IDAHO POWER
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An Archival Review and Ethnographic Study for the Relicensing of the Hells Canyon Complex Hydroelectrical Plants

Hells Canyon, Idaho−Oregon

L. Daniel Myers
EPOCHS PAST

Technical Report
Appendix E.4-12

Hells Canyon Complex
FERC No. 1971

July 2001

AN ARCHIVAL REVIEW AND ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY FOR THE RELICENSING OF THE HELLS CANYON COMPLEX HYDROELECTRICAL PLANTS (FERC. No. 1971) HELLS CANYON, IDAHO-OREGON

For

IDAHO POWER COMPANY
BOISE, IDAHO

By

L. Daniel Myers
EPOCHS PAST
339 Fairhaven Road
Tracys Landing, Maryland

July, 2001

FINAL REPORT

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FINAL REPORT

ABSTRACT

This report is part of a multi-faceted anthropological investigation into the cultural resources, ethnographic resources, and traditional cultural properties contained in the Hells Canyon Complex (FERC. No. 1971) study area (Chapter One). The main purpose of this report is to document an in-depth survey and review of various selected collections at the National Archives and other repositories (e.g., Smithsonian's Anthropological Archives and the Bureau of Land Management's Archives). Extensive use of microfilm collections at the National Archives yielded very little ethnographic information about the Numic and Sahaptian-speaking cultures occupying the study area. While there is ample evidence of aboriginal occupation to the north, south, east, and west of the study area, substantial ethnographic data on the Hells Canyon area is essentially non-existent. What ethnographic information is available (e.g., encampments, transportation routes, meetings, etc.) is so general as to have little value for an assessment of the traditional cultural properties as well as cultural and ethnographic resources of the Hells Canyon area (Chapter 4.0.).

ABSTRACT (cont.)

An exhaustive survey of the above collections yielded only cursory data of an ethnographic nature. So superficial was this information that such things as group identification, composition, or size are rarely mentioned or hinted at.

The organization of this report is designed to compliment and expand the archival collections search by providing a summary of known anthropological research for the Native groups (Chapter 2.0.) as well as specific historical accounts of the 19th century (e.g., fur trapper, explorers, missionaries, Oregon Trail emigrants, miners, soldiers, and government representatives)(Chapter 3.0.), as they pertain to the study area. Precise boundaries and land-use patterns of these two groups vary with a specific time period. Fluctuations or shifts in land-tenure, based on land-use rights, occurred for many reasons. No one people had territorial control over the land in question, but each of these two groups used it for specific periods of time. An evaluation and assessment (Chapter 5.0.) of these anthropological, historical, and archival materials are

ABSTRACT (cont.)

appraised and recommendations made. Due to the paucity of the anthropological, historical, and archival data associated with the ethnographic populations within the study area, the need for oral history interviews from members of the Shoshone-Paiute Tribes at Duck Valley, Idaho/Nevada and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes at Fort Hall, Idaho, is, by necessity, imperative to the over-all completion of this investigation.

FINAL REPORT

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTENT

In the Fall of 1999, the Idaho Power Company contracted with Epochs Past for an Archival Study for the Relicensing the Hells Canyon Complex (FERC. 1971)-- Brownlee, Oxbow, and the Hells Canyon dams -- Hells Canyon, Idaho-Oregon. The intent of this study is to survey, review, and assess the ethnographic information held in archival repositories of the Washington, D.C., area that relate to the American Indian populations occupying the Hells Canyon area. A previous search of the anthropological literature on Hells Canyon was made and found to be meager (Myers 1999); ethnographic data is all but lacking for the aboriginal people of this area. To rectify this situation, a thorough archival review was conducted. This study examines and reviews the existing archival references for the Native American peoples that inhabited or regularly visited the study area. Unfortunately, there are no detailed ethnographic descriptions or accounts that deal with the native groups of the area, and secondary or tertiary sources are few and superficial.

The primary aim of this report is to assess the existing archival records, as well as published and unpublished anthropological, ethnohistorical, and historical data regarding the Native populations of the Hells Canyon area. The traditional and contemporary cultural customs, beliefs, activities, practices, and events will be reviewed. Relevant archival data will be substantiated and verified. An evaluation of these data will assist in identifying and assessing cultural areas of historical or sacred significance in and around the study area. This report will also provide recommendations as to the identity, distribution, and nature of significant areas within Hells Canyon and for a course of study for future anthropological research (e.g., oral history interviews).

The organization of this report is predicated on the objectives of this study, and for expedience is outlined as follows. Chapter 1.0. presents the main objectives of this study and describes the study area, the environmental setting, and the aboriginal populations with territorial prerogatives or tacit ownership in the Hells Canyon area. Chapter 2.0. reviews the

culture of the Numic-speakers (Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups) and the Sahaptic-speakers (Nez Perce tribe) as they relate the Hells Canyon area. Chapter 3.0. examines the more significant historical facts, events, activities, and individuals that figure prominently in the Hells Canyon area. Chapter 4.0. examines various archival collections held at the National Archives and other repositories in the Washington, D.C., area. Chapter 5.0. provides recommendations for future anthropological research based on an evaluation and assessment of this archival study. Chapter 6.0. is a detailed bibliography for this study.

1.2. STUDY AREA

The Hells Canyon Complex study area consists of the Brownlee, Oxbow, and Hells Canyon Reservoirs and the area upstream (south) of Brownlee Dam to Weiser and below Hells Canyon Dam downstream (north) to the Salmon River and Snake River confluence. Within the study area, the Brownlee Dam was completed in 1958, the Oxbow in 1961, and the Hells Canyon Dam was finished in 1967 (Figure 1). Together, these three projects constitute the Hells Canyon Complex (FERC. No. 1971). The overall distance of the study area is approximately 162 miles in length. This study is supported by and in accordance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act as amended in 1999 [36 CFR 800], National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1994), and the Native American Oral History Study of Hells Canyon, Oxbow, Brownlee Dams Study Plan 8.4.5. (Druss 1999).

1.3. ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

1.3.1. Geology and Physiography

The Hells Canyon study area shares abiotic (e.g., geologic, hydrographic, topographic, climatic, etc.) and biotic (e.g., flora and fauna) characteristics with both the Columbia Plateau and Great Basin physiologic provinces (Figures 2 and 3). Geological factors and processes have been described and explained for the Hells Canyon area, in general (Bonnichsen and Breckenridge 1982; Kirkham 1931; Lindgren 1898; Morrison 1963; Vallier 1977, 1998; Valleri and Brooks 1986, 1987, 1993, 1995; Walker 1990; Wheeler and Cook 1954; White 1972; White and Valleri 1993).

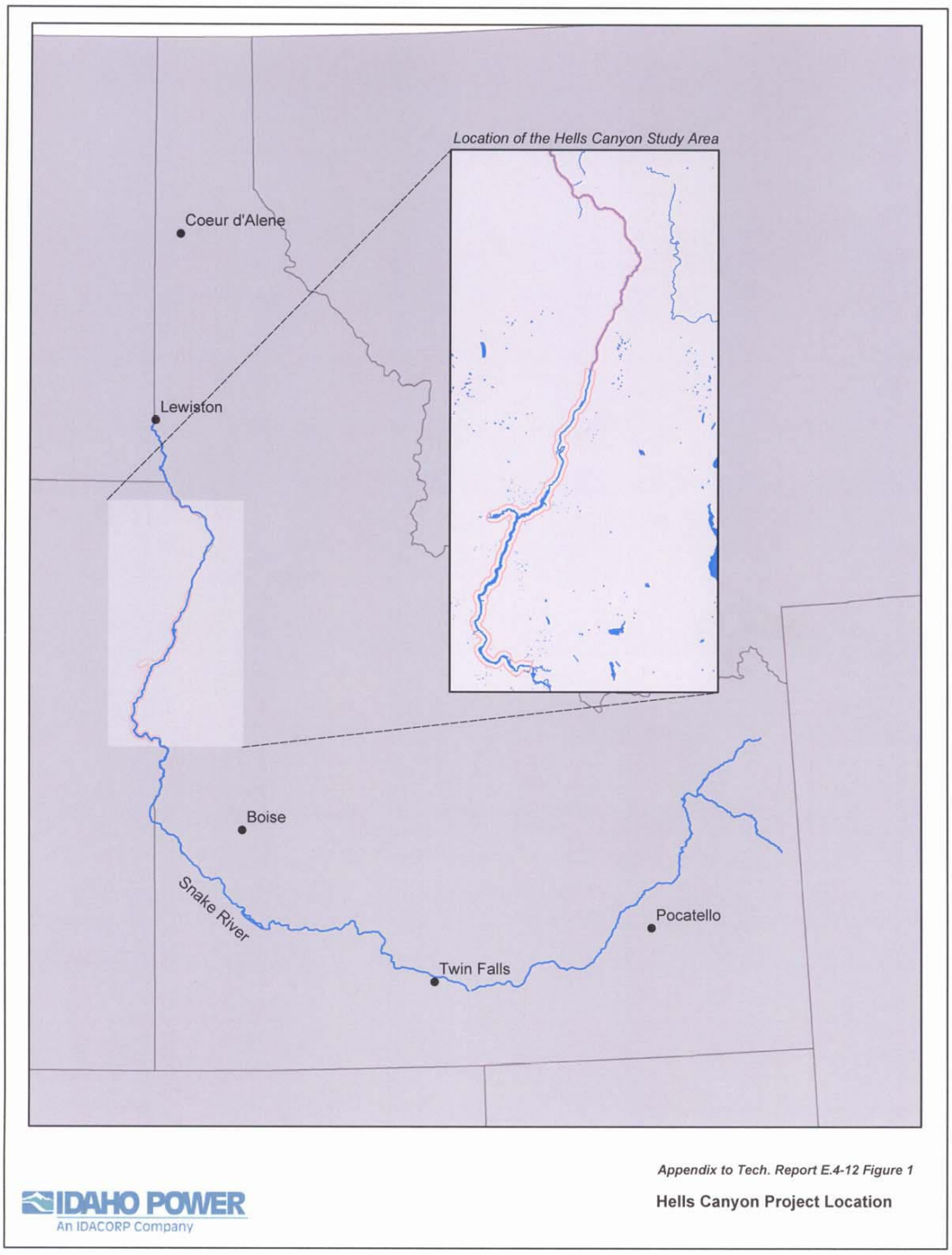

Figure 1: The Hells Canyon Complex (FERC. 1971) Study Area (Brownlee, Oxbow, and Hells Canyon Hydroelectrical Plants).

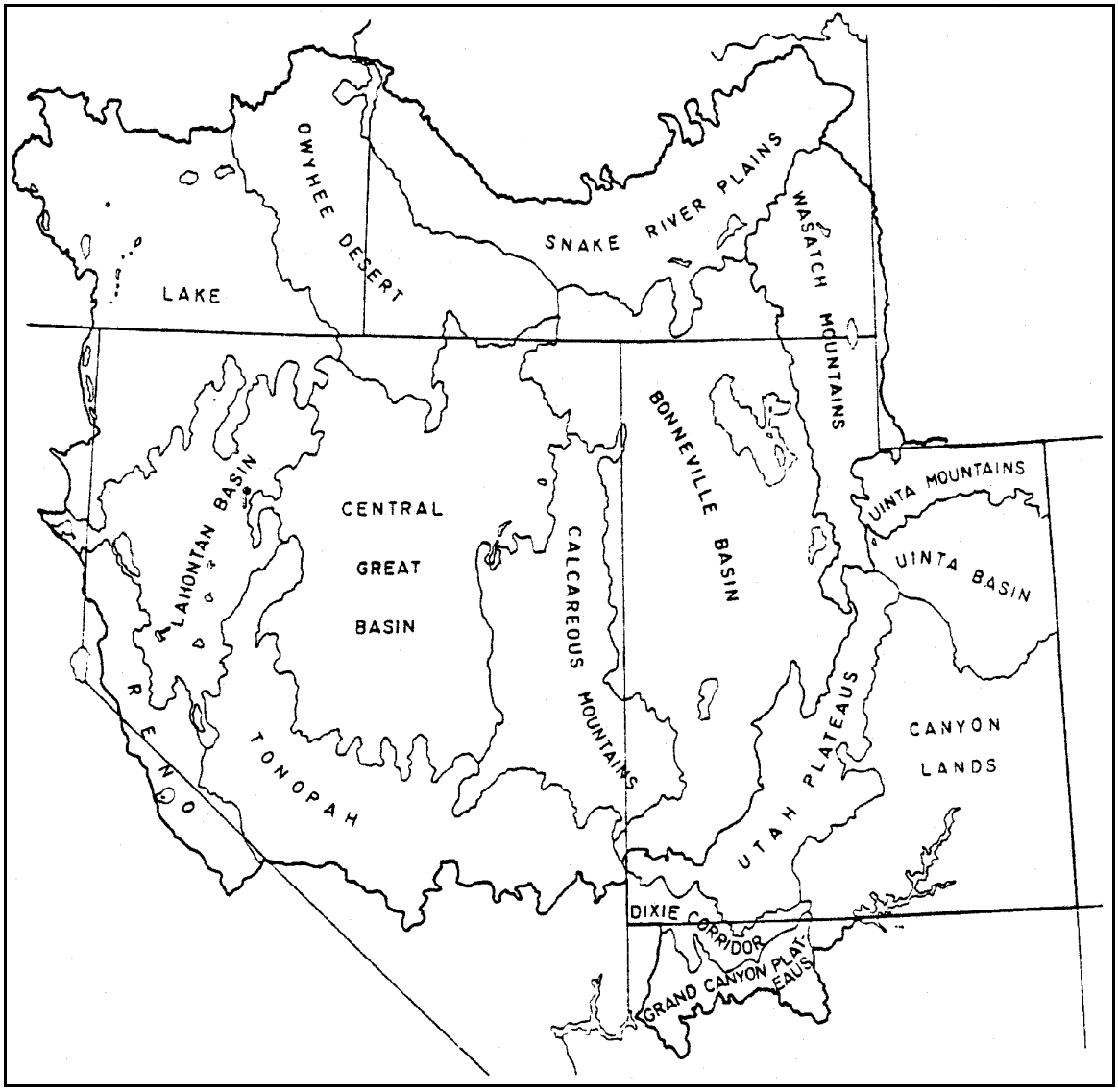

Figure 2: Intermountain (Great Basin) Physiographic Province with floristic sections (Cronquist et al. 1972:79).

Known for its deep canyon lands and vertical topography, Hells Canyon is underlain by four basalt flows -- Imnaha, Grande Ronde, Wanapum, and Saddle Mountain -- that were deposited starting some 17 millions years; the Columbia River Basalt Group (Vallier 1998:34-35). At a higher level, the Columbia River Basalt Group is classed as the Idaho Batholith situated in the west-central portion of Idaho. The Hells Canyon area lies on faults between the Idaho Batholith to the east and the Blue and Owyhee Mountains to the west.

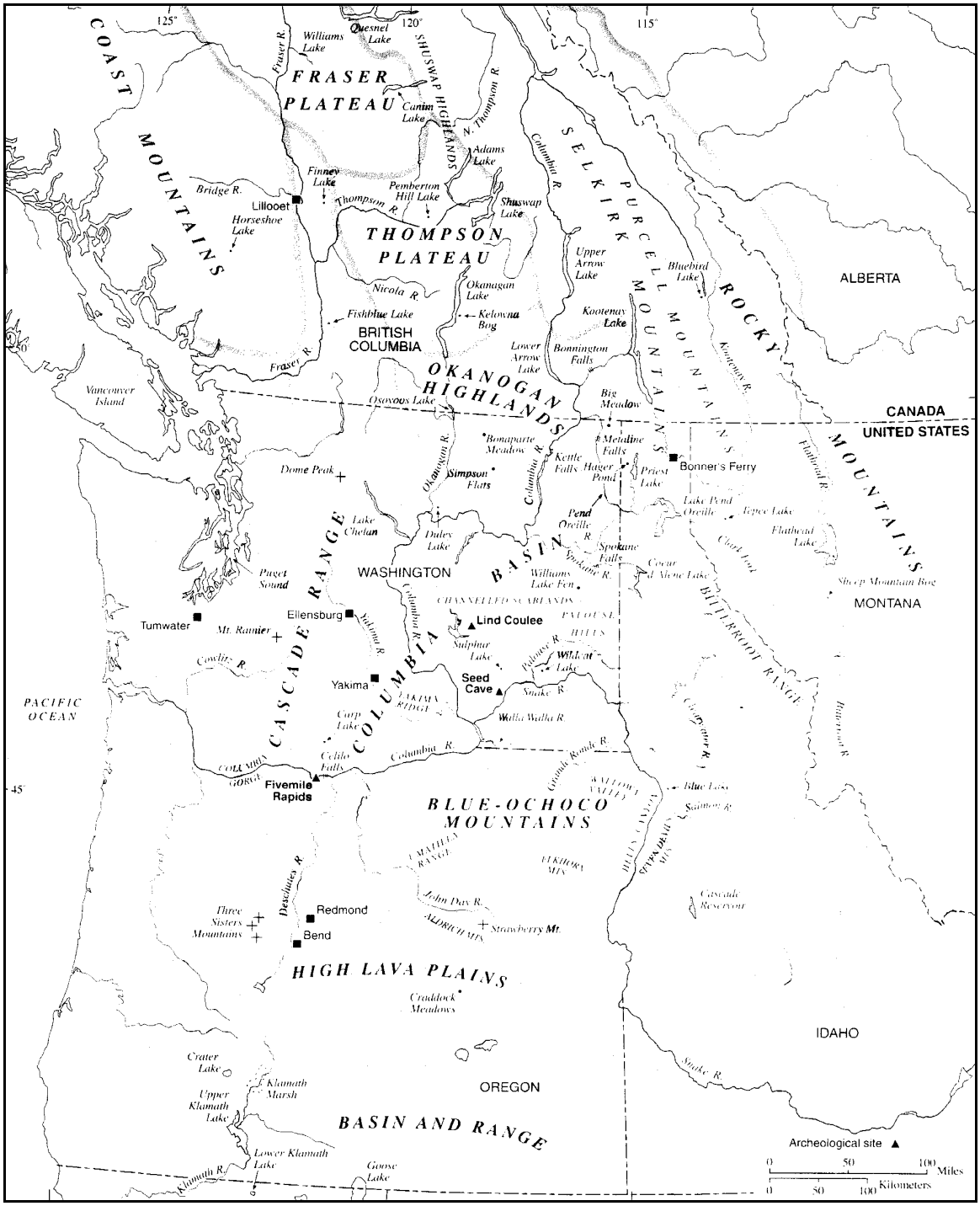

Figure 3: Columbia Plateau Physiographic Province (Chatters 1998:30).

Table 1. Major Creeks from Brownlee Dam to the confluence of the Snake and Salmon River, Hells Canyon, Idaho/Oregon.

Idaho	Oregon
Brownlee Dam	
Wildhorse Cr.	
	Black Canyon Cr.
Salt Cr.	
Oxbow Dam	
	Irondyke Cr.
	Unnamed
	Ballard Cr.
	McGraw Cr.
	Spring Cr.
	Leep Cr.
	Kirby Cr.
Kinney Cr.	Lynch Cr.
Schoolman Gulch	Squaw Cr.
Sawpit Cr.	Buck Cr.
Hells Canyon Dam	
	Thirtytwo Point Cr.
	Steamboat Cr.
Deep Cr.	Hells Canyon Cr.
	Stud Cr.
Brush Cr.	
	Battle Creek Cr.
	Wild Sheep Cr.
	Bull Cr.
Granite Cr.	
	Cache Cr.
Three Cr.	
Dry Gulch	
	Saddle Cr.
	Hat Cr.
Bernard Cr.	Smooth Hollow
	Marks Cr.
	Waterspout Cr.
Bills Cr.	
Winehammer Gulch	
	Sluice Cr.
	Rush Cr.
	Pony Cr.
Sheep Cr.	
Steep Cr.	
	Yreka Cr.
	Sand Cr.
Willow Cr.	

Table 1 (cont.):

Idaho	Oregon
Quartz Cr.	Caribou Cr.
	Meyer Cr.
Temperance Cr.	
Duncan Gulch	
Hominy Cr.	
	Salt Cr.
	Two Corral Cr.
Slaughter Gulch	
Kirkwood Cr.	Cougar Cr.
Royal Gorge	
Kirby Cr.	
	Muir Cr.
Cat Gulch	
	Durham Cr.
Corral Cr.	
Klopton Cr.	
	Pittsburg Cr.
	Sawmill Gulch
Kurry Cr.	
West Cr.	Pleasant Valley Cr.
P.V. Damsite	
	Davis Cr.
	McCarty Cr.
Big Canyon Cr.	
	Somers Cr.
	Camp Cr.
	Tryon Cr.
Jones Cr.	
	Lookout Cr.
	Lonepine Cr.
High Range Cr.	
Getta Cr.	
	Copper Cr.
	Bob Cr.
	Cat Cr.
	Roland Cr.
Wolf Cr.	
Thorn Cr.	
	Bar Cr.
	Bean Cr.
Dry Cr.	Christmas Cr.
Camp Cr.	
Big Sulphur Cr.	Thorn Spring Cr.
Trail Gulch	
Deep Cr.	

Table 1 (cont.):

Idaho	Oregon
Robinson Gulch	
	Dug Cr.
Little Sulphur Cr.	
Appaloosa Damsite	
	Fench Gulch
	Birch Gulch
(Nez Perce Crossing)	
Doug Cr.	
Dog Cr.	
Wyley Cr.	
Zig Zag Cr.	
	Big Canyon
Divide Cr.	
Low Mountain Sheep Damsite	
	Imnaha River
	Eureka Cr.
	Knight Cr.
	Mountain Sheep Cr.
High Mountain Sheep Damsite	
	Chalk Cr.
Salmon River	

1.3.2. Hydrology

The hydrology and hydrographical processes of the area have been examined in a variety of contexts from water resources (e.g., Palmer 1991) to white water rafting (e.g., Carrey et al 1979). In addition to the Snake River and its main tributaries, the Imnaha River in Oregon and the Salmon River in Idaho, Table 1 shows the 110 secondary and tertiary tributaries from the Brownlee Dam to the confluence of the Salmon and Snake rivers. Of these 110 tributaries, 43 are in Idaho and 67 in Oregon. With the construction of the three dams and the creation of reservoirs significant altered the abiotic and biotic factors associated with the canyon. Only below Hells Canyon dam, itself, are rapids found (e.g., Wild Sheep Rapids, Bernard Rapids, No-Name Rapids, Waterspout Rapids, Sluice Creek Rapids, Rush Creek Rapids, and Imnaha Rapids).

1.3.3. Topography

Topographic relief is vertical in the extreme. Hells Canyon has the distinction of surpassing the Grand Canyon in depth; one of the deepest gorges in the world. Hells Canyon averages 5,500 feet in depth as does the Grand Canyon. But unlike the Grand Canyon, Hells Canyon reaches greater depth. At Dry Diggins Point in Idaho, however, elevation increases to 6,600 feet before plunging downward to the river. At the summit of He Devil peak (Seven Devils Mountains) elevation is more than 8,000 feet (Ashworth 1977:xiv; Norton 1972:41; Palmer 1991:201).

1.3.4. Climate

Weather shows extreme variation. The summers are dry and hot, reaching temperatures of 110 to 120 degrees F. and the winters are dry and cold, reaching minus 30 degrees below zero in the surrounding mountains, and in Hells Canyon, itself, dry but mild. Fall and Spring are moderate with cold nights and warmer days. Precipitation is minimal, barely exceeding 10 inches per year (Ross and Savage 1967). Climate and topography define the vegetative zones and the faunal communities.

1.3.5. Flora and Fauna

Due to the great complexity and overlap of both the Snake River Plain and the Columbia Plateau biotic communities, the Hells Canyon Complex study area is unique in its biotic diversity, distribution, composition, and structure. Within this area, the entire spectrum of vegetative life-zones for all of North America are represented (Davis 1952:1-17; Larrison 1967:3-4; Norton 1972:41-42). From sagebrush (Cronquist et al. 1972:122-126) or sagebrush-grass to alpine tundra (Davis 1952:3), the traditional vegetative zones are heavily influenced by physiography.

Plant and animal communities in the Hells Canyon area are aligned with the Columbia Plateau and Great Basin physiographic provinces. In the upper reaches of the study area, plant and animal communities show an affinity with the Great Basin's Snake River Plain. In the lower extent of the area, plants and animals are typical of those associated with the Columbia Plateau. In addition, some 24 plant species unique to the Hells Canyon area

have been recorded (Ashworth 1977:xiv; Bingham and Henderson 1980).

1.4. NATIVE POPULATIONS

A survey of published and unpublished records identifies two major groups of American Indians, Numic (i.e., Northern and Western Shoshone and Bannock and Northern Paiute) and Sahaptian (i.e., Nez Perce, Umatilla, Cayuse, Palouse, Klamath, Modoc) cultures had access to or claimed some territorial prerogative over the general Hells Canyon area (Myers 1999b). Specific to the study area, Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups from the south and the Nez Perce from the north, appear to have had land-use rights and a tacit ownership over this territory in the 18th and 19th centuries (Baenen 1965; Berreman 1937; Chalfant n.d., 1974; Corliss 1990; Doty 1855; Kip 1855; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986; Sappington et al 1995; Shawley 1984; Steward 1938a, Stewart 1966; Thompson 1920).

The Numic cultures (e.g., Northern and Western Shoshone and Northern Paiute and Bannock groups) from southern Idaho were known to have occupied the general area (Corliss 1990; Liljeblad 1957, 1960, 1970, 1972; Lowie 1909, 1923; Murphy 1960, Murphy and Murphy 1986; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943; Stewart 1939, 1941, 1966; Walker 1993a, 1993b; Whiting 1950). To the north, the Sahaptian culture of the Nez Perce have been recorded as inhabiting Hells Canyon and surrounding area (e.g., Anastosia 1965; Berreman 1937; Chalfant n.d.; Chance and Chance 1987; Corliss 1990; Fletcher n.d.; Haines 1955; Josephy 1965; Ray 1939, 1942, 1960; Ray et al 1938; Spinden 1908; Sterns 1965; Swanson 1966b; Walker 1978, 1994e).

Contemporary members of these traditional groups reside primarily among the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes at Fort Hall, Idaho (Loether 1994, Murphy and Murphy 1986); the Shoshone-Paiute Tribes at Duck Valley, Nevada/Idaho (Crum 1994a, 1994b, McKinney 1983, Western Shoshone Lands Association 1982, Thomas et al 1986); and the Nez Perce Tribe at Lapwai, Idaho (Haines 1956; Slickpoo and Walker 1973, Spinden 1908, Walker 1978, 1994e, 1998b). Northern Paiute members also reside at the Burns colony and the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon (Fowler 1994; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986; Hunn 1994; Stowell 1987). Nez Perce members also live at the Umatilla Indian Reservation and Warm Springs

Indian Reservation, Oregon (Anastasio 1972, Walker 1994c; Hunn 1994, Stowell 1987), as well as the Colville Indian Reservation in northeast Washington (Walker 1994b).

Figure 4: Key to Tribal Territories in the Great Basin Culture Area (d'Azevedo 1986:ix).

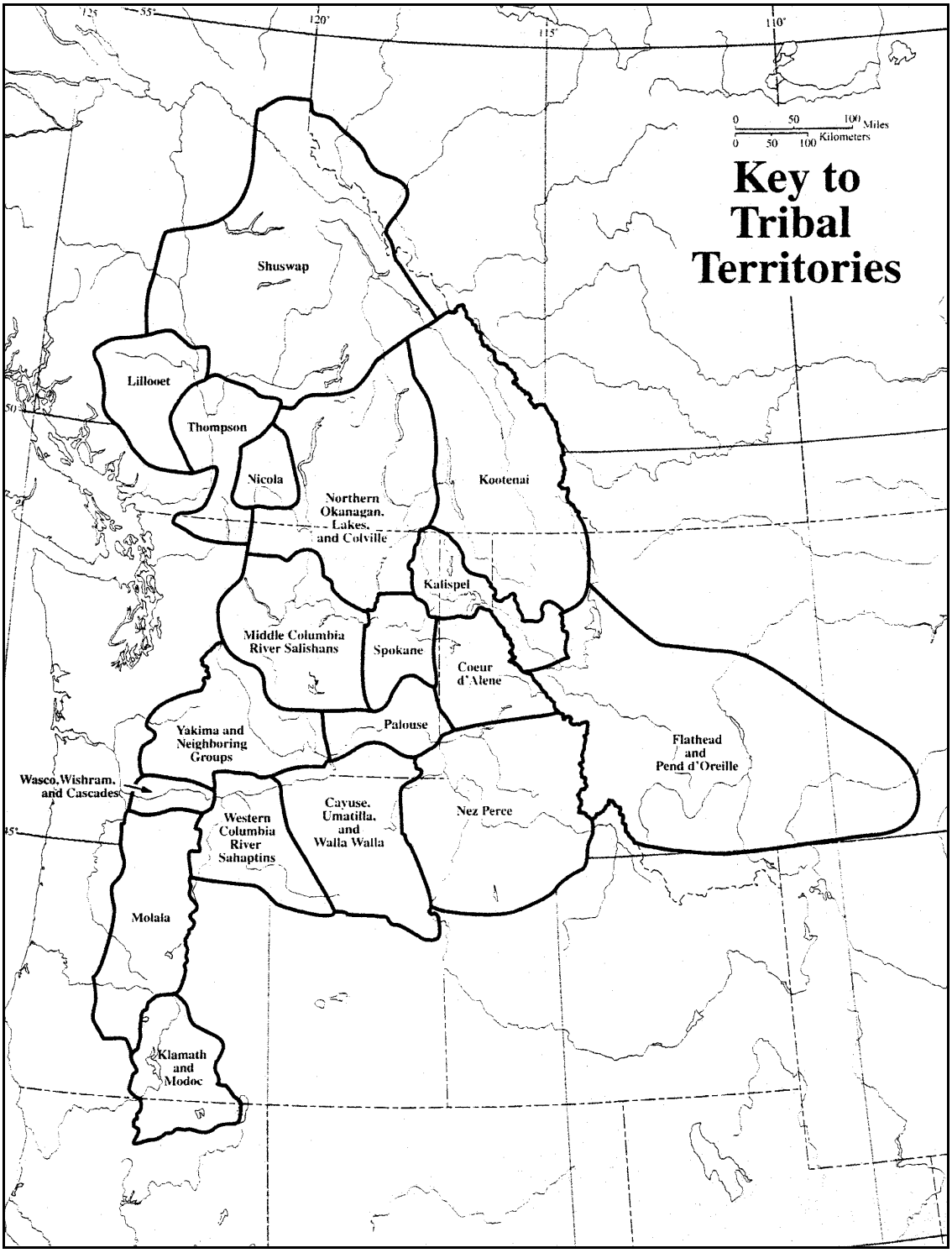

Figure 5: Key to Tribal Territories in the Interior Plateau Culture Area (Walker 1998:ix).

Other Plateau groups may have also visited the study area frequently on their way to Weiser's Native rendezvous of the 18th and 19th centuries. These include Sahaptian-speaking members of the Umatilla (Stern 1998a), Palouse (Sprague 1998), Yakima (Ruby and Brown 1970; Schuster 1975, 1994, 1998), Tenino (Suphan 1974; Hunn and French 1998), Kittias (Glauert and Kanz 1972; Schuster 1998), Walla Walla (Stern 1998) groups; the Salishian-speaking members of the Flathead (Malouf 1998), Kutenai (Baker 1955; Boas 1918, 1919; Brunton 1998; Chamberline 1893-1895, 1894, 1901a, 1901b, 1901c, 1902, 1905, 1907; Hill 1994; Kennedy and Bourland 1998, Walker 1994d), Pend d'Oreille (Baher 1955; Malouf 1998), Spokane (Ross 1994, 1998; Ruby and Brown 1970), Wenatchee (Scheuerman 1982), Colville (Kennedy and Bourland 1998; Walker 1994b), Coeur d'Alene (Dozier 1961; Palladino 1967; Palmer 1998; Walker 1994f); and linguistically isolated members of the Cayuse (Ruby and Brown 1972; Stern 1998a), Klamath and Modoc (Stern 1998b; Trafzer 1994b). Contemporary descendants of these groups live at the Burns Colony (Fowler 1994, Fowler 1998), Warm Springs Reservation (Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon 1984; Hunn 1994b), Umatilla Indian Reservation (Walker 1994c) in Oregon, as well as the Colville Indian Reservation (Walker 1994b), and the Yakima Indian Reservation (Schuster 1994, 1998) in Washington (e.g., Lahren 1998; Clemmer and Stewart 1986).

2.0. ANTHROPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. INTENT

The purpose of this chapter is to review the ethnographic information as it concerns the various Shoshone and Paiute groups and the Nez Perce tribe. In the case of the Hells Canyon study area, the review is made even harder by the fact that ethnographic information about all groups are minimal.

Much like the research on southern Idaho (Myers 1995, 1996a, 1996b), anthropological research had been erratic and occasional for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute populations inhabiting the west-central Idaho. A review of the ethnographic and linguistic literature associated with the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups of southern Idaho was made(e.g., Bylth 1938; Corliss 1990; Crum and Dayley 1993, 1997; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986; Harris

1938, 1940; Holmer 1986, 1990; Kroeber 1909, 1939; Liljeblad 1957, 1960, 1970, 1972; Lowie 1909a, 1909b, 1930; Madsen 1958; 1967, 1979, 1980; Miller 1970, 1972, 1986; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986; Park 1934, 1937, 1938a; Park et al. 1938; Ray et al. 1938; Rusco 1976; Sandeen 1982; Statham 1982; Steward 1936b, 1937a, 1937b, 1938a, 1938b, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1970; Steward and Voegelin 1974; Stewart 1937, 1939, 1941, 1965, 1966, 1970; Turner et al. 1986; Voegelin 1955-1956; Walker 1993a, 1993b; White 1995; Whiting 1950). An evaluation and assessment of these documents, in narrative form, are presented below.

On the other hand, research endeavors among the Nez Perce populations of the Plateau have been substantial in comparison to either southern Idaho or the rest of the eastern Plateau cultures. Ethnographic research is extensive (i.e., Ackerman 1971; Baenen 1965; Chalfant n.d., 1974; Coale 1956, 1958; Craig et al 1963; Downey and Furniss 1968; Fewkes 1926; Fletcher 1889-1892a, 188-1892b, 1889-1892c, 1891a, 1891b, n.d.; Gay 1981; Horr 1974; James 1996; Josephy 1955, 1965; Kawamura 1995; Lundsgaarde 1963, 1967; Mark 1988; Marshall 1977; McBeth 1908; McDermott 1978; Morrill and Morrill 1978; Olsen 1972, 1979, 1989; Osborne 1955; Ray 1971; Riley 1961; Sappington 1989; Sappington and Carley 1995; Sappington et al. 1995; Schwede 1966, 1970; Shawley 1975, 1984; Skeels 1954; Spinden 1908, 1917; Sterns et al. 1980; Tidd 1929; Trafzer 1992; Walker 1964, 1965, 1966a, 1966b, 1967a, 1967b, 1967d, 1968, 1969, 1989a, 1989b, 1994e, 1998c; Wilfong 1990; Williams 1967), as is linguistic research (i.e., Aoki 1962, 1966, 1970, 1979, 1994a, 1994b; Aoki and Walker 1989; Everette 1883; Phinney 1934; Rude 1982, 1986a, 1986b, 1988; Spalding 1839, 1840; Velton 1943; Zwicky 1971). But, the study area position is marginal to each culture area and out of the normal range of study. Only a few sources cited above specifically mention the study area (Sappington and Carley 1995; Sappington et al. 1995; Schwede 1966; Shawley 1975).

2.2. NUMIC AND SAHAPTIAN CULTURES

For purposes of expedience, the following review is grouped to highlight the various cultural aspects of the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups (Numic) and the Nez Perce tribe (Sahaptian). These include: Tribal Distribution, Settlement, Subsistence, Material, and Social aspects of the respective cultural populations.

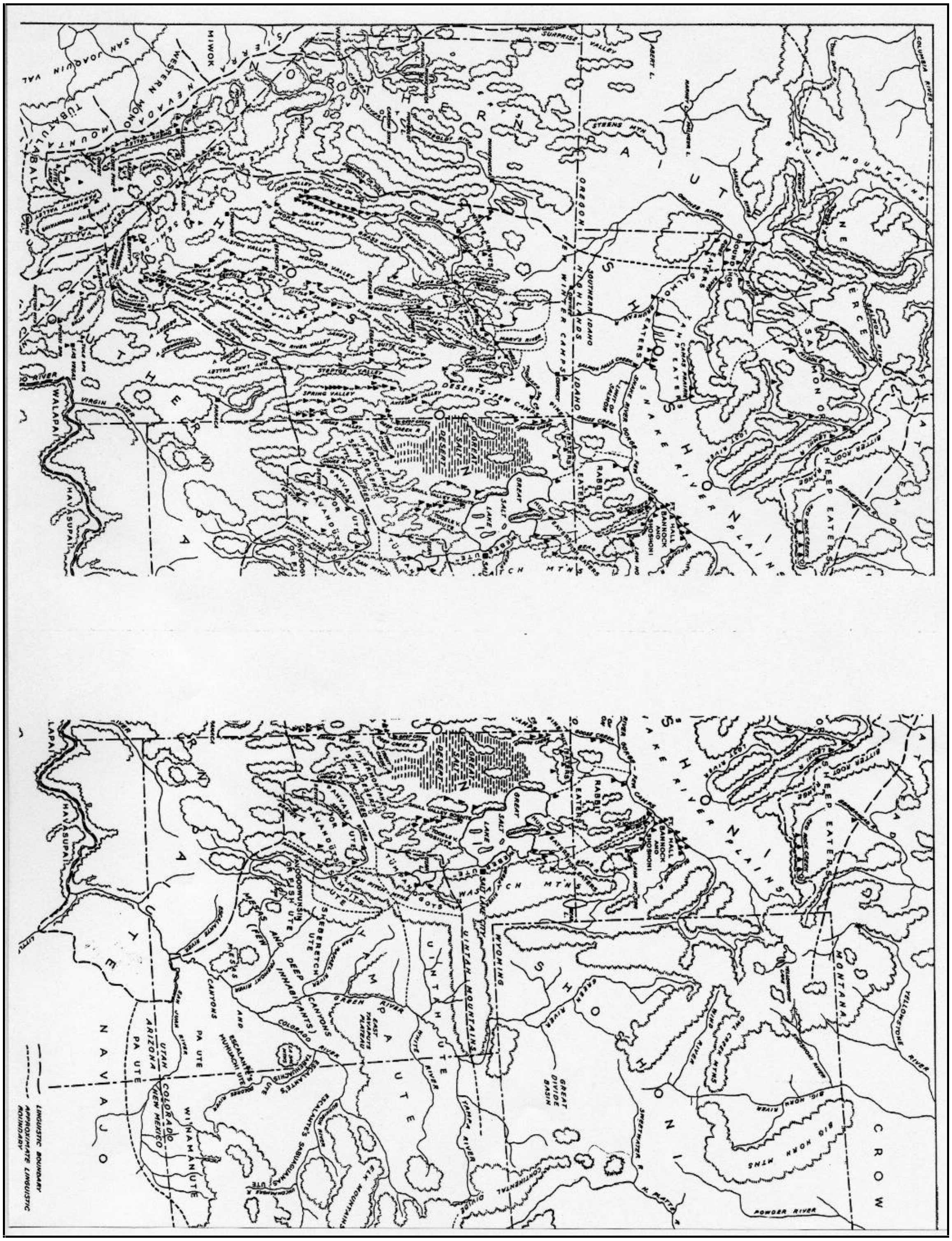

Figure 6: Map of Settlement and Subsistence Systems of Southern Idaho (Steward 1938a:vii-viii).

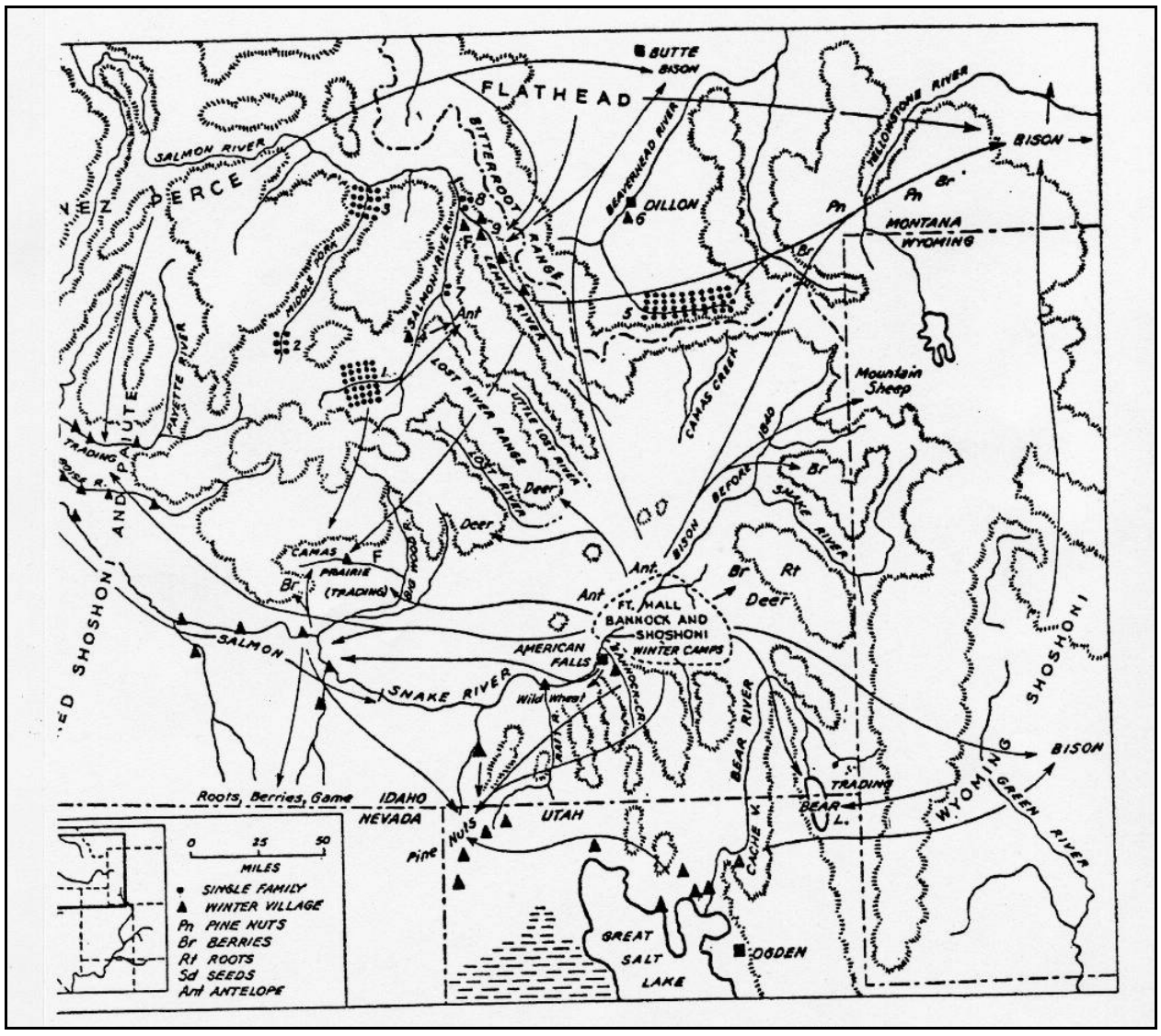

Figure 7: Map of Villages and subsistence areas of Idaho (Steward 1938a:136).

2.2.1. Tribal Distributions

Delineation of tribal distributions and the nomenclatures that accompany them have been generally ascertained for both the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups as well as the Nez Perce in accordance to culture areas. Precise designation of tribal boundaries or group "land-use" borders varies. Specific information about both the Shoshone and Northern Paiute (Numic-speakers) and Nez Perce (Sahaptian-speakers) with regards to the study area is extremely limited, and the majority of information

only refers to the study area indirectly. Only in a few cases do anthropological inquiries treat the area in and around the study area at all (i.e., Corliss 1990; Murphy and Murphy 1960; Chance 1987; Sappington et al 1995).

2.2.1.1. Shoshone and Northern Paiute

The Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups that inhabited southern Idaho in the 1800s have received limited attention by anthropologists. In his monumental synthesis of the Great Basin, Steward (1938a) discusses what was known about the Indians of southern Idaho (Figure 6) and, more specifically, the "Boise River and Vicinity" area (Figure 7). He describes the Shoshone as occupying the Boise, Payette, and Weiser Rivers:

> This population was neither well defined politically and territorially. It is scattered in small, independent villages of varying prosperity and tribal composition.

Along the lower Snake, Boise and Payette Rivers Shoshoni were intermixed with North Paiute who extended westward through the greater portion of southern and eastern Oregon. Slightly to the north they were probably mixed somewhat with their Nez Perce neighbors (Steward 1938a:172).

Parenthetically, Steward adds, "Ballard (1866:190) said they were much intermarried with the "Bruneau Shoshone." Steward (1938a:172) continues:

> The general name for people of this area was *Yahanduka*, Groundhog Eaters, though they imperceptibly merged with the *Agaiduka* [Salmon Eaters] of the Snake River and the *Tukaduka* [Mountain Sheep Eaters] of the mountains to the north.

Other scholars took exception to, modified, or concurred with Steward's tribal distribution in the Idaho area (Steward 1937b, 1939; Ray et al. 1938; Berreman 1937; Park et al. 1938; Stewart 1939). Both Blythe (Ray et al. 1938:402-405) and Stewart (Ray et al. 1938:405-407) modified Steward's statements to include the Northern Paiute and Bannock groups as occupying southwestern Idaho throughout the 1800s. Harris (Ray et al. 1938:407-410) concurs with the above statement, but with certain minor exceptions. Hoebel (Ray et al. 1938:410-413), on the other hand, describes his own band taxonomy for southern Idaho, but

does this under a rubric of "Eastern" Shoshone. Given the variance of informant data, geographical proximity, and time frames, these exceptions to and modifications of Steward's distribution are understandable.

During the late 1940s and 1950s, various Indian groups filed claims with the Indian Claims Commission for monetary dispensations. Practitioners from the Great Basin (Steward and Voegelin 1974; Stewart 1966, 1970; Murphy and Murphy 1960; Voegelin 1955-1956; Hultkrantz 1957, 1974) and from the Plateau (Chalfant n.d., 1974; Ray 1959; Suphan 1974) culture areas served as expert witnesses in these proceedings (Stewart 1971). Steward and Wheeler-Voegelin (1974:218-219) state that:

> The question of nomenclature in this area is further complicated because mounted Bannock and Northern Shoshoni, as well as Columbia River tribes, frequented it. The valley of the Snake River and its tributaries from the Bruneau River to Weiser Creek, Burnt River and Powder was a thoroughfare. Mounted Shoshoni and Bannock from the upper Snake River visited the Camas Prairie to get yampa roots, the Snake River to fish, and went up Burnt and Powder Rivers to the Grand Ronde to trade with the Nez Perce and Cayuse. The last two passed through this valley on their way east to hunt buffalo and to trade. Scattered throughout the mountains and valley were foot people, probably speaking both Shoshoni and Northern Paiute, who also visited the Snake River to fish. These were culturally impoverished and unorganized, however, and they were always ready to yield to their more powerful linguistic kin from the east.

But, as Steward and Wheeler-Voegelin (1974:218) state:

> This apparent discrepancy has little importance, however, since the names applied to any given locality by Indians on different sides of it are often quite unlike. That is, the terms are not so much self-designations by local inhabitants as they are terms descriptive of interesting or important foods given by persons elsewhere.

Murphy and Murphy (1960:316-319) agreed with Steward's perfunctory statements and then elaborate and clarify this information (Figure 8). For the Shoshone and Northern Paiute living in the Boise-Weiser area, Murphy and Murphy's information is somewhat contrary to Steward's statement about these groups being, "imperceptibly merged with the *Agaiduka* (Salmon-eaters) of

the Snake River and the *Tukaduka* (Mountainsheep-eaters) of the mountains to the north" (Steward 1938a:172). Murphy and Murphy contend:

> that there were no concepts of territorial boundaries and that the above-mentioned populations interacted, interchanged, and interpenetrated, ... the locus of movement of each of the above three populations [Shoshone, Northern Paiute, and Bannock], especially their wintering places, did differ (1960:318).

Like Steward (1938a:172), Murphy and Murphy mention the name of '*Su:woki*' (*Sohuwawki*, *Sehe Wookie)* in connection with the Boise-Weiser area. The term refers to a "row of willows" that occur along the Weiser River (Murphy and Murphy 1960:318). Ericson (1994) examined *Sehe Wookie* as a major rendezvous station of intense trade and aboriginal interaction. Recent research among the Duck Valley and Fort Hall Indian communities in southern Idaho support these findings (Myers 1995, 1996a, 1996b).

In the early 1940s, Liljeblad (1957, 1958, 1960, 1970, 1972) initiated research among the various Indian groups in Idaho (Northern Shoshone, Nez Perce, Coeur d'Alene, Pend d'Oreille, and Kutenai). Due to his position with the State and the confines of those boundaries, he created a tri-partite division for southern Idaho: Northern Shoshone, Eastern Shoshone, and Northern Paiute. Liljeblad (1970) further divides the Northern Shoshone into four groups and ten subgroups: Mountain Shoshoni: Sheepeaters, Lemhi; Northwestern Bands: Bannock Creek, Cache Valley, Weber Utes, Bear Lake; Fort Hall: *Pohogwe* Shoshoni. Under the grouping 'Western Groups' are the Boise, Bruneau, and Weiser groups, which correspond to the rivers of the same names. The Weiser group or *Shewoki* (*Su:woki*, *Sohuwawki*, *Sehe Wookie*) band, "with a half-dozen winter camps" (1970:3), were located in the lower Weiser valley. He also noted the Sheep-eaters or *Tukaduka* as being in the northern confines of the lower Payette-Weiser River area (Liljeblad 1972:18, 37-39; cf., Steward 1937, 1938a, 1939; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986). Two more major headings complete this classification: Eastern Shoshoni and Northern Paiute (Liljeblad 1970:4). Under the latter heading, Liljeblad (1970:4) listed two groups; Bannock and the Payette and Weiser Paiute. The Bannock occupied Boise-Payette-Weiser area temporarily, but as Murphy and Murphy point out:

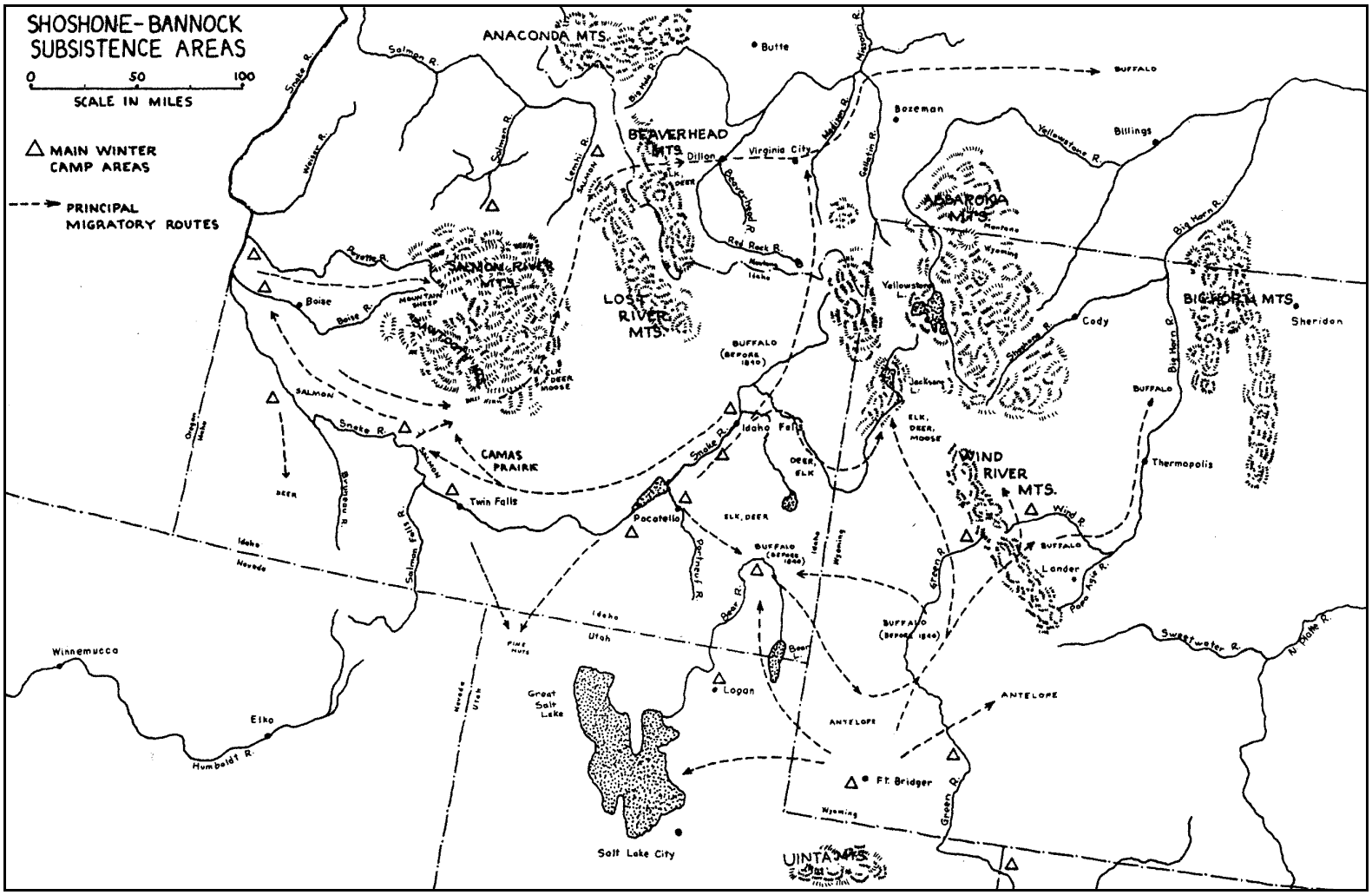

Figure 8: Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence Areas (Murphy and Murphy 1960:vi).

> the composition of the population of this region is further confused by the fact that some camp groups of Bannock passed the more commonly used fishing sites below Shoshone Falls and fished on the Boise and Weiser rivers. An added inducement to the Bannock was the possibility of trade with the Nez Perce Indians in the upper valley of the Weiser River. The Bannock did not stay long in the area, however, and never wintered there (1960:318).

From the last part of this statement, Liljeblad (1970:4) concludes that local groups of Northern Paiute, specifically the Payette and Weiser Paiute, permanently occupied the lower Payette and lower Weiser Rivers. These groups had ties to the Bannock that took up temporary residence in the area and was evidenced by their subsequent merger with the Bannock when relocated to Fort Hall. Liljeblad (1972:18, 37-39; cf., Steward 1937, 1938a, 1939; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986) also noted that the Sheep-eaters or *Tukaduka* as being in the northern confines of the lower Payette-Weiser River area.

In his historical account of "The Weiser Indians: Shoshoni Peacemakers," Corliss (1990) identified three historic Native populations (i.e., Northern Shoshone, Northern Paiute, and Nez Perce), who occupied the west-central Idaho area. Using Liljeblad's (1970:1) classification, Corliss mentions the Boise Shoshone, Bannock, Northern Paiute, and the Mountain Shoshone. His concern is with one group of Mountain Shoshones, Eagle Eye 'Weiser' or Mountain-sheep Eaters (*Tukaduka)* and their history.

Corliss (1990:3-5) states that:

> It has been in the recent past that the Mountain Shoshone - of which the Weisers are one group - began to occupy the upper Weiser and Payette country. The archaeological record is incomplete, but it indicates there was only use of the area by earlier peoples. The Weiser Shoshone moved into the high valleys of the Upper Weiser and utilized the country from the lower Hells Canyon area, east to the Middle Fork country. The summer camps were scattered throughout the mountainous area of the Payette and the country around the South Fork of the Salmon River.

Examination of the area reveals that the lower Payette and Weiser River valleys were primarily home to both the equestrian band of Boise Shoshone under *Peiem* or Big Jim, in the earlier

part of the 1800s. His son, Captain Jim, became this band's leader by the mid-1800s. Northern Paiutes occupied the lower reaches of the Payette River in the early 19th century, and by the mid-19th century were led by Chief Egan (*Ehegante* or Blanket-Owner).

The above tribal distribution information for the Numic-speakers of southern Idaho indicates that, diachronically, were actually in or in the vicinity of Hells Canyon for the 18th and 19th centuries. Their exact locations, numbers, residential patterns, and settlement systems, in general, are not known.

2.2.1.2. Nez Perce

From the north, the Nez Perce under Eagle-from-the-Light, a prominent leader from the 1850-1870s, occupied Hells Canyon and surrounding areas. Chance (1987:1-2) gives a brief description of the archaeological history of this area and comments on the hostilities between southern Idaho's Shoshone and Northern Paiute and northern Nez Perce-Cayuse. Chance (1987:1) suggests that:

> The canyon may have witnessed the decimation of whole bands and who knows what other human cataclysms (Fletcher n.d.) Since for most of its length Hells Canyon was in earlier historic times a *large no-man's land* between two rather hostile nations, the Paiute and the combined Nez Perces and Cayuses... Borderlands can be thought of dynamically, or else, in a case such as this, a backwater.

According to Corliss (1990:5):

> there was little problem with a friendly Paiute bands to the south, the Nez Perce who frequented the same country were hostile towards the Weisers. When another Shoshoni group attempted to locate a village in the deepest part of Hells Canyon at Battle Creek, on the Oregon side, the Nez Perce destroyed it. However, the undeclared state of war and antagonism between the Nez Perce and the Shoshone has been exaggerated. In fact, the Weiser Shoshone intermarried with and were closely aligned with several of the Nez Perce bands frequenting their area. The Weiser Shoshoni had little use for war with the other native groups, and their valleys became a place of trade and peace from the Basin and Plateau peoples, as well as for others throughout the West.

More recently, Sappington and Carley (1995) and Sappington (et al. 1995) published two articles about Alice Cunningham Fletcher's fieldwork with the Nez Perce in the late-19th century. In the latter publication, Sappington (et al. 1995:190) comments on the relationship between the northern Nez Perce and the southern Shoshone-Paiute in Idaho in both text and endnote. Working with Jonathan "Billy" Williams' 1891 Map of Nez Perce territory, Sappington suggests that:

> The Shoshone, or Snake, Indians to the south lived in a less favored region, and were continually pressing upon the Nez Perce. Their inroads kept the people in constant dread. These southern Indians seem to have been their only incursive enemies.
>
> At the opening of the last century one group of seven villages had been totally destroyed through wars with the Shoshone Indians. Four other villages had also been depopulated from the same cause" (1995:189).

In an endnote, Sappington (et al. 1995:212) elaborate the distinction between the Nez Perce and Shoshone-Paiute:

> Numerous references occur in the accounts of early travelers, and in the oral histories of both Nez Perce and Euro-American settlers in northeastern Oregon, to chronic and longstanding hostilities between the resident Nez Perce and the intrusive Numic-speaking peoples from the south. The invaders are variously referred to as "Snakes," "Shoshokoes," "Diggers," "Shoshones," "Bannock," and "Pokatellas."
>
> Nez Perce warrior Yellow Wolf, born in the Wallowa Valley in 1855, told his biographer of a maternal great greatfather "killed in battle with the Pokatellas, fighting for possession of Wallowa Valley (McWhorter 1983:24). In the winter of 1834, Captain Benjamin Bonneville encountered an assembly of at least 100 families of "Diggers" living in "crescent shaped brush windbreaks" near the mouth of Powder River (Irving 1986:245-246). Not long afterward, a burial mound marking the grave of a Nez Perce killed by "Shoshokoes" was pointed out to Bonnesville in the Grand Ronde valley (Irving 1986:224-225). The missionary Henry Spalding referred to a "large number of Snakes lurking around to steal" in the mountains above Wallowa Lake in July 1839 (Drury 1958:271). In one entry Spalding attributes two

> set fires to the Shoshone while in another he records "several horse tracks seen, four snake arrow points found." ...Battle Creek, a first order tributary of the Snake River in Hells Canyon (river miles 242.3), functioned as a base camp for Shoshone raiders until the Nez Perce drove them out (Horner 1940:23-24)(Sappington et al. 1995:212).

Other passages by Sappington (et al. 1995:213) show the animosity, hostility, and open conflict between the two groups. Anastasio (1972:125) suggests that disputes over the Blue Mountains hunting ground was subject to the hostilities and conflicts between Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups and Nez Perce. As the above indicates, the occupation and exploitation of the Hells Canyon tended to alternate between these two groups during the 19th century. Accordingly, precise boundaries and land-use patterns of these two groups vary with a specific time period (e.g., Corliss 1990, Sappington et al. 1995). Fluctuations or shifts in land-tenure, based on land-use rights, occurred for many reasons. No one people had territorial control over the land in question, but each of these two groups used it for specific periods of time.

During the 19th century, both the Shoshone and Northern Paiute and the Nez Perce implicitly claimed land-use rights and tacit ownership over the area. Interaction and interchange between the two groups ranged from open hostilities at the beginning of the 19th century to trust and mutual cooperation during the latter part of the 1800s. At the same time, Non-Indian interaction and interchange with the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups and Nez Perce went from amiable in the early part of the 19th century to skeptical and cautionary leading to open hostilities and predation on both sides by the late 1800s. In the second half of the 19th century, Indian and non-Indians interactions were intensified and eventually led to warfare during the 1860s through the 1880s. As disease, starvation, and mortality devastated Indian populations throughout Idaho, relationships and interactions between various Indian groups become more cooperative as non-Indian incursion intensified. Intra- and inter-group interaction between Indian and non-Indians groups contributed sharply to the accelerated pace and intensity of the dramatic changes of the 19th century.

2.2.2. Settlement

Settlement locations, activities, and patterns, as well as residential modes have been discussed only superficially for the Shoshone-Paiute in the south and in somewhat more detail for the Nez Perce in the north. Steward's monumental 1938 monograph (cf., 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943) serves as the first study that synthesized settlement patterns in the Great Basin. Subsequent scholars, especially archaeologists during the last 30 years, have followed his example by focusing on particular regions in this area (e.g., Bettinger 1975, 1978; Cressman 1977; Davis 1965; D. Fowler 1966; Fowler et al. 1973; Hattori 1975; Heizer 1970; Heizer and Napton 1970; Jennings 1957; Jennings and Norbeck 1955; Thomas 1972, 1973).

For both the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups and the Nez Perce, settlement patterns have been characterized as simple, seasonally dependent villages and camps (e.g., Chalfant 1974; Corliss 1990; Liljeblad 1957, 1972; Lowie 1909; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1970, 1986; Sappington et al. 1995; Schwede 1966, 1970; Spinden 1908; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943, 1955, 1970; Walker 1978, 1998c). The dichotomy breaks down, however, because of tribal differences between social structure, “family” and “band” level of social organization, and the beliefs and values of the respective cultures.

2.2.2.1. Shoshone and Northern Paiute

For the Great Basin populations, basic social organization revolves around winter villages and seasonal camps (Spring, Summer, Fall). Villages were generally composed of family clusters, camp groups, or large extended families, based on kinship. The size of villages were variable, ranging from as few as 25-30 members to as high as 60-80 people. The winter village contained a structure for each family unit, menstrual huts, and sweat baths. In southern Idaho, winter villages were placed along the Snake River and its tributaries. On the other hand, camps consisted of immediate or nuclear families (5-6 members) on a seasonally-defined subsistence round. Camps were resource specific and their distribution and site locations were largely predetermined by subsistence or economic activities.

Steward (1938a:165-172, 172-173, 186-198, 198-216) provides basic data and discusses general settlement systems in the context of specific site locations in southwest Idaho. For groups in and around the Boise and Payette River drainage,

Steward (1938a:172) lists only six habitation or village sites on the lower Boise and Payette Rivers and none on the Weiser River.

Murphy and Murphy (1960:319) point out that:

> In general, it is difficult to define the social organization of the Boise-Weiser Shoshone. While Shoshone social organization is characteristically amorphous, some groups developed a closer integration owing to such factors as warfare and collective economic activities, which demanded leadership. ... Also, the presence of other groups which fished the same streams during the appropriate seasons seems to argue against the consolidation of either the Boise or Weiser people into territorially delimited bands.
>
> The Shoshone of this area were poorer in horses than the buffalo hunters, but they did possess some. ... The resulting ease of communication would perhaps be conducive to band organization, but neither living informant nor historical sources offer any confirmation of this. That such sociopolitical groups did exist is suggested by mention of chiefs, but the groups did not have clearly defined territories which excluded other peoples, and they could only have been most loosely organized (Murphy and Murphy 1960:319).

In their section entitled "The Shoshone of the Sawtooth Mountains," Murphy and Murphy contend that 'Sheepeaters' (*Tukurika*) (Mountain Sheep Eaters, *Tukaduka*):

> were not a single group, but consisted of scattered little hunting groups have no over-all political unity and internal band organization. They had few horses and hunted mountain sheep and deer on foot. Salmon were taken in the waters of the Salmon River. The *Tukurika* had their closest contacts with the Lemhi Shoshone, although some occasionally visited the valleys of the Boise and Weiser rivers. I have no evidence of *Tukurika* trips to Camas Prairie for roots, although such visits are indicated by Steward's map (p. 136).
>
> The distribution of the Shoshone of the Sawtooth Mountains demarcates the northern limits of the Shoshone range. Steward's map of villages and subsistence areas in Idaho places the Shoshone on the Salmon River and the Middle Fork of the Salmon, while the lower parts of the Salmon

> River, below the junction with the South Fork, are assigned to the Nez Perce (p. 136)(Murphy and Murphy 1960:322-323).

They conclude by stating that:

> Moving west to east, the Snake River north of its junction with the Powder River (Oregon) is in precipitous canyon country and was no doubt little used. Mixed Shoshone and Mono-Bannock-speaking groups occupied the lower part of the Weiser River, but, as has been stated, traded with the Nez Perce in the upper part of the valley (Murphy and Murphy 1960:323).

Other than these few cursory statements, there has been no further ethnographic research concerning settlement patterns and residence for southern Idaho. Even Corliss (1990) makes no more than cursory comments about residences and specific site locations. Due to the nature of his account, references to settlement activities identify only large parts (Lower, Upper) of the Weiser Valley as occupied by members of the Eagle Eye bands of Shoshone.

Corliss (1990:13, 25, 35, 36) does, however, mention a number of trails in and around the study area; Nez Perce, Brownlee, Oregon, and Old Boise trails. He states that an "ancient Nez Perce Indian Trail into the Snake River country came by way of the Seven Devils, crossed over the south, and wound down into the Weiser riverage" (Corliss 1990:13). Further on, he describes another main route into and out of the area:

> This main route was an old Indian trail ... to reach the council grounds on the Weiser River. Known to whites as the Brownlee Trail, it came down out of Oregon through the hills of the Grande Ronde Valley and crossed the Snake at Brownlee Ferry, following the road blazed by the Goodale train the year before. After passing through the southern boundary of the Weiser country, it followed the Payette River as far as Horseshoe Bend before heading up Harris Creek into the Boise Basin (Corliss 1990:13).

The Nez Perce and Brownlee Trails are both in the upper reaches of the Snake River (see Chapter 5). Toponymy or the study of placenames, indigenous reference points of the physical, biotic, and cultural environment, has only recently been developed for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute populations of southern Idaho (Crum and Dayley 1997; Holmer 1986; Turner 1986). Turner

(1986:9-38; Holmer et al. 1986:282-283) presents limited data on Shoshone and Bannock placenames supplying 24 named locations. Twenty-two placenames are located in southeastern Idaho, while only two, *Sihi wake* (Weiser River) are *Agai mu na pa* (Salmon River), are located in western and central Idaho, respectively. Crum and Dayley (1997:166-229) provide 60 Western Shoshone placenames for locations in and around the Duck Valley Indian Reservation. Other than these, no further information on placenames is available at this time.

2.2.2.2. Nez Perce

Settlement activities and patterns for the Nez Perce have been recorded by Plateau anthropologists (e.g., Anastasio 1955, 1972; Draper and Reid 1986; Ray 1936b, 199, 1942; Sappington et al 1995; Schwede 1966, 1970; Walker 1966a, 1968, 1998c). Anastasio (1972; cf., 1955) was the first scholar to explicitly address intertribal relations among the Indian groups of the southern Plateau area between 1805 and 1855. He (1972:119) described the settlement patterns for this region as riverine-oriented and linear.

The individual winter villages (*tew?yeni-kes*), consisting of a long house (up to 200 feet long), were the basic autonomous political and economic unit. Aside from the long house, there were male and female dormitories that doubled as sweat houses, hemispherical sweat houses, and menstrual huts. The Nez Perce village is defined as "the smallest customarily associated group of persons tending to be found on a seasonal basis in a given geographical locale they were thought to own" (Walker 1968:10). Estimates of village size are quite variable, with as few as ten or over two hundred people. Walker and Leonhardy (n.d.) estimated that each long house or village had between ten and seventy-five persons. A band consisted of a number of villages (long houses) comprising a restricted territory. A number of bands formed a large "composite" band under special circumstances or activities (e.g., bison hunting, warfare). Seasonal camps (*wi-se-s*) consisted of 10-20 individuals and, like the Shoshone-Paiute, were seasonally defined (Walker 1968:9-10). A seasonal or upland camp is defined as:

> the smallest customarily associated group of persons tending to be found on a seasonal basis in a given geographical locale over which they were thought to possess usufruct rights only. The outstanding social structural rule

separating the village from the camp, therefore, was the nature of ownership (Walker 1968:10).

Schwede (1970, cf., 1966) was the first to examine Nez Perce settlement systems. Using a master list of 295 site locations, she partitions them into a single village/camp dichotomy. She presents three hypotheses involving settlement and elevation, tributary size, and resource availability. Her conclusions are that settlements are clustered in three important ways; elevation, stream confluences, and exploited resources (Schwede 1970:133-135).

In his "Review of Hells Canyon Archaeology," Chance (1987) *via* Elmer Paul, a Nez Perce elder, gives 324 Nez Perce placenames for locations in central Idaho, eastern Oregon and Washington, and western Montana and Wyoming. Paul's (Chance 1987:119-140) locational information provides an adequate treatment of named places in and around Nez Perce territory. Placename locations are restricted to north-central and north of the study area. Unfortunately, prepared maps of Paul's placename data are unavailable, although Dr. Alan G. Marshall (1998: per. com.) is generating standardized maps based on this information for the National Park Service's Nez Perce National Historic Park at Spalding, Idaho.

Alice Cunningham Fletcher was employed as a Special Agent for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and spent four years among the Nez Perce from 1889 to 1892. She implemented an "allotment program" for the tribe and gathered ethnographic information on a variety of subjects among the Nez Perce (Sappington and Carley 1995:1). A prominent ethnographer in the late 19th century, Fletcher appealed to *Kew-kew'-lu-yah* or Jonathan "Billy" Williams, a Nez Perce elder (born ca. 1815), to produce "a map of Nez Perce territory that included the locations and descriptions of 78 traditional villages as they existed in the early nineteenth century" (Sappington et al. 1995:177). The resultant map and notes, in manuscript form, have been reported by several anthropologists (Sappington and Carley 1995; Sappington et al. 1995; Schwede 1966, 1970; Shawley 1984; Thompson 1993)(Figures 9 and 10).

Sappington (et al. 1995:190) provide information on 12 groups of 63 winter villages. Group 1 consisted of 7 winter villages located between Saddle Creek and Granite Creek on the Snake River. Sappington (et al. 1995:190) states the following for the seven winter villages that make up this group:

> The name of this group has been lost. All of its villages were in the vicinity of the Snake River and became extinct prior to the beginning of the 19th century. Their names and locations, however, are given on the map. They are numbered 1, 2, 3, 73, 74, 75, [and] 76 [see Figure 10].
>
> Their hunting grounds were to be westward toward the Blue Mountains, and overlapped those of the Walla-Walla-Poo or Cayuse Indians. The people were considered as mixed with other tribes and not of pure Nez Perce blood. They were the southern group in the tribe. The Group 1 villages mark the southern frontier of Nez Perce winter settlement. Accurate location of these villages is important for understanding aboriginal land tenure, the timing and extent of Numic expansion in the lower Snake River basin.

Sappington (et al. 1995) discusses each village of this group and the specific discrepancies in location proposed by different researchers (e.g., Schwede 1966; Rice et al. 1981; Thompson 1993). The six villages of Group 2, after the extinction of the seven Group 1 villages by the late 18th century, became the southern outpost for the Nez Perce. The southern edge of Group 1 villages is approximately 15 miles north of the Brownlee dam (Sappington et al. 1995:192).

2.2.3. Subsistence

Settlement types (village/camp) and transportation modes (equestrian/pedestrian) influenced subsistence activities greatly. Subsistence strategies for both groups are seasonal. The resource base and resource availability largely determine the specific procurement procedures and technology used at a particular time of the year. Based upon this seasonality, Shoshone and Northern Paiute and Nez Perce subsistence modes and activities provide a basic orientation to resource preference, selection, and acquisition. Resource variability and diversity in the study area was much greater than in southern Idaho's Basin province. Accordingly, population numbers were higher and the resource base more abundant for this area.

Subsistence techniques, economics, practices, activities, routines, patterns, and models have received a majority of attention among ethnographers of the Shoshone-Paiute in the

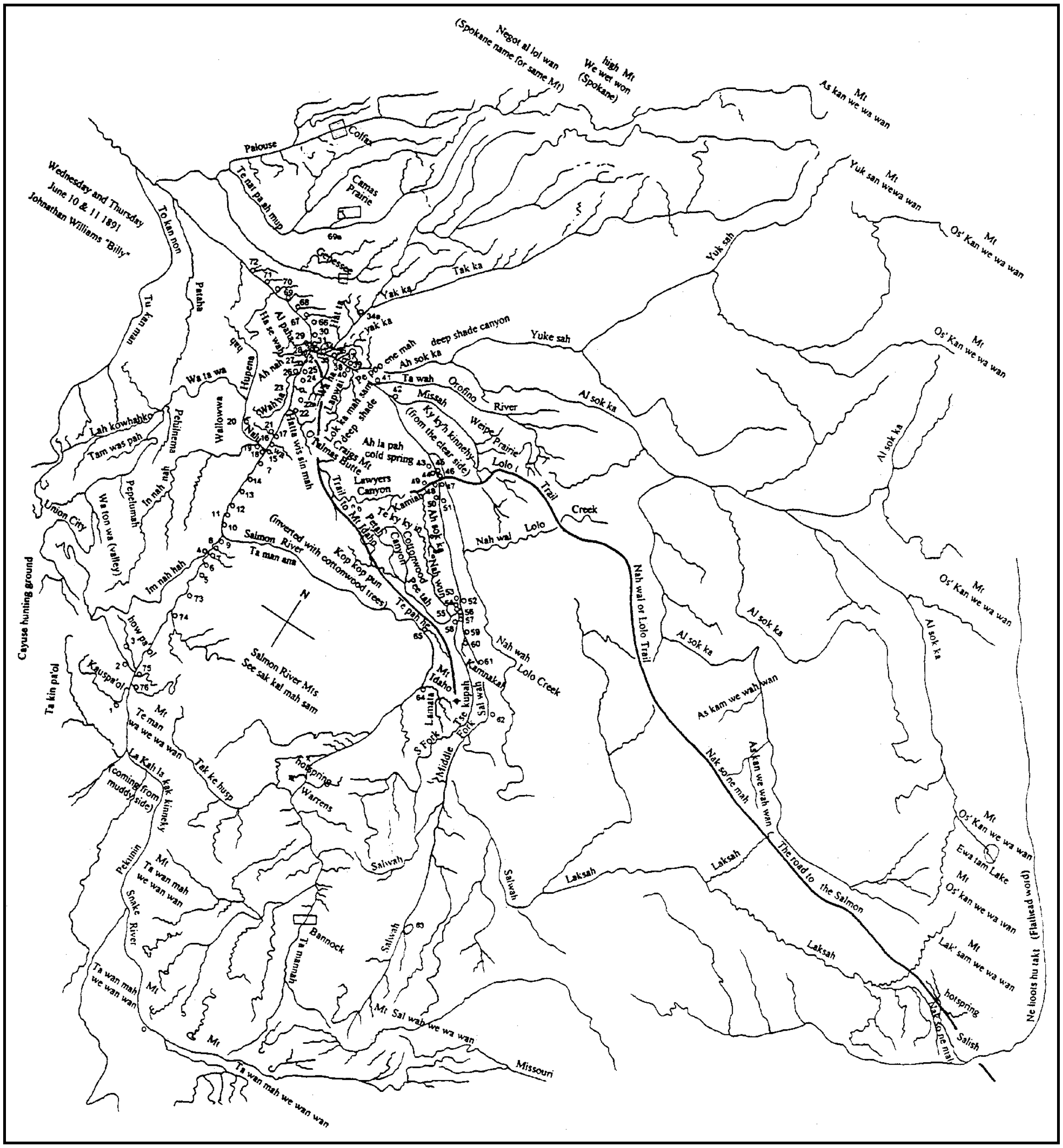

Figure 9: Nez Perce Country (Sappington et al. 1995:182).

northern Great Basin (e.g., Corliss 1990; Couture 1978; Fowler 1982b, 1986; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986; Harris 1940; Kelly 1932; Knack 1986; Knack and Stewart 1984; Liljeblad 1957, 1972; Lowie 1909; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986; Plew 1994; Reed 1985; Rusco 1976; Shimkin and Reid 1970; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943, 1955, 1970; Steward and Voegelin 1974; Stewart 1941; Thomas 1971a,

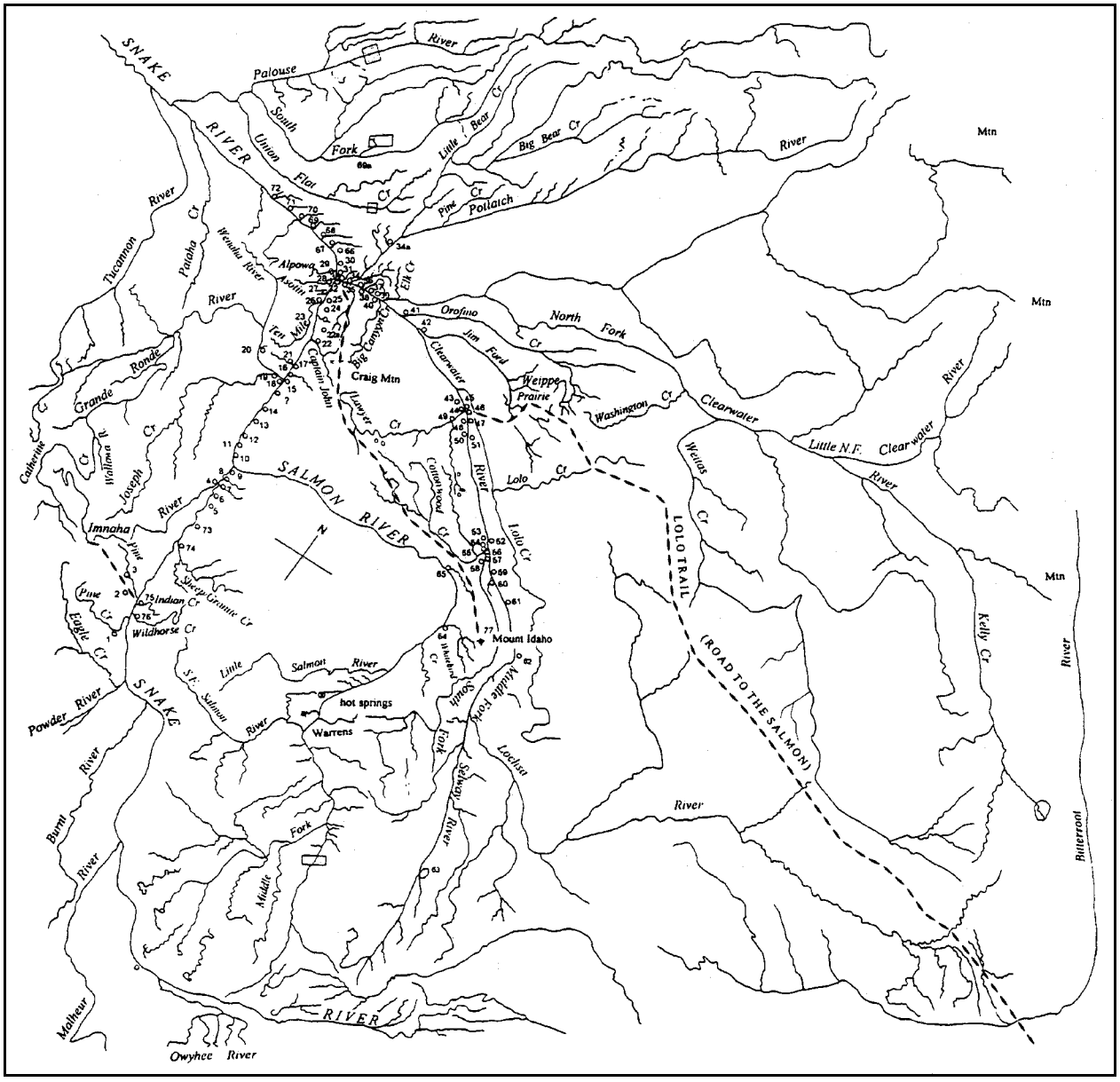

Figure 10: Nez Perce Country with modern landmarks (Sappington et al. 1995:183).

1972a, 1972b; Thomas et al. 1986; Voegelin 1955-1956; Walker 1993a, 1993b) and Plateau areas (e.g., Baenan 1965; Downey and Furniss 1968; Haines 1955; Harbinger 1964; Horr 1974; Ray 1939, 1942, 1960; Reid and Gallison 1994; Schalk and Cleveland 1983; Schwede 1970; Spinden 1908; Suphan 1974; Trafzer 1992; Walker 1966a, 1967a, 1968, 1978, 1998c). Species-specific and

ethnobiology studies among both Shoshone-Paiute and Nez Perce have been made for specific plants and animals in the two areas and on native verbal categories (Allen 1876; Davis 1952; Dorn 1966; Fowler and Leland 1968; Gleason and Cronquist 1964; Haines 1940; Hunn 1979, 1980; Hunn et al. 1998; King 1980, 1982, 1986; Kingston 1932; Mahar 1953; Marshall 1977; McHugh 1958; Nickerson 1966; Scrimsher 1967; Statham 1982; Turner 1981, 1982).

2.2.3.1. Shoshone and Northern Paiute

There is adequate information on Shoshone-Paiute subsistence strategies for southern Idaho (i.e., Liljeblad 1957, 1972; Lowie 1909; Madsen 1958, 1969, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1985; Steward 1941, 1943; Steward and Voegelin 1974; Stewart 1939, 1941; Walker 1993a, 1993b) and southwest Idaho in particular (i.e., Corliss 1990; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986; Steward 1938a).

"Springtime," as Murphy and Murphy (1960:319) insist, "brought no extensive migrations." From March to June, roots and salmon were the chief resources. The first two runs of salmon were at this time, continuing until June. Fish traps were made on the Payette River, in the vicinity of Long Valley, and on the lower Weiser River. Salmon were also taken in the Boise River. According to informants, the people of this area did not resort to the great salmon fisheries in the vicinity of Glenn's Ferry and upstream to Shoshone Falls. The abundance of fish in local waters made this unnecessary. Although the populations divided and went to various fishing sites, the salmon runs were periods during which stable residence in small villages was possible (Murphy and Murphy 1960:319).

Corliss (1990:8-9) reports that individual families or groups might go into the mountains to hunt big game, but most went to the rivers to fish:

> The Weisers -- and their neighbors, the Northern Paiute of eastern Oregon -- took salmon from the Boise, Weiser, Payette, and Snake rivers, all major fish runs. Steelhead arrived during April's high water in all forks and tributaries of these rivers, including Squaw Creek... They were speared, caught in nets, or trapped by means of weirs. Because there were no falls to form natural fishing places in the larger rivers, the Weiser constructed barriers of stones or brush to force the fish into certain places where they could be easily taken (Corliss 1990:9).

In the early summer, May through June, Boise-Weiser Indians would go to the Camas Prairie to collect camas and other plants (Corliss 1990:9; Murphy and Murphy 1960:319, 1986:285-288). Other Indians would go to the mountains to hunt big and small game or gather plants for food and medicine, or for manufacturing purposes. Corliss (1990:9) relates that some families had 'favorite summer camps' at Payette Lake to take advantage of hunting and fishing. Murphy and Murphy (1960:319) note that summers were a time of dancing and festivities and were probably the largest gatherings among all of Shoshone. Other groups of Shoshone and Northern Paiute (especially the Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshone) traveled east to hunt buffalo.

Between August and December, time was spent intensively hunting and collecting food resources for winter. While the Bruneau Shoshone hunted mule deer and antelope, other groups (e.g., Boise, Payette, Weiser Shoshone) living closer to the mountains hunted elk, bear, moose, mountain sheep, and goat. At the same time, still other groups or families would opt to fish for Chinook salmon in September and Sockeye (Red) salmon in October along the Snake and its tributaries. Techniques for hunting waterfowl (ducks, swans, geese) and salmon fishing ranged from individual to communal. Rabbit and antelope were hunted communally in the fall.

Winter, January to March, saw the various groups or families returning to the river valleys and winter villages. When compared to the other seasons, wintertime was a period of migrational and subsistence inactivity. Meat, fish, and plants were stored in caches near the winter villages. In the Weiser area, deer and elk could be hunted as a limited activity during the winter. Projectile points, knives, and scrapers as well as baskets, pottery, apparel, and other utilitarian goods were manufactured during this period. Wintertime was when religious activities and health-concerning rituals were practiced and tales told. Winter was a time of intense social interaction and interchange for the various Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups (Corliss 1990:11; Murphy and Murphy 1960:319).

In all seasons, the sexual division of labor dictated men and women’s responsibilities, tasks, and roles. Men hunted big game and fished, produced implements for the hunt and associated activities, and served as headmen and protectors. Women gathered vegetable produce, reared children, made baskets, and did domestic chores. Communal activities and practices involved both

young and old, men and women. Both men and women could make pottery, hunt for small game, tell tales (myths), and doctor members of the community.

2.2.3.2. Nez Perce

In the anthropological literature, Nez Perce subsistence strategies are minimal as to Plateau settlement systems Accordingly, these strategies have not been as intensely studied as have Great Basin subsistence strategies. What research has been done is secondary to other scholarly endeavors and must be gleaned from the existing literature (i.e., Anastasio 1972; Harbinger 1964; Ray 1936b, 1939, 1960; Reid and Gallison 1994; Sappington et al. 1995; Schwede 1970; Scrimsher 1967; Slickpoo and Walker 1973; Spinden 1908; Suphan 1974; Walker 1967a, 1968, 1978, 1998c). The distinction between the linear riverine village and upland camp has been discerned for the Nez Perce (Schwede 1966, 1970; Walker 1968, 1978, 1998c)(see Settlement above).

There was no extensive migration out of the river valleys in the spring for the Nez Perce. Unlike the Shoshone and Northern Paiute, which broke up into camps in the Spring, the Nez Perce continued to occupy the winter villages. In the spring, one or more Nez Perce' winter villages would communally hunt small game (e.g., rabbit) or fish for early runs of salmon on the lower Snake and upper Columbia rivers. By mid-Spring, the salmon reached the Nez Perce territory and early root crops ripened; both were intensively gathered (Schwede 1970:129-130; Walker 1978:70-73, 1998:420-421).

By mid-summer, the villages were divided into camps and moved to higher elevations in the mountains surrounding Hells Canyon to exploit later crops, fish the upland streams, and hunt for game in the highlands. By late July or early August, root crops (e.g., camas, bitterroot, kouse, wild carrot, wild onion) and fruits (e.g., chokecherry, currant, gooseberry, serviceberry, huckleberry) were gathered, and large game (deer, elk, moose, mountain sheep and goat, as well as brown, black, and grizzly bear) were hunted. By fall, late runs of salmon, root and fruit products, and bison were being processed for winter use. Several bands or groups of Nez Perce, Cayuse, Umatilla, and Yakima traveled to Montana to hunt bison in the late summer and early fall.

Small game (rabbit, marmot or groundhog, squirrel), native non-migratory fish (trout, suckers, whitefish, sturgeon), and birds (sagehen, grouse, duck, geese, and birds of prey) were taken at all seasons. By November, Nez Perce camps reunited into riverine winter villages at lower elevations.

2.2.4. Material

Archaeological studies notwithstanding (e.g., Ames 1982; Butler 1986; Caldwell and Mallory 1967; Green 1982; Plew 1979, 1988, 1996; Reed 1985; Reid and Gallison 1994, 1995; Shiner 1951; Sloss 1995; Sprague 1967; Statham 1982; Strong 1930; Swanson 1974a; Thompson 1993; Tuohy 1956), general ethnographic treatment on aspects of technology and material culture have seen little research beyond basic outlines or general descriptions for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute and the Nez Perce populations (e.g., Clemmer et al. 1999; Couture 1978; Downey and Furniss 1968; Lowie 1909, 1924a; Shawley 1975; Spinden 1908; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943; Stewart 1941; Walker 1966a, 1967a, 1978, 1993b, 1998). The most prominent of these is Steward's (1941) "elemental description" of the Snake River Shoshone done as part of his work with the University of California's "Culture Element Distribution Surveys" at Berkeley in the 1930s. In this report, Steward describes specific material items (e.g., methods of fire-making, bows/arrows, cradles, garments, structures, traps, weapons, etc.) as elements or traits within the Shoshone culture. The element list offers a simple and rapid method of collecting data on specific items. (The list as a method was and is, for the most part, qualitatively uninformed and quantitatively sterile.

Even with these objections, however, the method is known as a major innovation to "recall ethnography" and the collection and ordering of ethnographic data, see Myers 1999).

Assuming that Steward's culture element list for the Snake River Shoshone is appropriate for the Boise-Payette-Weiser area, the following is a brief outline of material traits for southwestern Idaho (Steward 1938a:172). Aspects of Nez Perce technology and material culture are manifest in the general literature about these people. It is not systematic and it is presented within a number of broad contexts. Between the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups on the one hand, and Nez Perce groups on the other, the disparate quality of information about material culture allows only a simple delineation of major aspects of these two cultures.

2.2.4.1. Shoshone and Northern Paiute

Steward's (1941) treatment of the Snake River Shoshone material culture is largely predetermined by the scope and nature of his survey questions as well as the diffusionist approach from which they derived. For expedience, a two-fold division will be used; material and social. Material elements include: Subsistence, Houses, Navigation, Fire Making, Miscellaneous Concepts, Skin Dressing, Weapons, Basketry, Weaving, Pottery, Burdens, Cradles, Mutilations, Dress and Adornment, Garments, Games, Money, Tobacco and Smoking, and Musical Instruments (Steward 1941:218-252, 271-310).

Under Subsistence, Steward (1941:272-275) describes the elements or traits associated hunting, fishing, and gathering. Pits, poison arrows, stalking, drives, “spring-pole” traps, nets, deadfalls, brush enclosures, and rodent skewers are used in the hunt for both large and small game as well as birds. Specialized nets, weirs, rock and willow dams, elongated baskets, hooks, line, and poles were used to procure anadromous and native fishes. Steward also indicated that harpoons, spears, and hooks were used on the Snake River and its tributaries (1941:226-228, 276). Digging sticks, conical seed baskets, and basketry seed beaters were employed for gathering. Earth ovens, boiling in pots, baskets, or by stones; broiling on coals; and parching; as cooking methods were present in the Snake River region (Steward 1941:281-282).

Under "Houses," Steward considered five house types; Windbreak, Sun Shade, Domed Wickiup, Tripod or Conical House, and Gabled House. Of these, Steward indicates the presence of two types particular to the Snake River Shoshone area; Sun Shade and Domed Wickiup. The Sun Shade was composed of only brush or trees. Domed wickiup houses were used in summer and winter and a brief description of dome wickiup construction was provided by Steward (1941:282-283). Additional information is supplied by Steward in his treatment of House Interior and Sweat House. Under Sweat House, Steward delineated three basic forms or types: wickiup, conical, and gable. Steward reports that the Snake River Shoshone had only the wickiup type. The sweat house was owned individually and used by shamans for sickness. Steward describes its operation as open to both men and women. Under "Miscellaneous Houses," Steward (1941:285) listed dog houses and menstrual huts as being present in the Snake River area, but he finds no evidence of a ceremonial enclosure for Snake River Shoshone.

The elements under "Navigation" all refer to Balsa rafts. These rafts were constructed of tule or willow bales, arranged in three side-by-side bundles, and were approximately 6 to 7 feet long. They hold four or more people, and were propelled by pole, pulled by rope, or launched by hands and feet.

The Snake River Shoshone people had two ways to make fire; compound drill and lithic technology. In the former, the compound drill is made up from a hardwood shaft, and used with a sagebrush or "Artemisia" hearth and tinder. The second fire-making method involves striking two rocks (e.g., flint, obsidian) against one another (Steward 1941:286, 336).

Steward's "Miscellaneous Implements" covers a wide variety of technological artifacts; mortar and pestle, metate and muller, mush stirrer, spoon and dipper, knife, scraper, awl, drill, and flint flaking. Under "Various," Steward found that the Snake River Shoshone used broken or natural cobbles to chop or hammer. Aside from marking their presence and noting what they were made from, there is little other information (Steward 1941:286).

Under "Skin Dressing," Steward (1941:289) confirms that in the Snake River area women processed hide by first rubbing off the hair, using brain or liver as a tanning agent, then soaking and stretching the skin in water. The hide was smoked on one side while hung on a tripod over a fire stoked with wood-chips.

Steward (1941:289-291) treats the bow, arrow, arrow straightener, quiver, and miscellaneous weapons under the category "Weapons." The people of Snake River used three types of bows: sinew-back, horn, and horn-backed wood bow. The sinew-back bow was about three and one-half feet long, made of serviceberry, with horn glue as a binder. The horn bow used the horns of Mountain Sheep laid end to end and backed with sinew. Steward's only notes the presence of horn-backed wood bow. Bow strings were made of two-ply sinew. Men wore wristguards and painted their bows.

Women made all baskets out of willow and in many forms (e.g., seed beater, winnowing basket, fishing basket, bags, and mats). Other forms of baskets were circular trays, conical carrying baskets, basketry hats, water jugs, basketry bowls, basketry ladles, basket sifters, and caterpillar baskets (Steward 1941:291-295). Rabbit skins were woven into skin blankets by twisting strips on a two-parallel bar loom. Vegetable-fiber

blankets were made primarily out of either sage bark and cottonwood bark. Net and twisted cordage were also used by the people of the Snake River.

Steward (1941:293-294) divides the weaving category into Skin Blanket, Feather Blanket, Nets, and Twisted Cordage. Twisted strips of rabbit fur is listed as the primary type of fur used among the Snake River Shoshone, "but the fur of other animals, bird skins, juniper or sage bark, and sometimes a green, stringy material growing in the water (spirogyra?) was used" (1941:242). Under Nets, Steward (1941:294) suggested that nets were used for rabbit drives, sagehens, fishing, and carrying. The sex of the individual creating the net was unknown (Element 1192).

Pottery (Steward 1941:242, 294-295) was made by coiling clay clockwise then scraping the surface with fingers or a stick. The resultant pot was fired in an open fire, then painted black. Unbaked clay animal and human effigies with straw legs were used as toys.

Burdens and cradles were also used by people in the area. Steward (1941:295-296) lists back burdens and a man's 'deerskin' bag as present in the area. Basketry cradles, in two different outlines, elliptical and oval, were used by the Shoshone. Construction methods and techniques were listed by Steward, as well as designs and types of blanket; buckskin, rabbit skin, and groundhog.

Both Shoshone men and women had their ears pierced or bored at least once when they were children. Tattooing of the face was also practiced in the area (Steward 1941:296-297).

Under "Dress and Adornment," Steward (1941:244, 297-299) lists five sub-headings: necklaces, belts, paint, hair dressing, and headgear. Although the presence of necklaces were noted, no other information is provided. Buckskin and animal fur belts were worn. The people painted their bodies with grease and color pigments: black charcoal, white mineral, red mineral, blue mineral, red mineral, yellow mineral, and green mineral. Hair was worn past shoulder length, parted down the middle, hanging loose, or braided for both sexes. Hair ointments and adornments range from white clay, red paint, and marrow. Hair was cut with a stone or singed off. Beards were plucked with fingernails. Men wore fur caps, while women wore nothing on their head.

Steward (1941:299-302) lists under "Garments" five sub-headings: Robes and Capes, Shirts and Dresses, Skirts, Leggings, and Footgear. Steward (1941:245) states, "Bonneville saw Shoshoni on the Snake River below Twin Falls wearing rabbit skin blankets 4 feet square." Shoshone men wore shirts made out of a whole piece of deerskin, mountain sheep, or antelope, or one skin worn poncho style. Skirts, aprons, and breechclouts were worn by both sexes. Both sexes wore fringed shirts made from deerskin or mountain sheep skin. Men and women wore front aprons and women also wore long back aprons. These aprons were made of skins and fringed. Breechclout were made out of buckskin. Men wore leggings made out of skin, tule, or twined sage, and extending from hip to ankle. Although these garments were worn, "the Snake River Shoshone often went nude except for a genital covering" (Steward 1941:245). The Shoshones of the Snake River went "habitually barefooted," but also wore a one-piece moccasin of deer skin or badger skin.

Steward (1941:245-247, 302-308) lists 26 activities under "Games": Ball Race, Shinny, Hoop and Pole, Ring and Pin, Hand Game, 4-Stick Guessing Game, 4-Stick Dice, 8-Stick Dice, Archery, Juggling, Foot Race, Wrestling, Shot Putting, Stilts, Jacks, Toys, Sling, Bull-roarer, Cat's Cradle, Dolls, and Water Pistol. Steward (1941:247) gives the native term for some of the games.

The Snake River Shoshone smoked an L-shaped bowl with rosewood stem pipe and a tobacco filled piece of cane (1941:308). While both men and women smoked, it was more common to see men and old men smoking. Tobacco (e.g., *Nicotiana attenuata*) was gathered wild, dried and threshed, and combined with leaves of kinikini (e.g., *Cornus stolonifera)* stored in a fur pouch (1941:309, 250-251).

Steward (1941:309-310, 251) lists five instruments played by the Snake River Shoshone: rattle, buzzer, drum, musical bow, whistle, and flute. They also used deer hoofed rattles, deer hoof buzzers, and elderberry or bone flutes for courting.

2.2.4.2. Nez Perce

Although Ray (1942:99-252) published a "Culture Element" list for the Plateau area, he does not include the Nez Perce as one of the groups surveyed. As mentioned before, aspects of material culture are often manifest or alluded to in the general literature for the Nez Perce. Having the horse and canoe as modes of transportation provided the Nez Perce with the means by

which to exploit a naturally rich environment. Walker (1978:128-139, 1998:420-439) presents general information on the common aspects of material culture.

Nez Perce men were fishermen and had various items for fishing (e.g., hook and line, harpoons, dip nets, traps, weirs, seines, etc.)(Walker 1998:420; Hewes 1998). Built near the winter village, traps and weirs were constructed communally and located on the lateral streams which intercept the major rivers. Fish, especially salmon, were speared or netted by canoe or 'dipping platform.' Communally, men hunted deer and elk by encirclement using decoys and scarecrows to force the animals out in the open. Fire and horses were used to drive animals into traps. Ambush, deadfalls, and snares were used for both large and small game. Syringa and yew were principle woods for construction of bows backed by sinew. Nez Perce composite bow were considered one of the best in the Plateau area (Walker 1998:421; Anastasio 1972:123).

Nez Perce women used a 'crutch-handled' digging stick to dig for roots. The digging stick was made of syringa or mock orange (*Philadelphus lewissi*). Although some wood containers were made, baskets were employed as containers generally. Food products in baskets or parfleche bags were stored in 'cache' pits on well-drained hillsides. Both horn and wood spoons and cups were made. Stone pestles associated with stone based baskets and wooden mortars were used to grind meats and roots (Walker 1998:421). Splitting wedges were made of antlers, and clubs and ax heads were made by combining antler, wood, and rawhide. Hoes, stone hammers, and a sharpened elk horn were common implements for working the soil or felling trees (Sappington and Carley 1995:22). Baskets were used for boiling and earth ovens for baking. Known for their excellent baskets, Nez Perce women made a particular type of basketry hat which had a wide distribution over the Plateau area (Anastasio 1972:120). Meat was broiled by an open fire. Pottery was hand-made and sun dried (Sappington and Carley 1995:22). Cradleboards were used for babies and the baby's umbilical cord was placed in a small hide container tied on the cradleboard (Walker 1998c:422). A carved scratching stick was used in the menstrual hut. Root bags, beads and beaded-bags, digging sticks, and baskets were given to women on special occasions; gifts of hunting and fishing implements, horses and buckskin were given to men (Walker 1998c:424).

Equipment for horses was made of bone, antler, rawhide, and horse hair and were decorated with beads, porcupine quills, and

dyes. Saddles and saddles for packing were made differently for men and women. Horse and dog travois were made for heavy equipment (Walker 1998:427).

Mat-covered; double lean-to long-houses; mat-covered conical tents; bison skin-covered structures; shallow semisubterranean dormitories, sweathouses, menstrual huts, and the submerged hot bath were common structures in Nez Perce settlements. Long-houses were used as permanent structures in the winter villages. Semisubterranean dormitories for men and women were used in conjunction with longhouses. Conical tents were temporary shelter when hunting, fishing, and gathering, and bison-skin structures were used on the Plains in pursuit of buffalo. The sweathouse, menstrual hut, and hot bath structure were found in all villages.

Nez Perce clothing resembled clothing of the northern Plains:

> with long, fringed buckskin shirts, leggings, belts, breechclouts, gloves, gauntlets, and several types of moccasins. Feathered bonnets modeled on the Plain type were popular and the Nez Perce men also wore robes of several kinds, particularly bison skin robes, although most buckskin clothing was made of deer and elk hides. Women wore long, belted, buckskin dresses, basketry caps and knee-length moccasins (Walker 1998:429).

Nez Perce women adorned their clothing with elk teeth and sea shells acquired in trade. Other decorations included vegetable and mineral dyes, shell and bone beads, and quill. Furs, in the form of braids or fringe, were worn by women and men alike. Apparel was indicative of gender, status, and age.

2.2.5. Social Aspects of Culture

General data on social aspects of cultural phenomena for the northern Great Basin and the Plateau areas are found in number of anthropological writings (Bahar 1955; Burton 1998; Cappannari 1950; Chamberlain 1907; Dorn 1966; Grossman 1965; Hunn and French 1998; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998; Knack 1986; Lahran 1998a; Palmer 1998; Park 1938b, 1941; Ray 1936b, 1939, 1942, 1959, 1960; Reid and Gallison 1994; Ross 1998; Ruby and Brown 1970, 1972; Scheuerman 1982; Schuster 1975, 1998; Shimkin and Reid 1970; Sprague 1998; Stern 1965, 1998a, 1998b; Stern et al. 1980;

Stevens 1965; Steward 1936a, 1937a, 1938a, 1938b, 1941, 1943, 1955, 1970; Steward and Voegelin 1974; Stewart 1939, 1941; Swanson et al. 1970, Teit 1928, 1930, Thomas 1974; Thomas et al. 1986; Trafzer 1986, 1992; Turney-High 1941a; Voegelin 1955-1956; Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association 1982). Description and discussion of social aspects Shoshone and Northern Paiute culture in southern Idaho are limited (i.e., Corliss 1990; Harris 1940; Hultkrantz 1974, 1986; Kelly 1932; Liljeblad 1957, 1972; Lowie 1909a, 1924a; Madsen 1958, 1967, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1986; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943, 1955, 1970; Walker 1993a, 1993b).

2.2.5.1. Shoshone and Northern Paiute

In the Culture Element list for the Snake River Shoshone, Steward (1941:252-270, 311-326) lists 14 headings for the social aspects of Snake River Shoshone culture (i.e., marriage, kinship relations, berdaches or transvestites, division of labor, political organization, property, warfare, birth customs, girl's puberty, boy's puberty, death customs, religion, dances, and miscellaneous). For purposes of this report, it is expedient to only refer to Steward's comments or remarks specifically regarding the Snake River Shoshone people.

The literature on marriage, kinship terminology and relations, descent (ancestors/historical persons) and alliance (intermarriage), or what Steward (1941:252, 311-312) referred to as Marriage and Kinship, for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute populations has been given limited treatment for southern Idaho (e.g., Eggan 1980; Fowler 1966; Liljeblad 1957, 1972; Lowie 1909a, 1930; Park 1937; Shapiro 1986; Steward 1936b, 1938a, 1941; Stewart 1937, 1965). In southern Idaho, no lineages, clans, or moieties existed to regulate marriage (Steward 1941:252). Village exogamy [the practice of a person seeking a mate outside his group] and a ban on 'blood relationships' for marriage are general rules for the Snake River Shoshone. A preferred marriage partner "was a pseudo cross-cousin, the father's sister's (*baha*) stepdaughter" (Steward 1938a:171). There were no fixed rules of patrilineal [through males] and matrilineal descent [through females], or patrilocal [married couple's living with husband's community or group] and matrilocal [married couple's living with wife's community or group] residence. There was a tendency for matrilocal residence on the initiation of a marriage. Bride price was paid as presents to the woman's parents. Though most marriages were monogamous, polygyny [man marries more than one wife] and fraternal polyandry [several brothers marry one woman]

was customary. The levirate [woman's marriage to her brother-in-law] and sororate [man's marriage to his wife's sister] were allowed, but not demanded. Wife beating, for adulterous activities, was a standard practice and divorce was common. There were no conventional avoidance of in-laws and no traditional joking relationships, although a special joking relationship existed between brothers-in-law (Steward 1941:252). Adoption of orphans and children of impoverished parents was permitted.

The basic sexual division of labor occurred among the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups: men hunted, women gathered (Steward 1941, cf., Steward 1938a; Lowie 1909a; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986; 1986). Women cooked, carried water, gathered wood and tended fires, while hunting and fishing were the male prerogative. Male berdaches or transvestites are noted among the Snake River Shoshone, but women berdaches were absent. Steward states that while a berdache (*waip:* [woman] *sinwa* [half]) did not wear women's clothing, he did women's work and was a shaman (Steward 1941:252-253). Both sexes were involved in house construction and maintenance, skinning preparation, clothing and moccasin construction, pottery manufacturing, and the making of skin blankets. Women made baskets and metates. Men manufactured rabbit nets.

Under political groups, Steward (1941:253-254, 313) reports that the village was, for the most part, the sovereign political unit. Larger organization occurred during annual dances, rabbit drives, and fishing parties. Band chiefs, *per se*, did not exist, but there was a patrilineal succession in the political organization of the village or camp. Moreover, a special chief was appointed for the rabbit drive, fishing parties, and, in some cases, hunting. At the level of the village, a village chief was appointed. Land and ownership of property, possessions, and resource control and regulation was for the most part absent or lacking for the Snake River Shoshone.

There were, however, a few elements of private or group ownership. The individual families along the Snake River owned fishing places, and "places where fish dams and weirs were constructed were owned by the groups who had built them" (Steward 1941:254). Personal belongings and possessions, eagles, and the shaman or doctor songs were privately owned. Warfare was for the most part absent or rare.

Elements regarding birth or birth customs were treated quite extensively, compared to other element groups (1941:314-316). Birth practice for the Snake River Shoshone involved 90 days confinement after delivery in a domed willow house. With regards to the 90 day confinement period, Steward (1941:349) states, "after birth of 1st child of each sex, mother's confinement and restrictions are for one month only for each subsequent child." The warm ground is said "to prevent mother's blood from 'clogging'" (1941:349). During confinement, the husband gathered firewood.

During delivery of the child, the mother kneels holding on to two stakes with a strap tied around her waist. She is lifted by a woman assistant and drinks hot water. Any woman could be the assistant or mid-wife. For difficult cases a woman with special power was summoned. Afterbirth was buried.
The mother bathes afterwards, and certain restrictions were placed on her behavior and activities (1941:314-315). She could drink only warm water for 90 days after the first child, 30 days for subsequent children. She could not also eat meat or grease, and had to use a "scratching stick" to scratch herself. The scratching stick was "used lest hair ceased growing" (Steward 1941:349). She did not observe either the salt taboo or work taboo. When the confinement was over, the mother bathes again, and paints herself. She then returns to the camp or village "in early morning, before the people have arisen" (1941:349). Steward (1941:315) reports that the baby was bathed immediately after birth. The umbilical cord is either placed in an antelope wallow or in a red-ant nest. At the end of confinement, the baby was given its first cradle; when that is outgrown, the second, then, finally, a third cradle were received from a maternal or paternal grandmother.

When the announcement of the birth reached the new father, he "at once jumps into water then runs; this is for his strength, called *nauma* (self) *vuya* (making)" (Steward 1941:350). For the next five days, the new father could not drink cold water, eat meat or grease, or smoke. Running in the morning for five days was prerequisite for such an event, as was the gathering of firewood during the run, using a scratching stick, and bathing each of the five days. At the end of this five-day observance, a recent father would "hang old clothes on willows" (Steward 1941:350) and take new ones. He is said to hunt and give away the first kill. A new father is to observe these restrictions at the birth of the first born of either sex, but not, according to Steward (1941:350), for subsequent births. In the Snake River

area, the parents of new parents did not observe any of these restrictions.

A girl's puberty ritual was performed at the first menses (Steward 1941:317-318). At the onset of this menses, the girl would be isolated for 10 days in the special hut away from the camp. This house is called the moon hut or house. The young initiate was "instructed to arise early, fetch wood and water, cook, (to) not be lazy, not (to) talk too much, and to avoid eating too much; last is (to) prevent her skin from becoming dark" (Steward 1941:351). Specifically, the girl may not eat meat or grease, fish, or scratch herself with fingers for 10 days (Steward 1941:317). The scratching stick is made of a single piece of wood. After this confinement, the girl bathes and is painted red. She saves the menstrual clothes for subsequent menses, wearing new clothes and sage leggings, after being deloused by her mother. Steward (1941:351) recounts that the "girl is painted on final day, before returning to dwelling [camp]."

At subsequent menses, women were isolated for 6 days in the special hut, where the ground has been warmed. She is forbidden to eat meat, fish, nor fat, but bathes regularly. While confined, she is to avoid the sick, dances, and hunters for 6 days. Informants denied that the husband of a menstruating woman may not hunt, fish, gamble, or take sweat baths. Steward (1941:351) suggests that, "when woman goes to menstrual house, her husband or some other occupant of dwelling cleans out remains of old fire and builds new one with fire drill."

Boys, at puberty, went through a similar ritual process. Steward's (1941:256) informant for this area denied that the father lectured the boy. The main objective in the ritual process was to have a boy kill his first big game animal. When he had killed the game, his mother washed him and he could not partake in his 'first kill.'

When a death occurred, a number of observances were made. It appears as though the dead were abandoned in their own house (Steward 1941:351). A relative serves as undertaker. The burial, itself, was covered by rocks; no other information is recorded by Steward (1941:256). Cremation, in general, was not practiced in the Snake River area. An old man would make a funeral speech and relatives would cry. The person's house and personal property was burned or buried or given to a relative. Steward (1941:257) states that "some property was buried with

corpse, but clothing and bedding burned; such valuable articles as bow and rabbit net taken by some relative." Female relatives crop their hair; "widows hair cropped irregularly and ear lobe sometimes mutilated by her sister. Other female relatives cut their own hair to bob length" (1941:351), and then they threw the hair on the grave. Marriage after the death of the husband is variable.

Under "Religion," Steward (1941:320-323) lists eight headings: shamanism, curing performances, special shamans' powers, miscellaneous, guardian spirits, nonshamanistic curing, destiny of soul, ghosts, and jimsonweed. Men and women could both be shamans or doctors and received shamanistic power when they were children. Power could be inherited from the father and mother, while the novice acquired such power before the mother's or father's death. The source of such power is unsought through dreams or sought in mountains and power may be refused altogether. The shaman may have several powers at once. Visions give songs, paraphernalia, paint, and methods. Shamans or doctors had an assistant and a variety of equipment. These included: sticks, feathers, fire, clay, and deerclaw or hoof rattle. The loss of any one of these items may be dangerous to the doctor.

Curing ceremonies were performed in an outdoor brush enclosure (Steward 1941:321). The doctor sings, smokes, talks, dances, and walks in a ritual context. The audience participates in the singing of songs and the assistant lights the doctor's pipe and interprets the doctor's talk. Steward (1941:259-261) refers to five objects (blood, snake, flint, stick, worm) commonly "sucked out" of the patient by the doctor. Other objects were insinuated, but not named (Steward 1941:259). The extraction of the foreign object was "sucked out" through the mouth with stick, pipe, or feather. Diseased objects were displayed to the audience or blown away. The doctor lays "hands" on the patient or touches the patient with a stick. Another technique in doctoring is with fire. The doctor or shaman could recover lost souls, where the shaman’s soul leaves his body.

The shaman had one of several "powers": rattlesnake-curing, wound-curing, weather-control, childbirth, bear, poisoners, and foretelling. Shamans who have rattlesnake power dream of rattlesnake curing and rattlesnakes. They have special powers in handling snakes. Shamans who have wound-curing power possess wound-curing dreams or dreams of closing holes (Steward 1941:321). Controlling the weather, like rain making, stopping

rain, or making wind to remove snow, requires special dreams (Steward 1941:322). As Steward (1941:262) notes, "a weather doctor dreams of rain or snow." Power over childbirth came from a dream of "water babies" (*bauwoha*) that lived in springs. Bear shamans, it is said, have to ability to impersonate bear, transform themselves into bear, travel rapidly, and be invulnerable. Specifically, the Snake River Shoshone bear shaman possessed the ability to impersonate a bear and be invulnerable (Steward 1941:322).

In the "Miscellaneous" heading is contained a variety of concepts and behaviors related to shamanism, prayer, and offerings. Shamans could not refuse to treat a patient or the shaman might be killed. Prayers were made to nature and the sun. General offerings to nature and of food were made, but no additional information is available. Offerings at meals are specifically when the first seeds are gathered; again, no further information is available.

The source of guardian spirits or spirit helpers was dreams for either children or adults. Steward (1941:263-264) also makes reference to a variety of disjointed comments about different power and their meanings. Non-shamanistic curing involves herbs, blood-letting, and sweating, which are traits found among the Snake River Shoshone. The last, sweating, "might be done under a doctor's direction" (Steward 1941:352).

While Steward (1941:352) did not collect substantial information on "Ghosts", he does say that for the Snake River Shoshone, ghosts were visible and they appeared as whirlwinds. Two elements, "ghost feared" and to "dream of dead is ill omen," were denied by informants. The use of jimsonweed was also denied by the Snake River Shoshone.

Under the heading of "Dances," Steward (1941:323-325) classified six dances or dance types for the Great Basin: Circle Dance, Bear or "Back-and-Forth" Dance, "South" or Exhibition Dance, Crazy Dance, Sun Dance, and Ghost Dance. For the Snake River area, specifically, there are three dances present (Circle, South, and Ghost Dance). Music was sung by all dancers and was attended by one special singer. When dancing, the women would choose their partners and dance in two concentric circles or rings. Men and women would alternate within the two concentric circles clockwise as they performed the shuffle step. The dance had a special chief or leader, but not the regular band or village chief. In this respect, Steward (1941:265) explains that

"some men dreamed special circle-dance songs." According to Steward (1941:324), there were no "messagers" to carry invitations to the public. The dance had as one of its major features "courting."

The last heading, Miscellaneous, including: Calendar, Astronomy, Whirlwind, and Omens (Steward 1941:325). Names of months given by Snake River informants are as follows: December (*bia-mia*, big); January (*gua-mua*, ?); February (*tahma-sunwe-mua*, spring-half), March (*ica-dua*, coyote [young born]), September (agai-mua, salmon), November (naha-mua, breeding). April, May, June, July, August, and October had no information given. Under "Astronomy," there is no data and the heading of "Whirlwind" contains only one element out of three. Cosmologically, the whirlwind represents a spirit or ghost (Steward 1941:325). "Omens" are represented by seven traits out of ten; all, except for one, were present in the Snake River area. These include: omens of death, coming, and talking.

The list above serves as a brief and incomplete survey of the Snake River Shoshone, and by extension the various other groups that occupied southwest Idaho circa 1850. Steward insisted that the list did not cover the 'totality of culture,' omitting certain subjects and expanding on certain others. Language and myth were omitted, offhand, and such subjects as social organization and religion require 'extensive explanatory texts' to make them comprehensible (Steward 1941:209). Myths, stories, tales, legends, etc., have never been systematically collected for southwest Idaho Native populations, although there has been a collection of myths published for southeast Idaho (i.e., Lowie 1909) and a few collections published for the Great Basin (e.g., Kelly 1938; Smith 1993, cf., Cook-Smith 1940; Steward 1936c, 1943b). Dayley (1986:3-13; Crum and Dayley 1994, 1997), a linguist at Boise State University, related a historical account by Mrs. Josephine Thorpe, a member of the Mountain Sheep Eaters (*Tukku Tikka'a*) group and a direct descendant of Eagle Eye, entitled "How We Lived Long Ago" (*Pie Nimmin Naakkanna*). Historical by nature, Thorpe's account of how her ancestors lived around the turn of the century gives a good description of life in pre-reservation times.

2.2.5.2. Nez Perce

The social aspects of Nez Perce culture have never been systematically treated, aside from occasional scholars' attempts at systematization of certain subject areas. Ray's (1942:99-257)

work on the 'Cultural Element' list for the Plateau area, omits the Nez Perce and other Sahaptian-speaking people in lieu of the various tribal units to the north and west. In the following, a basic outline for the Nez Perce consistent with the social aspects of Shoshone-Paiute culture will be examined.

Nez Perce marriage and kinship, descent (ancestors) and alliance (intermarriage), family structure and organization, sexual division of labor, gender, etc., have been minimally treated in the anthropological literature (i.e., Ackerman 1971, 1982, 1987, 1994, 1998; Aoki 1966; Boas 1919; Curtis 1911; Dubois 1938; James 1996; Lundsgaarde 1963, 1967; Marshall 1977; Spinden 1908; Walker 1978, 1998). There were no lineages or clans to influence or limit marriage, and marriage to any consanguineal [blood] relatives was considered incestuous. The village was, in most cases, the basic exogamous unit. Nez Perce social organization, as Walker (1968:10) suggests, "was based on a bilateral kinship system with a tendency toward patrilocal postmarital residence." Bilateral, in this case, refer to both sides of the family. The patrilocal extended family was "the largest kin grouping whose members were in relatively continuous association" (Walker 1989:118). Nez Perce kinship is a basic Hawaiian system of a bifurcate [differences between the mother's and father's side of the family] collateral [blood relations of either sex, i.e., aunts and uncles] type which stresses generations (Ackerman 1998:518; Lundsgaarde 1967; Marshall 1977). Marriages were arranged by family heads and two ritual 'gift exchange' ceremonies were made between the two families before the couple was married. Monogamy and sororal polygyny [simultaneous marriage of two or more sisters to one husband] were common and the levirate and sororate were practiced. Mother-in-law avoidance was not observed, but respect was demanded for her and her sons. Husbands had a sexual joking relationship with his wife's sisters. A wife, on the other hand, shows formal respect for her mother-in-law and sister-in-law, yet had a joking relationship with her husband's brothers (Marshall 1977; Walker 1998c). Orphans were passed to the mother's or father's side of a family.

The basic division of labor, as among the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups, was sexual: men hunted and fished, women gathered (Curtis 1911; Spinden 1908; Marshall 1977; Walker 1968, 1978, 1998c). As Ackerman (1982, 1998) has shown among the Nez Perce, the genders (e.g., domestically, politically, and in terms of religion) were and are very much equal. Men and women's property were exclusive to each sex. Women as well as men could

trade or barter food, material items, or horses. Marriages were fragile and divorces were readily obtainable. Both men or women could be berdaches; each sex taking on the apparel and role of the other (Ackerman 1998:521).

Nez Perce political modes, strategies, institutions, and practices start with the extended families that occupy a village. A village council, consisting of family heads, was led by an elder able man of exemplary status or "headman" (Walker 1998c:425). Shamans could hold the office also. Other younger men assisted the headman in his duties. This position was restricted to males, often semi-hereditary, and required the headman be the village spokesman, mediating intra-village disputes, and providing for the general welfare of the village. The headman could influence but not override the council wishes.

Several adjacent villages would form a 'band' and the band council consisted of a headman and other notable men from each village. With the adoption of the horse, Nez Perce bands saw their most permanent political and social integration (Walker 1968:14). The individual band had as its main function the defense of the band territory and armed aggression with traditional enemies (e.g., Shoshone and Northern Paiute). The horse and subsequent magnification of hostilities contributed to the definition of the band and the promotion of strong band leaders (Anastasio 1972; Walker 1968:13). The various bands were distinct from one another by differences in language dialects, ecology, and economy.

Above the band level, there were four multiband regional groups, task groups, or composite bands, which Walker (1968:15) has identified as Kamiah, Salmon-Wallowa, Lower Snake River, and Lapwai-Lewiston. (Parenthetically, Walker (1968:15) identifies two of the four multi-band groups (Lower Snake, Salmon-Wallowa) that lost their territories and were non-existence by the end of the Nez Perce War of 1877.) At this level, leadership was only a temporary affair and only lasted the duration of the activity. There were two types of leaders at the composite band level: headman and chief (Walker 1968:16) or peace and war chiefs (Spinden 1908:242). The peace chief had responsibility for the economy and distribution of economic goods and services. The peace chief advanced and supported feasts and dances. The war chief, on the other hand, was required to have at least 10 coups or scalps in order to warrant the title. The war chief was responsible for conflict and open warfare. Both leaders had people who served as criers for the chief's intentions,

strategies, and goals. Post-contact interaction with non-Indians intensified sharply the composite band organization of this higher level (Walker 1968:16-17, 1978:129-131).

Cross-cutting the linear progression of the village-band-composite band scheme, were a number of 'politically influential' associations or sodalities (Walker 1978:131, 1998c:425). There is limited information about the nature and content of the various associations. Shamans were in a sodality to initiate rites and rituals, perform initiations, and give general support for shamanistic activities and practices. A second sodality focused on warriors, aggression, and conflict, by conducting rituals and initiation ceremonies, and regulating military endeavors. Each of the composite bands and some of the larger bands took part in this sodality. Members elected the leaders of the Warrior association, and the leaders had total control over all military activities. Women's sodalities occurred, but little is known about the nature of them.

Nez Perce religion is adequately documented in the literature (i.e., Aoki 1979, 1994b; Aoki and Walker 1989; Boyd 1985; Curtis 1911; Griswold 1954; Kawamura 1995; Olsen 1972, 1979, 1989; Phinney 1934; Sappington and Carley 1995; Skeels 1954; Slickpoo and Walker 1972; Spinden 1917; Sprague 1987; Stern 1998c; Teit 1917a, 1917b; Walker 1964, 1966b, 1967b, 1968, 1969, 1970b, 1970c, 1997; Williams 1967). Nez Perce religious phenomena and its accompanying complex of attributes, activities, and events are interrelated with topics of health and medicinal healing, as well as witchcraft and sorcery. As a system, Nez Perce religious beliefs, customs, and values were dominated by the underlying notions of supernatural power and tutelary [guardian] spirits. Power (*we*yekin*) is simply defined as "supernaturally sanctioned ability conferred by the spirit" (Walker 1968:18, 1989:114). The term, *we*yekin*, refers to both tutelary spirit and the supernaturally-sanctioned ability stemming from the spirit. An individual who manifests both is called *we*yekin?n*. Nez Perce power consists of a complex of traits or attributes, which includes:

> the ability granted; an associated song; a sacred bundle containing items symbolic of the tutelary spirit and themselves possessing a certain supernatural efficacy; a highly stylized and distinctive dance; a characteristic set of body painting patterns; and certain systematic relationships with other tutelary spirits of the same type

called *naqsni*x hi?mta*?lam*, which means having similar songs (Walker 1989:116).

To possess power demands assistance from a shaman, *tiwe*t*, and the process requires a number of years to complete. In Nez Perce culture, the shaman was the most prominent and important specialist in Nez Perce religion. For the Nez Perce, any individual, male or female, "who could cure an illness was thought to be a shaman and warranted the title" (Walker 1998c:426). The shaman's ability to cure demanded extensive therapeutic and pharmacological knowledge and skill. Other responsibilities of the shaman was focused on prophecy, weather control, and locating lost or stolen goods.

With their family assistance, support, and guidance, Nez Perce boys and girls aspired to acquire tutelage spirit power by participating in the vision quest. Tutelary spirits have been noted for a number of natural and supernatural objects, items, or sources (e.g., sun, moon, stars, clouds, lightning, spring floods, ice, mountains, trees, rivers, mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, day ghosts, night ghosts, etc.)(Walker 1998c:426). Tutelary spirit power is morally neutral and depends upon the shaman's intent for 'good' or 'clean,' (as in health) and 'evil' or 'dirty,' (as in sorcery) to determine the outcome.

Preparations and instructions for the actual quest began at an early age and culminated in isolating the neophyte or novice in a secluded place for five days. A shaman or family member accompanied the initiate and, after fasting for one or two days, the tutelage spirit appeared. After learning, observing, and studying the spirit's song, dance, sacred bundle, and taboos, the individual was taken back to the village and reintroduced into Nez Perce society. The child is thought to forget the specifics of the vision and in succeeding years relearn the particulars of the experience. As Walker (1968:19) suggests the vision quest is probably the most significant of all the Nez Perce' rites of passage.

The one main task of the quest, however, was connected to the operation and maintenance of seasonal ritualized ceremonies. Examples of these religious rituals were numerous (e.g., tutelage spirit, child first game or roots, the first-fruit, naming, funeral, children feast, and war (farewell and scalp) ceremonies). The tutelage spirit dance ceremony was held in winter, lasted for five to ten days, and concluded with a mass gift exchange or give-away. Annually, this ceremony was when

power could be transferred supernaturally between a powerfully strong individual and his weaker counterpart, often for economic compensation. It was also a time when a powerful stronger individual might steal the power of the novice. Taking place on the band level, it confers band solidarity and, more importantly, contributed to the tutelage spirit system. The male's first game or the female's first roots ceremonies were performed at the time of the child's first hunting or gathering expedition. It consisted of blessings from adults who were particularly able in hunting, fishing, gathering, etc., and gifts distribution. The first-fruit ceremony, *ke?wyit*, was an annual event to maintain abundance when dealing with food resources (e.g., roots, berries, game, and fish). Another annual event was the children's feast ceremony, *tolawyact*, which was held in late winter. A farewell ceremony and a scalp ceremony were included in the Nez Perce war ceremonies. These last two ceremonies did not have any particular religious importance and, accordingly, shamans did not have much to do with them (Walker 1968:28-29).

Folklore (e.g., myths, tales, legends, stories, etc.) have been collected and published for the Nez Perce by a number of scholars (i.e., Aoki 1979; Aoki and Walker 1989; Boas 1917; Frey and Hymes 1998; Phinney 1934; Slickpoo and Walker 1973; Spinden 1908b, 1917; Walker 1980; Walker and Matthews 1994). Mythologies like these are collections of myths or tales, with or without Native language translations, recorded at specific times and for specific purposes. Only one publication (Walker and Matthews 1994) gives a wider context to the tales about Coyote, creator of the Nez Perce, and a myriad of mythological characters with whom he interacts. The Nez Perce originated in Kamiah valley and consider themselves the 'children of Coyote' (*Iceye yenm mamaayac*) (Walker and Matthews 1994:4, 226). The significance of these mythologies cannot be under estimated to Nez Perce self and cultural identify, worth and understanding.

Ashworth (1977:3) refers to a Nez Perce myth and corresponding belief that states it is Coyote's actions that opened a deep gorge, known as Hells Canyon. As Clark (1953:47-48) states "the myth given here was corroborated and details were added by Caleb Whitman, a Nez Perce on the Umatilla Reservation, in August, 1950." It reads as follows:

> Long, long ago, when the world was very young, seven giant brothers lived in the Blue Mountains. These giant monsters were taller than the tallest pines and stronger than the strongest oak.

The ancient people feared these brothers greatly because they ate children. Each year the brothers traveled eastward and devoured all the little ones they could find. Mothers fled with the children and hid them, but still many were seized by the giants. The headmen in the villages feared that the tribe would soon be wiped out. But no one was big enough and strong enough to fight with seven giants at a time.

At last the headmen of the tribe decided to ask Coyote to help them. "Coyote is our friend," they said. "He has defeated other monsters. He will free us from the seven giants.

So they sent a messenger to Coyote. "Yes, I will help you," he promised. "I will free you from the seven giants."

But Coyote really did not know what to do. He had fought with giants. He had fought with monsters of the lakes and the rivers. But he knew he could not defeat seven giants at one time. So he asked his good friend Fox for advice.

"We will first dig seven holes," said his good friend Fox. "We will dig them very deep, in a place the giants always pass over when they travel to the east. Then we will fill the holes with boiling liquid."

So Coyote called together all the animals with claws -- the beavers, the whistling marmots, the cougars, the bears, and even the rats and mice and moles — to dig seven deep holes. Then Coyote filled each hole with a reddish-yellow liquid. His good friend Fox helped him keep the liquid boiling by dropping hot rocks into it.

Soon the time came for the giants' journey eastward. They marched along, all seven of them, their heads held high in the air. They were sure that no one dared to attack them. Coyote and Fox watched from behind some rocks and shrubs.

Down, down, down the seven giants went into the seven deep holes of boiling liquid. They struggled and struggled to get out, but the holes were very deep. They fumed and roared and splashed. As they struggled, they scattered the

reddish liquid around them as far as a man can travel in a day.

Then Coyote came out from his hiding place. The seven giants stood still. They knew Coyote.

"You are being punished for your wickedness," Coyote said to the seven giants. "I will punish you even more by changing you into seven mountains, I will make you very high, so that everyone can see you. You will stand here forever, to remind people that punishment comes from wrongdoing."

"And I will make a deep gash in the earth here, so that no more of your family can get across to trouble my people."

Coyote caused the seven giants to grow taller, and then he changed them into seven mountain peaks. He struck the earth a hard blow and so opened up a deep canyon at the feet of the giant peaks.

Today the mountain peaks are called the Seven Devils. The deep gorge at their feet is known as Hell's Canyon of the Snake River. And the copper scattered by the splashing of the seven giants is still being mined.

In this myth, Coyote manifestly created Hells Canyon by a creating "deep gash in the earth" to protect his people from the seven monster cannibals. Coyote changes the monsters into mountain peaks, strikes "the earth a hard blow" forming a deep canyon separating the monsters from Coyote's people. This story implicitly speaks to cannibalism and territorial prerogatives, but a complete symbolic analysis of this myth has yet to be conducted. Elaboration of myth as a significant ethnographic resource will be explored in Chapter 5.

3.0. HELLS CANYON HISTORY

3.1. INTENT

The isolation and remoteness of the Hells Canyon area necessitates a broad focus on the Native American populations of the region. The study area crosses several physiographical

provinces (i.e., Columbia Plateau, Basin and Range) and, accordingly, cultural areas (i.e., Plateau, Great Basin). It includes the mountains and valleys of the Columbia Plateau with features of the Snake River Plain (Basin and Range province). Groups from both the Great Basin and the Plateau culture areas occupied and exploited this area prehistorically and historically. Due to its isolated nature, much of the history of Idaho and eastern Oregon and Washington often by-passed or excluded the Hells Canyon area from consideration. For this reason alone, the area has even a more erratic and dubious history than the region. In this chapter, a diachronic examination of the history of Hells Canyon area and the region surrounding it will be made. Significant historical events, activities, and prominent people will be examined with an emphasis on Hells Canyon during the 19th century.

3.2. PREHISTORY

Archaeological research on the prehistory of the Hells Canyon area has been relatively brief in duration. Most of the research has been in conjunction with Great Basin or Plateau prehistory (proto-history) done after 1950 (e.g., Aikens 1978, 1986; Ames 1982; Bettinger 1978; Boreson 1976; Butler 1962, 1965, 1973, 1978, 1981, 1986; Caldwell and Mallory 1967; Chance 1987; Draper and Reid 1986; Grayson 1994; Green 1982; Gruhn 1987; Gunnerson 1962; Heizer and Hester 1978; Jennings 1964, 1973, 1986; Leen 1988; Meatte 1989; Meighan 1961; Nesbitt 1968; Osborne 1957; Pavesic 1971, 1979, 1985, 1986; Pavesic et al. 1963, 1964; Peltier 1965; Peterson and Peers 1993; Plew 1979, 1982, 1983, 1988, 1994, 1996; Plew and Meatte 1987; Randolph 1976; Reed 1985; Reid 1991, Reid and Gallison 1994, 1995; Schalk 1980; Schalk and Cleveland 1983; Schellbach 1967; Shiner 1951; Sloss 1995; Strong et al. 1930; Swanson 1957-1958, 1961, 1965, 1966b, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974a, 1974b 1966a; Swanson et al. 1970; Tuohy 1956, 1963; Walker 1967a, 1993a; Warren and Fitzwater 1963; Warren et al 1968; Warren et al. 1971; Webster 1978, 1980; Wylie and Flynn 1977).

3.3. HISTORY AND ETHNOHISTORY

Historians, Native American scholars, and anthropologists have conducted both historical (Bancroft 1883; Beal and Wells 1959; Brosnan 1935; Carlson 1940; Cline 1963; Corliss 1990; Crum 1994a; Dozier 1961; Emerson 1962; Galbraith and Anderson 1970;

Gilbert 1882; Glassley 1972; Josephy 1983; Madsen 1958, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1986; Malouf 1945; McBeth 1908; Ontko 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997; Osgood 1929; Ross 1994; Swanton 1968; Tucker 1993; Young and Cochrane 1978) and ethnohistorical research in the Great Basin (Alley 1986a, 1986b; Crum 1994a, 1994b; Harney 1995; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a, 1976b; Knack and Stewart 1984; Malouf 1966; McKinney 1983; Rusco 1976; Voegelin 1955-1956; Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association 1982; White 1995) and the Plateau culture areas (Baenen 1965; Boyd 1985; Coale 1956; Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon 1984; Slickpoo and Walker 1972, 1973; Stowell 1987; Walker 1970a; Yakima Tribal Council 1955). Specific historical documentation may be chronologically divided into three basic periods or contexts in the 1800s. These are: Fur Trappers and Traders (1800s-1830s); Explorers, Missionaries, and Emigrants (1830s-1860s); and Military, Miners, and the Indian Commission (1860s-1900s). A great deal of overlap exists in these periods. These three periods represent an overt classification of intrusion. In three periods listed above, evidence of Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups and Nez Perce occupation in and around the study area is documented by Euro-American accounts of intrusions and, eventually, land acquisition in the region.

3.3.1. Fur Trappers and Traders (1800s-1830s)

From 1805 to approximately 1850, fur trappers and explorers made excursions into Idaho and the Northwest (Anderson 1940; Campbell 1957; Chance et al. 1973; Cline 1974; Dale 1918; Fremont 1845, 1887; Galbraith 1957; Gray 1991; Gudde and Gudde 1959; Hafen 1982; Irving 1886, 1909; Josephy 1965; Leonard 1839; Neilson 1933; Nielsen 1934, 1940; Odgen 1909-1910; Ontko 1993; Ray 1971; Ray and Lurie 1954; Rich 1958-1960; Rich et al. 1950; Ross 1913, 1924; Simpson 1968; Spence and Jackson 1973; Stuart 1935; Thompson 1920; Thwaites 1959; Tyler 1968; Wells 1990; Wheeler 1904; Williams 1971; Wishart 1979; Work 1971; Wyeth 1899; Young 1899). Although this period extended to the 1850s, fur trapping and trading flourished for about the first three decades of the 19th century or until the termination of the Snake Expeditions of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1830.

Between 1804 and 1806, Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark led their "Corps of Discovery" expedition through the Pacific Northwest. In mapping their passage east from the Pacific Ocean in 1806, a group of three men (i.e., John Ordway, Robert Frazier, and Peter Wiser) went south from the present town

of Lewiston to the confluence of the Snake and Salmon Rivers on May 27th and returned June 2nd, 1806 (Carrey et al. 1979:5-6). The records of this excursion are meager and inadequate. Captain Lewis' journal account for May 27th mentioned in passing the excursion:

> Sergeant Ordway and two men were also dispatched to Lewis' [Snake] river, about half a day's ride to the south, where we expected to obtain salmon, which are said to be very abundant at that place (Coues 1893:1027-1028).

On the 2nd of June, 1806, Lewis' account continues:

> Soon after their return, Sergeant Ordway and his party [Frazier and Wiser] for whose safety we had become extremely anxious, came home fom Lewis' river, with some roots of cows [cous] and 17 salmon. The distance, however, from which they were brought was so great that most of the fish were nearly spoiled; but such as continued sound were extremely delicious, the flesh being of a fine rose-color with a small mixture of yellow, and so fat that they were cooked very well without the addition of any oil or grease.
>
> When they set out May 27th, they hoped to reach the salmon-fishery in the course of that day; but the route by which the guides led them was so circuitous that they rode 70 miles before they reached their place of destination, in the evening of the 29th. After going [west] for 20 miles up Commearp creek, through an open plain, broken only by the hills and timber along this creek, they then entered a high, irregular, mountainous country, the soil of which was fertile and well supplied with pine. Without stopping to hunt, though they saw great quantities of deer and some of the bighorn, they hastened [about southwest] for 30 miles across this district to the Tommanamah [Salmon River], or east branch of Lewis' river; and not finding any salmon, descended that stream [southerly] for 20 miles, to the fishery at a short distance below its junction with the south branch [main Snake river]. Both these forks appear to come from or enter a mountainous country. The Tommanamah [Salmon] itself, they said, was about 150 yards wide; its banks, for the most part, were formed of solid perpendicular rocks, rising to a great height; as they passed along some of its hills they found that the snow had not yet disappeared, and the grass was just springing up. During its whole course it presented one continued rapid, till at

> the fishery itself, where the river widens to the space of 200 yards, the rapid is nearly as considerable as the great rapids of the Columbia. Here the Indians have erected a large house of split timber, 150 feet long and 35 feet wide, with a flat roof; at this season it is much resorted to by the men, while the women are employed in collecting roots. After remaining a day and purchasing some fish, they returned home (Coues 1893:1033-1034).

This passage references trading for salmon and cous roots with the Nez Perce, and refers to the 150 foot long-house that the Indians occupied during the fishing season. Lewis and Clark's expedition traversed the lower part of Hells Canyon area at the northern boundary of the study area on the confluence of the Snake and Salmon rivers.

With the signing of the *Treaty of Paris* in 1763, the French relinquished control of the fur trade to the British. By the late 1700s, British and Americans were vying for this lucrative fur trade. At the turn of 19th century, the British Hudson's Bay and the North West companies were competing with America's Missouri Fur, American Fur, and Pacific Fur companies for furs throughout North America. By 1809, David Thompson of the North West Company set up a number of outposts or trading houses in Montana, northern Idaho, and Washington (Chittenden 1986:79).

By 1810, the Astor's Pacific Fur Company was formed and a two-pronged operation was begun to explore and trap the Columbia River basin and its tributaries. Headed by John Jacob Astor, the Astor expedition launched two concurrent expeditionary forces, one by sea and one following the route of Lewis and Clark's "Corps of Discovery" to the Pacific Northwest. The former set off from New York in September of 1810 and arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River in March of 1811. By June of 1811, Astor had established a post on the south-side of the Columbia River, called Astoria (Chittenden 1986:164-245; Clive 1963:70-92; Rusco 1976).

Headed by Wilson Price Hunt and Donald Mackenzie, the overland journey began in St. Louis, Missouri, in late-January of 1811 and was at Fort Henry on the upper Snake River by that October. Arriving on the Boise River on November 21st, 1811, Hunt's journal notes:

> On the 21st, at sunrise, we saw before us a river (the Boise) which flowed westerly. Its shores were fringed with

> cottonwoods and willows. Some indians had established their camp there. They had many horses, and were better clad than those we had seen previously. They informed us that beaver are common further up in this small river. Very few of them are in the neighborhood of the camp. On reaching the huts, I lost my horse. An indian told me that it had been stolen from him.
>
> ...We followed the river. On the 24th (of November), we crossed it a little above our Canoe River (Snake), which continued to flow toward the north. The mountains in front of us were everywhere covered with snow. On the 25th, despite the severe weather, our fatigue and our weakness, we forded another river (the Payette) which came from the east, the water was waist-deep.
>
> On the 26th, the hills began to appear. They stretched along the snowy mountains. We crossed another small stream (the Weiser) which flows in the same direction as the other. It led us, on the 27th, to a defile (Mann Creek) so narrow as to leave scarcely space enough to pass through. We frequently were obliged to remove the baggage from our horses and to travel in the water. On the previous evening, a beaver had been caught, which furnished us a scanty breakfast. We had supped of bouillon tablets. I therefore had a horse killed. My men found the flesh very good. I ate it reluctantly because of my fondness for the poor beast (Carrey et al. 1979:10-11; Irving 1987).

After ascending Mann Creek to the headwaters of Monroe Creek, Hunt crossed to the head of Wolf Creek and to its mouth at the Snake River; approximately 25 miles upriver or south of the Brownlee Dam (Carrey et al. 1979:11). As Carrey (et al. 1979:11) have said, "the Astorians were now entering Hells Canyon." Hunt's journal entries reads:

> On the 3rd (December), it rained and snowed all day. We could advance only 9 miles. Our horses were unloaded to allow them to go along the river. The baggage was carried by hand. We traveled toward the northeast. On the 4th, it was necessary to leave the banks of the river and to climb the mountains. They stretched all around us, and were covered with snow. Pines and other green grew on the sides of some of them. The snow came above our knees. It was excessively cold. We were almost succumbing to its severity when, at sunset, we had the good fortune to reach a cluster

of pines. We made a good fire, which comforted us. Although we marched all day, we were, because of the meandering of the river, only 4 miles from our encampment of the preceding night (south and north ends of the Oxbow).

On the 5th, the abundant snow which was falling did not allow us to see three hundred feet ahead of us. We succeeded, however, in reaching the river's bank by letting ourselves slide. The sound of the running water guided us. A horse with his pack fell some hundreds of feet in depth, but was not hurt. The weather was much less severe in the valley than on the heights. It rained there. The snow was only ankle-deep. I killed another horse.

On the 6th, we had started out, when — What was my astonishment and distress! — I beheld Mr. Crooks and his party on the other side of the river. I immediately returned to camp, caused a canoe to be made out of the skin of the horse killed on the preceding night, and sent enough food to our famished companions. Mr. Crooks and one of his party came to us. Poor man! — he was well-nigh spent from fatigue and want. He told me that he had gone three days' march further down; that the mountains there even higher and came closer to the river, which at that spot is compressed into a canal not more than sixty to a hundred feet wide between precipitous rocks; and that it was impossible for men in their condition to proceed, because, for six days their only animal food had been one of their dogs. Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Reed with their party had gone on. Mr. Crooks had spoken with them a few days earlier. They told him that Mr. McClellan, on leaving the small river, had crossed the mountains with the hope of falling in with the Flatheads. The river, at the spot where we were, flows almost easterly. Mr. Crooks tells me that it continues in this direction.

I spent the night in considering my situation. I had to provide for the needs of more than twenty starving people and, in addition, give my utmost aid to Mr. Crooks and his party. Notwithstanding all the discouraging reports to me concerning the region below here, I would have continued my journey on the mountains if it had not been, as I already knew from experience, that the depth of the snow would make the undertaking impracticable. It was necessary therefore, to my great regret, to retrace my steps, hoping to encounter in the meantime some indians on one of the three small

rivers above the mountains. I counted on buying from them a sufficient quantity of horses to feed us until we should reach Big River, which I flattered myself to be able to accomplish this winter. I feared nevertheless that Mr. Crooks and some of his men would not be able to follow us. What an outlook! We must expect having nothing to eat for several days; because, on this side of the indian huts which we left November 29th, we have found only cherries; and perhaps there would be no more of them in the same place.

The skin canoe had been lost. A raft was made, so that Mr. Crooks and his companions, with the remainder of the meat, might cross to the other side. The attempt failed. On the 7th, we were reduced to marching slowly, because Mr. Crooks was to feeble that he had great difficulty in keeping up with us. Most of my men had gone on ahead.

On the 8th, another raft was made; but, after repeated trials, Mr. Crooks and his men were unable to cross owing to the violence of the current. Therefore I was obliged to wait for them. Whereupon my men grumbled, saying we all would die of hunger; and importuned me in every way to go on. To add to my troubles, Mr. Crooks was quite ill in the night. Seeing that this mishap would delay for two days my arriving among the indians, I left three men with him; and departed on the 9th with two others to rejoin my party. I had three beaver skins, two of which I left with them. We supped of the third. The weather was extremely cold.

On the 11th, we had another calamity. One of Mr. Crooks' men was drowned while crossing the river in a canoe which capsized with many goods (Carrey et al. 1979:11-14).

The above account describes the first hallowing experience associated with Euro-American exploration in the upper Hells Canyon area. As this extended passage shows, Crooks had lost one man to the river and the party was so famished and fatigued that every effort was made to reunite Crooks' and Hunt's parties. Crooks had become seriously ill and Hunt's compassion took over as he released some of his party to go on and some stayed behind (Carrey et al. 1979:13-14). Hunt's information on Native populations is extremely scattered and superficial. Most of his comments involve the total exploitation of these Native groups to accomplish his tasks at hand.

By 1812, Robert Stuart, who made the trip to the Columbia River with Astor by sea, traveled inland or eastward along the Lewis or Snake River. Rollins (1995:80-81) quoting Stuart's account for Wednesday, August 12th, 1812, states:

> The River is here about 400 yards in breadth, has [high] Sandy banks little or no Willow & a rapid current — It is the main branch of the right hand Fork of Lewis' River, called by Lewis and Clarke Kimooenem, by some Indians Ki-eye-nim, by the Snakes Biopaw, and by the generality of Whites the Snake River.
>
> Immediately below this [Farewell Bend] it enters the Mountains [Seven Devils], which become gradually higher to the end of 150 miles where the whole body of the River does not exceed 40 yards in width and is confined between Precipices of astonishing height, Cascades and Rapids succeed each other almost without intermission, and it will give a tolerable idea of its appearance were you to suppose the River to have once flowed subterraneously through these mountains, and that in process of time, immense bodies of Rock were detached occasionally from the ceiling till at length the surface of the Heights descended into the Gulph and forms at present the bed of their tumultuous water course.
>
> Mountain here appears as if piled on Mountain and after ascending incessantly for half a day, you seem as if no nearer the attainment of the object in view than at the outset —

From the accounts of Mess. Mackenzie & McClellan this kind of country continues for near 300 miles by the meanders of the River which is very crooked -- their tract last winter [Little Salmon River] was as near the bank as possible, but were often compelled to leave it by the intervention of impervious masses of Rocks -- they were in all 12 persons, took 21 days [constant travelling] to the Mulpat River [Little Salmon River] and subsisted during that time on an allowance by no means proportionate to the bodily labour they daily underwent — Mess. Hunt & Crooks with 39 men Subsequently attempted a passage through these narrows in December, but the snow was too deep and the Country being entirely destitute of Game, they were compelled to relinquish their undertaking after the former having penetrated 120 miles and the latter /with 18 men/ 30 further (Rollins 1995:80-81).

The next day (Thursday, August 13, 1812), Stuart states that they:

> Continued up the South Side of the River in an E.S.E. direction 18 miles and encamped an Indian came to our Camp [late in the evening] with the grateful tidings of two white men being with his people [about] a day march above (Rollins 1995:82)

On Saturday, August 15, 1812, he continues:

> Proceeding on due South we struck the bends of the River from time to time, till having 15 Miles we found a Creek [Owyhee River] 70 yards wide in everything resembling the one [Malheur River] passed yesterday, where we found 10 lodges of Shoshonies [or Snakes] — These people giving us to understand that some whites were on the other side of the River we encamped in the neighbourhood of their huts, and dispatched an Indian in quest of the men we had heard of, supposing them to be either those left by Mr. Crooks in the winter or the Hunters who remained in the Rocky Mountain last Fall --
>
> Opposite our present station a large River [Snake] comes in from the East, is well Timbered, contains many Beaver, and is the most renowned Fishing place in this Country. It is consequently the resort of the majority of the Snakes [Indians], where immense numbers of Salmon are taken, forming after the [esculent] Roots, the principal article of food which the natives of the Barren Tract possess —
>
> 28 miles below is another larger Creek [Payette River], and 16 still lower down is Wisers River, a Stream 60 yards wide; well stocked with small wood & Beavers, in which it strikingly resembles the former course Last night the musquitoes assailed us in innumerable hosts, and completely deprived our eyelids of their usual functions, even after the dew had fallen those infernal Pests Still continued their music to our no small annoyance (Rollins 1995:82-83).

In a footnote, Rollins described the route of the Snake River through Hells Canyon:

> Some nines miles below Stuart's camp, the Snake began its spumey journey between rocky walls which presently, becoming on the left a part of Oregon's Wallowa Mountains and on the right a part of Idaho's aptly named Seven Devils, made a defile that was in places 3000 feet deep and that everywhere was floored with all the requisites for the torturing of water. Although at site of present-day town of Pittsburg Landing, 121 miles below Stuart's camp, the Snake has passed beyond Seven Devils and had meanwhile roistered through 112 rapids, its struggle was not finished. In the next 75.5 miles, i.e., between sites of Pittsburg Landing and present-day city of Lewiston, Idaho, were 24 additional rapids...(Rollins 1995:97).

By October, 1813, Astor's Pacific Fur Company sold the outpost "Astoria," at the mouth of the Columbia, to the British North West Company. Men who made up the two Astorian expeditions had trapped and traded for the North West Company before the advent of the Pacific Fur Company. With the buy out, members of the Pacific Fur Company shifted allegiance again; trapping for the British company. With the Pacific Fur Company sell out, the North West Company gained total control over the Northwest Territory. By 1816, its domain encompassed the "neglected Snake River country" (Nielsen 1940:166). Until 1820, the North West Company and the Hudson Bay Company vied for control over the fur trade in North America. A partner of the defunct Pacific Fur Company, Donald McKenzie now directed the operation of the North West Company (Robbins 2000:xv). By 1816, orders of the North West Company directed McKenzie, under a five year contract, to start the "Snake Brigade" or the "Snake River" expeditions to explore, trap, and trade the neglected Snake country (Nielsen 1940:166). The rivalry between the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Company drove both companies to the edge of bankruptcy in 1820, and by 1821, the North West Company merged with the Hudson Bay Company. In 1823, George Simpson, governor of the Hudson Bay Company, posted Alexander Ross as director of operation. McKenzie, who had served his five year contract, was replaced by Peter Skeene Odgen in 1824.

In January, 1819, McKenzie and six of his comrades, went by snow shoe from the Boise River to Fort Nez Perce, which is located at the mouth of the Walla Walla River, in two months. After a brief respite of only one week, McKenzie and the six men "ascended the Snake River from the mouth of the Clearwater to the mouth of Burnt river through what we know as the Box Canyon (Hells Canyon)..." (Nielsen 1940:171). After two months, he sent

four men down the Snake River to Fort Nez Perce in a barge. They carried a letter from McKenzie to Alexander Ross, which addressed the issue of navigating through Hells Canyon. Ross dated the letter "Point Successful, Head of the Narrows, April 15, 1819:

> The passage by water is now proved to be safe and practicable for loaded boats, without one single carrying place or portage; therefore, the doubtful question is set at rest forever. Yet from the force of the current, and the frequency of rapids, it may still be advisable, and perhaps preferable, to continue the land transport, while the business in the quarter is carried on upon a small scale.... We had often recourse to the line.... There are two places with bold cut rocks on either side of the river, where the great body of water is compressed within a narrow compass, which may render those parts doubtful during the floods, owing to rocks and whirlpool; but there are only two, and neither of them are long (Nielsen 1940:171-172).

With his two companions, McKenzie related his intention of crossing Snake River Plain to rejoin his trapper on Bear River. His letter continued:

> I am now about to commence a very doubtful and dangerous undertaking, and shall, I fear, have to adopt the habits of the owl, roam in the night and skulk in the day, to avoid our enemies. But if my life is spared, I will be at the river Skam-naugh [Boise], with my people and return, by the 5th of June. Hasten, therefore, the outfit, with some additional hands, if possible, to that place. A strong escort will be advisable, and caution the person you may send in charge, to be at all times, both day and night, on his guard (Nielson 1940:171-172).

After rejoining his men at Bear River, McKenzie ordered his party to take the winter harvest of furs to the Boise River. Erection of the new fort at the mouth of the Boise River was started in the summer of 1819. Originally called the Reid's River (after John Reid who accompanied both Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery expedition and Peter Hunt's overland expedition), the river was the site of Fort Boise, first established in 1813 by Reed. Using the old fort plan as a guide, McKenzie built an identical outpost on the same site at the mouth of the Boise River. Nielson (1940:172) stated that McKenzie's Fort Boise was burned and two men killed in the same year it was started (1819). Due to Indian hostility, it was never completed. (Exact details

were never known. At the time of his retirement, in 1833, McKenzie began to write his memoirs. But his wife, due to her belief that writing the memoirs would add nothing to the prestige of a man of deeds, burned the half-finished manuscript.)

By 1824, Peter Skeene Odgen took the post as Chief Trader or Brigade Leader of the Columbia River district for the Hudson's Bay Company (Binn 1967:119). The Snake Country Journals for 1824 to 1826 (Rich et al. 1950) and from 1827 to 1830 (William et al. 1971) are excellent accounts of Odgen's travels and the Hudson Bay Company operations in the region from Fort Nez Perce on the confluence of the Walla Walla and Columbia rivers, south along all the tributaries of the Snake River and the Great Salt Lake, and north to the Flathead Post in western Montana. Both Rich (et al. 1950:xi-lxxix, 5-205) and William (et al. 1971:xiii-lxx, 3-166) indicate that neither Odgen nor any of the brigade members trapped the Hells Canyon area, *per se.* Instead, they took a course that went through the valleys of the Grand Ronde, Powder, Burnt, and Malheur, just west and by-passing Hells Canyon. While the journals refer to various groups of "Snake" Indians to the south along the Burnt, Weiser, Payette, and Boise rivers and the Nez Perce to the north along the Clearwater, most of these references contain little useful ethnographic information. For instance, on Wednesday, the 19th of October, 1825, Odgen's journal entries reads as follows:

> Saturday 22nd. — We raised Camp early but our days journey was equally fatiguing for our Horses as yesterday, & it was late before we reached *Riviere Boisier* or Reid's River that Gentleman & 7 of his men having been murdered on the lower part of it [Boise River] by the Snake Indians and their Fort destroyed, it was also on this River & within ten yards of our Encampment that two of our trappers were killed by a Nez Perce War party six years since. Mr. McKenzie also formed an Establishment on the lower part of it but was Soon abandoned, the river may be about 1/8 of a Mile in width well wooded & ever until last year well Stocked in Beaver. 20 Traps were Set. Course South West. Dis. 15 miles.
>
> Sunday 23d. -- We Started early in descending Reid's [Boise] River the road fine we met with a Small Camp of Snakes busily employed in collecting dead Salmon from them I traded 4 Beaver for an old axe. We camped at Sun Set. Dis. 18 miles. 5 Beavers from our traps. Course South West.

> Monday 24th. — we raised Camp leaving Reid's River to cross over to Payette's River we had a hilly Country for eight miles when we descended into a fine Plain & soon after reached Payette's River equal in Size to Reid's River & well Wooded, & from appearances taking their rise from the Same quarter we Continued our progress down the River & encamped late the Freeman threatened to encamp early but did not. Course West 8 miles South West 10. 2 Beavers.
>
> Tuesday 25th. — It was late ere we Started their being Traps far in the rear but to little purpose as only 1 Beaver was taken, proceeding about ten miles we reached the main Snake River or South Branch we saw a few Snakes but nothing to trade, we made three in the river & encamped. Dis. 13 miles. South West Course Some traps Set the river here is about 1/3 Mile in Width well lined in Willows.

These entries, presented here, represent the only record of Odgen's Snake River brigade. The references to the Indians, whether Snakes or Nez Perce, are brief statements of encounters, trading adventures, and some very general statements about subsistence/settlement. As a sidebar, the reference to the area being "well lined in Willows," is consistent with an area that the Shoshone call "*Sehewoki'i*, which refers to "willows standing in rows like running water (Ericson 1994:8-9; Liljeblad 1958:62-63, 1972:19; Murphy and Murphy 1960:293-95; cf., Neitzel 1998:39-40). Apparently, the term refers to a place or locality embracing the Boise, Payette, and Weiser rivers, which were known by the groves of willows along their banks. Ericson (1994:36-80) and Neitzel (1998:59-60) suggest that the early forts constructed by Reed in 1813 and by McKenzie in 1819 were destroyed the same year as they were built by Native groups (e.g., Snake and Nez Perce). Ericson (1994) and Neitzel (1998) imply that the forts destruction were associated with the Indians intertribal trading gatherings in this area.

In 1831, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, a New England business man, led a five year expedition into the Pacific Northwest to trap and trade (Johnson 1984:7-129; Sampson 1982:311-331; Young 1899). Wyeth made two full journeys through the Snake River Plain and the Columbia River. On his first journey of 1832 west to the Columbia, he came upon the Owyhee River on the 13th of October and on October 17th camped on the Malheur River. Wyeth's journal entries for this time demonstrate his superficial attention to Indians, chiefly as trading partners, and show the general characteristics of the journal entries. They read as follows:

13th moved camp along the bank of the river [Snake] and following the trail 24 miles only deviating from the river about 3 miles of the last of the travel. The first 6 miles the river is W. the next 3 N.W. then S.W. 3 then taking a circular sweep round to N. by E. which was 9 miles then left the river and in 3 miles struck a creek [Owyhee River] about as large as Charles River in Watertown, where we found grass, salmon, and Indians and the first timber we have seen since leaving the Mts. in sight on what appears to be a river coming in from the N. side this I mean to ascertain tomorrow and the next day I shall start to explore the creek for Beaver. This forenoon and yesterday forenoon were cloudy and the first cloudy weather for 2 months except as mentioned before. Wether still as warm as 80 deg. in the day time buy salmon for a hook apiece.

14th Mooved camp in a N.N.W. Direction 5 miles and encamped on the main being out of provisions I sent a man on a mule to buy some salmon he went up the river about 3 miles and called to some Indians on one of the Islands to bring some these he bought afterward another Indian came over with some the man thinking he had got nearly enough offered him a less price this displeased the Indian who slapped him in the face and at the same time hit the mule a kick which set him out on the run and the Indian ran quick enough to avoid vengeance the man came to camp much displeased having had to walk most of the way and carry his fish this day also visited by Indians from below with salmon.

15th Sent 3 men and 4 animals to examine the small river for beaver this day a N.W. wind much like the N.E. of the Atlantic with some little rain (at the same camp) this day took a ride down the river to examine for a camp.

16th N.W. wind still took a ride up the river to find a camp where timber, fit for a raft which we propose to build to carry some of the loose baggage and some men who are on foot can be found, found none saw some beaver sign in trading for some salmon an Indian attempted to sna[t]ch a paper of fish hook[s] from me but he did not make out returned to camp and sent two men to trap for the beaver they left their horses and went into the willows to look [for] the sign during time the Indians none of whom were in sight stole a cloak from Mr. Ball. They found the beaver had

> lately been trapped out within 3 weeks next morning they returned to camp.
>
> 17th Mooved camp N. by W. 16 miles and encamped on a creek [Malheur River] about as large as the last near a few lodges of Indians the main river about two miles to N.E. This creek appears to run S.W. The Inds. Say there is beaver on it the main river here makes a considerable detour to the N. Yesterday had hail and rain & snow and today the Mts. to the Northward are white with it (Johnson 1984:24-25)

Wyeth's party, then, cut northwest through the Blue Mountains and proceeded to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River arriving on October 29th (Johnson 1984:27). The above entries point to the cursory treatment of the aboriginal populations and Wyeth's practice of trading fish-hooks for salmon. The incidents involving Indians, one of personal confrontation and the other two of stealing, are described briefly and superficially. On the return trip to St. Louis, Wyeth's party went north of the Columbia, passing by the Hudson's Bay Company's Spokane and Flathead trading posts, going through Nez Perce, Flathead, and Blackfeet country.

On his second expedition, Wyeth was in Leavenworth on May 5th, 1834, and by July 15th was at Fort Hall (Johnson 1984:76). On this day, Wyeth wrote:

> 15. Commenced building the fort and sent out 12 men to hunt to be gone 12 days and continued at work on the fort a few days and fell short of provisions and was obliged to knock off in order to obtain food sent out some men for Buffaloe they returned in two days with plenty. The 12 returned the 28th day at night. On the 26th a Frenchman named Kanseau was killed horse racing and the 27th was buried near the fort he belonged to Mr. McKays camp and his comrades erected a decent tomb of him service for him was performed by the Canadians in Catholic form by Mr. Lee in the Protestant form and by the Indians in their form as he had Indian family. he at least was well buried.
>
> 30 Mr. McKay left us and Mr [Jason] Lee and Capt. Stewart with him.
>
> 6th [Aug.] Having done as much as was requisite for safety to the Fort and drank a bale of liquor and named it Fort Hall in honor of the oldest partner of our concern we left

> it and with it Mr. Evans in charge of 11 men and 14 horses and mules and three cows we went down the river S.W. 4 mile and found a ford crossed and made N.W. 7 miles to the head of a spring and camped in all 29 strong.

The establishment of Fort Hall as a major American trading post, stood in contrast to Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Boise erected Mr. McKay in that same year. By August 23rd Wyeth was at the confluence of the Big Wood River [Boise River] and the Snake River (Johnson 1984:79). The entry for this day was:

> 23rd. Made West 9 miles and found a small village of Snakes of whom we could only trade a very few salmon then 5 more in all 14 miles along the Big Wood R. and arrived at Snake River which we forded by wetting our packs a little here we found a few lodges of very impudent Pawnacks [Bannock] of whom we traded a half Bale of Salmon afterward 4 miles N. along the W. side of Snake River and camps near a few lodges of Inds.

Wyeth's comment about the "impudent Pawnacks" is representative of the type of information found in these sources. The rest of the journey to the Columbia River mimics the route of his first expedition; through the Blue Mountains to Fort Walla Walla on September 2nd. Wyeth returned to Fort Hall on December 20th, 1834 and made his way back to St. Louis by the summer of 1836. Fort Hall was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in October of 1837 by a Captain Joseph Thing.

Accompanying Wyeth were the naturalists, Thomas Nuttall and John Kirk Townsend. As one of two scientists in the expedition, Townsend's journal entries for the above dates contrast remarkably with Wyeth's when describing the cultures of a variety of Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups in southern Idaho. On August 5th, 1834, Wyeth christened Fort Hall and celebrated with his men with uncontrolled liquor. For the "sensitive naturalist," Townsend, the whole celebration was vile and disgusting (Sampson 1982:325; cf., Townsend 1970:231). Unlike Wyeth, Townsend did not have the responsibilities of command and was able to describe the various traits, conventions, practices, and traditions, that were beyond Wyeth's abilities. Townsend (1970:249-271) gives a fairly detailed description the various Indian villages from the Boise River to the Powder River and beyond. On the 22nd of August, Townsend, after chasing off an Snake intruder attempting to steal horses on the following evening, wrote:

Early in the morning, I strolled into the Snake camp. It consists of about thirty lodges or wigwams, formed generally of branches of trees tied together in a conic summit, and covered with buffalo, deer, or elk skins. Men and little children were lolling about the ground all around the wigwams, together with heterogeneous assemblance of dogs, cats, some prairie wolves, and other "*varmints*." The dogs growled and snapped when I approached, the wolves cowered and looked cross, and the cats ran away and hid themselves in dark corners. They had not been accustomed to the face of a white man, and all the quadrupeds seemed to regard me as some monstrous production, more to be feared than loved or courted. This dislike, however, did not appear to extend to the bipeds, for many of every age and sex gathered around, and seemed to be examining me critically in all directions. The men looked complacently at me, the women, the dear creatures, smiled upon me, and the little naked, pot-bellied children crawled around my feet, examining the fashion of my hard shoes, and playing with the long fringes of my leather inexpressibles. But I scarcely know how to commence a description of the *tout en semble* of the camp, or to frame a sentence which will give an adequate idea of the extreme filth, and most horrific nastiness of the whole vicinity. I shall therefore but transiently glance at it, omitting many of the most disgusting and abominable features.

Immediately as I entered the village, my olfactories were assailed by the most vile and mephitic odors, which I found to proceed chiefly from great piles of salmon entrails and garbage which were lying festering and rotting in the sun, around the very doors of the habitations. Fish, recent and half dried, were scattered all over the ground, under the feet of the dogs, wolves and Indian children; and others which had been split, were hanging on rude platforms erected within the precincts of the camp. Some of the women were making their breakfast of the great red salmon eggs as large as peas, and using a wooden spoon to convey them to their mouths. Occasionally, also, by way of varying the repast, they would take a huge pinch of a drying fish which was lying on the ground near them. Many of the children were similarly employed, and the little imps would also have hard contests with the dogs for a favorite morsel, the former roaring and blubbering, the latter yelping and snarling, and both rolling over and over together upon the savory soil.

> The whole economy of the lodges, and the inside and outside appearance, was of a piece with every thing else about them — filthy beyond description — the very skins which covered the wigwams were black and stiff with rancid salmon fat, and the dresses (if dresses they may be called) of the women, were of the same color and consistence, from the same cause. The dresses are little square pieces of deer skin, fastened with a thong around the loins, and reaching about half way to the knees; the rest of the person is entirely naked. Some of the women had little children like bullfrogs to their backs, without being fastened, and in that situation extracting their lactiferous sustenance from the breast, which was thrown over the shoulders (Townsend 1970:257-261).

On the 23rd, Townsend details the incident about which Wyeth referred to "impudent Bannocks."

> Towards noon, to-day, we fell in with a village, consisting of thirty willow lodges of Bannecks. The Indians flocked out to us by hundreds, leaving their fishing, and every other employment, to visit the strangers. The chief soon made himself known to us, and gave us a pressing invitation to stop a short time with them, for the purpose of trade. Although we had a good supply of fish on hand, and did not expect soon to suffer from want, yet we knew not but we might be disappointed in procuring provision lower in the country, and concluded, therefore, to halt for half an hour, and make a small increase to our stock. We were in some haste, and anxious to travel on as quickly as possible, to Snake River. Captain W., therefore, urged the chief to have the fish brought immediately, as he intended soon to leave them. The only reply he could obtain to this request, was "*te sant*" (it is good,) accompanied by signs, that he wished to smoke. A pipe was provided, and he, with about a dozen of his young men, formed a circle near, and continued smoking, with great tranquillity, for half an hour.
>
> Our patience became almost exhausted, and they were told that if their fish were not soon produced, we should leave them empty as we came; to this, the only answer of the chief was a sign to us to remain still, while he deliberated yet farther upon the subject.
>
> We sat a short time longer in silent expectation, and were then preparing to mount our horses and be off, when several squaws were dispatched to one of the lodges. They

returned in a few minutes, bringing about a dozen dried fish. These were laid in small piles on the ground, and when the usual price was offered for them, they refused it scornfully, making the most exorbitant demands. As our articles of trade were running low, and we were not in immediate want, we purchased only a sufficiency for one day, and prepared for our departure, leaving the ground strewn with neglected salmon. The Indians were evidently very much irritated, as we could perceive by their angry countenances, and loud words of menace. Some loosed the bows from their shoulders, and shook them at us with violent gestures of rage, and a boy, of seventeen or eighteen years of age, who stood near me, struck my horse on the head with a stick, which he held in his hand. This provoked me not a little; and spurring the animal a few steps forward, I brought my heavy whip several times over his naked shoulders, and sent him screeching into the midst of his people. Several bows were drawn at me for this act, and glad would the savages have been to have had me for a short time at their mercy, but as it was, they feared to let slip their arrows, and soon dropped their points, contenting themselves with vaporing away in all the impotence of childish rage. As we rode off, they greeted us, not with the usual gay yell, but with a scornful, taunting laugh, that sounded like the rejoicing of an infernal jubilee.

Towards evening, we arrived on Snake river, crossed it at a ford, and encamped near a number of lodges along the shore. Shortly afterwards, Captain W., with three men, visited the Indians, carrying with them some small articles, to trade for fish. In about half an hour they returned, bringing only about ten salmon. They observed, among the Indians, the same disinclination to traffic that the others had manifested; or rather, like the first, they placed a higher value than usual upon the commodity, and wanted, in exchange, articles which we were not willing to spare them. They treated Captain W. with the same insolence and contempt which was so irritating from those of the other village.

This kind of conduct is said to be unusual among this tribe, but it is probably now occasioned by their having recently purchased a supply of small articles from Captain Bonneville, who, they inform us, has visited them within a few days.

> Being desirous to escape from the immediate vicinity of the village, we moved our camp about four miles further, and stopped for the night (Townsend 1970:262-264).

The lengthy passage above captures the full force of interaction and interchange between the Indians and Euro-Americans by the mid-1830s. The fact that Bonneville had passed through this area days ahead possibly explains a good part of the Indians "impudent" behavior towards the Wyeth party. The personal confrontation with the teen-age Indian boy and the reaction to Townsend whipping the boy, which was to draw arrows at Townsend point to the undercurrent of tension between the two groups.

The night of the 23rd, a number of Wyeth's men came down with stomach ailments (e.g., diarrhea, abdominal pain) from the traded salmon. The next morning nine men were dispatched to trap the local streams and were told to meet Wyeth's party during the early winter on the Columbia. Wyeth's party now consisted of 17 men and camped at the confluence of the Malheur and Snake Rivers. Townsend (1970:265) notes in his August 24th entry:

> I have not observed that the Indians often attempt fishing in the "big river," where it is wide and deep; they generally prefer the slues, creeks, &c. Across these, a net of closely woven willows is stretched, place vertically, and extending from the bottom to several feet above the surface. A number of Indians enter the water about a hundred yards above the net, and, walking closely, drive the fish in a body against the wicker work. Here they frequently become entangled, and are always checked; the spear is then used dexterously, and they are thrown out, one by one, upon the shore. With industry, a vast number of salmon might be taken in the manner; but the Indians are generally so indolent and careless of the future, that it is rare to find an individual with provision enough to supply his lodge for a week (Townsend 1970:265-266).

Townsend's remarks about the Indians preferring fishing on the "slues, creeks, &c" as opposed to the "big river" (Snake River) is collaborated by recent research among the Native communities of Duck Valley and Fort Hall. His description of the construction and uses of a willow net, as well as the drive and the techniques of capturing the salmon were more than adequate for their time. On the other hand, his views on Indian character and lifestyles demonstrates the racial prejudices and bigotry of the time.

On August 25th, Townsend states:

> Towards noon, we fell in with about ten lodges of Indians, (Snake and Bannecks) from whom we purchased eighty salmon. This put us in excellent spirits....
>
> In the afternoon, we deviated a little from our general course, to cut off a bend in the river, and crossed a short, high hill, a part of an extensive range which we have seen for two days ahead, and which we suppose to be in the vicinity of Powder river, and in the evening encamped in a narrow valley, on the borders of the Shoshone (Townsend 1970:266).

Townsend (1970:266-267) laments the loss of his favorite horse and refers to the Powder River as a boundary for the Snake or Shoshone and Plateau groups such as Nez Perce. This boundary is different in other periods of the 19th century and poses a tentative marker of territories in the mid-1830s.

3.3.2. Explorers, Missionaries, and Oregon Trail Emigrants (1830s-1860s)

The 1830s to 1860s saw explorers, missionaries, and the Oregon Trail emigrants traveling through southern Idaho to points west and northwest (Allyn 1924; Chittenden and Richardson 1905; Crawford 1936; De Smet 1905; Drury 1936, 1958a, 1958b; Haines 1937; Hamilton 1900; Johnson 1969; Johnson and Winter 1932; Josephy 1965; Kiefer 1972; Kip 1855; Lee 1916; Lockley 1923; Madsen 1967; Merrill 1988; Minto 1901a, 1901b; Morgan 1963; Morrill and Morrill 1978; Palmer 1847; Peterson and Peers 1993; Reading 1930; Robertson 1963; Rollins 1935; Stewart 1962; Townsend 1905; Unruh 1993; Watson 1851; Webbs 1963; Winton 1939; Woods 1926; Wyman 1952; Yager 1970; Young 1907; Yount 1966).

In 1832, two years after the last Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Brigade expedition ended, Captain Benjamin Bonneville formed the first scientific expedition to explore the Northwest (Carrey et al. 1979:19-21; Irving 1961). Carrey state that Bonneville's purpose was to:

> examine the locations, habits, and trading practices of the Indian tribes, visit the American and British establishments, and study the best means of making the

> country available to American citizens (Carrey et al. 1979:19).

Compared to persons who trapped the region, Bonneville reported on the Native American groups in detail. In his description of the Bonneville expedition for January 12th, 1834, Irving (1961:210-215) relates Bonneville's experience on the Powder River, Oregon, approximately 10 miles upstream of Brownlee Dam:

> On the 12th of January (1834), Captain Bonneville reached Powder River; much the largest stream that he had seen since leaving the Portneuf. He struck it about three miles to its entrance into Snake River. Here he found himself above the lower narrows and defiles of the latter river, and in an open and level country. The natives now made their appearance in considerable numbers, and evinced the most insatiable curiosity respecting the white men; sitting in groups for hours together, exposed to the bleakest winds, merely for the pleasure of gazing upon the strangers, and watching every movement. These are of the branch of the great Snake tribe called Shoshokoes [Shoshone], or Root Diggers, from their subsisting, in a great measure, on the roots of the earth; though they likewise take fish in great quantities, and hunt, in a small way. They are, in general, very poor; destitute of most of the comforts of life, and extremely indolent; but a mild, inoffensive race. They differ, in many respect, from the other branches of the Snake tribe, who possess horses, are more roving and adventurous, and hunt the buffalo.
>
> On the following day, as Captain Bonneville approached the mouth of Powder River, he discovered at least a hundred families of these Diggers, as they are familiarly called, assembled in one place. The women and children kept at a distance, perched among the rocks and cliffs; their eager curiosity being somewhat dashed with fear. From the elevated posts, they scrutinized the strangers with the most intense earnestness; regarding them with almost as much awe as if they had been beings of a supernatural order.
>
> The men, however, were by no means so shy and reserved; but importuned Captain Bonneville and his companions excessively by their curiosity. Nothing escaped their notice; and any thing they could lay their hands on, underwent the most minute examination. To get rid of such

> inquisitive neighbors, the travellers kept on for a considerable distance, before they encamped for the night.

Irving's (1961:210-215) description of Bonneville's accounts imply that Natives on the Powder River had not encountered Euro-Americans before. Irving continues:

> The travellers found but little snow in the neighborhood of Powder River, though the weather continued intensely cold. They learned a lesson, however, from their forlorn friends, the Root Diggers, which they subsequently found of great service in the wintry wanderings. They frequently observed them to be furnished with long ropes, twisted from the bark of the wormwood [sage]. This they used as a slow match, carrying it always lighted. Whenever they wished to warm themselves, they would gather together a little dry wormwood, apply the match, and in an instant produce a cheering blaze.
>
> Captain Bonneville gives a cheerless account of a village of these Diggers, which he saw in crossing the plain below Powder River. "They live," says he, "without any further protection from the inclemency of the season, than a sort of breakweather, about three feet high, composed of sage (or wormwood), and erected around them in the shape of a half moon." Whenever he met with them, however, they had always a large suite of half-starved dogs; for these animals, in savage as well as in civilized life, seem to be concomitants of beggary.
>
> These dogs, it must be allowed, were of more use than the beggary curs of cities. The Indian children used them in hunting the small game of the neighborhood, such as rabbits and prairie dogs; in which mongrel kind of chase they acquitted themselves with some credit.
>
> Sometimes the Diggers aspire to a nobler game, and succeed in entrapping the antelope, the fleetest animal of the prairies. The process by which this is effected is somewhat singular. When the snow has disappeared, say Captain Bonneville, and the ground become soft, the women go into the thickest fields of wormwood, and pulling it up in great quantities, construct with it a hedge about three feet high, inclosing about a hundred acres. A single opening is left for the admission of the game. This done, the women conceal themselves behind the wormwood, and wait patiently

for the coming of the antelopes; which sometimes enter this spacious trap in considerable numbers. As soon as they are in, the women give the signal, and the men hasten to play their part. But one of them enters the pen at a time; and, after chasing the terrified animals round the inclosure, is relieved by one of his companions. In this way the hunters take their turns, relieving each other, and keeping up a continued pursuit by relays, without fatigue to themselves. The poor antelopes, in the end, are so wearied down, that the whole party of men enter and dispatch them with clubs; not one escaping that has entered the inclosure. The most curious circumstance in this chase is, that an animal so fleet and agile as the antelope, and straining for its life, should range round and round this fated inclosure, without attempting to overleap the low barrier which surrounds it. Such, however, is said to be the fact; and such their only mode of hunting the antelope.

Notwithstanding the absence of all comforts and convenience in their habitations, and the general squalidness of their appearance, the Shoshokoes do not appear to be destitute of ingenuity. They manufacture good ropes, and even a tolerably fine thread, from a sort of weed found in their neighborhood; and construct bowls and jugs out of a kind of basket-work formed from small strips of wood plaited; these, by the aid of a little wax, they render perfectly water tight. Beside the roots on which they mainly depend for subsistence, they collect great quantities of seed, of various kinds, beaten with one hand out of the tops of the plants into wooden bowls held for that purpose. The seed thus collected is winnowed and parched, and ground between two stones into a kind of meal or flour; which, when mixed with water, forms a very palatable paste or gruel.

Some of these people, more provident and industrious than the rest, lay up a stock of dried salmon, and other fish, for winter; with these, they were ready to traffic with the travellers for any objects of utility in Indian life; giving a large quantity in exchange for an awl, a knife, or a fish-hook. Others were in the most abject state of want and starvation; and would even gather up the fish-bones which the travellers threw away after a repast, warm them over again at the fire, and pick them with the greatest avidity.

> The farther Captain Bonneville advanced into the country of these Root Diggers, the more evidence he perceived of their rude and forlorn condition. "They were destitute," says he, "of the necessary covering to protect them from the weather; and seemed to be in the most unsophisticated ignorance of any other propriety or advantage in the use of clothing. One old dame had absolutely nothing on her person but a thread round her neck, from which was pendant a solitary bead."
>
> What state of human destitution, however, is too destitute for vanity! Though these naked and forlorn-looking beings had neither toilet to arrange, nor beauty to contemplate, their greatest passion was for a mirror. It was a "great medicine," in their eyes. The sight of one was sufficient, at any time, to throw them into a paroxysm of eagerness and delight; and they were ready to give anything they had for the smallest fragment in which they might behold their squalid features. With this simple instance of vanity, in its primitive but vigorous state, we shall close our remarks on the Root Diggers (Irving 1961:212-213).

A couple of a days later, Bonneville (Irving 1961:217) described another group of Root Diggers.

> Here they were visited by a party of Root Diggers, who were apparently rising in the world, for they had "a horse to ride and weapon to wear," and were altogether better clad and equipped than any of the tribe that Captain Bonneville had met with. They were just from the plain of Boisee River, where they had left a number of their tribe, all as well provided as themselves, having guns, horses, and comfortable clothing. All these they obtained from the Lower Nez Perce, with whom they were in habits of frequent traffic. They appeared to have imbibed from that tribe their non-combative principles, being mild and inoffensive in their manners. Like them, also they had something of religious feelings; for Captain Bonneville observed that, before eating they washed their hands and made a short prayer; which he understood was their invariable custom. From these Indians he obtained a considerable supply of fish, and an excellent and well-conditioned horse, to replace one which had become too weak for the journey.

Being assured by the natives, Bonneville stuck to the Snake River due to the snow at high elevations. The Digger guide, whose

assistance had been invaluable as an "excellent guide" according to Bonneville, "until, unluckily, encountering a brother Digger, he stole off with him, without the ceremony of leave-taking" (Irving 1961:218). Bonneville relates to Irving:

> Being now left to themselves, they proceeded until they came to some Indian huts, the inhabitants of which spoke a language totally different from any they had yet heard. One, however, understood the Nez Perce language, and through him they made inquiries as to their route. These Indians were extremely kind and honest, and furnished them with a small quantity of meat; but none of them could be induced to act as guides (Irving 1961:218).

Irving, with a poetic flare, said of the journey north along the floor of the Snake River, "difficulties of all kinds beset their path" (Irving 1961:219). Trying to climb out from the banks of the Snake, the travelers kept returning to the floor of the Snake River time and time again.

> At length they reached the banks of the Immahah [Imnaha River]. The young grass was just beginning to sprout, and the whole wore an aspect of softness, verdure, and repose, heightened by the contrast of the frightful region from which they had just descended. To add to their joy, they observed Indian trails along the margin of the stream, and other signs, which gave them reason to believe that there was an encampment of the Lower Nez Perces in the neighborhood, as it was within the accustomed range of the pacific and hospitable tribe (Irving 1961:223).

On February 16th, 1834:

> fifty-three days that they had been travelling in the midst of winter, exposed to all kinds of privations and hardships; and for the last twenty days they had been entangled in the wild and desolate labyrinths of the snowy mountains; climbing and descending icy precipices, and nearly starved with cold and hunger.
>
> All the morning they continued following the Indian trail, without seeing a human being, and were beginning to be discouraged when, about noon, they discovered a horseman at a distance. He was coming directly toward them; but on discovering them, suddenly reined up his steed, came to a halt, and, after reconnoitering them for a time with great

> earnestness, seemed about to make a cautious retreat. They eagerly made signs of peace, and endeavored, with the utmost anxiety, to induce him to approach. He remained for some time in doubt; but at length, having satisfied himself that they were not enemies, came galloping up to them. He was a fine, haughty-looking savage, fancifully decorated, and mounted on a high-mettled steed, with gaudy trappings and equipments. It was evident that he was a warrior of some consequence among his tribe. He whole deportment had something in it of barbaric dignity; he felt perhaps his temporary superiority in personal array, and in the spirit of his steed, to the poor, ragged, travel-worn trappers and their half-starved horses. Approaching them with an air of protection, he gave them his hand, and, in the Nez Perce language invited them to his camp, which was only a few miles distant; where he had plenty to eat, and plenty of horses, and would cheerfully share his good things with them.

The next day, Bonneville's party came upon the Nez Perce:

> They had not long been on the march when eight or ten of the Nez Perce tribe came galloping to meet them, leading fresh horses to bear them to their camp. Thus gallantly mounted, they felt new life infused into their languid frames, and dashing forward, were soon at the lodges of the Nez Perces. Here they found about twelve families living together, under the patriarchal sway of an ancient and venerable chief (Irving 1961:224-226).

Bonneville, as Irving states:

> ...soon felt himself quite at home among these quiet, inoffensive people. His long residence among their cousins, the Upper Nez Perces, had made him conversant with their language, modes of expression, and all their habitudes. He soon found, too, that he was well known among them, by report, at least, from the constant interchange of visits and messages between the two branches of the tribe....

Irving (1961:231) continues:

> Following the course of the Immahah, Captain Bonneville and his companions soon reached the vicinity of Snake River. Their route now lay over a succession of steep and isolated hills, with profound valleys. On the second day after

> taking leave of the affectionate old patriarch, as they were descending into one of those deep and abrupt intervals, they descried a smoke, and shortly afterward came in sight of a small encampment of Nez Perces.
>
> The Indians, when they ascertained that it was a party of white men approaching, greeted them with a salute of firearms, and invited them to encamp. This band was likewise under the sway of a venerable chief named Yo-mus-ro-y-e-cut; a name which we shall be careful not to inflict oftener than is necessary upon the reader. This ancient and hard-named chieftain welcomed Captain Bonneville to his camp with the same hospitality and loving kindness that he had experienced from his predecessor. He told the captain he had often heard of the Americans and their generous deeds, and that his buffalo brethren (the Upper Nez Perces) had always spoken of them as the Big-hearted whites of the East, the very good friends of the Nez Perces.

The text becomes dramatic, as Irving (1961:232-239) poetically describes how Bonneville informed Yo-mus-ro-y-e-cut of his deep love of the Nez Perce people, the generosity they had shown Bonneville in every way, and how the "Big Hearts of the East" wanted always to be friends with and live in peace with the Nez Perce. Irving (1961:238-239) includes cursory ethnographic information on the use of "criers" among the Nez Perce and Bonneville's reputation as a great medicine man. Bonneville appears to have relaxed at this stage of his journey, staying a few days with Yo-mus-ro-y-e-cut, and having the chief accompany his party to Fort Wallah-Wallah [Fort Walla Walla] (Irving 1961:240-249).

The fort was a main trading post for the Hudson's Bay Company, located on the confluence of the Walla Walla and Columbia rivers. Irving (1961:251) gives a brief synopsis of the basic subsistence and residential structure of the Lower Nez Perce:

> The Lower Nez Perces range upon the Way-lee-way [Walla Walla}, Immahah, Yenghies, and other of the streams west of the mountains. They hunt the beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep. Beside the flesh of these animals, they use a number of roots for food; some of which would be well worth transplanting and cultivating in the Atlantic States. Among these is a camash [camas], a sweet root, about the form and size of an onion, and said to be really delicious.

> The cowish, also, or biscuit root, about the size of a walnut, which they reduce to a very palatable flour; together with the jackap aisish, quako, and others; where they cook by steaming them in the ground. In August and September, these Indians keep along rivers, where they catch and dry great quantities of salmon; which, while they last, are their principal food. In the winter they congregate in villages formed of comfortable huts, or lodges, covered with mats. They are generally clad in deer skin, or woollens, and extremely well armed. Above all, they are celebrated for owning great numbers of horses, which they mark, and suffer to range in droves in their most fertile plains. These horses are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded. They are brought in great numbers to the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, and sold for a mere trifle.

On March the 6th, 1834, Bonneville left Fort Walla Walla for his return to Idaho's Porteuf River (Irving 1961:252). Apparently, Bonneville's party ascended the Snake River, through the Hells Canyon area, where he found "several prismoids of basaltes, rising to the height of fifty and sixty feet" (Irving 1961:265).

Irving (1961:265) continues:

> Nothing particularly worthy of note occurred during several days as the party proceeded up the Snake River and across its tributary streams. After crossing Gun Creek, they met with various signs that white people were in the neighborhood, and Captain Bonneville made earnest exertions to discover whether they were any of his own people, that he might join them. He soon ascertained that they had been starved out of this tract of country, and had betaken themselves to the buffalo region, whither he now shaped his course. In proceeding along Snake River, he found small hordes of Shoshonies lingering upon the minor streams, and living upon trout and other fish, which they catch in great numbers at this season in fish-traps. The greater part of the tribe, however, had penetrated the mountains to hunt the elk, deer and ahsahta or bighorn.

Bonneville reached the Portneuf River on May 12th, 1834. Shortly after this date, Bonneville's party hunted buffalo in the Portneuf River area.

The above detailed account of Bonneville's journey through the Hells Canyon area gives basic ethnographic information about both the Snake or Shoshone and specific data on the Lower Nez Perce of the lower Hells Canyon area of the Snake River. For the Snake or Digger Indians, most of what was discussed has been subsequently substantiated by anthropological research. Bonneville's remarks on antelope hunting was collaborated by Steward (1938a), Kelly (1932), Stewart (1943), and Harris (1940). His comment about the "half-moon" configuration of a Digger's camp is something that has not been elaborated in the anthropological literature. However, there is good reason to believe that the shape of the "half-moon" camp was a constant among certain groups living in southern Idaho. Statements in the latter sections of this chapter as well as original research (Myers 1995, 1996a, 1996b), substantiate Bonneville's claim.

> Bonneville's contrast of the pedestrian Root Diggers and their mounted counterparts is interesting because Bonneville's implicit classification assumes that both groups have a basic similarity in subsistence and settlement. In the anthropological literature, the division between mounted and non-mounted Native groups in southern Idaho has been the most distinctive way to separate the Native populations (e.g., Liljeblad 1957, 1970, 1972; Lowie 1909; Murphy and Murphy 1960; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943; Stewart 1943).

For the Nez Perce, all of the cultural traits and patterns have been independently substantiated and collaborated by subsequent anthropological research (e.g., Chalfant 1974; Sappington and Carly 1995; Sappington et al. 1995; Schwede 1966; Shawley 1975; Walker 1967a, 1968, 1969). Bonneville's account of basic subsistence techniques and practices summarizes the food resources as well as the movements of the Lower Nez Perce. Bonneville touches on segments of the residential patterns also.

Although the first period of fur trapping and trading continued until 1850, it was on the decline by the early-1830s (Cline 1963:163; Rusco 1976:159). There followed close behind this first period, an assortment of missionaries through the Snake River Plain region on their way to Oregon and the west coast. The first Christian religious service at Fort Hall, Idaho, was held on July 27th, 1834 by the Protestant Reverend Jason Lee at the burial of a Frenchman named Kanseau (Wyeth 1899:76). As the first American missionary to enter the Pacific Northwest; Lee traveled from Fort Hall on the 30th of July and

arrived at Fort Vancouver on September 15th, 1834 (Spence 1998:633). Wyeth's journal entry for the 30th states, "McKay left us and Mr. (Jason) Lee and Capt. Stewart with him" (Wyeth 1899:76). On August 11th, 1834, Lee write about a camp near Salmon Falls:

> Came twenty miles and camped on the Snake Falls and near a band of the Snake Indians called the Diggers. They have few horses and no guns and live chiefly on fish and roots hence their name Diggers. They are friendly and peaceable. They subsist at present on Salmon which have just commenced running. The Salmon go no higher than here. We purchased some dried and some fresh. They are most excellent being quite fat. The dried make good food without cooking at all. For two fish hooks I could get a fish that would weigh 12 to 14 pounds. Many of the males [Indians] are entirely naked with some exception of a breech clout. The females have some skins about them but boys of 12 years are naked as they were born (Lee 1916:247-248).
>
> These Indians look healthy and are very fleshy and like all others that I have seen are fond of smoking (Lee 1916:247-248).
>
> The Indian wigwams are constructed of willow bushes with the large end in the ground and fastened together at the top and covered with long grass which very much resembles straw and answers the same purpose. Their form nearly that of a hay stack and some of them 15 ft. In diameter. And to me who have been so long accustomed to a somewhat similar habitation they appear quite comfortable for summer for which they are only designed (Lee 1998:248-249).

In his journal entries, Reverend Lee does not identify rivers, *per se.* The journey from Shoshone Falls to Walla Walla by-passes the Hells Canyon area by going through the Blue Mountains to the west. Journal entries from this period (Tuesday, August 12th, to Friday, August 29th), do not contain ethnographic information on the Native populations of the region. As advised by the Hudson's Bay Company, Lee settled on the Willamette River. He died in 1845 at the age of 42.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, other Christian missionaries (e.g., Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Henry and Sarah Smith, Myra Eells, and Asahel Munger) journeyed through southern Idaho on

their way to Oregon. They, like others afterwards, by-passed the Hells Canyon area, preferring to go by an overland route (Oregon Trail), which went northwest through the Blue Mountains to the Columbia River.

Mrs. Whitman's diary indicates that by the 19th of August, 1836, they:

> Arrived at Snake Fort [Fort Boise] about noon. It is situated on Big Wood River [Boise River], so called because the timber is larger than any to be seen this side of the mountains. It consists chiefly of cotton wood, and is small compared with timber in the States. Snake Fort is owned & built by Mr. McKay... (Drury 1997:86).

By August 22nd, she writes:

> Left the Fort for Walla Walla. (We) came a short distance to the crossing on Snake River, crossed and encamped for the night. The river had three branches, divided by islands as it was where we crossed before. The first & second of these were very deep but we (had) no difficulty in crossing on horseback. The third was deeper still. We dare not venture on horseback. This being a fishing post of the Indians, we easily found a canoe made of rushes & willows on which we placed ourselves & our saddles (Sister S. & myself) when two Indians on horseback with each a rope attached to the canoe, towed us over. ... I wish I could give you a correct idea of the little bark [canoe]. It is simply bunches of rushes tied together & attached to a frame, made of a few sticks of small willows. It was just large enough to hold us & our saddles (Drury 1997:87).

Her party, now on the Oregon side of the Snake, take a route northwest over the Blue Mountains and Columbia River. The Whitmans and over a dozen people were massacred in a Cayuse Indian attack in 1847.

Other missionaries, such as Reverend J.B. Griffin or Asahel Munger did their work under the auspices of the Congregationalist Association of North Litchfield, Connecticut, among the Oregon Indians starting in 1840. Munger's journal entries for this last leg of journey, Fort Boise to Fort Walla Walla (August 22nd to September 4th, 1839), has no information on the Native populations.

In the early-1840s, pathmarker John C. Fremont, led two scientific expeditions into the far west. The purpose of these expeditions was to map and refine the limits of boundaries of the Oregon Trail (Chittenden 1986:458-482; Cline 1963:208-216). Or, the purpose as he saw it was to explore "...military and geographical, principally to connect, on the line of communication usually traveled, the frontiers of Missouri with the mouth of the Columbia." The federal government sanctioned and funded both expeditions, as opposed to Bonneville's five year expedition, which was paid for privately through New York investors. Fremont's first expedition explored the Pike's Peak, South Pass, and the Wind River mountain range in 1842 (Spence 1998:401; cf., Fremont 1988:9-101). His second expedition, 1843-1844, led him through southern Idaho along the Snake River and overland through northeast Oregon before going south to California and east along the Old Spanish Trail. On October 7th, 1843, Fremont stayed on the Boise River. His journal entry for this day reads as follows:

> ...There were several Indian encampments scattered along the river; and a number of their inhabitants , in the course of the evening, came to the camp on horseback with dried and fresh fish to trade. The evening was clear, and the temperature at sunset 57 (degrees).
>
> At the time of the first occupation of this region by parties engaged in the fur trade, a small party of men under the command of ------- Reid, constituting all the garrison of a little fort on this river, were surprised and massacred by the Indians; and to this event the stream owes its occasional name of *Reid's river* (Fremont 1988:173).

On the 8th of October, Fremont came down the Boise River to Fort Boise, a trading post owned the Hudson's Bay Company and run by Mr. Payette, a noted fur-trapper who traveled with Hunt on his overland expedition for Jacob Astor. Fremont (1988:173) states:

> ...During the day [8th] we remained here, there were considerable numbers of miserable half-naked Indians around the fort, who had arrived from the neighboring mountains. During the summer, the only subsistence of these peoples is derived from the salmon, of which they are not provident enough to lay up a sufficient store for winter, during which many of them die from absolute starvation.

> Many little accounts and scattered histories, together with an acquaintance which I gradually acquired of their modes of life, had left the aboriginal inhabitants of this vast region pictured in my mind as a race of people whose great and constant occupation was the means of procuring a subsistence...
>
> Pointing to a group of Indians who had just arrived from the mountains on the left side of the valley, and who were regarding our usual appliances of civilization with an air of bewildered curiosity, Mr. Payette informed me that, every year since his arrival at this post, he had unsuccessfully endeavored to induce these people to lay up a store of salmon for their winter provision. While the summer weather and the salmon lasted, they lived contentedly and happily, scattered along the different streams where the fish were to be found; and as soon as the winter snows began to fall, little smokes would be seen rising among the mountains, where they would be found in miserable groups, starving out the winter; and sometimes, according to the general belief, reduced to the horror of cannibalism -- the strong, of course, preying on the weak. Certain it is, they are driven to any extremity for food, and eat every insect, and every creeping thing, however loathsome and repulsive. Snails, lizards, ants — all are devoured with the readiness and greediness of mere animals.
>
> In common with all the other Indians we had encountered since reaching the Pacific waters, these people use the Shoshones or Snake language, which you will have occasion to remark, in the course of the narrative, is the universal language over a very extensive region.
>
> Sitting by the fire on the river bank, and waiting for the immersions of the satellite, which did not take place until after midnight, we heard the monotonous song of the Indians, with which they accompany a certain game of which they are very fond. Of the poetry we could not judge, but the music was miserable.

Fremont's journal entry for October 12th, states:

> Crossing Birch river, we continued for about four miles across a point of hill; the country on the left being entirely mountainous, with no level spot to be seen; whence we descended to Snake River -- here a fine-looking stream,

> with a large body of water and a smooth current; although we hear the roar, and see below us the commencement of rapids where it enters among the hills. It forms here a deep bay, with a low sand island in the midst; and its course among the mountains is agreeably exchanged for the black volcanic rock.

On October 13th, Fremont writes about using the term "Great Basin" to designate:

> ...the intermediate region between the Rocky mountains and the next range, containing many lakes, with their own system of rivers and creeks, (of which the Great Salt is the principal,) and which have no connexion with the ocean, or the great rivers which flow into it. The Great Basin is yet to be adequately explored.
>
> Leaving entirely the Snake river, which is said henceforth to pursue its course through canons, amidst rocky and impracticable mountains, where there is no possibility of travelling with animals, we ascended a long and somewhat steep hill; and, crossing the dividing ridge, came down into the valley of *Burnt* river, which here looks like a hole among the hills (Fremont 1988:175).

Fremont's party, then, goes in a north by northwest direction across the Blue Mountains, crossing the Powder, Grand Ronde, Umatilla, and Walla-Walla rivers descending in the Columbia river basin. As the above passages indicates they had an apparently shallow and capricious interpretation of the Snakes or Shoshones lifestyle. His comments about starvation and cannibalism among the Snake or Shoshone groups is remarkable for its naivety and assumption (Fremont 1988:174). Starvation and cannibalism have occurred in both Indian and non-Indian groups but always in extreme situations with unusual mitigating circumstances. Recent research (Clemmer 1996; Myers 1990) indicates that cannibalism is as repugnant and loathsome to the Shoshone or Snake people as it is to their non-Indian counterparts. Compared to someone like John Townsend, Fremont exhibits an extreme ethnocentric attitude towards these Native groups. What comments Fremont does make for this area and its people are not detailed enough to have major consequences for ethnographic research.

With Fremont's exploration of southern Idaho and Oregon, there started a mass immigration along the "Oregon Trail."

Beginning in the mid- to late-1840s, the route from South Pass, Wyoming, to the Columbia River became one of the major transportation corridors to reach the west coast (Jackson 1998:834-835). In the 1840s through the 1890s, ten of thousands of emigrants weathered the Snake River Plains to arrive in Oregon (Neitzel 1998:75-76; Unruh 1993:119-122). These emigrants by-passed the Hells Canyon area, preferring instead to take the overland trail through the Blue Mountains.

By 1843, Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, Oregon Trail emigrants, write that:

> ...The Indians take immense quantities of Salmon here [Salmon Falls]; which they cut into thin slices, dry in the sun, and afterwards pack them up, in grass cases. The native, along Snake River, live principally upon fish and roots; and are the filthiest, most depraved, and degraded creatures, any where to be found among the dregs of human nature. We have been told, that during the Salmon season, they become as fat as penned pigs; and in the winter, so poor and feeble, that they frequently die from actual starvation (1932:29-30).

As editor, Cannon points out that "(t)his statement may be discounted considerably as representing the normal emigrant attitude toward the natives" (1932:30).

Johnson and Winter continue:

> Thirty-two miles below the Hot Branches, we crossed the Owyhee River, traveled down it two miles, and came opposite Fort Boise, which is situated on the North side of Snake River, a short distance below the confluence of the Owyhee and Boise; the latter of which, comes in from the North. There is, on the Boise River, a great deal of Cotton Wood timber; from which circumstance, it takes its name. From the crossing of Snake River, to where it passes thru the Blue Mountains, there seems to be no Falls or dangerous Rapids (1932:31).
>
> Leaving Fort Boise, we traveled twelve miles, and crossed the Malheur, where there are many Hot Springs, rising out of the bank of the stream. Twenty-three miles from the Malheur, we came to the Brule or Burnt River, and traveled up it to its source, leaving Snake River entirely (1932:31).

John Boardman, who traveled the Oregon Trail in 1843, on September 25th, states:

> Pleasant. Rain at night. Smith has gone back to hunt his mule that he left or lost. We attempted to cross Snake River, and after crossing 2 branches found the last one so deep that our packs would get wet. So returned and go down on the south side. Bad road. Sage and sand. Plenty of dirty Indians (Snakes). 18 miles.

On September 30th, Boardman was across from Fort Boise. On October 3rd, Malheur River, Burnt River (October 6th), Powder River (October 6th), and Grand Ronde on the 11th of October.

William Watson, an emigrant writing on the 9th of August, 1849, states:

> Traveling two miles down the river; we ascended the bluffs; four miles over a sandy road brought us to a small creek three yards wide, and at the ford, from one to four feet deep. To our right in the distance we saw the timber of Boyce River which looked very beautiful; not having seen any since we left Fort Hall. After crossing the creek, which I named Prairie Chicken Creek, two miles down this creek brought us in sight of Fort Boyce; two miles farther we encamped; good grass; willow in abundance. It being fifteen miles to the next camping, we remained during the rest of the evening, and drove our cattle on to the island, where was splendid grass; here were hundreds of Indians, fat and sleek, and the best made Indians that I ever saw; stout, and robust; large arms, and full chests.

In 1851, John Minto crossed the Snake River Plains:

> We crossed the Snake River at the wagon ford below Salmon Falls, and were out of provisions again when we came to where the Boise River debouches from the hills to the plain. The Bannock Indians had a great fishery here, keeping a large drying rack constantly clothed with salmon drying on the skin. When cured these were put up in bales of about eighty pounds weight each, for storage for winter use, or for barter. They used a weir system of brush to catch the fish. The Bannocks were very friendly, and took so much pains to guide us to where we would get good grass for our horses that some of the boys became suspicious. The

> man who took this pains stayed with us all night, and parted from us next morning with every appearance of honest kindness. He showed us by signs that the fine horse Clark had got at Bridger in exchange for a mule had been injured chasing buffalo by one of his friends. Leaving this fishery with a good supply, we were shortly overtaken by another party of the same tribe, as we supposed. Some of the young fellows drove their horses by us, yelling in a spirit of mischievous fun. The women came up sedately, leading pack horses. They let us know that they had been out gathering fruit by showing us cakes of which I judged to be choke cherries and service berries beaten together and dried in cakes of about four inches across and three quarters of an inch thick. The fishhooks were again successful as a medium of exchange. We passed portions of Boise River that day as rich with salmon, as a food supply, as the plains of the Platte had been with buffalo beef.
>
> Near Fort Boise a single young Indian signed for us to stop and go with him into the timber; and led the way to a camp fire under cottonwood trees. He moved away the fire and live coals, then began to carefully remove the sandy soil, uncovering a fair-sized salmon baked in the hot sand. Putting this carefully aside, he dug down further and unearthed a beaver skin, which he wished to sell. While we tried to convey to him by signs that we did not wish to buy the skin, his wife and a chubby little boy came timidly from the river. We made Fort Boise that evening, and mustered among us enough money to purchase twenty pounds of Oregon flour. The trader in charge refused to sell a little dried elk meat. It was "for the master," he said. We forded the Snake at the emigrant crossing below the little abode trading post... (1901b:221-223).

From there, Minto went into "Burnt-river canyon," where they overtook another wagon train, had breakfast on the banks of the Powder River, and then on to the Grand Ronde River and Fort Walla Walla in the next few days (1901b:223).

In the mid-1840s, Mrs. Abigail J. Duniway published *Captain Gray's Company* or *Crossing the Plains and Living in Oregon,* in which she chronicles her migration west. Mrs. Duniway writes:

> August 25th. The wearisome duties devolving upon me are so fatiguing, that I sometimes neglect my journal and leave it

unthought of for days. This time weeks have passed since I last took notes of travel.

We are now opposite Fort Boise. It is fashioned something like Fort Hall, but is not so durably constructed. It was built by the Hudson's Bay Company, and was intended more for a trading post, than a Fort. That company have now abandoned it, but it is in possession of other traders. We drove our cattle on an island above the Fort, where grass is plenty. While there we remarked on a very disagreeable odor, arising from a thicket near the water's edge. We searched the thicket and found a half dozen dead Indians. Maurice examined the bodies, and pronounced them poisoned by strychnine. He inquired about the matter at the Fort, and was informed that some emigrants had poisoned some dead oxen in order to prove a disputed point about whether or not the Indians would *eat* cattle left dead by travellers! The result proved the experimenter's argument for nearly twenty Indians were poisoned.

August 31st. Five miles travel from our last encampment, brought us to a rocky canyon on 'Snake,' which is the last place we shall see the river. Three miles further brought us to Burnt River, a beautiful stream about twenty feet wide, and two feet deep. The mountains are covered with dry bunch grass, which the cattle eat greedily.

On August 19th, E. W. Conyers, an emigrant from Quincy, Illinois, reported:

Thursday — We stared at 7 a. m. and traveled eight miles over a very good road and stopped for lunch. After lunch we traveled two miles to the crossing of Snake River at old Fort Boise. An old Scotchman of the Hudson's Bay Company is the only inhabitant of this fort. His name we did not learn. He went around among the emigrants begging fresh milk for an emigrant woman and her babe who was dumped out here by some human fiend to shift for herself. Inside of the fort are quite a number of Indian women ornamenting moccasins with bead work, for which they charge 35 cents per pair. There is an Indian village near the crossing of Snake River at this place. These Indians have been feasting on the dead carcasses of emigrant cattle. Some thoughtless emigrants whose cattle died here cut the carcasses open and put in a bait of strychnine, as they said, "to kill off some of those pesky coyote," but the Indians happened to get hold

> of these poisoned carcasses and died by the hundreds. Their remedy was to put the patient into a sweat-house built with sticks and then covered with dirt. These sweat-houses are built near the bank of the river. When they imagined the patient had been sufficiently sweated, they would suddenly open the door, when the patient would make a desperate rush for the river, plunging into the cold water head foremost. Under this treatment the patient invariably died within a few minutes after coming from his cold bath. They kept up a continual pow-wow over their poisoned sick all night. This afternoon we crossed Snake River in wagon beds for a boat. Toll, $3. We camped for the night near the river bank. Very little grass, but plenty of good wood (Conyers 1905:485-486).

Conyers' described his journey traveling to the Malheur River on the 20th and 21st of August, 1852, and camped on the banks of Birch Creek. He does comment in the journal entries of the 21st of August, "(t)he grass has been very good at this place but has been all eaten off by the thousands of poor and hungry cattle of the emigrants" (Conyers 1905:487). The next day, August 22nd, Conyers states:

> Traveled three and a half miles over a very rough, rocky road to Snake River. Here our road turns to the right and we ascend a long, steep hill, and we see no more of Snake River after this. We traveled on four and a half miles to Burnt River.

The above journal entries, appalling as they may be, demonstrate the wanton disregard for Native American life among the emigrants.

In 1849, army troops began to man significant forts or "guardian posts" for Oregon Trail emigrants (e.g., Fort Laramie, Fort Hall, Fort Vancouver, Fort Walla Walla (or Fort Nez Perce), Fort Colville, etc.). This same year saw the transfer of the Indian Bureau of the War Department to the newly created Department of Interior (Josephy 1965:277-279). By 1852, gold had been discovered at Pend d'Orielle (Fisher 1938:84). By 1854, Boise Shoshone attacked and killed 18 of the 20 people in the Ward Massacre on the Boise River (Corliss 1990:26-27; Madsen 1985:58-59; Shannon 1993:xvi, 17, 128). By 1855, the first Mormon settlement at Fort Lemhi was established and an irrigation system was constructed in Lemhi Valley (Fisher 1938:84; Madsen 1979). To the north, fifty-six village headmen signed a treaty

that set aside 5,000 square miles for the Nez Perce in the same year. By 1858, both Fort Boise and Fort Hall were abandoned because of difficulties with the southern Indians (i.e., Northern Shoshone and Bannock)(Josephy 1965:349). In 1859, the 1855 treaty with the Nez Perce was ratified by Congress. By 1860, at the close of this period, Indian and non-Indian interaction for both the Nez Perce and Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups were coming to a head.

3.3.3. Military, Miners, and the Indian Commission (1860s-1900s)

In the period from 1850 to 1910, the military, miners, and representatives from the Bureau of Affairs intruded into all parts of Idaho and the Northwest, as hostilities became more overt, reservations opened up, and treaties were signed and broken (Allen 1913; Brimlow 1938; Brown 1926; Chalmers 1862; Cross 1850; Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1856; Doty 1855; Evan 1996; Fee 1956; Gulick 1985; Haller 1855-1856; Hampton 1994; Howard 1887; Hunt 1961; Idaho Historical Society n.d., 1965a, 1965b, 1968a, 1968b, 1970a, 1970b, 1972, 1974, 1979, 1982; Idaho Tri-Weekly Stateman 1866; Jones 1987; Kirkwood 1928; Knight 1960; Lane 1982; Madsen 1990; Maury 1902; McDermott 1978; McWhorter 1940, 1952; New York Times 1860; O'Neal 1866; Peltier 1965; Read and Gaines 1949; Rogers 1938; Smith 1860; Wells 1970, 1978; Wilfong 1990; Ye Galleon Press 1966; Yeckel 1971).

The chronological overlap of the above dates only indicate the 'dynamics' of Euro-American contact, intrusion, and displacement of Idaho's Native American populations. The apparent overlaps function as a rough guide to important events within these periods and, thus, are contingent on the various events that defined each period.

As the above heading suggests, this period can be characterized by three major near concurrent activities; military activities, Indian commission activities, and mining activities. Droves of Oregon Trail emigrants also continued to push though southern Idaho during this period. In 1860, the Utter Wagon Train was attacked on the 9th and 10th of September at Castle Rock, between Hagerman and Murphy, Idaho. This prolonged attack was later known as the Otter or Utter Massacre. The Van Ornum train, a splitter group of the Utter, pushed on until they were at Farewell Bend, Oregon, and then were attacked and massacred by Indians. Of the 44 people in the Utter/Van Ornum train, 15 were saved, 23 killed, 4 taken prisoners, and 2 men were lost in the

mountains. In the Van Ornum massacre 6 people were murdered, and four of the Van Ornum children, three girls and a boy, were captured by the Indians. In November, 1862, the eight year old Reuben Van Ornum, was rescued from a Northwest Band of Shoshone under Chief Bear Hunter. His two elder sisters died in 1861 and his younger sister died in 1862. The identity of the Indians who attacked the trains remains a mystery (Corliss 1990, Madsen 1980, 1985; Shannon 1993), but evidence suggests that the boy was traded or transferred to Bear Hunter's band and the actual perpetrators of both the Utter and Van Ornum massacres was another band of Northwest Shoshone under Chief Pocatello (Shannon 1993).

By March of 1861, the Idaho Territory, which included parts of Montana and Wyoming, was organized, and by June, miners "rushed" from Oregon and California to prospect in southwestern Idaho. By 1862, the Civil War had began, the "National Homestead Act" was enacted, gold discovered in the Boise Basin, and a number of mining settlements (e.g., Placerville, Bannack City [Idaho City], Pioneer City, etc.) were established. Protecting these intruders from Indians, the Army established, between Fort Boise and Fort Hall, Camp Wallace and Camp Reed (Figure 15). Fort Lapwai was established in October of 1862 (Josephy 1965:401). A third Fort Boise or Boise Barracks was established in 1863 for the protection of settlers and miners. The townsite of Boise was laid out in 1863 also (Fisher 1938:86).

Both Fort Boise and Fort Lapwai were in the same military district and the same officers and men were charged with the protection of the interior Northwest. They reported to men at Fort Walla Walla as their immediate superiors, to Fort Vancouver as the headquarters of the District of Oregon, the Department of the Pacific at San Francisco, California, and at the highest level, Washington, D.C. (Josephy 1965:277). In October, 1862, Camp Lapwai was established as a military post, on the confluence of the Clearwater and Snake rivers. Gold had been discovered around Pend d'Orielle in 1854, the Clearwater in 1860, and the Boise Basin in 1861. By early 1863, the third Fort Boise or Boise Barracks was established for the protection of the Oregon Trail emigrants, local settlers, and miners.

The Army had a number of problems to deal with or issues to be resolved in terms of Indian and White interaction in the early-1860s; southern sympathizers, intrusion on reservation land, illegal liquor sales, and mining operations and activities (e.g. Josephy 1965:377-433; Alvord 1862b:176-177).

Correspondence between various military personal of the early 1860s is replete with these issues or problems. In a letter to the Headquarters at San Francisco, Alvord reports:

> There is too much reason for dissatisfaction among the Nez Perces, but I cannot believe from all the intelligence I can gather from that quarter that they will rise. Evil-disposed and abandoned white men may, as is rumored, have endeavored to incite them to revolt. Fortunately, the main body of Nez Perces have more principle, more intelligence, and more loyalty than those men have. Succession sympathizers, fiendish enough to wish to see re-enacted the scenes in Minnesota, exist there. But this is reason to hope that they would fail of their purpose. I have instructed the commanding officers in that quarter to arrest and hold subject to my orders any white found guilty of such an atrocity. The Snakes may attack the outer mining camps south of Salmon River, but that must be expected. They are perpetually at war. Eagle of the Light, a Nez Perce chief who married a Snake woman, may have a small band of his people with him. It is rumored he is in affiliation with the Snakes. It may be so. He never assented to the treaty of 1855. On my return I hope to be able to report to you more satisfactorily on these subjects. I expect that no step will more conduce to quiet and satisfy the Nez Perces that the establishment next spring of the permanent military post. They have been habituated to look for protection from the military. Major Rinearson has, agreeably to my instructions, removed recently a good many intruders from their farms and grazing lands and broken up various grogshops, much to their satisfaction. I do not see how I can, unless there is a stern necessity, have a company there all winter, as no quarters have been erected (1862b:176).

As a result of the treaty of 1855, there arose a deep dividing line among the treaty and non-treaty Nez Perce in the early 1860s. Among the treaty Nez Perce, Chief Lawyer, Spotted Eagle, James, Red Wolf, and Timothy, with approximately 2,600 individual Nez Perce, resided on their homelands within the boundary of the newly formed reservation. Non-Treaty Nez Perce, led by Joseph, Looking Glass, Toohoolhoolzote, Eagle From the Light, and others, whose homelands were outside the boundary of the new reservation, would have to abandon their homelands and move onto the reservation. In a letter to William Pickering, Governor of Washington Territory, dated July 28, 1862, Brigade General Benjamin Alvord states:

> The command of Major Rinearson, which has gone to the vicinity of Lewiston, will have an important and delicate duty to perform in the preservation of peace by protecting the Nez Perce Indians from outrages by the white. Those Indians are of superior character; have always been warmly our friends, but they are now rudely dispossessed of their lands on the reservation secured to them by a sacred treaty; their women treated with outrage by the miners; liquor is sold to them by lawless whites, and great danger apprehended of collision (1862c:44).

In an address to the Chiefs of the Nez Perce, dated the 24th of October, 1862, Alvord summarized a short history of the Nez Perce relations with the white intruders and applauded the Nez Perce for their kindness and generosity:

> I have come to see you in order to assure you that the government desires to do all in its power to protect you. Hereafter, as heretofore, every officer under me will be directed to spare no exertion to afford all possible protection to you. Oftentimes this duty must necessarily be performed imperfectly, and you will, as heretofore, often find our intentions and wishes more satisfactory than our performances. You are entitled to this protection by the treaty. You are also doubly entitled to this care and friendship from your long and unwavering fidelity to our people and to our flag. You received with kindness Lewis and Clark sixty years ago, when they crossed the Rocky Mountains and wintered on the Clearwater. You were kind to Colonel Bonneville in 1835, and to Fremont in 1843. In 1847 you indignantly rejected the proposition of the Cayuse, after the murder of Doctor Whitman, to join in a war. In the spring of 1853 I was in command at The Dallas, and I learned that you again scornfully rejected the messages of the Cayuse asking you to join in a grand combination for a war against the whites. That war did not finally break out until two years later, when you refused to join them and aided Governor Stevens in safely reaching Walla Walla from the Blackfeet country. In 1858, under General Wright, in the Palouse and Coeur d'Alene country, some of you fought on our side, and we promised accordingly to fight for you against your enemies. You will never have a worse enemy than the whiskey sellers and the bad white men who intrude upon you and commit outrages upon you and on your families (1862c:192).

The speech goes on to talk about Alvord's officers (Major Rinearson, and Captain Smith), the building of a military post [Fort Lapwai], and the remoteness of Oregon Trail emigrants from the Nez Perce (1862c:193). He continues:

> You are under a great, a proud, a rich, and a generous Government, and never did we have more noble, patient, and faithful allies than the Nez Perce. It takes fire to temper steel. Temptation is the test and trial of virtue. If a Nez Perce's lodge will stand rain and storm and hail and hurricane, it is then well pitched; it is then firmly secured to the earth. The sun may shine, but fair weather and sunshine are no test for it. It required all this severe and harassing treatment by the gold diggers to show how true and honest and straightforward a Nez Perce can be. Such fidelity shall always have my praise. We wish in return for it not only to be fair, not only to be just, but to be also as kind and as generous as possible toward you (Alvord 1862c:193).

In another report to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Alvord states:

> In every war they have indignantly refused to join those tribes, and sometimes fighting on our side, as in 1858 [the Yakima War], when we promised in return to aid them in future against their enemies. Two years ago the stream of gold-seekers began to invade their country. I shall not attempt to portray the number and nature of the outrages to which this faithful tribe has accordingly been subjected. With no evidence of any adequate fulfillment of the old treaty, the tribe is agitated with the prospect of being invited to form a new treaty, provision for making one being made at the recent session of Congress. They learn that the whites are clamorous to get possession as well of their farming and grazing as of the gold-mining regions. Vile rebel sympathizers, of the lowest class of gamblers, outlaws, and land pirates, such as always haunt an Indian frontier, have infested the reservation and instilled poisonous words into their ears, such as representing that the power of our Government was gone, &c. I doubt not that a few such vagabonds have sought to hatch a revolt (Alvord 1862c:206-207).

At the same time, the treatment of the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups contrast sharply with the Nez Perce. In various communications of this time, the Snake or Shoshone populations are portrayed as "marauding savages," as in a report to Brigade General L. Thomas, Adjutant General in Washington, D.C., from Brigade General George Wright at Sacramento, California:

> It is now considered important to create the post to overawe the marauding savages and afford protection to the emigrants annually approaching that country. The public sentiment in this country remains unchanged, and it is believed that the precautions already taken will effectually suppress any attempt of the disaffected to throw this State into the vortex of rebellion (Wright 1862c:210).

The public sentiment mentioned above is indicative of a letter sent to General Wright from William Pickering, Governor of Washington Territory, dated October 21, 1862. Pickering states:

> ...a larger number of emigrants have been robbed and murdered along the Snake River during this season than in any previous year. This terrible human butchery of our own white American population of men, women, and children is too horrible a picture to think of, to look at, to reflect upon, or to record in the history of the manner in which settlers have had to come to this country, in constant jeopardy of losing their lives and property, and numbers have been thus sacrificed in their efforts to get here. We cannot bear to hear this tale of accursed cruelty told without every feeling of sympathy being aroused, of sorrow and pity for the sufferers and all their family relations, their friends and acquaintances; nor can we think of those flagrant outrages without every sense of justice and every feelings of our hearts and souls being roused to the highest pitch of resolute indignation against these foul and atrocious murderers and robbers. My dear sir, it is enough to make us all instantly raise our hands and our voices and swear by all that is sacred in heaven and on earth that the avenging hand of public justice shall be swiftly, yes, immediately stretched out to deal energetic and proper punishment upon all those fiends in human form who have been guilty of these recent as well as all former murders and robberies on the emigrant road for all time past since these roads have been traveled by the Pacific Coast emigration.

General Wright, in the name and on behalf of the population of this Territory, I want instant and immediate retributive justice done in these cases of brutal murders and robberies that have been so lately inflicted upon our own innocent, peaceable, and unoffending fellow-citizens... And expressly for this purpose, I now most earnestly, respectfully, and urgently beg and request that you will immediately decide upon the most practicable plan of dealing out the proper measure of punishment upon each and every one of these monsters in atrocity who have been guilty of all these foul crimes against the just laws of God and man; against the lives and property of our fellow-citizens. And I pray you do not delay nor weaken the blow of inflicting punishment by procrastinating the time of action for ten, nor five, nor four, three, two, nor one year after the perpetration of these crimes against humanity, but strike quickly, and I pray you strike now, while the hands of these villainous murderers are yet reeking and red with the blood of their innocent and unoffending victims; for if your effort be left until next spring before you begin the work of preparation to then send troops in warm sun-shining weather to catch these vicious murderers, long before our troops can reach that bloody ground the white and red skinned demons who have murderously assassinated our own peaceable fellow-citizens will by that time have safely gotten out of the reach of all who may then be sent, entirely too late to catch the guilty men; it will then be, as it has always been, a mere farce. To effectively punish the guilty and strike terror into the hearts of others, as a lasting warning, and to give positive and enduring proof that their crimes shall not go long unpunished, it is absolutely necessary that troops should be sent at least as far on the road up Snake River as Fort Boise, or perhaps still farther, and with plenty of provisions with them, there to winter, if they could get no farther (with safety) toward Salmon Falls, where it is thought the Snake River Indians and their white associates reside during winter. And the protection of our scattering mining population will need two or three new military stations being immediately established as far southward and eastward as Fort Boise. Therefore, with these views of the necessity of immediate action being taken by the troops under your command, in order to inflict a lastingly righteous punishment upon the murdering and plundering Snake River Indians and their associates in crime, and for the further purpose of affording suitable and necessary protection to our newly

> settled farming and mining population now going to winter on both sides of the Snake River Valley, I respectfully request you will authorize and direct General B. Alvord to establish a military post at Fort Boise... (Pickering 1862a:189-190).

Reports and other correspondence of this period express much the same attitudes and opinions. General Alvord complains to Headquarters at San Francisco, dated October 14th, 1862, that Colonel Maury has not been able to find the perpetrators of the Utter/Van Ornum massacre in September of 1860. He continues:

> Those Indians deserve to be well punished of all their offenses, and an efficient campaign against them next summer should be prosecuted. The establishment of a military post in their country would check them more effectually and permanently than any other step. But, until they should get a good whipping, that post would be harassed by the thieves (Alvord 1862a:173-174).

In the same letter, Alvord reports:

> The whole route from Walla Walla to Fort Boise (250 miles) is being settled with either farmers or miners. First comes Grande Ronde Valley, containing some inviting agricultural land, where there is a considerable settlement. Next, Powder River. On this river the gold mines have attracted many people and a large share of the emigration this fall. Auburn, on Powder River, twenty-five miles west of the emigrant road, contains now 300 houses. Next comes the mines on Burnt River, and lastly the recently discovered and very inviting gold mines on Boise River. I am satisfied from personal inquiry of reliable persons whom I met in Portland that there have been discovered such attractive mines on the river that there can be no doubt there will be a rush of thousands in that direction next spring (Alvord 1862a:172-173).

The above correspondence was written at a level of abstraction which has little to do with the specifics of the situation. On the ground, communications between various officers and their superiors paint a slightly different picture from what really occurred. This was complicated by other problems in the region as well. Late in January, 1863, General Patrick Edward Connor, commanding troops of the California Volunteer Calvary, swept down and annihilated over 250 members of Chief Bear Hunter's Northwest Band of

> Shoshone on Battle Creek, Bear River, Idaho. Popularly known today as the Bear River Massacre, it is the largest act of genocide ever recorded in the U.S. Army history of American Indian relations (Christensen 1999; Hart 1982; Madsen 1980, 1985, 1986, 1990). As the news about the massacre spread among the various Indian groups, anxieties coupled with frustration set in and gave way to open hostility, manifest in the coming Snake War of 1866 (Corliss 1993; Madsen 1980, 1986; Shannon 1993).

As the Commission for Indian Affairs restricted movement to a small portion of what had been Indian territory and attempted to deal with the Indian problem, treaties with five "Shoshone" groups (i.e., Washakie, Northwestern, Western Shoshone, Bannock and Shoshone, and Gosiute) were drawn up. Respectively, each treaty (i.e., Fort Bridger, Box Elder, Ruby Valley, Soda Springs, and Tooele Valley) was signed under a "peace and friendship" status rather than a "conquered nations" status. On July 30th, 1863, James Duane Doty, Commander and Governor of Utah Territory, and General Connor concluded a peace "Treaty of Box Elder" with Pocatello, San Pitch, and Sagwich signing for their own Shoshone bands (Doty 1863:220; Clemmer and Stewart 1986). In 1864, a peace treaty was signed with the Boise Shoshone. In 1866, a similar treaty was signed with the Bruneau Shoshone. Both treaties called for the establishment of reservations on the Boise and Bruneau rivers. For this and other reasons, both treaties were not ratified by Congress (Idaho Historical Society 1965a, 1968a; Madsen 1980:43-52; Neitzel 1998:88-104).

In the midst of this, Colonel Rueben F. Maury, commanding the First Cavalry Oregon Volunteers, held field operations along the Snake River from May 4th to October 27, 1863. Departing from and returning to Fort Walla Walla, Maury and his troops first journeyed to the Left Fork, Fort Lapwai, by June 15th and by June 20th were at the White River crossing of the Salmon River. Maury states:

> I have the honor to report that my command arrived here to-day in good condition. I will cross Salmon River to-morrow. I have determined to proceed by the route up Little Salmon. The route thus far has been very good, and grass and water for animals abundant. No casualties. The health of the command is excellent and the troops in fine spirits (Maury 1863:215).

At Camp No. 11 on the Little Salmon River, on June the 25th, Maury (1863a:215) notes that two mules were lost (killed) this day by falling down the mountain. Aside from this, no other casualties were noted. By July 4th, 1863, from Camp Independence in the Payette Valley, Maury reports:

> ...being the twentieth day out from Fort Lapwai, and distance traveled, according to our calculation, 201 miles. We are now distant from Placerville about twenty-five miles in a northwest direction, having made a detour to the westward from the main trail by passing down the west side of Payette Valley until we reached the ferry across main Payette River, crossing at or near that point. I made this change of route from my original intention in order to avoid the mountain dividing the Payette and Boise Rivers, which at this point is represented to me as being in a very bad condition, and the grass and water very scarce. I expect to reach Boise River in four or five days, but at what particular point cannot now precisely state. Have as yet met with no Indians, nor any evidence of their proximity. The health of the command continues good, and the animals in as good condition generally as when we left Lapwai... (1863:261-217).

On the Boise River, Camp No. 24, Maury (1863:216-217) notes that the Indians had been seen on the "Camas Prairie and beyond, though making no demonstration of hostilities." By August 3rd, Camp No. 33 was made on the Camas Prairie in central southern Idaho (1863:216-217). On August 8th, from Camp No. 33, Maury reports:

> ...Captain Currey with his detachment of twenty men returned last evening, have been five days out, and having made the entire circuit of Malade River to Salmon Falls. Finding fresh signs of Indians passing from this valley toward Snake River, he followed their trail, crossing Malade several times until he arrived in the vicinity of the falls, when he came upon a camp of seventeen lodges, which he immediately surrounded, but the Indians appeared defenseless, and made such demonstration of friendship that he could not, with any regard for humanity, assault them. Accordingly he made captives of two leaders of their number and brought them with him to camp. He found in all about 200 Indians in the vicinity of the falls engaged in fishing. They were apparently destitute, having little or no stock. ...I have interrogated the Indians brought in by Captain Currey

> without being able to ascertain from them any clue to the whereabouts of any captive whites or the animals stolen by their tribe. They say, "The bad Indians are all gone to the buffalo country." I shall release them to-day (1863:218-219).

From the Camas Prairie, Maury's troops went south to Salmon Falls by the 15th of September and crossed the Snake River on the 16th (Maury 1863:222-223). By October 5th, Maury was camped on the Bruneau River, he writes:

> Previous to Captain Currey's return, Lieutenant Waymire, with a detachment of twenty men of Company D, while scouting, came upon a party of about twenty Indians some twenty miles up this stream [Owyhee River], attacked and killed four and wounded several others, who with the remainder escaped on account of the character of the country, the camp being so inaccessible that the lieutenant was obliged to leave his horses a mile and a half distant. Many depredations have been committed on this stream, and the Indians who occupy it never fail to kill and steal whenever opportunity offers. From the sign in the upper part of the valley we would have found quite a force of them, but the creek had been visited about the 1st of September by a party of miners who attacked a party encamped near the mouth. We found the remains of seven bodies. All the roaming Indians of the country visit Bruneau more or less (1863:224-225).

When Maury arrived at Camp 67 on the Owyhee River, he reports that he, "...kept scouting parties out during the march from Bruneau River, but have succeeded in finding no Indians" (1863:225). He returned to Fort Walla Walla, Washington Territory on the 26th of October. Colonel Maury continued to direct field operations throughout this region for two more years and then resigned his command in 1865 (Maury 1864, 1865; cf., Ontko 1997:271). Maury's record of the 1863 season is lacking in ethnographic information. While his troops saw signs of Indian movements and occasional depredations, most of the Indians encountered by the troops were peaceful, amicable, and non-violent.

> Miners and settlers appeared in the region in small numbers by 1860, escalating exponentially by 1863, and then a rapid but steady growth to the end of the century and beyond (for more exacting numbers see Neitzel 1998:75-86;

> Unruh 1993:118-300). With this great influx of people came a dramatic and often terrifying change of attitude of the white or non-Indian community. Annoyance begot anger and then open hostility, as vigilante committees, volunteer militias, or ad hoc groups were raised to deal with the Indian "problem" or "menace" (Corliss 1993:42-48; Madsen 1980:27-42; Neitzel 1998:88-92). In his historical account of the Northern Shoshone, Madsen states:
>
> > Governor Lyon aroused so much controversy with his defense of the Indians... In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior on February 17, 1866, he attacked Senator James W. Nesmith of Oregon for his proposal to the people to "kill all Indians wherever they can be found." The governor added that the Idaho settlers were listening to "Ball Room advice" to murder, scalp, and rob Indians and use them for "revolver practice." He included a clipping from the *Owyhee Avalanche* which reported a meeting of citizens who chose twenty-five men to go Indian hunting and offered bounties of $100 for an Indian man's scalp, $50 for a woman's scalp, and $25 for the scalps of children under ten years of age, provided that "each scalp shall have the curl of the head" (1980:44).

On May 12, 1866, a copy of this letter, verbatim, was ran in the Idaho Statesman (Madsen 1980:56). On July 29, 1867, a editor for the Idaho Statesman was of the opinion:

> ...that the military should continue killing Indians 'until the last Indian in the Territories was either on his reservation or enriched the sagebrush with his decaying carcass.' ...if the Indians refused to move there, 'they will be killed or put on the reservation by force, and certainly shot if they don't stay there.' Furthermore, the editor continues, 'The idea that the Indians have any right to the soil is ridiculous. ...They have no more rights to the soil of the Territories of the United States than wolves or coyotes...' (Madsen 1980:51).

On October 6, 1867, a letter to the editor was printed in the Idaho Statesman:

> This would be our plan of establishing friendship upon an eternal basis with our Indians: Let all the hostile bands of Idaho Territory be called in (they will not be caught in any other manner) to attend a grand treaty; plenty of blankets and nice little trinkets distributed among them; plenty of

> grub on hand; have a real jolly time with them; then just before the big feast put strychnine in their meat and poison to death the last mother's son of them (Corliss 1993:44).

Madsen (1980:56) gives another example of White hostilities towards the Indian by citing an article in the *Owyhee Avalanche,* suggesting that smallpox-inflected blankets be distributed among the local Natives. The examples given above of the hostilities toward Indians, in general, escalated in the next two decades to include a majority of the white population (Madsen 1980:44-45).

At this time, skirmishes and attacks on both Indians and whites occurred throughout the region (e.g., Corliss 1993; Madsen 1980, 1985, 1986; Ontko 1997). Open hostilities toward the white intruders came to a head, with the unofficial "Snake War" of 1866 to 1868 (Madsen 1955, 1967, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1986; Ontko 1997; Corliss 1993:40-48). Unofficial because of the irregularity in battle and relatively small group size, the Snake War involved a number of "predatory" bands with specific named headmen or leaders directing their actions and activities (e.g., Egan, Ochoco, Otiz, Paddy Cap, Paulina, Pocatello, Winnemucca). The underlying cause of this war was the great influx of the non-Indian population during the 1860s (Anonymous 1969; Beal and Wells 1959; Fisher 1938).

The late-1860s marks the establishment of stagecoach and telegraph, vigilant committees (e.g., Boise, 1865; Idaho City, 1865; Payette, 1864) were formed, David W. Ballard was appointed Governor of the Territory, and the configuration of Idaho's boundaries were delineated in its present form. With mining came the need for good, reliable transportation for gold, silver, and precious gems and minerals that were excavated in the Idaho Territory (Beal and Wells 1959; Brosnan 1935; Wells 1974). In the 1860s to the middle 1900s, navigation of the Snake River from Lewiston to Boise was basically by raft, steamboat, diesel, and outboards (Carrey et al. 1979; Wells 1957, 1961, 1983). In the first part of this navigation history, detailed ethnographic information is non-existent. What information that is available is so general and cursory that it is insignificant.

In 1868, the Fort Hall Indian Reservation was established and occupation by Boise and Bruneau Shoshone and Bannock occurred in March, 1869 (Madsen 1980:48-69). But, later this same year, between June and December, small groups of Bruneau and Boise Shoshone returned to southwestern Idaho and wandered the streets of Boise. During the next decade (1869-1879), Fort Hall failed

as a reservation, as foodstuffs, clothing, and, most importantly, funding was lacking or late in coming. Throughout the 1870s, things went from bad to worse at Fort Hall, and led to a number of Indian wars against the whites (i.e., Bannock War of 1878, Sheepeater War of 1879, and the Nez Perce War of 1877) (Madsen 1980:83-88; Neitzel 128-129; Josephy 1965:437-613).

To the north, the non-treaty Nez Perce refused to be permanently relocated on the Nez Perce reservation and kept to their own territories, west in Oregon and south in Idaho (e.g., Beal 1963; Brown 1967; Fee 1956; Glassley 1972; Laughy 1993; Haines 1955; Howard 1881, 1907, 1908; Lavender 1992; McBeth 1908; McWhorter 1940, 1952; Slickpoo and Walker 1973). Throughout the 1860s, the Wallowa Valley was kept in the possession of the Nez Perce and out of the control of the Whites. In August, 1871, Old Joseph died and the control of his band was transferred to his son, Young Joseph, or Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekht. Young Joseph was 29 years old in 1869, having been born in a cave in 1840. By the early-1870s, settlers from Grande Ronde valley drove cattle into Wallowa Valley. An executive order issued by Grant in 1873 set up a reservation in the Wallowa, but was formally rescinded by June, 1875. In the spring of 1875, General Oliver Otis Howard met, for the first time, Young Joseph at the Umatilla Reservation. Joseph, along with other non-treaty headmen (e.g., Looking Glass, Eagle from the Light, Big Thunder, White Bird, and Toohoolhoolzote [T-whil-who-tzoot]), had a number of meetings over the next two years with Howard, Indian Agent Monteith, and the Treaty-Nez Perce headed by Lawyer, regarding to the removal of the roving bands of non-treaty Nez Perce to the Nez Perce reservation in Idaho (Lapwai) (Josephy 1965:457-493; Laughy 1993:232). On May 14th, 1877, Howard ordered the non-treaty Nez Perce to report to the Nez Perce reservation for permanent relocation. On or around June 1st, 1877, Joseph's band crossed the Snake River upstream from the confluence of the Salmon River and within the parameters of the study area (Josephy 1965:437–498).

Josephy describes the circumstances of the crossing and the crossing, itself, in this way:

> In the lower valley of the Imnaha, Joseph's people ... drove their stock over a steep, grassy divide and down to the Snake above the Imnaha's mouth. The river was a raging torrent, carrying the melted snowpacks from its headwaters. The idea that Howard had forced them to cross the rivers at that time of the year, when they were at their highest and

> most dangerous levels, endured as an angry memory among the Indians. Joseph had pleaded with the general to let the band stay in the valley until the fall when the rivers would be lower and more tranquil; but Monteith, remembering perhaps that he had originally asked the Indians to come in before April 1, at a time of year when the rivers would also have been low, and when most of the Indians' livestock would still have been in the canyons where the Nez Perce could have rounded them up more easily, had wanted no further delays. Any postponement, he had warned Howard, would look like a victory for Joseph and make him more difficult to handle.
>
> Several of the younger Indians, prodding their horses into the swirling current of the Snake, tested it and managed to get across. Gradually, more of the band followed them, making rafts and bullboats out of buffalo robes, and piling children and old people on top of the baggage. Three or four ponies, guided by riders and swimmers, towed each of the tossing craft across the torrent, while the passengers held on fearfully. Around them, the women and younger men clung to the backs of struggling mounts, urging them on toward the opposite shore. When the herds of livestock were driven into the turbulent water, eddies and high waves caught many of the riderless animals and swept them off downstream. For two days the struggle continued. The tumultuous river scattered people, possessions, and animals for thousand of yards along the Idaho bank. The noise of the river, roaring across rapids in the canyon, combined with the cries of the children, the shouts of horsemen, the bawling of cattle. Eventually, all of the people were across safely, but many of their possession had gone whirling off in the current, and a large part of their herd of horses and cattle perished.
>
> The band members rested for a while on the Idaho bank, collecting their goods and letting their animals graze (1965:496-497).

On June 2, Joseph met with all the non-treaty Nez Perce at Tolo Lake near Grangeville, Idaho (Josephy 1965:498). The days after their meeting at Tolo Lake, warriors from White Bird's band killed Richard Devine, who "had been guilty of brutal conduct to Indians" in his Slate Creek home (Josephy 1965:500-501). The killings continued for at least two more days and with that the "Nez Perce War of 1877" started (Josephy 1965:503-504). The non-

treaty Nez Perce left Idaho with about 750 men, women, and children, traveled 1,700 miles and battled 2,000 troops in just over five months. In early-October, 1877, 418 Nez Perce people (87 men, 184 women, and 147 children) surrendered to General Howard's army (Josephy 1965:612-612).

> The crossing of the Snake River by Chief Joseph's band of Nez Perce in early-June, upstream of the mouth of the Imnaha River, is significant (Chalfant and Ray 1974; Josephy 1983). Taking two days to cross, the fording of the Snake River marks the beginning of a 1,700 mile journey to escape prosecution by the army.

Of the leaders of the non-treaty Nez Perce (i.e., Joseph, Looking Glass, Eagle from the Light, Big Thunder, White Bird, and Toohoolhoolzote [T-whil-who-tzoot]), both Toohoolhoolzote's band and Eagle From the Light's band have relevance for this project. Both bands resided in the lower reaches of the study area. Toohoolhoolzote's band occupied the land on both sides of the lower Snake River and Eagle From the Light's band, while not in the study area itself, had a close familial relationship with the Sheepeaters' band of Shoshone in the Weiser Valley (Corliss 1990; Josephy 1965; Neitzel 1998). White Bird's band occupied the lower Salmon River area and may have relevance for this project also (Figure 16).

In 1877, the Western Shoshone Reserve was established by presidential execution order and occupation began in 1879 with approximately 300 members of the *Tosa wihi* or White Knife band of Western or Nevada Shoshone being relocated from the Carlin Farms Reservation in Carlin, Nevada (Crum 1994:43-44; McKinney 1983:49-55). At the same time, Fort Hall continued to suffer from a general lack of funding and other essential goods for the survival of the Indian community forced to relocate there (e.g.,Bruneau and Boise Shoshone, Bannock's from southwest Idaho, southeast Oregon, and the Fort Hall Shoshone and Bannock) (Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986). These terrible conditions were exasperated by the destruction of the camas prairie in central southern Idaho (McKinney 1983:58).

With the signing of various treaties in 1863, the Shoshone-Bannock populations were promised free use of the prairie for collecting camas and other root crops (McKinney 1983:58). Due to a clerical error, maps of this period called the prairie "Kansas" instead of "Camas" and white settlers and ranchers were using the all-important prairie for grazing (Brimlow 1938:43-45; Glassley

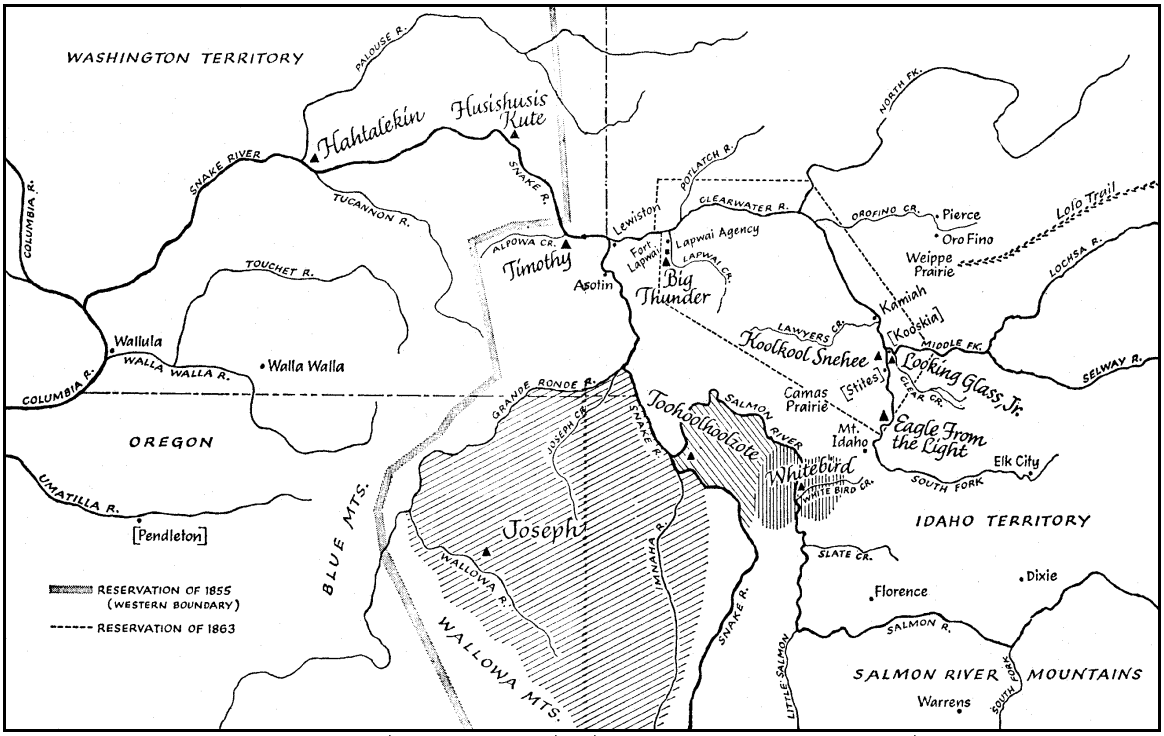

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Figure 11: Territories occupied by Nez Perce bands (Josephy 1965:390-391).

1972:225-227; Madsen 1980:65-89; McKinney 1983:58). In the 1870s, ranchers grazed hogs, cattle, and horses on the prairie and the livestock destroyed the camas bulbs and other root crops. Buffalo Horn, who was the leader of General Howard's Bannock scouts during the Nez Perce war led a party of 200 braves on to the prairie during May 30, 1878, while the majority of Shoshone-Bannock population went to or stayed at Fort Hall and considered themselves neutral (Brimlow 1938:74-89; Glassley 1972:227-228). At the camas prairie, Buffalo Hunter's warriors pillaged and razed individual farms and ranches in the area and proceeded south to King Hill on the Snake River. Below Salmon Falls, the King Hill's stage station was robbed and destroyed. They then crossed over the Snake River at Glenn's Ferry where they looted the station, crossed the river, and released the ferry. Troops from the Boise Barrack, under the command Captain Rueben F. Bernard of G Company, First Cavalry, pursued the Bannock south of the Snake River up the Bruneau River. At the same time, 25 volunteers from Silver City, under the command of J.B. Harper, received word the hostile forces were at South Mountain, a mining camp south of Silver City. On June 8, these volunteers met 50 to 60 Bannock warriors and a battle ensued. The Bannock killed two

of Harper's men and left three wounded. In the battle, Buffalo Horn was severely wounded and died two or three days later. With Buffalo Horn dead, the war party picked up Northern Paiute bands as they swept north through eastern Oregon. A number of bands of Northern Paiute (e.g., Chief Egan's Payette Paiutes, Eagle Eye's Weiser Shoshone, Paddy Cap's Band of Paiute, Chief Leggins' Band of Northern Paiute, and individual Umatilla, Cayuse, and Shoshone) joined the war party and Chief Egan assumed leadership. Traveling fast, they went north from the Skeene Mountains through eastern Oregon, gathering in ever larger numbers, looting and killing on their way up to the Umatilla Reservation on the Columbia River in northeast Oregon.

On June 28, 1878, General Howard noted that they had found an Indian camp of approximately 1,500 to 2,000 Indians on the South Fork of the John Day River (Brimlow 1938:129-130). Later reports estimated about 350 to 400 Indians were in the war party. On July 11, Howard ordered the trails between the Salmon and Snake rivers watched for any Indian activities, especially crossing the Snake River into Idaho (Brimlow 1938:145). By July 14, Umatilla scouts, under the leadership of Chief Umapine, had killed and scalped Chief Egan and six other warriors. A number of battles and skirmishes were engaged around the same time. The war party saw the Columbia River and the Umatilla Reservation before reversing their route through eastern Oregon and southern Idaho. Having lost Chief Egan and suffering ever increasing losses, the remainder of the war party crossed southern Idaho into Montana and Wyoming (Brimlow 1938:190-194). By November 1878, most of the remainder of participants in the Bannock War were taken prisoners-of-war and then transferred to reservations or Army camps in the Pacific Northwest (Brimlow 1938:191; Corliss 1990:87-113; Glassley 1972:225-238).

Brimlow's (1938) "The Bannock Indian War of 1878" is one of the most comprehensive studies of its kind. It includes his map of the Bannock trek through southern Idaho and eastern Oregon to the Columbia River (Figure 12). While skirmishes and battles were fought basically to the west of the Hells Canyon area, a number of crossings were made on the Snake River by army personnel and, presumably by the war party (Brimlow 1938:124-161).

By the summer of 1878, a mixed group of Indians raided Indian Valley, between the Payette and Weiser River, and made off with 5 or 6 horses and killed three of the four ranchers pursuing them (Glassley 1972:239-240). By the spring of 1879, a group of

Sheepeaters Indian (Shoshone), reinforced by individual Bannock from the Bannock War, were reported to have killed five Chinese on Loon Creek, about 85 miles northeast of Boise (Corliss 1990:116; Glassley 1972:240; Yeckel 1971:2). On May 1st, General O.O. Howard was authorized to pursue this reinforced group through the mountains of central Idaho. With this confirmation, the Sheepeater Campaign or War began (Yeckel 1971:2; Corliss 1990:116; Glassley 1972:240). Under the leadership of Chiefs Eagle Eye, War Jack, and Chuck, the Sheepeaters were responsible for a number of deaths and depredations among the miners and settlers of the Salmon River area (Corliss 1990:114-128; Glassley 1972:240-247; Yeckel 1971:3-8). In the meanwhile, U.S. military units lost or appeared to lose engagements to their foe, the Sheepeaters. On September 25th, War Jack (*Tamanmo*), surrendered to Lieutenant Farrow. By October 1st, with War Jack's assistance, the last part of Sheepeater group (10 males, 24 female and children) surrendered and, within a week, 17 more Indians surrendered to Farrow. All told, 51 men, women, and children were taken as prisoners (Glassley 1972: Yeckel 1971:247). These prisoners spent their internment at the Vancouver Barracks and Umatilla Agency. In the spring of 1880, they were moved to the Fort Hall reservation (Glassley 1972:247).

Economic depression, encroachment, and disputes with white settlers, prospectors, ranchers, and government delays and postponements were characteristic of the 1870s and 1880s. While the U.S. Assay Office was opened in 1870 at Boise, a series of governors (i.e., Thompson in 1875, Neil in 1880, Irwin in 1883, Dunn in 1884, Stevenson in 1885, and Shoup in 1889) were appointed and dismissed, and railroads were constructed and maintained (Fisher 1938:88-91; Beals and Wells 1959; Brosnan 1935; Madsen 1980:107-142).

In 1824, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Office of Indian Affairs) was created as a separate agency under the War Department. In 1832, Congress established the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. By 1849, both the Office of Indian Affairs and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs were transferred to the newly established Department of the Interior. The Office of Indian Affairs became the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947 (National Archives Trust Fund Board 1998:5; Hill 1981:13-14, 64-65). The Bureau of Indian Affairs and its offspring branch, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had an active role in the contact, intrusion, and, eventually, domination of all Native American groups in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere in the United States. The

establishment of reservations for the Nez Perce, Fort Hall Shoshone-Bannock, and Duck Valley Shoshone-Paiute tribes were the result of the Bureau of Indian Affairs activities and personnel on said reservations.

Assimilation and acculturation attempts proved to be unproductive as circumstances beyond the control of the Indians helped to shift the nature of their life-style and culture. Stationary rather than nomadic, farming and ranching instead of hunting and gathering, and intense social interaction have altered Indian reality and priorities.

From the 1870s to the 1930s, there was a concerted effort to disenfranchise the Shoshone and Paiute groups from their way-of-life, language, and tradition. Through this time, Indian children were schooled and educated away from the reservation, local and tribal traditions banned or outlawed, and religious belief corrupted. Cultural genocide, as a drastic method of assimilation, proved "largely successful" (Crum 1994:51). Tribal and religious leaders were demeaned and their authority diminished, as social, economic, belief, and educational systems were abolished and essentially eliminated. Plural marriage were ridiculed and outlawed, religious symbols, beliefs, activities, and events were corrupted and abused, educational practices shifted priorities and intentions, and traditional economies were eliminated and replaced by farms and ranches.

In the late 1800s, a shift was made from traditional clothing to American dress, naming practices subverted, and appearance and grooming practices made to conform to American standards (Crum 1994:51-52). Religious and traditional healing practices were ridiculed and oppressed, social gatherings were replaced by patriotic holidays, and hunting and gathering was replaced by "small-time" farming and cattle ranching. The Bureau of Indian Affairs' patriarchal air and condescending attitude when dealing with the Indians, was, perhaps, strongest and most rigid for the young. At Duck Valley, for example, the first reservation day school was opened in 1881. By 1883, children traveled to "boarding" schools (e.g., Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Haskell Institute, Kansas; Grand Junction, Colorado; Santa Fe School, New Mexico; Stewart School, Nevada), where school officials forbid the students to use the Native language, return home, or, otherwise, "practice their native ways" (Crum 1994:54).

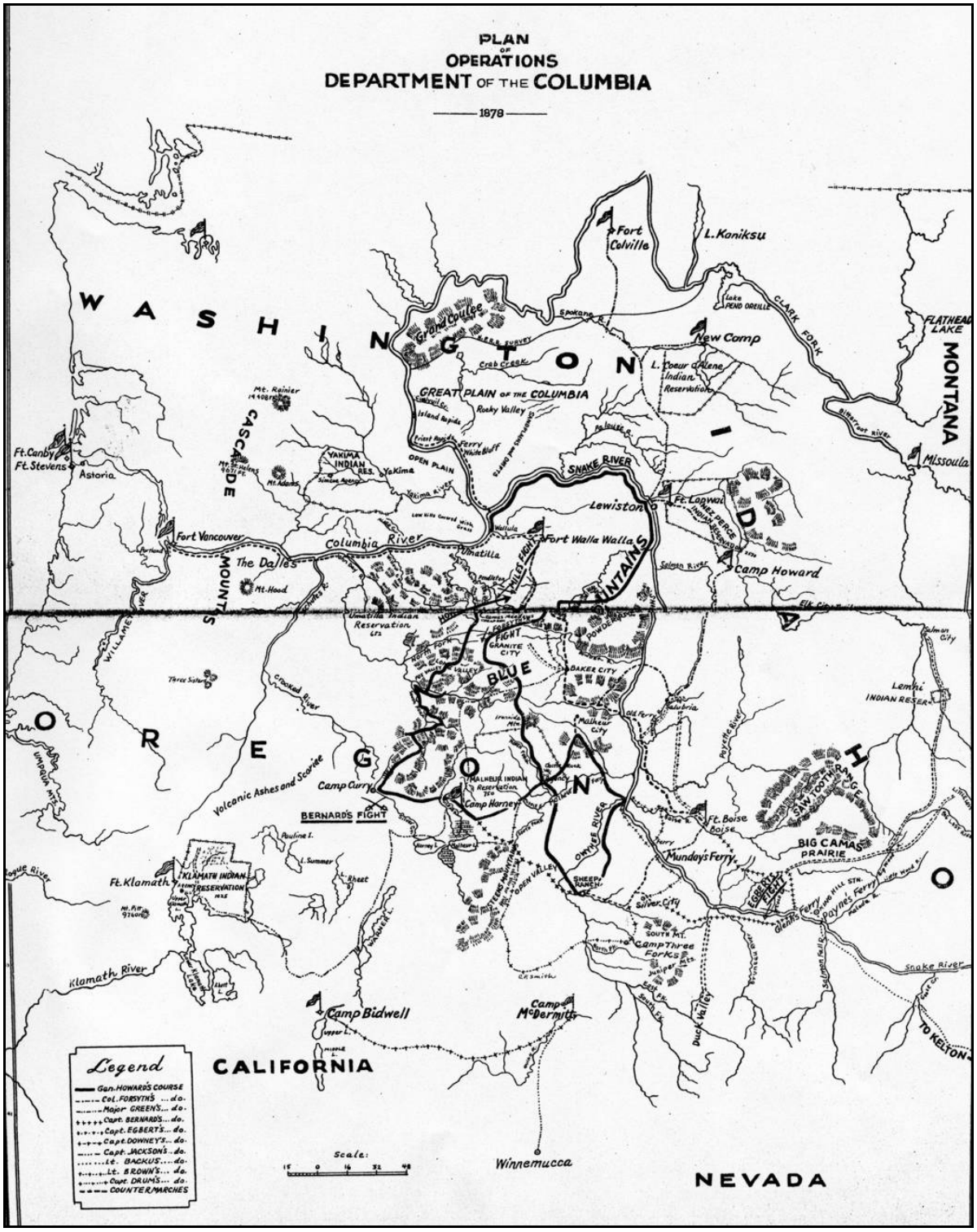

Figure 12: Route of Bannock War Party for 1878 (Brimlow 1938:ix-x).

In 1887, the Congress passed the Dawes Act:

> ...which authorized the subdivision of Indian reservations and the granting of 160-acre allotments to heads of houses. The objective was to eliminate the Indians' communal ownership of reservation land and make them into self-sufficient farmers (Crum 1994:44-45).

Madsen adds to this:

> The underlying purpose of the law was, of course, much broader. Eventually the allotment of lands in severalty would abolish the reservation system, abrogate the Indian tribal organization, and make Indians citizens equal in every respect to white citizens. The government was to hold individual lands in trust for each Indian family for twenty-five years, after which a patent in fee was to be issued. Supplementary laws in 1891 and 1906 allowed an Indian to lease his allotment and receive his patent in fee much sooner by a declaration of competency. Both programs designed to speed the process of breaking up the reservation system.
>
> An additional motive for the passage of the Dawes Act was to return all excess and unallotted lands to the public domain, which could then be thrown open for white settlement (Madsen 1980:223-224).

In addition to the allotment of lands, both the Nez Perce Reservation and the Fort Hall Reservation had been reduced in total size or acreage since their inception in 1859 and 1868, respectively. The Nez Perce Reservation had 7,787,000 acres with the signing of the first treaty of 1855 (1859) and by 1989 the acreage totaled 86,662 (Lahren 1998b:486). The Fort Hall Reservation had 1,566,718 acres when originally established in 1867 and by 1971 had been reduced to 496,314 acres (Clemmer and Stewart 1986:532). Out of the three reservations, Duck Valley has been the only one to increase in size. It did this by executive order, when the government added 69,000 acres to the Idaho's side for the Paddy Cap's Band of Paiute in 1886 (Crum 1994:47).

In 1890, Idaho became the forty-third state to enter the Union, and emigrants began to settle along the Oregon Trail (Fisher 1938:91). The Carey Act of 1894, not adopted until 1901,

was under the "National Irrigation Law" or the "Reclamation Act of 1902; an act which supports irrigation of southern Idaho for all people.

The main task of this historical review is to find direct ethnographic information of the aboriginal populations in Hells Canyon. There is minimal ethnographic data dealing with the various Native groups within the Hells Canyon. Ethnographic information on the Shoshone and Paiute groups, to the south, is nominal. On the other hand, Nez Perce culture, to the north, has more than adequately been described. Yet, ethnographic data for the Hells Canyon area is sparse. Recommendations based on this historical review are address in Chapter 5.

4.0. REPOSITORIES AND COLLECTIONS

4.1. INTENT

In 1999 and 2000, a survey and review of microfilms at the National Archives, Washington, D.C., was conducted for documents relating to the Nez Perce, Shoshone and Northern Paiute, and other tribal populations occupying or visiting the Hells Canyon study area. The primary objective of this study was to find ethnographic information or data about the various tribes in and around this area. While the National Archives has over 300,000 microfilm rolls for Native North American populations (National Archives Trust Fund Board 1998:2), a relatively small percentage, five to ten percent or less, has to do with the Indians of the Northwest states. Out of these, there are a number of microfilm rolls dealing with the Indian populations of eastern Oregon and Washington and western and central Idaho. Within this latter area, data on the Nez Perce, Shoshone, and Northern Paiute groups are modestly limited.

4.2. NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The National Archives has arranged all records into two general headings; The Civilian Agency Records and Military Records. Under these headings, an in-depth review of six sources or record groups was essential for the purposes of this project. Under Civilian Agency Records, is included the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75), Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior (Record Group 48), General

Records of the Department of State (Record Group 59), and Records of the Office of Territories (Record Group 126). Under Military Records there are two record groups; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917 (Record Group 94) and the Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920 (Record Group 393)(see Appendix I). Each of these sources were indexed under a number of categories (e.g., letters, reports, census rolls, narratives, appointment and territorial papers, correspondences, special files, etc.). Each roll has a variety of documents; military operations, orders and directives, expeditions, excursions, skirmishes, briefs, field excursions and maneuvers; Indian superintendent reports, accounts, and correspondences; census data such as Name (Indian and/or English), age, date of birth (if known), sex, and relationship to family head, degree of Indian blood, marital status, place of residence, etc.

4.2.1. Civilian Agency Records

The Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior (Record Group 48), Reports of Inspection of the Field Jurisdictions of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1873-1900, M1070, Rolls 14, 18, 31, 49, 54 describe acculturation effects, problems, and issues, reservation boundaries and land-use patterns, school conditions, agency staff and fiscal records, etc., of the various reservations in the United States. A part of the Commission of Indian Affairs until 1880, inspectors were transferred and had to report to the Secretary of the Interior until 1900. Each roll is a composite of different reservations, ordered alphabetically. For example, Roll 14 gives, in narrative form, the reports for Fort Hall, Fort Lapwai, Fort Lewis, Fort Mohave, etc.

The Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75), Correspondence of the Office of Indian Affairs and Related Records, Letters Received of the Office of Indians Affairs 1824-1881, M234, Oregon Superintendency — Rolls 609 (1856), 610 (1857), 613 (1862-1863), 614 (1864-1865), 625 (1878), 627 (1879) -, Washington Superintendency — Rolls 907 (1853-1857, 1861-1862), 914 (1875-1876), 918 (1878-1879) —, Idaho Superintendency — Rolls 337 (1863-1867), 338 (1868-1869), 339 (1870-1871), 340 (1872) — presents documents (e.g., letters, briefs, accounts, directives, etc.) pertaining to such factors as Indian land-use and subsistence, treaty negotiations, conflicts and depredations, annuity payment and claims, education, health, etc, as well as the administration, operation, and management of the various

aboriginal populations under the Office of Indian Affairs. Under Superintendent Annual Narratives and Statistical from Field Jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1907-1938, M1011 — Roll 48 (Ft. Hall), 97 (Paiute), 159 (Umatilla), 167 (Western Shoshone) — annual and statistical reports, sometimes together sometimes separately, describe the activities and achievements of the jurisdictions arranged by tribes.

The Special Files Of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904 (M574, Rolls 42, 73) includes correspondence and documents concerning claims against the Indian Service in Oregon and Washington by Commissioner C.H. Mott between 1858-1859 (Roll 42) as well as claims for legal services of two attorneys for the Shoshone, Bannock, and Sheep-eaters of south-central Idaho and a number of Nez Perce men attempting to claim services between 1855-1856 and 1879-1883 (Roll 73). In both cases, these two rolls contain claims against either Whites and Indians at a number of reservations or tribes throughout the United States (e.g., Miami, Seminole, Choctaw, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Pine Ridge, etc.).

Within the General Records of the Department of State (Record Group 59), State Department Territorial Papers, three territories, Idaho, 1863-1872, M445, and Oregon, 1848-1858, M419, had one microfilm roll apiece, while Washington Territory, 1854-1872, M26, had 2 rolls. Basic information in these records include reports, correspondence, proceedings, letters, etc. The Records of the Idaho Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1863-1870 (M832, Rolls 1, 2, 3) contains correspondence (e.g., letters, documents, brief reports, etc.) related to the maintenance and support of the Nez Perce and Fort Hall Agencies in Idaho. Records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1853-1874 (M5, Rolls 19, 20, 21) includes correspondence written by Indian agency employees concerning the Yakima, Colville, Nez Perce, and Umatilla Agencies between 1854 and 1874. The Reports of Inspection of the Field Jurisdictions of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1873-1900 (M1070, Rolls 1, 14, 18, 20, 31, 54, 55, 59) consists of reports prepared by inspectors from five geographical divisions in the United States. The records of the Fort Hall Agency (Rolls 13, 14), Grand Ronde Agency (Roll 18), Nez Perce Agency (Roll 31), Umatilla Agency (Rolls 54, 55), and the Yakima Agency (Roll 59) were reviewed for relevant material to this project. In the Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940 (M595, Rolls 138, 145, 148, 616, 638), census material from the Fort Hall (Shoshone-Bannock Indians), Fort Lapwai (Nez Perce Indians), Umatilla (Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla Indians), and Warm

Springs (Warm Springs, John Day, Paiute, Tenino, and Wasco Indians) Reservations were examined. Name (Indian and/or English), age, date of birth (if known), sex, and relationship to family head, degree of Indian blood, marital status, place of residence, etc. were delineated.

4.2.2. Military Records

The Military Records include, Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General M666, Rolls 271, 336-340, 366, 377-379, 400, M689, Rolls 56, 663). Microfilm rolls 336-340 deal with the Nez Perce war and their journey through Idaho and Montana during the years 1877 and 1878. Rolls 336 and 337 deals with the actual campaign, military operations, and field excursions and maneuvers along the 1,600-mile route that Chief Joseph took through Montana. Roll 339 and 340, for example, deals with the Nez Perce prisoners after their surrender in the British territory (Canada) and their journey to Kansas where they were imprisoned at Fort Lincoln and Leavenworth. The correspondence dated from August, 1877, to April, 1878 includes specific correspondence about funds for the Nez Perce at Leavenworth, estimates on funds required, receipts for hospital supplies, recommendations that the Nez Perce be sent to Florida, etc. In addition, Rolls 271 and 400 contain correspondence addressing claims of Nez Perce and white compensation at the time of the Nez Perce war of 1877. A reference to the Weyser (Weiser) River in a letter written on June 18th, 1877, from John B. Monteita to J.G. Smith, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, reports the death of twenty nine settlers, the subsequent killing of four Nez Perce “braves,” and the supposed route taken through the Salmon River country and Weyser River. All information in the various rolls either deal with the area north of the Salmon/Snake River confluence and the route over Lolo Pass or the specific military operations leading to the capture of Chief Joseph and his followers.

The same applies to the record on the Bannock War of 1878 (Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General M666, Rolls 377-379). The vast majority of correspondence dated from the Fall of 1877 to the Winter of 1878/1879 concentrate on military expeditions or operations in pursuit of Buffalo Horn and a band of Bannock/Shoshone warriors. Buffalo Horn gathered Indians from several reservations in eastern Oregon (Burns, Malheur, Warm Springs) and several distinct Indian groups (Klamath, Umatilla, Paiute, and Shoshone).

Under the Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, 1871-1880, M666: Rolls 95, 427, 522; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, 1881-1889 M689: Rolls 51, 567, 569, 663; Records of U.S. Army Continental Command, 1821-1920 M1491: Roll 5; Records of the Office of Territories M191: Rolls 1, 2, 3; M189: 1, 2, 3, 4; Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior M693: Rolls 13, 14, 15, 17, 18; M814: Rolls 8, 9, 10, are data specifically related to the various Indian wars in the region (e.g., Yakima, Sheep-eaters, Rogue River, Nez Perce, and Bannock wars).

The Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, 1871-1880, M666, Rolls 95, 427, 522, deal with three general areas and peoples in and around the project area. Roll 95 contains correspondence, documents, orders, etc., relating to Chief Ocheo, a band of Paiute occupying east-central Oregon and their refusal to return to Yainax, south-central Oregon, between 1872-1875. Roll 427 details correspondence associated with the arrest and imprisonment of Chief Moses and the attempted relocation of his band to the Yakima reservation (Washington State) between 1878 and 1879. Roll 522 pertains to documents, reports, and directives on the Sheep-eaters War that occurred between May and August, 1879. During this period, Colonel Bernard, Colonel Wheaton, and First Lieutenant Calley, 2nd Infantry, from Camp Howard, were on the South Fork of the Salmon River engaging in skirmishes with the Sheep-eater Indians of Central Idaho. In a letter dated October 9, 1879, H. Crosby stated that the unconditional surrender of 39 Sheep-eater Indians had occurred. Another letter deals with the 51 Sheep-eater Indians as prisoners-of-war.

The Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, 1881-1889, M689, Rolls 51, 567, 569, 663, address four areas and the peoples around the study area. Roll 51 consists of correspondence and documents detailing the intrusion of miners and ranchers on Chief Moses reservation (Colville) between September, 1881, and February of 1884. Roll 567 contains documents, accounts, and enclosures regarding the Rogue River War, 1855-1856. Filed by Lt. Colonel R.C. Buchaman are 42 documents relating to the death of May Wagone in the Rogue River valley and to the operations during the Rogue River War. Roll 569 involves the individual accounts of volunteers, 40 years after the fact, in Captain Lawrence Hall's company of Oregon Volunteers in the Cayuse Indian War of 1848. Staged in Oregon, Washington, and northern Idaho, these accounts document the excursions and skirmishes of the war. A map of the territory

(eastern Oregon, southern Washington, and northern Idaho) indicates that the main operations of the war were north and east of the Hells Canyon area. Roll 663 consists of correspondence relating to volunteers involved in the Nez Perce War of 1877. Documents and reports of Washington and Idaho volunteers detail their service. In addition, a review of the Records of U.S. Army Continental Command, 1821-1920 M1491: Rolls 5; Records of the Office of Territories M191: Rolls 1, 2, 3; M189: 1, 2, 3, 4; Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior M693: Rolls 13, 14, 15, 17, 18; M814: Rolls 8, 9, 10. M1491, Roll 5 included documents pertaining to the Nez Perce War and the Sioux Campaign. M191, Rolls 1, 2, 3, and M189, Rolls 1,2,3, 4 consist of documents and letters of the Idaho and Washington Territories between 1854 and 1902. M693, Rolls 13 and 14 (Ft. Hall Indian Agency), 15 (Lemhi Indian Agency), and 17 and 18 (Nez Perce Indian Agency) as well as Roll 8 (Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs), 9 (Malheur Indian Agency and Umatilla Agency), and 10 (Warms Spring Indian Agency) include documents, correspondence, and directives pertaining to the conduct and decisions of these various agencies.

Appendix A presents, in summary form, the microfilm rolls surveyed and reviewed for this project. Here again, ethnographic materials or data are scant. The above microfilms have no detailed data of an ethnographic nature pertaining to the Hells Canyon study area. While there is ample evidence of aboriginal occupation to the north, south, east, and west of the study area, the ethnographic data on the Hells Canyon area is essentially non-existent. What ethnographic information is available (e.g., encampments, transportation routes, meetings, etc.) is so general as to have little value for an assessment of the traditional cultural properties and resources of the Hells Canyon area.

4.2.3. War of the Rebellion

A second avenue of research was the selective review of the 128 volume set of the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion" (OR). This set is one of the most extensive collection of printed materials for one specific period of time — 1861 to 1865 — dealing with a given subject, the Civil War. Volume 50 deals with the documents associated with the Pacific Theater and the, then, on-going depredations, claims, and tragedies as they applied to both Indian and White, alike. Volume 50 includes correspondence between various Army officers, Army personal, and individuals

with federal, territorial, or state agencies or departments.

Since the Pacific Theater was so temporally limited, from July 1, 1862 to June 30, 1865, the compilation of Civil War documents provide an excellent opportunity to examine and assess any ethnographic information on the aboriginal populations of eastern Oregon and Washington as well as Idaho. That this information is overtly biased, ethnocentric, paternalistic, and somewhat genocidal may be assumed. This said, the Pacific Theater documents hold a detailed account of the various Indian "problems" and the Army "responses" to them. (In addition, the Army had to contend with its own affairs, Confederate sympathizers, renegade Whites, miners, Oregon Trail emigrants, and local settlers.) Detailed ethnographic data on Native populations are nominal, perfunctory, and mostly relate to the operations of punishments, skirmishes, battles, or annihilations. Documents concerning the Nez Perce and the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups in Idaho and eastern Oregon are numerous, but contain little information of an ethnographic nature.

Most of the relevant documents (e.g., correspondences, reports, briefings, orders, etc.) of the War of the Rebellion, Pacific Theatre, are concerned with the Snake (Shoshone, Paiute and Bannock), Nez Perce, and other assorted Indian groups (e.g., Cayuse, Umatilla, Kamath, Modoc, etc.) and their meetings and/or confrontations with the U.S. Army. Among these documents, the most relevant correspondence concerns the depredations of the Snake Indians in southern Idaho and eastern Oregon. In a letter to W.P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., from J.W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, he states:

> The word Snake appears to be a general term applied to several bands or tribes of Indians quite distinct in language and characteristics and inhabiting different tracts of country, but so connected by relationships (having intermarried with each others for long periods), and by long continued friendly intercourse, that they are usually regarded by whites and neighboring Indian tribes as one people. These bands are the Winnas, Bannocks, Shoshones, Modocs, and Klamaths, and probably several others. They own and inhabit the country lying south and southeast of the lands purchased by the confederated tribes and bands in Middle Oregon — Walla Wallas, Cay-uses, and Umatilla, and the Nez Perce, by treaties... (Huntington 1863:468-469).

As a prelude to the actual Snake War (1866-1868), these documents provide a glimpse into the circumstances immediately prior to the Civil War.

> One of the Army's first priorities was to establish a series of military posts (forts or camps) to police and protect the Whites and Indians of western Idaho, eastern Oregon and eastern Washington. A series of forts (e.g., Boise, Curry, Hall, Harney, Lapwai, Logan, Lyon, C.F. Smith, etc.) and camps (e.g., Bruneau, Camas Prairie, Goose Creek, Malheur River, Owyhee, Salmon Falls Creek, etc.) were built at strategic points in Idaho and Oregon, in 1862 and 1863.

Like all forts in the region, Fort Boise and Fort Lapwai were erected to provide basic protection, security, and rest for the emigrants and local settlers as well as the rush of gold and silver miners swarming into the territory. Correspondence in the War of the Rebellion series indicates that both forts figure significantly in the writings of the day (e.g., Alvord 1862a:172-174, 1862b:176-179, 1862c:206-209, 1862d:235, 1863a:285-288; Pickering 1862a:189-190, 1863b:484-485, 1863c:579-580, 1863d:674-675; Wright 1862a:194-195, 1862b:209, 1862c:210-211, 1862d:259-261, 1863a:290-291). Due to administrative issues, the garrison at both forts were manned by the same military officers (e.g., Captain George Currey, Lieutenant-Colonel English, Major P. Lugenbeel, Colonel R.F. Muary, Major J.S. Rinerson, Colonel Steinberger, etc.) of the First Oregon Cavalry Volunteer and the First Washington Volunteer Infantry. These officers generally reported to Fort Walla Walla and Fort Vancouver for orders under the command of Brigadier-General Benjamin Alvord.

During the Civil War, Fort Boise, like all substantial military posts of the Pacific Northwest, underwent transformations from the original purpose of fur trapping and trading in 1834 to total abandonment by 1859 (Neitzel 1998:86). By 1860, the Congress approved the building of Fort Boise, but immediately withdrew the plan due to the Civil War. In correspondence from Brigadier-General G. Wright and Brigadier-General Benjamin Alvord, dating from November, 1862 to August, 1863, the location and the manning of Fort Boise were discussed and authorization sought (e.g., Alvord 1862a:172-174, 1862b:176-179, 1862d:194-195, 1862e:206-209, 1862f:235, 1863a::285-288; Wright 1862a::194-195, 1862b:209, 1862c:210-211, 1862d:259-261, 1863a:290-291, 1863b:641-642). Fort Boise was authorized on January 14, 1863 (Halleck 1863:287; Neitzel 1998:86-87).

Fort Lapwai was established in October, 1862 on the confluence of the Clearwater and Snake Rivers (Alvord 1862f). Lying off the main route of the Oregon Trail, Fort Lapwai was established for the protection of both Native and non-Native persons. Due to the Nez Perce's exulted status and role in the opening of the Northwest (Alvord 1862c, 1862e), the Army's main responsibility was to protect the Nez Perce, as a people, from White trespass, outrage, and whiskey-selling (Alvord 1862b, 1862e, 1863b). At the same time, however, the Army was pressured by the White community to restrict, police, and control tribal activities and events (Huntington 1863; Pickering 1862a, 1863b, 1863c, 1863d). The main source of trouble for the Nez Perce was the rush of miners on reservation lands. Alvord (1862e:206) reports that by the 7th of July, 1862, "there were about 15,000 people, mostly gold miners, on the Nez Perce reservation." Huntington (1863:469) having made the distinction between emigrant and miner, writes that the miners "probably exceed 10,000 men" in the Snake region of the states of Idaho and Oregon.

> In a letter to Brigadier-General L. Thomas, Adjutant-General, Washington, D.C., from Commanding Brigadier-General George Wright, U.S. Army Headquarters Department of the Pacific, San Francisco, dated December 23, 1862, Wright asks for "authority on which to establish a military post at or near Fort Boise, on the Snake River" in light of the "wandering bands of Indians which infest that section" and the emigrants and miners invading Idaho (Wright 1862d:259-261). Wright also enclosed an article of the navigation of Hells Canyon as an attachment and notes that if navigation was successful it could provide a major route to the Boise and possibly Salmon Falls. The article, first published in Lewiston's first newspaper, "Golden Age," was also published in "Hell's Canyon: Seeing Idaho Through A Scrap Book" (Bailey 1943:56-57). It appears also as an attachment in the War of the Rebellion series and reads as follows:
>
> Our reader will remember that in our issue of October 24 we alluded to the navigation of Snake River, and furnished the outlines of the explorers who were sent up to Boise to examine the river. Through the kindness of Captain Ankeney we are able to give a much more extended account of the trip. The party consisted of three reliable men, Charles Clifford, Washington Murray, and Joseph Denver and started from Lewiston under the auspices of Capt. A.P. Ankeney, on the 20th of September. They followed the

meanderings of Snake to the mouth of the Grande Ronde, and found the distance to be twenty-seven miles, due south. It is an open river, with no obstructions. From Grande Ronde they proceeded to intersect the old emigrant road, and reached it at or near its crossing at Powder River; a short distance farther on diverged towards Snake River, and followed it up to the Boise. For several miles the river runs through deep canons or mountain gorges, and has the appearance of being very deep, and shows by the banks that during certain seasons of the year it rises to the height of sixty feet. The party met several Indians, but none that were unfriendly. A great similarity exists in the whole country between Fort Boise and Lewiston, as does between Lewiston and where the Snake empties into the Columbia. Sometimes bold, rocky sides, then beautiful rolling table-lands, interspersed with trees and prairie lands. The party passed through some of the most beautiful farming land in the world; deep, rich, dark loam, well watered and well timbered, with gold in all the ravines and gulches for the miner, and soil to provide him with the necessities of life.

After their arrival at Fort Boise they proceeded to construct a boat, or more properly a raft, to navigate the river with. In a few days they were rested and prepared, having taken the precaution to lash their provisions on to the raft, for the hazardous journey, bid adieu to Fort Boise, and came dashing, foaming, down the wild, tortuous Snake. The first canon of note was twelve miles in length, and here the banks gave indications of the water rising sixty or seventy feet. After this came an open space of eight miles, in which you could observe for a long distance the glorious open country. The weather was delightful, and the scenery inviting. The next canon or gorge was fourteen miles in length, and penetrated the two ridges of the Blue Mountains. The course seemed to be north, showing that Snake River runs north and south. After passing this canon there came an open space, and alternatively changing, but with no perceptible difference. About sixty miles brought them down to the mouth of Salmon River, making, as they reckon, inside of 100 miles from Fort Boise to Salmon. From Salmon to Lewiston is inside of forty miles, so that the entire distance from this city to Fort Boise is only 135 miles. They found nothing in the river to impede navigation, whatever, and pronounced it feasible at any season of the year unless it be by ice. The examination of the river has resulted in establishing the fact that Snake

> is navigable for steamers, and will be much safer to travel than the river is from Lewiston to the mouth of the Snake. This is equally as gratifying to the projector of the scheme as it is to the citizens of Lewiston and the country at large. A new route will now be opened for steam, the results of which cannot now be foretold. We shall penetrate Nevada and Utah Territories by steam, as it is well known that it is only ninety miles from Fort Boise to Salmon Falls on Snake River. Salmon Falls is within 250 miles of Salt Lake City. A new avenue of trade will then be opened, and those who have risked their fortune and periled their lives are justly entitled to the gratitude of the people, and a rich reward shall be their portion. But a few more suns will rise and set before the shrill whistle of the steamer will reverberate along the banks of this noble river, and its echo will be heard for ages yet to come through the ravines, gorges and canons, and on the mountain tops in our golden land, as a symbol of ambition, perseverance, and goaheadativeness (Wright 1862d:259-261).

In this article describing the navigation of Hells Canyon from Boise to Lewiston, one reference was made concerning Indians met on the way, "but none that were unfriendly" (Wright 1862d:260-261). Other than this reference, nothing more was said about the aboriginal groups that occupied the Hells Canyon area.

4.2.4. U.S. Congressional Serial Set

Other avenues of inquiry were explored at the National Archives in search of ethnographic data. The National Archives is also a repository for the U.S. Congressional Serial Set as described by Ross (1994). The Serial Set was published in conjunction with nineteenth century western survey expeditions. John C. Fremont's Rocky Mountains expedition (Senate doc 243(27-3) 416), the explorations and survey of the Pacific Railroad (Senate exdoc. 78(32-2) 758-768 and House exdoc. 91(33-2) 791-801), and the reports, dated 1864-1886, of the government directors of the Union Pacific Railroad (Senate exdoc. 95(49-1) 2336) were selectively surveyed and reviewed for ethnographic information concerning the study area; nothing but the most superficial information was gleaned from the documents.

4.2.5. Homestead Entry Surveys

A final line of inquiry was the Bureau of Land Management's (BLM) "Homestead Entry Survey" records for the Hells Canyon area. These records document the individual surveys conducted by BLM survey teams from the 1870s through the 1930s. The survey entries were made on the basis of a township and range classification that identifies the parcel to township and range coordinators and documents outstanding features (e.g., roads, trails, houses, islands, etc.). An examination of selected volumes (e.g., 124, 133, 146, 153, 183) were surveyed and reviewed for ethnographic data pertaining to the Hells Canyon area. Unfortunately, a search of these volumes yielded no ethnographic information whatsoever.

4.3. SUMMARY

An exhaustive survey of the above collections yielded only cursory data of an ethnographic nature. So superficial was this information that such things as group identification, composition, or size are rarely mentioned or hinted at. In the one report on the navigation of Hells Canyon, there is but a single reference to several friendly Indians (Wright 1862d:259-261). There are references to Snake groups (i.e., Northern Shoshone, Northern Paiute-Bannock) or the Nez Perce tribe, but little if anything on the ethnography of these peoples of the Hells Canyon area is included in these sources.

5.0. EVALUATION AND ASSESSMENT

5.1. INTENT

The foregoing chapters of this report provide a survey and review of the facts and assertions scholars have made for the Indians of the Hells Canyon study area in central Idaho. This required a regional approach involving two culture areas and two different cultures (Shoshone and Northern Paiute; Nez Perce). As has been shown, the anthropological literature concerning the region is minimal, and for the study area, it is extremely meager and limited in content and context. This being the case, information about the Shoshone and Paiute groups and Nez Perce

cultural areas of historical or sacred significance in and around the study area is extremely limited. In fact, there are no specific delineations of areas of historical or sacred significance in or near the study area in the ethnographic literature. Most of what is available is in the context of prehistoric archaeology (see the Archaeological Report for this area).

5.2. THE NUMIC AND SAHAPTIAN CULTURES

The ethnographic information by which to assess specific cultural areas of significance is non-existent. Even at a broad level of generalization, significant areas are known only by implication and innuendo. General settlement systems have been identified for the Nez Perce, but have not been developed for the Shoshone and Paiute. Aside from basic statements concerning residential modes and settlement patterns, no substantial work has been done. Schwede (1966, 1970), Rice et al. (1981), Thompson (1993), and Sappington et al. (1995) conducted research on various aspects of Nez Perce settlement system (e.g., modes and patterns) and have delineated settlement types, schemes, and strategies.

Shoshone and Northern Paiute subsistence activities and patterns have been generally understood for southwest Idaho. Steward (1938a, 1941, 1943), Liljeblad (1957, 1972), Murphy and Murphy (1960, 1986), and Corliss (1990) have all given adequate to good treatment on the subject. Various activities (e.g., fishing sites, gathering beds (i.e., camas, cattails), hunting stations, natural resource collecting areas, etc.) may be important in determining significant sites in the study area. Aside from the more general comments and descriptions of early scholars (e.g,, Spinden 1908; Curtis 1911), Nez Perce subsistence systems have been sparsely studied (i.e., Harbinger 1964; Scrimsher 1967). Data on ethnobotany, ethnozoology, and the natural resource base, as well as the Native classifications that underlie these two ethnosciences, are minimal.

The material or technological aspects of Shoshone and Northern Paiute culture and Nez Perce cultures has been adequately reported. Shoshone and Paiute material culture is known primarily through Steward's (1941, cf., 1938a) culture element list of the Snake River Shoshone. General descriptions of material culture for southern Idaho are found in the ethnological literature (e.g., Clemmer et al. 1999; Corliss 1990;

Lowie 1909; Liljeblad 1957, 1972; Murphy and Murphy 1960, 1986; Myers 1996c, 1999). Needless to say, the most substantial research has been recorded within a prehistoric context in various publications by archaeologists (e.g., Butler 1962, 1965, 1973, 1978, 1981, 1986; Green 1982; Holmer 1986, 1990, 1994; Meatte 1989; Pavesic 1971, 1979, 1985, 1986; Pavesic et al. 1963, 1964; Plew 1979, 1982, 1983, 1988, 1994, 1996; Swanson 1961, 1965, 1966a, 1966b, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974a, 1974b; etc.). Much of this forms the basis for archaeological recommendations of site significance and the potential of site eligibility for National Register. Walker (1993b:318-232) refers to, but does not elaborate on, some 25 traditional group fishing sites in the Boise-Weiser area. These include traditional weirs (basketry), stone dams, and rock fishwalls. Rock alignments, stone enclosures, walls, deadfalls, as well as pits and traps for hunting have been mentioned (Steward 1941:226-228). Nez Perce material culture has been included in the general ethnographic literature (e.g., Spinden 1908, Curtis 1911, Walker 1966a, 1967a, 1978, 1998c).

Like that for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute, most work has been done in the prehistoric context by various archaeologists (e.g., Chance et al 1987; Draper and Reid 1986; Nesbitt 1968; Pavesic 1971, 1979, 1986; Pavesic et al 1963, 1964; Randolph 1976; Reid 1991; Reid and Gallison 1994, 1995; Rice et al. 1981; Strong et al. 1930; Walker 1966a, 1967a, 1996, 1998c; Warren and Fitzwater 1963; Warren et al. 1968, 1971; cf., Archaeological Report for this project.) The fishing and hunting techniques and methods identified for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute would also be available for the Nez Perce. For both populations, the location and exploitation of natural deposits of obsidian, chert, rhyolite, etc., for projectile points, scrapers, drills, chisels, bifaces, etc., were essential to the functioning of technology. Identification of these deposits have been the purview of archaeologists (e.g., Sappington 1981, Plew and Woods 1981) and other scholars (Dayley 1986; Wells 1980). Timber Butte, southeast of the corridor area, Glass Butte in central Oregon, and the chert (cryptocrystalline) deposits in Owyhee County, Idaho, have been identified, and their geographic locations plotted.

The ethnographic literature for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute and Nez Perce shows disparate descriptions of the various customs, beliefs, values, practices, and traditions of these cultures. General accounts of both cultures are adequately covered (e.g., Curtis 1911; Liljeblad 1957, 1972; Lowie 1909;

Murphy and Murphy 1986; Spinden 1908; Steward 1938a, 1940, 1955, 1970; Stewart 1965; Walker 1978, 1998). Specific research endeavors for both cultures range from good to exceptionable and from occasional to the replete (e.g. Ackerman 1971; Aoki 1966; Corliss 1990; Dayley 1986; Dubois 1938; James 1996; Lundsgaarde 1963, 1967; Marshall 1977; Murphy and Murphy 1960; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943; Steward and Voegelin 1974; Stewart 1937, 1939, 1941, 1966, 1970; Walker 1964, 1966a, 1966b, 1967a, 1967b, 1968, 1969, 1970b, 1980, 1989, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1996; Walker and Matthews 1994). Out of these, only a few deal with the study area specifically (Corliss 1990, Dayley 1986, Murphy and Murphy 1960; Steward 1938a; Wells 1980).

Kinship terminology, classification, interactions, and relationships have been described and explained adequately for the Shoshone and Paiute (e.g., Steward 1936b, 1938a, 1939, 1941; Murphy and Murphy 1986; Shapiro 1986) and more than adequately for the Nez Perce (e.g., Lundsgaarde 1963, 1967; Marshall 1977; Ackerman 1994, 1998). For both populations, social organization is based primarily on kinship. Political organization is based upon "family clusters" for the Shoshone and Paiute (Steward 1937b, 1938a, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1955, 1970; Stewart 1937, 1939, 1941, 1965) and at the "band" level of sociocultural integration for the Nez Perce (Walker 1978:128-131; 1998c:424-425; Anastasio 1972). This political organization cross-cuts or over-lays the basic kinship organization.

Religious customs, beliefs, values, as well as rites, ceremonies, and myths unite and maintain the social and political organization by constructing worldview and cosmology. Shoshone and Paiute religion and religious paraphernalia and activities (e.g., rituals, myths, power, shamanistic practices, healing, witchcraft, sorcery) have been covered only minimally and superficially for southern Idaho (e.g., Liljeblad 1972; Murphy and Murphy 1986; Steward 1955, 1970; Stewart 1944, 1971, 1986). Nez Perce religion, on the other hand, has been comprehensively studied by Walker (1964, 1966b, 1967b, 1968, 1969b, 1970b, 1978, 1980, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1998c; Walker and Matthews 1994) and others (Aoki 1979, 1994b; Aoki and Walker 1989; Boyd 1985; Coale 1958; Kawamura 1995; Olsen 1972, 1979, 1989; Skeels 1954; Sprague 1987; Williams 1967).

5.3. HELLS CANYON HISTORY

An in-depth historical examination of the Hells Canyon area (Chapter 3) provides only a minimum of data that is ethnographically significant. The information is basically descriptive in nature. Although it hints at legitimate ethnographic conclusions, unsubstantiated claims of starvation, group organization and complexity, resource exploitation, etc., need collaboration, clarification, and verification from the anthropological literature or oral history interviews from the Native population. The following section records the ethnographic information from the historical literature survey that is significant for the purpose of this report.

5.3.1. Fur Trappers and Traders (1800-1830)

Euro-American exploration of Hells Canyon began with Lewis and Clark's "Corps of Discovery" expedition between 1804-1806. Although, three people (i.e., Ordway, Frazier, and Wiser) explored the confluence of the Snake and Salmon rivers, they did not travel upstream on the Snake River into Hells Canyon and the study area. In 1810, Astor formed the Pacific Fur Company and employed Wilson Price Hunt and Donald MacKenzie to oversee the overland expedition in 1811. Hunt's trapping party went through the upper regions of Hells Canyon in the early-winter of 1811. From his journal entries, Hunt related a harrowing incident with Mr. Crooks crossing the Snake River. Hunt by-passed most of Hells Canyon, going overland through the Blue Mountains and the Columbia River. Robert Stuart, who traveled by ship with John Astor, journeyed east until he came to the upper reaches of the Hells Canyon area, stopping at Farewell Bend and seeing the Seven Devils Mountain range on the Idaho side. Donald MacKenzie, who first worked for the Americans, later worked for the Hudson's Bay Company starting in 1816. For the first time since Euro-American discovery of Hells Canyon, men from MacKenzie's party successfully navigated the entire Hells Canyon area.

From 1824 to 1830, Peter Skeene Odgen's Hudson's Bay Company party traveled the entire Snake River country, trapping the tributaries of the Snake River (i.e., Owyhee, Malheur, Burnt, Powder, Grande Ronde), but not within the study area. In 1831, Nathaniel J. Wyeth began a five year mission to the Pacific Northwest. He accomplished two expeditions; the first in 1832 and the other in 1834. The first expedition went across the Owyhee and Malheur Rivers and then over the Blue Mountains. On

the second expedition, Wyeth built a trading post at Fort Hall, crossed the Boise River and followed his same route from the 1832 expedition. With Wyeth came the naturalist John Townsend. On the second expedition (1834), Townsend's (1905) journal entries, while mainly descriptive in nature, are some of the best ethnographic notes of this period. The description of the willow net construction and use and his description of the fish drive are brief but undoubtedly accurate. Townsend writes about the Indians' preference to fish the "slues, creeks, &c" as opposed to the "big river" (Snake River). Research among the descendants of Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups in southern Idaho either explicitly or implicitly express this preference for fishing the tributaries (e.g., Bruneau, Owyhee, Payette, Weiser, Mulheur, etc.) instead of the Snake River with its deep waters, currents and under-currents, and its treacherous water falls, cascades, and rapids.

Townsend also refers to the Powder River as a tentative border between the Snake (Shoshone and Paiute groups) and the Nez Perce. This tentative boundary was, for its time (1834), the only clear evidence of territorial delineation between the Plateau and Great Basin culture area. Other scholars have placed the boundary at different places along Hells Canyon at different times during the 19th century (cf., Sappington et al. 1995). Townsend's views on Indian character and lifestyle is another matter, which shows the racial prejudices and bigotry of the time.

For the most part, the fur trappers and traders of this period viewed the Indians with curiosity and exploitive friendliness, as trading partners and potential trappers at first. The Indian, on the other hand, viewed the trappers and traders with friendly curiosity and reserved suspicion. As time elapsed, both the Indian groups and non-Indian groups grew apprehensive about each other. Each citing objections and atrocities, Indian and non-Indian interchange and interaction became more contentious, aggressive, and hostile. By the beginning of the second period (1830s-1860s), Indian assaults were becoming more numerous, while Euro-Americans retaliated with cruel and brutal force.

5.3.2. Explorers, Missionaries, and Emigrants (1830s-1860s)

From around 1830 to the early 1860s, government explorers (Bonneville and Fremont), missionaries (Lee, Munger, Whitman,

Spaulding, etc.), and Oregon Trail emigrants (Winter, Boardman, Minto, etc.), crossed southern Idaho to reach Oregon. Irving's (1961) account of Captain Bonneville's adventures on his journey through the Hells Canyon area gives basic ethnographic information for both the Snake (Shoshone and Northern Paiute) and Lower Nez Perce. Bonneville's (1961) account of an antelope drive has been substantiated by later anthropological research (Steward 1938a, Kelly 1932, Stewart 1943, and Harris 1940).

Bonneville's remarks about the "half-moon" shape of a Digger's camp has not been discussed in the anthropological literature of the Great Basin. Recent ethnographic research indicates that this particular "half-moon" configuration was a constant attribute among certain groups (i.e., Bruneau Shoshone) in the 19th century.

Regardless of the contrast between of the pedestrian Root Diggers and their mounted counterparts, Bonneville (1961:197-218) implies that both groups have a basic similarity in subsistence and settlement. This division between pedestrian and equestrian has been the most distinctive way to separate the Native populations (e.g., Liljeblad 1957, 1970, 1972; Lowie 1909; Murphy and Murphy 1960; Steward 1938a, 1941, 1943; Stewart 1943). Yet, anthropologists assume that this distinction implies a different set of subsistence strategies and settlement patterns for each of the two groups. This incongruence between Bonneville's historical statements and anthropological facts poses an anomaly that should be investigated.

For the Nez Perce, especially the Lower Nez Perce, all of Bonneville's superficial claims about cultural traits, subsistence routines, food resources, and settlement patterns have been independently substantiated by subsequent anthropological research (e.g., Chalfant 1974; Sappington and Carly 1995; Sappington et al. 1995; Schwede 1966; Shawley 1975; Walker 1967a, 1968, 1969).

While informative, Fremont's journals, missionaries accounts, and the Oregon Trail emigrants logs and diaries entries give only a cursory examination of Indian groups along the way to the Pacific Northwest. Fremont's accounts of Shoshone and Paiute lifestyles and cultures are rather poor when compared to Bonneville or Townsend. The hollowness and prejudicial nature of Fremont's comments make it difficult to assess any information on specific cultural traits or features. His interpretations of starvation and cannibalism among the 'Root Diggers' is based upon

his own bigoted assumptions and ethnocentric ideas. Other entries from missionaries and emigrants, alike, seem to suggest that the various groups of southern Idaho were considered as trading partners for salmon. The missionaries were especially guilty of this sort of behavior; their pious attitudes blocked any sense understanding or acceptance of the Indian, his way of life or culture. During this period, Indian and White interaction and interchange witnessed an increase in confrontations and hostilities on both sides.

5.3.3. Military, Miners, and the Indian Commission (1860s-1900s)

From 1860 to 1900, U.S. Army troops, miners and settlers, and Bureau of Indian Affairs representatives were a constant feature of Indian life. Correspondence between Army officers indicate that as miners and settlers came into Idaho and eastern Oregon, confrontations were marked by opened hostilities and extreme prejudice. To all concerned, encounters and confrontations with Indians were met with outrage, disgust, and brutality. Newspaper articles of this period offered ways of dealing with the "Indian problem." Miners and settlers gave rise to vigilante committees and mercenary groups with the sole purpose to eradicate or "solve the Indian problem" once and for all. Officers reports, directives, orders, and briefings suggested that whereas there were opened hostilities toward the Whites, most of the Indian groups encountered were friendly and peaceful. Colonel Maury, commanding the Snake Indian Expedition in the early-1860s, found these situations repeated over and over again. The information contained in these communique have little if any of indepth ethnographic significance. Most of what is there involves reports of excursions into Snake Country or to capture or kill small groups of Shoshone and Paiute. But these skirmishers and excursions were often failed or abandoned as Native groups retreated as their nature was non-violent. In the late-1860s and 1870s, there occurred four major wars among the Shoshone, Northern Paiute, and Nez Perce (i.e., Snake War of 1866-1868; Nez Perce War of 1877; Bannock War of 1878; and Sheepeater War of 1879). Correspondence from Army officers chart a number of maneuvers, skirmishes, and battles for each war. Information on cultural details of Native populations is superficial.

With the signing of various treaties, representatives from the Bureau of Idaho Affairs arrived and Indian reservations were established with the express intention of assimilation and

acculturation of the Native populations. Since the idea was to provide a way of blending into Euro-American culture, the emphasis stressed conformity and acceptance. The Dawes Act of 1887 was to reduce and eventually eliminate the individual reservations. Information from the Bureau of Indian Affairs records demonstrated a general knowledge of the various Indian groups, but are not detailed enough to add to the ethnographic base.

5.4. REPOSITORIES AND COLLECTIONS

At the National Archives, a concerted effort was made to discover any information about the various Indian groups that occupied or visited the Hells Canyon area. An indepth survey and review of select documents of both the Civilian (Record Group 75, 48, 59, 126) and Military (Record Group 94 and 393) records were examined and assessed for ethnographic material. In addition, other avenues of research were also surveyed and reviewed (i.e., War of the Rebellion, U.S. Congressional Serial Set) inside the National Archives as well as outside (BLM's Homestead Entry Surveys). In all cases, the information gathered was so general or cursory as to be incidental to the purpose of this report.

5.5. DISCUSSION

The literature on sacred sites of Native Americans, until recently, has been virtually non-existent. Walker (1991:100-115, 1996:63-68) has written about sacredness in the ethno-geographic context specifically in the Northwest. Modifying Durkheim's (1915:62) definition of sacred and profane, Walker (1996:67) suggests that:

> This classic distinction does not fit Native American conceptions of the sacred in northwestern North America, because the sacred is not viewed as a domain set aside, distinct, and forbidden as Durkheim suggests. Instead, the sacred is an embedded, intrinsic attribute lying behind the external, empirical aspect of all things, but not a domain set aside or forbidden. ... Native Americans of northwestern North America more often attempt through rituals, visions, and dreams to discover embedded sacredness in nature and to locate geographical points that permit direct access to it in order to experience it on a personal level.

He (1996:65) then points out 10 different types of 'sacred' areas, locations, or sites:

> a) Shrines, vision quest sites, altars, and sweat bath sites that serve as ritual settings;
>
> b) Monumental geographical features that have mythic significance in a group's origins or history, including mountains, waterfalls, and unusual geographical formations such as Pilot Knob, Kootenai Falls, Celilo Falls, and Mount Adams;
>
> c) Rock art sites such as pictograph and petroglyph panels;
>
> d) Burial sites and cemeteries;
>
> e) Areas where plants, stones, earth, animals, and other sacred objects are gathered for ritual purposes or where sacred vegetation such as medicine trees serve as objects or centers of ritual;
>
> f) Sites of major historical events such as battlefields where group members died;
>
> g) Sites where groups are thought to have originated, emerged, or been created;
>
> h) Pilgrimage or mythic pathways where groups or individuals retrace the journeys and reenact events described in myths and in the lives of mythic or other figures;
>
> i) Lakes, rivers, springs, and water associated with life and the vital forces that sustain it;
>
> j) Areas or sites associated with prophets and teachers, such as Smohalla and others;

As a general, but incomplete, taxonomy of significant geographic locations, these areas provide a preliminary guide to the identification of sacred sites. For the study area, topographic features (e.g., caves, promontories, crests of ridgetops, mountain peaks and rises, etc.) used in vision quest ceremonies, shamanistic rituals, and other isolation rites have significance for the Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups and the Nez Perce people. Old Indian trails, such as the Nez Perce Trail and the Brownlee Trail dissecting the study area, may have significance

as juncture points in individual rites or may be sacred in their own right (e.g., Shawley 1984). Placenames, such as Paul's list of 300 geographical locations in Nez Perce country, can be significant alone or when combined with other factors (Chance et al 1987). Systematic efforts on placename identification have been done in the general region, but have not been conducted for the area in and around the corridor. Both Corliss (1990) and Ericson (1994) refer to the Native intertribal gatherings in the Boise-Payette-Weiser area during the 1800s and before. Specific locations were not listed by Corliss and Ericson, but both allude to the fact that specific gatherings took place in the Upper Weiser valley in the 1870s and 1880s.

5.6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations offered here are at a broad level of generalization. Recommendations about specific site locations are not possible without a direct reconnaissance of the project area with Native American participation. Without Native participation, any attempt at identifying the actual location of specific sites of traditional significance is impossible. With this in mind, the recommendations that follow are at two levels.

1) Shoshone and Northern Paiute and Nez Perce participation is essential for the identification of traditional sites of cultural significance. A long-term oral history project involving the Indian communities at Fort Hall, Duck Valley, and Lapwai should be designed and implemented with the communities' involvement.

2) Interviews with consultants, in and out of the field, should be collected and analyzed in an effort to pinpoint significant sites.

3) A survey of tradition site locations should be conducted to identify, locate, and to ascertain the integrity of any traditional site in the immediate vicinity of the project area. Field confirmation by Shoshone and Northern Paiute and Nez Perce consultants are required. This survey should integrate all archaeological data from this area.

4) Placenames, research of social, political, and religious activities, ethno-scientific research, and specific histories of the project area, and the beliefs and values

of the Indian communities listed above should be sought as collaborative evidence of the identification and location of these sites.

5) Locations of significant traditional sites would include:

   a) isolated topographically distinct vision quest or dreaming sites that serve as ritual settings for life-cycle rites or ceremonies;

   b) geographical features that have mythic significance in a group's origins or history;

   c) rock art sites (pictograph and petroglyph);

   d) burial sites and cemeteries;

   e) areas where plants, stones, earth, animals, and other sacred objects are gathered for ritual purposes;

   f) locations associated with major historical events (e.g., battlefields, gathering grounds, area of treaty signing);

   g) locations associated with a group(s) origin, emergence, or creation;

   h) locations of journeys and events in myths;

   i) lakes, rivers, springs, and water sites associated with life or vital forces;

   j) areas or sites associated with Native prophets and teachers.

The existence of significant or historically sacred areas is probable for most of the Hells Canyon area. Identification, location, and verification of these areas as well as tribal affiliation and association with significant beliefs, customs, activities, practices, events, etc., is beyond the scope of this present investigation. Yet, knowledge of associated cultural practices and traditions serves to establish a basis for the evaluation and assessment of Shoshone and Northern Paiute and Nez Perce sacred sites within the project area. Here again, Native American participation and guidance in oral interviews and locational field studies is prerequisite to the comprehensive and

accurate identification of sacred sites or significant places in and around the project area.

5.7. CONCLUSION

The preceding report serves to survey and evaluate select archival review and ethnographic study on both the Numic (Shoshone and Northern Paiute) and Sahaptian (Nez Perce) cultures with respect to sacred sites and/or historically significant locations in and around the Hells Canyon area. Shoshone-Paiute and Nez Perce culture, especially tribal distribution, settlement, subsistence, material and social aspects of these cultures, includes information concerning sacred places or significant locations in or around the study area. While specific information about particular sacred sites within the study area is not included in the existing literature, this report provides general guidelines, along with recommendations for future research towards a general taxonomy of significant places using oral history interviews and field survey with Native American participation.

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APPENDIX A:

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM LIST FOR THE HELLS CANYON COMPLEX PROJECT

RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (RECORD GROUP 75)

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (CENTRAL OFFICE) AND RELATED RECORDS

Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881: M234, (Rolls 962)

Idaho Superintendency (1863-1894): Roll 337 (1863) - 353 (1880)
Oregon Superintendency (1824-1852): Roll 607 (1842-1852) - 630 (1880)
Washington Superintendency (1853-1880): Roll 907 (1853-1857) - 920 (1880)
Western Superintendency (1832-1851): Roll 921 (1832-1836) - 924 (1849-1851)

Special Files of the Office of Indian Affairs 1827-1904: M574 (Rolls 88)

Roll 30: Abstract... agreements ... Oregon and Washington
Roll 32: Annual Report of Oregon and Washington Territories (157)
Roll 60: Yakima Agency (records missing) 1860
Roll 66: Smith, Shoshoni-Bannock, blockade
Roll 69: Carter, Oregon (1862-1869) (250)
Roll 73: Nez Perce soldiers (1855-1856, 1879-1883) (261)
Smith/Fisk, Bannock, Shoshoni, Sheepeaters
Roll 74: Sarah Winnemucca 1847-1885

Superintendent Annual Narratives and Statistical from Field Jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs 1907-1938: M1011, (Rolls 194)

Roll 22: Coeur d'Alene
Roll 25: Colville
Roll 26: Colville
Roll 48: Ft. Hall
Roll 49: Ft. Hall
Roll 50: Ft. Hall
Roll 51: Lapwai
Roll 97: Paiute

National Archives Microfilm List (cont.)

Roll 98: Paiute
Roll 99: Paiute
Roll 137: Shoshoni
Roll 138: Shoshoni
Roll 143: Spokane
Roll 159: Umatilla
Roll 160: Umatilla
Roll 164: Warm Springs
Roll 165: Warm Springs school
Roll 166: Warm Springs school
Roll 167: Western Shoshoni
Roll 168: Western Shoshoni
Roll 171: Yakima
Roll 172: Yakima

RECORDS OF FIELD JURISDICTION

Records of the Idaho Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1863-1870: M832 (3 rolls)

Roll 1: Register of letters received, 1867-1870
Roll 2: Letters received from the Nez Perce Agncy, 1863-1870, Fort Hall
Roll 3: Letters sent and miscellaneous records, 1863-1870

Records of the Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1848-1873: M2 (35 rolls)

Roll 28: Copies of treaty proceedings and depredations claims, 1851-1856

Records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs (1855-1874): M5 (26 rolls)

Roll 17: Letters from Employee assigned to Yakima Agency
Roll 18: Letters from Employee assigned to Yakima Agency
Roll 19: Letters from Employee assigned to Yakima Agency
Roll 20: Letters from Colville Agency (1854-1874)
Roll 21: Letters from Nez Perce, Umatilla (1856-1864)

National Archives Microfilm List (cont.)

RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR (RECORD GROUP 48)

RECORDS OF THE INDIAN DIVISION

Reports of Inspection of the Field Jurisdiction of the Office of Indian Affairs (1873-1900): M1070 (60 rolls)

Roll 13: Fort Hall Agency
Roll 14: Fort Hall Agency, Lapwai
Roll 31: Nez Perce Agency
Roll 55: Umatilla Superintendency, Warm Springs Agency
Roll 56: Washington Superintendency, Western Shoshoni
Roll 58: Yakima Agency
Roll 59: Yakima Agency

RECORDS RELATING TO CENSUS ROLLS AND OTHER ENROLLMENTS

RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (RECORD GROUP 75)

Indian Census Rolls, (1885-1940): M595 (692 rolls)

Coeur d'Alene, Colville, Kalispel, Kutenai, Spokane

Roll 43: Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, Kutenai, Spokane (1906, 1910-1925)
Roll 44: Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, Kutenai (1926-1933)
Roll 45: Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, Kutenai, Nez Perce (1934-1937)
Roll 49: Colville, Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, Joseph Band of Nez Perce
Roll 50: 1894-1898
Roll 51: 1899-1925
Roll 52: 1906-1916
Roll 53: Colville Reservation 1917-1924
Roll 54: Colville and Spokane Reservation 1925-1929
Roll 55: 1930-1932
Roll 56: 1933-1939

Fort Hall (Shoshoni-Bannock)

Roll 138: 1885-1887, 1890-1891, 1894-1901

National Archives Microfilm List (cont.)

Roll 139: 1902-1909
Roll 140: 1910-1918
Roll 141: 1919-1926
Roll 142: 1927-1931
Roll 143: 1932-1934
Roll 144: 1935-1939

Fort Lapwai (Nez Perce)
Roll 145: 1902-1910
Roll 148: 1911-1920
Roll 147: 1921-1929
Roll 148: 1930-1933

Nevada (Paiute)
Roll 288: 1886-1905
Roll 289: 1906-1907, 1909-1921

Shoshoni and Arapaho
Roll 498: 1885, 1890-1893, 1895-1899
Roll 499: 1900-1911
Roll 500: 1912-1918
Roll 501: 1919-1925
Roll 502: 1926-1929
Roll 503: 1930-1932
Roll 504: 1933-1937

Umatilla (Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla)
Roll 616: 1886-1894, 1896, 1989-1900
Roll 617: 1901-1905, 1910-1912
Roll 618: 1913-1917
Roll 619: 1918-1923
Roll 620: 1924-1929
Roll 621: 1930-1932
Roll 622: 1933-1939

Warm Springs (John Day, Paiute, Tenino, Wasco)
Roll 635: 1886-1891, 1895, 1897-1908
Roll 636: 1909-1911, 1931-1921
Roll 637: 1922-1929

National Archives Microfilm List (cont.)

Roll 638: 1930-1933
Roll 639: 1934-1939

Western Shoshoni and Paiute

Roll 646: 1885, 1887-1890, 1892-1909
Roll 647: 1910-1929
Roll 648: 1930-1939

Yakima (and others)

Roll 672: 1898-1907
Roll 673: 1910-1916
Roll 674: 1917-1921
Roll 675: 1922-1925
Roll 676: 1926-1929
Roll 677: 1930-1931
Roll 678: 1932-1933
Roll 679: 1934-1939

RECORDS RELATING TO TERRITORIES

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES

The Territorial Paper of the United States (1849-1859): M1049 (12 rolls)

Roll 7: Appointments Division - Select series
Indian Division - Select Series (Interior, Record Group 48)
Roll 8: Letters sent, records, executive Order (Records of the BIA, Record Group 75)

GENERAL RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE (RECORD GROUP 59)

State Department Territorial Papers (Record Group 59)

Idaho (1863-1872), M445 (1 roll)
Oregon (1848-1858), M419 (1 roll)
Washington (1854-1872), M26 (2 rolls): 1854-1859, 1859-1872

National Archives Microfilm List (cont.)

RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR (RECORD GROUP 48) AND RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF TERRITORIES (RECORD GROUP 126)

Interior Department Territorial Papers

Idaho (1864-1890), M191 (3 rolls)
Washington (1854-1902) M189 (4 rolls)

RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR (RECORD GROUP 48)

Interior Department Appointment Papers

Idaho (1862-1907), M693
- Roll 13: Idaho Superintendency, Indian Agents, Fort Hall (A-H)
- Roll 14: Indian Agents, Fort Hall (I-W)
- Roll 15: Lemhi Indian Agency
- Roll 18: Nez Perce Indian Agency (A-M)
- Roll 17: Nez Perce Indian Agency (N-W)

Oregon (1849-1907), M814 (10 rolls)
- Roll 8: Superintendent of Indian Affairs (1849-1876)
- Roll 9: Malheur Indian Agency (1873-1880), Umatilla Agency (1865-1902)
- Roll 10: Warm Springs Agency (1860-1898)

RECORDS OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, 1780'S-1917 (RECORD GROUP 94) (p. 111)

Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1822-1860: M567

Roll 586 (File 270 P 1858): Records relating to an Indian war in Washington Territory and to treaties of peace signed with the Indians, 1858

Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1871-1880: M666

Roll 95 (File 5147 AGO 1872): Correspondence relating to the issuance of rations to Ocheo, leader of a band of Paiute Indians, and to the refusal of the Paiutes to return to Yainax, Oregon, 1872-1875. (For additional correspondence relating to the Paiute, see Files 3313 AGO 1873 on roll 121 and 7111 AGO 1879 on roll 536)

National Archives Microfilm List (cont.)

Roll 271 (File 3597 AGO 1876): Correspondence relating to the claim of Young Joseph and his band of Nez Perce Indians...; and the removal ofthe Indians to the reservation at Boise, Idaho Territory, 1876-1877

Roll 336-340 (File 3464 AGO 1877): Correspondence relating to the war with the Nez Perce Indians in 1877...

Roll 366 (File 5705 AGO 1877): Correspondence relating to military operations against the Warm Springs Indians who fled from the San Carlos Indian Agency, Arizona Territory, 1877-1879

Roll 377-379 (File 7316 AGO 1877): Correspondence relating to the war with the Bannock Indians and associated tribes, the Paiute, Klamath, and Umatilla, 1877-1879.

Roll 400 (File 1499 AGO 1878): Correspondence and claims for compensation, 1878-1896, for losses sustained during the Nez Perce Indian War in Idaho in the summer of 1877.

Roll 427 (File 6310 AGO 1878): Correspondence relating to the arrest of Chief Moses and attempts to relocate his band of Indians on the Yakima Reservation, 1878-1879.

Roll 522 (File 5141 AGO 1879): Correspondence relating to the 1879 war with a band of Indians in central Idaho known as the Sheepeaters ("Sheepeaters' War").

Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1881-1889: M689 (740 rolls).

Roll 51 (File 5517 AGO 1881) Correspondence relating to the intrusion of miners and ranchers on Chief Moses's reservation in Washington Territory, Sept. 1881-Feb. 1884.

Roll 56 (File 6067 AGO 1881) Correspondence pertaining to the Paiute Indians inCalifornia, Nevada, Oregon, and the Territory of Washington, including their migration from the Yakima Agency, Washington Territory, to reservation at Malheur River in Oregon and Fort McDermitt and Pyramid Lake in Nevada. A number of the documents deal with the destitute condition of Indians, 1881-1888.

Roll 204 (File 1181 AGO 1883) Correspondence relating to Chief Moses's trip to Washington, DC, to confer with the Secretary of War and other officials over a dispute between farmers and Colville, Moses, and Okinagan Indians in Washington Territory, May-Sept. 1883.

Roll 271 (File 1759 AGO 1884) Papers relating to reports from post offices of attempts by white men to dispossess nonreservation Indians settled along the Columbia River...

National Archives Microfilm Lists (cont.)

Roll 452 (File 2458 AGO 1886) Correspondence and reports relating to the condition of the Chief Moses and Joseph Indians in the Department of the Columbia, including a request that the Department of the Interior supply agricultural implements to them, May 1886-May, 1887.

Roll 567 (File 6879 AGO 1887) Papers relating the death of May Wagoner, allegedly killed by Indians in the Rogue River Valley, Oregon Territory, in 1856. Included are 42 reports and enclosures filed by Lt. Col. R.C. Buchaman concerning his operations in the area during the Rogue River War, 1855-1856.

Roll 569 (File 7007 AGO 1887) Correspondence, Dec. 1887 Dec 1889, relating to Senate resolutions of Dec. 20, 1887, and Jan 29, 1889, directing the Secretary of War to supply all records pertaining to Captain Lawrence Hall's Company of Oregon Volunteers, which participated in the Cayuse Indian War of 1848 in the Oregon Territory. The requested information was furnished Dec. 7, 1889, and published as "Letter From the Secretary of War Transmitting Report of Capt. W.E.Birkhimer, "Senate Executive Document 6, 51st Congress, 1st session.

Roll 663 (File 7 AGO 1889) Correspondence and a printed report of the Secretary of War relating to the service of volunteers from Washington and Idaho Territories in the Nez Perce War of 1877.

Roll 701 (File 4310 AGO 1889) Reports of Capt. Quinton Williams, Inspector of Indian Supplies, on the destitute condition of Indians of the Shoshone (Wind River) Reservation, Wyoming Territory, and copies of correspondence the Department of the Interior relating to this matter, July-Sept, 1889.

RECORDS OF U.S. ARMY CONTINENTAL COMMANDS, 1821-1920 (RECORD GROUP 393) (p. 122)

RECORDS OF MILITARY DIVISIONS, DEPARTMENTS AND DISTRICT

"Special Files" of Headquarters, Division of the Missouri, Relating to Military Operations and Administration, 1863-1885: M1491 (16 rolls)

Roll 5: Black Hills Routes, Feb-Dec 1887
Sioux Campaign, May-Sept. 1879 and Jan.-Sept. 1881
Nez Perce War, June-Dec. 1877