subsistence and Survival, 1920s-1940s

The agricultural depression and Great Depression of the 1920s and 1930s caused a decrease in Hells Canyon's permanent population, as farms and ranches were relinquished and their former owners moved away. Livestock grazing decreased slightly as more ranchers went out of business and the government imposed grazing restrictions. Several mining communities were already ghost towns because of low prices for copper and gypsum. Many residents turned to semi-subsistence placer mining and farming in order to keep their families fed during the lean years. Other people down on their luck moved to the area to survive on the Snake River's abundant resources, barely eking out a living. Federal New Deal programs brought more road construction and development of recreational facilities. These jobs provided some local residents with employment, but the majority of workers were from other states. Few of those who came to work and subsist in the Hells Canyon area stayed permanently.

Changing Land Use and Major Landscape Changes, 1940s-1970s

The population of the Hells Canyon country never again grew as dramatically as it did at the turn of the century. The number of farms and ranches and agricultural workers decreased, as farm consolidation and increased mechanization occurred after the war. The acreage size of several Hells Canyon farms and ranches grew during the 1940s. Some of the ranching families who survived the Depression years bought more land and grazing leases, and expanded their operations. Agricultural markets remained strong into the 1950s because of the post-war baby boom. The need for new housing also grew nationwide and caused the timber-related industries to expand near Hells Canyon. Though new metal discoveries occurred in the area during and after the war, the mining industry never reached the heights it had achieved in the early 1900s. Those who lived along the Snake River and its creeks still ran small-scale placering and dredging operations, but agriculture remained the most stable occupation.

The construction of the Hells Canyon dams and the buyout of lands along the Snake River upstream from Hells Canyon brought another period of dramatic change to the region's landscape. Small towns, homes, orchards, ranches, farms, and former mining sites along the riverbanks were inundated once the water level rose behind the

dams. A large portion of introduced trees and ornamental plantings surrounding early homesteads were removed from the landscape. Upstream from the dams, orchards were pulled up and eliminated as part of clearing the land for reservoirs. Few native trees ever existed in the area upstream from Hells Canyon, so removal of them was not necessary. All of these changes occurred in a period of twelve years, marking this era as the most accelerated landscape change in 150 years of non-native human occupation. Land use patterns have changed to some extent, as recreation use has grown in the area with the development of boating, camping, and picnic areas. As agricultural markets have waned so has use of Hells Canyon lands for agriculture, though it remains an important part of the area's economy. Small-scale mining operations still exist, and the historic boom-and-bust economic cycle of mining makes it impossible to predict if the industry will make a rebound in the area.

The Hells Canyon country still presents natural passageways and a major land barrier to human use and settlement of the area. Despite the area's rugged character and semi-arid climate, both native and non-native inhabitants left their marks on the region's landscape. Patterns of land use have changed over time, but the region has experienced continuous human occupation for thousands of years. Although population numbers in the Hells Canyon country have waxed and waned over the last 150 years, the area's resources still draw people to the Snake River and its adjacent canyon lands. The history of the greater Hells Canyon area exemplifies the dynamics of continuity and change that will continue, with variations upon the main themes, into the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the course of collecting information concerning the history of land use in the Greater Hells Canyon area, The Arrowrock Group located several important collections of historical material in the region. These collections are valuable pieces of the puzzle needed to complete the picture of historic land use and social change in the nineteenth and twentieth-century Northwest. The historical records are scattered throughout private collections, local museums, small libraries, federal agency files, and a few public archives and other repositories. Few researchers are aware of the extent of historical

materials available about the area, because of the lack of collection guides or finding aides to these materials. Often original historical photographs and documents are stored with no extra copies made and placed in another depository for safekeeping purposes. Few researchers know of all the existing historical collections in the region, and some are not easily accessed by researchers or interested members of the general public. Increased processing, preservation, and public interpretation of these valuable materials need to occur.

In this section, The Arrowrock Group makes recommendations for further work in two different categories: Further Historical Research Work; and Preservation and Interpretation of Historical Materials. It is hoped that Idaho Power will plan future cultural resource work implementing some of the recommendations outlined in this report.

Further Historical Research Work

Research on historical periods of Native American land use and occupation of the Hells Canyon area was beyond the scope of the projects conducted by The Arrowrock Group for Idaho Power. Historians have only recently begun to explore historical Native American interactions with the environment. Some work has been done on prehistoric and historic uses of plants and animals by Native Americans, and about the practices of fire control and use of fires in hunting, but much more research remains to be completed. There are hints of Native American land use near Hells Canyon after being moved to reservations, but the information is far from complete. Topics such as grazing rights, fishing, hunting, and occupations of Native Americans in resource-based industries off the reservation need further research. This research should not be limited to the Hells Canyon, but nearby tributaries of the Snake River. Further research projects should be conducted cooperatively with native tribes who were historically located in this area of the Snake River Basin.⁷⁹

Several historical themes and time periods need further research and interpretation: tourism and recreation in the greater Hells Canyon area, life in the region after World War II, and life and land use after the dams were constructed. Tourism is playing an increasingly important role in the region's economy, and changing the face of

former resource-based communities. Though the beginnings of the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area's recreational history has been researched and documented, little research has been done on the area upstream from the canyon. Dams started changing life along the river forty years ago; yet there has been little research conducted on their impacts on local communities, land use, and longtime residents over time. Changing land uses and lifeways of area residents need to be documented over the last forty years, in order to compare and contrast more recent changes with earlier time periods.

Preservation and Interpretation of Historical Materials

1. Idaho Power could sponsor a photocopying and a computer scanning or microfilming project of historical records and other related materials concerning the greater Hells Canyon area. Such a project would help insure that valuable historical material would not be completely obliterated in the case of a natural disaster or other unforeseen circumstances. The project area would include approximately ten counties in Idaho, Oregon, and Washington adjacent to the greater Hells Canyon area. The project could be conducted cooperatively with archival institutions in each state, and with the voluntary assistance of local historical institutions, libraries, and state and federal agencies.

2. The information already gathered by The Arrowrock Group through the historical literature survey and oral history project should be presented to the public, especially to the local communities that were studied. This can be accomplished in several ways:

- (a) One alternative is to copy all the research materials collected by the Arrowrock Group in the last two projects conducted for Idaho Power and place these copies in at least three public repositories, such as the Idaho State Historical Society, Baker (Oregon) County Library, Baker County Historical Society, Eastern Oregon College, or the University of Idaho. Idaho Power should also consider further dissemination of these materials to local libraries (if they have the storage capacity), such as Baker, Cambridge, Weiser, Enterprise, and Grangeville.

A comprehensive research guide and a bibliography should be developed and disseminated to other public libraries in the region. Any guide should clearly indicate the location of all sources included in the project. The Arrowrock Group's Annotated Bibliography prepared for the historical literature survey could serve as the starting point for developing such a guide.

(b) Another alternative is for Idaho Power to develop a small historical publication (in a magazine format), using interview excerpts, photographs, and historical contextual information written for the general public. Since the information and photos have already been collected and processed, the major costs for the project would be developing the manuscript, getting it ready for production, and producing and distributing the booklet.

(c) A third alternative offers another medium for presenting the historical information to the public. A small traveling exhibit of historical photos, oral history quotes, and contextual information could go to several public places in the area. Traveling exhibit systems such as Featherlite® are usually easy to transport and set up. However, the drawbacks to traveling exhibits are the mechanics of getting the system to a public location that has enough room and enough expertise to figure out how to set the exhibit up correctly.

3. The photographs and interviews collected during this project are not the only ones worthy of preservation. More long-time residents of the greater Hells Canyon area should be interviewed, but it was not possible under this particular project's time and budget constraints. More oral histories and historical photographs should be gathered, copied, and preserved. Formal taped and transcribed oral history interviews should be included in every cultural resource project conducted by Idaho Power. Such work not only preserves important historical and cultural information, but also allows Idaho Power to “give back” to the communities it impacts. Idaho Power could develop a formal process of conducting and funding a certain number of interviews each year.

4. No matter what decision Idaho Power makes about distributing the historical materials collected by The Arrowrock Group, it is extremely important that copies of all historical information be placed in a public repository. The Idaho State Historical Society and the Oregon Historical Society can properly store and process the oral history interviews and historical photographs in order to make them available to the public. Other regional institutions might also have the ability to process and preserve these materials. The same consideration should be given to other information collected during the historical literature survey and oral history projects.

5. Another project that would be useful to historical researchers and area residents would be a series of maps on which historical sites and events are keyed. Historical text could be developed with the maps, telling the story of ranching, mining, community development, river transportation, and life during the Depression along the Snake River. A supporting geographic information system could track how historic sites and communities have changed over a period of decades. The Arrowrock Group documented several historical map resources in the region that could be used to develop the maps and support systems.

Idaho Power has made and can make further significant contributions to the preservation of the greater Hell's Canyon area's history and culture. The extensive information gathered by the Arrowrock Group and other cultural resource contractors working for Idaho Power would be extremely useful to many community, state, and federal institutions and agencies in the area. By disseminating and interpreting the historical and cultural materials gathered, Idaho Power can help increase the understanding of the historical dynamics that shaped, and continue to shape, the Pacific Northwest.

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60. Densley, 65-71 See also Walter Forsea interview.
61. Ibid. See also Maybelle Bloomer interview.
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63. "History of Council Ranger District," 1965; "History of the Payette National Forest," 1968. See also Dan Dzurainin, "Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933 to 1941, on the Payette National Forest," (McCall, Idaho: Heritage Program, Payette National Forest, September 1994). Information at <http://idahoptv.org/outdoors/shows/ccc/payette.html>, accessed June 11, 2001.
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HISTORICAL LITERATURE SURVEY OF THE HELL'S CANYON AREA

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Citations may include brief annotations, and most include a note regarding the location of at least one copy. The key for the abbreviations is:

BCPL-Baker County Public Library;
BPL-Boise Public Library;
BSU-Boise State University Library;
CPL-Caldwell Public Library;
EOSC-Eastern Oregon State College, La Grande;
FRES-Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, La Grande;
HCNRA-Hells Canyon National Recreation Area Office, Enterprise;
IF&G-Don Chapman & Associates, Boise;
IDSHPO-Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise;
ISHS-Idaho State Historical Society, Library & Archives, Boise;
ISL-Idaho State Library, Boise;
PNF-Payette National Forest, McCall;
TAG-The Arrowrock Group, Inc. Boise;
UI-University of Idaho, Moscow
(some may include Day-NW or Special Collections in the code);
WSU-Holland Library, Washington State University, Pullman;
WWNF-Wallowa-Whitman National Forest, Baker City.

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- Wells, Merle W. *Gold Camps and Silver Cities: Nineteenth Century Mining in Central and Southern Idaho*. Idaho Bureau of Mines & Geology, Bulletin #22. Moscow: Idaho Dept. Of Lands, Bureau of Mines and Geology, 1983. Standard reference.

Federal Government Documents

- Bergoffen, William H. *100 Years of Federal Forestry*. Agriculture Information Bulletin No. 402. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976, reprinted 1990. FRES. Good reference tool.
- Bingham, Richard T. and Clyde J. Miller. *Guide to the Common Plants of the Seven Devils Mountains*. U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Region Hells Canyon National Recreation Area, Wallowa-Whitman National Forest, 1989. UI. Overview of the botanical history of the area, names botanists who have collected specimens 1899- 1984.
- Bingham, Richard T. and Douglass M. Henderson. *Guide to the Common Plants of Hells Canyon for Rafters, Boaters, Backpackers, and Trail Riders*. U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service, Northern Region, Hells Canyon National Recreation Area, 1981. UI. More than 500 plant species are found in Hells Canyon, 100 are described in this guide.
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Caldwell, Warren W. and Oscar L. Mallory. *Hells Canyon Archaeology*. Smithsonian Institution, Publications in Salvage Archaeology, Number 6. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1967. UI. Overview of archaeology in the canyon since the end of W.W.II.

Draft, Snake River Mainstem from Mouth to Hells Canyon Dam Salmon and Steelhead Plan. Portland, Oregon: Northwest Power Planning Council, 1989. UI. Detailed description of soils and vegetation.

Evermann, Barton W. *A Preliminary Report Upon Salmon Investigations in Idaho in 1894*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893-96. PNF-Historical Files, IF&G.

Fisher, J., C. H. Wagner, and R. D. Webb. *Recommendations on Operation of Hell 's Canyon Fish Facilities*. Report for the Columbia Basin Fishery Technical Committee, c.1968. Extremely low fish counts in 1968--recommend to Idaho Power higher flows through turbines during the fish run seasons. Includes several photos.

Heritage: Hell 's Canyon National Recreation Area/Wallowa- Whitman National Forest. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991. UI. By 1910, over 100 families lived on the 62-mile stretch of the Snake River between Battle Creek and the Imnaha River. Still operating are Johnson Ranch and Dug Bar Ranch.

Jones, Melanee. "History of Early Livestock Grazing in the Area of Payette National Forest." Dec. 24, 1989. PNF Settlement in the Weiser River drainage includes information about water rights holders.

_____. "Mining History of the Payette National Forest." McCall, Idaho: Payette National Forest, July 1990. Overview of mining laws and regulations; explains how the Forest Service works with state and federal laws. PNF.

Reddy, Sheila D. "The Fruit Merchants of Hell's Canyon". McCall, Idaho: Payette National Forest, October 1994. PNF. Story of Archibald Ritchie and John Eckles, Eckles Ranch at Big Bar.

_____. "Shadows on the Trail". McCall, Idaho: Payette National Forest, Oct. 1994. PNF. Jim Summers settled in Pine Valley and Heath area in 1880s, prospected on Brownlee Creek and owned Gallena Mines north of Cuddy Mountain.

_____. "Wagon Trails to the Payette National Forest." McCall, Idaho: Payette National Forest, October 1994. PNF. Rueben Olds built a ferry at Farewell Bend--turned tide of immigration towards Weiser Valley. Also settling at Olds Ferry permanently were William and Nancy Logan and J. N. Harris, who ran a road house once the ferry was established.

- Skovlin, Jon M. and Jack Ward Thomas. *Interpreting Long-Term Trends in Blue Mountain Ecosystems from Repeat Photography*. General Technical Report PNW-GTR-315. Portland, Oregon: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Research Station, 1995. TAG, FRES
- Skovlin, Jon M. *Fifty Years of Research Progress: A Historical Document on the Starkey Experimental Forest and Range*. Portland, Oregon: USDA Forest Service, PNRS. TAG, FRES.
- Stratton, David H. and Glen W. Lindeman. *A Study of Historical Resources of the Hell's Canyon National Recreation Area*, Vol. 1, Narrative. HCNRA, TAG has bibliography copy, IdSHPO has Vol. II only. Most useful parts: Indians and Indian-White Relations, Transportation and Travel, Ranching and Homesteading, The Forest Service Era. Also extensive bibliography.
- United States. Agriculture Department. Forest Service. *Environmental Assessment for Pittsburg Recreation Development, Hells Canyon National Recreation Area*. Baker, Oregon: Wallowa-Whitman National Forest, 1986. UI. Includes historical information about Hells Canyon.
- United States. Agriculture Department. Forest Service. *Hells Canyon-Seven Devils-Rapid River Comprehensive Land Use Plan*. McCall, Idaho: Payette National Forest, undated. PNF. Useful overview of history of area, historical photos. Written post-Brownlee and Oxbow, pre-Hell's Canyon Dam.
- United States. Agriculture Department. Forest Service. *History of Payette National Forest*. McCall, Idaho: Payette National Forest, 1968. PNF. Forest history since 1905. Describes wildlife and vegetation, grazing patterns, management controversies.
- United States. Agriculture Department. *Hell 's Canyon Country: A Proposal for Recreation Development*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975. UI. Description of the area and brief discussion about the impact of dams.
- United States. Agriculture Department. Forest Service. Wallowa-Whitman National Forest. *Summary of Draft Environmental Impact Statement, 1993*. Baker City, Oregon: Wallowa Whitman National Forest, 1993. UI. Includes survey of archaeological sites in the forest, description of endangered vegetation.
- United States. Agriculture Department. *The Wild and Scenic Snake River Hell's Canyon National Recreation Area*. Washington, D.C.: USDA Forest Service, 1985. UI Day-NW. Describes historic sites in the NRA, including Kirkwood Ranch and Cache Creek Ranch.

United States. Army. Corps of Engineers. North Pacific Division. *Review Report on Columbia River and Tributaries*. Appendix P, Fish and Wildlife. October 1, 1948. [Prepared by Fish and Wildlife Service, Portland, Oregon.] IF&G, UI Day-NW.

United States. Army. Corps of Engineers. *Review of Provisions for Navigation FPC License, Project Co. 1971, Hells Canyon Reach--Snake River, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington*. Portland, Oregon: North Pacific Division, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1972. UI-DayNW. Describes mail contractor's (Richard Rivers) difficulties in fulfilling the contract obligation to transport and deliver mail in light of low river flows caused by operation of dams.

United States. Bureau of Reclamation. *Hell's Canyon Project Idaho-Oregon*. U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, Region 1, Boise, Idaho Project Planning Report No. 1-5.75.0, April, 1948. Describes predicted effect of proposed hydroelectric projects on communities, mining, ranching, and transportation.

United States. Commerce Department. Bureau of the Census. *9th-13th Decennial Census of the United States, 1870-1910*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1871-1912. Population volumes. ISHS. Scanned statistics for relevant counties to determine growth patterns and to identify localities for the report.

United States. Commerce Department. Bureau of the Census. *14th Decennial Census of the United States, 1920*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1992. ISHS. Manuscript census on microfilm for Baker, Malheur, and Wallowa Counties, Oregon and Adams and Washington Counties, Idaho. Scanned census to find long-term residents ethnic groups, and identify unusual occupations.

United States. Congress. House of Representatives. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 84th Congress, 1st Session on H.R. 4719, H.R. 4730, H.R. 4739, and H.R. 4740 to Authorize the Construction, Operation, and Maintenance of the Hells Canyon Dam on the Snake River Between Idaho and Oregon, and for Related Purposes, July 11, 13, 14, and 15, 1955. UI. Includes names and occupations of individuals interested in Hells Canyon.

United States. Congress. Senate. Hells Canyon National Recreation Area: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of at the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, 93rd Congress, part 1. UI. Includes names and occupations of individuals interested in Hells Canyon.

United States. Interior Department. *A Survey of the Fish and Wildlife Resources of the Middle Snake River Basin, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington*. Portland, Oregon: Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, 1964. UI. Description and statistical information of fish and wildlife in Hells Canyon.

Manuscripts, Archives and Office Files

Bureau of Land Management, Idaho State Office, Boise

Public Service Section

Microfilm copies of Status Plats, Tract Books, Patents, Serial Registers, and Survey Records for Idaho. There are alphabetical index cards cross-referenced to Patent and Certificate Numbers and Serial Numbers for applications beginning in July 1908. Records reviewed included:

Survey Field Notes and Plats

Permanent, detailed records and drawings made by the surveyor which include land boundaries, subdivisions, areas and other features.

Tract Books and Status Plats

Information about land actions, which include names, dates, and Acts for all applications, leases, licenses, or permits whether approved, disallowed, rejected, or withdrawn.

Patents and Serial Registers

Patents are deeds from the Federal Government. These records also include other conveyances of title, such as grants, Indian allotments, and private land claims. Serial Registers list Serial Numbers assigned by the Land Office for each application and include the name and address of the applicant, legal description, and sequential notations for each action from application through patent or other closing.

Case Records

A case record details the history of all processing actions for each land entry, including those that failed. Each case record provides the claimant's name, date filed, date title passed, address, and legal description.

Charles Winkler Memorial Museum, Council

Photograph Collection

A collection of nearly 1,000 images of Council and surrounding area. A handful of images were found of the Hells Canyon/Snake River area.

Idaho Power Company, Boise.

Files of the Arrowrock Groups Projects:

Oral History Interviews

Attebery, Robert	Bailey, Angeline Spiropolos
Basche, Pete	Bloomer, Maybelle
Densley, Lillian Cummings	Forsea, Walter
Forsea, Dan	Gabiola, Edurne
Gabiola, Henry	Miglioretto, Victor
Pengilly, John	Tucker, Mary Rynearson
Whiteman, Eileen	Whiteman, Robert

Photographs

Historical photographs of the Snake River, Home, Homestead, Robinette, Huntington, ferries, dug outs, mining, and various ethnic families along the river.

Maps

Copies of historical maps covering the research area.

Idaho State Historical Society, Boise.

Idaho State Historic Preservation Office

Site survey files and reports--includes information on a number of sites on the Idaho side of Snake River.

Library & Archives Division

Photograph Collection

Identified individual images and collections of images of the Snake River Canyon, settlements, people, and activities. Most date from turn-of-the-century through 1920, but some were taken later, at the time of construction of the dams.

Vertical files--Hells Canyon folder:

Miscellaneous pamphlets, newspaper articles, and photocopies of journal articles. Of special interest is a bibliography, "Cultural Resources of the Hell's Canyon National Recreation Area," compiled in 1977 by Janet Friedman.

Snake River folder

Newspaper articles, photocopies of journal articles (cited above), and a diary, "Snake River Survey--August-October, 1920" by Leigh B. Lint of Weiser, Idaho.

Payette National Forest, McCall, Idaho.

Payette National Forest has created a database of names and sources of information about them. The database includes the individual's name, township and range, and location of data (i.e. homestead entry, mining claim, etc.)

Historical Files

Anonymous. *History of the Council Ranger District*, January 1, 1965. Forest Service report. Council Ranger District part of the Weiser National Forest when it was designated in 1908. Report traces local names and identifies stock trails.

Lafferty, J. B. Supervisor of Weiser National Forest, Idaho, Correspondence to District Forester, Forest Service, Ogden, Utah, January 6, 1909. History of Weiser National Forest, need for reservoirs, need for stream control for navigation, describes forest conditions and conservation,

[Whitlock, C. C.] "History of Payette National Forest Area," 1964. Typescript.

Holland Library, Washington State University, Pullman:

C.C. Van Arsdol Papers

Van Arsdol was a civil engineer who designed the Lewiston Spiral Highway. Also involved in planning a railroad along Snake River. Collection includes numerous photographs taken along Snake River.

Pacific Northwest Forest & Range Experiment Station Library, La Grande, Oregon:

Tucker, Gerald. *Historical Sketches of Wallowa National Forest*, undated. Overview of the forest's history up to 1954. Copies also available at the Wallowa-Whitman National Forest Office in Baker City and Hell 's Canyon National Recreation Office in Enterprise.

Maps

Cuprum, townsite, 1899. (PNF)
Forest Atlas of the Wallowa National Forest, U.S. Geological Survey, 1917.
(HCNRA)
Idaho and Weiser National Forests, 1919-1940. (PNF, ISHS)
Land Acquisition Maps, Brownlee, Oxbow, and Hell's Canyon Projects, Idaho
Power Company, Land Management Division
Metsker's Atlas of Wallowa County, 1935 (HCNRA) Shows land ownership.
National Forest Maps including Chesmimnus Ranger District, Wallowa Whitman
National Forest 1956; Wallowa National Forest 1913 and 1935; Wallowa
and Whitman National Forests 1948; Whitman National Forest 1942.
(HCNRA)
U.S. Geological Survey topographic maps. (ISHS, IdSHPO)
 Copperfield 15 1957
 Cuprum 15' 1957
 Heaven's Gate 7.5' 1964
 He Devil 15' 1957
 Homestead 15' 1957
 Hornet 15' 1957
 Kessler Creek 7.5' 1964

Winter Management Plan, Chesmimnus District, undated. (HCNRA)
Includes printed and sketched maps, notes re permits and landowners.

Other Oral History Interviews

Hell 's Canyon National Recreation Area, Cultural Resources Office, Enterprise, Oregon

Interviewed by Christi Shaw and Bruce Womack 1980-1995, tapes only:

Barton, Ace
Campbell, Dave
Campbell, Rollie
Crader, Jess and Jim Blankenship
Earl, Elmer
Earl, Jess
Grote, Ted
Grote, Theo
Johnson, Hazel
Jordan, Grace and Len B.
Sterling, Bonnie Smith
Walker, Max
Wilson, Murielle McGaffe and Jimmy

Idaho State Historical Society, Boise.

Interviews were conducted by Louis Attebery of the College of Idaho (now Albertson College of Idaho) for a project titled "A Contextual Survey of Selected Homesteads Washington County, in Mann Creek Area, Idaho."

Tapes and transcripts are on file:

Attebery, Tom
Blevins, Louis F.
Schmidt, Helena. (Helena Schmidt was still living in 1990 and was interviewed by Cort Conley for his book *Idaho Loners*)
Hilliard, Cartter

Interviews conducted by Joe Bennett of Valley County Pioneers, 1976:

Campbell, Tom
McCoy, Blanche
Rowland, Sophia

"Idaho County Mining Legacy," by Pat McCarthy, 1980s. Some interviews have been transcribed, not all have legal releases. A slide-tape program was developed from the information, a copy is held by the Idaho County Historical Society in Grangeville.

Carrey, John
Filer, Paul
Graves, Lee
Halmadge, Gus

"Civilian Conservation Corps Camps in Washington County," 2 interviews conducted for the Cambridge Certified Local Government. Tapes, releases, and transcripts. Copies are also at the Cambridge Museum.

McCall Public Library

Interviews conducted by a local women's service club; somewhat related to the Payette National Forest Interviews:

Ball, Celus
Campbell, Warren
Casey, Idaho
Newell, Stella
Payne, Alice

Payette National Forest, McCall, Idaho

Interviews dated 1971-1976:

Adams, Anne and Jess Smith (Jim Camp, interviewer)
Addington, Hugh

Barton, Ace
Blackwell, Herman and Rosina
Brownlee, Morgan
Carrey, John
Goodman, Austin (Joe Bennett, interviewer)
Smith, Jess (Jim Camp, interviewer)
Smith, Mary (Jim Camp, interviewer)

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